SOCIAL SCIENCE

CLASS - 10

2019-20

State Council of Educational Research and Training Chhattisgarh, Raipur

For Free Distribution

Preface

In the age of development Education, knowledge and skill are our need. To understand our human society, to be a part to develop our state and country we will have to understand and study Social Science. Text books play an important role among other educational avenues. It provides an opportunity to us to learn, acquire knowledge, have experiences and skills. The present book of class X is written with an objective to improve the content for social science.

The lessons in this book include experimental and environmental dimensions so as to densitize the learners about the present surroundings. The book includes four major educational concepts of NCF to encourage knowledge, constructions and skill among the students.

Social Science tells us to have positive perspective towards human values and the world without repeating the past events. It helps up to have a broad perspective for determining and understanding our role in county's economic and good governance with awareness to our surroundings. The book is presented as a comprehensive study of social science rather than separate units of history, political science, geography and economics.

Subject experts from SCERT, State Resource Group, Eklavya and Azim Premji Foundation have contributed in preparing the book, editing content, providing and compiling pictures and maps. For making concept clear about subject content the faculty of local institutes, colleges and the university helped in many ways.

We appreciate and thank the dedication and hard work of all the members and associates of text book writing team we hope that the book will be interesting and helpful towards building and understanding of our society for the readers. Attempts have been made to write the book according to the expectations of the NCF, yet readers, teachers and students are requested to point out any short comings and apprise the council about their views and suggestions.

Your suggestions are welcome to guide us.

Director

State Council of Educational research & Training

Chhattisgarh, Raipur

To the Teachers

To make the teaching and learning more effective, the teachers are requested to conduct meaningful discussions on various questions. Every student should have an opportunity to share his or her opinion and experience. Please try to motivate the learners to analyze the content, raising question, expressing view points and their opinion. This book becomes complete only when their experience, opinion and questions are added or else it would remain dry.

Encourage the students to search for information beyond the textbook. Internet, libraries, newspapers and magazines, teachers, parents and others will always be sources to seek new information raising new question and answer to them on the basis of their experience and process of verification. This is essential for the understanding of social sciences as a subject.

With this objective, few changes have been made in the syllabus for class X which have been incorporated in the text book. Attempt has been made to make the book easy, interesting and understandable with an opportunity for both the teachers and learners the teachers are expected to pave the right path for the students.

The lessons in this book include experimental and environmental dimensions so as to densitize the learners about the present surroundings. The book includes four major educational concepts of NCF to encourage knowledge constructions and skill among the students. For uplifting the Educational standard of the society is possible only when our teachers themselves are competent enough in teaching skill.

Therefore, they would need to understand the relationship between new knowledge, teaching concepts and contemporary events. This would make it more interesting and meaningful for them and for their students. Social Science helps to developing understanding of gender equity, differences and positive attitude towards social and human values. The book is presented as a comprehensive study of social science rather than separate units of history, political science, geography and economics.

The knowledge & skill based exercises, community visits and preparation of projects have not only been given sufficient space but have also been made so as to relate concepts to real life and seek new questions by the students. Use of audio-visual aids, charts, surveys, maps and photographs would prove helpful. There is no other option except technology, the most enlivening aid to teaching. Hence the success of the book would depend on the self-directed teaching skills and innovation used by teachers.

Director
State Council of Educational Research & Training
Chhattisgarh, Raipur

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GEOGRAPHY

1

Resources and Development

Our relationship with natural resources

Humans are an integral part of the natural world. Like other organisms, they enjoy and use nature's bounty - such as air, water, fruit, flowers, and other animals. However, humans differ from other organisms because they consciously change nature to suit their needs. They use nature's materials to make tools and use these tools to produce the things they want. The natural materials they use are called resources. For example, in prehistoric times, humans chipped stones to make sharp tools and used these tools to hunt, dig roots and tubers, make baskets from bamboo and sew clothes from animal hides. Thus, the natural resources they used in those days were stones, bamboo, animal hides, etc.

Humans expanded the range of their productive activities over the years. They began to rear animals and farm the land. While earlier they altered non-living things like stones, they now began to alter and use living beings like plants and animals. They used their tools to clear the forests and level the land. They selected seeds and sowed them in the land. The plants grew, flowered and bore fruit, which were food-grain. Humans harvested the crop and built houses to store the grain. Their houses grew into settlements.

In this way, the range of natural resources that humans used kept expanding and their ability to harness these resources kept improving. Historians call this age when humans began to domesticate animals and cultivate crops the *Neolithic Revolution*. It began about 10,000 years back. Humans acquired new skills and techniques and began producing many new things on a bigger scale. These included utensils made by baking clay, clothes made by spinning and weaving fibres, and numerous articles made from metals like copper, brass, and iron.

What do you think were the natural resources used the early farmers and artisans? Make a detailed list.

Who owns natural resources?

As the importance of natural resources in human life grew, questions arose about who should control them, how should they be used and who should benefit from their use. Different communities answered these questions in different ways. In some societies, the people enjoyed collective rights to natural resources and framed community laws and rules to utilise them judiciously. They considered land, forests and water sources as common property. These societies saw natural resources as divine, not as something they could exploit for their personal use. For them, the land, trees, rivers, oceans, animals, and mountains were gods and goddesses who provided them their livelihoods. In these societies,

Natural Resources and their Use

Energy, Drinking water

Energy, Fuel

Wood, food, medicines, wood pulp, rubber, habitat of wild animals,

Shelter, construction

Ornaments, glass, boxes, earthen ware

Agriculture

Food, wool

Forests

Rocks

Minerals

Soil

Animals

Water

Oil
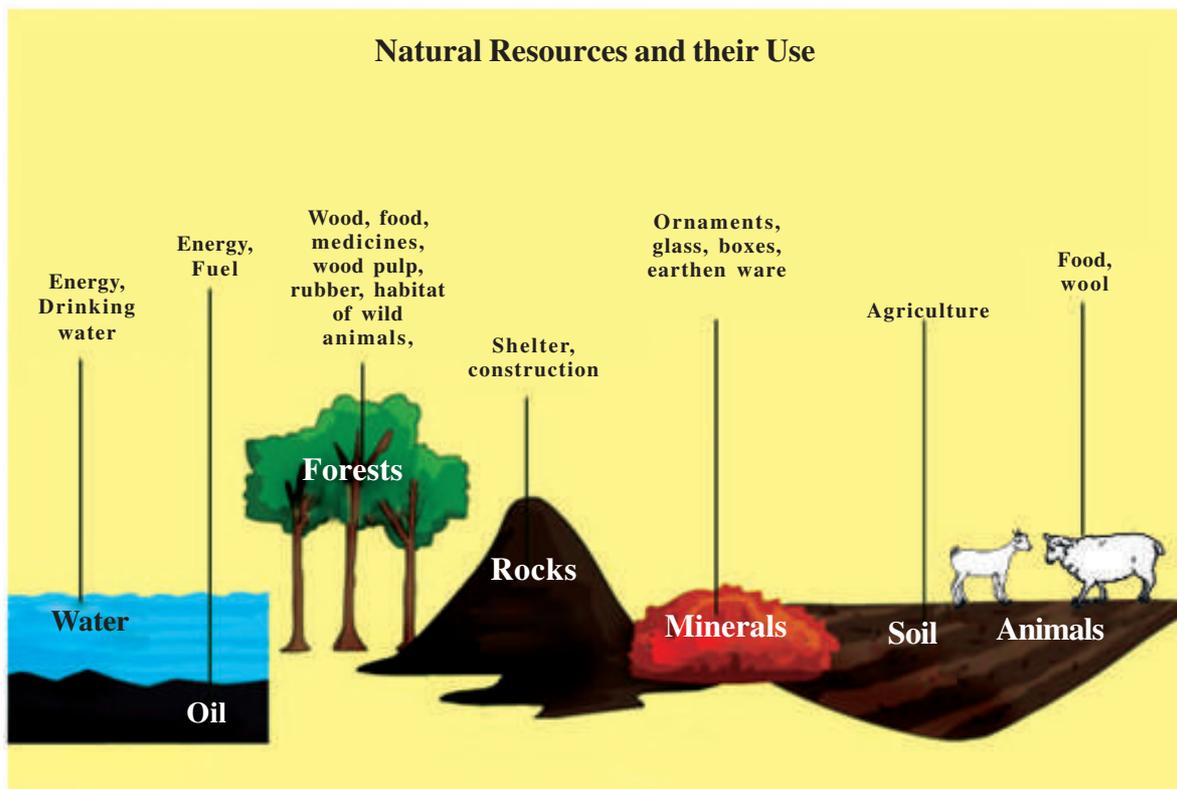
Figure 1.1 Natural Resources and their Use

everyone had access to natural resources but no one had the right to exploit them irrationally or irresponsibly.

In some societies, the community did not control natural resources. Control lay in the hands of a few people. A small class of landowners owned the land and reaped the benefits by making the common people farm their land. In some societies, kings managed the land and irrigation resources and also protected the territory, and in turn took a large share of the agricultural produce as taxes. Human productivity grew in these societies as people exploited resources in complex ways. Towns and cities with large buildings developed as trade grew and art and culture flourished. The growth and spread of population over the years led to the foundation of the first empires. However, these societies experienced widening internal disparities that resulted in social inequality, class-caste differentiation, slavery, subjugation of women etc.

The next important revolution in human history was the industrial revolution, which began about 250 years ago. Factories were set up to produce goods on a large scale. These factories required vast quantities of raw materials and fuel, which led to a sharp rise in the demand for natural resources. The nations that were industrializing in the nineteenth century began to look for new raw material sources to keep their factories running. They sent their scientists and geologists on exploratory expeditions to all corners of the globe to identify countries rich in natural resources.

These nations believed that the world's natural wealth was a resource that it had to be used to the full. The resources were to be exploited to increase production in their factories and thus improve the living standards of their people. They also believed that scarcities of raw materials could be managed by

developing new technology and production techniques. They began to colonise countries across Asia, America, and Africa and to exploit the natural wealth of these colonies.

However, many of these colonies had tribal or agrarian societies that did not use their land and forests for industry or trade. Unlike the industrial nations, they did not exploit nature for consumption. They believed nature was divine. A clash of belief systems was, thus, inevitable because what one society saw as a resource was not a resource for the other. Thus, the industrialists wanted to clear the forests to grow commercial crops, divert forest and agricultural land for mining, and construct dams across rivers to generate electricity. On the other hand, the tribal people wanted to continue using their natural resources in traditional ways. This clash of cultures continues to this day.

Industrial economists and scientists till 1950s believed that natural resources are inexhaustible and could be exploited limitlessly to increase society's productivity. The only problem was that natural wealth was unevenly distributed across the globe, with some places being richly endowed and others having few resources. Trade was seen as a solution to correct this imbalance and make natural resources available to all nations.

Scientific perspective of the environment

For the past 70 years, environmental scientists have been raising questions about the degradation of the environment from a scientific perspective. For example, in the decade of the 1950s, many people noticed that they seldom heard the chirping of birds or the buzzing of bees and insects in many parts of America. Subsequent studies traced the drastic fall in their populations to the extensive and persistent use of chemical pesticides.

Rachel Carson's 1962 book *Silent Spring* starkly highlighted the distressing effects of indiscriminate pesticide use on the environments, with humans, too, falling a prey to their impact. Her research showed how human activities damage the environment and affect human lives as well. For example, the DDT used to eradicate mosquitoes finds its way into fish in the lakes and rivers. Even small amounts of this toxic chemical can contaminate and kill the fish. When humans and birds consume the contaminated fish, the trace chemical residues are still enough to cause them harm. Following the publication of *Silent Spring*, scientists around the world began conducting research on how industrial progress is affecting the environment.

Figure 1.2 The coverpage of Rachel Carson's 1962 book.

Environmental scientists say that our natural wealth is a vast and complex web in which damage to a small segment can impact the whole system. Every part of nature, whether non-living (like water, air, rocks or soil) or living (like insects, birds, animals or crops), is interconnected. An activity in one part can affect the other. If we use pesticides to control insects, they not only kill the insects but also enter our body via the food-grain we eat or the bodies of domestic animals via the hay they consume. These toxic chemicals accumulate in our bodies to cause long-term diseases such as cancer. If we release toxic industrial effluents into rivers and streams, then fish and other living organisms in the water, animals drinking the water and humans who eat the fish are affected. In the same way, air pollution, deforestation and mining activities affect the environment. All this happens because all living and non-living elements on earth are intertwined.

Figure 1.3 Fishes lying dead on the shores of a lake

Waste: They are the unutilised and discarded components of the production and consumption process. Examples include the bagasse that is thrown away after extracting juice from sugarcane, the wrapper we throw away after eating a packet of biscuits, the unusable portion of the raw material used in factories, or the chemical-laden water and smoke released after production. Many waste materials can find other uses.

For example, we can burn bagasse as fuel or use it to manufacture paper. We can also remove harmful chemicals from contaminated water and smoke with special equipment and reuse the water.

Large scale industrial production has badly affected the complex environmental web. The earth's natural resources are not inexhaustible. Using them indiscriminately will deplete them permanently. Our natural resources will be lost for good at our current rate of utilizing these assets. Many rivers are turning into open drains. Land and water are prone to pollution. The impact in coming years will be grievous. In this chapter, we shall reflect on these problems by trying to understand the nature of our resources.

How has the relationship between human society and natural resources changed over the last 10,000 years?

How does natural wealth become a resource? Explain with examples.

How do tribal societies view natural wealth and how do they utilise these resources?

How does the industrial society view natural wealth? Does it use these resources in the same way that tribal societies do?

What are the different approaches to using natural resources today?

Project work

Read the book *Silent Spring* on the internet and present a synopsis in class.

Do people still use DDT in your area? If yes, then where and in what way? Who authorises its use?

Natural resources

Natural resources are resources in whose creation humans do not play a role. Humans only extract resources from their natural setting. For example, the wood we collect from the forest is a natural

resource but the cotton we grow in fields is not. Similarly, the iron ore we mine is a natural resource, but the steel we make from it is not.

Which of the following would you categorise as a natural resource? Discuss with reasons:

River water, bottled mineral water, diesel, oxygen in a cylinder, mineral oil, marble, chicken, sugarcane

Natural resources are classified in different ways. Resources derived from living things such as wood, fish etc. are 'organic resources'. Coal and mineral oil also belong to this category because they are fossilised living beings. Non-living physical resources such as land, air, water, metallic minerals etc. belong to the category of 'inorganic resources'.

We can also classify resources according to whether they are replenished in nature or not. Resources that replenish naturally are 'renewable resources'. Resources that are available in finite quantities and do not replenish easily are 'non-renewable resources'.

Renewable resources

They replenish by natural processes. They are always present on earth, for example air, water, forests, animals etc. If humans do not interfere in their renewal process and utilize them carefully, they will be constantly available. However, there is a limit to their utilization. Exceeding this limit or spoiling the resource leads to their degradation and affects their renewal. For example, water is always available on earth. Water evaporates from the oceans and condenses as rainfall. Some of this rainfall seeps into the earth to replenish the groundwater. The rest flows into rivers and streams to reach the ocean. This endless cycle renews water. However, obstacles in the process disrupt the water cycle. For example, depletion of forest cover results in less water seeping into the earth. This affects the recharge of groundwater. The depletion of groundwater causes dug wells and bore wells to dry up.

Figure 1.4 Pollution of Water Sources

We release polluted water into our rivers. If the volume of polluted water is limited then the organisms living in the flowing water have the capacity to clean up the pollution. However, we release excessive quantities of waste into our rivers nowadays. Dams and irrigation canals also reduce the flow of water in rivers. When the rivers are unable to clean themselves, they turn into cesspools. We need to find other uses for this waste if we wish to arrest this pollution. For example, we can compost waste and recycle wastewater for use in gardens etc. We need to reuse and recycle industrial wastes. We need to increase the volume of water in rivers to ensure that they do not die. We need to maintain the process of water renewal by preventing disruptions in the natural water cycle.

Hence, it is important to keep the renewal cycles of resources in mind if we wish to use them judiciously. Resources must renew naturally. Similarly, we should use groundwater only to the extent that it recharges naturally. Otherwise, the water table will fall.

If we want to use wood from forests, how can we ensure that our extraction rate matches the natural renewal cycle?

How does the groundwater renewal cycle work? How should we use groundwater?

How do fish renew themselves in ponds? How should we harvest fish?

How do chemical fertilizers and pesticides affect the natural renewal process in soil?

Non-renewable resources: These resources such as iron ore, coal, mineral oil etc. are available in limited quantities. The natural stock depletes the more we utilise them because they do not renew themselves. For example, metallic ore deposits deplete after mining and extracting the metal from them. We then have to look for new ore deposits. A day will come when we exhaust all available deposits. Even today, many mines have shut down after exhausting their stock. One such example is the Dalli Rajhara iron ore mines in Chhattisgarh.

Table 1.1: Mineral oil reserves		
Region/Country	**Reserves as of 2013 (in 1,000 million barrels)**	**How long these reserves will last (in years)**
Middle East (West Asia)	809	79
United States of America	44	12
World	1,688	53

Source: BP statistical review of world energy zone 2014

Table 1.1 depicts the proven global reserves of crude oil. How many years will these reserves last if global consumption of crude oil continues at the current rate? They will be exhausted within 53 years. India depends on crude oil imports because the country does not have adequate proven reserves. As the global stock depletes, prices of oil will escalate. India and its citizens will have to bear the burden of higher prices. The sensible thing to do is to reduce consumption, use oil only when necessary and look for alternate energy sources. For example, we could increase production of solar and wind energy to reduce our dependence on mineral oil. The developed nations are not concerned about the needs of developing nations but want to control global oil reserves to protect their own interests and ensure they do not face any shortages.

The United States of America does not have adequate oil reserves to meet its domestic consumption so it uses its economic and military might to gain control of the oil reserves of other countries. This policy has led to wars that have caused large-scale destruction and brought misery to millions of people.

Some non-renewable resources can be recycled. For example, we use bauxite to produce aluminium and aluminium utensils. We cannot renew our bauxite deposits but we can recycle the aluminium of old utensils by melting and re-using it.

Find out how and where India uses solar energy.

Do we need to depend on coal to generate electricity? What are the alternatives to coal-based electricity?

What other things, besides metals, can we recycle?

Resources and development

Natural resources are the basis of development because the agriculture, mining, construction, and energy sectors depend on them. So do other sectors of the economy. The 'environment source function' is the capacity of the environment to provide these resources. Developmental activities slow down if natural resources are polluted or over-exploited and get depleted. If we do not prevent the pollution of our atmosphere, rivers and streams, and if we do not use non-renewable resources in a rational manner, we will soon exhaust our natural wealth. We need to adopt a model of development that ensures that our resources remain healthy and available to us in the long term. The environment should sustain development and continue to bring us prosperity and happiness over the years. This is what we call 'sustainable development'.

There is no necessary conflict or contradiction between development and environment. We can have development while protecting and enriching our environment. We should not cause permanent damage to our resources in the pursuit of development. If we understand our environment better, we can manage development in a sustainable way. Environmental scientists have developed the concept of 'purification capacity' or 'sink capacity', which simply means that the environment has the capacity to contain pollution up to a certain extant. For example, if we throw household waste into a river, plants and animals living in the river consume this waste. The water then remains fit for consumption. However, if we throw excessive waste in the river, the waste cannot be fully consumed by the organisms in the water. The river soon turns into a polluted drain. Today most of the rivers on which our prominent cities are situated are open gutters. The pollution does not end there. Cities also discharge chemicals that the rivers cannot 'digest'. Detergent soap waste is one such example. It remains in the water and flows out to the sea, polluting it.

In villages, people burn wood in stoves, but the volume of smoke emitted by stoves is below the renewal limit of the atmosphere. On the other hand, the smoke released from factory chimneys in industrial complexes is above

Figure 1.5 Sewage water in cities

Figure 1.6 Factories spewing smoke

this limit. That is why factories pollute the atmosphere. We can prevent this pollution if we control smoke emission to below the renewal limit.

'Sink capacity' is the capacity of the environment to absorb pollutants. When the volume of wastes exceeds the sink capacity, the environment suffers long-term damage.

Example 1: Current data on groundwater levels in India indicate that the groundwater reserves in many parts of the country are severely under threat because of overexploitation. We are extracting more water than is being recharged. As a result, the water table in about 300 districts in the country has dropped by as much as four metres. This is a danger signal. We use huge quantities of groundwater for irrigation in agriculturally prosperous Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh, the rocky plateau region of central and south India and some coastal areas. Our fast-growing cities and towns also use groundwater. This kind of indiscriminate exploitation will deplete our groundwater reserves and lower the water table.

Example 2: Endosulphan is a striking example of how a chemical pesticide can adversely affect our environment. In 1976, the government aerially sprayed endosulphan over 15,000 acres of cashew to prevent pest attacks. This was in Kasargode district in north Kerala. This aerial spraying continued every year for 25 years. The pesticide badly affected the air, water and environment. People living in 11 panchayats faced severe health problems, especially the farm labourers. The population of fish, insects, crows and other birds fell drastically in the affected region. It took a court order a few years ago to discontinue endosulphan spraying. The government is now paying compensation to the affected people.

Why is it important to maintain a balance between exploitation and recharge of groundwater?

Why did people have to approach the courts to stop the spraying of endosulphan?

Do people still use endosulphan in your area?

Resource management

We need to plan the utilization of our natural resources to maintain the ecological balance. This means meeting our current requirements and conserving natural resources for the future. We can adopt the following measures to achieve this balance.

1. Focus on alternative resources: We can replace resources that cause high levels of pollution with alternative resources. For example, we can avoid the use of coal as far as possible and use natural gas instead. We can also make greater use of solar energy and wind power to ensure long-term energy availability. In addition, we can give incentives and develop systems to promote such alternate energy sources.

2. Implementation of pollution control laws: The government has enacted many environment-related laws and set environmental standards to achieve this goal. What is now required is strict implementation and observation of these laws and standards. For example:

- ♦ Wastes should be segregated and recycled.
- ♦ Installing pollution control equipment should be mandatory for industries.
- ♦ The government should establish waste treatment facilities in every region.
- ♦ Industries using dangerous pollutants such as mercury, chromium etc should be monitored to control their emission.

3. Equitable utilization of resources: We live in a consumer age where people aspire for physical comforts. However, a small segment of the population uses a disproportionately large share of natural resources for its own comfort. We would need the resources of four planet earths to provide this level of comfort to everyone. Gandhiji rightly said, "The world has enough for everyone's need, but not enough for any one's greed." Everyone of us needs to consider how we can rationally use resources and products.

We generate waste in our homes every day. Some of this waste can be re-used. Make a list of these wastes and explain how we can re-use them.

Give a few examples of renewable resources in your area.

Discuss and prepare a poster on the proper utilization of resources.

Can solar energy be the dominant source of energy in India 30 years hence? Discuss in class.

New opportunities and challenges in resource management: a case study

Indira Gandhi canal command area: This canal starts from the Harike barrage in Punjab. It traverses the Thar Desert and flows parallel to the Pakistan border. The length of its main canals is about 650

Figure 1.7 Rajasthan Canal

km. If the feeder and distributary canals are included, the total length of the canal system is about 9060 km. The estimated irrigated area is about 20 lakh hectares. This irrigated area is the command area.

The Thar Desert has massive sand dunes and sparse vegetation. Strong winds constantly shift the sand. So soil erosion is pronounced. In summer, the temperature rises to 50ºC. Average annual rainfall is below 10 mm.

Development work: Irrigation in Phase I in the command area began in 1960 and in 1980 in Phase II. The canal transformed the desert into a lush and moist area. This arrested soil erosion. Afforestation and pasture development were also taken up. Where farmers earlier grew *chana*, *bajra* and *jowar*, intensive irrigation allowed them to cultivate wheat and cotton. Productivity increased manifold. However, excessive irrigation and intensive agriculture over the years led to problems such as water logging and increased salinity.

EXERCISES

1. Each of the following questions contains a statement and a qualifying reason. Choose the correct option from among the four options given:

A. **Statement**: Iron ore was not a resource in the early Stone Age.

   Reason: There is no evidence of its use during the Stone Age.

   a) Only the statement is correct

   b) Only the reason is correct

   c) Both statement and reason are correct

   d) Both statement and reason are wrong

B. **Statement**: There is no need for water conservation.

   Reason: Rainwater recharges groundwater.

   a) Only the statement is correct

   b) Only the reason is correct

   c) Both statement and reason are correct

   d) Both statement and reason are wrong

C. **Statement**: Forests are a renewable resource.

   Reason: Forests regenerate felled areas.

   a) Only the statement is correct

   b) Only the reason is correct

   c) Both statement and reason are correct

   d) Both statement and reason are wrong

2. Answer the following questions:

1. 'Resources do not exist; they are made.' Explain this statement.

2. What are the differences between renewable and non-renewable resources?

3. Why is it important to manage resources?

4. What resources depend on water resources?

3. Match columns I and II and choose the correct alternative from the options given below:

1.	Coal	A.	Cyclic renewable
2.	Iron ore	B.	Renewable
3.	Animals	C.	Continuous renewable
4.	Air	D.	Non-renewable

    (a) 1-A, 2-B, 3-C, 4-D

    (b) 1-D, 2-B, 3-C, 4-A

    (c) 1-D, 2-B, 3-A, 4-C

    (d) 1-D, 2-A, 3-B, 4-C.

2

Land Resources

Among our natural resources, land is the most important resource. We use land for agriculture, livestock rearing, mining, industries, transport, habitation, etc. Who owns the land? Is it being used judiciously and sustainably? Is it being properly conserved or is it being degraded? These are questions we need to think about and understand.

2.1 Land use in India

Every country or province uses its land in different ways. Some land is farmed, some is used to build urban habitations, some is used for industries and some is covered by forests. Land use is the way the people of a country or province use their land. Land use keeps changing with time.

India's total geographic area is 32.8 lakh sq. km. Only 93 percent of this land has been surveyed for land use. The two diagrams below explain land use in the whole country and the changes in land use since independence.

Land use in India (1950–51)   **Land use in India (2010–11)**
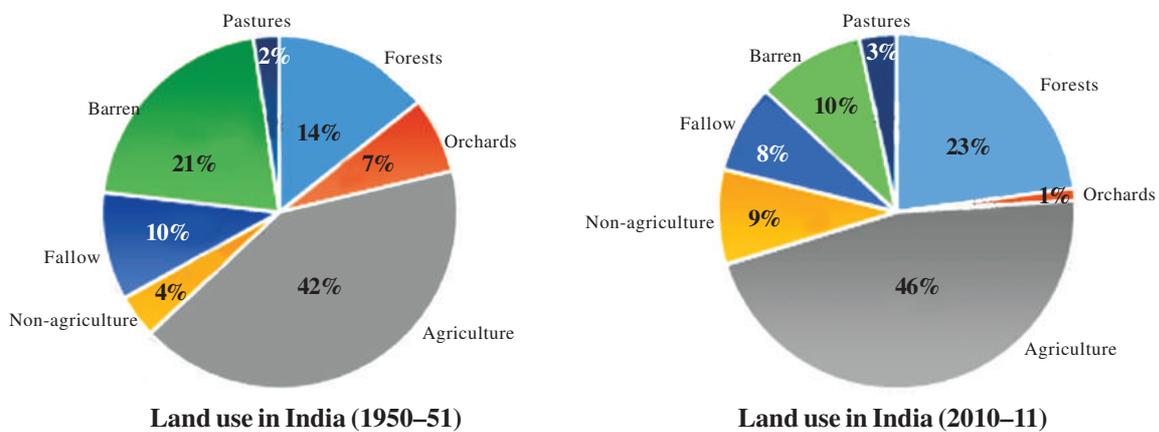
Pie Diagram 2.1: Land Use in India

Forests: Land with abundant vegetation is called forests. Forests are a source of fuelwood, timber, roots and tubers, wild fruits, medicines, fodder etc. In the last 60 years, India's forest land increased from 14 percent to 23 percent. But this increase continued only up to 1970-71. Since then, the area under forests has remained more or less constant.

When we use the term 'forest land', we need to remember that the term refers to land that should be used as forest. But this does not mean that all this land has standing forests. For example, in 2010,

forest land totalled 23 percent but the land actually under forest cover totalled only 19.05 percent. The government undertakes afforestation on forest land that does not have standing forests at present.

Forests provide us with produce like timber, but the value of forests is much more than the produce they provide. Plants absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and release oxygen during photosynthesis. This process helps to maintain the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere. It also replenishes the oxygen content that is essential for human and animal respiration. A stable oxygen-carbon-di-oxide balance helps to stabilize atmospheric temperature. That is why forests are so important for our survival. Forests also help us to conserve our water sources and are a habitat for wildlife. Loss of forests endangers our air, water resources, plants, and animals.

At least 33 percent of the country should be under forest cover to ensure environmental stability. But in 1987, only 19.49 percent of India's land was under forests. After intensive efforts, the total acreage of forest land increased to 21.23 percent in 2013. Forest cover varies from state to state. Chhattisgarh is among the states with high forest cover. 41.75 percent of its area is under forests. In contrast, Uttar Pradesh has just 5.7 percent and Odisha has 31.36 percent under forests. The north-eastern states such as Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya etc. have the maximum forest cover, ranging from 70 percent to 83 percent.

> Seema says that if we cut our forests there will be no timber left for our future generations to construct houses or make furniture. Julia feels that the biggest impact of cutting forests will be on the earth's climate. In your opinion, which of these two views is more correct? Give reasons.
>
> From the environmental point of view, why is Chhattisgarh important for India?
>
> In the previous class, you read about the Gangetic plains. What could be the reasons for Uttar Pradesh having only 5.7 percent forest cover and what is its impact?

Orchards: This category includes land covered by fruit-bearing trees. Over the last 60 years, orchards in India have been steadily cleared to make way for agricultural land. Thus, land under orchards decreased from 7 percent to 1 percent during this period.

Agricultural land: A large share of our country's land is under agriculture. The majority of India's population is employed in agriculture, which provides us with food-grain and raw material for industries. In 1950-51, 42 percent of our land was agricultural land. Today, it is 46 percent. The area under agriculture has been more or less stable since 1970. Due to the expansion of irrigation, two - and sometimes three - crops are cultivated on the same land. But only 38.75 percent of our agricultural land is irrigated and can be multi-cropped.

Non-agricultural land: This includes all land that cannot be used for agriculture or is used for non-agricultural purposes. It includes snow-capped mountains, sand dunes, houses, shops, industries, roads, railways, markets, playgrounds, rivers, dams etc. Industrialization, urbanization and the growth of transport has increased land use under this category from 4 percent in 1950-61 to 9 percent in 2010-11. Today, there is growing demand to acquire agricultural land for industrialization and urban development. What type of land should be acquired for such purposes? What is the right compensation

for such acquisition? These questions are a matter of national debate. If fertile, multi-cropped land is acquired, there is bound to be a negative impact on food-grain production and the country's food security. It is, therefore, important to acquire only less fertile land for non-agricultural uses. How much compensation should farmers be paid for land acquired from them? This question is also a matter of national debate. Changing land use makes acquired land many times more expensive. But farmers are compensated only on the basis of agricultural land prices. They, thus, do not benefit from the enhanced value of land.

Fallow land: Farmers often leave their less fertile land fallow so that the land can recoup its fertility. Fallow land can be divided into two categories - current fallow and old fallow. Current fallow is land that has been left cultivated for one year. This is usually done to so that the soil can accumulate humus, which improves land fertility. Old fallow includes land that has been left uncultivated for more than a year. If old fallow is not brought under plough, it is counted as barren land. About eight percent of India's land is fallow.

Barren land: This includes two types of land. One is land with minimal possibility for agriculture. This includes rocky, hilly land, ravines etc. The other is land that can be improved through soil and moisture conservation work for forestry and agriculture. This includes land that was earlier under agriculture but is now barren. These lands can be developed to meet the needs of India's increasing population. Barren land has decreased from 21 percent to 10 percent over the last 60 years because such land is now being increasingly used for non-agricultural purposes, modern agriculture and afforestation.

What is the difference between fallow and barren land? What is their relevance in development projects?

Pasture land: This includes all land under permanent pastures and all kinds of grazing lands. These lands are for common use by the people. They are used to graze livestock and to collect fuelwood. The area under pasture in India increased between 1950-51 and 1970-71 but then decreased over the past 40 years. The decline in pasture land affects the poorest people the most because livestock rearing and agriculture are their main sources of income. The main reason for the decline in pastures is encroachment by powerful farmers and conversion of such land for alternate uses.

Have pasture lands in your area decreased? What could be the reasons for this decrease? Are urban and rural populations affected in the same way by the decrease?

Activity

Make a bar diagram to depict the different kind of land use in your village.

2.2 Land acquisition by the government

The government has the right to acquire private land or village land for public use after paying adequate compensation. The government can legally obtain land for building roads, railways, airports, mines, industrial area, hospitals, offices, dams etc. These projects often require very large tracts of land. At times, people living in a large number of villages get displaced. As we have read before, fixing the compensation for the people affected by a project is still a matter of national debate. In 2013, the Indian

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Land Acquisition Act 2013

· **Along with land acquisition, the act provides for rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced people.**

· **The consent of at least 80 percent of the displaced people is necessary in cases where the land is meant for use by private companies or private-public partnership companies.**

· **The act covers the landowners among the families affected by displacement and land acquisition as well as all those who depend on the acquired land for their livelihood, such as labourers, sharecroppers, cattle grazers, adivasis, etc.**

· **Irrigated and multi-cropped land can be acquired for non-agricultural use only under very special circumstances.**

· **A social and environmental impact study of the changed land use has to be conducted before the land is acquired.**

· **Landowners and others will be given fair and adequate compensation.**

· **The land cannot be used for purposes other than that for which it is acquired. If the land is not utilized within five years of acquisition, it will be returned to the original owners.**

· **The ownership of the land cannot be transferred without the permission of the government.**

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parliament passed a legislation called the Land Acquisition Act 2013. The main points of this act are given below. Discuss them with your teacher.

as well as government officials have been complaining that the act makes it very difficult and expensive to acquire land.

A problem for discussion

Neemganj is a village with irrigated land where farmers grow three crops a year. A plan has been proposed to set up an industrial hub and a township in the village. It requires acquisition of the village land. The village has landowning farmers, many landless labourers and small traders. The project endangers their livelihoods. Some of them oppose the project. Some hope to use the new Land Acquisition Act 2013 to their advantage. Discuss the main provisions of the act and decide what the villagers should do and what approach they should adopt.

2.3 Soil

When we talk about land resources, the focus is generally on the soil and its fertility. Soil is the most important component of land resource. It is the thin top layer of earth in which vegetation grows. Soil is formed by the weathering of rocks. Temperature variations and vegetation play an important part in

this process. Over time, water and temperature fluctuations gradually break the rocks into smaller pieces. The fine particles of rock mix with the remains of plants and animals. Over a long period of time, this mix gets converted to soil.

Plants get their nutrition from the soil. Animals and other living creatures depend either directly or indirectly on plants for their food. Apart from its role in providing nutrition to living things, soil is also used for making bricks, utensils, toys, tiles etc. Most rural houses have walls and floors plastered with soil.

If you observe the foundation of a house or a well while it is being dug, you can see that the soil is spread in layers. These horizontal layers are called soil horizons. These horizons can be divided into three parts: organic layer, mineral layer and bedrock layer. Look at the picture below. The bottom layer is the bedrock layer, which is also called the R layer. Soil is formed by the weathering of rocks that form this layer. Above the bedrock layer are the C (substratum), B (subsoil), A (surface) and O (organic) layers respectively.

Organic layer: This is the topmost layer in which O and A are included. The O layer contains humus, which is the decomposed remains of plants and animals. Below this is the A layer, which is the mineral layer. The A layer is influenced by the O layer, which is why it is also rich in organic material. The thickness of the organic layer varies greatly. It is thickest in the lower areas of river valleys. Agricultural activities take place in the organic layer, which is the layer where all other forms of vegetation grow. This is why the organic layer is very important. But it is also the layer that is most affected by erosion. It is also affected by the pesticides used in agriculture and other wastes that settle in it.
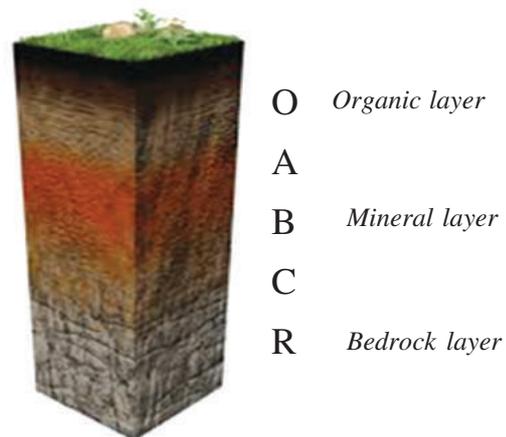
Figure 2.1: Soil horizons

Mineral layer: This middle layer consists of the B layer. It contains very little organic matter. The particles in this layer are also much larger than the soil particles in the organic layer. The roots of only those plants reach this layer that go deep. For example, the roots of a tomato plant remain in the organic layer, but those of a mango tree reach the mineral layer.

Bedrock layer: This is the lowest layer and includes the C and R layers. R is the lowest layer consisting of unweathered rock, which break up to form the C layer that consists of broken rocks.

Soil distribution in India

Six types of soil are commonly found in India. The main soil type is the alluvial soil that spreads across the river plains. This soil is very fertile and most suitable for agriculture.

Most of Chhattisgarh's land area is covered by red and yellow soil. Red soil is formed by the weathering of ancient metamorphic rocks in the Deccan Plateau. It gets its red colour from its high iron oxide content. The yellow colour comes from the hydration of soil chemicals.

Black soil is found in India's western states. This soil is suitable for cultivating cotton, wheat etc. Black soil is made of very fine particles that have a very high moisture retention capacity.

Laterite soil is found in the states where the monsoon rains are heavy. This soil develops in areas that experience high temperatures and high rainfall. The heavy rains leach (wash away) the fertile elements from the soil. The humus content of this soil is also low, which is why large quantities of fertilizers are needed to grow crops.

Other soils include the dry or desert soil found in the Thar Desert and the forest soil of the Himalayan ranges.
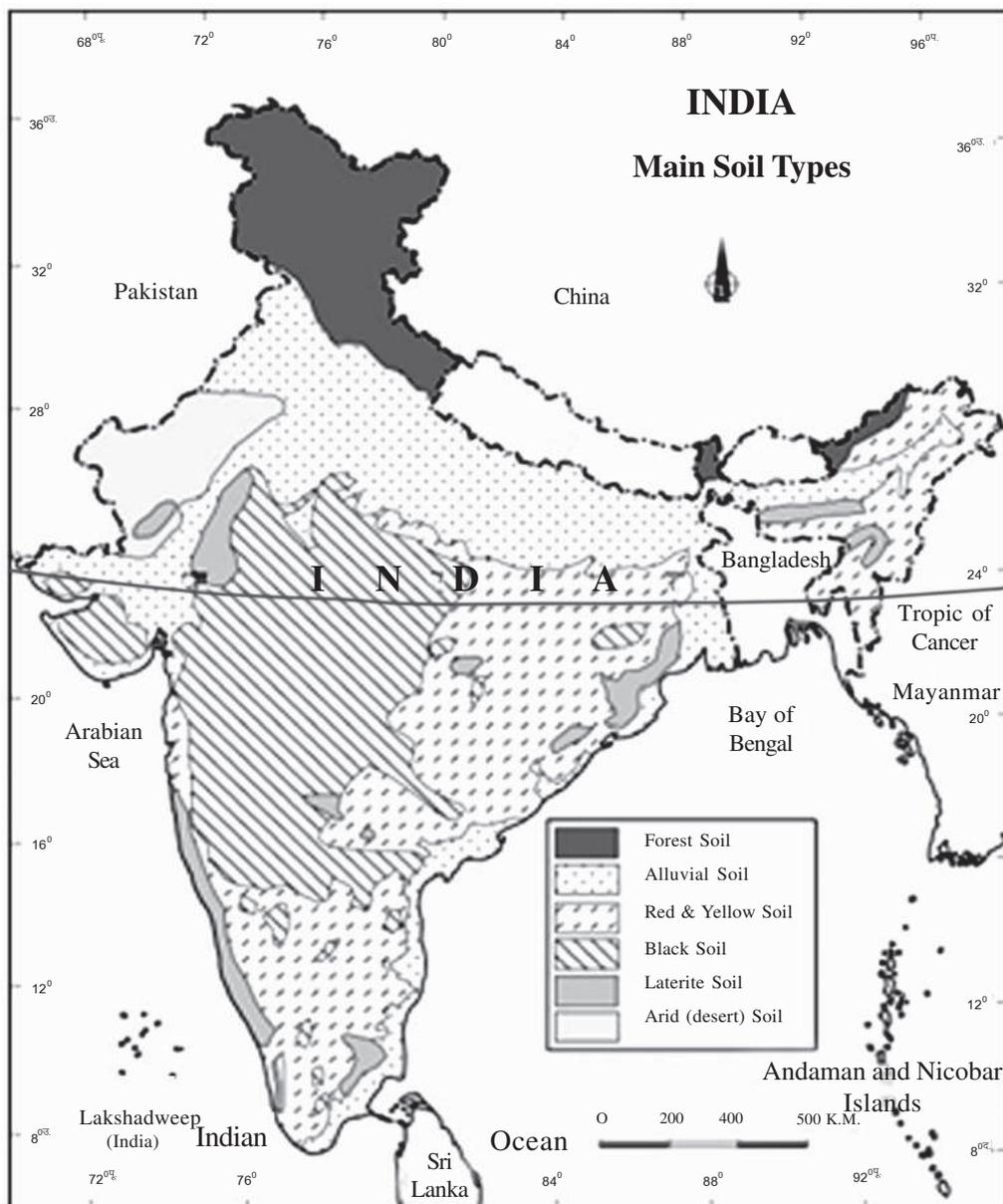
Map 2.1: Distribution of soil types in India.

Study the map and answer the following questions:

1. What are the main soil types found in India?

2. In which states of India do we find forest soil? What are the main geographical features of the states with forest soil?

3. Where in India do we find desert soil? What is the other name for desert soil?

4. Which type of soil covers most parts of Chhattisgarh?

5. Which type of soil covers the least area in India?

6. Read the chapter on human resources and find out the soil types of the state with the highest population density.

2.4 Land degradation and conservation

We have inherited our land from our ancestors. We need to hand over this land to the next generation in good condition. Humans can improve or degrade land through their activities. How do we assess the quality of land? One measure could be how much vegetation or animals the land can support sustainably. This capacity will vary from place to place. It cannot be same for a desert and an evergreen forest. When this capacity of the land to support life decreases, we say the land is degraded. For example, if the land is covered by sand after a flood, no vegetation grows. This land is degraded because plants and animals cannot get their nutrition from it like they got earlier before the flood.

Human activities can lead to land degradation in many ways. When we plough dry land or land with a high gradient (steep slope), the wind, and water erodes the loosened soil, leaving behind only large-sized particles and pebbles. The land then becomes unfit for pasture or agriculture.

You read the example of the Rajasthan canal in the previous lesson. Desert sub-soil has a high salt content. Canal irrigation in a desert area causes the salts to dissolve in the water and rise to the top to form a hard crust over the soil. Plants cannot grow on this crust. This is also an example of land degradation. In Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh large tracts of agriculture land are irrigated. Flood irrigation causes water-logging, which leads to salinization of the soil.

In the dry areas of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, excessive grazing is the main cause of land degradation. Grazing more livestock than the land can support destroys not just the grass and other vegetation, but also exposes the soil, which gets degraded because of wind erosion.

In open-cast mining, the top soil is removed and a large pit is dug to extract minerals. After the mining operations end, the land has large pits with debris strewn all over. It is unfit for agriculture or any other use. This is another example of land degradation. Mining is one of the main causes of degradation of forest land in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha.

Another way in which land is degraded is by grinding limestone for the cement industry and talc for the clay pottery industry. Huge amounts of fine dust particles are carried by the winds and settle on nearby land. This particle layer prevents the soil from absorbing water.

In the last few years, the discharge of contaminated water by industries has also caused water and land pollution in various parts of India.

It is estimated that about 13-19 crore hectares of land in India are currently degraded. Of this, around 28 percent is degraded forests, 56 percent is water eroded, and the rest is wind eroded or saline. About 4.8 lakh hectares of land is degraded in Chhattisgarh. This is 35 percent of the state's total land area. The cause of degradation is mostly water erosion and acidification of soil, which affects crops. Acidification can be controlled by adding lime to the soil. In Durg, Janjgir, Korba and Raipur districts, mining has caused land degradation.

There are many ways of tackling land degradation. Afforestation and pastures can address the problem to some extent, especially on land that is no longer suitable for agriculture. Similarly, ensuring proper irrigation according to the water-holding capacity of the land can help prevent waterlogging and salinization.

2.4.1 Land degradation and poverty

The poorest people in the country depend on degraded land. They either rear livestock on the land or are marginal farmers and tribes who practice subsistence agriculture. They have no other livelihood options, so they continue to farm poor quality, infertile land. This causes the land to degrade even further. But because of their poverty, these farmers cannot take up measures to improve their land. They find themselves trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and land degradation. That is why it is important for the government to take up the responsibility to improve and conserve degraded land.

Are the poor responsible for land degradation or are they the victims of degradation?

What role can land conservation play in poverty reduction?

2.4.2 Land management

Land is a fixed resource while population keeps growing. Our needs also keep increasing as our lifestyle evolves. More and more people from the villages are migrating to urban areas. This affects our land resources. Migration leads to the rapid expansion of urban areas. Colonies and factories are built on fertile, cultivable land while forests are cleared for agriculture and mining. All these lead to stress on our land use. It is important that land is properly managed and put to proper use. The following methods can be adopted to ensure good land management:

1. Planned development of towns and villages: Our villages and towns are growing and encroaching upon agricultural land. Unused land is also available within urban areas so if there is proper planning to develop towns and villages, this problem can be handled better.

Figure 2.2: Soil erosion

2. Use of barren land: Barren land can be used in two ways. First it can be used for non-agricultural activities. The second option is to improve the land for agriculture or pasture development. This will help to expand the acreage under agriculture while reducing the extent of wastelands.

3. Use of fallow land: Fallow land, especially old fallow, can be used for agriculture or horticulture. This will help improve productivity.

4. Forest conservation and afforestation: Forests are a resource that take many years to regenerate. So forests should be used in a planned and systematic manner. Fully grown trees should be harvested only to the extent that they can be replaced. 23 percent of India's land is forested. The area under forests needs to be expanded to maintain the environmental balance.

5. Controlling soil erosion: Erosion, waste deposition and the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides are leading to soil depletion. This reduces the fertility of the soil and decreases the productivity of agricultural land. Hence, controlling soil erosion, etc. will help increase in productivity.

6. Using land around our homes: Quite a lot of land lies unused outside homes in villages and urban neighbourhoods. This land can be put to productive use. For example, it can be used for cultivation of seasonal plants and vegetables.

EXERCISES

Choose the correct alternative in the following:

1. We eat food daily. On what kind of land is most of this food grown?

    (a) Agricultural land   (b) Forest land

    (c) Barren land   (d) Fallow land

2. Which layer of soil is most important for agriculture?

    (a) C and R   (b) C and B

    (c) O and A   (d) A and B

3. Which layer of soil is the first to be damaged by erosion and pesticide use?

    (a) Organic layer   (b) Mineral layer

    (c) Bedrock layer   (d) All the above layers

4. Which type of land is most suitable for industries?

    (a) Forest land   (b) Agricultural land

    (c) Orchards   (d) Barren land

5. Is land management:

    (a) essential   (b) not essential

    (c) sometimes essential

Answer the following questions:

6. How will the absence of soil impact our lives?

7. What will happen if agricultural land decreases?

8. What is the difference between current fallow and old fallow?

9. What are the human factors in land degradation?

10. The table below lists the names of some professions. How is soil used by these professions Fill the details in the table.

S.No.	Trade	How they use soil
1	Potter	
2	Farmer	
3	Idol maker	
4	Industrialist	
5	Rural houses	

11. Study the data in the table and answer the following questions:

Land use	1950-51		1970-71		1990-91		2010-11	
	In lakh hectares	%	In lakh hectares	%	In lakh hectares	%	In lakh hectares	%
Forest land	405	14	639	22	678	22	700	23
Orchards	199	7	43	1	38	1	33	1
Agricultural land	1,187	42	1,403	48	1,430	42	1,416	46
Non-agri. land	112	4	165	6	211	7	265	9
Fallow land	281	10	199	7	234	8	246	8
Barren land	592	21	357	12	344	11	297	10
Pasture land	67	2	133	5	114	4	103	3
Total land use	2,843	100	2,938	100	3,049	100	3,060	100
Data not available	444		349		238		227	
Total area	**3,287**		**3,287**		**3,287**		**3,287**	

a) Which type of land area has been steadily decreasing over the years?

b) Which type of land area has been steadily increasing over the years?

c) Why is the acreage of non-agricultural land increasing?

d) Is data available for all the land in India? What have been the significant changes in land use between 1950-51 and 2010-11?

12. The pie-chart below depicts land use in India and Chhattisgarh. Study the chart and answer the following questions:
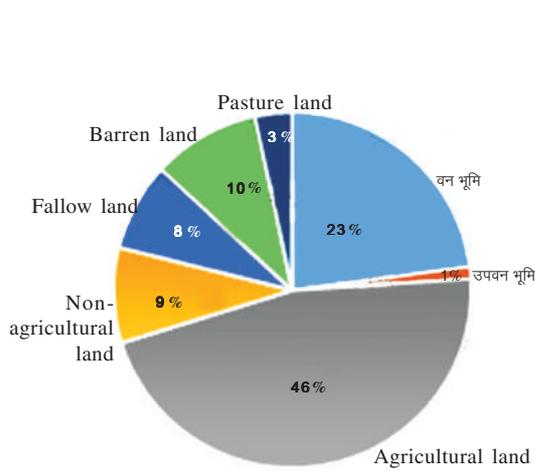
Land use in India (2010–11)
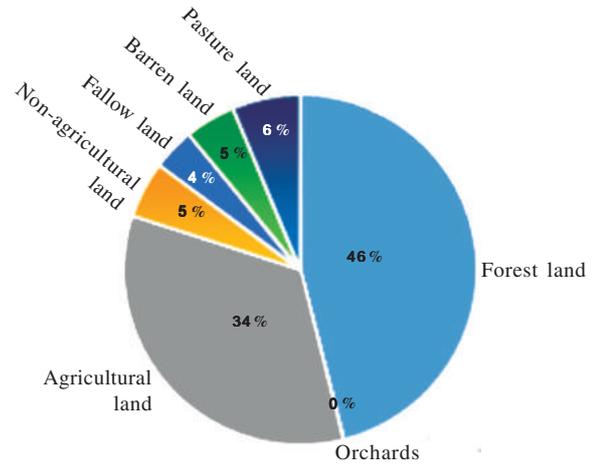
Land use in Chhattisgarh (2010–11)

a) Which soil type has the maximum share in Chhattisgarh's total land acreage and which type has the least share?

b) Which soil type accounts for almost half of Chhattisgarh's total land acreage?

c) Which soil type has the maximum share of Chhattisgarh's total land acreage?

3

Agriculture

We still grow crops that our ancestors selected thousands of years back. In the beginning, humans mostly grew food crops. Over time, they began cultivating cotton, jute etc. Today, agriculture is no longer a subsistence activity but a commercial activity. Farmers give priority to crops that bring them more money income. The commercial approach and growing human needs have changed the nature of agriculture. This change can be seen over both time and space.

Figure 3.1 Modern farming

Agricultural seasons in India

In India, farming is done throughout the year in some places while it is limited to the monsoon season in other places. The climate varies across the country during the year. Different crops are grown in different seasons. For example, in the irrigated areas of Chhattisgarh, paddy is cultivated during the monsoon season, while wheat and vegetables are grown in winter and vegetables are grown in summer. In India, we have three main agriculture seasons.

1. Kharif: This season starts with the onset of the monsoon. During the monsoon, it rains across almost the whole of India so there is enough water for farming. That is why almost all the agriculture land in the country is cultivated during the kharif season. Kharif crops require high humidity and high temperature so the main crops are paddy, maize, *jowar*, *bajra*, *mandua*, *tuar*, *moong*, *urad*, *til*, groundnut, soybean etc.

2. Rabi: The rabi season starts immediately after kharif and continues through the winter. There is limited rain during this season, so farming is done only on irrigated land or land that has a high moisture content. Hence, the area sown in rabi is much lower compared to kharif. The crops grown in this season are frost resistant. They include wheat, barley, rapeseed (*toria*), mustard, flaxseed (*alsi*), *masoor*, *chana*, etc. In places where irrigation is available or where there is some rain during rabi, paddy is also cultivated. One example is rabi paddy in West Bengal.

3. Zaid: This agricultural season begins when winter ends. It is the season of summer crops when there is no rainfall, so most of the land is left uncultivated. Hence, irrigation is needed to grow zaid crops, which are known by different names like *garma*, *dalwa* and *boro* in different parts of India. The area sown in zaid is much lower than in rabi. Usually, zaid farming is done on river beds, land around lakes and the lower plains where irrigation is available. The crops must be able to tolerate the severe summer heat. Cucumber, watermelon, vegetables, etc are the main crops. In some places, such as parts of the Chhattisgarh plains, irrigated paddy is also cultivated during this season.

> **Make a table of the crops grown in different seasons in your area.**
>
> **Which crops are grown in more than one season in your area?**
>
> **What are the sources of irrigation in your area? Write a report.**

Agricultural production in India

Agricultural production is the total volume or quantity of the harvested crops. In India, agricultural production has increased almost five-fold over the last 60 years. In 1950-51, our total food-grain production was 51 million tonnes. It increased to 244 million tonnes in 2010-11. During this period, India's population increased three-fold – from 36 crores in 1951 to 121 crores in 2011. Hence, food grain production increased more rapidly than the increase in population. Oilseeds production rose six-fold from 5 million tonnes in 1950-51 to 32 million tonnes in 2010-11. But pulse production only doubled from 8 million tonnes 1950-51 to 18 million tonnes in 2010-11. So the growth in pulse production has been much lower than that of some other crops.

The growth in production has varied from crop to crop. We can understand the trend by filling in the blanks in the following paragraph:

Graph 3.1: Crop production in India (in million tonnes)
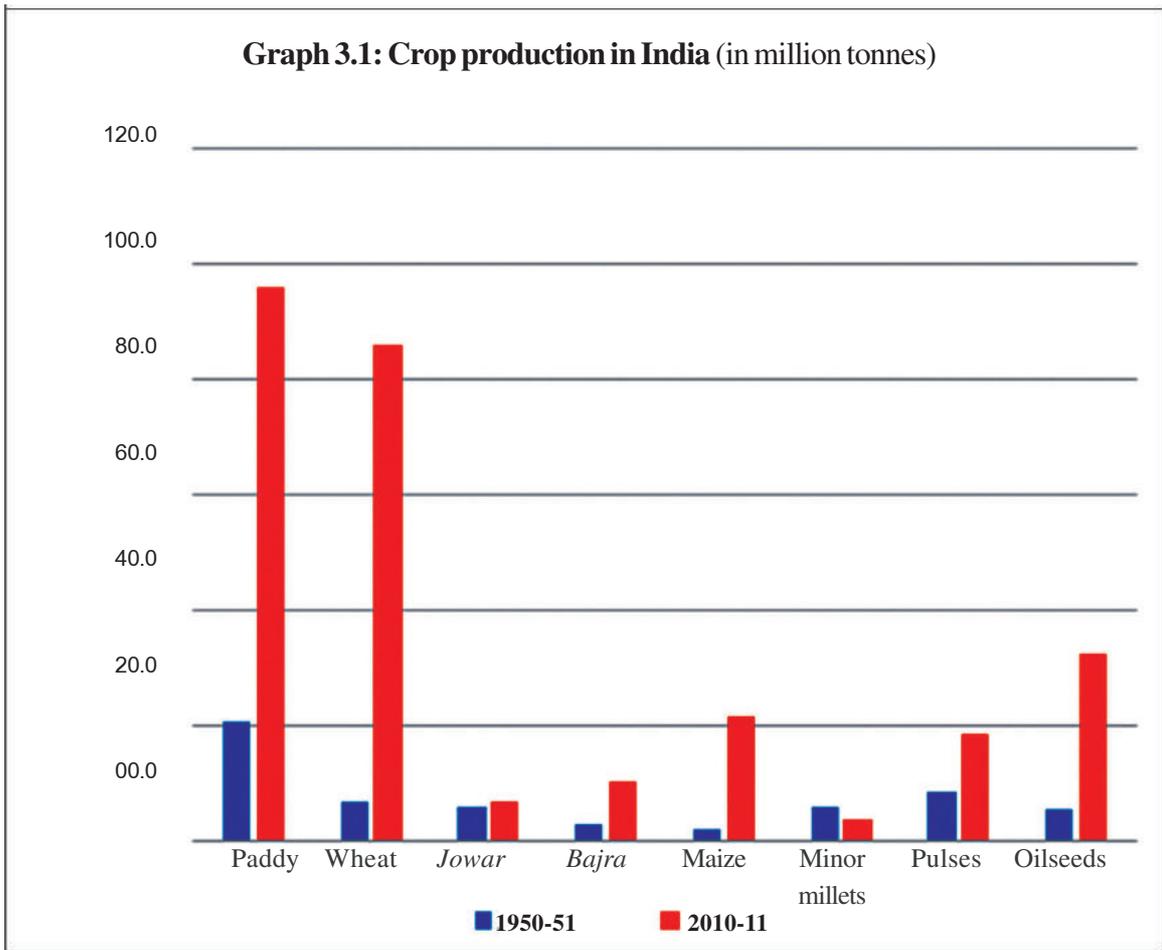
Source: Agricultural Statistics at a glance, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

The maximum increase in food-grain production in the country has been in wheat. In 1950-51, wheat production was …………................… million tonnes, which increased to …………… million tonnes in 2010-11. In the last 60 years, wheat production has increased ….......………. times. Similarly, maize production increased ………….. times from …………… million tonnes to ………….. million tonnes. In contrast, the production of minor millets has …………………... from …………….. million tonnes in 1950-51, the production came down to ……………… million tonnes in 2010-11. Thus, while there have been

Table 3.1: Crop production in India
(million tonnes)

Crop	1950-51 Production million tonnes	2010-11 Production million tonnes
Paddy	21	96
Wheat	6	86
Jowar	6	7
Bajra	3	10
Maize	2	21
Minor millets	6	3
Pulses	8	18
Oilseeds	5	32

substantial increases in the production of paddy, wheat and maize, the increase in …………………………. and …………………………... has been much lower.

List the crops whose production has increased more than three-fold and those whose production has increased less than three times.

Why is it important to compare the increase in agricultural production with population growth?

What could be the reasons for the decline in production of minor millets? Discuss in class.

The main reasons for the increase in agricultural production in India over the last 60 years are the following:

1. Increase in net sown area.

2. Increase in area under irrigation.

3. Increase in productivity.

Increase in net sown area: Sown area refers to the total land on which crops are sown. If this area increases, then production increases. India has a fixed land mass. This fixed area has different features and uses – forest, desert, agricultural land etc. If we want to increase the area under agriculture, we will have to clear forests or irrigate the desert. In the last 60 years, the area under agriculture has expanded, with the major expansion taking place in the 1950s. The area has remained more or less the same since then. Small changes in area can be accounted for by more land left fallow during an agricultural season or agricultural land put to other uses.

Table 3.2: Net sown area in India

Year	Net sown area (In million hectares)
1950-51	119
1990-91	143
2000-01	141
2010-11	142

(Net sown area = Area under all crops sown during the year. Some areas have more than one crop in the year)

What is net sown area? Explain with an example.

Is it possible to increase the area under cultivation in India?

Should forests be cleared to expand agriculture?

Increase in area under irrigation: As we have seen earlier, it is not always feasible to bring more land under cultivation. But production can be increased to some extent by growing multiple crops in a

year on the available land. Irrigation helps us to grow multiple crops on the same land. Irrigation facilities have been expanded to boost agricultural production by making it possible to cultivate the land after the monsoon. In 1950-51, 16 percent of India's agriculture land was irrigated. By 2010-11, the irrigated area doubled to 32 percent of the available land.

Graph 3.2: Irrigation in India by different methods
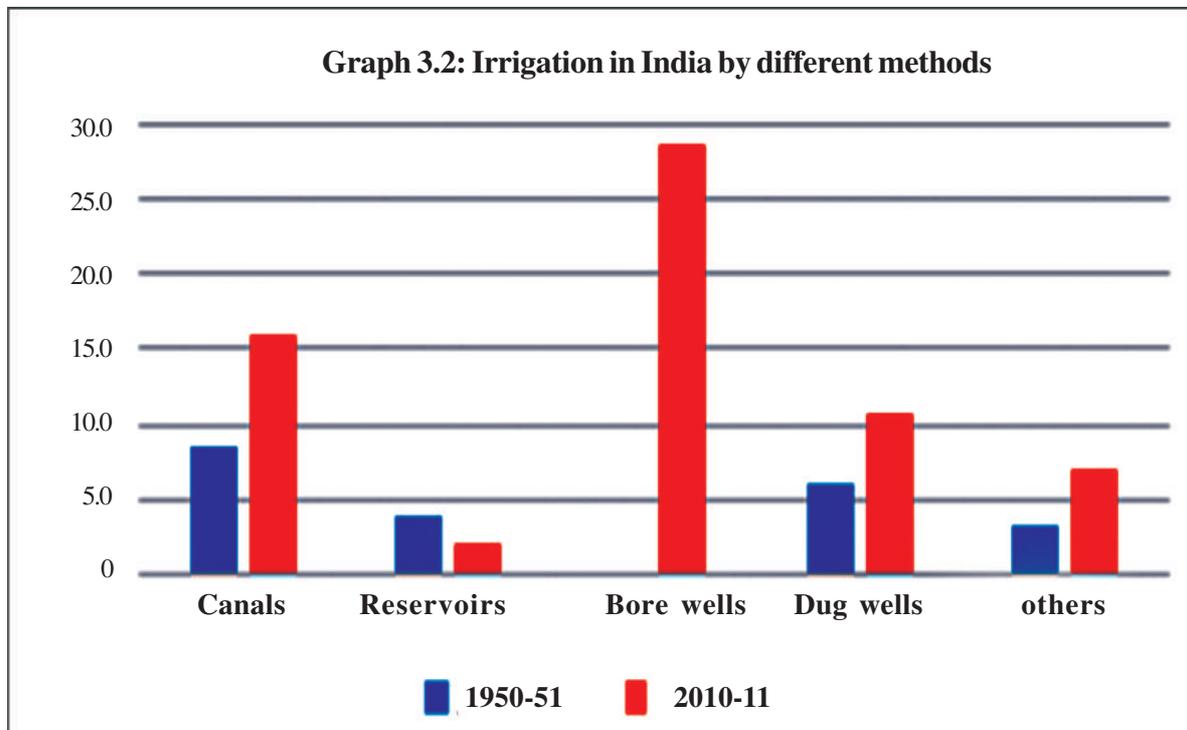
Source: Pocket Book on Agricultural Statistics, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

Irrigation made it possible to sow improved varieties of seeds that give higher yields. It also made it possible grow crops on the same land during the rabi and zaid seasons.

Answer the following based on Graph 3.1:

What was the main source of irrigation in 1950-51?

What was the main source of irrigation in 2000-1?

Find out from your village *patwari* how much agricultural land in your village is irrigated?

Our irrigation needs are largely being met by dams and sub-surface water. But over exploitation of groundwater has led to rapid depletion in the water table. In Punjab and Haryana, the water table has fallen by 4 to 6 metres. This has led to bore wells drying up. If groundwater continues to be exploited at this rate, it is possible that all the bore wells will dry up in the near future. That is why it is important to use only as much groundwater as can be recharged.

Increase in productivity: Productivity means increasing agricultural production from the same plot of land. As we saw earlier, the available land is more or less fixed. Expanding irrigation is also possible only up to a limit. That's why humans have always tried to increase productivity per unit of land and

have succeeded to some extent. Productivity increased the most in the case of wheat and maize. In 1950-51, the average yield per hectare for wheat was 663 kg. This increased to 2,938 kg per hectare in 2010-2011. The increase in maize was from 547 kg per hectare to 2,540 kg per hectare for the same period. But the increase in yield was much lower for pulses, rising from 663 kg per hectare in 1950-51 to just 689 kg per hectare in 2010-2011.

Many factors were responsible for increasing productivity, including experimenting with high yielding seeds, using chemical fertilizers and pesticides etc. Earlier, traditional seeds were sown. Research with these seeds helped to develop higher yielding varieties. The new seeds yielded more per unit of land compared to traditional seeds, leading to higher agricultural production. Improved seeds and chemical fertilizers were the base of the green revolution, with fertilizers giving immediate increases in production. In 1950-51, the consumption of chemical fertilizers was 7.6 lakh tonnes. It rose to 174 lakh tonnes in 2010-2011.

Graph 3.3: Crop yield in India (kg/hectare)
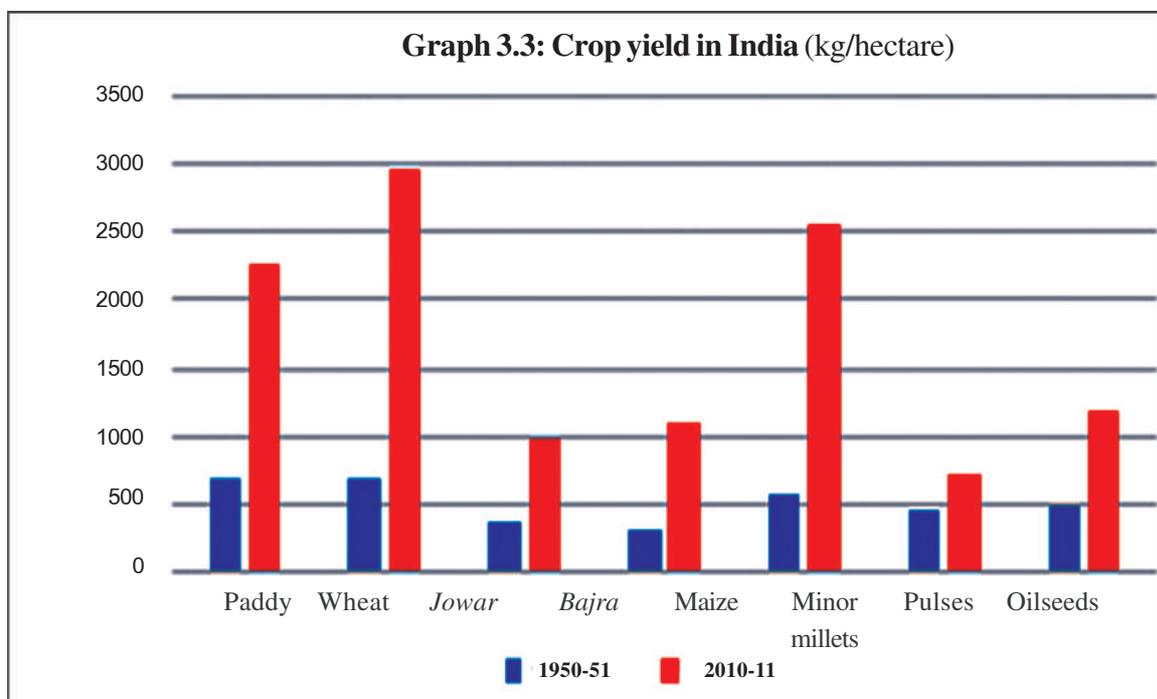
Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics

But the quest for higher yields led to the rampant use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Today, we are seeing the negative impact of such excessive use. These chemicals have severely compromised soil fertility in the long term, with agricultural fields turning barren. Punjab saw the maximum use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides so it suffered the most. Our food today contains high levels of toxic substances, adversely affecting our health. We need to find alternative ways to increase yields and raise productivity to overcome these problems.

Improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides are expensive. So they raise the cost of cultivation. Most farmers in India are marginal farmers. They find it difficult to afford these inputs. If a farmer uses these expensive inputs and her crop fails due to natural calamities or pest attacks, she incurs huge

losses. Even if he gets a good crop, he often does not get a good price in the market, which again leads to losses. In such a situation, she/he is forced to take a loan to sow a crop in the next season. If he faces losses again, he has no money left to repay his debt. Indebtedness has led to many farmers committing suicides in our country.

What impact does an increase in productivity have on agricultural production?

Which crop has seen the maximum increase in yield and which has seen the lowest increase in yield?

What are the negative impacts of modern agriculture?

Can organic farming be an alternative to modern agriculture? Discuss?

Change in Cropping Pattern: the story of Sankara village

There are many reasons why cropping patterns change in a region. Let us look at the case of Sankara village to understand how and why this change occurs. There are many villages named Sankara in Chhattisgarh. The Sankara of our story is a village in Nagri tehsil of Dhamtari district. It is the largest village in the district. Its inhabitants are engaged in many different occupations but the majority are farmers. The chief crop is paddy. In the past, people cultivated paddy during the kharif season and grew Bengal gram, *khesari*, wheat, linseed, etc during the rabi season.

A little over 25 years ago, a dam was constructed across the Sondur River in the district. Canals from the Sondur dam brought water to the village. Farmers now didn't have to wait for the monsoon to irrigate their kharif paddy crop. With irrigation, they also began cultivating paddy in rabi as well. The flood irrigation from the canals suited paddy cultivation but did not suit crops such as gram, *khesari* and linseed that require very little water and cannot grow in water-logged fields. So the farmers gradually stopped growing these crops. The government also launched a paddy procurement scheme to encourage more and more farmers to grow paddy during the rabi season.

We can, thus, see how a development project such as the Sondur dam changed the cropping pattern in Sankara village by providing irrigation to farmers. It led to paddy cultivation throughout the year and a steep decline in the cultivation of traditional rabi crops such as gram, *kesari*, wheat and linseed.

Figure 3.2: Bengal gram *growing in a field*

Maps 3.1 and 3.2 show the rice and wheat production areas in India. Answer the following questions on the basis of these maps:

   1.   **Which Indian states mostly grow rice?**

   2.   **Which Indian states mostly grow wheat?**
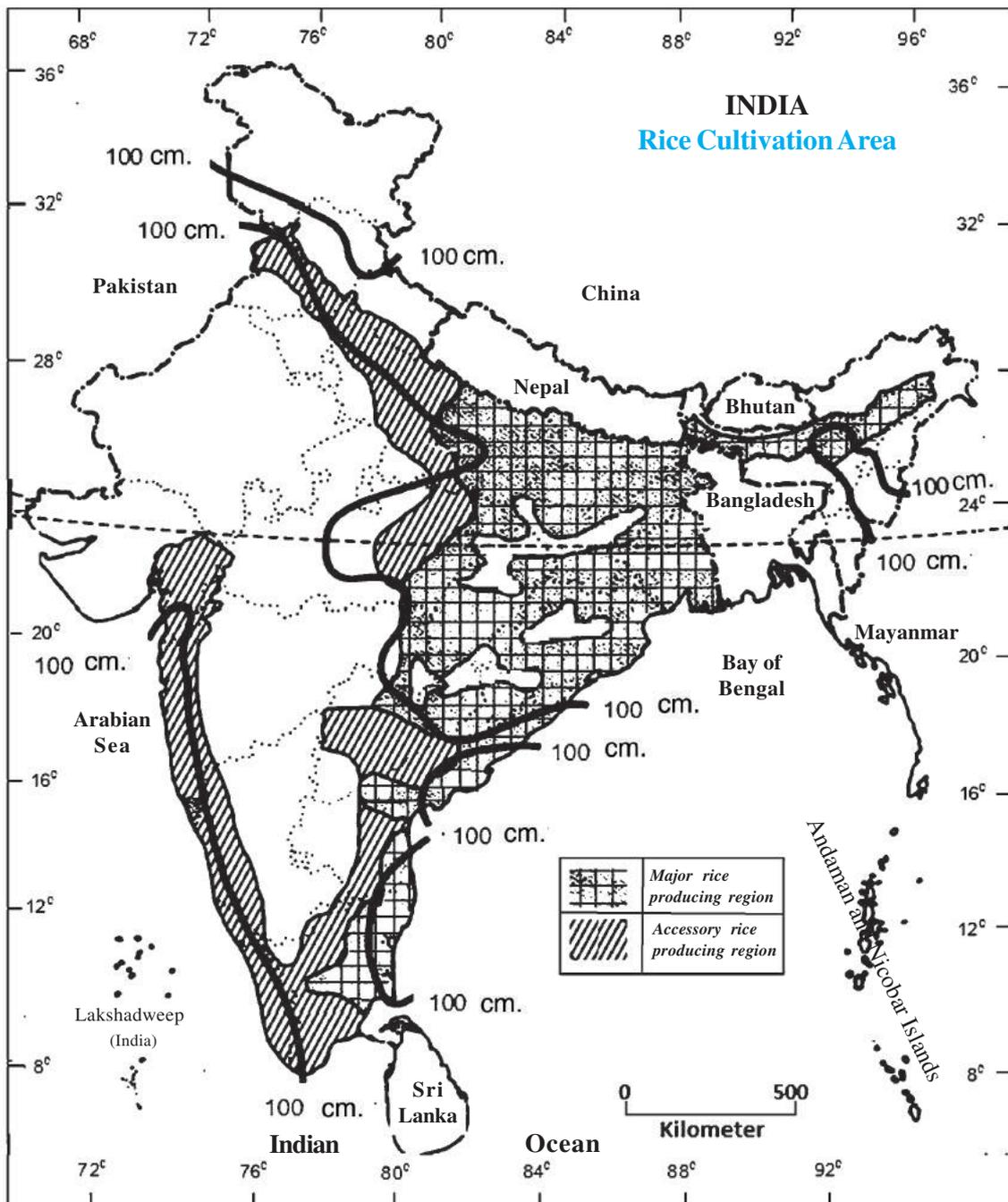
Map 3.1: Area under rice cultivation in India

3. **Why is rice not cultivated in Rajasthan and why is wheat not cultivated in Tamil Nadu? Discuss with your teacher.**

4. **Can you identify any differences in the rice and wheat growing states? Discuss with your teacher to understand the reasons for these differences.**
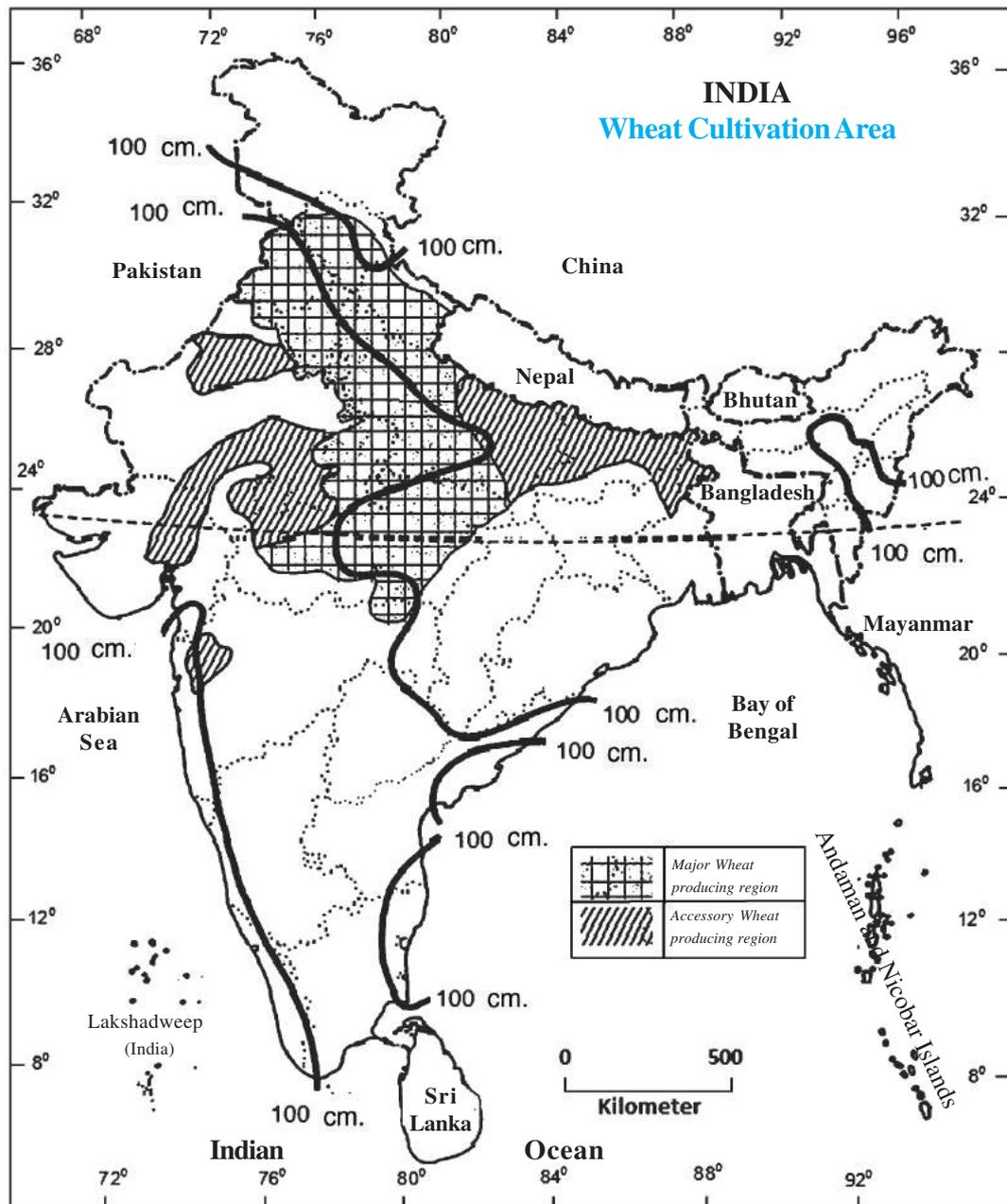
Map 3.2: Area under wheat cultivation in India

The change in cropping pattern has given rise to several new problems in the lives of the villagers. We saw how irrigation led to a sharp decline in the cultivation of traditional rabi crops. The farmers say they cannot grow these crops now even if they want to. So they grow only one crop throughout the

Figure 3.3: Paddy (rice) cultivation

year. This mono-cropping has depleted soil fertility because there is no crop rotation with pulse crops that fix nitrogen in the soil. The earthworm population in the soil has also declined.

In addition, the paddy fields no longer teem with fish that the villagers used to catch, dry and store to supplement their diet. They say the chemical fertilisers and pesticides do not allow fish to survive. Another change is in the use of farmyard manure. In the past, farmers applied organic manure in their fields, which, they claim, used to lower the incidence of pest attacks.

Finally, the modern farming practices that they have adopted have made them more dependent on traders. They now have to buy improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc from the market. Previously, they used to store and produce whatever they needed – traditional seeds, organic produce – for farming at the household level.

> **Make a list of the crops that used to be grown in your area 15-20 years back but are no longer cultivated. Also, find out the reasons why they are no longer cultivated.**
>
> **Why are gram, *khesari*, linseed, etc. no longer grown by the farmers of Sankara?**
>
> **How has the change in the cropping pattern impacted the inhabitants of Sankara? Keep in mind, their income, health and employment as well as soil fertility while explaining the impact.**

Globalisation and Indian agriculture

Globalisation is the process in which a country's economy is integrated into the world economy. The main objective of globalization is to reduce trade barriers so that goods can move freely from one country to another. Today, agriculture has become a commercial enterprise. The developed countries have taken a number of steps to strengthen their food security and control the trade in agricultural commodities. We will now discuss how this is being done.

The developed countries heavily subsidise agriculture operations for their farmers. For example, the USA subsidises paddy and wheat cultivation by 47 percent, the EU by 48 percent and 32 percent respectively, and Japan by 89 percent and 99 percent respectively. These subsidies lower the cost of production for farmers in these countries or even completely cover them. Lower production costs allow them to export their produce at a lower cost. They are thus able to generate demand for their agricultural commodities in the international markets.

The developing countries are not in a position to subsidise their agriculture. Far from giving subsidies the government in India by various means taxes paddy by 1.17 percent and wheat by 3.83 percent. This makes our produce expensive. That is why the agricultural produce of developing countries cannot compete in the international markets. Despite the protests of the developing countries the developed countries continue to subsidise their agriculture. Now under globalisation policies developing countries like India have to allow agricultural produce of developed countries to be sold in their markets. This will have the effect of reducing the price of agricultural products when the costs of inputs are rising and make farming uneconomical.

We are now seeing unprecedented increases in agricultural productivity through biotechnological research and development. **Biotechnology helps to** change the **genetic** make-up of living organisms by introducing special characteristics or properties in their genome. Agricultural production is seeing undreamt of increases with new strains of food-grain and vegetable crops as well as new kinds of fertilisers, pesticides and plant nutrients. Technology is no longer limited to the laboratory. It is now a huge commercial enterprise. Over five billion dollars have been invested in the industry. Companies producing genetically modified seeds and other agricultural inputs spend four to five crore rupees every year on research and development alone. In the western world, there are over 300 scientific enterprises involved in such research. Many of them have been acquired by multinationals corporations such as Allied, Cyanamid, Chevron, DuPont, Ciba-Geigy etc., and have now established their monopoly in the industry. The situation today is that the firm that sells genetically modified seeds also sells the new fertilizers and pesticides that ensure their high yields. Farmers have no option but to buy all their inputs from the same company, making them totally dependent on the foreign multinational. This dependence increases the cost of production of agriculture commodities in developing nations.

EXERCISES

Choose the correct alternative:

1. In India, in which agricultural season is most of the land farmed?

    (a) Kharif   (b) Rabi

    (c) Zaid   (d) All seasons

2. The kharif season begins:

   (a) When the monsoon retreats   (2) With the onset of the monsoon

   (c) After Makar Sankranti   (4) None of the above

3. What effect does prolonged use of chemical fertilizers have on soil fertility?

   (a) Increases   (b) Remains constant

   (c) Decreases   (d) Increases at times and remains constant at times

4. The production of which crop has increased the most over the last 60 years?

   (a) Paddy   (b) Jowar

   (c) Pulses   (d) Wheat

5. In India, paddy can be cultivated:

   (a) Only on kharif   (b) Only in rabi

   (c) Only in zaid   (d) In all seasons

Answer the following questions:

1. What can be done to increase agricultural production?

2. Is the farmer becoming more dependent on the industrial sector?

3. What impact does the subsidies given by developed countries to their farmers have on Indian agriculture?

4. What negative impact does the large-scale use of bore wells have on agriculture?

5. What is globalization?

6. How will your life be impacted if there is no agriculture? Discuss in class.

Project work

1. Tour the agricultural fields in the area where you live and fill in the following table

Season	Crops sown	Area sown
Kharif		
Rabi		
Zaid		

2. Meet farmers in your area and discuss the following points with them about traditional seeds and improved seeds:

   Procurement of seeds   Price of seeds

   Needs for fertilisers   Needs for pesticides

   Irrigation needs   Cost of cultivation

   Total output   total earning after expenses

4

Mineral Resources and Industrialisation

What are minerals?

There are many definitions of minerals. In science, minerals are solid, naturally occurring, crystalline, inorganic elements or compounds. You might have learned this definition in your science class. But minerals have a much wider definition in geography and Indian law. All natural substances that can be obtained by mining, digging, drilling, dredging, quarrying, or by any other operation are called minerals. They include stones, special types of soil, sand, coal, metal ores, other ores, precious stones such as diamonds, and mineral oils, which include natural gas and petroleum. (Reference: The Mines Act, 1952)

If we look around us we notice that most things we use in our daily life are made from minerals. Our houses are made of mud, lime, cement, steel etc - which are made from minerals. Most metals are made from metal ores. Jewellery made from gold, silver, precious stones etc are also made from minerals. The fuel we use - petrol, diesel, kerosene - are made by processing petroleum, which is made from mineral oil. Other fuels such as coal and gas are also minerals. So, from the perspective of geography, we can define minerals as substances that are naturally found under the earth's surface and can be extracted by mining.

Mineral wealth is formed by geological processes. It is present in limited quantities on earth and cannot be renewed. Hence, all minerals will be exhausted one day. That's why they should be used in a sustainable manner so that they are available to future generations in adequate quantities.

Give it a thought:

Is groundwater a mineral?

Is the sand on the banks of a river a mineral?

Are buried ornaments that are unearthed minerals?

If all the copper on earth is mined, what effect will it have? What can we do to prevent this situation?

If all the coal mines on earth are exhausted, what effect will it have? What can we do to prevent this situation?

Who do minerals belong to?

Suppose a limestone deposit is discovered under the land in a village. Who owns the mineral - the landowners, the village, the state or the country? Different countries have different laws about ownership of minerals. For example, in Britain and the United States of America, the limestone belongs to the landowner. But in countries such as Germany, it belongs to the government. In India, minerals found under the surface of the earth belong to the country and the central government makes laws for their extraction and use. But there are some minor minerals for which the respective state governments make the laws. A person can mine a mineral only after getting permission from the government and paying a royalty. The person also has to pay rent for the land.

So all minerals are public property. That means they belong to all Indians and must benefit all Indians. The central and state governments regulate the utilization of minerals on behalf of all the citizens and use the income from these activities in the public interest.

> **Sukhwinder cultivates paddy on his land and earns a living by selling the harvest. A coal deposit was discovered under his land. Sukhwinder thought he would mine the coal, sell it in the market and earn a lot of money. Can he do this? Explain with reasons.**

Mineral Policies

India's development and industrial policies determine the policies regarding the use of the country's mineral wealth. The government keeps several factors in mind when formulating mineral policies. The first is the role of minerals in India's development and industrialization. So the industrial policy of the time influences the mineral policy.

Prior to 1990 most countries in the world wanted their own companies to mine minerals for the use of their own citizens. They didn't want foreign companies to mine their minerals. But all this started to change in the 1990s, which, if you remember, was the time the new phase of globalization began. Mineral rich countries like Australia, Canada, South Africa, Indonesia and China began to change their policies. They opened up mining to private companies and multinational corporations, bringing in capital and new technology to exploit their mineral resources and speed up their industrial development. Intensive mining boosted the international market and trade in minerals. Industrialists could buy as much minerals as they needed in the international market, regardless of where they were located. Today, few governments explore or mine minerals. They have handed out these activities to private companies. They now limit themselves to three activities. First, they collect and share scientific information about the mineral wealth of their country. They make this information about the quantity and location of different minerals public so that mining companies can bid for the mining rights. Second, they regulate the mining industry in their country. It is the government's responsibility to ensure that mining is done in accordance with the country's laws and does not violate the environment or neglect the security of the mine workers. The government permits companies to explore and mine minerals and ensures that they operate within the specified conditions. Third, they collect fees and taxes. The government has to ensure that it receives an adequate share of the income from mining through the fees and taxes it levies, which it can then spend on development activities. In keeping with the global trends, India, too, made changes in its mining policy.

Economic liberalization began in 1991. The government announced a new mining policy in 1993 under which the mining of minerals reserved for the public sector enterprises was thrown open to the private sector. The government's stand was that it did not have adequate capital to invest in mining nor did it have the required technical expertise. As a result, the mining sector in the country was stagnant and couldn't take advantage of the growing demand for minerals in the international market. Hence, the government decided to open up the mining sector to private and foreign companies. The mining acts were amended in 1994, 1999 and 2008 to allow private and foreign companies to invest in mining in India.

However, concern about the impact of privatization of mining in the country has been growing over the past 20 years. First, the share of mining in India's GDP (gross domestic product) declined from 3% in 2000 to 2.3% in 2014. Employment and wages in mining have remained stagnant in these 14 years. On the other hand, production has increased. However, the government's income from mining has not increased proportionately. The main reason is the low royalty levied for the mining contracts.

The third impact is the destruction of the environment. Once a mine is exhausted, mining companies are supposed to carry out reclamation work, but they seldom do so. India has hundreds of abandoned mines that tell the story of the destruction of the environment. How can we conserve the environment while carrying out mining activities? How can private companies, which are driven by the profit motive and are not interested in protecting the environment, be made to invest in conservation? These are issues that are still being debated.

Mineral wealth in India is found in regions with good forest cover that are the source of rivers. They are also areas where our *adivasi* communities live. Mining destroys forest cover. It is estimated that 186,000 hectares of forest have been destroyed by mining operations since 1981. Washing of minerals also pollutes the local water sources. Such environmental degradation threatens the livelihood of the local people. The law stipulates that mining can be undertaken only after obtaining the consent of the communities living in the area. But these legal provisions are not properly implemented. As a result, the tribal communities are dispossessed and deprived. You read the example of the Niyamagiri tribals of Odisha in the political science chapters.

Mines should be exploited keeping in mind the post-closure objectives. These include restoring the land to its pre-mining condition or reclaiming it for some other productive activity like agriculture. The first step is to restore the top soil, which is essential for reforestation once the mines are abandoned. Afforestation should be taken up in small plots to maintain the biomass of the area and rehabilitate the ecosystem. Grass cover should also be provided to prevent soil erosion. Hence, policies to utilize mineral resources should ensure a balance between increasing production, protecting the environment and securing the needs of the local people.

> **Should private companies be allowed to mine? What are the advantages/disadvantages for society? Give your views.**
>
> **Should foreign companies be allowed to mine in our country and export the minerals? What are the advantages/disadvantages for society? Give your views.**
>
> **What steps should be taken to limit the environmental damage caused by open cast mining?**

Mining companies abandon their mines after making a profit. What long term impact does this have on the tribal population that has been living in the region for generations? How can this problem be resolved?

The Mining Process

The Geological Survey of India (GSI) and the mining department of country/ state collect information on which minerals are found in which place and also assess the size of the deposits. Based on these GSI surveys, the government auctions areas with mineral deposits. Many companies participate in the auction. The company that wins the lease gets the right to mine the mineral deposit on that land.

Some important minerals and their uses

The earth contains more than 3,000 minerals. All these minerals are important in our lives. In India, the Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act 1957 classifies minerals into four categories:

1. Atomic minerals: uranium, thorium

2. Mineral oil and natural gas

3. Major minerals: iron ore, coal, bauxite, chromite, manganese, copper, limestone, gold, silver, diamonds, etc

4. Minor minerals: minerals needed for constructing buildings such as granite, marble, sand, masonry stone

Minerals can be divided into two categories on the basis of their properties and structure - metallic minerals and non-metallic minerals. Metallic minerals can be sub-divided into two categories - those that contain iron ore, such as manganese, chromite, pyrite, tungsten, nickel and cobalt; and those that do not have iron ore such as gold, silver, copper, lead, bauxite, tin and magnesium. Non-metallic minerals do not have metals in them, such as limestone, mica, gypsum etc.

Distribution of minerals

India's main mineral resources are iron ore, coal, chromite, manganese, tungsten, bauxite, copper, lead, petroleum, uranium etc.

Iron ore

Iron ore is used to manufacture crude iron and several types of steel. It would not be an over statement to say that the iron is the basis of modern development. One just needs to look at the numerous uses of iron and steel in modern life, agriculture, industry, construction and transport. This is why iron is produced in much greater quantities than other metals. Iron's strength and hardness can be altered by mixing with other metals. Pure iron ore is never found in nature. In nature, iron ore is mixed with sulphur, phosphorous, aluminium, lime, magnesium, silica, titanium etc. Iron is separated from this mixed ore by chemical processes.

Based on the percentage of iron in the ore, iron ore can be divided into four types: haematite (contains 70% iron), magnetite (contains 70.4% iron), limonite (contains 59.63% iron) and siderite (contains

48.2% iron). The majority of deposits in India are haematite and magnetite. India has 1,788 crore tonnes of estimated iron ore reserves (as on April 1, 2010).

Hematite ore is chiefly found in the peninsular plateau. The major deposits of high quality haematite ore are in the Bailadila region of Chhattisgarh, Bellari-Hospet area in Karnataka and Singhbhum-Sundarban in Jharkhand-Odisha. Magnetite is found in Karnataka, Goa, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and Jharkhand. The decision to locate

Figure 4.3 : An open cast mine

steel plants in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha was influenced by the rich and economically valuable iron ore deposits in these states.

Chhattisgarh has 26,476 million tonnes of iron ore reserves, which is 18.67% of India's total reserves. The state is the country's third largest iron ore producer. The high quality iron ore of Bailadila is said to be the world's largest iron ore reserve. Other deposits are concentrated in Dantewada, Durg, Kanker and Rajnandgaon.

Manganese

Manganese is mixed with iron to produce steel. Hence its major use is in the iron-steel industry. Steel contains 12-14% manganese, so almost all the manganese that is mined is used to produce steel. Steel alloyed with manganese is stronger and harder. This steel is used to manufacture equipment such as crushers, which are used to break rocks into different sized gravel. Other important uses of manganese are to manufacture glass, clay utensils, plastics, floor tiles, glass, varnish and dry cell batteries.

Figure 4.2 : Manganese

India has 43 crore tonnes of estimated manganese reserves estimated (as on April 1, 2010). The maximum deposits are found in Odisha, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh.

In Chhattisgarh, Bilaspur district has 516.66 million tonnes of high quality manganese reserves. Other deposits in the state are located in Mulmula, Semra and Kolihatola.

Chromite ore

Chromite is the only ore of chromium. Like manganese, it is chiefly used as an alloy of iron in the iron-steel industry. Steel alloyed with chromium is more heat resistant. Small quantities (3%) of chromium also toughens steel and makes it suitable to manufacture files, axes and hammers. Alloying slightly higher quantities (12 to 15%) makes steel heat tolerant and friction and corrosion resistant. This steel is suitable for manufacturing kitchen utensils, cutlery, machine bearings etc. If nickel is alloyed along with chromium, the steel is more resistant to abrasion by steam, water, humidity and acids. Alloying tungsten, cobalt and molybdenum along with chromium produces stellite, which strengthens steel. **This alloy steel** is used to make components of high speed machines. Chromite is also used in high temperature furnaces and in the dyeing, leather and textile industries.

India has 20.3 crore tonnes of estimated chromium reserves (as on April 1, 2010). The biggest deposits are found in the Sukinda valley, Cuttack and Jhanjpur districts of Odisha.

Problems in Mining

1. Mine workers are exposed to large dust clouds raised by mining operations, which makes them susceptible to lung disease

2. The land in the mining area is left degraded when the lease-holder abandons the mine after the mineral deposit is exhausted, endangering human and animal life. Children, adults and animals suffer injuries – and even die – after falling into the mine shafts that could be several hundred feet deep.

3. Mining alters the groundwater structure and drainage pattern of the area. So, apart from the land and forests, the rivers and streams are also affected. The debris after extracting minerals is dumped in the river valleys, obstructing the flow of rivers and causing floods that destroy the forests.

   Deposits of iron ore deposits in Goa and Karnataka, bauxite in Chhattisgarh and Odisha, coal in Madhya Pradesh and the open cast limestone mines in Uttarakhand are located mountain slopes or on river sources. Many minerals are found in river basins. 80% of the coal found in Jharkhand and West Bengal's Raniganj are located in the Damodar River Valley. The Mahanadi and Brahmini river valleys contain large coal deposits. Mica is found in Rajastan's Sambhar, Looni and Chambal river valleys.

5. Rapid urbanisation over the last decade has increased the demand for sand and building stones. Sand mining in rivers causes sedimentation in river beds, affects river flow and erodes river banks. Excessive sand mining has caused heavy sedimentation in Karnataka's Bhadra River and Chhattisgarh's Shankhini River.
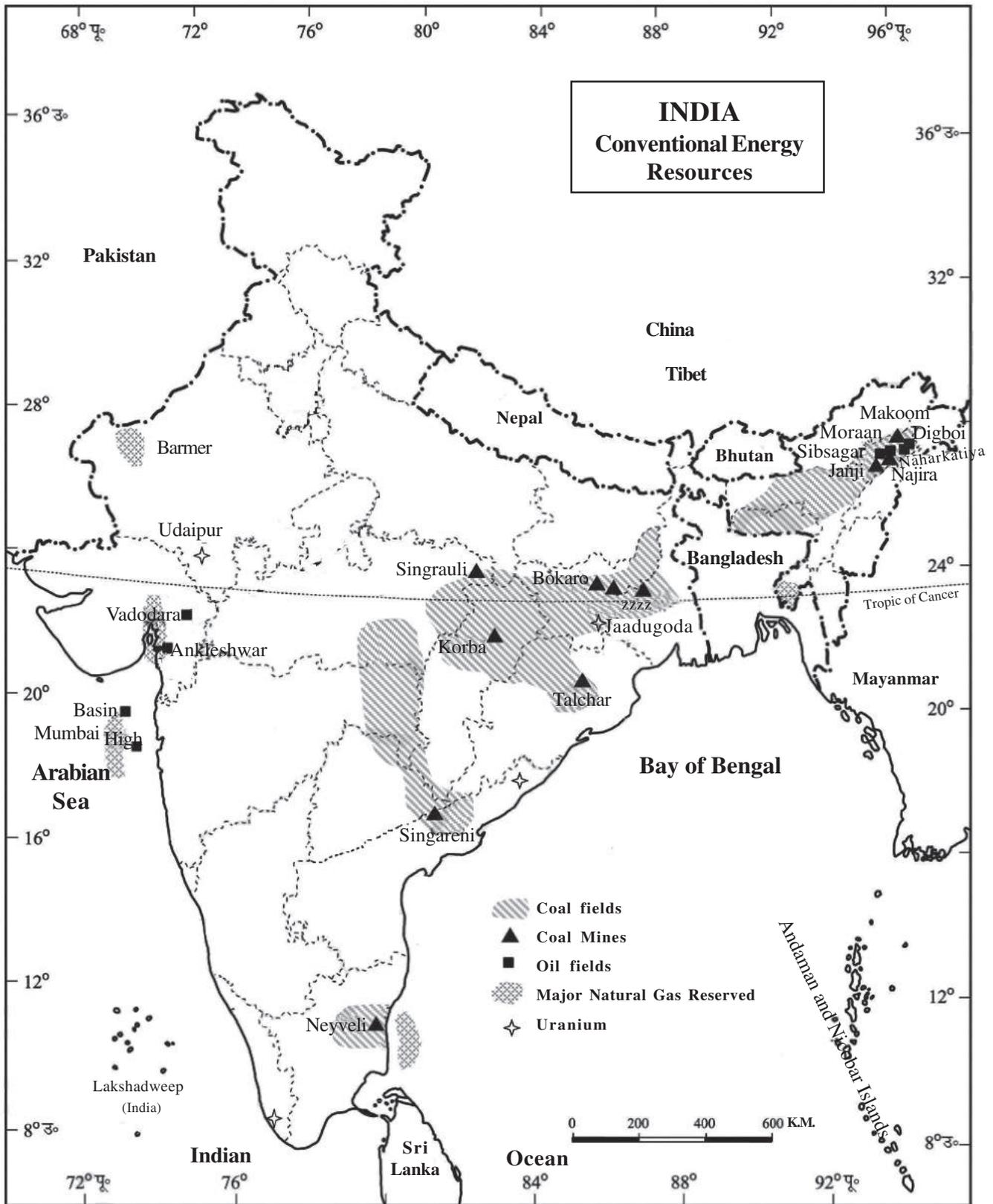
Map 4.1 : Conventional Energy Resources in India
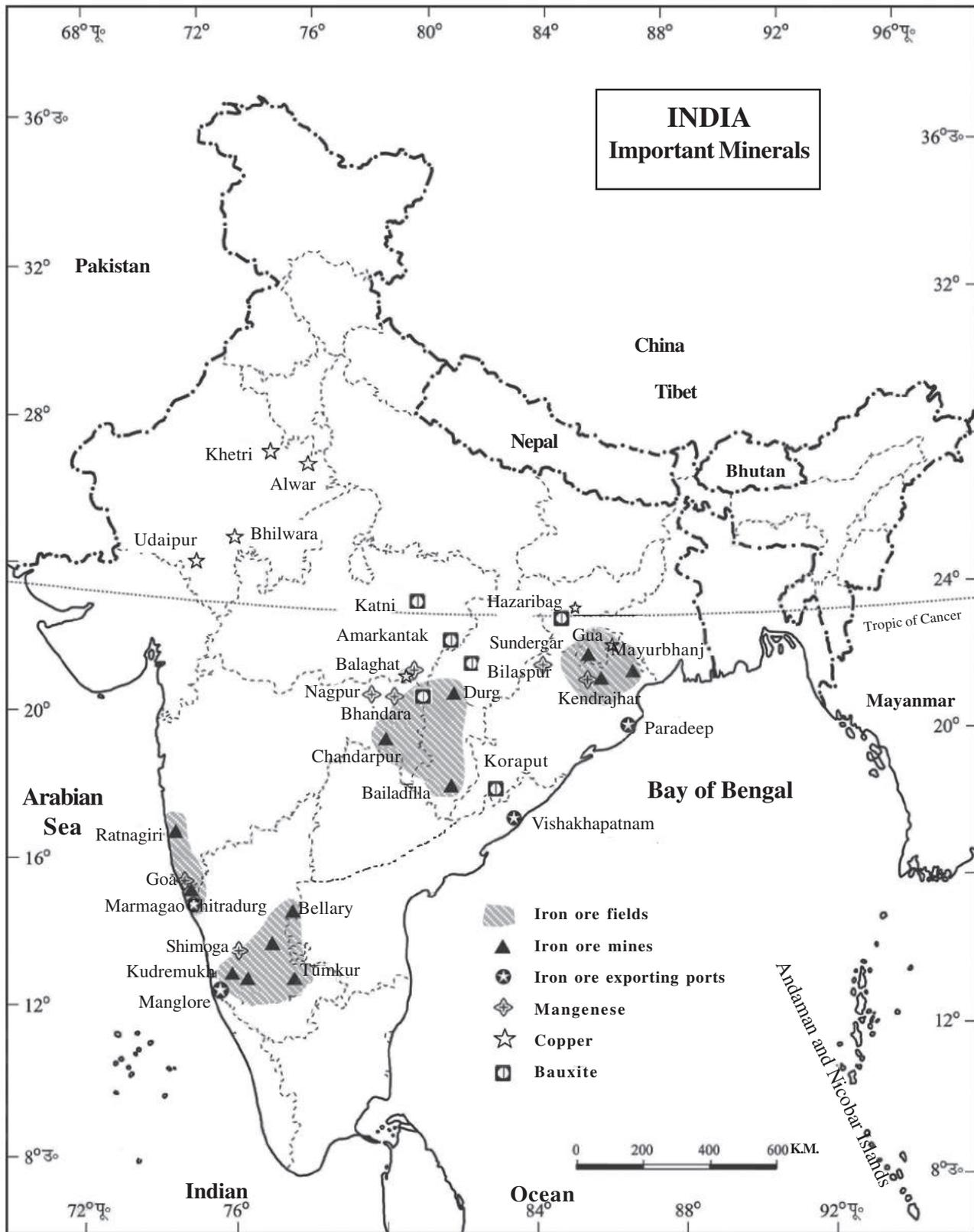
Map 4.2 : Important Minerals in India

Tungsten

Tungsten is important in the modern metal industry for making alloy steel. It gives steel strength and hardness and enhances its abrasion and crash-resistance. Tungsten-alloyed steel is used to manufacture high quality cutting and stone drilling equipment. Tungsten, cobalt and cromium mixed **stellite** is used to make armour plates, guns, armour-piercing shells etc. Tungsten is also used to make filaments for bulbs and tubes because of its high electrical resistance. No alternative has yet been found to match the tungsten filament's ability to turn electricity into light. Tungsten deposits are found in Rajasthan, West Bengal, Maharastra and Karnataka.

Copper

Humans have been using copper since ancient times. Bronze was made by alloying copper with tin. Copper alloys were also used to make brass, which is used to mint coins etc. After the invention of electricity in the 19th century, the importance of copper grew manifold. It is a good conductor of heat and electricity and is resistant to chemical erosion. More than half the copper produced is used in the energy industry. Copper-mixed alloys are used to manufacture telephone, radio and rail equipment; refrigerators and other household items; airplanes and ships as well as other war materials.

Figure 4.3 : Copper

Copper reserves are being explored in many parts of the country. India has an estimated 155 crore tonnes of copper reserves (as on April 1, 2010). But copper production is lower than the demand, so copper is imported. The largest copper deposits are found in Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Small deposits are also found in Gujarat, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, Sikkim, Meghalaya, Maharastra and West Bengal. 37% of India's copper deposits are in Jharkhand. The Malajkhand copper mines in Balaghat district of Madhya Pradeh are famed in India.

Lead

Lead is used in transport, communication and electricity generation. It is heavy, soft and malleable. It is largely used in storage batteries and electrical wires. The chemical industry is another important consumer, using lead to manufacture **tetraethyl lead,** colours, plastics and insecticides.

India has 1 crore tonnes of estimated lead reserves (as on April 1, 2010). Rajasthan has the largest lead deposits.

Bauxite

Bauxite is the main source of aluminium. India has abundant reserves of bauxite. The Geological Survey of India estimated the bauxite reserves at 348 crore tonnes in 2010.

About half these reserves are in Odisha. Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra also have bauxite deposits. Large deposits are to be found in Kalahandi, Koraput, Sambalpur, Bolangir and Keonjhar districts of Odhisa, Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh, Shahdol, Mandala and Balaghat districts of Madhya Pradesh, and Sarguja and Korba districts of Chhattisgarh.

Coal: Coal is the most important energy source in India. Initially, coal was used as fuel. It formed the base of industrialization in the 18th century. Its industrial use led to many significant changes. In the 18th century, it was used to smelt iron ore and produce steel. Steam engines powered by coal were used to pull trains, propel ships and run machines. Today, coal is mainly used for electricity generation.

Figure 4.4 : Coal

The Geological Survey of India estimated in 2006 that the country had 23,500 crore tonnes of coal reserves up to a depth of 1200 metres. This is only one percent of the world's total estimated coal reserves. Hence, India has to import 15-20 crore tonnes of coal annually. India mainly has bituminous coal, which is not of very high quality because their carbon content does not exceed 55% and they have a high content of vapourising material and ash.

The coal producing areas in India are located in the following four river basins in the eastern portion of the Deccan Plateau:

1. Damodar Valley: Coal belt of Jharkhand and West Bengal

2. Son Valley: Coal belt of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh

3. Mahanadi Basin: Coal belt of Chhattisgarh and Odisha

4. Godavari Basin: Coal belt of south-west Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

Petroleum

Petroleum is the most important energy source in the modern world. It is also extensively used in the plastics and fertilizer industries. India produced 4 crore tonnes of petroleum in 2015. This was less than quarter of our total consumption. Hence, the country has to import large quantities of petroleum and petroleum products. In 2015, 19 crore tonnes of petroleum and petroleum products were imported. We spend about 5% of our GDP on petroleum imports, which is a huge sum.

Figure 4.5 : Digboi: India's oldest petroleum well and oil refinery plant

Oil exploration in India began in 1866 when the first oil wells were drilled in the Upper Assam Basin. However, the first reserves were found only in 1890 at Digboi, where a refinery was set up in 1893. The Assam Imports Company was set up in 1899. Subsequentl, explorations were also undertaken in other locations. A reserve was discovered in Naharkatiya in 1953.

Production began in the Ankleshwar area (Vadodara) of Gujarat in 1960. Intensive exploration efforts were undertaken after 1961 and many reserves were identified in the state. New areas were identified in Assam as well. As a result, production increased rapidly from 5,13,000 tonnes in 1961 to 63,11,000 tonnes in 1975. Offshore drilling began in 1970 in Gujarat's Aliyabet. Bombay High was discovered in 1975 and production began the following year. Constant efforts led to identification of potential reserves in the Kaveri and Krishna-Godavari basins on the east coast. Production was initiated in these areas too. Large reserves have also been found in Rajasthan's Barmer district.

India's petroleum reserves are estimated at 1,700 crore tonnes. This includes land and offshore reserves. The reserves are in four regions: (1) North-east region (Upper Assam basin, Arunanchal Pradesh and Nagaland); (2) Gujarat (Cambay basin and Gujarat plains); (3) Bombay High offshore area; and (4) East coast region (Godavari-Krishana and Kaveri basins).

Uranium and Thorium

Both elements are the main source of atomic or nuclear power. Uranium sources are very limited in India hence the mineral has to be imported. However, large reserves have been found in the Tummalpalle and Bhima river valleys in Karnataka in the past few years. Similarly, thorium has been found along the Kerala coast. Since thorium reserves are abundant, India is trying to produce more nuclear power using thorium. The government has full control over all sources of nuclear power and these minerals can only be mined by public sector enterprises.

Industrialisation

Till about 200 years back, most people used to be employed in agriculture and maximum production used to come from agriculture. In the developed nations today most people work in industries and related services and very few are part of agricultural activities. In India, while 60 percent of the people are engaged in agriculture its contribution to GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is just 18 percent. 26 percent is of industries and 56 percent of service sector.

Industrial revolution began in England in the 18th century and gradually the nature or industrial production began to change all across the world. This is called industrialization. Post industrialization production process has been constantly changing.

Factors impacting establishment of Industries

One of the features of modern industries is that they are extremely mobile and constantly keep changing their location. Many regions, which got industrialized, where hundreds of factories were established and lakhs of labourers settled, are deserted today because the industries have migrated. In the 1970 most important cities in India such as Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai, Indore etc. had huge cloth mills. In the 1980 almost all of these closed down and power looms that produced at a much faster rate came up in absolutely new locations. Similarly in America factories in areas which had huge car production facilities have closed down. Today's industries are divided into small units and spread across the world. What are the factors which determine the location of industries? There are many factors, but the determining factor is profit. At any point of time a capitalist will invest in setting up a factory in a location that is most profitable for them and will continue do so only as long as it is still more profitable that other locations. Which location will yield high profit depends on a number of factors - production techniques, raw material availability, market, transportation facilities, industrial and taxation policy of the state and most importantly availability of skilled and low paid labour.

Transport resources were much less developed in the 18th and 19th century. Huge quantities of iron ore and coal were used to prepare small quantities of steel. So steel plants were set up near the mines, so that raw material need not be transported to far off places. But with time high quality ore in the mines got depleted and had to be procured from far off places. In this situation the steel industry began to shift to more suitable locations. When transportation facilities began to develop, the industries began to shift to places were skilled and cheap labour was available. Industrialists found that workers in older locations had become organised and had fought for higher wages and better facilities. Under pressure from workers in those areas many new laws in favour of workers had been enacted too, which ensured that workers were compensated if laid off, or government regulated minimum wages, and regulated work hours etc. The industrialists began to set up their industries in colonies or countries where because of poverty labourers were ready to work at low wages, where laws for labour welfare were not in place and labour was not organized. This became possible because of rapid expansion of fast transport that was cheap. For example iron ore mined in Dantewada is transported 250 kms away to Visakhapatnam port through a pipeline in slurry form. There the slurry is made into pellets and exported. It is called the Kirandol - Visakhapatnam Slurry Pipeline. A similar pipeline project exists in Odhisa too.

Figure 4.6 : Part of Dantebada-Visakhapatnam Slurry Line - Here the iron ore solution is made

Raw Material

Industries are generally set up near sources of raw material, so that expenses on transport can be reduced. If we buy Rs 100 worth of iron and raw cotton, you can guess which will be lighter. Iron, aluminium, bauxite, limestone etc. are heavy ores. Establishing industries that use these ores far from the mining areas will greatly increase production cost. Which is why these industries are set up near the source of raw material. Aluminium factory at Korba, steel plant in Bhilai, cement plant in Jamul near Durg are located close to mines that produce the raw material. However, the cost of transportation for cotton or cotton yarn is much less therefore the factories are often far away from the raw material sources.

Can you tell the advantages of producting jagerry near to sugarcane fields?

Find out where and to whom sugarcane farmers of Chattisgarh sell their crops?

Transport

Today production is done in many different parts. Production of different parts of a product are done in different places, quite often in locations across the globe and then brought together and assembled in a location. This makes trasnportaion an essential part of production. This is why other than raw materials, transportation is also very important to decide the location of industries. Water, road and rail modes of transport are all used to transport goods. They help transport raw material to production facility and produced goods to the market.

Power or Energy

Electric power to keep the machines in a factory going. Electricity is produced from coal, hydel power

stations, wind, solar energy, nuclear energy etc. Coal is a heavy material. Also large amount of ash is produced when coal is burned in power plants burned to generate energy. The substitute for coal is diesel. But not only does it pollute the environment, it is available in nature in limited quantities. Therefore, alternate sources of energy are now being explored. Solar energy, hydel power, wind energy, energy from waste are some of the examples. Of these the most cost effective source is hydel energy which is generated by water stored in dams. But, the problem of this dam based power generation is that valuable forests, agricultural land and villages get submerged. Small and medium dam or hydel power stations on mountain slopes could be an alternative. States where electricity is continuously available have a higher chance of industrialization. Electricity has to be available round the clock for 24 hours a day in the factories.

Market

A product is consumed through the market. So all produce has to be taken to the market. The constantly changing nature of markets also impacts the setting up of industries. When we say market, it just does not relate to reducing transportation cost, but also increasing consumption of new products and ensuring consumer's interest in the product is retained by making the produce attractive and ensuring quality. Expansion of the market requires standardisation so that a product is demanded and consumed over a large area. To sell the product across the world, people need to have a similar thought, interests and consumption pattern throughout the world. To underatnd we can consider the example of mobiles in the last 25 years. In 1990-91 very few companies use to manufacture mobile sets and very few people owned them because they did not have access. Today a number of companies manufacture mobiles sets. To keep themselves afloat in the competitive market they constantly introduce new features and designs at cheaper rates than before. This keeps the consumers attracted and the companies maintain their position in the market.

E - Commerce

Till sometime back you could only have imagined that you can buy mobiles, watches, clothes, books, toys etc. sitting at home. Today it is a fact. You can order from your mobile or computer anything and pay through your ATM Card card or pay when the goods are delivered. This is what is called E - Commerce. The increasing number of internet users in India has boosted E – Commerce. As per a report E – Commerce market is increasing by 50% each year. On the other hand E – Commerce market in China is increasing by 18% and that of Japan by 11%. 75% of all those making purchase on the internet in India are in the age group of 15 to 34 years.

Labour

Skilled and trained labor is needed to work in industries. One also needs skilled managers, secretaries, computer programmers etc. Industrialization also mandates for a few people to think out of the box, make new discoveries, find solutions to problems and think differently from the crowd.

Developed countries have a large pool of skilled workers but wage levels are high as the workers are organised and fight for their rights. The problem of labor is very different in developing countries. In these densely populated countries, there is pressing problem of unemployment. So people are ready to work for lower wages. But, they are also lacking in skills. They are poorly educated and often unlettered too and are unable to meet the needs of modern industries. Many workers have had to be sent abroad for training.

A significant change in employment pattern in recent times is of companies hiring much lesser permanent employees. They keep contractual staff, hire workforce through contractors, and outsource work. This helps companies save in labor costs. The situation is very different from developed countries.

If there are trade unions in your area, find out about them.

What are the efforts being made to develop skills of workers in your area?

Capital

The most important need for industrialization is capital. To make available capital many institutions need to be established. Share market, banks, insurance companies are some of the examples. These institutions help industrialists to access capital to set up factories. Institutions such as banks exist so that people do not let their wealth lie idle, but invest them to earn profits.

Private capital is invested solely for the purpose of earning profit. Such capital is invested only in places where profits can be maximised. Investment of private capital in textile mills in Mumbai had happened for the same reason. Investment by government does not follow the same logic. Development of backward regions, utilization of natural resources and balanced development are factors that drive government investments. The steel plant at Bhilai is a case in point.

If there were no banks how would one access capital?

Technology

The more modern the technology the cheaper and easier it becomes to produce in larger quantities. Availability of modern technology has led to higher industrialization of developed countries, whereas the lack of development of modern technology has led to slower industrialization in developing countries. Industrialization requires new research and new technology so that production increases. High quality steel from high quality iron ore is a possibility. But high quality steel from poor quality iron ore is possible only through research. Technology development for new automatic machines that help produce quality products in large quantity is very important.

Making effort to find out about other countries using communication methods has become very vital and helps industrialization. Today there is lots of competition between companies, which makes imperative the use of latest technology to ensure quality and scale. For this many companies tie up or enter into partnership with companies that have new technology. For example India's Hero Company tied up with Honda Company of Japan and produced Hero Honda motorcycles.

Try and found out which Indian companies have tied up with companies from other countries for production?

Industrial Policy

Establishment of industries is related to government policy too. If the industrial policy does not have liberal terms for industry, industrialists will not choose to set up industries in that country. Industrialists invest in countries where the policies are flexible, where government interference is minimum and where basic facilities such as labor, electricity and transport is organized.

Impact of the new Industrial Policy

Three main policies have been made which are as follows:

Liberalization: Liberalizations means making easy the rules and processes and reducing licenses and permits, so that foreign companies set up factories in India using new technology. This step was taken to boost industrial development in the 7th five year plan. It was further promoted in the 8th five year plan.

Privatization: Selling public enterprises to private players by the government is privatization. Because of declining profit of public sector in the last few years, demands arose to increase the share of private players as also to close down public enterprises chronically in loss. To resolve the constant problems in the public sector enterprises government adopted the policy of disinvestment for public sectors. As part of the process government began to sell of parts of the public enterprise. As a result participation of private sector in management increased and additional resources could be generated.

Globalization: As a result of the process of globalization since the 1980s and 1990s, not just capital but services, labour and resources began to freely move from one country to another. The main stress of globalization was on increasing competition between national and international firms. We can understand globalization in two ways:

1 An economic and political process under which production and distribution become international. Barriers in movement of produce, capital, labor, thoughts and culture were reduced so that all these could be exchanged across the world without hindrance.

2 Policies to enhance industrialization, which we also call liberalization policy.

Major Industrial Regions of India

One of the features of industrial development is that once few industries develop in a place, then many others get attracted to the same location. This is because skilled labor, transportation, spare parts, trade facilities etc. become available at the location. As a result industrial centers turn into large cities and spread into nearby areas. This is how industrial regions develop. The government policies help develop such regions.

When a particular industry develops at a a fast pace keeping in mind the locally available resources, then that area is called an industrial region. The following are the major industrial regions of India:

1. Mumbai-Pune Industrial Region
2. The Hugli Industrial Region
3. Bangalore-Tamil Nadu Industrial Region
4. Gujarat Industrial Region
5. Chotanagpur Industrial Region
6. Vishakhapatnam-Guntur Industrial Region
7. Gurgaon-Delhi-Meerut Industrial Regio
8. Kollam-Thiruvananthapuram Industrial Region

1. Mumbai-Pune Industrial Region

This region extends between Nashik and Solapur of which Mumbai, Thane, Pune, Nashik, Solapur, Kolaba, Ahmednagar, Satara, Sangli and Jalgoan districts are a part. Industries have grown at a rapid pace in this region. Mumbai is the commercial capital of India and a very important port. This region is also known as India's largest textile industry region.

The seeds of its growth were sown in 1774 when the British began construction of a port in Mumbai. The second phase of development began in 1854, when Kavas ji Dabar set up the first modern cotton textile mill. Soon Mumbai became India's largest cotton textile producing centre of India.

In 1955, Indias first atomic power plant was set up at Trombay near Mumbai. Its objective was to make available electric power. In 1961-66, as part of India's 3rd five year plan. Asia's largest nuclear reactor was set up at Tarapur. The chemical industry began to develop in 1967. Petroleum production began at Mumbai High petroleum field IN 1976. Establishment of these industries led to the establishment of many other industries. The region today has a number of industries such as engineering goods, petroleum processing, petrochemicals, leather, plastic, medicines, fertilizers, electrical, ship-building, electronics, soap, vegetable oil, automobiles, garments, television, refrigerators, cycles, software etc. The large and famous hindi film industry called Bollywood is located in Mumbai.

2. The Hugli Industrial Region

The industrial growth of this region has been much slower than Mumbai-Pune Industrial Region, But it is India's first industrial zone. This region extends as a narrow belt running along the river Hugli with Kolkata-Howrah as its nucleus. Hugli is the spine of this region.

Industrial development began in this region between 1962-94 when an inland river port was developed on river Hugli. Development of this river port made Kolkata a leading industrial centre in this region.

The main industrial centers in this region are Haldia, Serampur, Rishra, Howrah, Kolkata, Shibpur, Naihati, Titagarh, Sodepur, Budge Budge, Birlanagar, Bansbaria etc. Many types of industries developed in this region but jute was the most import industry. 70 percent of jute products are found in this region. After partition of India in 1947, the region faced, for some years, the problem of shortage of jute as most of the jute-growing areas went to Bangladesh (then East Pakistan). The problem was solved by gradually increasing home production of jute. Kolkata and Titagarh have 25 factories that produce high end fine cotton textile. This is also considered by many as the best region for engineering goods industry in India. Diesel and electric pump sets, electrical motors, fans, cars, petrochemicals, ship building, electronics and computers are manufactured here.

Indias earliest car manufacturing unit, 'Hindustan Motors Limited' was located at Uttarpada. Garden Reach Ship Building Company makes a avariety of warships, cargo ships, fishing trawlers etc. Haldia is being developed as India's largest Oil refinery centre and Petrochemical centre.

Compare Mumbai Pune region and Hugli region and tell what are the similarities and differences between the two?

3. Bangalore-Coimbatore Industrial Region

Bangalore is the capital of Karnataka and Coimbatore is the chief industrial centre of Tamil Nadu. Industrial development has taken place in a long strip between the two cities. This region is the chief producer of cotton. Small garment units have sprung up in towns and villages of this region. Cotton textile is the prime industry of this region. 20% of all yarn produced in India is produced in Tamil Nadu. Coimbatore alone has 91 cotton textile mills. Bangalore is known for many of its industries – Hindustan Aeronautic Limited (HAL), Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT), Hindustan Telephone Limited (HTL), Hindustan Power Equipment, Infosys and Wipro Limited. Bangalore has developed as India's chief computer and communication technology centre. Other than these industries, the region has bus body building, glass products, china crockery, cotton garments and rail coach industry. India's largest Oil refinery centre and Petroleum processing unit is located in Chennai in this region. Salem has a large steel plant and fertilizer producing unit.

Communication Technology : has become very important today. The information technology companies work round the clock. How does this happen? Companies from New York, USA have tied up with companies in Bangalore, India to work together on a software development. When it's daytime in Bangalore it is midnight in America and when its daytime in New York it is nighttime in Bangalore. People work in shifts to resolve this problem of time difference. Communication Technology makes it possible to work and communicate simultaneously. It's like working from a next door office, when you are actually half way round the globe. This industry has become totally globalized. This has become possible because of technology, polity, socio-economic change. The main factors that decide location is availability of resource, cost and infrastructure.

4. Gujarat Industrial Region

The nucleus of this region lies between Ahmedabad and Vadodara as a result of which it is also known

as Ahmedabad-Vadodara industrial region. The main industrial centers are Rajkot, Surat, Vadodara, Khera, Anand, Bharuch and Godra. Ahmedabad has the most number of cotton textile mills. Surat has diamond cutting, gold and silver jewelry and textile industry. Dairy is the most prominent industry in Anand. Ahmedabad also has engineering goods, electronics, software, medicine and other industries.

5. Chotanagpur Industrial Region

This region spans from West Bengal through Damodar Valley, Singhbhum and Odhisa. Which is why it is also called the Rourkela – Jamshedpur Industrial Region. Singhbhum is abundant in iron-ore, copper, uranium, manganese etc. and the Damodar Valley in coal. Which is why steel plants were set up in Jamshedpur, Bokaro, Durgapur, Rourkela and Burnpur. The region has heavy engineering industries (Ranchi), cement (Dalmiya Nagar and Japla) and fertilizers (Sindri).

6. Vishakhapatnam-Guntur Industrial Region

This industrial region extends from Vishakhapatnam to Prakasham districts. The industrial development of this region mainly depends on the two ports - Vishakhapatnam and Machilipatnam. Petroleum and coal reserves were found in the Godavari basin. This is why the region has a large steel plant. Hindustan Shipyard Ltd. at Vishakhapatnam produces warships. The region also has textiles, jute, paper, fertilizer, and engineering goods industry. Vishakhapatnam, Vijayawada, Vijaynagar, Rajamundry, Guntur, Eluru etc. are the main industrial centers.

7. Gurgaon-Delhi-Meerut Industrial Region

This region is spread in towns around Delhi – Gurgaon, Faridabad, Modinagar, Meerut, Ambala, Mathura, Saharanpur, Noida, Kurukshetra, Karnal, Panipat etc. The region is located far away from the mineral and power resources, and therefore, the industries are electronics, mobiles, sports goods, electrical, hosiery, tractors, cycles, agriculture equipments. Agra area has glass and leather industry, Mathura has oil refinery, Faridabad has engineering goods industry, and Saharanpur has paper industry. The main industries in Gurgaon are automobile, garment, electronics and BPO (Business Process Outsourcing).

8. Kollam-Thiruvananthapuram Industrial Region

This region is located in the coastal belt of Kerala. It is spread over Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Allapuzha, Ernakulam and Thrichur districts. The region is located far away from the mineral belt of the country as a result of which the industrial scene here is dominated by agricultural products processing. Cotton textile, sugar, rubber, paper, fish processing, coconut fibre processing industries are the main industries of the area.

Durg-Raipur-Bilaspur-Korba Industrial Region

This industrial region in Chhattisgarh has mining and mine dependent industries. The Bhilai Steel Plant was set up under the 3rd five year plan with Soviet collaboration. Bhilai is on the Kolkata – Mumbai railway route in the Durg District of Chhattisgarh. The iron ore for this plant is sourced from mines in the Dalli Rajhara hills, 97 kms south of Bhilai. Coal is sourced from mines in Korba (Chattisgarh) and Jharia (Jharkhand). Other minerals too are found in the nearby areas. Many small units have sprung up

Map 4.3 :Major Industrial Regions of India

The map legend reads:

INDIA
Major Industrial Regions

Major Industrial Regions of India

1. Mumbai-Pune
2. The Hugli
3. Bangalore-Coimbatore
4. Gujarat I
5. Chotanagpur
6. Vishakhapatnam-Guntur
7. Gurgaon-Delhi-Meerut
8. Kollam-Thiruvananthapuram
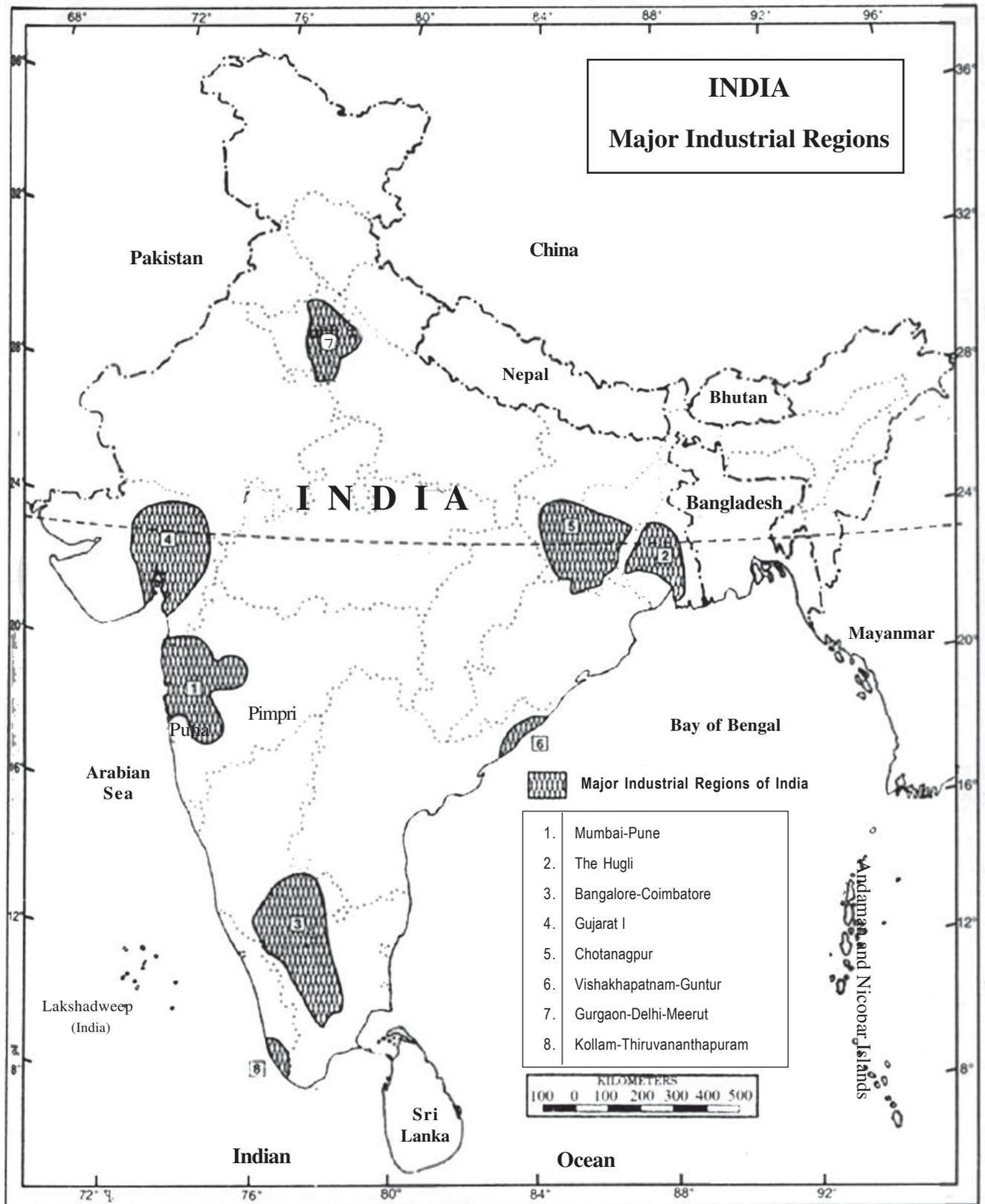
in the area to supply spare parts and other items to the steel plant. Because of the plant many steel rolling mills have sprung up in the area. The rail wagon repair factory at Raipur was also set up because of easy availability of steel from Bhilai Steel Plant. The area also has many rice mills, which is an agriculture based industry. Other than mine based industries the region also has modern industries such as chemical, engineering goods, and electronic industry.

Foundation for Bharat Aluminum Company (BALCO) was laid in Korba on 27th Nov. 1965 and began production in 7th May 1975. Other than Korba, bauxite is abundantly available in Mainpat mines in Sarguja and around Amarkantak. BALCO also has captive bauxite mines Phutka Pahad in Sarguja. Korba today has 671 medium and large industrial units.

Hasdo River that flows through Korba provides water for the industry. There are 6000 employees in BALCO today. Other than bauxite, this area also has large coal deposits. A thermal power plant has been established to tap this potential. The plant supplies power to BALCO and the state and helped it emerge as an electricity producing centre. Along with this the area has cement, paper and pulp, electrical and electronics and chemical units. Household units that producer tassar yarn and cloth dot the area. The main industrial centers of this area are Bhilai, Durg, Raipur, Kumahari, Jamul, Mandar, Mahasamand, Korba, Chapa, Urla, Dharsiva, Raigadh, Gopalpur and Sirgitti.

With a view to push industrial development, the government in 2007 has decided to develop **industrial corridors.** Under the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC) Project 8 large investment regions have been declared. The details are as follows:

1. Ahmedabad- Dholera investment region, Gujarat

2. Shendra-Bidkin Industrial Park City, near Aurangabad, Maharashtra

3. Manesar- Bawal investment regions, Haryana

4. Khushkhera- Bhiwadi- Neemrana investment region, Rajasthan

5. Pithampur- Dhar- Mhow investment region, Madhya Pradesh

6. Dadri- Noida- Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh

7. Jodhpur- Pali- Marwar, Rajasthan

Other than this we have Chennai Bangalore Industrial Corridor, Mumbai-Bangalore economic corridor, Amritsar Delhi Kolkata Industrial Corridor and East Coast Economic Corridor.

Impact of Industralization

There are a number of advantages of industrialization:

* Development of industries leads to large scale production at very low costs. This makes goods available to consumers at very reasonable prices.

* Industrialization improves quality of life

* Diverse consumer goods produced, which gives many choices to the consumer.

* Industrialization creates new opportunities for employment
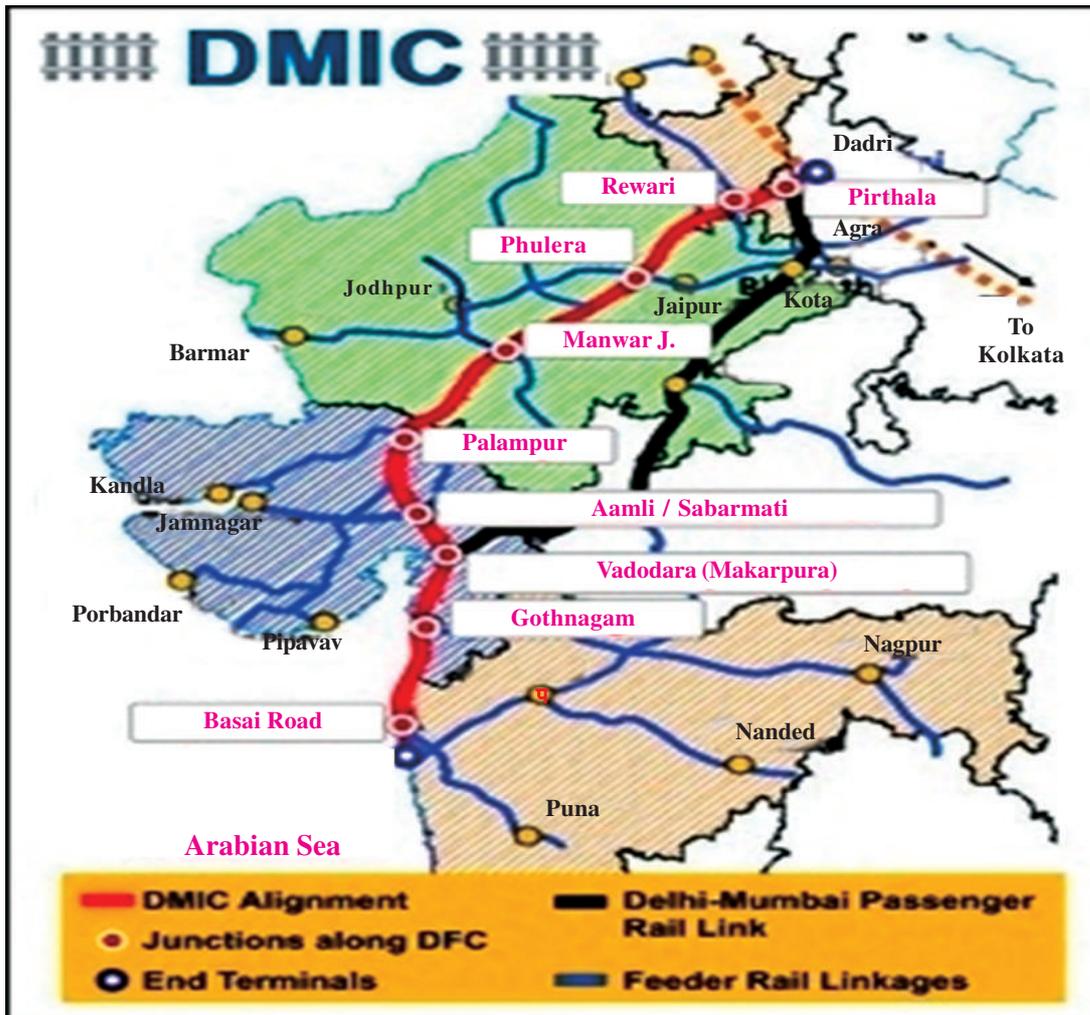
Map 4.4 :Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor

* Industrialization creates many modes of transport and facilitates import and export.

* Resources are utilized as a result of industrialization

* Industrialization leads to foreign exchange inflow

Industrialization has not just advantages but also many disadvantages. Numerous environmental problems arise out of industrialization. Industries use raw material and power. Raw material leads to exploitation of natural resources which result in land degradation and expansion of resources. Industrial effluents pollute air, water and soil creating lots of environmental problems.

After a point land, transportation, labor, power, water etc. become expensive. Sometimes labor organizes and negotiates, and this leads to breakdown of work. All these factors prompt industrialist to shift the indutry to another location. At times even government forbids setting up of a particular industry in a town, city or area, which deters industrialization of that area.

EXERCISE

Fill in the blanks:

1. In India's east coast states we have…………………………………………… and .... industrial regions, whereas in west coast states we have ....and .... industrial regions.

2. Chhattisgarh's slurry pipeline has been constructed to carry iron ore mined in ....mines to ....

3. Automobile industry is located in India's ……………………………………………and .... industrial regions.

Answer the following questions in brief:

1. Which minerals are important sources of energy?

2. Which metallic mineral is most abundantly found in India?

3. What was the objective of the first mineral-related law enacted after independence?

4. When did foreign companies get permission to mine in India?

5. What type of industries is established close to sources of raw material; and what type of mines are established close to the market?

6. What is the role of banks in the establishment of industries?

7. Why is it that only the government invests in industries in backward regions?

8. What is the difference between hydel power and thermal power?

9. What are the negative environmental impacts of mining? What are the possible means to curb this negative impact?

10. What should be done to minimize the impact of mining on local communities and what measures can be undertaken to ensure that they benefit from mining operations?

11. What should be done to ensure that the whole country and not just a few investors gain from mining activities?

12. What can be done to make capital and technology available for mining? How could national interests be threatened in the process?

13. What are the advantages and disadvantages of permitting foreign companies to enter the mining industry?

14. The districts in India with the most abundant mineral resources are also the regions that are least developed and where the poorest people live. Why is this so in your opinion?

15. Why have industries migrated from developed to developing nations in the last 50 years? Explain with examples.

16. Why are industrial regions unstable? Why do industries shift out of locations that they were well established in?

17. What is the relation between labor and market development?

PROJECT WORK

Make a list of major industrial areas in Chhattisgarh. What are the predominant industries of that region and why are they located there? Make a detailed report and develop posters highlighting features of each of these regions.

Develop a play on the condition of skilled and unskilled and organized and unorganized labor of Chhattisgarh.

5

Human Resources

The 'population' of a place is counted on the basis of how many people live there. The population is related to a particular place. The number of people living in a regional unit, such as a village, city or country, is called the population of that place. The population becomes important as a human resource when human intelligence and skills are used for the development of society, and their capabilities are used in some productive work.

Many questions can be asked regarding the population of a place. For instance – What is the total population of a country? At what rate is it increasing or decreasing annually? What is the average life expectancy of people there, i.e. how long a life are people expected to have there on an average? What is the female and male ratio in that population? What is the ratio of children, youth and old people in it? What is the ratio of producers (working people) in it? What is the ratio of the people living in cities and those living in villages there? How many people among them are literate and how many of them have received higher education? How many of them are poor and how many are rich?

Where and how do we get all this information? Nowadays, nearly every country in the world conducts a periodic census, i.e. counting the number of people living there. In our country, a census is conducted after every ten years in which detailed information about the entire population of the country is gathered. The last census was conducted in 2011, so you can guess when the next census will take place.

1. There is a scheme to open one *AaganwdiI* centre per 1000 people, in each village of the district in which you live. How will you find out the number of such centres that will have to be opened?

2. The Chhattisgarh Government wants to formulate a health insurance scheme for the farming families in the state, which will involve an expenditure of five thousand rupees per person. Now, how will the Government determine the amount of money it will need for the scheme?

3. Old age homes for senior citizens (old people) are to be opened in the state. How will you find out the number of such *ashrams* that will be needed?

Discuss with your teacher when the last census was conducted in our country and when the next one will be conducted, who are the people that help in this work, what is the process of collecting the data?

Fig. 5.1

Some important data obtained from the census

In the Indian census various types of information is gathered, such as the total number of people living in the country, the number of women and men separately, the number of educated people, the number of people in different age groups, how many people are engaged in what types of occupation, how many people migrate from one place to another for different reasons, and so on. On the basis of this information we analyse the distribution of population in the rural and urban areas, the population density, the numbers of people engaged in different occupations, and the rate of decrease or increase in the population. We shall discuss some of these points in more detail.

To understand the capabilities and needs of a country's population, we need to find out the qualities and attributes of its people. People differ from one another on the basis of their education, occupation, economic condition, age, sex, etc. In view of this fact, we need to understand these attributes of people. We shall now try to understand some of these important data.

Total Population and Rate of Growth

We are able to find out the total number of people living in a country, state, district, city or village with the help of the census. Owing to the method of door to door collection of information, such data of the census is acknowledged as the most credible. The last census in India took place in 2011, according to which the total number of people in the country at the time was 1,210,193,422, i.e. over 121 crore and 2 lakh. There were 102 crore and 87 lakh people in India in 2001. Thus the population of our country increased by 17.64 %in the previous ten years. We call this the decadal growth rate of the population.

> **How many people were added to the population of India between 2001 and 2011?**
>
> **By how much does our population increase in a year approximately?**

Of the total human population of the earth, 17.5 % people live in India. The only country with a bigger population than India is China where 20 %of the world's population lives.

In 2011, the population of Chhattisgarh was 2,55,40,196, i.e. over two crore and fifty-five lakh which is about 2 % of the total population of the country. However, the decadal growth rate of the population of Chhattisgarh is 22.6% .

The History of Census

The mention of the first census in the modern times is found in Sweden (1749). In the United States of America, the process of conducting a regular census began in 1790, and 80 years after that it began in India in 1872. Countries like England and France had begun the task of regularly conducting a periodic census nearly 71 years before we did.

The Government of India accepted in principle in 1865 the idea of a census. The questionnaire for conducting the census was prepared during the same year. However, the census was conducted for the first time in 1872, but it could not be implemented completely. The process of conducting a complete census was carried out only 9 years after that in 1881.

The latest census was conducted in India in 2011, according to which the population of our country was 1210.19 lakh then.

The census also tells us the percentage of total number of people living in cities and those living in villages. India is still a country largely inhabited by villagers, where 69 % of the people live in villages and only 31 % live in cities. When the country became independent, at that time only 17 % of the people lived in cities. From this, we can estimate how urbanization has increased in India in the last 60 years. What proportion of the population of Chhattisgarh lives in cities? Nearly 23 % of the people of our state live in cities now, while 20 % people lived in cities in 2001.

Find out the population of your district. Also find out how many women and men live in it and the proportion of the urban population in it. Prepare a detailed poster to display this information in the classroom.

Do you believe that the growth of the urban population of a country or a state is an indicator of its development? Discuss this with reasons.

Sex Ratio

Sex ratio tells us how many women there are per thousand men in a given region. For instance, the sex ratio in Sweden is 1006, in Japan 1067 and in Nepal 1073, while it is 940 in India. Normally, in a healthy society the number of women and the number of men should be equal. If this ratio is less in a society, it means that relatively less attention is given to the nutrition, education, health and other needs of girls and women in that society, due to which their lifespan is shorter.

According to the 2011 census the sex ratio in our country is 940. Which means that there are only 940 women per one thousand men here. Moreover, this sex ratio varies widely. The sex ratio in some states is more than the national average, such as in Kerala (1084), Tamil Nadu (995), Andhra Pradesh (991) and Chhattisgarh (991). On the other hand, In Haryana (877), Gujarat (912) and Rajasthan (926), the sex ratio is less than the national average. We are able to see from this data that in which particular states the situation of women is weaker and we can formulate a plan to improve this.

Look at the graph of sex ratio given below and answer the following questions.

Graph 5.1 The Sex Ratio in India
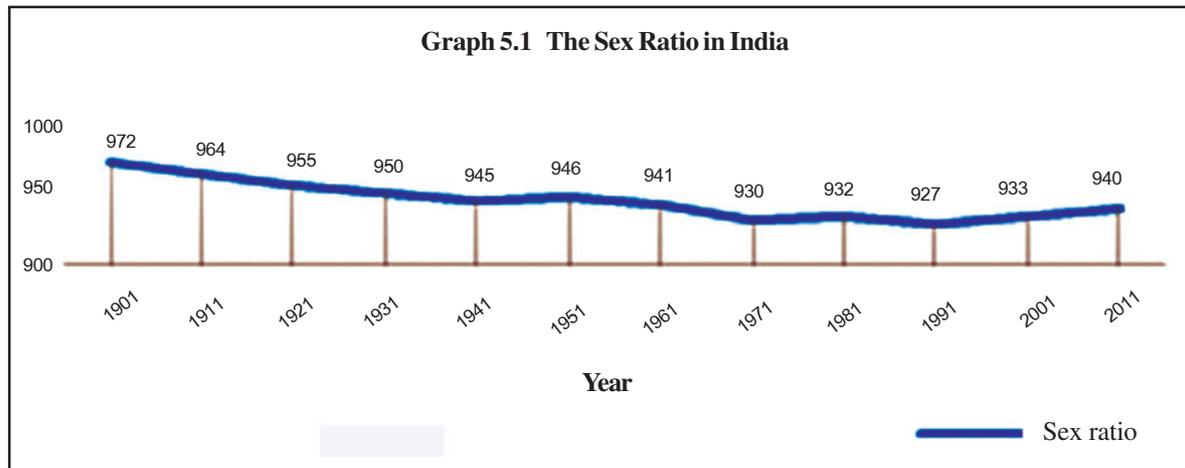
In which decades was the sex ratio the highest and in which year the lowest?

After which decade is the sex ratio seen to be increasing continuously? What may be the reasons for this increase?

Of which decade's sex ratio has the sex ratio of 2011 become almost equal?

When we look at the figures we find that the number of women in proportion to men has been declining in India for a long time, which is indicative of the increasing discrimination against women in society. Women have to face discrimination in education and development. The census figures show that this discrimination has the biggest adverse effect on girls of small age. The ratio of boys to girls in the age group of 0 to 6 years is 1000 : 914.

We have seen that the conditions are different in different states of the country. If we look at Kerala, Tamil Nadu and others, we find that such factors as the relatively better healthcare facilities available there, the active role of women in the society, economic self-reliance etc., have contributed to the high sex ratio in these states. In sharp contrast to this, there are some parts of the country where this ratio has fallen to worrisome levels. In most states of the northern and western India, such as Rajasthan, Gujarat, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab etc., the sex ratio is less than the national average due to such factors as the dominance of patriarchal society, fewer economic opportunities for women, historically long prevailing condition of inequality and others.

The situation in Chhattisgarh is better compared to other states, considering that the sex ratio is 991 here. In districts with a largely tribal population, such as Bastar, the sex ratio is 1000 or even higher, while in plains districts, such as Bilaspur, the sex ratio is relatively lower. However, even in Chhattisgarh, the sex ratio has been continuously declining in the zero to six years' age group. The sex ratio in this age group was 984 in 1991, 975 in 2001 and 964 in 2011.

Thus, while the figures for the sex ratio in our state show the relatively better position of women here, the figures for the 0-6 years' age group point to the fact that here too the girl-child mortality rate has increased in the last three decades, and the sex ratio in this age group has been consistently declining.

On the one hand, these figures show that the social position of women and girls is becoming better,

but on the other hand, at the same time, girls are being prevented even from being born due to misuse of modern techniques.

> You must have seen a notice displayed on the noticeboards of various hospitals telling the visitors that "Pre-natal (before birth) sex determination test is not done here". Have you ever thought why such notices are displayed in hospitals?

> Why has the proportion of women in the total population continued to decline consistently, in spite of the progress made in education, health, economic development and all other fields as compared to 1901? Discuss this in the class.

Project Work: Conduct a survey of five families in your neighbourhood and make a list of the total number of men and women in them, and also the number of boys and girls up to the age of six years in them. On the basis of this, determine the ratio of women and girls per ten men.

Age Composition (the ratio of children, youth and old people)

For the purpose of analysis, the population of a region is divided into three broad age groups: boys and girls group, youth and old people. In any society, the people with the maximum productive ability are the young people, who can work in homes, fields, factories and offices. Generally, children and old people are dependent on them. The children will become the producers of the future and they will have to be prepared for that role. On the other hand, special provisions will have to be made for helping the old people. In order to formulate such a policy, it is necessary to know how the population of the country and the state is distributed among these age groups.

Fig. 5.2
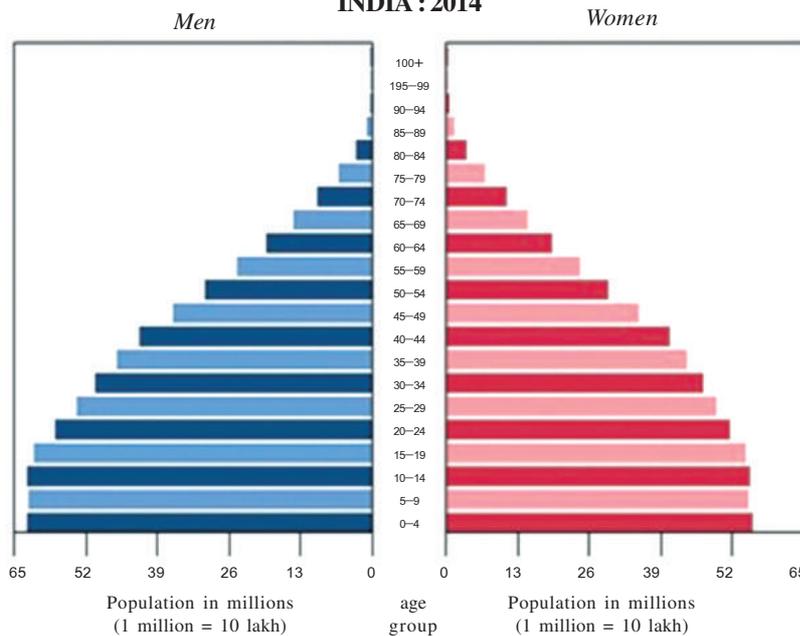
Children: Children of less than 15 years of age are included in this group. Normally, the people in this age group are dependent on people in other groups, and the arrangements for the education, health, economic development and other amenities for the members of this group are made by other people. The members of this group are not considered to be active contributors from an economic point of view. However, the prevalence of child labour contributing to production of goods and services in many areas cannot be denied.

Graph 5.2

INDIA : 2014

Men | *Women*

Population in millions (1 million = 10 lakh) | age group | Population in millions (1 million = 10 lakh)

Youth: People of ages varying from 15 to 59 years are included in this group. You will notice that people in this age group are the most active and usually the people in the other two age groups (children and old people) are dependent on them. This age group is more mobile also. It is the people in this age group who move from one place to another in attempts to find employment.

Old Age Group: This group includes people whose age is 60 years or more. After the age of 60, the work efficiency of people begins to decline and most people in this age group (who are not employed and who do not have a strong economic foundation) depend for their needs on the young people.

> **If the number of people in the children age group is very small in a country, what impact will this have on that country?**
>
> **How will be the economy of a country if there are more people in the youth age group there?**

In social sciences, population-age pyramid is used to show the age distribution of the population of a country. Look at the graph of the age pyramid in India 2014 given above. It shows the number of men and the number of women after every four years. You can see that in 2014 the proportion of children and youth in India was more than that of old people. Even in the youth age group the proportion of people under 20 years of age was higher than that of people in any other age group. This means that there will be no decline in the number of people engaged in productive work in the next 20 years. At the same time, having a lower number of old people will cause a lower burden on the economy. However, if we compare the columns for men and women, we will find that in the coming young generation, the number of women is going to be much lower than that of men, because the ratio of girls to boys is very low among the children under 8 years of age. Now we will compare this graph for India with the graphs for Western Africa and Western Europe.

Graph 5.3
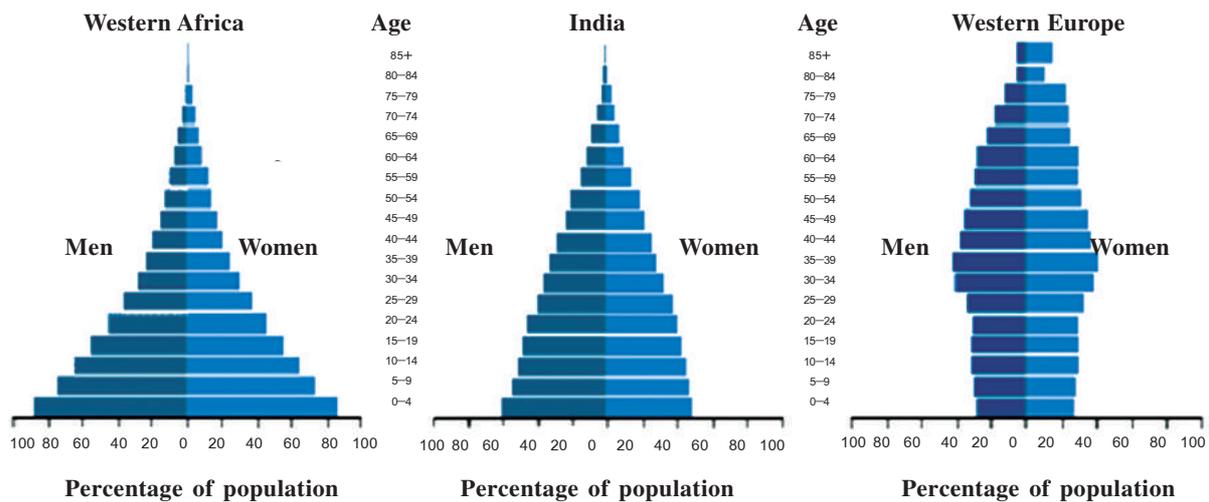
> **Compare the graphs for Western Africa and Western Europe with the graph for India and describe whether there too you see a low ratio of girls to boys among children under ten years of age?**

The graph for Western Africa shows that the age of more than half the population there is less than 20 years. Moreover, the people aged more than 50 years are less than just 12 % there. This

points to a serious situation where most people die before completing 50 years of age. If we compare this with the situation in Western Europe, another disturbing fact emerges. You can see that in Europe around 36 %people are aged more than fifty years. But if we look at the situation of children there, we find that the proportion of children in the population has been consistently declining. In other words, the people in Europe have a very long life, but so few children are being born there that the population there will keep declining and gradually the old people will be in a majority there.

There may be several reasons for this difference between the situations in Western Africa and Western Europe. The first is that the income levels and healthcare services in Europe are so good that most people live till a ripe old age there, while people in Africa die early due to poverty and poor healthcare facilities there. The infant mortality rate is quite high there. On the other hand, economic prosperity in Europe has led to people giving birth to fewer children there. In view of this problem, special encouragement and financial help by the state is provided in many European countries for raising children.

The graph or pyramid for Western Europe is almost cylindrical in shape – from 0 to 40 years, the percentage of none of the groups is declining there, while the graph for India is triangular which means that the percentage of every age group is decreasing compared to the level below it. How may this be related to the health and medicare facilities for children in India? Discuss it in the class.

Where is the proportion of children and youth (those under the age of 40) the highest - in India, Europe or Western Africa?

Where is the proportion of youth (those from 15 to 40 years of age) the highest?

Where is the proportion of old people (those above 60 years of age) the highest?

Work and Working Population

It is a very puzzling question as to who should be considered a worker or producer (working person) in the census of our country. Most people do not have regular work and the nature of their work keeps changing. Sometime people have gainful employment and at other times they remain idle. Given this situation, in which category should they be included? There can be no precise solution of this puzzle, but the Census Commission uses a functional definition for this purpose. According to the 2011 census, work has been defined as participation in economically productive activities. This participation can be through physical or mental labour. As a broad category, work includes not only the actual productive activities, but also the jobs of supervision and management. It also includes part-time help in farming, household enterprise or any other economic activities, or even unpaid work. In this way all those engaged in the activities mentioned above are workers. Even the people completely engaged in farming or milk production for domestic consumption are considered as workers, but performing daily household chores - such as cooking, fetching water, taking care of children, house-cleaning etc. – is not considered productive work.

According to the 2011 census, 30 % of the people are mainly engaged in productive work and about 10 % people are partially engaged in productive work. About 60 % of the people are not engaged in productive work. The situation is somewhat different in Chhattisgarh - here, 32 %

people are mainly engaged in productive work, while about 16 % people partially perform productive work. Thus about 52 %people are not engaged in productive work.

Literacy

According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate of our country was 74.04 %; that is to say three out of every four persons were educated. If you look at the figures for the previous censuses, you will see that India has made considerable progress in this direction after independence. In the first census after independence the literacy rate was found to be only 18%, in other words 82 out of 100 persons were illiterate. The literacy rate had increased to 64.84 % in 2001.

Although our national literacy rate is over 74 percent, according to the 2011 census, it varies from state to state and between men and women. While the literacy rate among men is 82.14 per cent, the literacy rate of women is 65.46 per cent. Similarly, literacy rate is seen to be different in different regions, for instance Kerala (93.93%), Mizoram (91.58%), Tripura (87.75%) are states with a literacy rate higher than the national average, while Bihar (63.82%), Rajasthan (67.06%), Jharkhand (67.65%) and others are states where the literacy rate is much below the national average.

What is the literacy rate of Chhattisgarh? Find out about the literacy situation in your district and discuss its impact on the development of your district?

Is the literacy rate for women the same in all the districts of Chhattisgarh, and if it is not so, then what may be the reasons for it?

Population and Development

What is meant by development? Does development just mean continuous increase in production? How are we to determine whether the economic development of a country is having a positive impact on the lives of its people? You must have read about these things in your first economics lesson.

What kind of human life can be called developed life? Two economists have made great contributions towards finding answers to these questions – they are Prof. Mehboob Ul Haq of Pakistan and Prof. Amartya Sen of India. They made some suggestions for the United Nations Development Programme for measuring human development. Haq and Sen believed that the development of the people of any country depended on whether they had opportunities to live according to their wishes, and whether they had the necessary capabilities to enable them to fulfil their wishes. According to Haq, the purpose of development is not just an increase in income, but to increase the opportunities for making choices among various life alternatives. The purpose of human development is to enhance human capabilities and make their fullest possible use. They contended that for this it is necessary to invest in people's education and health, more equal

Fig. 5.3 Mehboob Ul Haq

Fig. 5.4 Amartya Sen

Human Development
Report 2915
Work For Human Development
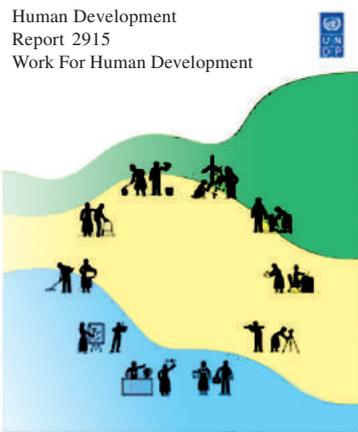
Fig. 5.5 Human Development Report 2015 Work for Human Development

distribution of income and resources, and, in particular, empowerment and economic development of women.

In order to measure this development, the United Nations Development Programme formulated some basic criteria. The first criterion is related to health – What is the average lifespan of people, or till what age do people live, on an average, in a country? It is also called life expectancy at birth. It is believed that a healthy person usually lives till an old age. The second criterion is education - How many years of schooling (or formal education) have people had on an average and how many years of education they are likely to receive. The third criterion is economic development. This aspect is assessed by the per capita income (the average annual income per person) of people in a country. The human development of a country is evaluated by taking all these three aspects together into consideration. According to this, India occupies the 130th position in the world and has received 609 points. Norway has received the highest number of points, 944, and it leads in human development. The expected life at birth is 68 years in India, while it is 81.6 years in Norway. An adult person in India has had 5.4 years of schooling on an average, while the corresponding figure for Norway is 12.6 years of education. The per capita annual income in India is 5497 American dollars, while the per capita income in Norway is 64,992 American dollars. *(Human Development Report 2015, pp. 212-214)*

However, many other ways can be used to assess the human development of a country – such as keeping track of the literacy rate, the rate of malnourished children and adults, the infant and child mortality rate, the maternal mortality rate, etc. You will read about these in other chapters of this book.

Reema says that if a woman is not allowed to do a job and live the way she wants to, in spite of being healthy and educated, then it is not development. Do you agree with her? Discuss in the class.

If the level of income is high in a country but the level of education is low, then what kind of problem will arise?

If the people of country are educated and have high income but are poor in health, then what kind of problem will arise?

Population and Poverty

Is large population the reason for poverty? This issue has been debated for a long time. Many people believe that resources and production are limited, and if they are used by a larger number of people, then each person will derive less benefit from them, but if they are to be used by fewer people then more resources will be available to each person. However, this issue is not so simple and straightforward.

The first thing is that production and resources are never constant and limited; they depend on technology. For example, when people produced heat by burning wood, the source of their energy depended on forests which were limited. But, when coal, mineral oil and gas began to be used, then new and huge deposits of energy sources emerged, and their use led to massive growth in

production. Thus, production can be increased by a change in technology and enough wealth can be generated for distribution among a growing population.

Secondly, the question as to how much production will be there in any society, depends on how many people are there in its workforce and how are their working skills and efficiency. The production of a society can be increased if there are more skilled and efficient (healthy and educated) people there. For example, the population of Russia has been declining for several decades, and far from being pleased with this, the government there is trying to stabilize and increase the population. It is doing so because only a large population will provide people for working in the factories, offices and fields, enabling an increase in production.

Thirdly, poverty is caused not by a lack of resources but by their unequal distribution. If the total production of a society is equally distributed among all its people, then nobody will be poor and nobody will be rich. Even with a small population, if there is inequality in a society, then the distribution will be unequal, and some people will remain poor. This is the reason why a portion of the population is poor even in the countries that are considered developed.

Graph 5.4
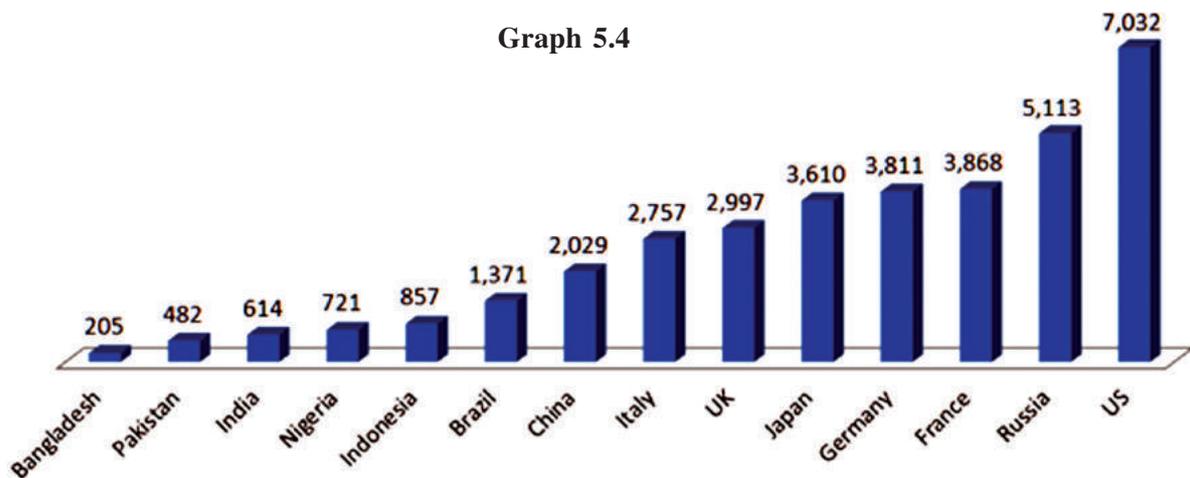
Bar Graph of energy consumption per person (in kilos of mineral oil)

Source: "Energy Use Per Capita". World Development Indicators. World Bank.

If we study this problem on a global level, we find that in reality poor countries with large populations - such as Bangladesh, India and others – use very little energy sources compared to developed countries like the United States. The graph above testifies to this fact.

You can see in this that while the inhabitants of countries like Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Nigeria, on an average, consume less than one thousand kilos of oil, the inhabitants of developed countries consume two thousand to seven thousand kilos of oil per person. If we compare the energy consumption of the total population of India with the energy consumption of the total population of the United States of America, we find that India consumes only a third of the energy consumed by America. The population of America is only one-fourth that of India, still it consumes three times more resources than India. It is another matter that all people in India too do not use these resources equally. You can imagine the amount of resources consumed by the people living in cities, especially the rich people, on the one hand, and the amount of resources consumed by the tribal people living in remote regions on the other hand.

If we assume that all the people in the world should have the same standard of living as that of the average American middle class people, then would the resources of our world be enough? Perhaps not. Gandhiji had once said that there are enough resources on the earth to fulfil the needs of all its people, but not to satisfy any one person's greed.

However, along with this argument, we will also have to accept that there is definitely some relationship between poverty and high population growth rate. In !974, at the World Population Conference held in Bucharest, India had put forth before that global forum the idea that development is the best contraceptive. In other words, if there is development the population will automatically decline. It has been observed that in developed countries, where the education and skill levels of people are high, and the healthcare services are effective, the child mortality rate is very low and the average lifespan of people is also high. It has often been also observed in those countries that women have the freedom and rights to take decisions regarding their life and occupation. One of the results of all these things is that people give birth to fewer children there. On the other hand, in countries where the child mortality rate is high, the parents do not know whether their children will survive or not. So, they give birth to more than two children believing that at least one or some of them will survive. Similarly, in countries where people have to work for low wages, child labourers are used to meet the needs of the family. This is also one of the reasons for producing more children. Parents think that if they have more children the family income will also be more. In societies where women are educated and are free to live their life as they wish, they give birth to fewer children, and the children who are born are well cared for. All in all, it has been observed that in the countries, developed in terms of these aspects, the population growth rate is relatively low. Even in India, there are states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu where the level of education, especially of women's education, is high and women have more freedom, and consequently the population growth rate is low.

This means that if the benefits of development reach all the people, the inequality in distribution of resources is removed, and the basic amenities and opportunities for employment are available to poor people, then the gap between the population and development would be reduced and the issue of population would be resolved. In order to move forward in this direction, we will have to overcome many hurdles and policy contradictions, and honestly implement the basic idea proposed at the Cairo Conference.

Give a little thought –

How much more energy resource does an average Indian consume as compared to an average Bangladeshi person?

How much more energy resource does an average Chinese consume as compared to an average Indian?

Deenu says that if the population of a country is large, then everybody will receive a low income. Does this argument seem right to you?

Meenu says that if the population of a country is small, the number of productive people will also be small there and they will produce less. As a result, the whole country will remain poor. Does this argument seem right to you?

Teenu says that if the society of a country is very unequal, there will be poverty there, because poverty is neither related to low population nor to high population, but to inequality among people. Does this argument seem right to you?

Exercise

Multiple choice questions

1. What will happen if there is no census?
    (a) Literacy will not increase.   (b) employment opportunities will decline.
    (c) There will be no farming.
    (d) Data about different aspects of the life of people will not be available to us.

2. The sex ratio in India was 940 in 2011: this means that –
    (a) the sex ratio is low.   (b) the sex ratio is high.
    (c) the sex ratio is balanced.   (d) nothing can be said.

3. Economically, the most active age group is –
    (a) the children's group.   (b) the youth group.
    (c) the old people's group.   (d) none of these.

4. An increase in the literacy rate of a country –
    (a) is good.   (b) is not good.
    (c) is neither good nor bad.   (d) is sometimes good and sometimes bad.

5. As compared to an average Indian, the use of energy resources by an American is –
    (a) equal.   (b) less.
    (c) twice as much.   (d) 300 times as much.

Answer the following questions –

1. What all data do we obtain from the census?

2. How are the census data useful for us?

3. What will happen in a country if its sex ratio is low?

4. The sex ratio in India was 940 in 2011, but it was 914 in the 0-6 years' age group. What may be the reasons for this?

5. The literacy rate of women in India is lower than that of men. What are the reasons for this?

6. 'The growing population is the hurdle in the development of the whole world'. Do you agree with this statement?

7. In 2011, the number of men in Raipur city was 5,18,611 and the number of women was 4,91,822. What would be the sex ratio in Raipur city at that time?

Project Work

1. Prepare a questionnaire with the help of your teacher to conduct a census, and obtain the following data after conducting a census of your colony or *tola* (hamlet):

    The total population, the sex ratio, the sex ratio in the 0-6 years' age group, the literacy rate, the population of children, youth and old people separately.

2. Construct an age pyramid for your neighbourhood on the basis of the data obtained.

6

Human Settlement

Building a house is the first step towards building a settlement. According to the functions and numbers of houses, human settlements take the shape of a village, hamlet, town, city and metropolis.

Discuss – What are the needs that houses fulfill?

Factors that affect the construction of houses

Climate has a great impact on the construction and type of houses. In the equatorial regions, where it rains heavily, people resided in huts constructed on wooden stilts. They live in mud houses in the arid regions, tents in the savannah or steppe plains and in houses made of ice in a cold region like the Tundra.

Temperature, speed and direction of wind, amount of rainfall, humidity etc. are the primary factors of climate. To get the benefits of the morning sun the main entrance of the house is often kept on the eastern side in the frigid and temperate zones. To avoid the hot sun in the hot tropical countries, shades are placed at the main entrance and thick walls are constructed. Due to the strong west wind, houses in Britain are constructed facing either the east or the south-east.

Fig. 6.1: House of Amezaan Besin

Fig. 6.2: Tent

Fig. 6.3: Igloo (Tundra)

In places with little rain, houses are constructed with flat roofs. But in places where it rains a lot houses are constructed with sloping roofs. Overhangs are constructed on doors and windows.

Often only those resources are used in the construction of houses which are locally and easily available. Stones are used in hilly areas, and bamboos, planks and logs are used in forested areas. In a country like Japan which is often hit by earthquakes, houses are made of wood and light materials. Various forms of houses are seen nowadays due to the expansion of the means of transportation and the availability of new resources. For example, the marble found in Rajasthan is being used in every corner of the country. Tin sheets are used in areas with heavy rainfall.

In the construction of houses, due consideration is given to surface relief, or the fluctuating surface contours. On hilly slopes, houses are constructed at several levels. The walls on the lower slopes are taller while the walls at the back are low in height. However, in the houses built in plains all the walls are of the same height. In a marshy area, the foundation is deep and firmly made.

Considerations of security, privacy and solitude play an important role in the construction of houses, for instance, the Masai pay great attention to safety in constructing their homes, called *Krals*. These days, even underground rooms are being built in homes as they are important from the point of view of keeping precious things and secrecy.

The size, type and decoration of a house are indicative of the owner's affluence. The financially prosperous people order special construction materials from outside in addition to using local materials.

In accordance with the social conventions, while constructing homes, one part is built for men while another is built for women, particularly where old traditions are well established. Similarly, in India it is a convention to construct homes in accordance with the traditional rules of architecture.

Rural settlements

Most of the people living in the villages are farmers. Their main occupation is related to agriculture. Some of them are also local artisans and service providers like carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, barbers, washer-men, weavers etc. In rural settlements or villages, there are clusters of a few houses slightly away from the main habitations. These clusters, or hamlets, are known as *purva, tola, para, deeh, majara* etc. in the local language. Public amenities like public well, pond, temple, mosque, church, school, panchayat, post office, public clinic, marketplace, police post are available in these villages.

Rural settlements in India are of the following types:

1. Compact Settlements
2. Semi-compact Settlements
3. Hamlet based Settlements
4. Dispersed Settlements

1. Compact Settlements – In these settlements, houses are built close together and adjacent to one another. Therefore, in such settlements houses get concentrated at a central location. This habitation area is away from the fields and pastures. Such settlements are distributed in northern Gangetic and Sindhu plains, the Orissa coast, the plains areas of Karnataka, Assam, the lower regions of Tripura and the Shivalik valley. In Rajasthan also, such settlements are prevalent to make the maximum use of the available natural resources.

2. Semi compact Settlements – In such settlements, there is dense habitation in the centre, and slightly away from it, there are surrounding hamlet settlements. These settlements occupy more space compared to dense settlements. Such settlements are found along the rivers in Manipur, in Mandla and Balaghat districts of M. P. and in Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh.

3. Hamlet based Settlements – Such settlements are spread out in the form of several small units of habitation. The main settlement does not have much influence over other smaller settlements. There are fields separating these settlements. Usually, such settlements are influenced by social and caste-related factors. In local parlance, these settlements are called *palli, purva, mohalla, ghani* etc. Such settlements are found in West Bengal, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh and coastal plains.

4. Dispersed Settlements – Such settlements are also called solitary settlements. The units of such settlements are small and in the form of clusters of a few houses. Their number may vary from 2 to 60. These settlements are scattered over a large area. Such settlements are found in the areas of the Chhota Nagpur plateau, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan etc.

All the above-mentioned settlements usually occur in the following models:

1. Linear Model – Such models of settlements are often found along the main highways, rail routes and rivers.

2. Rectangular Model - Such models of settlements develop all around cultivated fields. The connecting roads are also rectangular. Such settlements are found in the hilly regions of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

3. Square Model – Such settlements are mainly adjacent to the meeting places of rural pathways with roads. The formation of such settlements is often due to the compulsion of expanding the habitation in the square-shaped area available in villages.

4. Circular Model – In a settlement of this model, the dwelling units are built adjacently to one another doe to dense population. The outer walls of houses being joined together gives these settlements an appearance of a
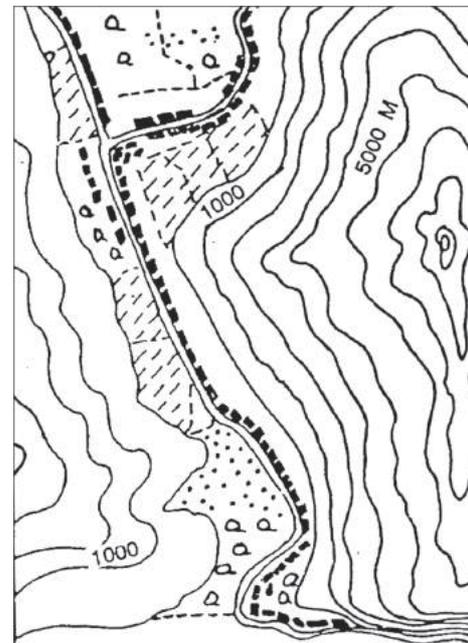
Fig. 6.4: Linear Model
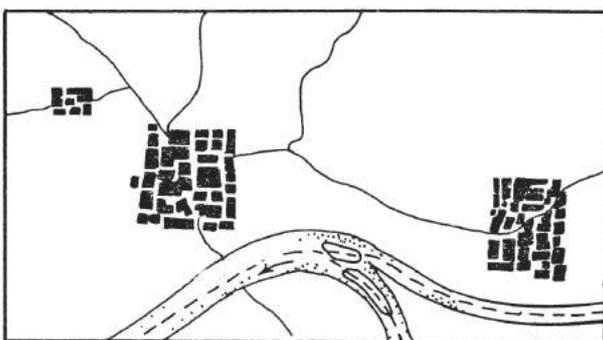
Fig. 6.5: Rectangular Model
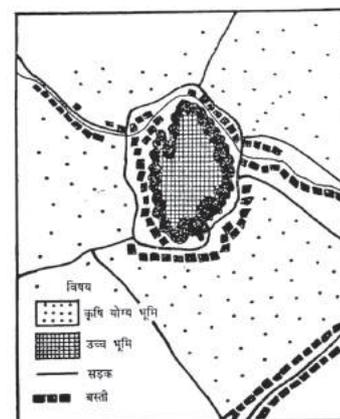
Fig. 6.6: Circular Model

compact chain-like unit. Such settlement models are found in the upper regions of the Yamuna, in the Malwa region, Punjab and Gujarat.

5. Radial Model – In such a model, the lanes and roads run towards a central place, such as a Water source, temple, mosque or occupational centre etc. Settlements near Guru Shikhar at Mount Abu (Rajasthan), and at the Vindhyachal Temple (Uttar Pradesh) are prime examples of it.

Factors affecting rural settlements:

1. Natural Factors – Natural features like the shape of the land, climate, the direction of the slope, fertility of the soil, the drainage system, groundwater level etc.

Fig. 6.7: Radial Model

affect the distance between dwellings and their forms. In the dry regions of Rajasthan, the availability of water is the deciding factor in settlements, so the houses there are centred around a pond or well.

2. Caste and cultural factors – Casteism and community affiliations affect the forms of settlements. It is normally found in India that the main land-holding castes reside in the centre of the village, and the castes that provide other necessary services reside on the periphery of the village. This results in social separation and the break-up of settlements in small units.

The National Housing Policy was declared in 1988 with a long-term goal of removing the problem of scarcity of housing, and improving the inadequate housing system, as well as providing a basic minimum level of amenities to all the people. In this context, the Indira Awaas Scheme was launched to provide housing for the people living below the poverty line. In addition to the people living below the poverty line, the families of retired military personnel and of members of para-military forces killed in encounters were also included in this scheme. Three per cent houses in this scheme are reserved for physically or mentally challenged people. This scheme is implemented by the District Rural Development Agency, under the Zila Parishad Indira Awaas Yojna. Apart from the Indira Awaas Yojna, the Atal Awaas Yojna, the Deendayal Upadhyaya Awaas Yojna etc. are also being implemented under the Rural Development Scheme.

Urban Settlements

The development of any city begins in the form of a small settlement. Gradually it grows in size to become a town, market town, city, metropolitan city and a mega metropolis. The growth of a city takes place through the following stages:

1. Infancy – In this stage there are a few shops and houses at one place. There are one or two roads. The atmosphere usually appears to be rural.

2. Childhood – In this stage, a commercial area develops in the central part. Residential houses and shops are constructed.

3. Adolescence - In this stage, the roads and lanes of the town get developed. The residential and commercial areas too undergo development. The population begins to spread outwards.

4. Maturity – The residential and industrial areas of the city become distinct and separate in this stage. The residential areas are divided into several parts. Multi-storey houses begin to be constructed due to an increase in population.

5. Middle age – This is the peak stage of a city's growth and splendour. In this stage, the commercial, industrial, residential and administrative areas of the city become separate.

6. Old age – This is the last stage of a city's growth in which it becomes clogged. Samarkand, Constantinople, Multan, Bukhara etc. are examples of such cities.

Types of urban settlements on the basis of population

1. Hamlet – Population of about 50 to 100

2. Village – 100 to 5000 people

3. Town – 5000 to 10,000 people

4. City – Population of more than 1 lakh

5. Metropolis – Population of 10 lakh to 50 lakh

6. Megalopolis – population of more than 50 lakh

The sequence of growth of cities is connected with the evolution of human civilization. In ancient times, cities developed in the form of trading centres. All cities look like villages in the initial stage of their development. Later on, they become large in size. The settlement unit between a village and a city is called a town, where city-like facilities are available. These towns grow into cities with time.

That settlement is called an urban settlement where activities of producing man-made goods are predominant, and people are engaged in work of manufacturing, transportation, trade, commerce, education, banking, entertainment as well as governance and administration.

Factors influencing the origin of urban settlements

1. Climate – People like to live in places with a temperate and healthy climate. In comparison with cold-climate regions temperate and tropical climates have dense populations. Some of the famous and prosperous cities of the world at present are in the temperate and cold climatic regions, Tokyo, New York, Shanghai, Los Angeles, Beijing etc. are examples of such cities.

2. Landform – More settlements develop in places where the land surface is plain and the soil is fertile. Plain surface is required for the growth of residential areas, industries and businesses, factories, roads etc.

3. Mineral and energy resources – At places where minerals are found, gradually cities begin to develop. When minerals are exhausted, these cities begin to be abandoned by people and turn into 'ghost cities'. The same happens with many factory towns with changes in technology.

4. Water supply sources – In ancient times, cities used to be developed near perennial water supply sources. Apart from domestic use, they supply water for industrial production, and for transportation needs. Among examples of such cities, London developed along the river Tames, New York along the Hudson, Chicago along the Michigan, Moscow along the Moskva, Delhi along the Yamuna, and Allahabd, Howrah and Kanpur along the river Ganga.

5. Transport – Sources of conveyance and transportation have an occupational relationship with cities. Wherever two or more roads meet, an urban settlement begins to form there. Transportation and transport make a major contribution to the growth of a city.

6. Industrialisation – Industries evolve gradually. A city that becomes predominantly industrial slowly takes the form of a big city. Examples of such cities include Birmingham and Liverpool in Great Britain, and Tatanagar, Rourkela and Bhilai in India.

7. Capital investment and technology – The investment of capital plays a dominant role in the development of cities. Capital is required for the construction of buildings and roads, and for providing water supply and lighting. Similarly, skilled labour, and people with engineering and technological capabilities are required for exploiting and using the available resources.

8. Trade and commerce – Commerce starts on the foundation of freight transport and transportation facilities, and it leads to the development of a commercial city. Such cities usually develop at the following places:

(i)   in rural areas near the roads or rail tracks.

(ii)   at the meeting places of plains, hills and forests.

(iii)   At the meeting points of major roads.

Urbanisation in India and its problems

The urban population in India increased rapidly after independence with the all-around development of the country. This migration of population from rural to urban areas is being caused by lack of employment in villages, too much pressure on agricultural land, fall in agricultural productivity and poor standard of living in rural areas.

The rural population is attracted to the cities by more employment opportunities available there, higher rates of wages, and the glamorous life of cities. Due to this tendency of large-scale migration, many problems have emerged in cities.

1. Environmental problem – The main causes of air pollution in big cities are toxic chemicals emitted by vehicles and industrial enterprises. These toxic emissions include sulphur dioxide, carbon mono-oxide, lead and nitrous oxide that are extremely harmful to health.

Similarly, urbanization has affected the water supply and its sources also. Due to the growing number of residential buildings, the rainwater is unable to seep through the paved ground, resulting in rapidly falling groundwater levels.

The waste water from the factories and industrial units in big cities is discharged into streams and rivers, which makes the water of rivers unfit to drink. The Yamuna has been reduced to a big drain near Delhi. Similarly, the leather factories situated in Kanpur have made the water of the Ganga there unfit for human use.

In the same way, the noise pollution level in most big cities has reached a level of 70 to 80 decibels which is a serious hazard to hearing.

2. Housing problem - In the various big cities of India a major portion of their total population lives in slums in makeshift hutments. The people living in these slum hutments are from the poor classes of

people of rural areas who have migrated to cities and they make these hutments near the residential areas of upper class people. Often these are considered 'unauthorised' colonies and are not provided with proper roads, water supply or sanitation by municipal authorities. Although, these same slum settlements provide cheap domestic labour to work for low wages in the homes of the rich people.

3. Employment Problem – The rate of growth of employment in cities has not kept pace with the rate at which their population has been growing. The rate of migration from villages to cities is high and the labourers have to work for low wages which causes social tensions.

Thus, increasing urbanization in India has created many problems. In order to check them, it is necessary to control the growing population of cities. For that to happen, it is essential that schemes to provide more employment opportunities in rural areas, such as the Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, are implemented effectively.

In order to resolve this problem, the former President Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam had announced on the occasion of the Independence Day, 15 August 2003, a scheme to provide all the city-like amenities in the villages also. It is known as the PURA (Providing Urban Amenities in Rural Areas) Scheme. Under this scheme, urban facilities will be made available in villages with the cooperation of the Gram Panchayats and Public Private Partnership (PPP). In Chhattisgarh, the village Baktara, situated near the international stadium in the Arang development block of the Raipur district, has been adopted for the implementation of this scheme.

The concept of a Smart City

In order to overcome the problems caused by the pressure of the growing population in cities, the Government of India has decided to convert 100 cities into smart cities in the first stage of a new scheme for this purpose.

What is meant by a Smart City – "The people living in these cities will be provided the basic infrastructural services quickly and skillfully, along with provisions for rescue and security. These cities will act like light houses for other cities."

Exercises

Choose and write the correct answer –

1. The reason why houses are constructed with light materials in Japan is –

   a. rain,   b. earthquakes,

   c. wind,   d. social convention

2. The model of a city along the roadside is in the shape of a –

   a. star model,   b. serpentine model,

   c. linear model,   d. circular model

3.   A settlement with a population of five to ten lakh is called –

   a. town,   b. metropolis,

   c. city,   d. mega metropolis

4.   London is situated on the banks of the –

   a. Tames river,   b. Hudson river,

   c. Michigan river,   d. Moskva river

Answer the following questions –

1.   Why is a home necessary for human beings?

2.   What is a *Kral*?

3.   Write down the characteristics of houses in Rajasthan?

4.   In which scheme is the village Baktara included?

5.   What is the reason that the main entrance of houses in Britain is kept facing east or south-east?

6.   How do the various factors of climate influence the construction of houses?

7.   What all problems are being caused by urbanization? Explain by giving examples.

8.   Compare the rural settlement with the urban settlement.

9.   Describe the different stages in the development of a city.

Project Work –

What types of rural/urban settlement models are found in your region? Make a list and give its reasons.

HISTORY

In the previous class, we learnt ….

We learnt about world history up to the beginning of the 20th century in Class IX. We learnt about the rise of nationalism in Europe and how constitutional monarchies and democratic forms of government were established. We also learnt how European states established their colonies in other continents of the world and what impact colonisation had on the people of those continents.

The process of industrialisation began in the 18th and 19th centuries in most of the major European countries, Japan and the United States of America (USA). These countries exploited their colonies to meet their growing needs for industrial raw materials. They also treated their colonies as captive markets for the industrial goods they produced.

The systems of government they established world-wide gave rise to unprecedented exploitation and inequality. But, at the same time, people were imbibing new values as new ideas of nationalism, democracy, independence and equality spread across the world. People's revolutions against inequality, exploitation and colonisation began gathering speed in all corners of the globe.

To refresh your memory, choose the correct options to fill into the blank spaces below:

1. **Constitutional monarchy was established in England in 1688, while the ……………… …………………………….............….............. revolution took place in 1776 and the …………………………………………………. revolution occurred in 1789. (French, Russian, American)**

2. **The 'Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen' was published during the …………………………..……………… revolution. (American, French)**

3. **The industrial revolution began in …………………………………………………. in the 18th century, while …………………………………………………. began industrialising after 1850. (Japan, India, Germany, Africa, England)**

4. **…………………………………………….. and …………………………………………….. became powerful nation-states following the consolidation of their territory after 1850. (Japan, Italy, India, Germany, France, England)**

5. **Constitutional monarchy was established in …………………………….……………… after the Meiji Restoration, leading to the end of the feudal system as the country industrialised. (Japan, India, Germany, Africa, England)**

6. **The intense rivalry among the newly industrialised nations of Europe to establish their colonies in the continent of ………………………………………………….. began towards the end of the 19th century. (South America, Australia, Africa, Asia)**

7. **………………………………………… became the most powerful colonial nation by the beginning of the 20th century. (Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Spain)**

7

The First World War

You learnt about the process of industrialisation and the development of democracy in the previous class. In the 19th century, the people of Europe were benefiting from the spread of industry and democratic ideas. They also benefited from the control they established over their colonies. But, as the 20th century dawned, their governments led them into a horrific war. We shall try to understand more about the developments that led these nations to get involved in this disastrous episode in world history.

You may have heard about wars, seen films about wars and read about wars in the newspapers. In olden days, when two countries waged war, their armies confronted each other on the battlefield. Their warriors, mostly men, rode horses and fought each other with bows and arrows, swords, spears, lances and other such weapons. The victorious army would loot and pillage the villages and towns of the defeated country, carrying away and enslaving the women and children.

During the Mughal times, new weapons were used in battle, such as guns, cannons and gunpowder. But the way war was waged changed drastically after the industrial revolution in Europe. Cannons that could rain deadly bombs 20km away, automatic machine-guns, submarines and troop transport by vehicles and rail transformed the nature of war. Not just that. Where earlier two countries faced each other on the battlefield, the 20th century witnessed world wars in which lakhs of civilian people were killed and countless were crippled.

How does war disrupt the lives of people? Discuss in class.

Find out from the newspapers where wars are being waged in the world today and how they are affecting the lives of the people in the warring countries.

Some basic facts

Countries which fought the First World War: The German empire, Austro-Hungarian empire and Ottoman empire (Turkey) were on one side while Britain, France, the Russian empire and the United States of America were on the other.

When was the war waged: August 1914 to November 1918.

How many people were affected in the war: See the table below:

Table 7.1: Human casualties in the First World War

Country	No of soldiers	Deaths	Wounded	Prisoners/missing
Austria	78,00,000	12,00,000	36,20,000	22,00,000
Britain (with colonies)	89,04,467	9,08,371	20,90,212	1,91,652
France	84,10,000	13,57,800	42,66,000	5,37,000
Germany	110,00,000	17,37,000	42,16,058	11,52,800
Italy	56,15,000	6,50,000	9,47,000	6,00,000
Russia	120,00,000	17,00,000	49,50,000	25,00,000
Turkey	28,50,000	3,25,000	4,00,000	2,50,000
USA	43,55,000	1,26,000	2,34,000	4,500

Which country suffered the most deaths?

Which country suffered the least casualties?

Thousands of Indian soldiers were killed in this war. In which country's figures would Indian casualties be included?

What do you think was done to the soldiers who were taken prisoner? How do you think the soldiers who were disabled lived their lives after the war was over?

How do you think the families who lost their young male members coped with life after the war?

Why do we call it a world war?

All European countries, barring a few like Switzerland, fought in the First World War, with America joining in 1917. But the impact was felt not just across these two continents but across almost the entire world. This was because the European countries deployed the people and resources of their colonies in all the continents on all battlefronts. For example, lakhs of Indian soldiers fought in the British army.

Identify Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, Italy and other countries on the map of Europe. Today, all these countries are industrially developed and have a democratic system of governance. That means their governments are run by representatives of the people who are elected in some way or the other.

Trace the geographical boundaries of different countries at the start of the First World War in 1914 in Map 7.1. Identify Britain, France, the German empire, Austria-Hungary empire, Italy, Russian empire and Ottoman empire (Turkey). Can you guess which countries among these had democratic governments and gave their citizens the right to vote?

Map 7.1: Europe in 1914
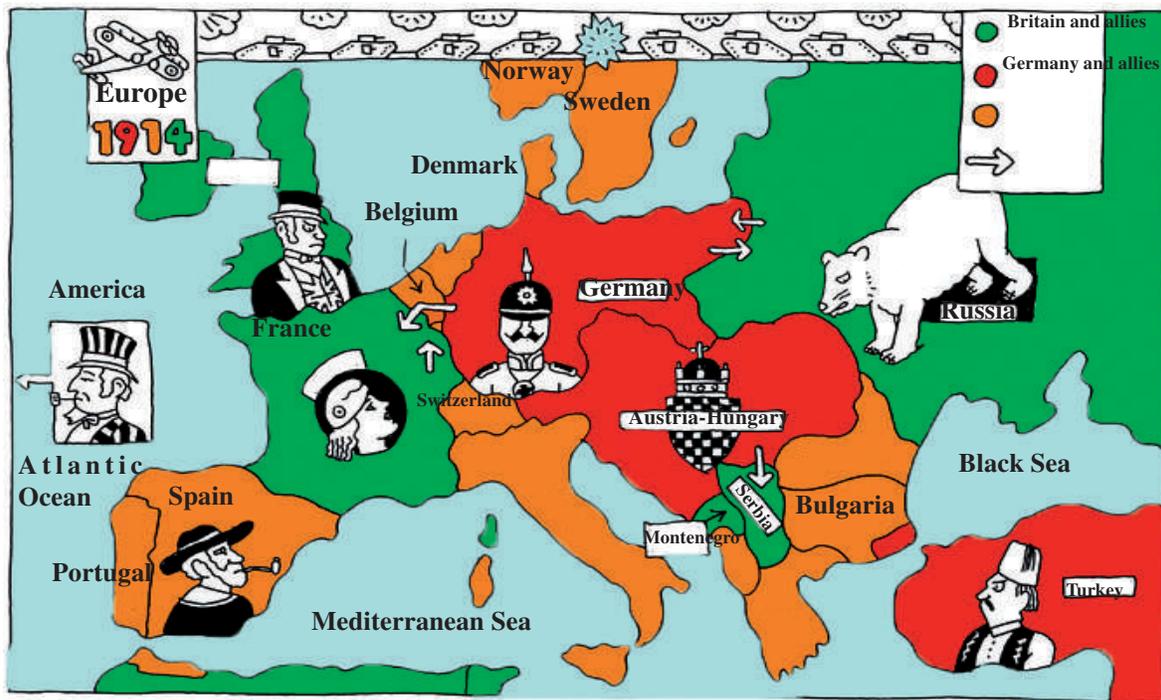
How did the First World War begin?

A very minor incident led to the outbreak of the war. Austria-Hungary wanted to annex its small neighbour, Serbia. This angered the nationalistic Serbian people. They wanted to teach their bigger neighbour a lesson as a warning. One highly patriotic Serbian citizen assassinated the Archduke of Austria and his wife at a place called Sarajevo in June 1914. Austria launched an attack on Serbia to avenge the murder. Russia came to the aid of Serbia, while Germany sided with Austria in the ensuing battle. Soon, France, Britain and other countries found themselves drawn into the war.

Why did all these countries get involved in the conflict? We need to consider many factors when we look for the root cause behind such a momentous episode in world history.

One causative factor was the changing economic requirements of these countries. They were all industrialising rapidly so there was intense competition among them to become the most powerful industrial nation in the world. As you read in the previous class, the process of industrialisation began in Britain and, by the close of the 19th century, Germany was striving to become Britain's equal, with Austria, France, Italy and Russia also making similar attempts.

Industrialisation required mineral resources, large markets and colonies. So there was a fierce competition between countries to gain control of mineral-rich regions in Europe and around the world. The older industrial countries like Britain had already established their control over many such regions. The newer industrialising countries wanted to capture these regions from Britain and other weaker countries. For example, Germany attacked France in 1871 and captured the mineral-rich Alsace-Lorraine region. It also annexed Polish territory.

In those days, Britain's industrial growth was helped, to a large extent, by its growing naval power.

The country ruled the seas so it was able to expand its trade across the world and also exercise total control over its colonies. Germany knew it would have to first challenge Britain's maritime dominance if it wished to industrialise and expand its trade. But the country had only one harbour in the North Sea. It needed to gain access to the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean to ensure free passage for its ships across the world. But to do so, it would have to build up its naval fleet to be in a position to confront Britain on the seas. So the country focused on building its maritime strength even as it kept expanding its territorial boundaries and sphere of influence.

> **Why did a country need a powerful naval fleet to industrialise in those days? Discuss in class.**
>
> **What methods could a country use to gain control over mineral-rich areas of its neighbour? Which of these methods would be acceptable to both countries?**
>
> **Do you think that a country will have to enter into conflicts with other countries if it wishes to industrialise? Is industrialisation possible by any other method?**

Complex international treaties

Tension was building up between European countries by the end of the 19th century, and the powerful countries felt that, sooner or later, war was inevitable. None of them were keen to fight a war on their own, so they signed secret treaties with one another. A primary condition of these treaties was that if one country was attacked, its treaty partner would come to its aid. The following treaties laid the ground for the outbreak of the First World War:

Triple Alliance: This treaty between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy came into force in 1882. It stipulated that if any of the three signatory countries was attacked by France or Russia, the other two countries would come to its aid in the ensuing war.

Triple Entente: France and Russia were uneasy about Germany's growing might and belligerence and were also wary of the Triple Alliance. At the same time, Britain was worried about Germany's mounting naval strength. So the three countries entered into an agreement in 1907, the condition being that if any one of them was attacked by an enemy country, the other two would come to its assistance.

Apart from these two treaties, Germany also signed an agreement with the Ottoman empire in which Turkey promised to come to its aid if Russia attacked either Germany or Austria. Similarly, Russia entered into an agreement with Serbia that stipulated that Russia would come to Serbia's aid if it was attacked by Austria.

This complex web of treaties that the countries wove to protect themselves divided Europe into two camps. One alliance was led by Germany and the other by Britain. Tension kept building up between the alliances. It was in this volatile situation that the Archduke of Austria and his wife were assassinated. The assassination provided Austria with an excuse to attack Serbia. Russia entered the war to support Serbia while Germany came to the aid of Austria.

Figure 7.1: A cartoon published in 1914. It shows how all the European countries were drawn into the war

Ultra-nationalist feelings and militarism

Towards the end of the 19th century, many nationalist states were being established. Their governments promoted the spirit of patriotism among the people, encouraging them to make their nation states strong and powerful. They believed that whichever nation possessed the most territory and the largest number of colonies would be all-powerful while those that didn't would be crushed by their powerful neighbours.

At the same time, many new communities sharing the same language or religion began to see themselves as separate nations and launched struggles to establish their own independent states. Prominent among them were the Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Slav and Jewish people, none of whom had their own independent state.

Countless such groups in Central Europe, inspired by nationalist ideas, tried to break up the existing empires to build their separate, independent nation states. The German, Austrian, Russian and Turkish empires were the ones that felt the impact of these elements the most.

But there was one problem in establishing independent linguistic states. Many of the people speaking the same language were spread across different regions. It was difficult to consolidate all these regions

into a single state. Compounding the problem was the fact that these regions also had many people speaking a different language.

All these factors contributed to spreading political turmoil across Europe. Tension kept building up within and between countries. The feeling slowly grew among the people that the only way to resolve their problems was through war. Jingoistic nationalism, diplomatic intrigue, and economic self-interest soon made all talk of peace superfluous. Peace and harmony gave way to feelings of doubt, fear and malice among the people. In such a charged situation, nations found it extremely difficult to view what was happening in a calm and rational manner.

It was also during this time that many people were being influenced by Darwin's theories of natural selection. They believed in the principle of social Darwinism, which essentially meant that only the fittest and most capable nations would survive and progress. They saw struggle as a natural law of life and development. Many nations began to believe that it was their natural right to rule over weaker nations because their culture was superior. They did not consider it unethical to use armed force to achieve their ends, even going to the extent of justifying genocide.

> **Was it possible then to avoid war? Could a nation that believed it had the right to rule over everyone else and propagate its culture/religion achieve its goals without clashing with other nations?**
>
> **In what way did political thinkers and diplomats misuse Darwin's theories? Does a country's progress depend on establishing its sovereignty over other countries?**

Newspapers play a key role in influencing public opinion. At the time of the First World War, many newspapers contributed to the spread of ultra-nationalism. They presented news of incidents in such a provocative manner that people were incited, making it difficult to enter into peace agreements. When British newspapers criticised the policies of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the Germans began seeing Britain as their enemy. The German reaction, in turn, incited the people of England. Similarly, biased newspaper reports led to a breakdown in relations between France and Germany. In Serbia and Austria, newspapers published inflammatory articles following the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, creating malice and distrust between the two nations.

Ultra-nationalism led to the rise of militarism. All nations focused on fortifying their armies and equipping them with the latest weaponry. Each competed with the other to display their military prowess. Who had the most battleships? Who had the most powerful cannons?

Militarism is not limited to building armoured might. A militarist mood grips the people. They believe in a disciplinary regime where everyone complies with orders uncritically and accepts state policy without asking questions. Democratic values are undermined but such a climate suits the agenda of military rulers. Autocratic regimes are thus strength-

Table 7.2: Military expenditure of large nations – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Britain, Russia, Italy and France - between 1880 and 1914 (in £ crore)
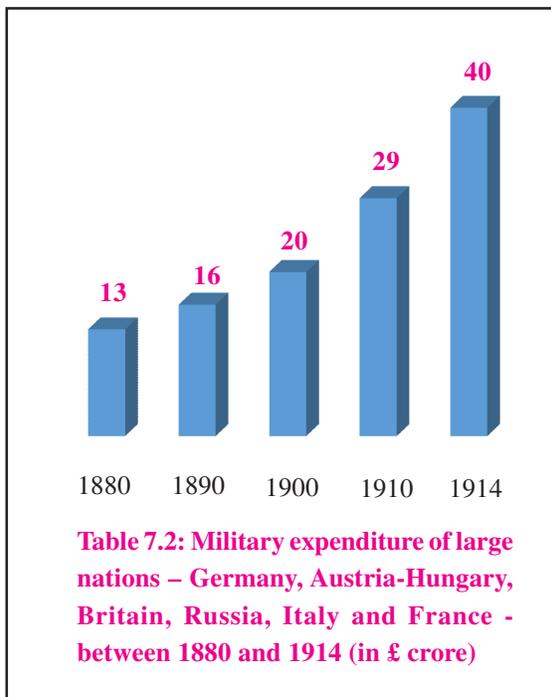
ened even as democracy is weakened.

In short, militarism has two distinguishing features – it leads to a scaling up of armed forces and stockpiling of weaponry as nations seek to establish their military supremacy while it also moulds people's minds so that they begin to accept state policies unquestioningly.

Table 7.2 shows that military spending rose two-fold from £20 crore to £40 crore in the 14 years from 1900 to 1914. The military budgets of all large European nations rose steadily as they prepared for war. They set up factories exclusively to manufacture arma-

Figure 7.2: A German factory manufacturing cannons (1916)

ments and many capitalists invested in these ventures in the hope that the outbreak of war would increase demand for weaponry, thus maximising their profits.

Do you think a humanist perspective should accompany investment in industry? State your views.

However, it was not as if all the people in Europe were taken in by the claims of their militaristic governments and were in favour of waging war. Anti-war sentiments were slowly gaining ground, especially within the labour movement and the women's rights movement. These movements opposed war. They pointed out that war suited the designs of ruling governments but did not benefit the people. The women's movement also unequivocally stated that it is male pride that instigates the decision to wage war but the ones to suffer the most are women.

Prominent among the anti-war dissidents were Karl Liebknecht of Germany, Rosa Luxemburg of Poland, Vladimir Lenin of Russia and Sylvia Pankhurst of Britain. But their voices were swamped by the war hysteria of 1914. It was only after thousands of people were killed in the war and families saw a stream of disabled soldiers returning home that anti-war sentiments began to spread.

Take a look at this poster published in Britain. It urges people to turn their silver into bullets. What is the message it conveys? Discuss in class.

Why did the First World War happen?

In brief, it can be said that the 19th century saw the establishment of nation-states that were not democratic, with power continuing to remain in the hands of the elite class. This was the time when all nations were industrialising rapidly, leading to intense competition between them. The newly emerging countries were trying to create their own space, which naturally upset the existing power balance between countries.

This was also the time when many communities in the established empires were struggling to gain independence and
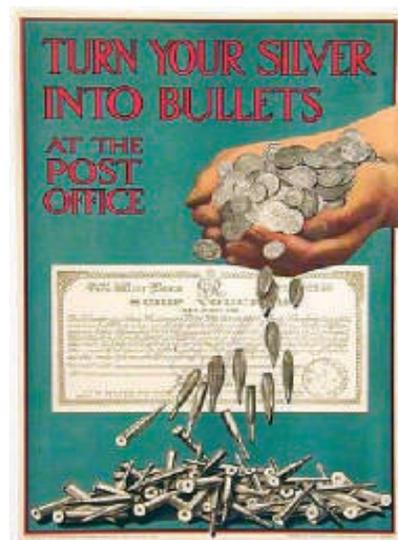
Figure 7.3: Turn your silver into bullets

establish their own nations, which posed threat to these empires. This, too, contributed to upsetting the international equilibrium.

When the outbreak of war seemed inevitable, many nations signed secret treaties with each other. But a minor clash between two nations soon escalated into a world war as the treaty signatories sprang to each other's defence.

These events happened in quick succession because ultra-nationalism and militarism had taken root and spread across Europe. People were ready for war. But, as the consequences of war became starkly apparent to them, their enthusiasm gave way to rage against their military rulers.

Major episodes of the First World War

Following the assassination of their Archduke, Austria-Hungary launched an attack on Serbia on July 28, 1914. Russia rushed to Serbia's aid and attacked Austria while France announced its support for Russia. Germany declared war against Russia on August 1 and against France on August 3. Germany despatched its troops through Belgium to launch an attack on France. This led Britain to declare war against Germany on August 4.

In this way, all the major European countries and their global colonies were drawn into the war. Japan announced its decision to oppose Germany on August 23 while Turkey joined the war in October by bombing Russian ports. Italy was initially in the German alliance but joined Britain after signing a secret treaty in April 1915.

America was initially neutral. But it had strong trade ties with Britain and France, with its companies profiting by selling food and armaments to these countries. It also earned interest by extending war loans to them. But Germany used its powerful naval fleet to disrupt Britain's and France's contacts with other countries, severely affecting their trade and preventing USA from coming to their aid. German submarines also began attacking American ships carrying goods to Britain. Among them was an American passenger ship, which sank with all its crew and passengers. This act enraged America, leading it to declare war on Germany on April 6, 1917. In this way, all continents of the world were drawn into the war.

In the beginning of the war, Germany met with success on the battle-front. It succeeded in advancing towards France and repulsed the Russian attack. But France and Britain soon joined forces to arrest the German advances. In the east, Russia faced defeat. The repeated setbacks on the battlefield led to growing anti-war sentiment in the country and growing demands for democracy. This laid the ground for the October revolution in 1917, after which the revolutionary government signed an agreement with Germany to withdraw Russia from the war.

Figure 7.4: An idealised picture of life in a trench

Figure 7.5: A realistic picture of life in a trench

The war took a decisive turn after America joined the battle in 1917. The country's huge resources were used to mobilise troops against Germany. Within Germany, the people rebelled against Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm, forcing him to abdicate. A democratic government was established in Germany, which took steps to end the war. This led to America declaring an end of the war on November 11, 1918.

In this way, the war that had raged for four-and-a-half years came to an end. Around 80 lakh soldiers were killed while two crore soldiers were injured, many of them dying because of the hardships of war. The nations who fought the war collectively spent £4,000 crore on the war effort, disrupting their economies. It took many years for these countries to get their economies back on the rails after the war.

The Soldiers of war

The governments of all countries went on a massive army enlistment drive once the war was announced. In most countries, enlistment of youth was compulsory. Most of them were poor farmers or labourers. The officers, on the other hand, belonged to the upper, elite classes. They saw these poor soldiers as so many herds of sheep who could be thrust into the jaws of death without a second thought.

Take for example, the Battle of Verdun, a small French city, which raged for 10 months. It claimed the lives of at least 2,80,00 German soldiers and 3,15,000 French soldiers. Similarly, the Battle of Somme, also in France, saw 20,000 British casualties in a single day, with another 35,000 badly wounded. Altogether, 4,00,000 British soldiers, 2,00,000 French soldiers and 6,00,000 German soldiers were killed in the year-long fighting.

The countries fighting the war used to dig long trenches in their territory. Soldiers in the trenches were protected from enemy fire and could fire at advancing enemy soldiers from them. The soldiers lived day and night in these trenches in pitiable conditions. They had to brave the biting cold and rain for months on end. The lived, ate and slept in slush-filled pits, with the dead lying in a pile, rotting, eaten by rats. The stench was unbearable, with lice and eczema compounding their misery.

Antibiotics had not been discovered in those days. So even a minor injury could get infected in these unsanitary conditions. Many of soldiers were exposed to cannon-fire for the first time, the shattering explosions of the heavy cannon balls disorienting them and even causing them to lose their mental balance. It took a long time for military doctors to understand this mental illness and look for a proper care. Many soldiers returning from the front suffered mental tension for years on end, leaving them prey to other illnesses as well.

The condition of prisoners of war (soldiers imprisoned by enemy countries) was equally inhuman. They were looked upon with hatred and their upkeep was considered a waste of resources. Most countries did not observe the international treaties which specified that prisoners of war should be treated humanely. Germany, which fought the war on many fronts, captured the largest number of prisoners, with around 25 lakh soldiers of different countries interned in their war camps. Britain and France had around 3,00,000 prisoners each in their camps.

Around 13 lakh Indian soldiers fought on the British war front in Africa, Iraq and France, with around 74,000 casualties.

New techniques used in the First World War

Machine guns: Soldiers in the network of trenches usually used machine guns. This was the first time that such guns were used in a war. They could fire hundreds of rounds per minute. Their killing power was many times more than that of a rifle that had to be re-loaded after every shot.

Cannons: These were used on a large scale in the war. The heavy cannons could fire 50-60 rounds per minute. With their ability to fire rounds continuously on a target at a specified distance, they were a successful answer to the obstacle created by trenches. They could destroy the trenches along with the enemy soldiers, their weapons and other equipment.

Tank: In 1899, Britain developed an armoured car with bullet-proof plating that was equipped with a machine gun. Its tyres were then replaced with a chain track that enabled the vehicle to navigate through mud and undulating terrain. In this way, the tank was developed.

Figure 7.6: The first tank

Figure 7.7: A German submarine (u-boat)

Submarine: Germany developed the u-boat (submarine) that could navigate below the water surface and bomb enemy ships. Around 50% of Britain's trade ships were destroyed by u-boats in the First World War.

Poison gas: Germany, which had a flourishing chemical industry, experimented with poison gas to kill or blind the enemy. Soldiers on the opposing side were forced to wear masks to continue fighting. Seeing the devastating effect of such chemical weapons, all the countries of the world decided after the war that such weapons would never be used in war hereafter. This agreement is called the Geneva Convention, which also specified several other important rules of warfare that were universally accepted.

Railway trains: During the First World War, soldiers, weapons, cannons running on rail tracks, and other war logistics were transported to distant outposts by train. This new transport facility established an important place for itself in war.

Airplanes: From the time the Wright brothers flew the first airplane in December 1903 to the start of the First World War in 1914, the technique and manufacture of airplanes was in its preliminary phase. In this stage, they were used mainly for air patrols to reconnoitre enemy positions. Most nations soon realised the strategic importance of airplanes. As a result, the technique of manufacturing aircraft saw rapid advances during the First World

Figure 7.8: An aircraft flying over a war front. Trenches can be seen on the ground

War. From 750 airplanes at the beginning of the war, the number rose to 10,000 on both sides of the conflict by the time the war ended. The war saw the development of more advanced aircraft that could remain airborne longer, fly faster, and were more sturdily built.

How the war affected the people

The First World War was a Total War. It was the first war in which all the people of every country caught in its ambit were thrust into the conflict and suffered its consequences. People living in the battle front areas were the worst sufferers. They were looted, raped and subjected to atrocities by the enemy troops. Their homes and fields were completely destroyed, rendering them homeless. The most seriously affected countries were Belgium, France, Poland and Russia.

Every government stirred up war hysteria to win the support of their people. In promoting patriotism they also fanned hatred for the enemy. School textbooks, posters, plays and other cultural means were extensively used in the war propaganda, making a deep impact on people. In the early years of the war, the targets of the propaganda were mostly the religious and linguistic minorities living in the country. These people were evicted from their homes and jobs and forced to live in camps under strict police surveillance. The war hysteria inspired lakhs of young people to enlist and go to the front, where they killed and died for their country.

Gradually, the true reality of the horrors of war began to surface. Demands for peace and an end to war arose in all countries as the people rose in rebellion. Almost every family was affected, as their adult members enlisted and went to their death - or returned injured and disabled. They bore the brunt of the war – its cost and consequences - in some way or the other. One serious consequence was the threat of starvation as food became scarce. Governments procured foodstuff in huge quantities to feed their armies. Another reason for the scarcity of foodstuff in the market was the disruption of trade. The war conditions prevented the flow of foodstuffs that were traditionally imported. Countries began rationing food to ensure that everyone got at least the bare minimum.

On the industrial front, factories began gearing their production to meet the war effort. This led to an acute shortage of consumer goods that people required in their daily lives. Prices rose as both foodstuff and consumer goods became scarce, doubling and even trebling. But wages of workers did not rise in proportion. Factory and mill owners catering to the war needs earned handsome profits and enriched themselves, but the wages of workers remained the same. Public facilities like hospitals and dispensaries were also diverted to the war effort, inconveniencing the people and making them suffer.

As the war casualties and mortality figures rose, with every family reporting losses of their adult members, the people's anger turned on those who were responsible for whipping up war hysteria and leading their country into the conflict. The workers began agitating for more wages. People realised that it was the absence of democracy in their country that made it so easy for their war-mongering government to lead them into this horrible war. Had democracy been established, the government would have been forced to listen to the people and not wage war against their wishes.
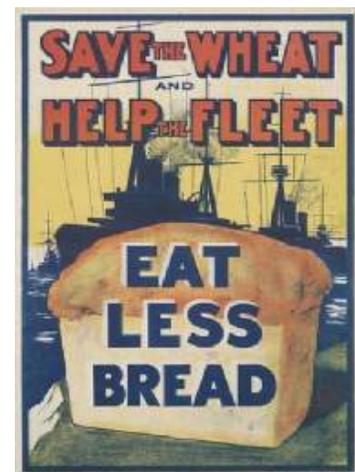
Figure 7.9: 'Eat less bread' says a First World War poster

By 1917, barely three years after the outbreak of war, anti-war sentiment became widespread in every country. The people of Germany, Russia, Turkey, Austria-Hungary and other countries rose in revolt against their own governments. The wave of democratic revolutions that lashed these countries saw their traditional empires disintegrating even before the war ended.

India, too, felt the acute impact of the war. The country had to send its soldiers to the war front and also bear a heavy tax burden as the British rulers increased taxes to raise money to pay for the war effort. With foodstuff and industrial goods being diverted to the army, prices rose manifold. The biggest sufferers were the common people but it was a golden opportunity for Indian industrialists who sold their goods at inflated prices to amass profits. This changing situation gave momentum to the national movement, catalysing the fight against the colonial government.

Did the war have the same effect on the rich and the poor and were their reactions to the war similar?

Why did democracy spread after the war?

The war and women

As we saw earlier, the situation of women changed rapidly during the course of the world war. Since most male adults were conscripted in the war effort, the women had to venture out of their homes to work in the factories and farms to support their families. This was in addition to the daily household duties. The change in their routine and role left a lasting impression on them. They began to feel more independent as they became more aware of their social worth and rights. They developed a new understanding of their position and role in society. In many countries, it was the women who agitated to put an end to the war and restore peace because they were the ones most severely affected by its consequences. Their growing awareness led women's organisations to demand the right to vote in parliamentary elections. In 1918, Britain became the first country to give all propertied women above 30 years the right to vote.

Figure 7.10: A woman being arrested by the police during a demonstration to demand the right to vote in London in 1914

Figure 7.11: Women working in a British armaments factory

How did the role of women in the family and in politics change after they began working in factories and offices?

Peace treaties

In 1919-20, the victorious allied forces - predominantly Britain, France, America and Italy – signed peace treaties with the defeated nations. These treaties included the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye with Austria, Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey and the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine with Bulgaria. The most important of these was the Treaty of Versailles with Germany.

Discussions on a new post-war international order had been going on during the war. The first step (Declaration on Peace) was taken in November 1917 by the revolutionary government of Russia. It unconditionally declared that it was withdrawing from the war and appealed to all the war-torn nations to take immediate steps to broker a just and democratic peace.

The Russian declaration said that that no country or nation (in Europe or the colonies) would be forced to be part of another country without its consent, no country would be burdened with the cost of war reparations and governments should sign only publicly declared treaties between themselves, with the full consent of their democratically elected assemblies, in place of secret treaties.

These ideals did not find much favour with European governments but were welcomed by war-weary soldiers and workers. They were widely discussed by the people and demonstrations began to be held across Europe in their support. Seeing the popular wave in favour of universal peace, the American president Woodrow Wilson announced his 'Fourteen Points' in January 1918, outlining the principles for world peace in negotiating peace treaties to end the war. The influence of the Russian decree can be seen in this announcement.

Wilson, too, opposed secret pacts. Significantly he also asserted that all the nationalist were to get the right to self-determination and he was in favour of establishing democracy in all the war-torn countries. Wilson also advocated free and unhindered trade between all countries, opening the seas for all countries to allow unrestricted sea traffic. He also argued in favour of disarmament and the formation of a League of Nations that would adjudicate disputes between countries and encourage mutual cooperation.

Wilson's 14 points stipulated that Germany should return all the territories it had annexed since 1870 and Poland

Figure 7.12:Woodrow Wilson

would become a free nation. On Russia, he welcomed the establishment of democracy to replace the tyranny of the Czar and respected the freedom of the Russian people to choose their own form of government. He did not hold any particular nation responsible for the outbreak of war so he felt that no demands should be made on any nation to pay war reparations. The new German government accepted Wilson's principles and signed the Armistice.

Each victorious country had its own vision and diplomatic needs. France, which suffered the most damage in the conflict, held Germany responsible for the war and wanted the Germans to pay war

reparations, thus effectively crippling Germany's economy so that it could never recover to wage another war. It also wanted Germany to return the French territory it had seized in 1871. This region was rich in coal and iron ore. By getting back the territory, France sought to put a brake on Germany's industrialisation. It wanted to damage the German economy to the extent that the country would never again think of attacking another country.

Britain, too, wanted to weaken Germany for strategic reasons, but not for economic reasons, since a strong German economy would benefit British trade. But Britain strongly opposed the right to self-determination of colonial and European nations and their freedom to choose democratic governments. It also opposed the open seas policy that allowed unrestricted sea traffic to all countries. These policies conflicted with its interests.

France, Britain and Germany hoped that the Russian revolution would fail because they feared that it would influence the poor workers and soldiers in their countries. They wanted to build a barrier of anti-Russian states between their countries and Russia. That is why they were not keen to include Russia in the peace talks. Their hope was that all countries would support the forces in Russia that were opposing the revolutionary government.

What were the differences in approach towards Germany of Russia, America, France and England?

What were the differences between these countries on the question of colonies?

Why was Britain opposed to an open seas policy for all countries?

The Treaty of Versailles June 1919

The most important peace treaty was the Treaty of Versailles. Britain, France and America signed this peace agreement with Germany on June 28, 1919. It contained many terms that were unacceptable to Germany but the three countries threatened to mount a joint attack on Germany if it did not accept these conditions. A hapless Germany was thus forced to sign the treaty. Let us take a look at its main terms:

1. Germany and its allies had to accept the guilt for starting the war and the destruction it caused to other countries. Germany was held liable to pay war reparations for the damage caused, which included the cost of the residential areas, factories and mines destroyed by the German army. The country was to pay a sum of £66,000 lakh in instalments to France, Belgium and Britain.

    Many noted economists were of the opinion that this sum was beyond Germany's capacity to pay. They felt it would cripple the country's economic rehabilitation and jeopardise European interests. However, the victorious allies did not accept this argument because they had themselves taken loans from America to fight the war and wanted to repay their loans with the compensation they received from Germany. But when it became obvious some years later that Germany could never pay so big an amount the reparations were reduced to £20,000 lakh.

2. Germany was to return all the territory it had annexed from other countries like Belgium and France. Independent states were also established in all the territories Germany had annexed under an earlier treaty with Soviet Russia.

3. Germany was to return the Alsace-Lorraine region it had annexed in 1871 to France. Also, to

Map 7.2, Europe after 1919

compensate for the damage to French mines, Germany was to give the production of its mines in the Saar region to France for 15 years. The League of Nations would administer the region during this time, after which the resident people would vote to decide whether it should be merged with France or Germany.

4.   A large portion in the eastern part of the German empire was ceded to the newly constituted country of Poland. It included the Danzig Corridor, which gave Poland access to the sea. As a result, the eastern portion of Germany was separated from the rest of the country.

5.   In this way, around 65,000sq km of land was ceded by Germany to various countries after the war.

Identify the territories in Map 7.2 that Germany annexed from France in 1871 and ceded to France after the war.

Find out where the Saar coal region is located.

Which portion of Germany was ceded to Poland to give it access to the sea?

Which new states were established between Germany and Russia?

Both Russia and America did not want war reparations to be taken from any country. What were their reasons for thinking so? Why do you think their views were ignored in formulating the Versailles Treaty?

6.   Germany's colonies in Africa were mandated to the League of Nations, which handed over their custody to Britain, France and Portugal. The Chinese territory that Germany controlled was transferred to Japan, not to China (because Japan had opposed Germany in the war). In this way, the colonies that Germany had acquired in the 19th century slipped out of its hands.

7.   Several terms in the treaty effectively ensured the disarmament of Germany. The German army was limited to 100,000 soldiers. Its armoured vehicles, submarines, battleships and aircraft were dismantled. The Rhineland bordering France was demilitarised and the German army was forbidden from entering this strip of territory. The objective was to ensure that Germany could not build up the aggressive capability to wage war.

8.   One term of the treaty specified that Germany and Austria could not merge without the permission of the League of Nations. Another treaty separated Austria and Hungary and the people of all the subordinate states of the empire were permitted to form their independent countries. The war thus affected Austria the most. It was left with only farmland and had no other resources for economic growth. A large chunk of the Austrian population spoke German so it was natural for the two countries to seek to merge. But the Allied Powers prevented this.

The consequences of the Versailles Treaty

This treaty has been the most discussed of all modern treaties. Diplomats and politicians criticised it vehemently. First of all, it was not based on the principles of democracy and justice. It was a demeaning treaty that was forced upon the defeated by the victors. Germany was not invited to the discussions and negotiations. All its objections were ignored and the country was forced to sign on the dotted line.

The new elected government of Germany claimed their government was not responsible for the war, which was waged by the earlier emperor and his undemocratic government. So it was unjust to punish the new democratic government for their acts. In fact, punishment would be counter-productive since it would weaken democracy in the country because the German people would never support a government that accepted such humiliating conditions.

In stark contrast, the governments of the victorious countries stirred anti-German hysteria in their countries and came to the negotiating table vowing to squeeze Germany dry like a lime to ensure that the country could never raise its head again. That's why they could not behave in a just manner with Germany. Their claim was that the retreating German army had deliberately adopted a 'scorch earth' policy, destroying all the territories under its control. They also pointed out that Germany had itself imposed harsh conditions in the treaty it signed with the revolutionary government of Russia, annexing a large chunk of Russian territory.

It soon became clear to everyone that such a treaty would only increase the possibility of another war breaking out because Germany would never fully accept its terms. It also became clear that forcing a democratic government to accept such harsh terms would weaken it in the eyes of the German people. Humiliated, they would elect leaders in future who would discard the Versailles Treaty to avenge the insults heaped on the German nation.

> **To what extent was the Versailles Treaty influenced by Wilson's principles and to what extent did it ignore these principles? Discuss in class.**
>
> **How would Wilson's principles have affected the establishment of democracy and the economic rehabilitation of Germany?**

Establishing the League of Nations

The idea of forming an international organisation to resolve the problems between nations in an impartial and objective manner had been playing in the minds of many political leaders from the end

of the 19ᵗʰ century. During the war, Wilson's Fourteen Points once again brought this idea into the limelight. Wilson tried hard to realise his vision. Eventually, the League of Nations was established in Geneva (the capital of Switzerland) in 1920.

It was hoped that the organisation would resolve quarrels between nations in a peaceful manner, help them in developing their healthcare systems, ensure their food security, improve the working conditions of labour and so on. One of the first tasks assigned to the league was implementing the international peace agreements signed after the First World War. For example, under the Versailles Treaty, it was given the administrative responsibility of the Saar region (given to France for its use) and the Danzig Corridor (ceded to Poland to permit it access to the sea).

Establishing the League of Nations was, itself, a process fraught with problems. To begin with, in those days, governments did not see their colonies as independent or autonomous countries. So the question of giving them a seat in this organisation did not arise. As a result, the colonies of Asia and Africa were not made members. Russia, too, was not invited because of its agenda of encouraging socialist revolutions across the globe. Also, in spite of Wilson's sterling efforts to set up the organisation, America did not become a member.

The League of Nations nevertheless continued to work with these handicaps and by 1930 appeared to be delivering its promise of peace and prosperity for the world. However, this optimism was short lived as we shall see in the following chapters.

EXERCISES

1. Give brief answers to the following questions:

    a) Name two prominent countries each in the two alliances that fought the First World War.

    b) Why did Austria attack Serbia and which country came to the aid of Serbia?

    c) Why did Germany attack Belgium?

    d) What complaint did France have against Germany?

    e) What is a secret treaty?

    f) Why did the United States of America join the First World War?

2. How does militarism affect the life and thinking of people?

3. What links do you see between industrialisation and the outbreak of a world war? Discuss in detail.

4. What steps could have been taken to improve the plight of soldiers during the war?

5. What impact did the war have on factory owners and workers?

6. Describe the life of the women seen in Figure 7.11 during the war.

7. Why did revolutions take place in several countries before the war ended?

8. What are the similarities and differences between the Russian Decree on Peace and Wilson's Fourteen points?

9. What impact do you think the Versailles Treaty had on Germany?

8

Between the Two World Wars
The Russian Revolution and the Great Depression

As the First World War came to a close, a revolutionary wave swept across Europe, toppling the dictatorships and old monarchies. The process started in 1917 with the Russian revolution that forced Czar Nicholas to abdicate. The wave slowly engulfed Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey and other countries, leading to the dismantling of their monarchies.

Russia experienced a second revolution in October 1917, which saw the establishment of a communist government. No other European country embraced communism or socialism, but they all opened the door to democracy. Germany adopted the Weimar constitution (prepared in the city of Weimar), which gave all adults - male and female, rich or poor - the right to contest elections and vote. But the Weimar Republic remained under constant tension because, on the one hand, the victorious Allied Powers kept pressurising it to implement the terms of the Versailles Treaty, while, on the other, the seething anger of the German people against the humiliating terms of the treaty kept boiling over.

Figure 8.1: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938), the founder of modern Turkey and 'father of the Turks'. Note his Western dress with Turkish cap

In Turkey, a democratic and secular government was installed on October 29, 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, toppling the old Ottoman Sultanate (which considered itself to be the Caliphate of the Muslim world). Ataturk began industrialising his country, introducing democratic law instead of Muslim *shariah* law, and setting up a modern education system for boys and girls instead of the religious *madrassas*. These progressive steps laid the way for transforming Turkey from an Islamic empire into a modern nation state.

But most countries of the world were soon engulfed by an economic recession that began in 1929, disrupting their economies and causing mass unemployment. Germany, which was already grappling with the damage done by the Versailles Treaty, faced an economic crisis because of the depression. Taking advantage of the crisis, Hitler and his Nazi party came to power and soon began brutally suppressing the opposition parties and other workers' organisations in the country. He launched a vicious pogrom against the Jews and slowly began violating the terms of the Versailles Treaty, stepping up his preparations for a war to establish his sovereignty over the world.

In those days, Britain and America were experimenting with a new economic concept called the welfare state. This concept, based on democratic governance and protecting the fundamental rights of

citizens, visualised the welfare of the people as the primary responsibility of the state. In the welfare state, democratic rights - universal franchise, a multi-party system, free and independent media, etc - were extended to include equal opportunity for all citizens, the right to education and health, providing employment for the people, helping the elderly, sick and destitute, etc. Britain and America were able to survive the Great Depression of 1929 by adopting these welfare measures.

What impact do you think the war had on the old empires? Were democratic revolutions successful in these countries?

Why is universal franchise important in democracy?

How and when did the rule of kings and emperors come to an end in India?

8.1 The Russian revolution

Pre-war Russia: By 1914, Russia had become a vast empire that spread across the European and Asian continents. The Russian government ruled over diverse regions inhabited by people of different languages, religions and ethnicity. Power in this empire lay in the hands of the elite, land-owning class, who were led by the autocratic czar, Nicholas II, who belonged to the Romanov dynasty. Most of the high officials in this empire were wealthy landowners from noble families.

In Russia, the peasants who cultivated the land lived in serfdom until 1861. These serfs were bonded vassals who were prohibited from pursuing an alternate occupation or leaving their village without the permission of their landlord. If a landowner sold his land, the serfs were also transferred to the new owner. The czar issued a proclamation in 1861 freeing the serfs from their bondage. However, the ownership of land remained with the landlords, so the freed peasants were now forced to pay high rents to farm the land.

Figure 8.2: A Russian peasant family circa 1900

Figure 8.3: Inside an old Russian factory

The landowners did offer some land to the peasants under the czar's initiative, but they charged exorbitant sums for this land, which was mostly less fertile or barren. The government gave loans to the peasants to pay the landowners, recovering the amount from them in instalments. The peasants were prohibited from leaving their villages until they had repaid their loan. They were, thus, straddled with debt in 1917, even after repaying for several generations.

In this way, the 1861 land reforms benefited the landowners the most, leaving the now legally free peasants in an even more pitiable economic condition. In the absence of democracy and the right to freedom of expression, they could not voice their grievances or seek redressal. The czar, supported by the noble landowners, was, thus, able to run an autocratic government that benefited a select class but left the peasants impoverished.

Many peasants migrated to the cities to look for work in the factories and many more enlisted in the czar's army. So there were organic links between the Russian peasants, workers and soldiers.

In what way is the condition of slaves and serfs similar or different? Discuss in class.

Serfdom was abolished in 1861 but who actually benefited from this reform?

Industry and workers: In the 1880s, the Russian government realised that the country needed to industrialise to supply the army, which needed modern armaments and railways that only large factories could manufacture. So the czarist regime took the initiative to industrialise. In Britain and France, it was the wealthy middle class merchants who invested in setting up small and medium industries. Russia, on the other hand, invited foreign investors to set up large factories, attracting them with incentives and concessions. Russian industrialisation was, thus, controlled by the elite class, which prevented the emergence of an independent middle class or strong capitalist class.

With industrialisation, the process of urbanisation also picked up pace. The cities soon teemed with large numbers of industrial workers who lived in abominable conditions and survived on low wages. The factories established in Russia were huge, employing thousands of workers. These workers began to form their labour unions and build their collective strength to fight for their demands. Most of them were from peasant households so they were also familiar with the problems of rural Russia.

What were the similarities and differences in the industrialisation of Germany and Russia?

If the middle class of any country is weak, what impact does it have on the politics of that country? Discuss in class.

Would workers' organisations be more effective in big or small factories? Explain with reasons.

What impact do you think did their links with villages and peasants have on industrial workers? Do you see any examples of this impact in your neighbourhood?

The events of 1905: In the absence of democracy and democratic rights in czarist Russia, people could not criticise the government or agitate to resolve their problems. They began to form secret organisations and launch secret movements in many places because they could not openly challenge

the state. They even launched terrorist attacks from time to time. The prominent secret organisations in Russia at the time were the socialist and communist parties, the revolutionary peasants' party and the liberal party.

In 1905, a war broke out between Russia and Japan in which Russia was defeated by the small Asian country. The defeat weakened the clout of the czar. At the same time, workers in different cities began to stage demonstrations to demand better working conditions and more democracy. More than a thousand workers were killed when the police opened fire on one such peaceful march the workers undertook to the czar's palace in Petersburg (the capital) to voice their complaints. Angered by this mass killing, protests broke out across the length and breadth of Russia.

Seeing the rage of the people, the czar announced a few political reforms. An elected assembly (called the Duma) was established. But this proved to be a controlled reform because elections to the Duma were conducted in a complex indirect process to ensure that the majority of those elected belonged to the wealthy classes. The czar also had the authority to reject any proposal of the Duma or to call it to session at his convenience.

Even as it announced the reforms, the government began to brutally suppress the people's movement. Over 10,000 people were killed and more than 75,000 were imprisoned in jails or exiled to the very cold region of Siberia.

Do you think the Duma of 1905 was a genuinely democratic assembly? Explain with reasons.

8.1.1 The war and the revolutions of 1917

The cycle of repression and reform brought a limited peace to Russia for a few years. But, after 1912, the workers' strikes and peasant's revolt again began to pick up steam. However, when Russia was drawn into the First World War in 1914, a wave of patriotism flooded the country, with the people rallying behind the czar. But the support for the war effort began fizzling out within two years as the horrors of war and the continuous defeats the Russian army faced on the battlefield became evident. Disillusioned and exhausted, the soldiers, workers and peasants began demanding peace, food and land.

On Women's Day on February 23, 1917, the women took out a procession in Petrograd (the new name of Petersburg), demanding food and peace. (There is a difference of 13 days between the Russian calendar and the modern calendar so the event occurred on March 8 according to the modern calendar.) Soon after, workers and soldiers began taking out rallies across the city in support of these demands. The police and army were restrained from intervening. Workers' assemblies were also organised in every factory in which the workers chose their representatives for an apex city-level workers assembly. These assemblies were called Soviets (a Russian word similar to panchayats). The factory Soviets took over the management of their factories from the owners, taking all decisions and implementing them.

Figure 8.4: A demonstration organised by Russian women in February 1917. The women look happy. Why do you think they are happy?

Figure 8.5: A meeting of the Soviet in a factory in 1917

Their elected representatives were expected voice the views of the factory Soviet in the city Soviet, which came to be known as the Petrograd Soviet. If they failed to do so, they could be recalled and another representative elected in their place. The soldiers, too, formed their Soviets in their units, taking over control from their officers or forcing them to act on their orders. Peasants also formed their Soviets in the villages, where they began looting shops and the palatial houses of the landowners.

Within days, the czar was stripped of all power as the people in all sectors took over control through their Soviets. In this way, the power structure of the czarist regime was dismantled, with the people taking power into their own hands.

Look carefully at Figure 8.5 and 8.6. Do you think the workers are engrossed and actively participating in these meetings or do they look passive? How would their mood impact the politics of the time?

Can you identify many women in these pictures? If there were more women, how would their presence impact the flow of events?

How do you differentiate between a Soviet and an assembly?

Figure 8.6: A meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in March 1917

2.1.2 Abdication of the czar: Seeing the mood of the people and the pressure from the Petrograd Soviet, the Duma urged the czar to abdicate and allow it to constitute a new cabinet of ministers. The rebellion had by now spread to the czar's army. Faced with this situation, the czar was forced to abdicate on March 2, 1917 (March 15 according to the modern calendar). The chain of events leading up to the abdication is called the February Revolution.

The Duma members, largely belonging to the middle class, chose a ministerial cabinet to constitute a provisional government. This was seen as an interim arrangement because the people wanted to elect a constitutional assembly by universal suffrage that would legally constitute a permanent government. The interim government was totally dependent on the Soviets, which controlled every sector and region. At that time, the leadership of the Petrograd Soviet was largely in the hands of the representatives of three-four socialist parties. They believed that the middle class should provide the leadership of the revolution that would bring democracy and peace to the nation and institute land reforms. They believed that the role of the Soviets was to ensure that the middle class did not shirk its responsibility and would remain in the vanguard of the revolution. Their role was also to prevent the ousted rulers from returning to power.

It soon became clear that the provisional government was not serious about land reforms and was in favour of continuing the war. It also became clear that it could not stop the rampant black marketing in food supplies to ensure food for everyone. It made all sorts of excuses to delay the formation of the constitutional assembly. As matters came to a head, the

Figure 8.7: Lenin addressing a congregation in 1917

communist party, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, began a public campaign against the interim government, inciting the workers and soldiers to rebel against it. Lenin believed that the Russian middle class was too weak and incapable of establishing democracy in the country or returning the land to the peasants. He believed the Soviets, which constituted the real strength of the country, should seize power under the leadership of the communist party. The workers and soldiers were initially not in favour of such a course of action, but when the ineffectiveness of the interim government became more apparent and the spectre of defeat in the war faced the nation, they began to accept the communist line of reasoning.

We had seen earlier how the Russian peasants, workers and soldiers had come together because of their common problems. So it was natural for them to have a shared understanding to fight for their rights.

On October 25, 1917 (November 7 by the modern calendar), the Petrograd Soviet under the leadership of the communist party toppled the interim government and set up a revolutionary government. The next day, Lenin proclaimed the formation of the new government before an All Russian Congress of Soviets and made two important announcements. The first was the declaration of an armistice and an appeal for democratic peace (Decree on Peace). The second was the decision to nationalise the land

belonging to the landlords and redistribute it among the peasants. The peasant committees in every village were authorised to re-distribute the land among the cultivators. At the same time, the workers' committees were authorised to run the factories. Within days, the old administrative system, bureaucracy and police were dismantled and the Soviets took over the reins of government. The Soviet government sought to ensure that all people living in the cities got food and accommodation.

Russia also announced that all nations annexed by the Russian empire under the czarist regime were now free and could themselves decide whether they would like to remain in the Soviet state or become independent nations. Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine and other countries thus gained their freedom.

However, none of the warring nations paid heed to Russia's appeal for world peace and continued fighting their war. For its part, Russia withdrew from the war after signing an agreement with Germany in March 1918. But the country had to cede a significant portion of its territory to Germany under this treaty.

> **The Russian revolution began with three main demands. Do you think these demands were realised by 1918? If yes, then to what extent?**

The landed gentry and army generals incited a civil war against the new government from 1918 to 1922 and gained the support of Britain, France, America and other countries. These countries were apprehensive about the spread of communism across Europe. The Russian government finally defeated internal opposition to its rule in 1922. By then, many of the newly independent countries in the former Russian empire decided to align with Russia to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Stalin: Following the death of Lenin in 1924, Josef Stalin assumed the leadership of the communist party and soon became the all-powerful leader of the Soviet Union. Many leaders who sought to oppose his policies were executed. He remained the principal leader of the Communist Party nd the dictator of the Soviet Union until his death in 1953.

Industrialisation: After the revolution, all private property was abolished and all the banks, factories and mines were nationalised, declared government property and administered by the government. Soviet Russia faced the challenge of economic development and industrialisation after 1924. The economy had been ravaged by war, revolution and civil strife and had to be brought back on track. The country went in for planned development from 1928, the focus being on industrialisation. But it lacked capital and technical expertise. So experts were invited from abroad to help build up industry. But capital was not available from any foreign sources so Russia had to raise the money it required from its internal resources. The government mobilised domestic savings,

Figure 8.8: A steel plant in Magnitogorsk in 1936

reduced the wages of workers and taxed the peasants to generate additional resources for investment, promising the workers and peasants that they would benefit from industrial growth. The pace of industrialisation picked up after 1928, the emphasis being on developing heavy industry (iron and steel, electricity, machine manufacture etc). By 1940, the Soviet Union had become a major global industrial power.

Collectivisation of agriculture: Following the re-distribution of land owned by the landlords after 1917, the majority of peasants became medium farmers, with a few becoming big farmers. But traditional farming techniques continued to be followed and output was low. Stalin took steps to raise productivity by adopting modern agricultural techniques. The farmers were instructed to merge their holdings into huge collectives to enable the use of farm machinery and modern techniques. The big farmers and a few medium farmers opposed collectivisation, which was widely supported by small and medium farmers. However, they were forced into collectivisation, with thousands being jailed, exiled to Siberia or even executed. Russian agriculture remained in crisis for several years because of this repression. It led to acute famine from 1932 to 1934, with lakhs of people dying of starvation. The process of collectivisation was completed by 1936, practically putting an end to private farming in the country. After 1937, Russian agriculture developed rapidly and land productivity rose, benefiting from the industrialisation of the country.

> **From which sources did Britain mobilise capital for industrialisation? Is it possible to mobilise capital for industrialisation from any other sources?**
>
> **Is large-scale farming essential for developing agriculture? What problems would small-scale farming face in mechanising agriculture?**
>
> **Why do you think the big farmers of Russia opposed collectivisation?**
>
> **Can collectivisation be achieved gradually with the consent of the farmers?**

There has been considerable debate about economic development in Soviet Russia after the revolution, with many historians drawing attention to its inherent contradictions. For the first time in world history, workers and peasants created a new society without landed gentry, capitalist traders and noble aristocrats. In this society, everyone had equal access to basic necessities such as food, education, housing etc. Unemployment was almost eradicated and everyone got work. The Great Depression that swept across the world from 1929 to 1932 had little impact on Russia. Woman enjoyed equal rights as men in society. There was a sharp drop in illiteracy and a common school system was established where everyone received the same education and where, along with the teaching of subjects, emphasis was put on productive activities that involve physical labour.

Russia's neighbours were all capitalist countries. They constantly strove to stall its efforts, putting all kinds of obstacles in the path of its growth and development. Despite these efforts, Soviet Russia became economically strong by 1940, emerging as a modern world power.

However, the political system that was established in Soviet Russia was not a multi-party system. It recognised only a single communist party. So people had no political alternatives to choose from. Also, criticising the government or proposing alternative ideas were strictly prohibited and people found opposing the government's policies were labelled traitors, arrested and executed, even if they belonged to the communist party. Thus, although the poor got the opportunity to participate in the political process, the absence of an alternative ensured that democracy did not develop fully.

The Soviet revolution had a profound effect on the world. In far-flung countries, and especially in the colonies, it proved to be an inspiration for those fighting for independence and for the rights of the poor. They tried to follow the path pioneered by Russia. An international communist organisation was formed under the leadership of the Russian communist party and similar parties were established in every country. The pressure these parties exerted on governments helped ensure that laws were passed for the welfare of workers and systems to protect their rights were put in place.

If you had to create systems to protect the poor in your village or town, what would you have to do?

You read about the role of political parties in a democracy. Do you think a multi-party system is essential for democracy? Discuss with reasons.

If there is no freedom of expression and people do not have the right to air their views, what effect would it have on democracy?

Is it necessary or ethical to arrest or execute people who criticise the policies of the government?

8.2 The Great Depression and the welfare state

In the previous section, we saw that Russia adopted planned industrialisation in place of capitalist industrialisation and Soviet-style democracy instead of parliamentary democracy. It did not have multi-party elections and severely restricted personal democratic rights. At that time, Britain and America placed greater emphasis on parliamentary democracy, multi-party elections and personal democratic rights. Their system was built on market-based capitalism and industrialisation. The underlying understanding was that the democratic government would refrain from interfering in economic matters, letting market forces determine the course the economy takes. This understanding was severely shaken by the Great Depression of 1929 and these nations were forced to re-examine their ideological positions.

When the First World War ended, the hope was that all countries would grow rapidly. This did actually happen after 1919. But after 1923, development slowed down and by 1929, the world was in the grip of the Great Depression, which continued for four years until 1933. Development again picked up steam after that but the impact of the recession was felt for many more years until 1939.

What is an economic recession? In a capitalist system, development doesn't occur at a constant, unchanging pace. It goes through cycles of rapid growth and recession or slowdown. In the phases of rapid growth, capital investment rises, production rises and workers get more work and wages. So they are able to buy more goods, which raises the demand for these goods in the market, leading to a rise in their prices. More capital is then invested to produce more goods … and in this way the cycle of rapid growth continues.

Figure 8.9: Thousands of unemployed queuing up for free coffee and yoghurt

Inevitably, this happy phase leads to a situation where there is excessive production of goods that cannot be sold, so prices fall. If some unforeseen economic incident occurs during this phase, it shakes people's confidence

and the danger of a recession increases. The capitalists then cut back on production, which means less work available for the workers and greater chances of them remaining unemployed. They can now buy fewer goods, which intensifies the recession. Normally, an economic recession does not persist for long and there is always the hope that growth will pick up. But in 1929, the impact of the recession continued for several years and shook the entire world.

The signs of a slowdown were evident in America as early as 1925. During the First

Figure 8.10: A crowd queuing up to withdraw their savings deposited in an insolvent bank

World War, when agriculture in Europe was badly hit, the American farmers stepped up production in a big way, for which they required bank loans. But after the war, agriculture once again picked up pace in Europe so purchases of food-grain from America dropped substantially. This led to a sharp fall in the price of agricultural produce, leaving the American farmers in distress and unable to repay their bank loans.

The Great Depression began with a drastic fall in the American stock market on October 29, 1929. The shareholders of listed companies buy and sell their shares in the stock market. If a company is making profits, more people buy its shares, leading to a rise in the price of its shares. But if a company makes losses, its shareholders begin selling their shares in the market but there are few buyers for these shares. The price of the company's shares then begins to fall.

On October 29, all companies listed on the American stock exchange experienced a rapid drop in their share prices. Those holding the shares were keen to sell them but there were no buyers. Banks were unable to recover their loans, which left them with less liquid cash. In such a situation, those with deposits in the bank began withdrawing their cash but the banks did not have enough cash to repay them. The banks became insolvent, and those who had deposited their money in them lost their savings.

The reason for this crisis was that during the boom years in America from 1925 and 1929 there was no increase in the prices of farm produce or the wages of workers but the profits of the capitalists soared. As a result, the buying power of the common man was low while the production of goods was high. Demand continued to fall and unsold goods were stocked in warehouses. Prices fell 32% as goods remained unsold. Industrialists cut back on production, leading to workers being laid off. About 27% of the workers ended up unemployed. The demand for raw materials in factories began to fall. Simultaneously, the largescale unemployment led to a fall in demand and prices of agricultural produce. Farmers were forced to sell their produce at below the cost of production and they were reduced to penury, as were companies dependent on agriculture. The continuing crisis in industry and agriculture led to a sharp drop in national income.

How the American crisis affected the whole world: In those days, America was the largest trading nation in the world. It was the biggest exporter and second only to Britain for imports. It was also the largest lender to war-ravaged Europe and the continent's biggest investor. As a result, the entire world economy depended on American prosperity.

Figure 8.11: This classic photograph of a worried mother from a depression-era family captured the anguish of the times

Figure 8.12: A notice on a farm: Evacuation sale, furniture homestead

But with its economy in crisis, America reduced the quantum of loans it had been extending to Germany, Britain and other countries. It reduced imports from around the world to protect its domestic agriculture and industry. As a result, the American crisis quickly enveloped the entire global economy after 1930, especially the countries whose trade and investment was highly dependent on America. International trade fell by 60% between 1929 and 1933. Farmers around the world who grew commercial crops were bankrupted because there were no buyers for their farm output. In America and many other countries, they sold their land and migrated to the cities. But there were no jobs for them in the city either. In Britain, 23% of the working population was unemployed, the figure being as high as 44% in Germany.

What determines the purchasing power of common people in any country?

How do wage increases of workers impact the economy? Then why do factory owners pay them less?

How does recession impact the farmers?

How did the American crisis affect the global economy?

Why did the Great Depression affect Germany the most?

The Great Depression had the least impact on Russia, where the five-year plan was leading to rapid industrial progress. There were two reasons for this. First, Russia was economically self-reliant because the country was less linked to the global economic system. So the recession in the global market did not affect it. Second, the country's development was guided by socialist planning, hence market fluctuations had no long-term effects on its economy.

It is necessary for a country to enter the global market to earn profits and progress. But in doing so, it is exposed to market fluctuations in the countries it trades with and can be badly affected by these fluctuations. Is there any other path to progress?

8.2.1 People's movements and the government response

People affected by the Great Depression of 1929 began agitating as they began to lose faith in capitalist development. In colonies like India, nationalist movements against the ruling governments gathered

momentum. Mahatma Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience movement in the sub-continent and peasants and poor people who had been badly affected by the depression joined it in large numbers.

Under pressure from such widespread unrest, the depression-affected governments and leading economists began discarding their old economic theories and formulating new concepts of economic development. Earlier, it was widely accepted that economies should follow the dictates of a free and open market without any

Figure 8.13: 'We Demand Work or Wages' – a demonstration of white and non-white workers to protest against unemployment. Do you see any women in this procession?

intervention by governments. Now, the view gained ground that governments should intervene to protect the interests of their country's agriculture and industry by controlling exports and, when necessary, giving subsidies to farmers and ensuring employment for workers. The famous economist John Keynes stated that the government of a country should invest in welfare projects to ensure employment for all its people during recessionary periods. People would then have the buying power to purchase goods from the market, which, in turn, would stimulate demand for goods. In this way, a state-initiated demand push would help catalyse economic growth.

Franklin Roosevelt became the American president in 1933. He announced a 'New Deal' that promised to provide relief to people affected by the economic slowdown, reform financial institutions and initiate government public works construction projects. The real impact of the new deal was felt after the start of the Second World War in 1939, when the American government had to shoulder military responsibilities and produce armaments for the war. Factory output grew as did the demand for agricultural commodities. America also implemented a social security programme under which a pension scheme was formulated for workers too old to work. In addition, it instituted unemployment insurance and welfare schemes for the handicapped and needy children (whose fathers were not present).

Countries such as Britain and Germany had already initiated steps in this direction even before the onset of the depression. After the Second World War, America formulated further social security programmes, including health insurance for the sick and infant security-related programmes. They were based on the concept of a welfare state in which the state promised all citizens a good life, paying especial attention to their basic needs such as food, housing, health, education and care of children and the elderly. The state also shouldered the responsibility of providing employment for all able-bodied citizens. In this way, the state sought to counter and minimise the adverse impacts of market fluctuations on the lives of people. It obtained the money for financing these welfare activities by raising taxes. Many governments adopted such policies after the Second World War.

Figure 8.14: Franklin Roosevelt, president of the United States of

The Great Depression ended with the outbreak of the Second

World War in 1939. Demand for war resources grew in every country and their governments raised the capital to fulfil these requirements. Employment in factories geared to the war effort rose. Simultaneously, lakhs of people enlisted in the army. In this way, these countries reversed the impact of the recession.

How can government expenditure stimulate demand for goods in the market?

Have you come across any similar people's welfare programmes in your neighbourhood? If yes, tell the class about them.

Many economists believe that state support makes people dependent on the government and stifles self-initiative. Hence, governments should not take up people's welfare programmes. Do you think this is right?

Do you think that waging war was an economic necessity?

Exercises

1. Give short answers to the following questions:

   a. Who established democracy and secularism in Turkey?

   b. Who ended serfdom of peasants in Russia and in which year?

   c. Who led the industrialisation of Russia – the capitalists or artisans or the government?

   d. Whose interests did the Duma established after 1905 represent?

   e. What were the main demands of the peasants, workers and soldiers of Russia in 1917?

   f. What were the main provisions of Lenin's Decree on Land?

2. What were the main changes in the condition of the Russian peasants between 1861 and 1940?

3. Why did the Duma fail to emerge as a sucessful democratic institution? Analyse the reasons.

4. What were the main steps taken by the revolutionary governement of Russia immediately after the revolution in 1917?

5. How did Russia mobilise the capital needed for industrialisation?

6. Discuss the development of democracy in Russia between 1905 and 1940.

7. Why did the prices of commodities decline during the Great Depression? What impact did it have on industries?

8. Did the Great Depression have the same impact on peasants and workers?

9. Why did the American depression of 1929 impact the whole world?

10. What was the role of Welfare State in Britain and USA?

9

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Between the Two World Wars

Nazism in Germany and World War II

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9.1 After the First World War

In the two previous chapters, you learnt about the First World War, Versailles Treaty, Russian revolution, the Great Depression etc. If we wish to understand the history of the world between 1919 and 1945, we must keep these momentous events constantly in our minds.

The First World War severely affected the economies of most European countries but their efforts to recover were constrained by the Great Depression. This led to rising social tensions within these countries. Many people were also influenced by the Russian revolution and the spread of socialist and communist labour movements. As a result, these countries faced a dilemma. They had to decide which path to follow among the three predominant ideologies of those days - liberal democracy, socialism-communism and conservatism. That decision basically depended on which social and economic class dominated their society.

Liberal democracy opposed dictatorship and favoured an elected, constitutional government in which the elected representatives were answerable to the people. Such governments guaranteed citizens' rights and freedoms and were governed by the rule of law. They depended on consensus, formulating their policies through public debates to avoid social conflict.

Many countries adopted a liberal constitution after 1919 and formed governments based on the provisions contained in their constitutions. However, in practice, the wealthy classes in these countries soon began to dominate economic and political life through corrupt practices, leaving the elected representatives powerless to represent the interests of the people. Countries such as Britain and the United States of America, which were materially wealthy and faced less social conflict, were generally more successful in establishing liberal democracy.

Do you think the Indian political system is a liberal democracy? Clarify with reasons.

How does corruption weaken a liberal political system?

9.2 The conservative movement and fascism

However, anti-liberal movements soon began to gain momentum in many European countries in the socio-political climate that prevailed at that time. These countries had a large middle class that included small and medium peasants, shopkeepers, traders, small industrialists and government employees. This class opposed the wealthy capitalists whose policies were responsible for robbing them of their livelihoods.

Small peasants found their land being auctioned while small shopkeepers and traders were being driven out of business. Unemployment was rising. These classes were, thus, the most severely affected by the Great Depression of 1929.

People belonging to the lower middle class were also strong opponents of the socialist and communist labour movement, which was against private ownership of property.

Struggling to save their small private holdings and small businesses, this class, thus, opposed both liberalism and communism. After 1925, and especially after the recession began in 1929, the people belonging to this class began to mobilise and become politically active. They opposed electoral democracy, liberalism, the rule of law, the principle of equality, socialism and similar ideas. They were also ultra-nationalist in opposing other countries. This ideology was called 'Fascism'. Countries like Germany and Italy soon saw the establishment of new fascist parties.

Fascism has many facets but most fascists shared some common traits:

1.   They were ultra-nationalist. They claimed that their nation was supreme. For them, the nation was the majority community in their country. They favoured militarism and sought to establish the sovereignty of their nation globally. They built up war hysteria among their people to achieve their objective.

2.   They wanted to eliminate any kind of conflict within their nation, such as class conflict or competition between political parties. They gave unlimited power to the state to resolve all such conflicts and impose its will on the people.

3.   They believed in violence and the use of force to eliminate other political parties and organisations.

4.   They opposed democracy. Fascism believes that democracy, elections, legal process, citizens' freedom and rights are obstacles in solving the problems of the nation. It believes that one party and the dictatorship of a one-leader government serve the national interest the best.

5.   They believed in traditional family and social values, such as women should bear children and look after the home, people in higher positions in society should be respected, the orders of superiors should be obeyed without question, etc. They did not believe in values such as equality, equal opportunity for all, respect for diversity, tolerance etc.

6.   They responded without questioning to the call of the supreme party leader, rousing the masses to build up their movement.

Figure 9.1: A Nazi party member humiliates a socialist leader by parading him in the streets in a garbage cart. Look at the distinctive uniform of the activists. They were not government employees.

Figure 9.2: A massive rally in support of Hitler at Nuremberg. Such rallies were staged annually to demonstrate Hitler's supreme power.

Fascism believed in controlled people's mobilisation and maintained the ferver among the people. It controled and used state media to reach its message to the people to stir up mass hysteria.

7. In countries like Germany, fascism took the form of racism. One of the prime objectives of the fascist party of Germany was to establish the superiority and dominance of the majority race which they called the 'Aryan Race'. To achieve this objective, it targeted minority communities and religions, like the Jews, and justified its genocidal treatment of the Jews.

Which classes of people among the following do you think supported fascism – medium and small peasants, the organised working class, shopkeepers, unemployed youth?

What was the attitude of fascists towards the organised labour movement?

What difference do you see between nationalism and ultra-nationalism?

How did fascists propagate a unified viewpoint within the country – through dialogue and making space for everyone's needs or by other means?

What did a fascist party want to establish in place of democracy?

What was the attitude of fascists towards women?

In Italy, the fascist party became active after 1919 under the leadership of Mussolini, killing, beating and using other such methods to destroy the workers' organisations. The party gradually grew into a large and violent movement that discarded democratic methods (petitioning and approaching the courts) to dispense mob justice. However, the fascists were less successful than the socialists and communists

Figure 9.3: Mussolini addressing a massive rally

in the 1921-22 elections. Yet they organised a massive march in 1922 with the objective of capturing Rome, the capital city. The Italian king and other conservatives invited Mussolini to form the government.

After coming to power, the fascists banned all political parties and workers' organisations. They took over control of every facet of life and all functions of the government, establishing one-party rule under Mussolini's undisputed and authoritarian leadership in place of democratic governance.

What differences do you see between a democracy and a fascist dictatorship?

What differences and similarities do you see in the pictures of Hitler's and Mussolini's rallies?

9.3 Germany and Nazism

The National Socialist Workers Party (Nazi party) came to power in Germany in 1934 under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. The party had become very popular among the lower middle classes between 1924 and 1934. There were many reasons for its growing popularity. First, the German people were angry and upset by the humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty and the war reparations they were forced to pay every year to the victorious nations. Their self-respect was wounded so they were looking for a leader who could revive their national pride. Second, the country was severely affected by the Great Depression from 1929 to 1933, with industrial production falling by more than 50% and unemployment rising rapidly. The people, especially the middle class, were in distress.

The ultra-nationalist Nazi party blamed the Jews and other countries for the troubles the German people were facing. Its popularity, thus, grew rapidly after 1929 and it emerged as the largest party in the 1932 election. During this time, the socialist and communist parties were also gaining popularity and were advocating fundamental social changes just like in Russia. But they could not join hands to oppose Hitler because of their mutual differences and conflicts.

Try to recall the terms of the Versailles Treaty that you learnt about in the previous chapter, which hurt the sentiments and self-respect of the German people.

Figure 9.4 Hitler addressing a rally. He was an impressive speaker who could rouse his audience.

Hitler forged an alliance with the industrialists, landowners and other elite classes. He was appointed chancellor of Germany by the German president Hindenburg, who was worried by the prospect of a communist revolution and the spread of left-wing ideology. Propaganda had played an important role in the Nazi party's quest for power. In his speeches, Hitler vowed to make Germany a powerful nation, oppose the injustice of the Versailles Treaty and restore the lost honour of the German people. He assured the nation that he would resolve the problem of unemployment and free Germany from the clutches of foreign countries. He proclaimed the German Aryan race to be the most superior in the world and blamed the Jews for the country's problems. He claimed that the Jewish people were the owners of all major industries and banks and were responsible for spreading left-wing ideas and for people being unemployed.

Hitler's speeches and Nazi party propaganda incited the people to mass hysteria. Many Jews and opposition party members faced mob fury during this time and were executed in large numbers.

Once he acquired power, Hitler banned democratic groups and institutions. He ordered the arrest of all communist leaders, blaming them for the fire that broke out in the Reichstag building (German Parliament) in February 1933. Citizens' rights were suspended under the Fire Decree (Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the People and the State) and they remained suspended during the entire tenure of the Nazi party. In March 1933, the Enabling Act was passed. Under this legislation, Hitler dissolved the assembly to gain total authority, running the government by passing ordinances. All political parties and trade unions were banned, except for the Nazi party and its front organisations.

The party and state took over total control of the economy, media, army and judiciary. Special security squads were formed to patrol the entire country and organise it in accordance with Nazi ideology. Units such as the SS (crime control police), Gestapo (secret state police) and HSD (security service) were given unbridled, unconstitutional powers. The entire German society was subjected to Nazification, with the party using armed force to destroy all anti-Nazi groups.

In 1933, many concentration camps were set up in which thousands of political opponents were imprisoned and often put to death. The number of people who were declared traitors and sentenced to death rose to around 30,000 by 1939.

How did Hitler and the Nazi party establish their dictatorship?

9.3.1 The state and society under Nazi rule

The administrative services and army under the Nazi government were loyal to Hitler, not the German nation. It was compulsory for all administrative staff to become members of the front organisations set up by the Nazi party. All cases involving political crimes were transferred from the Supreme Court to Nazi-controlled people's courts, enabling the Nazi government to eliminate all political opposition by so-called legal means.

Labelling the economy a 'war economy', the government focused on heavy industry, in particular the armaments industry.

Prohibitions were placed on forming labour organisations or organising workers' agitations. All workers were enrolled in

Figure 9.5: The cover of a Nazi women's magazine. What party ideals for men and women does this illustration reflect?

Nazi labour unions, which were party propaganda units rather than labour unions.

The Nazi government sought to ensure employment for all under its job creation programme. Extensive road construction, arms manufacture and production of Volkswagen cars were among the main components of this programme. Germany was able to emerge out of the depression because of these efforts. But since the focus of industrialisation was the war, the economy could only grow in a war situation.

The Nazi party propagated a narrow patriarchal perspective of society in which women were expected to stay at home and were glorified for bearing children of pure Aryan stock. The government limited women's enrolment in universities to 10% from the previous 37%. It banned all anti-Nazi art and literature and exercised total control over all media communication.

The Nazis made important changes in the education system to glorify German history and emphasise racism in science. They also removed all Jews from the teaching staff.

Figure 9.6: 'The noses of Jews are curved like the figure 6' is what German children are taught in a class. They are taught to distinguish themselves from Jews by the shape of their nose.

9.3.2 The holocaust: massacre of the Jews and others

Anti-Semitism (prejudice against Jews) can be traced to the Middle Ages in many European countries. But Hitler used this prejudice to fan hatred of the Jews to monstrous proportions, making the entire German nation strongly anti-Semitic. The Jews were portrayed as an inferior race that was the root cause of all Germany's problems. Jews were stripped of their citizenship in September 1935 and Germans were prohibited from marrying Jews, with such marriages being declared a cognisable offence. Many other prohibitions were imposed on Jews – confiscation and sale of their property, removal from government service, boycott of Jewish businesses, etc.

On November 9-10, 1938, a massive coordinated attack was carried out against the Jews throughout Germany in

Figure 9.7: Jewish women and children from Poland being herded into trains carrying them to the concentration camps

which their property, homes and synagogues were ravaged. This terrible event came to be known as 'The Night of the Broken Glass'. Jews were made to wear identity badges to distinguish them from the rest of the population and they were forcibly herded into ghettos after their property was seized.

Around 42,500 concentration camps were set up across Germany, with Hitler announcing that he would eventually exterminate all Jews across Europe. They were transported to these concentration camps from their ghettos and made to work like slaves. Between 1941 and 1945, 60 lakh Jews, including 15 lakh children, were sent to their death in gas chambers in a phased manner. They were stripped naked and packed into these chambers into which poisonous gas was released, killing them in minutes.

Figure 9.8: Thousands of corpses were thrown into mass graves

Wherever the German army captured territory, they separated the Jews and sent them to the concentration camps where they were subsequently gassed to death. In addition, another 50 lakh non-Jews, including Polish, Russian, nomadic gypsies and mentally and physically handicapped people were also killed because the Nazis felt they would degrade the German race.

This systematic massacre is called the 'Holocaust'. It was the result of racist targeting of a specific minority community and generating mass hysteria and hatred against them.

> **Imagine the lives of Jewish children across Europe between 1933 and 1945. What do you think they felt and experienced? Discuss in class. Also read 'Hana's suitcase', which is given below.**
>
> **What was there in racist ideology that you think could have prompted the German people to treat other people in such an inhuman manner?**

9.4 Foreign policy and the world war

In early 1933, Hitler gave assurances of adopting peaceful policies, saying his main objective was to terminate the humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty and gain an honourable status for Germany. But he wanted Germany to regain the territory it had lost in 1919. So he adopted a policy of re-armament and slowly built up a strong army backed by aircraft, tanks and submarines. In 1935, Hitler announced conscription to the air force and army in direct violation of the Versailles Treaty. He also re-integrated the Saar valley into Germany after carrying out a referendum. In March 1936, German

soldiers re-took the Rhineland. Also in 1936, Hitler signed an agreement with Mussolini's fascist Italian government and Japan to jointly oppose Russia in the war. In the same year, he sent his army to the aid of the fascist military dictatorship in Spain to test his new weapons and military systems.

During this period, Hitler assessed that Britain and France weren't keen on entering into a war with Germany. Instead, they wanted to prop him up as a barrier against the Russian communists. This British policy was called the 'appeasement policy'. Taking advantage of it, Hitler captured Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1939.

Figure 9.9: A 1936 satirical cartoon by well-known cartoonist David Low. Hitler is shown walking to his goal on the backs of the 'spineless leaders of democracy'

Towards the end of 1939, he signed a non-aggression pact with Russia under which both countries agreed not to attack each other. In September 1939, Germany invaded and captured Poland. Following the surrender, the Germans rounded up the Jews, intellectuals, elite class, teachers etc in Poland and executed them to prevent the emergence of a new leadership in the country. This inhuman treatment of the Polish population stunned the world.

Hitler also herded the Polish peasants from their villages into camps and sold them as slaves, re-settling the villages with Germans. He said the German people needed place to breathe and live for which it was necessary to eliminate the people of Eastern Europe and confiscate their land. He claimed that the non-German races were inferior and only fit to be slaves. The German soldiers were also told that the enemy soldiers were inferior and could be easily defeated by the German race. This ideology guided his thrust to capture the whole world. He promised the German people that they could exploit the wealth of all the captured countries to raise their living standards.

In 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany in support of Poland. This step scaled up the war into a world war. Germany quickly worked out its war strategy, attacking northern Europe and France by mid-1940 and entering North Africa to attack Britain's colonies. Italy and Japan declared they would ally with Germany, the three together forming the Axis powers. In 1941, Japan attacked the USA and Germany attacked the Soviet Union (Russia). The entry of the USA and the Soviet Union into the war was a defining moment. Together with Britain, France and other anti-German nations, these two countries formed the Allied powers, also called the United Nations, which later went on to form the United

Figure 9.10 The battle for Stalingrad

Nations Organisation whose primary objective was to defeat the Axis powers.

Russia wasn't militarily prepared to face the German assault in the beginning and was forced to retreat. But in 1942-43, Hitler's victorious army faced defeat for the first time at the hands of the Soviet army in the city of Stalingrad. After that, the Soviets kept advancing till they captured Berlin, the German capital. Hitler committed suicide before the fall of Berlin.

During this phase of the war, Britain and the USA fought together to liberate France, after which they advanced to Berlin. Meanwhile, Mussolini also committed suicide after Italy was defeated. The USA then dropped atomic bombs on the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Berlin was captured to force Japan to surrender, which it immediately did. With this, the Second World War came to an end.

Humanity had never before seen a war as destructive and merciless as the Second World War. On one side, there was Germany's genocide of the Jews and Japan's inhuman treatment of prisoners of war. On the other, dropping atomic bombs on defenceless civilians shook the world's conscience. The war claimed the lives of 225 lakh soldiers and about twice that number – around 500 lakh – of civilians were killed. Around 60 lakh Jews were sent to their death in the holocaust while 2,50,000 people perished in minutes in Nagasaki. Russia suffered the highest number of casualties, the estimates ranging from 200 to 400 lakh, or around 20 percent of the country's population.

Figure 9.11: A scene of the destruction caused by the atom bomb in Nagasaki

Figure 9.12 Hana and her suitcase

HANA'S SUITCASE

Japan built a Holocaust museum to remind people of the horrors of the Second World War. The exhibits in the museum included some materials from the Auschwitz concentration camp, among which a suitcase drew the attention of visitors. It was the suitcase in which a victim of the gas chambers had kept her belongings. Her name was marked on the lid – Hana Brady, May 16, 1931. This orphaned child was killed when she was 13 years old.

Japanese children visiting the museum kept asking many questions about Hana and her suitcase – who was this girl, where was she from, where did she live, how was she orphaned, why was she killed? The director of the museum had no answers to their questions so she decided to investigate. After several years, it came to light that Hana's elder brother was living in Canada. He related Hana's story in a letter.

Hana's family lived in a town called Nove Mesto in the Czech Republic. They were Jews. The travails of the Czech Jews began when the Nazis occupied their country in 1939. They were not allowed to go to school, visit the cinema and so on. They had to wear an identity badge when they ventured out of their homes. Gradually, they were deported to the concentration camps. One day, Hana's mother was taken away and the next day her father. Hana was not yet 11 years old at the time. Her mother sent her a gift from the concentration camp on her birthday. That was the last contact with her.

The brother and sister were now alone in the world. They were both sent to a concentration camp on May 14, 1942 where they lived for two years. On October 23, 1944, Hana was sent to Auschwitz, where she was gassed to death. Her brother was working as a slave at the time that the reign of the Nazis came to an end. He learnt from his paternal aunt that his parents and sister had been killed. He wrote: "My world came to an end at that moment. Even today, I feel Hana's little hands. I regret so much that I could not save her."

From 'Hana's Suitcase' by Karen Levine, published in 2002

The Second World War was the first time in history that more civilians than soldiers were killed in a war. It was also the first war in which all civilians (male and female) had to work for the war effort, with the economy of the countries involved in the fighting almost entirely directed to produce armaments for the war.

In a way, the two world wars in the 20th century were a consequence of the important changes that had taken place in the 19th century, such as the formation of nation states that began to see other nation states as their sworn enemies, industrialisation that made it possible to manufacture huge quantities of armaments, workers who could be sent to the war front for several years, democracies that could incite war hysteria in their people, scientific progress that made it possible to manufacture tanks and machine guns, poison gas chambers, bomber aircraft and the atom bomb, unparalleled for its destructive capability.

The first 50 years of the 20th century witnessed these horrific episodes because human society could not control the institutions it had created for its own well-being. Instead, humans lost their humanity to cross the limits of bestiality.

> **Compare the First and Second World Wars and state the differences in the weapons used and the destruction caused to life and property.**

9.5 India and the Second World War

Once again in 1939, the British government thrust India into the war without consulting the people. The Indian army was despatched to Burma and Singapore to fight the Japanese and to Africa to fight the Germans and Italians. Large quantities of materials such as food-grain and clothing were purchased for the army, leading to a sharp increase in prices and scarcity of goods in the market. The most horrendous consequence of the scarcity was the Bengal famine of 1943 in which 30 lakh people died of starvation or perished in epidemics. The famine didn't occur because of low harvests of grain but because grain was bought in large quantities by the government for the army, leading to the scarcity in the market. Taking advantage of the situation, traders began hoarding grain in the hope of reaping huge profits. The government could have acted to save the people by distributing adequate quantities of grain. But the colonial government did not take any steps in this direction. Indian traders and industrialists, thus, earned huge profits and became wealthy because of the demand created by the war.

The nationalist movement in India was sharply divided on the policy to adopt towards the world war. Some people felt that India should see the war as an opportunity to join hands with Germany and Japan to oust the British from the country. Prominent among them was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who organised the Azad Hind army in Singapore with the help of Germany and Japan, advancing towards Nagaland and Manipur. Leaders like Gandhiji, Nehru and Patel were opposed to this line of action. They believed that India should not support the genocidal, anti-democratic policies of Germany and Japan. They felt that India could continue its fight for freedom from British rule without support from Germany. In pursuit of this policy Gandhiji launched the 'Quit India' movement in 1942 in which millions of common people joined with great enthusiasm. The communists, however, felt that defeating Hitler to save global democracy and socialism was the most important immediate priority. Hence, they felt that Britain should not be opposed until the war was over.

Once the war was over, all three streams of thought came together, with Nehru and other Congress leaders striving to protect the Azad Hind soldiers and the Communist Party again becoming active in

the freedom movement. One important outcome of the war was that Britain became weak internationally while the USA and Soviet Union emerged as the most powerful global powers. This created the right conditions for India to win its freedom from British rule.

Have you heard about famines? Find out from your elders how people live during a famine and discuss in class.

The war affected peasants and traders in different ways. What do you think were the reasons for these differences?

9.6 After the Second World War

Soviet Union, USA and Britain were the principal forces that defeated Hitler. These three nations decided that the first priority was to dismantle the Nazi regime and identify the Nazi leaders who could be punished for the human massacres. Punishment was duly meted out to the Nazi leaders for their heinous crimes but only 11 of them were sentenced to death. The rest were either merely imprisoned or received life sentences, which were inadequate, considering the crimes they had committed. This was because the victorious nations didn't want to take an excessively harsh stand against Germany as had been done in Versailles.

The map of Europe was redrawn once again after the war. The regions of Europe that were liberated by the Soviets became part of the Soviet sphere of influence while the remaining regions and Japan came under the influence of the USA. Thus, East Germany came under Russian influence while West Germany came under US influence. Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia were established as independent nations but remained under the Soviet sphere of influence. Similarly, West Germany, France, Holland, Italy, Greece and some other countries also became independent nations but remained under US influence. In Japan, the government remained under the emperor, but fresh elections were held under US supervision and a new government was formed that adopted a new democratic constitution. Both the US and Soviet Russia formulated plans to redevelop the economies under their respective spheres of influence so that the countries whose economies had been destroyed by the war could once again tread the path of progress.

Meanwhile, a proposal was formulated to carve out a new nation for the Jews from their traditional city of Jerusalem and

Figure 9.13: The victorious leaders Stalin (USSR), Roosevelt (USA) and Churchill (Britain) in Teheran in 1943

the adjoining areas. This land belonged to the people of Palestine so the Arabs protested against the formation of the new nation in their midst. However, the Jewish state was established in 1948 with the help of the US government and was called Israel.

Germany was divided in 1945. Find out whether the country is still divided today.

9.7 The United Nations Organisation

Attempts to form a new international organisation began from the time Germany was staring at defeat in the war. The leaders of Britain, Soviet Russia and the USA met several times to discuss the future global order and the framework of the proposed organisation. After the war ended in October 1945, 50 countries together formed the United Nations Organisation (UNO, presently called the UN). Its main objective was to establish world peace and encourage mutual support and cooperation between countries for their economic development. Its guiding principles were: respect for the internal power structure of every country, justice in international relations, and encouraging human rights and social development within countries.

The reasons for the failure of the earlier League of Nations were borne in mind while constituting the new organisation. The League of Nations was run on the basis of consensus between its main member countries and it had no statutory power to enforce its decisions. In forming the UN, attention was paid to ensuring that the main member nations had the required military strength to enforce any major decision that had their backing. At that time, five major countries were given a special place in the organisation – the USA, Britain, France, Soviet Union and China. These five countries were made permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), each having the power to reject a decision to which objections were raised. This power was called veto right. If there was consensus between these five nations on an issue then they could jointly implement it.

In addition to the Security Council, the UN also had a General Assembly constituted by all its member nations in which many issues are discussed and decisions taken. Apart from this, an International Court of Justice (ICJ) was also established to settle disputes between countries, ensure observance of international law and oversee proper implementation of treaties. Several agencies were set up to foster development and cooperation between nations, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organisation (WHO), International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR), etc.

Despite the many problems it has been facing over the past 70 years, the UN continues to work for world peace, development and cooperation and has, till now, successfully diffused issues that could escalate into a Third World War.

EXERCISES

1. Identify the wrong statements in the following and rectify them:

    a)   Britain's ambitions led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

    b)   The League of Nations was formed in 1945.

    c)   Fascism opposed a multi-party system.

    d)   Organised labour was the biggest supporter of fascism.

    e)   Japan supported Britain in the Second World War.

2. Fill in the blanks with the correct option:

    a) ………………………was the fascist dictator of Italy. (Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini)

    b) Hitler suspended all citizens' rights with the ……………………. Law passed in 1933. (Fire Decree, Jewish Decree, Enabling Act)

    c) Germany, Italy and ……………………………………………… together were called the Axis powers. (Japan, France, Russia)

    d) ……..………………………… was established as a nation for the Jews in 1948. (Japan, France, Israel)

3. Give brief answers to the following questions:

    a) What was the condition of the small property owners after the First World War?

    b) What assurances did Hitler give the German people?

    c) How did Germany treat the Polish people after the country was occupied?

    d) What was the reason for the Bengal famine of 1943?

    e) What incident led Japan to agree to surrender?

4. What are the differences between fascism and liberal democracy? Explain in detail.

5. Why did Hitler want to expand the German state?

6. What differences do you see between nationalism and ultra-nationalism?

7. What do you think was the cause of Germany's defeat?

8. Had Germany won the war, what impact do you think it would have had on the world?

9. The United Nations Security Council gives special rights to five countries. Why was this done? Do you think it is correct? Write what you think.

Project Work

1. Imagine you a Jewish boy or girl. Write a story about what happened to you and your family between 1933 and 1945.

2. Prepare a poster exibition on either the Holocast or the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

10

End of Colonialism and the Cold War

You know that the colonial regime in India and Pakistan came to an end in August 1947 and these two countries became independent nation states. Within 30 years of the end of the Second World War, from 1945 to 1975, all the countries of Asia and Africa threw off the colonial yoke and became independent nations. Indonesia gained freedom in 1945, India and Pakistan in 1947, Burma (Myanmar) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1948, and several other countries thereafter. China became an independent republic following the communist revolution in 1949. At the same time, other East Asian countries such as Korea and the Philippines, too, gained independence. The world map was, thus, transformed between 1940 and 1980. The process that ended colonial rule and led to the establishment of independent governments in different countries is called decolonization.

Map 10.1: Decolonisation of Asia and Africa
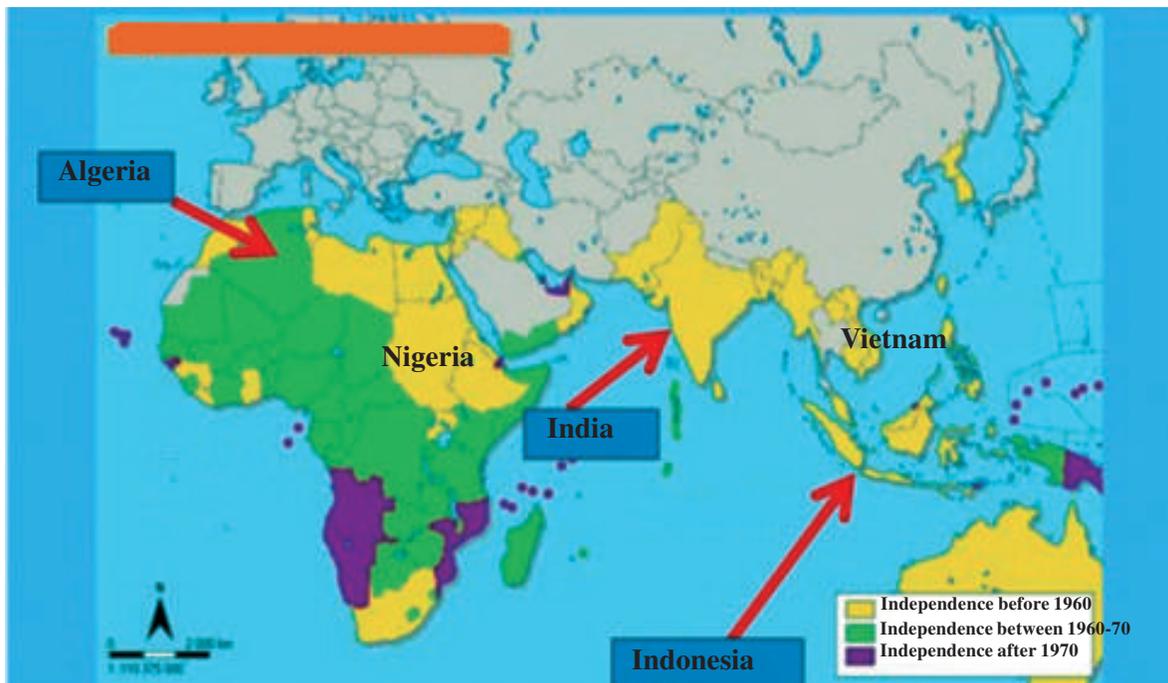
We learned about the process of colonization in class 9. You will remember that it had many different aspects. First, political power in the colonies lay in the hands of the imperialist powers such as Britain. Second, the colonies were economically exploited – raw materials were procured cheaply from them, processed in European factories and the finished goods were sold in the international markets; also, the colonies were heavily taxed to generate revenue for the colonial governments. Third, the people in the

colonies were indoctrinated to see themselves as uncivilized, with the European nations being the messengers of civilization. They were made to believe that their well-being lay in internalizing and accepting European culture and thinking. Colonialism could end only after the people of the colonies were able to achieve political and economic freedom and regain their self-respect by liberating themselves culturally and ideologically.

We learnt in the previous class that Britain, France, Holland, Portugal and Japan were the dominant imperialist countries that established their colonies in America, Asia and Africa. We also learnt that most of the colonies in North and South America fought their imperialist masters to gain their freedom towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. In this chapter we shall learn about the process of decolonization in the 20th century.

What are the differences between an independent country and a colony? Discuss in class.

10.1 International political scenario after the Second World War

The old imperialist European countries were economically crippled by the cost of fighting the Second World War. France, Holland, Britain as well as Japan were disrupted by the war and these countries had to seek the support of the United States of America (USA) to rebuild their shattered economies. After the war, the USA and the USSR emerged as the two most powerful countries in the world. They both opposed colonialism and wanted the colonies to gain independence. So they began to put pressure on Britain and other imperialist countries to grant freedom to their colonies.

The war had one significant economic impact on the colonies. Before the war, colonies like India were economically indebted to Britain. But, during the war, Britain took huge loans from its colonial government in India to sustain its war effort. Thus, instead of Britain getting resources from India it was now indebted to India. The cost of retaining the India as its colony after the war became too high for the British exchequer to bear.

The Second World War was a global battle to defend freedom and democracy, with Britain and the Allied Powers opposing Germany and the Axis powers. Having fought to defend democratic freedom, these imperialist countries could no longer refuse to grant freedom to their colonies after the war. The indigenous freedom movements in these colonies had also picked up momentum during the war, especially in the initial phase when Germany was successful against its opponents. Seeing their colonial masters weakened, the colonies seized the opportunity to gain their freedom. There were armed insurrections in many colonies. In India, too, the colonial army and police began to side with nationalists. The colonial rulers that the old methods of controlling and ruling their colonies were no longer effective. Weakened by the war, the European countries could no longer bear the economic burden of retaining their colonies.

But the problem they now faced was to ensure unity and stability in the colonies during the transition of power. The imperialist countries also wanted to ensure that the colonies adopted economic and political policies that protected their own interests. This task was made easier because they were handing over power to the very classes they had nurtured to help them administer their colonies. These classes included local kings, landowners, wealthy merchants and the educated middle class.

There was one other significant development during this time. Soviet Russia began extending support to political parties in the colonies that followed communist and socialist ideologies and wanted to usher in fundamental social change through a people's revolution. These parties sought to establish the rule of the peasants and workers by ousting the upper class of maharajas, nawabs, landowners and capitalists.

In those days, the countries of the world were divided into two power blocs. One bloc comprised he USSR and its allied countries and the other bloc comprised the USA and its allied countries. USSR wanted to strengthen its bloc by helping the colonies win their independence. At that time, it extended its support to political parties spearheading revolutionary movements in China, Vietnam, Korea and other countries. It also extended its support to the strong communist parties that were emerging in countries like India and Indonesia.

America did not take a backseat to Russia in this competition to win the allegiance of newly-independent countries. It wanted the colonies to win their freedom before the USSR-backed parties became too powerful and seized power. It wanted the upper classes to capture power and oppose the spread of communism in their countries. The American strategy was to encircle Russia with a string of military bases that could challenge Soviet power if a war broke out in future. This was possible only in the old European colonies, which is why America was committed to these colonies gaining their freedom.

This global competition between USA and USSR had a marked impact on the decolonization process. Both countries were keen to end the colonial system and see the colonies gain their independence. Both also wanted to gain the allegiance of the newly independent countries and influence their policies. As a result, the freedom struggles in some of these countries became enmeshed in the USA-USSR rivalry, examples including Korea and Vietnam in Asia and Namibia and Angola in Africa.

This rivalry laid the ground for the emergence of a new kind of colonialism. Both Russia and America extended large loans to the newly independent countries to win their allegiance and make them indebted. What was, thus, emerging was a new phase of neo-colonialism in which the former colonies were once again controlled through indebtedness and the establishment of military bases on their territory by the two super-powers.

To sum up, it can be said that the end of the Second World War created a situation in which the imperialist countries were left with little choice but to grant independence to their colonies. But, at the same time, these newly independent countries found themselves caught up in the competition between the two super-powers, coming under their sway in some way or the other.

> **What were the similarities and differences between the situation in Britain and France after the Second World War?**
>
> **British and French economists claimed on the basis of their assessments that their countries would sink into debt if they retained their colonies. What were the reasons for their claim? Do you think that the same conditions prevailed in these countries before the outbreak of the world war?**
>
> **What were the similarities and differences in the policies of America and USSR towards the colonial countries?**
>
> **You must have learnt about 'non-alignment' in the political science chapters. Why do you think non-alignment was important after 1945?**

10.2 Nationalist movements in the colonies

The credit for closing the chapter on colonialism must surely go to the people's movements in the colonies that won them their freedom between 1945 and 1975. During the colonial period, almost all the

colonies faced internal insurrections by groups that were affected in some way or other. For example, India witnessed *adivasi* and peasant revolts from as early as 1750 right up to 1950. These included the 1857 revolt, Santhal uprising, 1910 Bhumkal rebellion in Bastar, Telengana peasants' uprising from 1946 to 1950, and so on.

These rebellions were important for two reasons. First, they challenged the colonial powers, even if they were not successful. Second, they challenged the intellectual colonialism by which the ruling powers sought to indoctrinate the people in the colonies. These revolts certainly left their imprint and influenced the thinking of the colonized people even if they were never strong enough to defeat the colonial powers.

Apart from these armed rebellions, peasants, workers, traders and the educated middle class launched movements to seek their demands. Mostly for class specific demands, these movements also left their impact on the colonial governments.

The national freedom movements in the colonies also began to gather momentum. In India, the nationalist movement can be traced back to 1885. It picked up steam after 1905, reaching its peak during the Second World War in 1942, after which it became clear that India would gain its independence from British rule sooner or later.

China, too, had a nationalist movement that began in 1911 and culminated in the communist revolution in 1949. Most Asian and African countries saw the launch of freedom movements during the war years.

> **You may have read in class 9 about uprisings that occurred in different colonies. Recall what you read about the rebellions in China and Indonesia and share their main aspects with the class.**
>
> **What were the main phases and events in the Indian freedom movement between 1905 and 1945? Discuss them in class.**

The national movements in the colonies faced many challenges. To begin with, the people in most of the colonies were divided into small communities on the basis of tribe, caste, language, region and religion. There was no national identity or spirit to weave this diversity into a nation that represented all its people and worked for the good of all its citizens. The cementing factor that usually brought these different groups together in a common struggle was opposition to foreign rule. The methods used to bring the people together on a common platform were also developed by the colonial rulers themselves. For example, in India, English language and the print media played a key role in unifying the people. Other colonies also used the languages of the colonizing nation, whether English, French or Dutch, to propel their national movements.

The second challenge was that the prominent nationalist leaders in the colonies were mostly educated in the modern liberal tradition, as a result of which they were influenced by democratic, liberal or communist ideologies. On the other hand, the common people were mostly traditional in their outlook, following the traditional practices and paternalistic beliefs of their feudal and tribal communities. So most of the national movements were influenced by these two streams of thought. On the one hand were those who wanted to propagate a nationalist spirit based on modern education and democratic institutions. On the other were those who wanted to promote nationalism based on traditional values and religions. Thus, the thrust for social change and modernism co-existed with the demand to preserve tradition.

A third challenge was that the educated nationalist leaders mostly belonged to the wealthy and elite classes, which made it difficult for them to easily identify with or influence the masses of people who belonged to the poor and exploited classes. Creating a space for the poor to participate and make their voice heard in the national movements was, thus, a difficult task. However, many Congress leaders from the elite class like Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were able to transcend their class origins and participate in the peasant, worker and *adivasi* movements. They tried to accommodate the demands and rights of these sections of society in the nationalist movement. But this was not always the case in other countries where the poor were often cut off from the national struggles for freedom.

Another challenge facing the nationalist leaders was that most countries did not have a democratic tradition so it was not an easy task to build up a nationalist movement based on people's participation. India was an exception in this respect. The country had been exposed to democratic practices since 1880 when the British rulers introduced public franchise, though in a limited way, allowing people to elect their representatives to the municipalities. Between 1919 and 1935, popular election was extended to choosing representatives to the provincial assemblies.

In addition, primary education had a wider reach in the Indian population than in other countries, with many colleges and universities for higher education also being established. This education system helped the emergence of an aware middle class that could represent the interests of all classes, castes, religions and regions in the country. On the political front, too, there was a democratic organization, the Congress party, that could lead the national movement. In addition, there were other political parties in the country to represent different ideologies and fight for the rights of different communities, classes and regions.

For these reasons, the democratic system was fairly firmly established in India. This was not the case in most other countries, which lacked such democratic institutions and experiences, the only other exception being Sri Lanka. That is why many of these countries saw their freedom struggles replacing colonial rule with dictatorships or military rule.

Is the spirit of nationalism required to end colonialism and win freedom?

Can people speaking different languages and following different religions constitute a nation? If one language or religion dominates, what impact will it have on the nation?

Is a nation a combination of the rights of peasants, workers, traders, industrialists, landowners, men, women, etc or is it something that goes beyond everyone's rights? Discuss with examples.

What impact did the absence of democratic traditions have on the process of decolonization?

10.3 Decolonisation: some examples

10.3.1 India

The movement against British rule in India gained momentum after 1935. Peasants, workers, *adivasis*, youth, etc in all regions of the country were by then opposing the colonial establishment. The Congress party had assumed the leadership of the national freedom movement under the guidance of Gandhiji. However, tensions began to emerge between the different social classes as it became clear that India

would soon win freedom. *Dalit* leaders like Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar were worried about the fate of the *dalits* once India gained independence. The Muslims had similar concerns. Provinces like Madras (Tamil Nadu) were also apprehensive about their place in an independent India.

The Congress party claimed that it represented the interests of the entire nation so it would be able to deal with conflicting interests objectively, without taking sides. But not everyone was convinced by this claim. Taking advantage of these internal dissensions, the British rulers began inciting the different religious and caste groups to stake their claims, telling them that the Congress party could never represent all sections of Indian society. For example, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Indian Muslim League, began demanding a separate country, Pakistan, for the Muslims.

The national movement was becoming more intense during this phase, with peasant revolts under way in some states and industrial workers in cities organizing strikes and demonstrations. The army and navy were also on the threshold of revolt, with the rebellion of sailors deployed in the Arabian Sea fleet receiving tremendous support from the people.

Assessing the volatile situation, the British government decided to bifurcate India by carving out a new country comprising the Muslim-majority regions in the east and west. The colonial rulers also gave the 500-odd princely states the freedom to decide whether they would like to be integrated into India or Pakistan or remain as independent states. Most of the rulers were willing to merge their states into India but a few large princely states such as Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad tried to retain their independent status. However, these rulers had to eventually bow to the dictates of their subjects and agree to merge with India.

You must have already read in the political science chapters the story of how independent India drafted its democratic constitution and how universal adult suffrage was established to enable the people to elect their representatives to the legislative wings of the new government.

10.3.2 Indonesia

Indonesia is a country of islands situated to the south-east of India. You learnt in class 9 how the country became a colony of Holland (the Netherlands). Here we shall learn about Indonesia's story of independence.

Figure 10.1: Sukarno announcing Indonesia's independence in 1945

During the Second World War, Germany defeated Holland and handed over control of Indonesia to its ally Japan. The Japanese did talk of granting independence to the country but, at the same time, they wanted to retain the colony. They began to ruthlessly cut down Indonesia's forests, exploit its mineral resources, expropriate all its commercial crops and subject its people to forced labour. But they did allow some nationalist leaders to continue their struggle for freedom from Dutch colonial rule. Among them was Sukarno who had been imprisoned in Dutch jails for 10 years. The Japanese also encouraged the use of the local language in place of Dutch. But many Indonesian nationalists opposed Japan, saying that its treatment of their country was even more barbaric

Figure 10.2: The leaders of the freedom struggles in Africa, Asia and East Europe at the Bandung Conference in April 1955 - Nehru from India, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser from Egypt, Sukarno from Indonesia and Marshal Tito from Yugoslavia

than the Dutch. Nationalist activities, thus, flourished during the period of political instability from 1939 to 1945.

Sukarno declared Indonesia an independent country on August 17, 1945, with Japan's consent, once it became evident that the Japanese faced defeat in the war. Meanwhile, the British army, which had established its control over Indonesia at the time, tried to bring back the Dutch administrative officials. The Indonesians staunchly opposed the move, launching attacks on the British army at many places. One reason why the British were keen to hand the colony back to Holland as quickly as possible was that most of the British soldiers serving in Indonesia were Indians who were also in favour of both India and Indonesia gaining independence.

The Dutch, however, failed to re-establish military control over their colony. They now tried to divide Indonesia into several independent states, with one of them ruled by a Sukarno-led government. Sukarno was forced to accept this solution under pressure from Britain and America. But this gave rise to a armed communist-led insurrection that was brutally suppressed with much bloodshed. The Dutch army re-established its control over Indonesia, arresting and imprisoning Sukarno. The move caused a world-wide furore, with the United Nations Organisation passing a resolution condemning the arrest. The UNO convened a round table conference at Bandung at which a consensus was reached on Indonesia's new government. On December 27, 1949, power was officially transferred to Indonesia, bringing an end to Dutch colonial rule.

India consistently supported the freedom movement in Indonesia and supported it in the UNO. Indonesia too joined the Non Alligned Movement along with India. It hosted in Bandung an important conference of 29 newly independent countries of Asia and Africa participated. The conference opposed all forms of colonialism and established certain principles for establishing peace and friendships among the countries.

Indonesia tried to establish a parliamentary democracy. The first general election was held in 1955, with several parties winning support in their respective regions. But these parties could not stay together to run a national government. During this period of instability, the Indonesian communist party, which had grown rapidly, extended its support to the Sukarno government. The communists put pressure on the government to take over and

Figure 10.3 A postage stamp issued by Indonesia to mark the Bandung conference. What does it depict?

nationalize the Dutch and British companies in the country. A land reform law was also enacted under which land was distributed to the poor peasants.

America became apprehensive that the communist influence would drive Indonesia into the Russian bloc. So it began helping Islamic fundamentalists to foment rebellions in different regions of the country. Sukarno declared president's rule with the backing of the communist parties, thus putting an end to parliamentary democracy. Many opposition parties were subsequently banned. But the growing strength of the communists posed a threat of their seizing power. To prevent this, a faction of the Indonesian army launched a mass campaign to eradicate communism, as did the Islamic fundamentalists. Communist cadres were slaughtered on a mass scale, some estimates placing the death toll at 5,00,000. Sukarno was ousted and the army installed Suharto as president of Indonesia, with America backing the transfer of power. Suharto's government ruled until 1998, after which democracy was, once again, established in Indonesia.

What role did Japan play in Indonesia's independence?

The Dutch colonial regime wanted to break Indonesia up into several independent states while the nationalists opposed the move. What was the reason for their conflicting policies?

Why couldn't democracy be established in Indonesia until 1998?

In what way was the nationalization of British and Dutch companies important for Indonesia's independence?

10.3.3 Vietnam

Vietnam's freedom struggle is a 20th century epic. The Vietnamese, mostly poor peasants, waged a long and formidable war against the world's two most powerful nations to gain their freedom. Vietnam, along with its neighbouring countries Laos and Cambodia, were French colonies. France treated its three colonies as a source of food-grain and other raw materials, forcing the peasants to grow crops for the international markets.

During the Great Depression of 1929, when food-grain prices fell drastically in the global markets, the indebted peasants of Vietnam were forced to sell their land to moneylenders and big landowners, then cultivate their own land as tenants. The French rulers did not want an educated middle class to emerge in its colony so it did not allow colleges and universities to be established in the country. The Vietnamese had to go to France to pursue higher education. Despite these restrictions, a fairly large number of people were able to pursue their education abroad and return home.

During the Second World War, Japan captured Vietnam. The nationalist Vietnamese launched the Viet Minh movement under the leadership of communist ideologue Ho Chi Minh with the support of the USSR. When Japan faced defeat in the war in 1945, the Viet Minh formed an army, under the command of Vo Nguyen Giap, to capture power in Hanoi, the capital of the French colony.

Figure 10.4 President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru with Ho Chi Minh, President of Vietnam

After the war, France wanted to re-establish its control over Vietnam so it tried to install a puppet government that would act under its direction. The French army defeated Ho Chi Minh and drove him to seek refuge in the forests and mountains. But in May 1954, Gen Giap defeated the formidable French army using a clever strategy, forcing it to surrender. After this humiliating defeat, France decided to relinquish power in all its colonies.

But America was concerned about the growing influence of the communists in the region, so it decided to intervene. Taking over from France, it installed a puppet government in South Vietnam. The country was, thus, bifurcated, with the communists establishing their authority over North Vietnam, with Hanoi as their capital, and a former king becoming

Figure 10.5: A meeting in a North Vietnamese village to explain the land distribution law

the head of the government in America-dominated South Vietnam. The Americans deployed their army in South Vietnam on the plea of saving the government.

Communist-controlled North Vietnam launched a land reform programme, abolishing feudal landlordism and making the peasants the owner-tillers of the land, with an upper limit being set on how much land a peasant could own. Thousands of feudal landowners were killed and their property was confiscated during the implementation of this law, with the poor peasants and landless labour becoming owners of their land after many generations. They became the staunchest supporters of the Viet Minh.

Vietnam soon became a pawn in the competition between America and the USSR. America wanted to destroy the Viet Minh and install its client government. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, gave military aid to the Viet Minh government to combat America on the battlefield. The Americans carpet bombed North Vietnam, using deadly chemical weapons (Agent Orange) that devastated all vegetation over a vast area, with not even a blade of grass growing for decades.

The horrifying pictures of this merciless devastation of life and property, beamed by the media, stunned the world, while the Vietnamese continuing to fight America despite the devastation. Thousands were killed on both sides. Gradually, the common citizens of USA began opposing what they perceived as a senseless war, with thousands participating in anti-war protests across the American continent. Many of them were veterans of the war who had seen the senseless killings and were revolted by them. They demanded that America withdraw from the war.

Eventually, in 1974, President Richard Nixon announced the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. The South Vietnamese government could not survive for long without American support and the two parts of Vietnam merged once more into a unified country on April 30, 1975.

Vietnam. The South Vietnamese government could not survive for long without American support and the two parts of Vietnam merged once more into a unified country on April 30, 1975Vietnam established parliamentary democracy but it extended recognition only to the communist party and its allies. So there was no multi-party democracy, with the communists controlling every facet of government and limiting citizen's rights. Thus, Vietnam could not transition to a fully democratic country.

What similarities and differences do you see in the national movements in India and Vietnam?

What impact did the rivalry between USA and USSR have on Vietnam?

What was the importance of land reform in Vietnam's freedom movement?

10.3.4 Africa

Most of the colonies in Africa were under British or French rule. While Britain was prepared to grant independence to its large colonies in Asia after 1945, it tried to retain its hold over its African colonies. France, too, did not wish to lose its African colonies. The French wanted to continue their rule or to protect their interests to the extent possible in case their colonies achieved their independence.

The imperialist countries exercised direct control over only the coastal regions of their African colonies where the main harbours were situated. They appointed tribal chieftains to rule over the interior regions. None of their colonies had a viable modern administrative system (unlike India where the British had developed an elaborate administrative system). Nor were the colonial rulers of Africa interested in developing modern education to create an indigenous educated middle class. So they established very few primary or higher educational institutions in the country. You will recall that it was this educated middle class that spearheaded the national freedom movement in India and sought to introduce social reform.

But Africa did see the development of a strong and organized working class, which was mainly employed in the railways, mines and harbours. This class began fighting for its rights after 1945, including parity between white and coloured workers. However, these struggles did not develop into nationalist freedom movements. This was because the working class was spread across the entire continent, so their struggles were more in the nature of a pan-African movement rather than individual country-specific movements. The result was that the working class developed a sense of pan-African brotherhood and unity in their struggle against imperialism.

What impact did a weak middle class and administration by tribal chieftains have on nationalism in Africa?

What problems did the working class face in Africa? How did the nationalist spirit develop in this class?

Among the African colonies, none of those under French rule had established a system of self-government even up to 1956. But the colonies did enjoy a limited right to participate in the French parliamentary elections, with African representatives being elected to the French assembly and some of them even becoming ministers. But there was no self-government in the African colonies.

The French defeat in Vietnam changed the situation in Africa. In that same year, the Algerian people launched a war of liberation against France that continued until 1958, when Algeria was granted independence. In Egypt, the nationalist government took over control of a major transport channel, the Suez Canal in 1956, which led France to join hands with Britain to attack it. But the imperialists were

defeated in the ensuing war. That defeat made it clear to both countries that they would have to grant freedom to their African colonies.

In 1958, France announced a referendum in all its colonies, saying it would grant independence to whichever country opted for freedom. Many of the large colonies voted for independence from France but some smaller countries opted to stay with their colonial masters. By 1960 they signed treaties with France under which the French would continue to play an important role in areas such as defence, education and economic development. The main reason for their continued dependence on France was that these countries lacked a credible local leadership, so they felt they needed French support until they could achieve a degree of stability. Political analysts see this relationship as a form of neocolonialism in which the colonies enjoyed limited freedom while France continued to control their economies and educational system.

With regard to the British colonies, Britain was keen on reducing its expenditure on its colonies because it was passing through difficult economic times. Hence, it also offered a similar proposal to its colonies in 1960, promising independence to those colonies opting for freedom. Large countries like Nigeria and Ghana accepted this proposal and gained their independence. But many other countries, which had large settlements of people of European descent who feared that their special rights and privileges would be compromised if the colonies became free, opposed the move. Their opposition complicated the independence process in these countries, most of which were located in the south of the African continent. They included South Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and Mozambique (a Portuguese colony). The African people in these countries continued to have no political rights even after independence was declared because they were ruled by their white minorities, who adopted apartheid policies to safeguard their power and authority. (Aparthied = a policy of separation of whites and non whites and restricting the rights of the non whites)

Britain could not effectively oppose these apartheid regimes because the British were not prepared to antagonize or fight the white minority. The African people had to wage a long and difficult struggle to fight apartheid, resorting to a range of methods - including guerilla warfare as well as a non-violent non-cooperation movement – to gain their freedom. These countries did eventually complete democracy between 1990 and 1994.

Figure 10.6: Prime Minister Julius Nyeyere being carried on the shoulders of the Tanzanian people after their country declared its independence

The history of the African colonies and their freedom struggles, thus, had their own special characteristics. For one, even though colonial rule had weakened the traditional power structures in most of the colonies, tribal loyalties still prevented the emergence of a binding national spirit among the people. So the governments formed after they gained independence were almost always shaped according to the interests of their former colonial masters rather than the needs of the people, with tension and competition continuing to prevail between the tribal clans.

Another defining feature of the African freedom struggles was the absence of a strong middle class and strong merchant-capitalist class. Lack of educational opportunities prevented the growth of a middle class while a mercantile class could not emerge because all trade and natural mineral resources were controlled by foreign companies. Also, none of the African countries had an effective army, administration or educational system. We shall now study the example of Nigeria to see how these challenges were surmounted.

Nigeria

Population-wise, Nigeria is the largest country in Africa with a population of 17 crore people. Before the advent of Britain, Nigeria did not exist as a separate country. The British combined the regions around the Niger River to establish their dominion, which they called Nigeria. But they retained direct authority and control only over the coastal regions, allowing local tribal chieftains to govern the interior regions.

The northern part of Nigeria was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani tribe, which was Muslim. The south-eastern part was ruled by the Ibo tribe while the southern part was under the control of the Yoruba tribe. The main income of these tribes came from the cultivation of palm oil, cotton and other commercial crops. After oil was discovered in the coastal areas, this mineral resource became the main revenue earner for the country.

The first stirring of nationalism in Nigeria arose among the coastal people who espoused the cause of a wider African nationalism and wanted to unify the three tribal regions into a single nation. Herbert Macaulay founded Nigeria's first political party, the Nigerian Democratic Party, in 1923. The party extended its support to the militant attacks on the British colonial government that occurred in 1930. In 1936, Nnamdi Azikiwe laid the foundation of the Nigerian Youth Movement. He wanted to unify all the tribes residing in the region under a single Nigerian identity. After the Second World War, Nigerian nationalism began to assert itself, the pillars of the movement being the workers' organisations and the soldiers who had served under the British during the war and were now returning home. In 1945, the labour movement declared a national general strike.

Figure 10.7: President Nnamdi Azikiwe

The Nigerian nationalists had to confront two challenges. First was to fight against colonial rule and second was to unite the many, often antagonistic, tribes and clans. The nationalist movement was stronger

in the south of the country than in the north, which created a north-south divide. Even within the south, tension – and even clashes - continued to prevail between the Ibo and Yoruba tribes. Thus, the nationalist movement in these three regions was led by regional parties until 1950. They included the Northern People's Congress in the north, The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons in the east and The Action Group in the south.

Freedom and Weak Democracy : Aware of the growing non-violent democratic nationalist movement, the British decided to grant independence to Nigeria, with each of its constituent regions having self-rule. Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1963, with Nnmadi Azikiwe as the first president. Unfortunately, the new government could not hold the country together and civil war soon broke out. In 1966, military rule was established, with Azikiwe and many of his associates being killed. The north gained dominance during the military regime and established its authority in Nigerian politics. Many attempts were subsequently made to re-establish civilian rule and democratic government but they were all unsuccessful. The military government worked hand-in-glove with the multinational oil corporations (which extended financial aid to the corrupt rulers) as a result of which Nigeria witnessed widespread corruption and suppression of civil rights.

After a long spell of military dictatorship, Nigeria elected a democratic government in 1999. But, to this day, the country's vital natural resources – oil exploration and production – continue to be controlled by foreign multinational corporations. The people cannot reap the full benefits of their resources. Instead, they face the growing threat of pollution of their water sources, rapid deforestation and environmental pollution along the coastal areas.
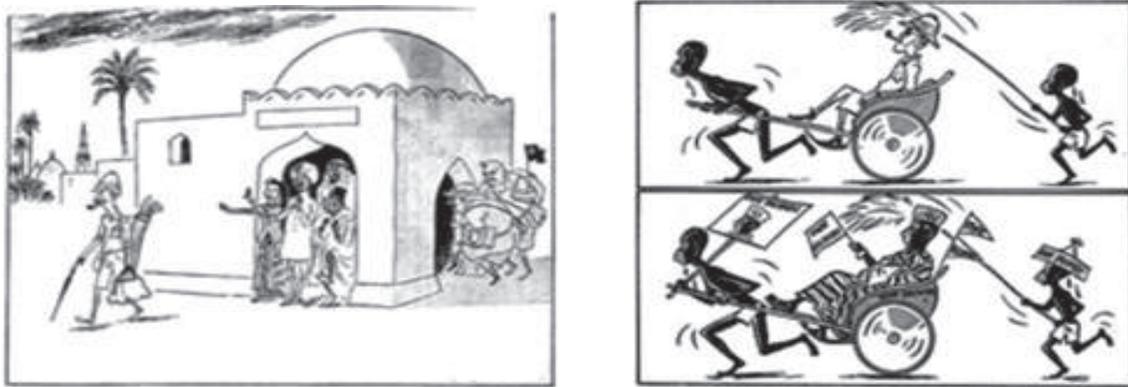
Figure 10.8: The process of decolonization. What do these two cartoons depict about this process?

10.4 Cold War and dissolution of the USSR: 1945 to 1992

In 1945, the USSR, the United States of America, Britain and other countries together defeated Germany and Japan. But the alliance did not last for long and soon USSR and America emerged as global competitors and adversaries. USSR believed in communism and wanted to propagate the socialist ideology across the world. It believed that a communist state would reduce inequalities in society by taking over control of a country's resources (factories, banks, mines etc) and using them for the benefit of all classes of people. America, on the other hand, believed in encouraging private enterprise, with individuals having the freedom to acquire and use all resources to meet the needs of society and the markets being able to function freely without government interference. America also propagated democracy and multi-party elections.

These were the ideological differences between the two global super-powers, with the USSR becoming a symbol of communism and America a symbol of capitalism. At the practical level, the two countries wanted to expand their spheres of influence by trade and military might. But the reality was that the two super-powers wanted to gain access to the resources of other countries for their own benefit.

Both countries sought to carve out their own spheres of influence in the treaties and negotiations conducted after the end of the Second World War. The Soviet sphere of influence included East Europe and, later, China, Korea and other countries. The rest of the world constituted the sphere of influence of America and its allies. Both countries accepted these boundaries but were always suspicious of each other's intentions. Initially, America had the upper hand because it possessed strategic nuclear weapons. But USSR also acquired these weapons after 1950.

The world saw rapid economic growth from 1945 to 1970. Tension continued to prevail between the two super-powers during this period, but it did not lead to the outbreak of war. However, the situation changed after 1970 as economic recession set in across the world. Tensions rose anew between the two super-powers who possessed nuclear arsenals that could not only destroy each other but also annihilate the whole world. However, this potential to destroy the world prevented them from confronting each other directly in a war. Instead, they fought proxy wars in their colonies and client states. For example, a permanent state of war existed between North and South Korea and North and South Vietnam after these countries were bifurcated in 1950 and 1954 respectively. USSR supported the northern factions in both countries while America came to the aid of the southern factions.

Figure 10.9: A peace march in Germany during the peace movement in 1980s

A similar situation was created following the bifurcation of India and Pakistan, with USSR supporting India and America supporting Pakistan. The conflict between the Arab countries and Israel in West Asia was another proxy arena for the super-powers as were the independence movements in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique in southern Africa.

More dangerous than even these proxy wars was the arms race between the two super-powers. In spite of knowing that neither one of them could win a nuclear war, the fear of a confrontation led both countries to develop even deadlier nuclear weapons in ever-larger quantities. These weapons were deployed in their military bases across the globe, bringing all countries within their range. So the threat of nuclear devastation hung over the world as the super-powers kept threatening to use their weaponry in areas of tension. Another very real fear was that a technical glitch could accidentally and unintentionally trigger a nuclear weapon. That's why, from 1975 to 1999, the entire world stood on the precipice of mutually assured destruction leading to nuclear annihilation.

Seeing the gravity of the situation caused by the arms race, the common people around the world, in particular from Europe and America where most of the nuclear weapons were deployed, began to launch peace movements and stage demonstrations at nuclear facilities. Lakhs of women, men and children in different countries participated in these movements and demanded that their governments unconditionally abolish nuclear weapons, destroy their arsenals, and prohibit other countries from deploying such weapons on their soil.

In the absence of democratic rights, USSR did not see such widespread movements but even there the intellectual class extended its support to these world peace movements. The pressure of the people forced the American and Russian leaders to think in terms of a nuclear free world. Both countries began a series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) that, after many initial failures, led to eventual success in 1998.. The presidents of America and USSR, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, signed a nuclear disarmament treaty in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, and Washington, the capital of America. This treaty made it incumbent on both nations to reduce their nuclear arsenals and practically stop the testing of new weapons. This treaty brought an end to the Cold War.

But the Cold War left a deep impact on the world. Apart from America and USSR, other countries were also forced to spend their resources on procuring weapons and strengthening their armed forces instead of developing themselves and improving the lives of their people. Thus, the majority of countries, including USSR, were economically crippled, barring those that depended on their armaments industry for economic growth. These countries earned huge profits.

Taking advantage of USSR's deteriorating economic condition, many East European countries that were getting restless under Soviet control broke away to declare their independence. This phase saw the reunification of East and West Germany, an event that was symbolised by the dramatic destruction of the Berlin wall, which divided the capital between the two wings, by the common people. Soviet Russia could not survive these happenings and unexpectedly collapsed in December 1991 when it was officially dissolved. In place of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 15 separate republics that opted for capitalism and electoral democracy came into being, bringing the curtain down on a unique attempt to bring equality and socialism to the modern world.

The world still struggles with another consequence of the Cold War. When USSR sought to influence the Arab countries in their fight against America and Israel, America spread the word among the Arabs that Islam was in danger from communism. Similarly, when USSR invaded Afghanistan and established its control over the country, America encouraged fundamentalist Islamic groups and armed them with formidable weapons to fight against the Russians. Both Russia and America also equipped groups in other countries of the world

Figure 10.10: Reagan and Gorbachev at the Reykjavik conference

to carry out guerrilla warfare against their governments. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, these groups are now spreading their terrorist activities across the world. The terrorist threat to the world, thus, began after the close of the Cold War.

EXERCISES

1. Fill in the blanks:

    a) Indonesian nationalist ………………………………… was the country's first president.

    b) Vietnamese revolutionary ……………………………… was the country's first president.

    c) Nigerian nationalist ………………………………… was the country's first president.

    d) Indonesia's freedom movement sought independence from …………………………………

    e) Vietnam fought against …………………………… and ………………………………… in its freedom movement.

2. What were the similarities and differences between the Indian freedom movement and Africa's freedom movements?

3. Three Asian countries – India, Vietnam and Indonesia – carried out land reforms after they became independent. Compare the land reforms in these three countries.

4. What were the problems in establishing democracy in Indonesia and Nigeria? How did India resolve these problems?

5. What was the role of nuclear weapons in the Cold War?

6. How was nuclear disarmament made possible?

7. What impacts of the Cold War can you see in the world today?

PROJECT WORK

Find out about the freedom movement in any other country by searching the internet or referring to a library. Prepare a poster exhibition of your research. Display it in the class.

11

Mass Media in the 20th Century

Figure 11.1

In today's world, you and your family have many ways and many devices to receive news from remote corners of the world. You also have many ways and many gadgets to convey your thoughts and views to people living across the world from the comfort of your home. These devices that carry our messages to other people and that bring news from other people to us are called communication or media devices.

Can you make a list of all the methods by which you receive news, views and messages?

Apart from these communication media, there are many other ways in which we exchange news and views with each other in our daily life – for example, by talking, writing, shouting, drawing, gesturing, sign language, beating a drum etc. Humans were exchanging views and messages in different ways even before the invention of modern communication media.

You learned about the invention of the printing press and the impact it made on people's lives during the Renaissance period. After the industrial revolution, many new machines were invented that made it easy to communicate ideas and exchange news rapidly and easily. Many of these communication

devices and methods - such as the gramophone, telegraph, telephone, wireless, typewriter, movies, camera, etc - were invented and developed in the latter half of the 19th century. They made it easy to convey ideas and messages rapidly to large numbers of people living in faraway places. Naturally, these inventions had a profound effect on society and the lives of people living in the 20th century.

Over the last 150 years, communication media have made it possible for people to immediately know of any incident occurring in any corner of the world. But the different kinds of communication media tend to convey similar news and views about the incident so people share and experience similar information about the incident. At the same time, the media also carry advertisements of industrial products and consumer goods. This happens on global scale. So communication media now reach the same news, same views and same advertisements at the same time to people of different cultures and languages living in different countries across the globe. Thus, communication media have been transformed into mass media today has the power to influence and control the thinking and lifestyles of vast populations. In this lesson we shall try to understand various aspects of this development.

> **What are communication media?**
>
> **Communication means to send or receive anything from one place to another. But we generally use the word communication in the context of conveying an idea or message from one place to another or from one person to another. Newspapers and letters are examples of communication media. A letter is written to a particular person or persons who are its recipients and readers while a newspaper or magazine is published for a wider readership. Communication media that reach ideas and messages to a wide audience are known as mass communication media or mass media.**

11.1 Print media

The invention of printing led to a sharp rise in the number of literate people and printed material in Europe. Many new institutions such as libraries and book fairs came into existence in the 19th century as more and more printed material became available. Steam engines began powering printing presses in Europe from 1814 and colour printing presses were built from 1837. By the dawn of the 20th century, printing presses were powered by electricity. These developments reduced the cost of printing, so it became possible to print larger quantities of books and magazines.

Newspapers: Two types of newspapers were printed in America and Britain at the beginning of the 19th century. One type specialised in publishing commercial news for traders and merchants while the other type was devoted to popularising the ideologies of political parties. There was also a third type of tabloid newspaper that was cheap and published news of interest to the working class. This tabloid newspaper was called the penny press or farthings magazine. Its content was mostly crime reports and human interest stories.

Newspapers were a good vehicle for informing people about manufactured products and goods. Advertisements of these products led to a rise in consumption and mass production of goods. Thus, advertising proved to be an additional source of revenue for newspapers in the 19th century. In fact, advertisements became their main revenue earning source by the early decades of the 20th century when newspapers began to be illustrated with photographs. Illustrated advertisements had a greater influence in moulding people's opinions.

When newspapers first began to be circulated in Britain in the 19th century, the country was going through a period of political upheavals. The working class was demanding greater participation in democratic elections, which were limited to the upper classes in those days. Seeing the growing influence of newspapers, the government began imposing stiff restrictions on them to control the anti-government propaganda. Newspapers were censored and prohibited from publishing news reports that were unfavourable to the government. A tax – called the stamp tax – was also imposed on them to raise their prices and ensure they were no longer within the reach of the common people. But the stamp tax had the opposite effect. Small printing presses began printing illegal newspapers that became very popular among the people.

People opposed the stamp tax because they saw it as a tax on knowledge, eventually forcing the government to withdraw the tax in 1858. This step ushered in the golden age of newspapers. But this was also the age when publishing newspapers became expensive. They required heavy investments and revenue from advertising to survive. Only the large corporations had the money to invest and advertise so the newspapers soon came under the control of the big capitalist houses. They not only gave advertisements to the newspapers but also began controlling the kind of news and views they published. These large publishing houses also began publishing

Figure 11.2: Cartoon

newspapers in large numbers and distributing them in every region and state. By 1930, in Britain, four such large publishing empires controlled almost half of all the newspapers and magazines that were published. Their owners came to be known as press barons.

The changes in the ownership of publication houses in the 20th century also led to changes in the role and influence of newspapers. Apart from publishing news and advertisements, they began to propagate different ideologies. This trend was particularly noticeable during the First World War when newspapers in Britain and Germany whipped up public sentiment for the war effort and hatred for the enemy in their respective countries. The newspapers published news to generate ultra-nationalistic feelings among the people and encourage them to enlist in the army.

In literate countries like America and Britain, most men and women read newspapers. For example, in 1980, 76 percent of British males and 62 percent of females read newspapers. By the end of the 1980s electronic media like television developed rapidly, replacing newspapers as the primary medium for dispensing news. As a result, the print media began to face a crisis situation.

English newspapers were published in India after the British established their colonial regime. The first newspapers were published in Calcutta, Madras (Chennai) and Bombay (Mumbai) between 1780 and 1792. The first Indian language publication was *Digdarshan*, a Bengali magazine published by Marshman from Serampore in Bengal in 1818. Raja Ram Mohan Roy published the first Persian newspaper *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* in 1822. Subsequently, newspapers in regional languages began to be published in different states. Many of the important English daily newspapers that began publication

Figure 11.3: Indian newspapers and television channels

between 1860 and 1890 still exist today. Examples include the *Times of India*, *Statesman* and *The Hindu*. In 1881, Lokmanya Tilak began publishing the famous Marathi nationalist magazine *Kesari*.

The colonial government did seek to control newspapers but there was always strong opposition to press censorship so the state could never exercise total control over the media. The first law to govern the press was passed in 1799. It required the publisher to declare his name and address so that the government could conduct enquiries whenever required and also get the approval of the government censor before publishing the newspaper. Another law was passed in 1878 to control Indian language publications. It required the publisher to file a declaration that he would not publish any anti-government news or news that could disturb the peace. The publisher had to deposit a large sum of money with the district magistrate, which could be confiscated if he did not comply with the law. Indian publishers protested strongly against this law, leading to its withdrawal in 1881. But a similar law was passed in 1910, which was, in turn, withdrawn in 1922 and again re-implemented in 1931. The history of press laws, thus, shows that the Indian middle class strongly opposed censorship laws and agitated for their withdrawal.

India, too, has its press barons and powerful publishing houses. The prominent among them are the Kasturi Iyyengar family of *The Hindu*, the Sahu Jain family of the *Times of India* and *Navbharat Times*, the Goenka family of the *Indian Express* and *Jansatta*, the K.K. Birla family of the *Hindustan Times* and the Aroon Purie family of the *India Today* group. The first four of these publishing houses were founded before independence. Apart from these five, there are

Figure 11.4: A cartoon by Alfedo Garzon. What is being said in this cartoon?

many publishing houses at the regional level that publish newspapers and magazines in Hindi and other Indian languages.

> **Does your school subscribe to any newspapers or magazines? Which magazines do people in your neighbourhood read? Who publishes these magazines?**
>
> **Why do some influential families gain control of publications? What impact do you think this has on society and politics in the country?**
>
> **Can advertisers also influence publications? How?**
>
> **In countries like India, the biggest advertisers are the government. What impact do you think this could have on publications?**

11.2 Electronic media

Telegraph: The invention of telegraphy by Samuel Morse in 1837 made it possible to convey information instantaneously by electrical signals via transmission lines. Telegraph machines helped newspapers gain access to more news. Time is the most important element in collecting news. For example, a newspaper that publishes the latest political news or the rise and fall of cotton prices in the market is more likely to sell in larger numbers. The rapid dissemination of information via telegraphy leads to a levelling of prices in the market. Information, thus, becomes a crucial input for industrialists and traders.

> **What kind of information is a resource? Discuss in class. Can you give some examples?**
>
> **Would you consider the information that gives you happiness a resource? Give reasons, whether for or against the proposition.**
>
> **Find out from your elders how telegrams and telegraphy were used and whether they are still in use.**

Telephone: Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876-77. The device allows us to talk with each other via wire even if we are hundreds of miles apart. Within a few years of its invention, telephony was widely used across the world including India. Many large companies began laying a network of transmission lines and manufacturing the equipment to open voice communications on a global scale.

Radio: Wireless radio allows voice communication without a network of transmission lines. Such wireless communication via radio waves made it easier to broadcast information across the world. Guglielmo Marconi of Italy made history when he first established wireless transmission across the Atlantic Ocean in 1901. Prior to this, communication was only possible through the network of transmission lines. Initially, radio communication was used only by the military and ships on the high seas. But radio developed into a mass communication medium after 1920.

The number of radio broadcasting stations in America grew rapidly after the end of the First World War. Many of these were illegal broadcasting stations running without a licence from the government. By 1930, radio broadcasting covered 40 percent of American homes. Most radio stations initially broadcast only music programmes but later began adding plays, comedies, discussions and educational programmes to their broadcasting schedules. During the Second World War, radio became the main channel to broadcast news about the war and air programmes to generate support for the war effort. Radio also became a powerful instrument for political and election propaganda during this period.

Radio broadcasting spread to other industrial countries after 1920, with the number of radio stations growing in France, Belgium, Germany, Russia and Italy. In India, All India Radio (Akashvani) began public broadcasting in 1930. The main purpose and duty of radio broadcasting was seen as conveying news and information to the people, educating them and providing entertainment to them.

Film: The Lumiere brothers screened the world's first moving pictures in 1895. In those days, the movies were silent – they did not have sound or voices. So the dialogues in the film were written as sub-titles. This medium became so influential and popular that many countries across the world began producing films and building countless theatres to screen them. In India, the first film called *Raja Harishchandra* was produced by Dadasaheb Phalke in 1913.

Making films is expensive and there is no guarantee that they will recover their investment after being screened to the public. That is why film production also began to attract the wealthy capitalists who could invest in their production. But these capitalists began controlling the content of films and the social and political ideas they propagated. And like newspapers and magazines, films, too, became a medium for advertising consumer goods and propagating consumer lifestyles. Given the high cost of production, films began to be produced in a few select centres around the world. In India, Bombay (Mumbai) and Madras (Chennai) are among the main film production centres. Most of the films screened in Britain, America and many other countries across the world are produced in Hollywood. This centralisation of culture is now giving rise to fears of cultural imperialism.

Films can be seen as a mirror of the times. During the Second World War, the majority of films produced in Hollywood focused on patriotism and extolling the virtues of the nation. After the war, many films based on social issues such as racial segregation, colour prejudice and antisemitism began to be made for the first time. This stream was evident even during the Cold War era, with the characters in films reflecting national or ethnic stereotypes. For example, racial prejudices and international tensions existing during the era of the Cold War were clearly reflected in the James Bond films made during that period. In India, too, films made in different eras reflected the social and political life of their times.

Before the invention of cinema, what were the main forms of entertainment? What differences and similarities do you see between these forms of entertainment and films?

Television: After the Second World War, a new medium of communication began to take the place of radio. A Scottish engineer named John Logie Baird demonstrated this electronic audio-visual communication medium for the first time in the decade of the 1920s. It came to be known as television or TV. This was a major invention in the field of broadcast communication. Like film, television, too, can be viewed by lakhs of people. But television is different from film. People can view television in their homes while doing their daily work, like they used to listen to the radio earlier. Radio and television, thus, became part of the daily life of people. Television, in fact, soon began to dominate people's lives with its news, views and images.
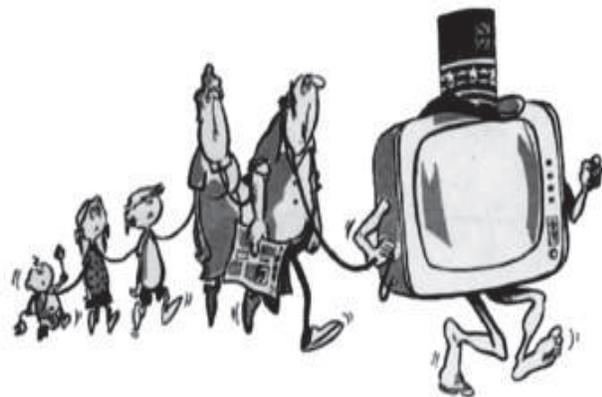
Figure 11.5: The slaves of media

Surveys show that people in developed countries like Britain and the United States are enslaved by tele-vision, watching it pas-sively during their leisure time. On average, individu-als in these countries, whether children below 4 years of age or retired people, spend three to four hours daily watching tele-vision. Where earlier they used to go out to meet friends, go for a stroll or do

Figure 11.6: Television during the American presidential election

some activity at home, they now spend their time reclined on their sofas watching TV. This change in lifestyle has had two important repercussions. First, where people would earlier discuss issues and incidents, they now tend to see everything as entertainment. People who read newspapers and maga-zines are said to be more likely to think and discuss issues than people who view the same issues on TV. Second, people now spend less time with each other because of their TV viewing. As a result, social interaction is becoming more limited while social relationships are also being diluted.

TV and elections

The first presidential debate to be broadcast on TV was between the presidential candidates Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy in the US elections in September 1960. The debate had a viewership of around seven crore people. Kennedy won the election. A survey conducted after the election revealed that those who had listened to the debate on radio felt that Nixon would emerge the victor while those who watched the television debate felt the opposite. The TV broadcast won the young and charismatic Kennedy more votes than the tired and haggard-looking (but more experienced) Nixon.

The election result revealed the power of television to sway public opinion. In the 20ᵗʰ century, TV has become a potent medium for people to establish the social and political image and credentials. But TV has also shown that it is not enough for a person to be politically and socially capable; he or she must also look more photogenic and presentable.

Figure 11.7: A middle class family watching the Nixon-Kennedy presidential debate on TV in their living room

While TV and radio broadcasting was done by private companies in America, it was controlled by the government in Europe, India and other countries. In Britain, the government established the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1926. Its operational expenses were borne out of the taxes collected from radio and TV subscribers. In 1950, private companies were allowed to enter the field of broadcasting in Britain. In India, too, the government's monopoly over broadcasting continued until 1990, with Akashvani being the sole broadcaster, after which private channels were granted permission to broadcast.

As the number of television sets grew across the world, there was a corresponding fall in the number of cinema theatres screening films. By the decade of the 1960s, 5.2 crore American homes had television, the number increasing to 28.5 crore homes by 2006. In India, Akashvani began TV broadcasting in 1965. By 2007, around 12 crore Indian households had TV. During this period, many improvements took place in the techniques of broadcasting (antenna, cable, satellite box etc).

In 1975, only a few cities in India had television, with the daily broadcasts limited to a few hours of news bulletins and other programmes. National broadcasting began in 1982, with Doordarshan being the monopoly TV channel. Its primary objective was to bring about social change through its programmes on national integration, agriculture, literacy, education, health and social welfare. At the same time, it broadcast entertainment serials such as *Hum Log* and *Buniyaad* to foster a sense of nationalism, of unity in diversity, among the people. Doordarshan also broadcast epics from the Hindu *Puranas* such as *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* based on the Hindu *Puranas*. These epics attracted a viewership of lakhs of people who would remain glued to their television sets when the episodes were broadcast. These serials established global viewership records.

As a result, the number of people buying TV sets kept growing in the decade of the 1980s. During this period, Doordarshan also began regional broadcasts. The decade of the 1990s saw the introduction of commercial and private channels like Star TV, Zee TV, Sun TV, CNN etc. Unlike Doordarshan, the primary aim of these private channels is to earn a profit. There is intense competition among them for viewership.

Commercial television reached advertisements of consumer and industrial goods to vast numbers of people, influencing their buying decisions and their lifestyle choices. The intense competition for viewership led the channels to explore new themes and programming. As a result, there was a sharp increase in entertainment programming and television advertising. Many channels began producing soap operas featuring conflicts arising in Indian families as a result of the clash between traditional paternalistic attitudes and emerging modern values. The majority of characters in these family dramas were women. Companies also began featuring film stars and famous personalities in advertisements for their products and services. By the closing decades of the 20th century, entertainment began taking the form of a mass technology in India.

Which channels are popular in your home and among your neighbours? Among these, which are private channels and which are government channels?

If news is broadcast only by government channels, what impact would it have on society?

Which channel do you consider to be the most reliable for news broadcasts?

Which channel has the most crime, sex and violence?

Which channel do you think has the best entertainment?

Advertisements give rise to new lifestyle aspirations among viewers. How reliable are the claims made in advertisements? Discuss in class.

11.3 Internet and digital media – new age media

The computer has made it possible to digitise all kinds of information in numerical code, whether it is words, sound, images or audio-visual films. This makes it possible to easily and rapidly transmit any kind of information from one place to another. Artificial satellites that orbit the earth have played an important part in simplifying the process and allowing information to be transmitted on a global scale. Satellite transmission is, indeed, a revolutionary development in human history. People can now not only see, hear and read information but also change it. This has led to the development of interactive media such as video games. Digital technology has also unified the computer, phone and television in devices like the mobile smartphone. One consequence of this unification is that people are no longer mute spectators but active participants. They can choose what they want to see or read, what information they want to access and when they would like to access it. They can also broadcast their views and images. All this has been made possible by the internet, which is part of the digital revolution. The internet has

Figure 11.8 What is this cartoon saying about how the internet is endangering the freedom of the individual

played the role of bringing computers and mobiles together on a single platform globally. After 1990, internet use spread like wildfire.

Every individual can now be connected to the world by the internet and the digital revolution. They can get information, access entertainment resources and contact people across the world. They are not just a source of information and entertainment but a platform for economic and commercial activities such as trade - buying and selling - banking, etc. Companies can instantly invest or withdraw crores of rupees from any country in any corner of the world. Digital resources have, thus, become a means of bringing people together, establishing communication between them and allowing them to interact on a global scale. They are a medium for dialogue and interaction between people who have never met.

In today's world, the internet has been extensively used in people's movements. It also helps private companies and governments to keep a tab on people's activities. Such information has the potential for misuse. Social scientists continue to study and assess the internet's powerful worldwide impact.

Have you ever used the internet? Tell the class about your experience of using the internet.

Have you made a friend or struck up a conversation with a person you do not know on the internet? Tell the class about it.

You might have heard or read about globalisation. What links do you see between globalisation and the development of communication media?

Mass media, critical thinking and entertainment

Democracy in any country depends on the level of public discourse. The health of democracy depends on the extent to which people participate in public dialogue and exchange views. Some experts say that mass media centralises public discourse and treats the exchange of views as entertainment. Earlier, people discussed issues in small groups so their level of participation was high and the views they exchanged was more diversified. But mass media mediated discussions take place between fewer people and are watched by the large masses of people who do not get the opportunity to put forward their views and opinions. Thus, people expect entertainment rather than analysis from such programmes. Media channels encourage them to think in a particular way, which reflects the views of the channel owners

One example of how mass media influenced mass thinking was the Iraq war. The US and Britain claimed that Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was preparing weapons of mass destruction and if he wasn't stopped, the entire world would be endangered. This claim had no real basis in fact but it was nevertheless widely propagated by the American media. As a result of this mass propaganda, America invaded Iraq in 2003 and executed Saddam Hussein. Around 150,000 to 6,00,000 people were killed and an entire country was ruined. But, despite extensive searches by the American army, no hoard of weapons of mass destruction were found.

The media was a key participant in the war, broadcasting every detail directly into people's homes. It was even said that the American and Iraqi presidents obtained the latest updates on the war from the TV broadcasts. The war also advertised the use of new weapons of war, which proved to be highly profitable for American arms manufacturers. The end result was that the media companies and arms manufacturers made huge profits by turning the war into a spectacle that entertained people.
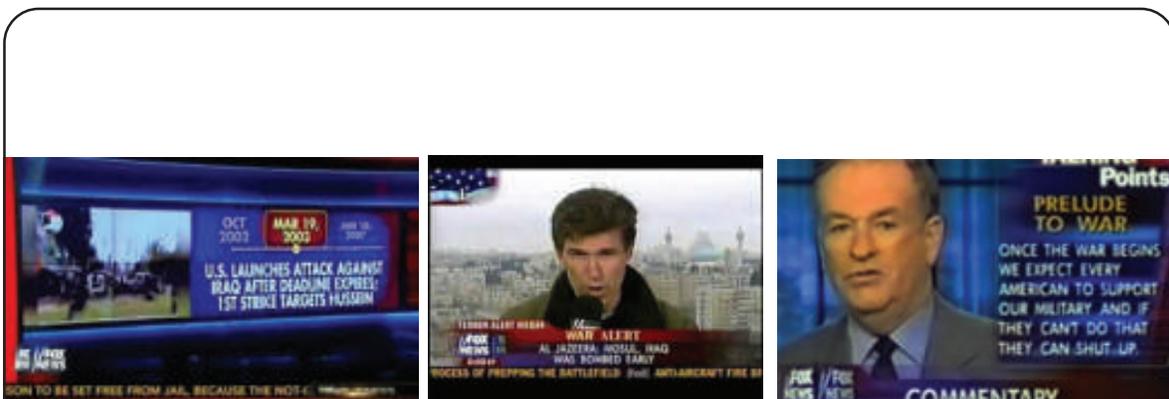
Figure 11.9: Three images of the Iraq war broadcast by an American news channel

EXERCISES

1. Identify the incorrect statements from among the following and rectify them:

    a)   Film is a mass medium.

    b)   The railways are a mass medium

    c)   Radio was initially used for military communication.

    d)   In America, the government broadcasts radio and television.

    e)   A laptop or computer is needed to use the internet.

2. Write brief answers to the following questions:

    a)   What is the difference between a normal communication medium and mass media?

    b)   Give four major examples of electronic media.

    c)   Give the names of four prominent newspapers and magazines sold in your state.

    d)   Outline the main differences between the print medium and digital medium.

    e)   How was the mobile phone used in democratic revolutions? Give some examples.

3.   What similarities and differences do you see between the print medium and TV? Which medium do you think has greater potential for influencing thinking and analysis?

4.   Analyse the use of the mobile phone as a communication medium for providing information, serving as a platform for dialogue, entertainment, influencing people's thinking and aspirations, allowing government to keep an eye on people.

5.   A democratic constitution gives people the freedom to think and express themselves. How ethical is it for governments to control and censor communication media?

6.   Why does mass media come under the control of big corporations or publishing houses? What kinds of media can be independent of such control?

7.   How far is it correct to say that we get only the information and news that big corporations or governments want to give us and that we are prevented from knowing or understanding information that is in our interest?

8.   What is the role of advertisements in modern mass media?

9.   Which communication media are in danger of disappearing today? Which media have replaced them? Give some examples.

10. What kinds of mass media are used in elections? Do you think this increases the chances of people with money or glamour stand a better chance of winning the elections?

PROJECT WORK

1. Which newspapers and magazines do you read? Read their editorials for a full week to understand their viewpoint and thinking. Discuss the viewpoints of these publications on contemporary issues in class.

2. How many minutes of advertising are there in your favourite TV programmes? How many advertisements are shown and what was the duration of the actual programme? Quantify your results and make a poster exhibition. All the students in the class should then prepare a consolidated poster exhibition.

3. What are the traditional communication and entertainment forms in your village or town? What is their situation today? Prepare a report.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

12

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The Making of the Indian Constitution

</div>

In the previous class, we learnt about the fundamental principles and values of democracy and how the concept of democracy was born and developed. When India fought the British government in the freedom movement, we adopted democratic values as the basis of our struggle. We gained independence in 1947 and began preparing the blueprint of a free nation on the foundation of these same democratic principles. This process was called the framing of the Indian constitution.

Every country has its constitution, which is a document that contains all the basic rules and principles according to which it should be ruled. Every country frames its constitution according to its needs and circumstances. But the constitution is not merely a collection of rules. It is a document that outlines the country's goals and priorities. It defines the mechanism - along with the rules and limits to be observed - a government can use to resolve the problems of its people.

Figure 12.1: The cover page of the Constitution of India

Recall what you learnt about the Indian constitution in Class 8 and fill in the blanks in the following sentences:

1. The Indian constitution was framed by the …………………………………… ………………………………….(Parliament/Vidhan Sabha/Constituent Assembly)

2. The Indian constitution came into effect on ………………………………………………….(August 15, 1947/January 26, 1950/January 30, 1948)

3. According to our constitution, India is a ……………………………………………(democratic country/monarchy/military-ruled country)

12.1 Why do we need a constitution?

In a limited sense, a constitution is a set of basic rules and procedures to create a state and the government system to run the state. In a democratic system, the people get together to create the state according to their needs and interests. They give the state some powers to manage life in society so that everything runs smoothly. They also define a set of rules that the state should observe in carrying out its functions to ensure that it works for their interests and protects their rights. This set of principles, procedures and rules is called the constitution.

> **State**
>
> **Do you know how a state is defined in political science?**
>
> **A unit that has a defined land area, population, government and sovereignty (freedom) is called a state, such as India and the United States of America.**
>
> **Are Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh states? Give reasons for your answer.**

The constitution helps us to decide who should be given the power to take decisions in our society, how the government should be formed and what the nature of the government should be. It defines the boundaries within which the government can enact and implement laws. These boundaries – such as the fundamental rights of the people – cannot be violated. But a constitution is also flexible and can be amended to address the evolving needs of the people over the years. But it lays down the procedure to be followed to make these changes. It also puts a limit on the extent of change that can be made.

A constitution gives the state the power to create the conditions to build a just society to fulfil the aspirations of the people.

In its wider sense, a constitution defines a nation's basic values and ideals. It tells us how and why people want to live together as a society and what they would like to do collectively. Take the example of India. The preamble of our constitution states that the goal of the people of India is to ensure equality, justice and liberty for all citizens and promote fraternity among them. To achieve this goal, the people resolved to constitute the state as a sovereign republic that is socialist, secular and democratic and makes its own decisions without depending on – or being influenced by - any external power.

The new constitution that Japan adopted - after its two cities were devastated by nuclear bombs at the end of the Second World War - states that the country would strive for world peace and try to eliminate slavery, oppression, intolerance, fear, want, etc from the world.

Similarly, when Nepal established a democracy in May 2008 to replace the monarchy, it began the task of preparing a new constitution, forming constitutional assemblies for the purpose. The people wanted to end the authoritarian rule of the feudal monarchy, which had oppressed them and ignored their aspirations. They initiated a process of consultations and discussions between different political parties, regional groups and communities before finalising a constitution in 2015.

During Nepal's constitution drafting process, many minority communities were worried whether their rights and interests would be protected or not. So special attention was paid in the new constitution to protect all kinds of diversity, promote harmony and tolerance, eliminate discrimination and oppression, and establish decentralised self-rule in place of a centralised state.

If you had to make a constitution for your school, what procedure would you adopt? What objectives for the school would you include?

12.2 The history of the Indian constitution

The drafting of the Indian constitution has a long history. Its basic spirit is law-based governance, which means it is built on a foundation of rules and laws and not according to anybody's whims or fancies. The first such law for India was passed by the British Parliament called the 'Regulating Act' in 1772-73. By then the English East India Company had established control over large parts of India. This law laid down how it was to administer India and how it should be answerable to the British Parliament.

Figure 12.2: Motilal Nehru

The discussions about the constitution began in pre-independence India. At that time, the main focus was on how the East India Company should rule an India that was seeking greater autonomy and freedom and how it should be made answerable to the British parliament. At the end of the 19th century, Indians were given a limited political role by being allowed to contest elections to municipalities and other local bodies.

After 1885, the freedom fighters demanded a bigger political role in the government. A large number of Indians were already employed in the administration of the country at the time and their number was large and growing. A small segment of the population had also been given the right to elect their own representatives in government. But power still lay in the hands of the British, with the final authority being the viceroy and the governors of the provinces. The situation changed towards the end of the First World War, when a democratic wave swept through most countries across the globe. India, too, began demanding a government elected on the basis of universal suffrage that was answerable to the people.

In 1928, India's political parties jointly constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution for India. The committee submitted its report on August 10, 1928. The main provisions of the draft were:

1) An autonomous government (with dominion status under the British) elected by all adult men and women,

2) Protection of minorities,

3) Citizens' rights such as freedom of expression, religious freedom, freedom of peaceful assembly, right to form associations and unions, secularism, and

4) Reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis.

After 1928, the freedom struggle picked up momentum. Seeing the growing threat the movement posed to British rule, the British parliament passed the Government of India Act (1935), which granted greater autonomy to the provinces and had limited provisions for Indians to form provincial governments with elected houses and a council of ministers that was answerable to the provincial assemblies. Many provisions of this act were later incorporated into the constitution of independent India, including, for example, the division of authority between the federal (central) and provincial governments, formation of a council of ministers by the majority party, answerability of the government to the legislative houses, reservation of seats for the depressed classes, etc.

But the 1935 act also differed in some important aspects from the constitution that independent India later adopted. For one, it limited the right to vote to a very small section of the people – just 10 percent of the country's population, whereas the constitution gave every citizen aged above 21 years the right to vote. The act also reserved some seats on a religious basis, where only those belonging to that religious denomination – Muslim, Sikh, Christian – could cast their vote. Most important, the elected government had only limited autonomy because the British viceroy and governors retained the power

to dissolve the elected assembly and dismiss the governments or veto any law enacted by the assembly. Hence, the elected government was not fully independent of British control.

The Congress party gained a majority in most of the provincial assemblies following the elections held in 1937 under the 1935 act and formed the government in those provinces. But this system of dual government did not last for long. By 1942, the Quit India movement had gained momentum and the sustained hostility of the people to British rule soon left Britain with no other option but to grant independence and quit the country.

> **What were the differences between the 1935 act and the constitution of independent India? What was the reason for these differences?**

The constituent assembly and its functioning

In 1946, the British government sent a Cabinet Mission to India under the chairmanship of Lord Pethick-Lawrence to suggest the government system an independent India would set up and the process it would follow to adopt a new constitution. One suggestion at the time was for all adult citizens to elect a constituent assembly to draft the constitution, but many people felt that such a process would be too time consuming.

After much discussion, the Cabinet Mission suggested a way to compress the process. It proposed that the provincial assemblies elected under the 1935 act should act as the electoral college to choose the representatives of the constituent assembly. Thus, instead of direct election by the people, the elected provincial assemblies would elect the representatives.

> **Do you think an assembly house that was not elected by universal franchise can represent the aspirations and needs of India's diverse population?**
>
> **What should such an assembly have done to get to know the opinion and aspirations of India's diverse population?**

Figure 12.3: A meeting of the constituent assembly on February 3, 1947. How many women do you see?

The indirect election process was adopted and by July 1946, the provincial assemblies had elected 292 representatives from 11 provinces. That was one representative of the constituent assembly for every 10 lakh people in the population. The princely states nominated another 93 representatives whileDelhi, Ajmer-Marwar and the Baluchistan province had one each to give a total of 389 representatives in the constituent assembly.

During this time, tensions were rising as discussions began to divide the country along religious lines. Communal riots broke out in many regions. When the constituent assembly met for the first time on December 9, 1946, it wasn't clear whether India would remain one country or be bifurcated. It was also not clear whether the princely states would accede to India or form independent states. It was in this environment that the meeting was held, with Dr Rajendra Prasad being elected as the permanent chairman of the assembly on December 11, 1946.

> **Do you know …**
>
> **After the bifurcation, the Indian constituent assembly was left with 324 members, of whom 235 were representatives of the states and 89 of the princely states.**
>
> **After August 15, 1947, the constituent assembly became the sovereign body, serving as the first legislature of independent India. Its members, thus, became responsible for framing the constitution, enacting legislation, formulating policy and administering the country.**

By February 1947, it was clear that the country would be divided into India and Pakistan. The rulers of the princely states began sending their representatives to the constituent assembly from April 1947. Following the partition, a special session of the assembly was held from August 14 to August 30, 1947 in which it declared itself as the sovereign law-making body of independent India. It immediately began its work by setting up a constitution drafting committee under the chairmanship of Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar on August 29, 1947.

Meanwhile, the process of merging the princely states into the Indian union was under way simultaneously. At the same time, Pakistan launched a war to acquire Kashmir even as the India-Pakistan border was being demarcated after the partition. Communal riots continued to rage across the country during this unsettled period.

The work of drafting the constitution, however, continued despite these upheavals, with committees being set up for specific tasks. They included: 1) union constitution committee, 2) states committee, 3) fundamental rights and minorities committee, 4) national flag committee, etc.

On March 17, 1947, the sub-committees sent questionnaires to all the members of the provincial assemblies and legislative bodies as well as the federal

Figure 12.4: A committee at work under the chairmanship of Dr B.R Ambedkar

legislative body, inviting their opinion on the main features of the proposed constitution. The minorities and fundamental rights sub-committees published their questionnaires in the newspapers to initiate an open and transparent discussion in public forums. People communicated their views to the sub-committees by writing letters. In this way, the work of the constituent assembly remained in the public eye as people's participation in drafting the constitution increased.

Every article of the proposed constitution invited controversy and was widely discussed, but without the debate degenerating into personal confrontations. All suggestions were seriously considered, with people giving written statements of the ideological basis of their views. The depth and seriousness of the drafting procedure can be seen in the extract from the constitutional debates given in the box.

Figure 12.5: A report of the constituent assembly debates

The drafting committee also studied the constitutions of 60 countries, inviting the views of constitutional experts from these countries and sharing their conclusions with the legislative assemblies and the public. A draft constitution was prepared after this intensive process and presented on February 25, 1948. It was published to invite comments, suggestions and criticisms, with a special committee looking into the feedback to finalise the report, which was also published.

Constituent assembly debates

Discussion of the proposals of the fundamental rights sub-committee

Tuesday, April 29, 1947

The meeting of the constituent assembly was held at half past eight in the constitution hall in New Delhi. President Dr Rajendra Prasad chaired the meeting. Vallabh Bhai Patel opened the discussion by presenting the interim report of the fundamental rights advisory committee.

Vallabh Bhai Patel: "There are two points of view … One side feels that, to the extent possible, all rights that are directly enforceable by the court should be included. Any citizen can then approach the court directly without any difficulty to claim any of these rights.

The other point of view is that fundamental rights should be limited to only those essential things that can be considered basic. There was much discussion on both viewpoints and, eventually, a middle path was worked out between the two.

Both sides studied the fundamental rights of almost every country in the world, not just any one country. They came to the conclusion that, as far as possible, the report should include those rights that are considered reasonable and justified. There could be differences

about this in this house, which has the right to consider every article in an analytical manner, suggest alternatives, and modify or discard any suggestion.

Ranjan Singh Thakur: The point I wish to make is linked to Clause 6, which relates to untouchability. I don't think you can eradicate untouchability without putting an end to the caste system. Untouchability is nothing more than a symbol of the caste system. Till the time we do not completely abolish the caste system, it is truly pointless to try and stop the practice of untouchability in any real sense.

S.C. Banerjee: We need to first clarify what exactly untouchability means. We are familiar with this word for the past 25 years but there is still confusion about its meaning. Sometimes it means merely taking a glass of water, sometimes it is used in the sense of admission of harijans in temples. Sometimes it is about inter-caste dinners and sometimes about inter-caste marriages. So when we use the word untouchability, we should be clear in our mind what it really means. What is the exact implication of this word?

In my opinion, we should make no distinction between untouchability and caste distinctions because, as Shri Thakur has said, untouchability is just a symptom. The root cause is caste division and until this root cause is removed, untouchability will remain in some form or other. When our country gains freedom, we should expect everyone to enjoy equal social conditions.

Rohini Kumar Choudhari: In order to define untouchability, it can be clearly stated that untouchability means any act that discriminates on grounds of religion, caste or any vocation that is legally recognised.

K.M. Munshi: I oppose this amendment. The definition is worded in a way that – if it is accepted – any discrimination can become untouchability, even on the ground of place of birth or caste or even gender.

Dhirendra Nath Datta: I feel that some definition or other is necessary. It is being said here that untouchability in any form is a crime. A magistrate or judge dealing with these offences will need a definition of untouchability. Otherwise, one magistrate could consider something as untouchability while another magistrate could consider some other thing. As a result, there would be no uniformity among magistrates in dealing with such offences. It will be difficult for a judge to decide cases. Moreover, untouchability means different things in different places. It could mean one thing in Bengal and something else in the provinces.

Vallabh Bhai Patel: I would like to draw the attention of the house to Clause 24, which says the union legislature will make laws to give effect to those provisions that require legislation. So I believe the legislature will define untouchability to enable the courts to award exemplary justice.

(In this way, the task of defining untouchability was left to future legislatures.)

On September 17, 1948, a proposal was passed to translate the draft constitution in Hindi and other regional languages. On October 6, 1948, the chairman of the constituent assembly again distributed the draft to all the members. The main articles and clauses and the suggestions for amendments were printed on the first page. This draft contained 243 articles and 13 schedules. Between October 6 and 17, 1948, the number of articles discussed and finalised rose to 315. Dr Ambedkar

Figure 12.6 Dr. BR Ambedkar submitting the draft of the Constitution to Dr. Rajendra Prasad the President of the Constituent Assembly

presented this new draft on November 4, 1948. He explained why a major part of the 1935 act had been incorporated and what kind of government system India needed.

The constituent assembly then held sessions continuously for 11 months from November 15, 1948 to discuss the draft section by section and clause by clause. A total of 69 articles were finalised by January 8, 1949 and 2,500 proposals for amendments were examined by October 17, 1949. This was called the first reading.

Similarly, by November 16, 1949, consensus was built up on 386 articles. This was the second reading. The third reading of the constituent assembly began on November 17, 1948. The final draft contained 395 articles and 22 schedules, which had been discussed over 114 days, so it was approved on November 26, 1948. Two copies, one Hindi and the other English, along with a printed copy in English, were placed in the legislative assembly on January 24, 1950. All members of the house signed the three copies at the request of the chairman Dr Rajendra Prasad. The constituent assembly session came to a close with the singing of the national anthem and Vande Mataram.

The making of the Indian constitution had taken two years, 11 months and 18 days. The majority of the population welcomed and accepted the constitution even though the people had not elected the constituent assembly. So, what was the actual extent of people's participation in drafting the constitution? The constituent assembly debates were published and widely disseminated through newspapers and magazines and discussed in public forums. People
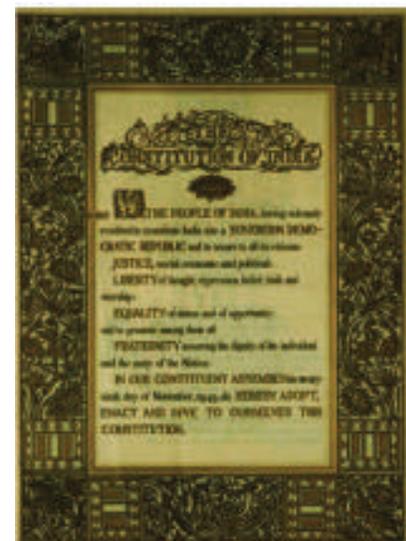
Figure 12.7 The original copy of the Preamble of the Constitution of India

also regularly presented memorandums to the assembly. But in those days, literacy rate for males was only 27 percent and a very low 9 percent for females. So it is an open question as to how and to what extent the opinions of the illiterate men and women reached the makers of the constitution.

12.3 Values and Ideals in the preamble

Our constitution begins with a preamble, which, although brief, is very important. It was Jawaharlal Nehru who introduced an 'objectives resolution' that shaped the preamble at the third session of the constituent assembly on October 13, 1946. This resolution was discussed and passed on November 26, 1949. Two decades later, the preamble was amended on January 3, 1977 to add some important concepts.

Preamble to 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 sixth day of November 1948,

do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

(Note: The words in blue were added in 1977.)

Highlighting the importance of the preamble, Jawaharlal Nehru said: "*It is a Resolution and yet, it is something much more than a resolution. It is a Declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us I hope a dedication.*" (Constituent Assembly, 13 December 1946)

It reflects the dreams and objectives of the freedom movement, the goals that the people of the country are striving to achieve, where they want to go, and what kind of nation and state they hope to establish.

Values and ideals: The text of the preamble is a synopsis of the values, ideals, aspirations and feelings of the freedom fighters and the people of India, expressed during the freedom struggle through the

Indian renaissance, *swadeshi*, non-cooperation, civil disobedience, 'Quit India', jungle satyagraha, eradication of the caste system, women's rights, workers' and peasants' struggle, Azad Hind army and other social and political movements. It took inspiration from the revolutions in Russia (economic equality and justice), France (liberty, equality and fraternity) and America (political justice, freedom, individual freedom, human dignity).

Let us try and understand these values and ideals:

We the people of India … do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution: This phrase means that the people of India have joined hands to write the constitution for all the free citizens of the country and it was not given to them by any king, government or foreign power. Hence, the people are the source of all authority.

The phrase clarifies three points:

1.   That the people of India established democracy with the constitution.

2.   That the creators of the constitution are the people, hence the constitution represents the will of the people. It is the outcome of the wishes of the people.

3.   That the ultimate sovereign power in a democracy and constitution lies with the people.

In the words of Dr Ambedkar: "The preamble makes it clear that the source of the constitution is the people. Its inherent authority and sovereignty comes from the people. It is the people who enact, adopt and give to themselves the constitution."

The constituent assembly was not elected by universal franchise. Its representatives were elected by legislators who were elected by 10 percent of the people. So do you think it was proper to use the phrase 'We the people'?

What methods did the constituent assembly use to ensure that all the Indian people participated in drafting the constitution?

Sovereign: Independent and supreme, which means that power and authority do not come from an outside source, such as a foreign country. Within the country, the decisions of the sovereign state are supreme because the people back these decisions and accept them. Whether it is foreign policy or internal policy, the people's rule is independent and self-determined. No other power can influence or intervene because India is a sovereign state. This is an important word because it signifies India being freed from British rule.

Which of the following are sovereign? Explain with reasons.

Parliament, Supreme Court, prime minister, president, the people of India, Chhattisgarh's Vidhan Sabha, chief minister.

Socialist: This concept was added in 1977. It means that India will strive to eliminate social and economic inequality between its citizens and that all resources will be used for the public good, not for any individual interest.

Among the following, which are close to the idea of 'socialist' and which are not:

Indian railways, Kallulal & Champalal mining company, MNREGA, government hospital, *Golgappa* International school, cooperative committee for silk production, equal wages for men and women.

Secular: The Indian state will not be governed by any religion or sect, nor will it favour any religion or sect, nor will it discriminate against anyone on the basis of religion. The Indian people believe in different religions and sects and there are also many people who do not believe in any religion or are atheists. The state will treat all equally, with people being free to believe – or not believe – any religion. The state will also not, normally, interfere in the internal affairs of any religion except in cases where public peace, morals or health are affected. For example, the state can enact laws to curb the practice of sati, human sacrifice, child marriage etc.

In the context of Indian society, secular also means that citizens of a multi-religious and multi-sect country should respect and tolerate all religions and sects. They should respect other religions and not show hatred for them while propagating their own religion or exploring any other religion.

Which among the following would you say is not secular?

· **Organising religious rituals in a government office,**

· **Enacting laws to eliminate the practice of sati and untouchability,**

· **Enacting a law to ensure that the president belongs to a particular religion,**

· **Prohibiting religious processions in the city,**

· **Providing equal opportunity for all in government employment,**

· **Organising all-religion prayers in government offices,**

· **Studying all religions,**

· **Refusing to rent accommodation to people of any particular religion,**

· **Considering one's own religion as superior to other religions,**

· **Faithfully observing one's religion,**

· **Being friendly with people of all religions.**

Democratic: It is a government system in which all power comes from the people. They elect their representatives at fixed intervals through universal adult franchise and these representatives are answerable to the people under the law. A multi-party system, law-based government, independent and unbiased judiciary, and neutral forums to create public opinion, such as independent newspapers and TV channels, are important components of democracy. Hence, democracy is a system with people's participation in every facet of government administration.

Republic: In a republic, the head of government, such as the president, is not a hereditary position but is chosen through an electoral process. The president of India and Pakistan are elected whereas in Britain, Japan and many other countries, the head of government is the hereditary head of the royal family (dynasty). Such countries have a constitution and democracy but are not republics. They are constitutional monarchies. In a republic, the people's representatives, the first citizen and the common citizen are treated equally in the eyes of the law, whereas in a monarchy, the king holds a special position.

For many years in Burma, the army chief automatically became the president. Was this democratic? Was Burma a republic?

Our constitution declares the kind of state it wishes to establish – which is independent (**sovereign**), in which all the resources are used for the general good and there is no inequality (**socialist**), which is not based on any religion (**secular**), where the government functions according to the will of the people (**democratic**), and where the head of government is not dynastic/hereditary (**republic**). It then goes on to explain why we created this state – to deliver justice, freedom and equality to all citizens and promote harmony and cooperation between all.

Social, economic and political justice: Justice means everyone gets the rights they are entitled to and any individual or government who violates these rights will be punished by the law. If anyone is denied their rights on the ground of their poverty, political views, caste, religion or gender, it is the responsibility of the republic to deliver these rights and to create the conditions to prevent any violation of rights.

Justice is linked to the concept of equality and equal opportunity. It means more than just the legal justice obtained in the courts. It is a philosophical concept that is difficult to define. There can be many views about what a right is, what rights a person should have and who should determine these rights. New thinking on the concept of rights continues to emerge with the changing times. That is why a republic is expected to re-examine the concept of justice from time to time when formulating its policies.

Munna is an adivasi boy who wants to become a pilot. But there are no facilities in the place where he lives to get the education to qualify as a pilot so he has to go to a distant city to obtain such education. But Munna does not have the required finances. Is this a just situation?

Pramila and her husband both work in senior positions in the same computer company. When Pramila gave birth to a child, the family members pressurised her to quit her job to take care of the child. Is this a just situation?

Hanif believes that people should not use foreign products but should buy only swadeshi products. He writes articles and gives speeches to propagate his ideas. But whenever he applies for a job, he is told that he holds extreme views and his application is rejected. Is this a just situation?

Freedom of thought, expression, belief, religion and worship: Freedom means making your own decisions and living your life on your own terms, without being bound by what others say or do.

All Indian citizens enjoy the freedom to think, formulate their own views, live according to their own thinking and propagate their thoughts. They have the right to accept or reject any belief, religion or method of worship. There is no prohibition on how and in which form they express their views or how they act on their thoughts. The only condition is that they do not violate the rights of other citizens or compel them in any way.

Like justice, freedom is also a philosophical concept that cannot be fully defined in legal terms. Freedom also means that all individuals are capable and competent to make their own decisions, without

being unduly influenced and pressurised by their family, society, elders, husband/wife, or government. Only when they think freely can people express and develop their individuality. But can such freedom be limited in any way? If yes, then in what way – and how? There can be many views on this. Also, our understanding of the concept of freedom evolves with time.

> **In Chhattisgarh, 40 percent of women are illiterate. How does this influence their freedom?**
>
> **Members of the Lok Raksha Party want to organise a public assembly in the city at night and want to have loudspeakers fitted on all the roads. The inspector-in-charge of the city police station does not give them permission. Is this a violation of their freedom of expression?**

Equality of status and opportunity: Here we must note that the constitution talks of two kinds of equality – status and opportunity. In the Indian context, equality of status is, in many ways, a very important issue. From time immemorial, patriarchy, casteism and feudalism have created gross inequality in status and prestige in our society – even to the extent that some people are considered untouchable, which deprives them of many rights. At the same time, some classes in our society have been given special privileges and rights. In addition, many people who were loyal to the British government were awarded special status. The constitution seeks to eliminate these inequalities so that everyone can live the life they want and do the work they want. It took two initiatives to achieve this.

First, everyone was given equal status before the law, whether they were kings or beggars, elite or outcast, female or male.

Second, discrimination in public life on the basis of gender, caste, religion, language, etc was banned so that any citizen can aspire for any post and also use all public facilities.

The constitution talks of equal opportunity for everyone. This means everyone will not only have equal rights to aspire for any position but will also be provided equal opportunity to acquire the required qualifications. For example, if the qualifications for the post of judge are a law degree and experience in legal practice, anyone who has these qualifications can apply for the post. Also, no one can be prohibited from obtaining a law degree or practising law in court on the basis of gender, caste, religion or language.

Like justice and freedom, equality, too, is a philosophical concept. Every human being, whether woman or man, rich or poor, physically handicapped or not, young or elderly, of any religion, caste or region, gets equal respect and status as an individual. What needs to be appreciated is that the constitution does not talk about parity in everything (most noticeably economic equality). It talks only of equality of status and opportunity.

> **Are the following two cases against constitutional values? Think about it.**
>
> **Mina was the most educated woman in her village and hence she enjoyed high status in the village. But the villagers decided to make Maheshji the chairman of the village school education committee because he belonged to a gauntiya family.**
>
> **Sania is blind but she put in a lot of effort and obtained a B.Ed degree. But no school was prepared to offer her a teacher's job because she had impaired vision.**

Dignity of the individual and unity and integrity of the nation: The concepts that were discussed earlier, for example freedom and equality, relate to individuals. The constitution now talks of unity, which is a collective concept. Unity means that free and equal individuals do not confront each other but live together in harmony and mutual cooperation. We do not wish to create a society in which people make individualism their ideal and think only of their own concerns. We want them to have fraternal relationships and support each other to build a united nation. But, at the same time, it will not be a nation where the individual and individualism has no place or where only the nation is considered to be supreme. It will be a nation in which the dignity of the individual is respected and upheld.

The preamble inscribes our constitutional values, which are the basis on which the government functions and which every citizen must live up to and protect.

EXERCISES

1. What are the main themes that have been included in the constitution?

2. Why is it important for the constitution to specify who has the right to make laws for the country and the process to make these laws?

3. What are the similarities and differences between the constitution drafting process in India and Nepal?

4. To what extent do you think the way in which the constituent assembly was convened was democratic?

5. What steps did the constituent assembly take to strengthen people's participation?

6. What is the importance of the preamble to the constitution in our lives?

7. Which of the basic principles listed in the constitution do you feel is the most important? Explain with reasons.

13

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The Constitution, Government System and their Social Concerns

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In the last chapter, we learnt about the Indian constitution. We tried to build our understanding of the historical context in which it was drafted and the drafting process itself – the series of debates in the constituent assembly and the values and principles articulated in the preamble that formed the basis of the constitution.

In this chapter we shall learn about the structure of political organisations, the opportunities the constitution provides for social change and the way in which the constitution is evolving and developing.

13.1 The structure of political instutions in the constitution

Decentralisation of power: When power is centralised, it is beyond the reach of the common people as a result of which their needs and aspirations are not given priority. Democracy must be decentralised to become strong. The people should have the power to take decisions through the representatives they elect at the community, village/town, district and state levels. Gandhiji visualised more power being given to the village *panchayats* in his concept of *swarajya* or self-rule.

One of the debates during the time the constitution was being drafted was about whether the states should be given more powers, with the central government only being responsible for matters such as defence and foreign policy. The constituent assembly decided that India should have a strong central government to protect the unity and integrity of the country and usher in social change. It also gave the states the power to decide on a wide range of subjects.

At the time of independence, India was visualised as a union or amalgamation of states. Hence, power was distributed at two levels – the union or central level and the state level. At both levels, the representatives elected by the people were given the right to take decisions. In 1992, the 73rd amendment of the constitution decentralised power to a third level – the village *panchayats*.

> *If all decisions are taken by the central government, what kind of problems would the common people face?*
>
> *If all decisions are taken at the panchayat level, what impact would it have? Discuss in class.*

Separation of powers: The state or government has three kinds of power: to enact laws, implement them and dispense justice according to the law. But concentrating all these three powers in a single body could lead to authoritarian rule. Hence, these powers should reside in separate and independent organisations. This is what separation of power means. As you learnt in the previous class, such separation was a major objective of most democratic revolutions. So most modern governments have three

arms or branches: the **legislature**, which enacts laws and formulates policies, the **executive**, which implements these laws, and the **judiciary**, which dispenses justice in accordance with these laws.

The principle of separation of power ensures that the three branches of government – legislature, executive and judiciary – are independent, have their specific responsibilities, and don't interfere with or try to control each other. But this is not always possible in practice, because their work depends on each other so they have to cooperate and work together. That is why India adopted the principle of limited separation of powers. We have a parliamentary democracy in which the judiciary is independent, but the legislature and executive depend on each other because the executive (council of ministers) is itself a part of the legislature (parliament). Since the members of the council of ministers are also members of the parliament, the executive and legislature are closely intertwined.

> **Now recall the main points about the central government and the parliament that you learnt in the previous classes.**
>
> **What are the names of the two houses of parliament?**
>
> **Which of these houses has members who are elected by all adult voters?**
>
> **How are laws enacted by the parliament?**

Figure 13.1: Parliament house

13.1.1 Union Legislature (Parliament)

Our union legislature is called the parliament. It is composed of the president and the two houses (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha). A special feature of the Indian constitution is that the executive – council of ministers – is a part of the parliament and is answerable to it. The parliament represents the will and supremacy of the people. It is the foundation of the country's political system and the voice of the nation.

The parliament has representation from all classes of society and all regions of the country. It also has a system of reservation to ensure representation of the scheduled castes and tribes. But the representation of women is much lower than what one would expect in a parliamentary democracy. This is a matter of national concern. That is why a bill to amend the constitution to reserve at least 33 percent of the seats in parliament for women has been under consideration for several years.

Figure 13.2: A parliamentary debate

The representatives, who are elected either directly or indirectly, present the problems of the people in parliament, where they are discussed. The parliament also discusses policy matters, law-related proposals and cabinet proposals before approving them. In addition, it discusses the performance of the ministers who are expected to answer all queries posed to them. In this way, the parliament plays an important role, keeping a watch on the government and controlling any authoritarian tendencies that could lead to the concentration of power in the government.

Watch the parliamentary proceedings on TV and discuss them in class.

Why do you think so few women contest parliamentary elections?

Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha

India has two legislative houses – the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. The Lok Sabha members are directly elected to the house by the people of India whereas the Rajya Sabha members are elected by the members of the state legislatures. This is a 'two house' or 'bicameral' system of legislature.

Why are two houses needed? If there was only a Lok Sabha, how would things change? We read earlier that India is a union in which power is divided between the centre and the states. The parliament is the supreme law-making body of the country so it has to work with the state legislatures to perform its functions. This interactive cooperation is ensured by the Rajya Sabha whose members are elected by the state legislatures.

There are many advantages of having two houses in parliament. For one, the parliament needs experts, especially subject experts and professionals who are accomplished in their fields (like scientists, legal experts, industrialists, writers, artists etc) if it has to perform its functions properly. It is not always possible for such experts to win an election to enter parliament. The state legislatures can choose such

experts and send them to the Rajya Sabha. The parliament, thus, benefits from their expertise and the second advantage is that any proposed law is debated twice before being enacted. If you recall the law-making process, you will remember that all laws are debated by both houses before they are approved. So a law cannot be made in haste. This lengthy procedure helps to prevent a flawed law from being passed.

Federal rule: Many states came together constitute the country. Hence the constitution divides legislative power into two levels – the union and the states. The central government and the state governments function independently but stay within their defined limits. That means the centre cannot have absolute control over the nation nor are the states absolutely free to do whatever they want.

Direct elections: The people vote to elect their representatives, for example, Lok Sabha members.

Indirect elections: The representatives elected by the people elect other representatives. For example, the president of India is elected by the members of parliament and the state legislatures, who are elected by the people.

Most state legislatures have only one house, the Vidhan Sabha. Is it necessary to have two houses in the states? If yes, then why?

Collect newspaper reports about the Rajya Sabha proceedings and discuss them in class.

We shall now study how the parliament is constituted with the help of the following table:

Table 13.1: Constituting the parliament

	Rajya Sabha	Lok Sabha
No of members	Maximum: 250 Elected by the states and union territories: 238 Nominated by president: 12	Maximum: 552 Direct election: 550 Nominated by president: 2
Age of candidates	Must be over 30 years old	At least 25 years old
No of annual sessions	Three sessions: Winter, Monsoon and Budget. (The Budget session is in two parts.)	Three sessions: Winter, Monsoon and Budget
Chairperson	Vice president of India (Ex-officio chairperson)	Chosen by the members (Speaker)
Qurom (minimum presence to make the proceedings valid)	1/10 of total membership	1/10 of total membership

President: The president convenes the sessions of both houses of parliament and can dissolve the Lok Sabha under special circumstances. But the president usually takes this decision on the advice of the prime minister.

Answer the following questions on the basis of the information contained in Table 13.1:

1. The election to which house requires extensive campaigning, with voting taking place in every neighbourhood?

2. What is the minimum age of a candidate to become a member of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha?

3. Which house has the most members? What is the reason for the difference?

We saw how the legislature is constituted. Now we shall learn about its powers and functions.

Parliament's powers and Functions

1. Legislative Function: The parliament makes laws for the entire country or for a part of the country. But, in practice, the council of ministers and the bureaucracy (executive) perform the function of drafting the laws. So the parliament's role is usually limited to approving a law even though it is the supreme body. Any important bill (proposed law) cannot be presented in the parliament without getting the approval of the cabinet. A private member can also propose a bill, but without the support of the government, it is unlikely that the bill will be passed.
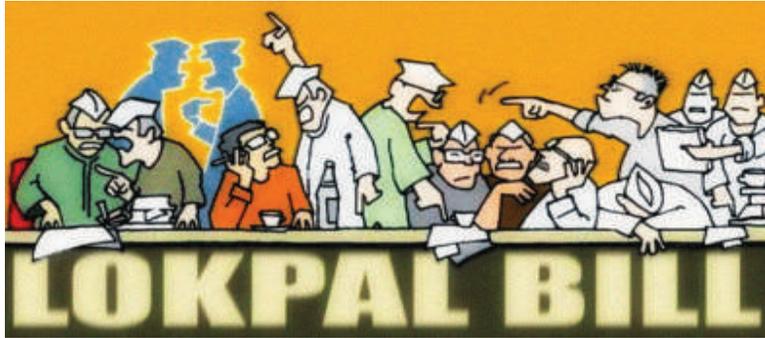
Figure 13. 3: A debate on the Lokpal bill in the Parliament

After a bill is presented, it is first examined by a parliamentary sub-committee. So most debates on bills usually happen in the sub-committee, which sends its recommendations to the parliament. All political parties are represented in the sub-committees. That is why they are also called 'mini legislatures'.

Once a bill is presented, it is debated in both houses before being passed and sent to the president for approval. If the council of ministers enjoys a majority in parliament, then it is almost certain that the law will be passed.

How is the parliament dependent on the executive for enacting laws?

Do you think this has a positive or a negative effect on the proposed law?

2. Controlling the executive and making it answerable: The government is answerable to the parliament. This essentially means that the council of ministers, who are also members of parliament, is answerable to the parliament. Any member of parliament can ask the ministers questions relating to their ministry and the ministers are obliged to give proper answers. If they give wrong answers, they can be removed from their posts.

Questions can be asked and comments made at any stage of the parliament proceedings - when a policy is being formulated, when a policy or law is being implemented, and even after it is implemented. If the house is not satisfied with an answer given by the government, it can pass a no-confidence motion to dismiss the government.

As people's representatives, members of parliament and the state assemblies have the power and freedom to work in an effective and fearless manner. For example, a member cannot be prosecuted in a court for anything she/he says in parliament. This is called parliamentary privilege.

3. Financial powers: All governments levy and collect taxes to generate resources to cover their expenses. In a democracy, levying taxes and utilising tax revenues are controlled by the parliament. Every year, the finance minister presents a budget on behalf of the cabinet, which gives details of the expenditure the government plans to incur and its tax proposals to generate the required revenue. The Lok Sabha approves the income and expenditure proposals for the year. Only after the approval can the government levy taxes or spend state funds. The parliament, thus, has the right to provide or stop funds for the government's budgeted expenditure. The government also has to account for its expenditure in the parliament.

4. Forum for debate: The parliament is the highest forum for debate in the country. No one can curb this power for discussion. The members have the freedom to state their views on any subject without fear. The house can, thus, debate any topic that is presented to it. These discussions are not confidential or secret. The proceedings of the house are presented on TV and newspapers to inform the people.

Diagram 13.1: Powers and Functions of the Parliament

- Conduct an inquiry to remove the president, vice-president or judges of the High and Supreme Courts from their post.
- Approve the imposition of an emergency

- Make or change laws
- Amend the constitution

Miscellaneous powers

Legislative function

Functions and powers of the parliament

Electoral function

Financial powers

• Approving the budget

Administrative powers

- Electing the president and vice president

- Controlling the executive
- Debating government policies and functions and deliberating on their merits/demerits

5. Amending the constitution: The parliament has the power to amend the constitution. Both houses have equal constitutional powers. Each amendment has to be passed by a two-thirds majority of each house before being sent to the president for approval.

6. Electoral functions: The parliament performs some electoral functions, such as participating in the election of the president and electing the vice president.

7. Judicial functions: One of the parliament's judicial functions is to debate any proposal to remove the president, vice president or any high court or Supreme Court judge from their post.

> **Which functions do you think are the most important for protecting democracy?**
>
> **What will happen if the parliament does not pass the budget?**
>
> **Who are the chairperson and vice chairperson of the current Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha?**
>
> **How many seats are there in the Chhattisgarh for the Lok Sabha ? Make a region-wise list with the help of your teacher.**
>
> **How many seats are there in the Chhattisgarh for the Rajya Sabha ? Find out with the help of your teacher.**

Project work: Collect newspaper during a parliamentary session and look for reports of the parliament's work. Classify them according to parliament's functions. Which function of the Parliament is each report related to? Discuss in class.

13.1.2 Union executive (president and council of ministers)

The branch of government that implements the policies and laws approved by the legislature and performs administrative functions is called the executive. As we saw earlier, the executive also plays

Figure 13.4: Rashtrapathi Bhavan

Table 13.2: Union Executive

S. No	Particulars	President	Vice president	Prime minister
1	Minimum age	35 years	35 years	25 years
2	Election and appointment procedure	Indirect method Proportional representation by single transferable vote – by elected members of both houses of parliament and state legislatures	Indirect method by parliament in Lok Sabha	Appointed by president after securing majority
3	Educational qualifications	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
4	Other qualifications	Qualified to be member of Lok Sabha	Qualified to be member of Rajya Sabha	Endorsed by majority in Lok Sabha
5	Oath	Sworn in by chief justice of Supreme Court	Sworn in by president	Sworn in by president
6	Tenure in office	Five years from swearing in	Five years from swearing in	Till the confidence of Lok Sabha or dissolution of Lok Sabha
7	Method of removal	Impeachment – which can be brought by any house of parliament	Majority of members present in Rajya Sabha and endorsed by Lok Sabha	If no majority in Lok Sabha, can be removed by president

(Note: The teacher should discuss any point in the table that arouses the students' interest)

an important role in policy formulation and law making. We shall now study the role of the president, council of ministers and prime minister in the executive.

The executive powers conferred by the constitution officially rest with the president, who is, thus, the head of the three military forces (army, navy and air force), the first citizen and the constitutional head. All constitutional appointments are done by the president. We saw earlier that the president also convenes the sessions of parliament. In addition, the president declares war or emergency.

The president exercises these powers through the council of ministers under the leadership of the prime minister. Amendment 74-1 of the constitution states that "there shall be a council of ministers with the prime minister at the head to aid and advice the president in the exercise of his functions". Its intention is to ensure that the president, who is supreme but is not directly elected by the people and is not answerable to parliament, does not exercise power at his/her own discretion but only under advice of the council of ministers. Thus, in reality, the head of government is the prime minister.

Diagram 13.2: Powers of the president

1) Declare national emergency following outbreak of war, foreign attack or armed rebellion.

2) Declare president's rule in states.

3) Declare financial emergency.

Emergency powers

1) Appointment to important/constitutional posts, such as prime minister, governor, attorney general, comptroller and auditor-general.

2) Appointment of ministers on advice of the prime minister.

Executive powers

Military powers

1) Assent to introduce money bill or grant.

2) Control contingency fund.

Financial powers

Powers of the president

1) Supreme commander of armed forces.

2) Declare war or peace.

Judicial powers

1) Grant pardon.

2) Seek advice from Supreme Court.

Legislative powers

1) Summon/ prorogue sessions of both houses of parliament.

2) Define qualification for members of parliament on advice of Election Commission.

3) Promulgate ordinances and give assent to laws

Attorney general:	The government's primary law official who gives legal advice to the government.
CAG:	The Comptroller and Auditor General audits the accounts of the government and oversees the propriety/impropriety of the executive's financial dealings.
Ordinance:	When the parliament is not in session and a law needs to be passed, the president promulgates an ordinance on the recommendation of the council of ministers. The ordinance lapses within six weeks of the start of the next session if it is not made into an act.

But the president can exercise his/her discretion in some situations. For example, if the Lok Sabha doesn't have a clear majority, the president can appoint the prime minister at his/her discretion. The president can also return a bill passed by parliament for reconsideration, although he/she has to approve the bill if the parliament passes it again. Similarly, the president can return a recommendation made by the prime minister and the cabinet for reconsideration, but will have to approve it if the cabinet passes the recommendation again.

Even though the president is formally the supreme authority, why are his/her powers so limited in practice?

Prime minister and council of ministers

The president is supported and advised by the council of ministers, which is headed by the prime minister. The president appoints the leader who has the majority in the Lok Sabha (the support of more than half the total members) as the prime minister. The prime minister chooses the council of ministers. In practice, however, the prime minister has supreme authority. As we read earlier, the president can

Figure 13.5: Prime minister's office

exercise most of his/her powers only on the recommendations of the prime minister and the council of ministers. It is unconstitutional for the president to act without the advice of the council of ministers. In a way, the prime minister is the bridge between the Lok Sabha and the president. Since the prime minister enjoys a majority in the Lok Sabha, he/she controls both the legislature and the executive. Even after the Lok Sabha is dissolved, the council of ministers continues to advice the president until the next government is formed.

A majority in the Lok Sabha is needed to appoint a prime minister and form a government. A majority means having the support of more than half the total members of the Lok Sabha. The current Lok Sabha has 543 members, and it is mandatory to have the support of at least 272 members to become the prime minister.

The Lok Sabha members belong to different political parties, such as the Congress Party, Bharatiya Janata Party, Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, Communist Party, etc. Several parties are regional parties, such as the AIADMK, Trinamool Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal and Asom Gana Parishad. Each party has its ideology and policies on the basis of which they contest elections. Candidates from these parties enter the Lok Sabha after winning the election. If any single party wins 272 or more seats in the Lok Sabha, then its leader is appointed the prime minister. However, if no party has a majority, then two or more parties can join hands to form a coalition to form a government. The president then appoints the leader of the coalition as the prime minister.

Which of the following statements is true? Discuss, giving reasons.

a)   **Always the leader of the largest party is chosen as the prime minister.**

b) **Only the person who has the support of more than half the members of the Lok Sabha can become the prime minister.**

c) **Only the person who has the support of all the parties in the Lok Sabha becomes the prime minister.**

The prime minister chooses ministers from his/her party and other supporting parties and assigns portfolios according to their ability and experience. The cabinet works under the leadership of the prime minister. We can say that the prime minister is the pivot around which the government revolves because he/she is involved in all important government decisions and also decides the government's policies.

The council of ministers is collectively answerable to the Lok Sabha. If a government loses the confidence of the Lok Sabha, it is forced to resign. Collective responsibility means all the ministers have to support each other's work and cannot criticise one another either in the Lok Sabha or in public forums. So they work in cooperation with each other and with the prime minister. If the Lok Sabha expresses no confidence in any one minister, then the entire council of ministers has to resign.

Cabinet members are political leaders who become ministers for a limited period of time. Their main task is to make policy decisions and work as a link between the people and government departments. The cabinet is called the political executive, while the large body of government servants, police etc is called the administrative executive. They are long-term employees who are well versed in their work and support the government in carrying out its executive responsibilities.

Diagram 13.3: Powers and Functions of Prime Minister

Selecting ministers for council of ministers

Distributing portfolios and functions to ministers

Prime minister's powers and functions

Coordinate and guide policies of ministers and their departments

Preside over cabinet meetings

Ex-officio head of the *Niti Aayog*
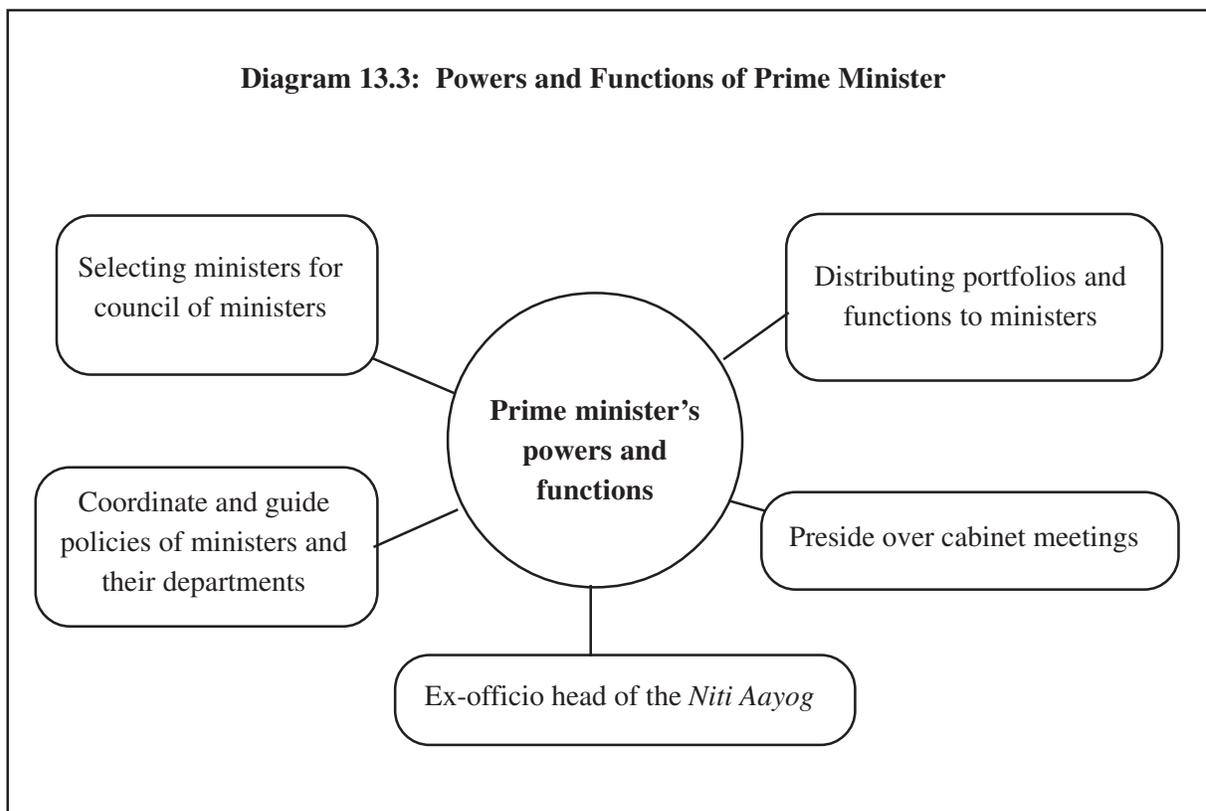
13.1.3 The Judiciary

The main function of the judiciary is to protect the rights of citizens, to ensure that the legislature does not enact unconstitutional laws, and to examine the legality of work done by the executive. Our constitution also provides for an extensive and many-layered judicial system. Courts have been established from the district to the national level. Each state has a high court, with the Supreme Court being the apex court of the country.

In every society, there are conflicts between individuals, between groups, and between individuals and the government. It is essential to have an independent organisation that can resolve such conflicts by principle of 'rule of law'. The underlying principle in the 'rule of law' is that everyone – rich or poor, woman or man, elite or backward – are equal before the eyes of the law and are subjected to the same law.

The main function of the judiciary is to protect the 'rule of law' and ensure the supremacy of law. The judiciary protects the rights of individuals, resolves conflicts according to the law, and ensures that no individual or group derails democracy to establish despotic rule. For this, it is crucial that the judiciary is free from any political pressures or influence. This can be seen in the provisions for appointing judges and deciding their tenure.

Judges of the Supreme Court and high courts are appointed by the chief justice on the advice of the presidential council of ministers. It has been a tradition followed over the years for the president to appoint judges on the advice of the chief justice. A collegium system has been put in place to ensure that the chief justice represents the views of all judges of the apex court, not just his/her personal views. Under this system, the chief justice presents the names of potential candidates to the president after taking the advice of four senior judges of the Supreme Court. The president chooses the judges from among the proposed names. The advantages/disadvantages of this system are currently being debated and attempts are being made to reform it.

Judges have a fixed tenure. They serve until their retirement. They are removed from their post only under exceptional circumstances. The legislature has no role to play in their appointment or in fixing their remuneration. Thus, the judiciary is free from party politics and other pressures and can function independently.

Figure 13.6: Supreme Court

The judiciary in India has a pyramidal structure. At the apex is the Supreme Court, then come the high courts, with the district and subordinate courts at the base (see Diagram 2.4). The lower courts function under the supervision of the upper courts.

Diagram 13.4: Judicial system in India

Supreme Court of India

- Its verdicts are binding on all courts.
- It can transfer judges of high courts.
- It can call up any suit being heard in a lower court.
- It can transfer a case being heard in a high court to another high court.

High court

- It can hear appeals on verdicts of lower courts.
- It can file a writ for restoration of fundamental rights.
- It can settle cases within the jurisdiction of the state.

District court

- It can hear cases filed in the district.
- It can hear appeals on verdicts of lower courts.
- It passes verdicts on grave criminal cases.

Subordinate court

- It can hear civil and criminal suits.

Supreme Court of India

The Supreme Court has a special place in the constitution. Being the apex organisation of the judiciary, as depicted in the diagram, it can advise all other courts and also reverse their decisions. Its decisions define the law.

Some of the main functions of the Supreme Court include the following:

1. Hear appeals of civil, criminal and constitutional suits on verdicts given by the subordinate courts.

2. Settle disputes between the centre and the states and between states.

3. Advise the president on any law or matter of public importance.

4. Hear petitions for protecting the fundamental rights of individuals and issue writs to enforce fundamental rights.

We can see that the judicial system, especially the Supreme Court, plays a crucial role in protecting the democratic rights of citizens, maintaining the supremacy of law, and ensuring that the activities of the state fall within the ambit of the constitution.

What are the advantages of having a multi-tiered judicial system?

Why is it important to keep the judiciary independent from the influence of the legislature and the executive?

How has the role of the council of ministers and the legislature been limited in the appointment of judges?

What tradition has been established to ensure that no individual dominates the process of appointing judges?

Which are the courts that can be approached to protect the fundamental rights of citizens?

Who can settle the dispute between Chhattisgarh, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh on sharing of waters of the Polavaram project?

There is a dispute between the central government and a state government on a law related to education. Which court can hear this suit?

Election Commission

Elections are important in a democracy. Apart from members of the Lok Sabha and legislative assemblies, the president, vice president and members of the Rajya Sabha are also elected. These elections are conducted by the Election Commission, which is a constitutional body (which has been provided for in the Constitution). The members of the Election Commission are the Chief Election Commissioner and three Election Commissioners. They are appointed by the president on the advice of the prime minister. The Election Commission has special powers to conduct impartial elections.

Each state also has an Election Commission. The State Election Commission conducts elections to local self-government organisations such as the *panchayats*, municipalities etc – for example, Panchayati Raj elections.

Diagram 13.5: Functions of Election Commission

Voter education

Preparation of electoral rolls (voters' list)

Registration of political parties for elections

Canellation of Elections and organising by-elections

Functions of Election Commission

Allotment of election symbols

Ensuring election expenses of candidates are within specified limits

Making arrangements for conducting polls

Advising president/governor about disqualification of members of parliament/ legislative assemblies

Prepare a Model Code of Conduct during election

13.2 Constitution as an instrument of social change

According to Granville Austin, a leading authority on the Indian constitution, three concepts are woven into the heart of the constitution: national unity, democracy and social change. The vision of national unity cannot be achieved without democracy and social change, which, in turn, cannot be achieved without national unity and democracy.

Presenting the constitution to the constituent assembly, Dr Ambedkar said we must acknowledge two dangers facing Indian society - inequality and casteism, both of which were leading to a loss of social cohesion and fraternity.

"… we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality … a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. On 26 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 …

"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 …

"… in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? … The castes are anti-national … because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality." (Constituent Assembly Proceedings, November 25, 1949)

Dr Ambedkar said that unless and until we establish freedom, equality and fraternity in our society, political democracy would continue to remain unstable.

The makers of the constitution were unanimous that we must use constitutional methods to bring about fundamental social change – and the constitution must make this change possible and decide its direction. They were also unanimous that if there was any provision that stood in the way of social change, the constitution should be amended in a suitable manner.

In countries like the USA, the constitution focuses on strengthening individual freedom and democracy. In contrast, the constitutions of countries like Soviet Russia and China focus on strengthening the state in order to achieve social change. The makers of the Indian constitution sought to consolidate the state to make social change possible while, at the same time, strengthening democracy and individual rights. They did not see their work as being limited to only to the legal framework of the country but imagined an India free of the inequalities that have existed for generations. They also took up the challenge of reforming the 200-year-old economic system inherited from the colonial rulers.

To ensure the realisation of these objectives, they included a list of fundamental rights in the constitution and added a unique chapter called the 'Directive Principles of State Policy'. Article 37 of the constitution states that "the principles … are … fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws." These principles include the following:

Securing the welfare of the people, Promote social justice in all areas by eliminating inequalities in income, status, facilities and opportunities.

Securing equality between men and women, Ensuring equitable distribution of physical and productive resources, proper working conditions and equal wages in factories, and protection of children's rights, including the right to free education till the age of 14 years, access of scheduled castes, tribes and weaker classes to educational and economic rights, etc.

Amending the constitution for social change

At the time the constitution was being drafted, it was made clear that the fundamental rights of citizens would not be limitless but could be controlled, keeping in mind the needs of the state. After the constitution was finalised, many people who were against the social changes that it envisaged, approached the courts for justice. Some of them were unhappy with the laws made to protect the interests of the scheduled tribes. Others were distressed by the abolition of the zamindari system. These bitter conflicts led to the first amendment of the constitution in 1951 to protect the rights of the backward classes.

At that time, many states had made reservations in educational institutions for scheduled castes and tribes because it was felt that they should be given equal opportunities. But seen from another perspective, these reservations were considered to be against the principle of equality.

For this reason, the first amendment introduced a provision in the articles relating to fundamental rights, which stated that "nothing in this article … will prevent the state from making any special provision for

the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes."

The other area of conflict that the first amendment addressed was land reforms. The government had enacted laws to abolish the zamindari system and the system of forced labour in 1947 itself. It had also begun the process of distributing land among the landless. Armed revolts had broken out in many parts of the country as the peasants and landless began putting more and more pressure on the government for land distribution. Hence, land reforms could not be put off any more. But the big landowners approached the courts and were able to get a stay on implementing these laws.

So the first amendment had a provision to ensure that any law approved by the president under Schedule 9 of the constitution could not be overturned by any court of law. Most of the land reform laws were included in this schedule and accepted by the courts.

However, the amendment did not fully resolve the problem. Even after the zamindari system was abolished many legal and administrative hurdles prevented the smooth redistribution of land acquired from the big landowners for redistribution among the peasants and landless. The landowners argued that the constitution clearly protects the right to private property so seizing their property was a violation of their fundamental rights.

So several more constitutional amendments had to be made. Among them was the 44th amendment of 1976, which excluded the right to property from the list of fundamental right.

Right to education: As we read earlier, the directive principles of the constitution include free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years. But, even 70 years after independence, the government has not been able to provide free, quality education to all children. The Supreme Court passed an important judgment in 1993, declaring free and compulsory education to all children aged up to 14 years as a fundamental right. The court observed that the right to life is meaningless unless people get proper education.

Keeping this verdict in mind, in 2002, the 86th amendment of the constitution included the right to free and compulsory education for all children aged up to 14 years in the list of fundamental rights. The amendment made the state responsible to provide regular education for every child aged from 6 to 14 years.

These examples show how the provision to amend the constitution to maintain the momentum for social change has been fruitfully utilised.

> If economic inequalities are not eradicated, what impact will it have on national unity?
>
> To what extent have social inequalities increased or decreased over the past 60 years?
>
> Find out about the 'gauntiya' (landlord) system prevalent in your region. How was it eradicated? Does it still exist in some form even today?
>
> The right to property and acquisition of land by the government are once again a current topic of discussion. Collect newspaper reports on this issue and present a synopsis of these reports in class for discussion. What are the differences/similarities in land acquisition during the 1950-1980 period and today?
>
> What difference has been made by converting the right to education from a directive principle to a fundamental right? How does it help in social change?

13.3 Evolving nature of the constitution

The Indian constitution is constantly evolving and acquiring a new character. We have seen some examples of this change, such as the right to education getting the status of a fundamental right. Alternatively, the right to property was converted from a fundamental rights into a legal right. Such changes in the constitution are called amendments. These amendments are made by parliament. We can understand the developing nature of the constitution better from the following examples.

Several amendments were made in 1976. The words 'socialist' and 'secular' were added in the preamble. The introduction of 'socialist' made it clear that the government would strive for the equality of the Indian people. 'Secular' clearly showed that the state would treat all individuals as citizens without any form of discrimination on the basis of religion. These values were already being practised by the government but the 1976 amendment enshrined them in the constitution.

Similarly, a provision for the state to provide free legal aid was also included. This amendment gave the economically weak sections of society, who earlier couldn't even reach the doors of the courts, the right to justice. It is now the responsibility of the government to provide them free legal aid. In the same way, industrial workers were ensured social justice and freedom form exploitation by factory owners through workers' participation in management.

Another key amendment was made in 1992 to redistribute power within the states. Until then, the constitution had distributed power at two levels - the centre and the states. The 73rd and 74th amendments introduced a third level – the *panchayats*. The Panchayati Raj system was put in place for local self-government at the *panchayat* level in rural areas and the municipality level in urban areas. We studied these systems in detail in the previous classes. This change provided for reservation of seats in the self-government organisations at the local level for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women, etc, thus giving these depressed classes the opportunity to participate in government in every village and town.

The constitution of India continues to evolve and develop. It shows the direction in which our society should develop and how we can achieve such development. It, thus, plays a crucial role in our democratic society. We saw how the constitution was periodically amended, giving it a new character from the time it was first conceived.

We learnt in the previous chapter how the preamble defines the objectives of the society we want to create. The amendments help us along this path. They reflect how our society is changing and how the needs of the people are changing. Like, for example, in 1989, the age for citizens to exercise their vote was reduced from 21 years to 18 years. But every citizen needs to play his or her part and contribute to achieve a just and equitable society.

EXERCISES

1. Why is it important to distribute and decentralise power in a democracy? At how many levels has power been decentralised in India?

2. What judicial role does the parliament perform? Why has this work been given to the parliament and not to the Supreme Court?

3. Alok feels that all countries need an effective government that works for the good of the people. Hence, if we directly elect the prime minister and the council of ministers and leave the work of governance to them, we don't need to elect a legislature. Do you agree with him? Give reasons for your answer.

4. Read the following arguments outlining the advantages/disadvantages of a two house parliamentary system and state whether you agree/disagree with them:

   a)   A two-house system does not achieve any objectives.

   b)   Experts need to be nominated to the Rajya Sabha.

   c)   If a country has no provinces, it does not require a second house.

5. The Lok Sabha is not just a body to exercise control over the executive but a forum to express the aspirations and feelings of the people. Do you agree with this statement? Give reasons for your answer.

6. Some proposals to make the parliament more effective are given below. State whether you agree/disagree with each of them. Also, explain what impact these suggestions could have if they are accepted.

   a)   Parliament should work for longer hours than scheduled.

   b)   Attendance in parliament should be made compulsory for all members.

   c)   The chairperson should have the authority to punish anyone who creates obstacles in the functioning of the house.

7   If the ministers propose most of the important bills and the majority party ensures that the bill is passed, then what role does rest of the parliament play in enacting laws?

8   What is the relationship between the Indian parliament and the executive? Choose between the following options:

   a)   Both are fully independent of each other.

   b)   The executive is elected by parliament.

   c)   Parliament works as the executive.

   d)   The executive depends on majority support in the parliament.

9   Which of the following two statements do you agree with and why:

   Rama: The president appoints the prime minister. Hence, he/she also has the authority to remove the prime minister.

   Rajesh: We do not need a president. After the election, the parliament can meet to elect its leader, who becomes the prime minister.

10   Find out about any two bills that the president has returned to parliament for reconsideration. Find out why the president returned the bills and what eventually happened.

11   The prime minister is the pivot around which Indian democracy revolves. What are the methods that have been put in place to ensure that the prime minister does not function in an authoritarian manner and do as he/she pleases?

12   Who is the administrative executive answerable to – the political executive or the parliament?

13   What are the different methods that have been put in place to ensure the independence of the judiciary? Which of the following options do not comply with these methods?

    a)   Supreme Court judges are appointed on the advice of the chief justice.

    b)   Judges are not normally removed before they reach the retirement age.

    c)   High court judges cannot be transferred to another high court.

    d)   The parliament does not interfere in the appointment of judges.

14   Does the independence of the judiciary mean that it is not answerable to anyone? Write your answer in not more than 100 words.

15   What are the different provisions in the constitution to ensure the independence of the judiciary?

16   The constitution gives many powers to the Indian state to usher in social change. Do you think these powers are being exercised in a proper manner? Are they being exercised in favour of the deprived and poor sections of our society or for the privileged and influential sections?

Project Work

1.   Visit any nearby government institution like hospital, post office or anganwadi and find out about posts, work and challenges faced by the people working in them. Give your suggestions for improvement of those institutions. Present your findings in a chart and present it in the class.

2.   Visit any institution of local governance like Panchayat, Municipality etc and find out how many woment, persons of scheduled castes and tribes are there in them. Find out about their work and experiences. Present your findings in a chart form in the class.

3.   Collect reports of decisions of high courts and the supreme court from the newspapers and prepare a chart based on them.

14

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Democracy In Independent India and the Working of Political Institutions

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We learnt in the previous chapter about the different institutions to govern and administer the country that have been described in the Indian constitution. What functions do these institutions perform and what is their relationship to each other? In this chapter we shall try and understand how democratic politics developed in India at the ground level after independence. How was the economic and foreign policy of the country formulated and how was it executed? What were the aspirations and needs of people living in different regions of India? What steps did the government take to fulfil these aspirations and needs? Let us try and analyse these initiatives of the government.

The Indian constitution sought to achieve several objectives simultaneously. They included making democracy effective and vibrant, bringing political unity to the country, and creating institutions to work for much-needed economic and social change. The challenge before the newly independent country was to develop these institutions and systems and ensure they worked effectively and rapidly. The people of India had to prove to the world that they could maintain the unity and integrity of the country after it gained independence while also working within a democratic framework to bring about economic and social change. We shall try to understand the democratic system that was introduced and developed in India after independence from the following events.

14.1 The first general elections in 1952

An important challenge before the country was to conduct the first general election according to the new constitution in order to ensure the success and stability of Indian democracy. Although our constitution was adopted in 1950, the first general election was conducted in 1952. It required intense preparations. Every adult Indian – men and women – had been conferred the right to vote for the first time. The first task was to prepare the electoral rolls listing the names of all eligible voters in the country. This was a monumental task, given the vastness of the country and the difficulty in reaching far-flung regions. The voters had to be educated about the electoral

Figure 14.1: Ballot boxes for each candidate at a polling booth. A voter looks for the box of his preferred candidate

process and persuaded to visit the polling booths to cast their vote. Also, polling booths had to be set up across the country and staffed by polling officers. Around 85 percent of the population was illiterate so how could they read and recognise the names of the candidates they wanted to vote for? The Election Commission came up with an innovative solution – each candidate was allotted an election symbol that was prominently displayed on the ballot box. Each candidate had a separate ballot box so the voters had to drop their voter's slip in the box of their preferred candidate.

What preparations did the government have to make to conduct the first general elections? Discuss in class with the help of the teacher.

In what way was the first general election different from the elections held today?

First general elections: some important facts

- The system of universal adult franchise was being used for the first time in the country to give all citizens the opportunity to vote.

- The government set up polling booths in far-flung rural areas to enable people to cast their vote.

- The elections to the legislative assemblies of all the states were held simultaneously with the elections to the Lok Sabha.

- A total of 17 crore voters were registered for the election, 85 percent of them illiterate.

- Around 2,24,000 polling booths were set up, with one polling booth for around every 1,000 voters. Ten lakh officials were deployed to oversee the polling process.

And some interesting incidents

- Separate polling booths were set up for women in regions where the majority of women observed the practice of *purdah*. Only women officials were deployed in these booths.

- A woman came to a polling booth in Ajmer in a horse-drawn carriage, covered from head to foot in velvet clothing, with only her finger exposed. It was a compulsory requirement to put the indelible ink mark on every voter's forefinger to show that they had cast their vote.

- Some villages voted as a single unit. According to one report, the people of an *adivasi* village in Assam travelled a full day to reach their polling booth. They spent the night dancing and singing around their camp fire. At sunrise, they went in procession, single file, to the polling booth to cast their vote.

- The people of another village decided who to vote for in a novel manner. They got two wrestlers to represent the two candidates in a wrestling match. They decided that all the voters in the village would cast their vote in favour of the candidate represented by the wrestler who won.

Is it a good democratic practice for a village to cast all its votes in favour of a particular candidate? Discuss in class.

Have you observed events similar to those that happened in the first general elections in any recent elections in your area? Discuss in class.

On the whole, the first general election was more successful than anyone expected. Around 40 percent of the voters on the electoral rolls cast their votes. Around 40 percent of the women voters also participated. There was negligible poll violence. The Congress party led by Jawaharlal Nehru won by a huge majority – 45 percent of the voters cast their vote in favour of the party, which won 74 percent of the seats in the Lok Sabha. But the non-Congress parties also got wide support from the people, including the Communist Party of India, Socialist Party, Jan Sangh and several regional parties. Independent India thus took its first successful step towards multi-party democracy. The general elections that followed in 1957 and 1962 were also successful, with Indian democracy striking deep roots.

What percentage of the vote did the non-Congress parties win in the first general election?

What percentage of Lok Sabha members belonged to the non-Congress parties?

14.2 Dominance of a single party

The Indian National Congress was the dominant party in the first three elections after independence (1952, 1957, 1962) with no other party winning even 10 percent of the vote on its own. The Congress won over 70 percent of the seats in the Lok Sabha in these elections even though it won only around 45 percent of the total votes cast. The party also formed the government in the majority of states. But although only a single party ruled at the centre and most of the states, other political ideologies also flourished. Even within the Congress party, there were many different streams of thought, with the conflicts between these different groups only helping to strengthen inner party democracy.

Figure 14.2: In the early years after independence, the election symbol of the Congress party was a pair of bullocks. What does this cartoon say about the party? (Shankar's Weekly, July 15, 1951)

Though other parties could not challenge the dominance of the Congress party, they helped establish a healthy tradition of democratic politics by contesting the polls. Their influence kept growing and, within a few decades, they began to pose a serious challenge to Congress dominance. Their growth, thus, strengthened the democratic system that was visualised in the constitution. That is the special significance of Indian democracy – its multi-party system thrived despite the pre-eminence of one party for nearly 20-25 years.

What do you think were the conditions that led to the dominance of a single party in Indian politics from 1947 to 1967?

What are your views on the importance of a multi-party system in a democracy?

14.2.1 Abolition of the zamindari system (1949-56)

During British rule, the zamindari system prevailed over most regions of the country. The landowning class had different names in different regions – zamindar, malguzar, gauntiya, jagirdar etc. They collected

land taxes from the farmers on behalf of the government and they were regarded as owners of the land. They decided how much rent the farmers should pay and evicted those who could not pay. They dominated the villages, getting the villagers to work for them without payment (forced labour).

After independence, the first task facing the state governments was to abolish the zamindari system. Almost all the states enacted laws to abolish zamindari, eliminate forced labour, and re-distribute land among the landless. We saw in the previous chapter how the landowners put legal obstacles in the way of implementing these laws and how the constitution was amended for the first time to resolve the issue.

Figure 14.3: Uttar Pradesh was the first state to enact a law to abolish the zamindari system

By 1956, the zamindari system was abolished across the country and the re-distribution of the land of the zamindars was well under way. Around 200 lakh peasant families were benefited, becoming owners of the land they tilled. They were mostly middle level farmers. Their living conditions definitely improved but the zamindari system could not be fully abolished, with many landowners using different tactics to retain control of their land. Also, the poor farmers and landless labour continued to be deprived of land.

At the time of gaining independence, it was felt that abolition of the zamindari system would be an important step for the country. What changes in society do you think this measure brought?

14.2.2 Hindu Code Bill 1952-56

Even before the first general elections, the constituent assembly had prepared a Hindu Code bill to ensure women's rights in Hindu society, eradicate casteism and simplify the laws governing the Hindu undivided family and property. Dr Ambedkar played a leading role in preparing the bill and presenting it to the constituent assembly. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru also favoured the bill but conservative Hindus strongly opposed it. So the constituent assembly decided to introduce the bill after the elections. Upset by the decision, Dr Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet. Let us try to understand the content of this bill that generated so much political controversy.

Figure 14.4: This cartoon published in 1951 depicts the mood of Indian women of that time. , , '

During British rule, a common law for crime (robbery, murder etc), called the Criminal Code, was enacted and implemented across the country. But in most other aspects of social life, such as marriage, family, property, adoption etc, each religion had its own laws according to its beliefs and traditions.

Often, there were different legal practices even within the same religion. In most cases, the religion-specific laws were based on a patriarchal, male perspective, which meant that women were not given equal rights.

Hindu society saw many reform movements from as early as the 19th century that sought to give women equal rights and put an end to the caste system. The large numbers of women and so-called lower caste people who participated in the freedom movement also expected independent India to pass laws to improve their social conditions. The Hindu Code bill was prepared to meet these aspirations. It tried to unify the different laws that prevailed among different Hindu sects and visualised other important reforms of Hindu society. Its most important proposals included the following:

1. If the head of a family dies without leaving a will, then his wife and daughters will get an equal share of his property as the male heirs. Earlier, only sons were given a share in the property.

2. Marrying for a second time when the husband or wife is still alive is illegal. This rule earlier applied only to women.

3. Men and women have equal rights to demand a divorce in special circumstances.

4. Inter-caste marriages are legally permissible.

5. It is legal to adopt a child of any caste.

Conservative Hindus opposed these provisions, saying they violated the tenets of Hinduism and would lead to a breakdown of Hindu society. They included not just traditional parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh but also senior Congress leaders like Dr Rajendra Prasad. Opposing them were the reformist Hindus and women members of parliament, who said that the constitutional vision of a just and equitable society cannot be achieved without eradicating the caste system and giving women equal rights. The bill was a major poll issue in the 1952 elections and the Congress victory weakened its opponents. However, four separate laws were passed instead of a single law. Nevertheless, giving equal rights to women was a big step in social change in the country.

One argument that repeatedly came up during the debate on the Hindu Code bill was: Why should such a law be enacted only for Hindus and not for other religions? Dr Ambedkar and Nehru argued that other religions did not have strong reform movements like Hinduism, so their followers would oppose any reformed law for their religion or a unified civil code for the country. Also, the Indian Muslims were already worried about their religious freedom after the partition, so passing such a law for Muslims would only alienate them further. That is why the directive principles state that a common personal law for the entire country will be passed only when the right time comes.

If these four laws had not been passed, what impact would it have had on the condition of women?

What role can inter-caste marriages play in helping to break the caste system? Has this law affected the caste system in any way?

Do you think your brothers and sisters should receive an equal share in your family property?

14.2.3 Reorganisation of states and States Reorganisation Commission

The constitution declared that India would be a union of states, with each state having its own government. But the question was: On what basis should these states be formed?

The British had divided their Indian empire into administrative provinces – Madras (which included parts of present-day Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala) and Bombay (which included regions were people spoke Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada, Konkani and other languages). In addition, there were princely kingdoms whose subjects also spoke different languages – for example, the Nizam of Hyderabad's state where people spoke Urdu, Telugu, Marathi and Kannada.

A major demand during the freedom movement was that states should be organised on the basis of the dominant regional languages. At that time, people speaking the same language who lived in different provinces and princely states were demanding their own state.

In 1917, the Congress party announced that it would reorganise the states on a linguistic basis once the country gained independence. The party had already set up its regional units on a linguistic basis. But once India gained independence in 1947, the biggest concern was to maintain the unity of the country after the trauma of bifurcation on a religious basis. This concern was reflected by the Dhar Commission, set up by the constituent assembly in 1948 under the leadership of SK Dhar to look into the issue of linguistic states. The commission recommended that the issue should be postponed because setting up regional administrative units on a linguistic basis would only aggravate divisive tendencies and endanger national unity.

Nevertheless, people's movements were launched in many regions of the country demanding linguistic states, chief among them being the movements in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

In 1952, Telugu-speaking freedom fighter Potti Sriramulu undertook a fast unto death in support of the demand for a separate state of Andhra Pradesh. He died after 58 days of hunger strike. The news of his death led to largescale violence in all the Telugu-speaking regions, with many people killed in police firings. The government was forced to concede to the demand of the people and the new state of Andhra Pradesh was created in October 1953, with the remaining part of Madras province becoming a Tamil-language state. The success of the Andhra Pradesh movement spurred other groups to pursue their linguistic agenda with greater zeal.

Reorganising states on a linguistic basis was not an easy task. In many regions, several languages were spoken, so it was difficult to demarcate where an area speaking one language ended and where an area speaking another language began. There was also the question of the status of a minority language in a linguistic state. In addition, cities like Madras (currently Chennai) and Bombay (currently

Figure 14.5: Potti Sriramulu

Mumbai) had residents speaking many different languages and major investments made by industrialists from other regions. Which state should these cities belong to, or should they be created as separate city states?

That was not all. A large part of the country had so-called Hindi-speaking people who actually spoke Chhattisgarhi, Bundeli, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Haryanvi, Marwari and a host of other regional languages. Should each regional language area be carved out into a separate state? What should be done with a*divasi* regions like Jharkhand? These were all contentious questions that subsequently gave rise to many regional movements.

The government constituted a States Reorganisation Commission to look into all these demands and give its recommendations. The commission submitted its report in 1955. Its recommendations were broadly accepted and formed the basis for reorganising the states. So, eventually, the Indian states were created on a linguistic basis. Fortunately, the country did not break up after their formation, as many Congress leaders had feared. On the contrary, it strengthened national unity because, now, people speaking the same language found a place for themselves where they were respected and where their language and culture could be developed.

Imagine a situation where linguistic states had not been created. What would the map of India have looked like?

Map 14.1: India after the reorganisation of states in 1961
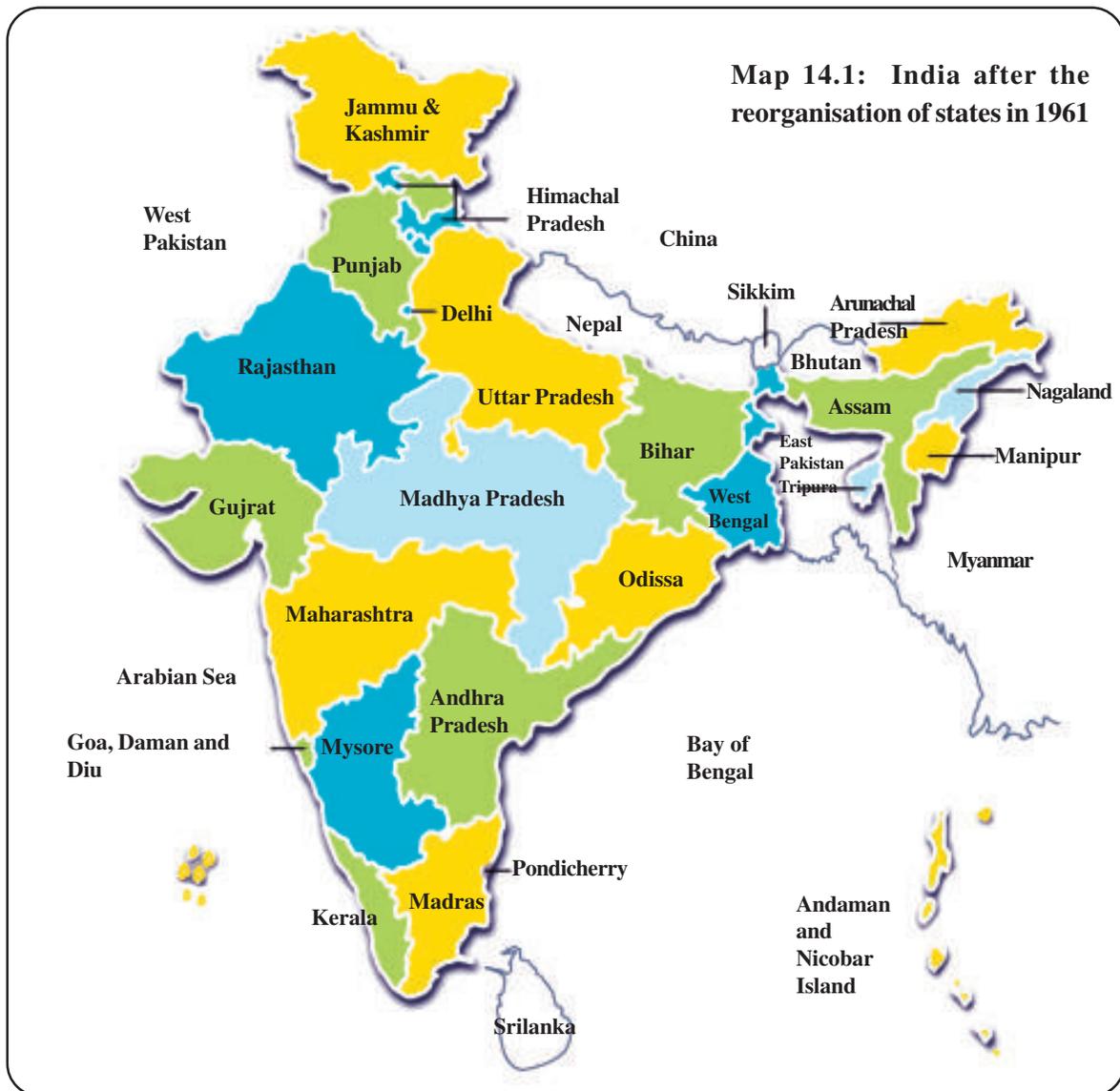
Map 14.1: The map of India after the reorganisation of states in 1961. Compare this map with a current map of Indian states and find out which states have changed their names and which new states have been created subsequently.

Do you personally agree with the idea of creating linguistic states? Give reasons for your answer. Also discuss with others in class and assess their views.

Is there any region in the country where only one language is spoken? If there are people speaking minority languages in every area, would they face discrimination in a linguistic state?

Doesn't the idea of linguistic states ignore *adivasi* languages? What do you think?

Many new states were created in India after 2000. What was the basis on which they were formed? Find out with the help of your teacher.

14.2.4 Planned development

Within two months of adopting the new constitution, a planning commission was set up to guide the country's economic development. Jawaharlal Nehru favoured planned development. He believed that the central government should take concrete steps to develop the country economically and socially. The Planning Commission proposed Five-Year Plans for economic development, opting for a mixed economy in which the public and private sectors would join hands to develop the country.

The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) focused on agricultural development, with large dams and irrigation canals being constructed and community development programmes being taken up in rural areas. However, for several reasons, agricultural growth remained below expected levels. One major reason was the slow pace of land reforms. Another was the lack of industries to manufacture farm implements, chemical fertilisers etc for agriculture and to absorb the rural unemployed.

In the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61), the focus shifted to industrialisation, with the government playing a leading role in developing heavy industry – iron and steel, machinery manufacture, mining, electricity, railways, transportation etc. The private sector was expected to develop small and medium industries. The planners believed that industrial development would help solve the problem of rural unemployment, with people migrating to cities to work in factories. Also, industrialisation would lead to the development of the services sector.

Planned development did help create a base for industrial development in India but it did not help in absorbing the unemployed or lowering poverty to the extent visualised in the plans. That is why a special programme was taken up in the decade of the 1970s to eradicate poverty and generate jobs. You will learn more about these initiatives in the economics chapters.

Thus, after independence, the government did not focus only on promoting democratic and decentralised government but simultaneously took up the challenge of social and economic change. Its initiatives made a deep impact on the country's political and government systems.

Do you think governments should act to bring equality and economic development in society? What impact will this have on politics? Discuss in the class.

14.2.5 Foreign policy and relations with neighbours

Foreign policy deals with establishing good relations with other countries in the international community. A country's foreign policy is shaped by its ideals, interests and requirements. Before trying to analyse India's foreign policy, we should first understand the political situation in the world at the time the country gained its independence.

After the Second World War, India and other countries of the world, especially those under the control of colonial powers in Asia and Africa, gained their independence. India wanted all these newly independent countries to stand together and support each other. The world at that time was being divided into two political and military blocs. One was the western bloc led by the USA and the other was the eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union. India decided not to side with either of the two blocs because the country needed help from all nations for its

Figure 14.6: Nehru with other leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement

economic and social development. If it joined one bloc, it would not get the support of countries in the other bloc. So India chose to tread its own path, independent of the two blocs.

India had another important reason for not aligning with any bloc. Its constitution valued peace and co-existence so it didn't make sense for the country to join either power bloc if it wanted to make global peace and co-existence the plank of its foreign policy. India also wanted to establish its identity among the newly independent countries. So it joined hands with many of these countries to establish the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), with Marshal Tito (Yugoslavia), Dr Sukarno (Indonesia), Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt) and Nehru (India) being the prominent leaders of the movement. Its main objective was for the newly independent nations to have a foreign policy that steers a path clear of the US and Soviet Russian blocs to make the bi-polar world into a multi-polar world. The non-aligned nations adopted a policy of not bowing to the dictates of either bloc but deciding on the merits of all international issues.

However, despite its policy of non-alignment, India tilted towards the Soviet Union. One reason for this tilt was India's tense relationship with Pakistan, which had gained the support of Britain and the US. India sought to strengthen its ties with Soviet Russia not just for political support but to seek help for its planned development and industrialisation. The Bhilai Steel Plant was set up with Soviet assistance. But India never joined the Soviet military bloc despite this close support.

In 1954, India signed an agreement with China to establish reciprocal relations. Known as the Panchsheel doctrine, its five principles of peaceful co-existence were:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

2. Mutual non-aggression.

3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

4. Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit.

5. Peaceful co-existence.

India adopted the Panchsheel doctrine with all its neighbouring countries but its relations with its neighbours did not improve in spite of these efforts. The relationship with Pakistan had been tense ever since independence, with both countries claiming Kashmir and fighting two wars (1948 and 1965) to establish their claim. Even today, Kashmir remains a point of contention between the two countries.

After an initial period of warmth and friendliness, India's relationship with China, too, began to deteriorate, with tension prevailing along the India-China border and China's control over Tibet also being a conflict point. In 1962, China launched a sudden and unprovoked attack on India, inflicting heavy losses on the Indian army.

Non-alignment and Panchsheel were, thus, the two pillars on which India built its foreign policy in the first two decades after independence. They helped the country carve out an independent space for itself in a world divided into two global power blocs and also influenced its economic development.

Figure 14.7: A postal stamp released on the occasion of the 1967 general elections

Nehru remained the prime minister of India from 1947 to 1963 and played a decisive role in shaping India's democratic and secular government and its industrial development. Lal Bahadur Shastri became the next prime minister and led the country successfully in the 1965 India-Pakistan war, after which he met an untimely death. Indira Gandhi then became prime minister in 1965 and continued in the post until 1977.

14.2.6 Regional parties and the rise of regional movements

The years from 1967 to 1971 was the era of the rise of regional parties and regional movements. The trend began with the 1967 general elections. The social groups that had benefited from the land reforms and economic development in the first two decades after independence had begun organising themselves into political parties. These regional parties sought to establish their political identity by making a bid for power during this election.

Although the Congress party once again won a majority of 284 seats in the Lok Sabha, the 1967 verdict was its worst electoral performance since independence. The party was defeated in the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Odisha, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. These defeats altered the electoral landscape of the country, showing that democracy had established strong roots as India progressed to a multi-party political system. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the main opposition party formed the government while in the other states the opposition parties joined hands to form coalition governments. But these coalition governments were unstable and couldn't remain in office for long, with corruption and defections leading to their downfall.

Many regional movements also began to emerge during this phase as regional sentiments once again began to assert themselves. For example, a demand for a separate Telengana state emerged in Andhra Pradesh, led by Osmania University students who complained that only a few regions in the state were benefiting from economic development. In 1969, a new state of Meghalaya was carved out of the Khasi, Jaintia and Garo tribal districts in Assam. Punjab, which had been reorganised in 1966 but did not get Chandigarh as its capital, began agitating to include the city in the state in 1968-69. In Maharashtra, a demand 'Bombay (Mumbai) for Maharashtrians only' was made under the leadership of the Shiv Sena, the main target being the South Indian residents who were accused of snatching jobs from Maharashtrians. The youth in Kashmir, Nagaland and other states also began raising long-standing demands.

14.2.7 National language and the anti-Hindi agitation

The constituent assembly decided after a prolonged debate that no language would be given the status of a national language, though Hindi would be considered the official language of the Indian union. But Hindi was neither spoken nor understood in a huge area of the country. That is why it was decided to continue using English for official purposes for a period of 15 years. At the end of this period, when Hindi was about to be declared the sole official language, protests broke out in the non-Hindi speaking regions of the country.

The strongest protests were in Tamil Nadu, where the DMK party (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) spearheaded the anti-Hindi agitation, launching state-wide strikes and demonstrations. Over 70 people were killed in clashes between the agitators and the police. The Congress party in the state was divided on the issue, with two Congress ministers from the state resigning from the central government. In this situation, the prime minister assured the nation that Hindi would not be imposed in any state without the consent of the people of that state.
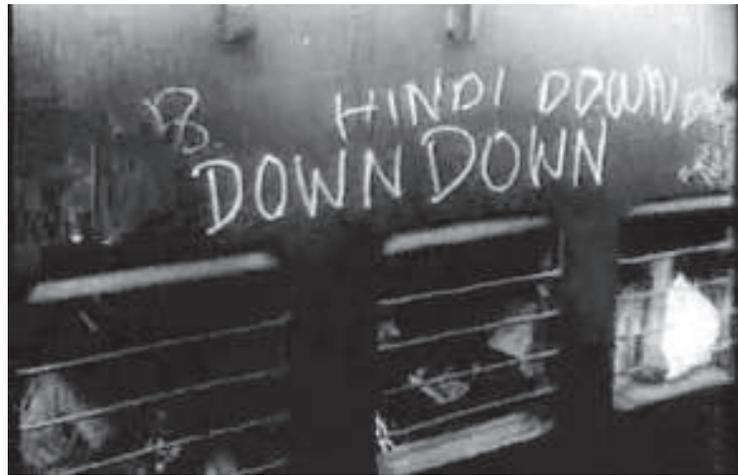
Figure 14.8: Anti-Hindi slogans scrawled on the compartment of a train

However, this assurance did not satisfy the anti-Hindi protestors in Tamil Nadu, who voted against the Congress in the 1967 general elections to defeat the party resoundingly. The central government eventually passed the Official Language (Amendment) Act 1967 to try and satisfy the agitators by guaranteeing the 'virtual indefinite policy of bilingualism'. The new provisions allowed state governments to choose their own official state language. A regional language could also be used in official work along with an English translation, while English would continue to be the link language between the state governments and the central government.

14.3 Important developments in Indian politics after 1967

14.3.1 Nationalisation of banks and abolition of privy purses

India industrialised in the first 20 years after independence but there was no marked reduction in poverty levels and agriculture continued to be neglected. People were restless and dissatisfied. The Congress party's mass appeal and popularity was severely dented in the 1967 general elections. There were dissensions within the party as well. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi introduced some significant pro-poor, ant-rich policy changes to strike a chord with the people and usher in an agricultural revolution. One such anti-rich policy was the abolition of privy purses – grants given by the government after independence to the kings whose territories were merged into the Indian union. She also nationalised several banks so that they could be used to uplift the poor and develop agriculture. A plan was formulated to extend loans and subsidies to farmers and to supply them with improved seed varieties, fertilisers

and pesticides so that they could adopt modern agricultural practices and raise production. This programme came to be known as the green revolution.

14.3.2 The Congress party splits

During this time, dissensions within the Congress party continued to pick up steam. On the one side were the younger leaders - known as the Young Turks – who leaned towards the communist parties in their political thinking and wanted the Congress party to take even more radical pro-poor steps. On the other side were the older, more traditional Congress leaders – known as the Syndicate – who felt that the party should take a more conservative path. Indira Gandhi's socialist policies were widely welcomed by the common people but most of the senior Congress leaders were not happy.

Indira Gandhi sought to establish her credentials as an independent leader by opposing the official Congress party nominee Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy in the presidential elections in 1969 and extending her support to the opposition nominee V.V. Giri. She accused the Congress leadership of putting roadblocks in the way of the government's attempts to implement pro-poor policies. On her urging, many Congress members of parliament and state legislatures cast their votes in favour of VV Giri, enabling him to win the election.

After this episode, the dissensions in the Congress reached a point where the party split into two, one faction under the leadership of Indira Gandhi and the other led by K Kamaraj. Indira Gandhi's party fought the ensuing 1971 Lok Sabha elections and the 1972 state elections on the 'Garibi Hatao' (eliminate poverty) slogan and won a resounding majority. The Kamaraj faction did not find favour with the people so Indira Gandhi's party was established as the real Congress party.

What do you think were the reasons for the split in the Congress party? Discuss in class.

14.3.3 Bangladesh war

At the time India and Pakistan were divided in 1947, East Bengal was included in Pakistan because the majority of its population were Muslims. However, by 1970, tension between the eastern and western wings of Pakistan had grown to the level that the people of East Pakistan began to feel alienated and exploited. The military government of West Pakistan imposed military rule over East Pakistan instead of handing over power to the leaders elected in the recent elections. This led to a civil war between the two wings, with a large stream of refugees fleeing to India to escape the war. Tensions grew

Figure 14.9: Indira Gandhi with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman considered the 'Father of the Nation' of Bangladesh in 1972

between India and Pakistan because of the refugee problem, which led to the outbreak of a war between the two countries in 1971. India succeeded in establishing East Pakistan as an independent country,

which took the name Bangladesh. Indira Gandhi was hailed for her strong and astute leadership that led to the liberation of Bangladesh.

14.3.4 Emergency

There is a provision in the Indian constitution for the government to impose a state of emergency if it feels the integrity of the country is in danger from internal civil strife or a foreign attack. An emergency is an extraordinary situation in which the government can take any steps it sees fit to maintain law and order in the country. It has the authority to suspend civil rights and limit the powers of the elected parliament. It can also impose prohibitions on the media.

The Indira Gandhi government declared an emergency that continued for 21 months from 1975 to 1977. It was the only emergency declared because of internal civil strife in the history of independent India. The factors leading to this unprecedented declaration can be traced to key developments occurring in the country since 1971. Among them were long-term changes, such as growing corruption and the concentration of power in the government. Some were external factors, such as the sudden surge in petroleum prices following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, which led to scarcities as prices rose rapidly in the country.

The government had made populist promises during the 1971 Lok Sabha and 1972 Vidhan Sabha elections but made no serious effort to fulfil these promises. This led to mass dissatisfaction and unrest among the people. There was a sharp upsurge in workers' strikes and anti-corruption movements. Matters reached a head when the railway workers, under the leadership of the All India Railwaymen's Federation, went on the largest-ever strike the country has witnessed in 1974. The government used its armed security forces to try to suppress the strike. At the same time, students in Bihar and Gujarat launched an agitation demanding right to remove unpopular MPs and MLAs.

It was in this situation that the Allahabad High Court unseated Indira Gandhi from the Lok Sabha, declaring her election from the Rae Bareilly constituency as 'null and void'. The entire opposition began a nation-wide agitation under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, calling for the resignation of what it termed an 'undemocratic' government.

Figure 14.10: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan

This series of developments led Indira Gandhi to declare a state of emergency in the country on June 25, 1975. Overnight, thousands of opposition leaders were imprisoned and the government imposed press censorship, prohibiting newspapers from publishing anything opposed to the government. The government used its majority in parliament to pass several amendments to the constitution that abrogated the rights of the people to form organisations or oppose the government's laws and policies.

The government argued that the agitations were causing instability and the only way to save the nation was by declaring an emergency. On the other hand, the opposition parties argued that the prevailing situation did not warrant the declaration of an emergency. The common citizens, worried about their

right to freedom, felt that the emergency posed a grave threat to Indian democracy. The bitter experiences of the emergency brought the opposition parties together, barring the communist parties, to form the Janata Dal to contest the 1977 elections. These elections showed that the people of India were against the emergency, electing the Janata Dal with a resounding majority and rejecting the Congress party's policies.

The Janata Dal formed the government after emerging victorious. But internal contradictions among its constituent parties soon began to surface. As a result, the Janata Dal could not complete its term in government, leading to a fresh general election in 1980 in which the Congress party secured a majority and Indira Gandhi once again became prime minister.

> **Was the declaration of a state of emergency justified or not? Discuss with the help of your teacher.**
>
> **What impact did the declaration of emergency have on the daily life of the people and on the opposition parties?**

14.4 Rise of regional aspirations and decentralisation of power

Indian politics was going through an authoritarian phase after 1970 that led to centralisation of power. The central government was gaining more control of the country's economy. On the other, Indira Gandhi was strengthening her hold on the Congress party by side-lining all its regional leaders. In this situation, the people in the states were finding it difficult to realise their aspirations. Tension kept building up in Jammu-Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Assam and other states. Some states used the constitutional provisions to challenge the centralisation. Some movements challenged the constitution itself and the unity of the nation. We shall see two examples of how the country was able to survive these grave challenges.

14.4.1 Punjab agitation

The Sikhs, who form the majority of Punjab's population, were unhappy with the continued neglect of their community and religion by the state from the time India gained independence. The green revolution had brought prosperity to Sikh cultivators but they felt that they could not progress without political autonomy. They launched a protest movement under the leadership of the Shiromani Akali Dal, a religious and political organisation of the community. The agitation had the following main demands:

1. The constitution should be suitably amended to give more power to the states.
2. Chandigarh should be handed over to Punjab.
3. Enlistment of Sikhs into the armed forces should be increased.
4. Punjab should get a larger share of water from the Bhakra Nangal dam.

The Akali Dal passed the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in 1973 to press the demands of the Sikhs, particularly the first two. It also raised the issue of creating a Sikh state to establish the Sikh identity and restore Sikh pride. It began to organise demonstrations and rail blockades after 1978 to press these demands.

Around this time, the Sikh religious leader and preacher Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale began fighting for the Sikh cause, launching more militant protests against the government. He took sanctuary in the

compound of the Harmandar Sahib (Golden Temple) in Amritsar in 1983. He fortified the com pound, raising the demand for an independent Khalistan, which received widespread support from the Sikh youth.

The protestors began to target liberal Sikhs and people of other religions. The government claimed that they were being backed by Pakistan. It initially took a conciliatory approach to the insurgency. But in June 1984, the Indira Gandhi government decided to use armed force to break Bhindranwale's hold over the Golden Temple compex and capture the separatists who were holed up in the Akal Takht, the seat of Sikh religious authority. More than 500 people were killed in the ensuing military operations that were code-named Operation Blue Star.

The desecration of the holiest of Sikh shrines was a grievous blow to the feelings of the Sikh community. It lead to the assassination of Indira Gandhi by one of her Sikh bodyguards. There was widespread reaction to the assassination. Thousands of Sikhs lost their lives in the anti-Sikh riots that swept across the country.

Rajiv Gandhi became prime minister in October 1984 after Indira Gandhi's assassination, with the Congress party winning an unprecedented victory in the ensuing general elections. Rajiv Gandhi entered into an agreement with the Akali Dal in July 1985 in a bid to re-establish peace in Punjab. Called the 'Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord', it promised to review the Akali demands sympathetically, including giving Chandigarh to Punjab and other issues. Elections were held in Punjab, which the Akali Dal won to form the government. Terrorist activities were gradually brought under control after this through sustained police action.

14.4.2 Assam movement

Demands for greater autonomy began to be raised in Assam in the decade of the 1970s. The Assamese people felt that the resources of their state were being exploited by people from other states and they were treated as second class citizens in their own state. The tea gardens of Assam were controlled by companies from Calcutta. The petroleum from the Assam oilfields was also going to refineries in other states for processing. As a result, people in Assam had less employment opportunities.

Figure 14.11 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with leaders of the Assam Movement

Another point of conflict was language. Apart from Assamese, Bengali is a prominent language in the state. During British rule, Bengali-speaking people were recruited in large numbers in the government. The Assamese-speaking people felt that the Bengali-speaking government employees treated them as second class citizens. The situation was aggravated by migrants from Bangladesh who crossed the border in large numbers in search of a livelihood.

The anger of the Assamese took the form of a social movement in 1975 under the leadership of the All Assam Students Union (AASU). Agitations, demonstrations and *bandhs* were organised to protest against foreigners settled in the state. The movement had important economic, cultural and demographic angles. Its main demands were to rid the state of foreigners, give preference to local people in employment and use the resources of the state for the development of the Assamese people.

One major demand of the agitators was that the citizenship of migrants from Bangladesh should be revoked and they should be deported from the state. The demand divided the people of the state along communal lines because the majority of Bangladeshi migrants were Muslims. The growing violence and the threat of disintegration led to the intervention of the central government. After three years of discussion, an agreement was eventually reached between the agitating students and the government.

Under the terms of the agreement, all migrants who had settled in the state before 1961 were granted citizenship, those who came between 1961 and the Bangladesh war were permitted to settle but would not have the right to vote, and those who came after 1971 were to be deported. The Asom Gana Parishad, which emerged out of the AASU, won a resounding victory in the ensuing general elections.

The country saw many similar movements representing regional aspirations and demanding the formation of new states. Mizoram, Uttarakhand, Telangana, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are the result of such regional aspirations.

14.4.3 Panchayati Raj and decentralisation of state power

Rajiv Gandhi felt that government schemes were not benefiting the poor. He claimed that only 15 paise out of every rupee spent by the government for the poor was reaching them. He believed that decentralisation of power was the solution to the problem. It would permit greater participation of the common people and ensure that they would get the benefits of schemes designed for them. The constitution was amended in 1986 to allow decentralisation of power through the Panchayati Raj Act. This act gave power to the panchayats to plan and implement schemes for village development. It also gave the poor, and women in particular, the opportunity to participate in government at the local level. It was made mandatory for all the states to enact their own Panchayati Raj Act.

> **Do you think the only objective of the Punjab and Assam movements was to replace the Congress government in those states or were there other more important reasons behind these movements?**
>
> **Why do you think that India witnessed a process of decentralisation of state power after 1950?**
>
> **Do you agree with Rajiv Gandhi's statement that the benefits of government schemes was not reaching the poor?**
>
> **Do you think Panchayati Raj ushered in the decentralisation of power and actually led to the poor receiving greater benefits from government schemes?**

14.5 Politics of regionalism, communalism, religion and coalition governments

In the previous section we saw the rise of regional aspirations among people in the states, which led to the creation of regional parties. During this period, many such parties were formed across the country whose sole aim was to create a space for their communities, which had been excluded from the political

process till now. Dalits and middle-level farming communities like the Jats formed their own political organisations. There were also many communities that had improved their economic condition but were still backward in education and politics. They began to demand reservations in education and employment.

In 1989, the coalition government headed by Vishwanath Pratap Singh decided to reserve 27 percent of all posts in educational institutions and public sector employment for Other Backward Classes (OBCs). There were violent protests by upper caste youth. But these protests did not prevent the government from passing the reservation law, which paved the way for these classes to establish their political clout. In addition to caste and regional identities, people also began to assert their religious identity.

Thus, after 1985, we can see the development of political parties with narrow identities to represent the interests of a particular community or caste or region. One widespread impact of this development was that no political party could win a majority on its own in the general elections, so the governments that were formed were mostly a coalition of several parties. This situation has prevailed ever since the 1989 general election. Some of the coalition governments that were formed were unstable and could not complete their term in office.

Coalition governments marked a new phase in Indian politics. In the first four decades after independence, the country had one-party rule. But after 1990, India moved towards a multi-party system. The first few years of multi-party politics were marked by unstable coalitions. But over the past 15 years, the country has seen relatively stable coalition governments in office. Coalition politics provided greater scope to many small, regional parties to represent the interests of different sections of society. Better coordination techniques between parties also helped to resolve the problem of instability. One such technique was for all parties in the government to adopt a minimum common programme that incorporated all their viewpoints, thus representing the interests of the electoral majority.

In 1947, many political analysts felt that India was not suited or ready for democracy based on universal franchise. Has the history of the past 60 years proved or disproved their fears and doubts right? How far do you think they were correct in their assessment?

In 1947, many political analysts felt that religion was the only basis on which India could form a nation. Has the history of the past 60 years proved their fears and doubts right? How far do you think they were correct in their assessment?

In 1947, many political analysts felt that India could not survive as a nation state. They felt that the country would break up into many small states and, if it didn't, regional aspirations would be trampled upon and suppressed. Has the history of the past 60 years proved their fears and doubts right? How far do you think they were correct in their assessment?

In 1952, many people believed that India would be able to establish equality and harmony among all its citizens with the help of its new constitution. To what extent has the history of the past 60 years proved their faith right or wrong?

In 1976, many people felt that citizens' rights needed to be curtailed and India could only be ruled by a dictatorship or an authoritarian leader. Do you think subsequent experiences have proved the hollowness of such claims?

What do you think are the challenges facing democratic politics in India today?

EXERCISES

1. **Fill in the blanks in the following:**

1. The first general elections in independent India were conducted in ……………………………………………..

2. The ………………………………………………….. party got an overwhelming majority is the Lok Sabha elections in 1952, 1957 and 1962.

3. The zamindari system was abolished in ………………………………………………. and the tenants were given title deeds to their land.

4. The …………………………………………………. Code Bill was first presented to the constituent assembly by ……………………………………………………..

5. …………………………………………………………………………. undertook a fast unto death to demand the creation of a state for the Telugu-speaking people.

6. ……………………………………………………………… is the official language of India.

7. The use of scientific techniques in agriculture to increase grain production is known as the ………………………………… revolution.

8. The ending of special privileges, titles and allowances extended to royal families after independence is called the abolition of ……………………………………………………….

9. A state of emergency was declared from ………………….....................………. to ………………………………….. on the basis of internal civil strife.

10. The military operations to cleanse the Golden Temple of terrorists was called Operation …………………………………………………..

2. **Choose the right option for each of the following:**

1. 'Only 15 paise in every rupee spent reaches the people.' What did the Rajiv Gandhi government do to resolve this problem?

    1. Made it compulsory for the states to implement Panchayati Raj.

    2. Gave 27% reservation for Other Backward Classes.

    3. Signed the Longowal-Rajiv Gandhi Accord.

    4. Signed an agreement to revoke the citizenship of Bangladeshis and deport them.

2. The main demands of the Punjab movement did not include:

    1. Amending the constitution to give more power to the states.

    2. Handing over Chandigarh to Punjab and the demand for Khalistan.

    3. Higher enlistment of Sikhs into the armed forces.

    4. Give a larger share of water from the Sardar Sarovar dam to Punjab.

3. The main demands of the Assam movement were:

   1. Deporting of foreign (Bangladeshi) nationals.

   2. Giving preference to local people in employment.

   3. Using Assam's resources to set up industries in the state to create jobs.

   4. Reorganise Assam state on the basis of language.

4. Which state was not impacted by the anti-Hindi agitation?

   1. Maharashtra   2. Tamil Nadu

   3. Assam   4. Andhra Pradesh.

5. Which of the following was not part of the Panchsheel Doctrine:

   1. Non-aggression   2. Non-interference

   3. Peaceful co-existence 4. Non-alignment

6. Which country was not a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement:

   1. Indonesia   2. Egypt

   3. Yugoslavia   4. China

7. The economic system established by the Planning Commission was:

   1. Socialism   2. Mixed economy

   3. Capitalism   4. Marxism

8. Even after adopting the policy of non-alignment, India established strong ties with:

   1. America   2. Soviet Russia

   3. China   4. Pakistan

9. The innovation India made to tackle the problem of illiteracy in the first Lok Sabha elections was to:

   1. Provide separate ballot boxes for each party.

   2. Provide a separate election symbol and ballot box for each candidate.

   3. Train the people on how to cast their vote.

   4. Create a system to make people literate.

10. The main reason for the opposition to the Hindu Code Bill was:

    1. Fear of change in the Hindu religion and social system.

    2. Establishment of equality between men and women.

    3. Fear of ending the caste system.

    4. The right to religious freedom.

3. **Write the answers to the following:**

1. Why did Dr Ambedkar resign from the cabinet of ministers?

2. What opportunities did the Hindu Code Bill provide for equality between men and women?

3. What were the fears that prevented the formulation of a Common Civil Code? What were the views of Ambedkar and Nehru on this issue?

4. Why was language the sole basis of reorganising the states? Give reasons.

5. What were the positive outcomes of forming states on a linguistic basis?

6. How did planned development strengthen the hands of the government?

7. What were the economic policies and objectives of the Indian government in the first two Five Year Plans?

8. What was the contribution of the first prime minister in drafting the constitution, states reorganisation, Planning Commission and foreign policy.

9. Which were the main foreign policy principles established by Jawaharlal Nehru?

10. What were the similarities and differences in the Punjab and Assam movements?

11. Why did the constitution not give Hindi the status of a national language? Give reasons.

12. Why did the Congress split during the time of Indira Gandhi?

13. What was the emergency? What were the undemocratic activities of the government during the 1975-77 emergency period?

14. What were the steps taken during Rajiv Gandhi's prime ministership to address regional aspirations?

Project work

1. Find out the amendments made to the constitution during the emergency period. Which of these amendments were revoked after the emergency? Make a poster exhibition of these provisions.

2. Which were the coalition governments that were formed between 1990 and 2000? Make a poster exhibition of their main contributions and shortcomings.

15

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People's Participation In Democracy

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We studied the way the political system operates in India in the previous chapter. We learnt that the country adopted parliamentary democracy, a political system in which people's participation is supreme. But people's participation has taken different forms in different democratic countries.

In this chapter we shall study how the people contribute to a democracy. We shall study the role played by elections, pressure groups and the media to ensure people's participation in democracy. We shall also see how Indian political parties represent the interests of different social classes. We shall try to understand electoral politics in independent India.

15.1 Elections: what and why?

Most democratic countries today are representative democracies in which people vote to elect their representatives. The political party that has the majority of elected representatives forms the government. Most democratic countries specify a minimum age for people to become eligible to cast their vote in an election. The more the number of people who vote in an election, the more representative and democratic is the government that is formed. So a basic parameter of a democracy is the extent of people's participation in elections to form a government.

Initially, the Indian constitution specified that any individual who attained the age of 21 years was eligible to vote in local body elections, state assembly elections and Lok Sabha elections. The constitution was amended in 1989 to lower the voting age to 18 years to enable the youth of the country to participate in the electoral process. But do all eligible voters exercise their franchise in elections?
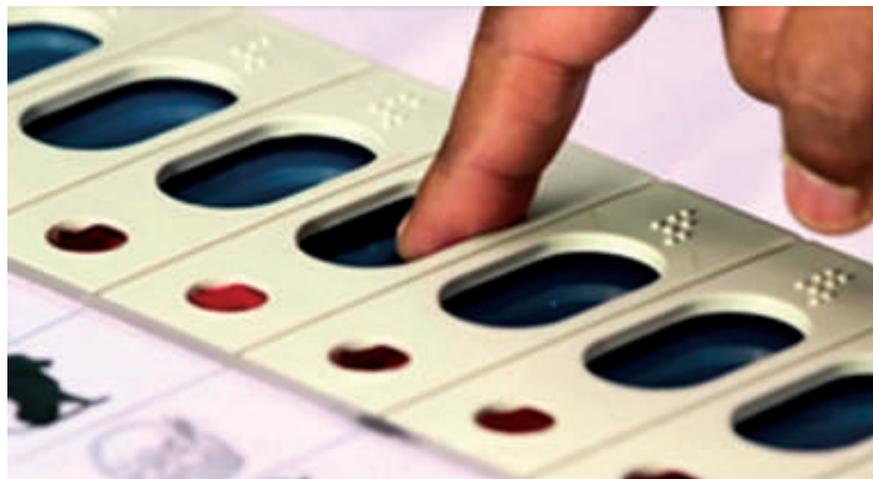
Figure 15.1: An electronic voting machine. Find out how it works

Voting Process

Recall what you read in chapter 12 about the Election Commission. We shall now consider some issues relating to election. The Election Commission, in consultation with the state governments appoints state and district level election officers. In every state there is one Chief Election Officer and in every district a district election officer. All these officials function under the direction of the Election Commission.

Electoral Rolls (Voter List): In every state there is a common voters' register for elections to the Parliament, state Legislature and panchayati raj institutions. No citizen can be excluded from this list on the basis of caste, religion, ethnicity or gender. Every Indian who is above 18 years of age has the right to get his or her name in the Voter Register. A voter can be disqualified for mental derangement, criminal record or corrupt practices.

Electoral Process: The electoral process commences with the notification issued by the President or the Governor of a state. The Election Commission announces the election plan. The candidates wishing to be elected are given about eight days to file their nomination. The Election officer examines the nomination papers after the expiry of the last date for filing nomination. In case error or discrepancy is found in the nomination papers, nomination may be rejected. After this candidates are allowed two days to withdraw their nomination if they so desire. After this the election officer announces the final list of candidates and allocates symbols for non-party candidates and candidates of un-recognised parties. At least fourteen days of campaigning is allowed after the last date for withdrawal of nomination. The Election Commission ensures that all candidates comply with the 'Electoral Code of Conduct'.

Election campaign ends 48 hours before the date of voting. After voting the 'ballot boxes' or Electronic Voting Machines are kept in a secure place. Counting is done on a pre-determined date. Candidate getting the maximum number of votes is declared as the winner by the election officer.

NOTA: Electronic Voting Machines have been introduced to ensure efficiency and transparency in election. The names and symbols of all candidates appears on the machine along with a press button. In addition there is another button called 'NOTA'. this can be used by a voter in case he or she does not want to vote for any of the candidates. It is given at the bottom of the list of voters on the machine.

Secret Ballot: The person for whom anyone votes remains a secret whether in the electronic voting machine or ballot paper voting so that the voter is not harassed by any candidate for voting against him or her. This is called 'Secret Ballot'.

Right to Recall: this is applicable in local self government institutions. Under this provision if half of the elected representatives and two thirds of the local voters if they so desire can remove a Panch, Sarpanch, corporator etc from their posts. This is also applicable to Chhattisgarh.

15.2 Electoral behaviour in India

15.2.1 How many people cast their votes?

Let us study the behaviour of the Indian voter by examining the Lok Sabha elections from 1952 to 2004. On the basis of the figures given in Table 15.1, find out the level of participation of Indian voters in elections. Which classes showed higher participation?

A political party is a formal (officially recognised) organization that subscribes to a particular ideology. Each party formulates its policies and programmes for the country, based on its ideology. The Election Commission registers all political parties that participate in the elections.

Table 15.1: People's participation in Lok Sabha elections from 1952 to 2004

Year	Male	Female	Votes cast (%)	Votes cast (in crores)	Registered voters (in crores)
1952	-	-	61.2	10.60	17.93
1957	-	-	62.2	12.06	19.71
1962	63.31	46.63	55.42	11.99	22.03
1967	66.73	55.48	61.33	15.27	24.20
1971	60.73	49.11	55.29	15.13	26.44
1977	65.63	54.91	60.49	19.43	30.04
1980	62.16	51.22	56.92	20.28	32.52
1984	68.18	58.60	63.56	24.12	37.38
1989	66.13	57.32	61.95	30.91	47.41
1991	61.58	51.35	56.93	28.27	49.37
1996	62.06	53.41	57.94	34.33	56.20
1998	65.72	57.88	58.97	37.54	55.67
1999	63.97	55.65	59.99	37.17	56.59
2004	61.66	53.30	57.65	38.99	64.02

Source: eci.nic.in

In 1952, ……………………………………. crore people voted in the general elections while in 2004, the number of people who voted was ………………………………………………… crore.

In which election was the percentage of votes cast the highest and in which election was it the lowest?

Why do you think the number of registered voters show such a sharp increase in 1989?

Compare the number of male and female voters in the table. Why do you think there is such a big difference in their numbers?

What do you think could be the reasons for the differences in voting percentage in the elections? Analyse the reasons for this variation on the basis of what you read in the last chapter.

The table shows that the voting percentage in 1952 was 61.2 percent. It was highest in 1984 at 63.56 percent and lowest in 1971 at 55.29 percent. The average voting percentage during this period (1952-2004) was 59.49 percent. This shows that the voting percentage does not fluctuate significantly in Indian elections. The male voting percentage averages around 64 percent while the female voting percentage averages 54.57 percent. Despite being given equal voting rights under the constitution, the voting percentage of women is around 10 percent less than for men. This shows that women's participation in elections is lower than male participation.

To sum up, we can say that around 60 percent of the people in our country cast their votes in the general elections, with the participation of women being lower than men. The voting percentage has not increased despite the efforts of the Election Commission and other government and non-government organisations to encourage more people to cast their votes. Hence, there has always been a big difference between the number of people who actually cast their votes and the total number of registered voters. Also, people's participation in elections has been

Figure 15.2: Women outside a polling booth after casting their votes. Note their voter's identity cards and the indelible ink mark on their index finger

uneven, with more people voting in some elections and less people in some other elections.

We see that there has been a steady but sharp increase in the number of registered voters during this period. In 1952, the number of registered voters was 10.60 crore while the number increased almost four-fold to 38.99 crore in 2004.

15.2.2 What are the factors that influence voters?

Voters are influenced by many factors at the time they cast their votes. On the one hand, the interests of the nation and national policies play an important role in influencing their decision. At the same time, narrower interests such as caste, religion, regionalism, language and the pressure of powerful local people also influence their voting behaviour. Another common feature seen in elections is that many candidates try to influence voters with money, liquor and other incentives rather than their policies and programmes.

But political analysts point out that whenever the voters feel that there is some grave danger facing the nation or fundamental changes are needed, they forget their sectarian interests when they cast their votes. For example, when the declaration of the emergency posed a danger to Indian democracy, the people cast a decisive vote against the emergency in the 1977 election. In the same way, the Congress party won an unprecedented majority in the 1984 elections because of the sympathy wave following the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

It is generally seen that voters are sensitive to issues such as the performance of the ruling government, the credentials and credibility of the candidates and the promises that the parties make in their election manifesto. Television, social media and newspapers also exert their powerful influence on voters.

Thus, we can see that many factors influence the behaviour of the Indian voter. These factors differ from region to region and from time to time. But what is important in a democratic system is that people participate in the elections. It is also important for them to weigh the electoral issues carefully before casting their vote.

Among the factors listed above that influence voter behaviour, which factors are important in influencing voters in your area? Discuss with the help of your teacher.

How does caste influence voters? Discuss with the help of your teacher.

Fill in the following table on the basis of your discussions:

Factors that influence local elections	Factors that influence Vidhan Sabha elections	Factors that influence Lok Sabha elections

15.3 Representation in Indian political organisations

Representation in political organisations is a fundamental aspect of people's participation. Representation tells us the level of people's participation in political organizations that represent the interests of different classes in society. It also tells us whether all classes are actually represented in these organisations or not.

The Indian constitution stipulates a three-tiered government system. At the central government level, people choose their Lok Sabha representatives through general elections. The people also choose their representatives to the state government and the local government through elections. Let us try and understand how the different social classes are represented in the Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabha and local government.

15.3.1 Representation of women in the Lok Sabha:

Table 15.2 will help you to study women's representation in the Lok Sabha.

What should be the percentage of women members in an ideal Lok Sabha?

How many women members should the Lok Sabha have to achieve this ideal?

Table 15.2: Participation of women in the Lok Sabha

Year	No of women candidates	% of women candidates	No of women members	% of women members
1951	-	-	-	-
1957	45	3.0	22	4.5
1962	66	3.3	31	6.3
1967	68	2.9	29	5.6
1971	61	2.2	21	5.6
1977	70	2.9	19	3.5
1980	143	3.1	28	5.3
1984	171	3.1	42	7.9
1989	198	3.2	29	5.5
1991	330	3.8	37	7.3
1996	599	4.3	40	7.4
1998	274	5.8	43	7.9
1999	284	6.1	49	9.0
2004	355	6.5	45	8.3
2009	556	6.9	59	10.9
2014	668	8.0	66	11.4

How many women members does the current Lok Sabha have?

The number of women members and their percentage representation in the Lok Sabha has been increasing over the years. Check whether this statement is true or false.

Which election saw the lowest number of women members elected? Why do you think their number was so low? Give reasons.

The number of women candidates as a percentage of the total number of candidates indicates the political participation of women. If there are 10 candidates in an election constituency and if all 10 candidates are male, we can say that women are not politically active in that constituency. If more than half the candidates are women, we can say that women's participation is strong. Currently, the percentage of women candidates who contest elections averages 8 percent. That means, for every 92 male candidates there are only 8 women candidates. This number fluctuates from election to election.

Figure 15.3: A rally demanding 33 percent reservation for women in state assemblies

What do you think are the reasons why political parties have so few women candidates?

Seeing the current situation, do you think it is right to reserve 33 percent seats in the Lok Sabha for women?

If the percentage of women members reaches 50 percent, how do you think this will affect politics and society?

Study the following graph and state which country has the most women members in parliament and which has the least.

Which country in South Asia (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan) has the most women members in parliament?

Percentage of women members of parliament in different countries
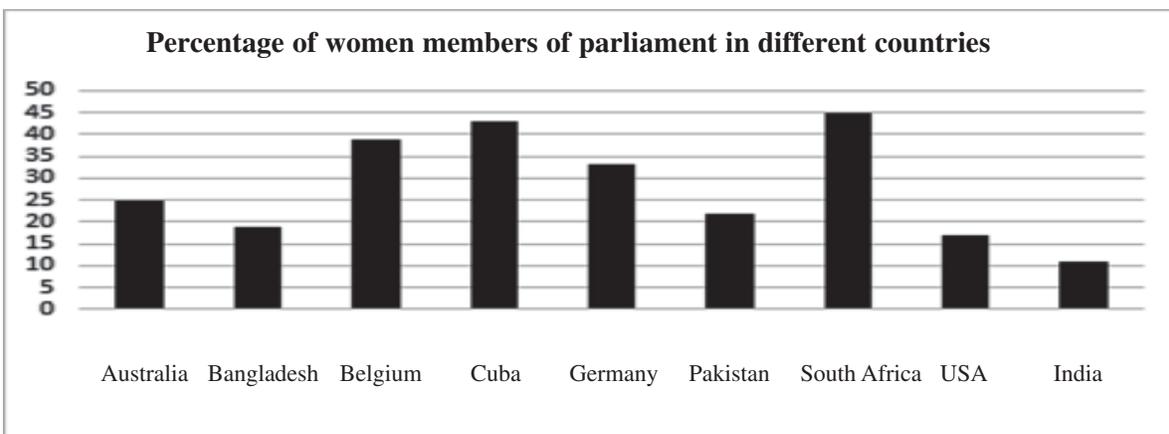
15.3.2 Women's representation in local bodies

The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments created a third level of government in local bodies. These local bodies had 33 percent reservation of seats for women members. Thus, large numbers of women were elected as members of these bodies. In many states, the number of reserved seats was raised to 50 percent.

15.3.3 Representation of scheduled castes and tribes in the Lok Sabha

The socially, educationally and economically deprived classes of society are listed as 'scheduled castes and tribes' in the constitution. Seats have been reserved for these communities in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha in proportion to their percentage in the country's population. Thus, 84 seats were reserved for scheduled castes and 47 for scheduled tribes in the 16th Lok Sabha. Similarly, seats have been reserved for these classes in the state assemblies in proportion to their percentage in the state's population. Seats have also been reserved in local governments i.e. the panchayats and urban bodies.

15.4 Pressure groups

Let us try and understand what a pressure group is and the role it plays in a modern democracy from the following incident:

In 1984, the Karnataka government set up a company called Karnataka Pulpwood Ltd (KPL) and granted it a 40-year lease on 30,000 hectares of land. This land was part of the village commons - the pasture land where the villagers traditionally graze their cattle and other farm animals. The company began planting eucalyptus on this land to get pulp for making paper. But the farmers got together to launch a movement to save their common lands. They were supported by many well-known writers and environmentalists from the state.

The farmers presented a memorandum to the state government and its chief minister but when there was no response, they filed a petition in the Supreme Court. The apex court passed an order to retain the status quo as it existed before the lease was granted. But the villagers did not get their common lands back in spite of the court's order. So they launched a *satyagraha* in a village called Kunsur in 1987 that came to known as the *Kitikho-Hachiko* (uproot and plant) *satyagraha*. During the *satyagraha*, the farmers uprooted the eucalyptus saplings and in their place planted fruit and fodder plant saplings that were useful to the villagers.

The activists then won the support of 70 state legislators, who put pressure on the government to shut down KPL. The movement forced the government to bow to the wishes of the villagers and the company was shut down in 1991.

In this example, the movement launched by the villagers and intellectuals acted as a pressure group to force the government to change its policies. So we can say that a pressure group helps to protect the interests and rights of specific a social group by putting pressure on the government to change its policies. These groups use constitutional methods such as presenting memorandums to the government and filing petitions in the courts, along with propaganda, strikes and demonstrations, to achieve their objectives.

So a movement is a pressure group. It is usually an informal organization. There are many other kinds of pressure groups that are formal organizations, such as the chambers of commerce and industry.

These chambers are organizations of merchants and industrialists that place their demands before the government and seek to influence government policies in their favour. There are many such organisations to protect the interests of professional groups like doctors, lawyers, teachers etc.

There are also organisations that do not represent any special interest group. They put pressure on the government on issues of public concern, such as the environment, education, health and foreign policy. They publish books and conduct research studies on these subjects and discuss their findings with government officials, ministers and people's representatives to try and influence them. Their experts are usually nominated on committees appointed by the government to look into these issues.

In addition to all these organisations, there are also professional lobbyists whose services are hired by groups who want to influence government policies on specific issues. So democratic systems have different kinds of pressure groups, ranging from social movements to commercial lobbyists.

> **What methods did the farmers of Karnataka use to fight for their demands?**
>
> **Have you come across any pressure group in your area that has opposed any government project? Give examples.**

Pressure groups and Political parties: Political parties are people's organisations. They also try to influence government policies and projects. So, in a way, they act as pressure groups. But is it correct to label them as pressure groups? Political parties differ from pressure groups in one important respect. Their main objective is to come to power to form a government. A pressure group, on the other hand, does not seek power but only seeks to influence the government to fulfill its objective.

On the basis of the earlier discussion, we can list the following characteristics of pressure group:

1.   A pressure group does not seek power.

2.   A pressure group is formed when people get together to pursue common objectives, rights, viewpoint or professional interest.

3.   A pressure group seeks to influence policy makers to achieve its objectives.

4.   A pressure group uses various methods to achieve its objectives, including media communication, demonstrations, workshops and meetings, publications, lobbying etc.

15.4.1 The role of a pressure group in a democracy

A pressure group that represents the interests of a specific class or group may not appear to be the best thing for a democracy, which tries to protect the rights and interests of every member of society. Such a pressure group may also appear to use its power to achieve its own purposes without taking responsibility for its actions. So, in a way, a pressure group is not answerable to the people, unlike a political party that has to face the electorate every time there is an election. It is also possible that a pressure group is supported by very few people but has enough money and resources to alter public opinion through propaganda to achieve its narrow agenda.

However, despite such shortcomings, pressure groups and social movements strengthen democracy. People should have the right and opportunity to put pressure on a government, using all possible legal and constitutional options. Such pressure on the government is a positive feature that keeps a demo-

cratic system healthy. And if many such special interest groups representing different classes in society are active, no single group can establish its dominance in a democracy.

There are also instances of governments being influenced by a few wealthy and powerful people for their own selfish interests. Public pressure and movements play an important role in countering such unethical pressure. They also make the government aware of the needs and aspirations of the common people. The government also gets to know what people belonging to different sections of society want. It can then try to strike a balance by seeking a consensus between conflicting interests.

15.4.2 Democracy and organisations

A democratic constitution usually has a provision that gives people the right to form their own organisations. The Indian constitution considers this to be a fundamental right. Citizens form different kinds of organisations to fulfil their needs or fight for their collective rights such as clubs, self-help groups, cooperative societies, language, caste or religious associations, and occupation-based groups like trade unions, advocacy groups, lawyers' associations, etc.

The number of such groups formed in a country and their freedom to pursue their activities are an indicator of the health of democracy in that country. Such groups make people active in a democracy and strengthen community life.

The government's role is limited to seeing that these organisations function within the law and do not pursue activities that harm the public good. That is why such organisations need to be officially registered. However, there is no need to register an informal organization. For example, there are neighbourhood youth sports or festival committees that need not be registered. But if such an organization buys property or wishes to pursue an activity that comes within the ambit of any law, then it must register itself.

We shall now have a look at some important types of organisations.

15.4.3 Trade unions

India has a long history of trade unions set up to fight for the rights of workers. Many of them were formed during the years of the freedom struggle. They collectively negotiated with factory owners on issues that affected the welfare of workers, such as wages, hours of work and working conditions. Workers also formed their own self-help and mutual-aid organisations.

The Congress party took an initiative to bring these diverse groups together under one umbrella when it established the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1920. After independence, various political parties also formed their own central trade union wings. The following is a list of the main trade unions:

1. All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)
2. Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC)
3. Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS)
4. United Trade Union Congress (UTUC)
5. Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU)
6. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS)

These organisations not only negotiate with factory owners for workers' rights but also act as pressure groups to influence government policies concerning workers.

15.4.4 Professional associations

The number of professional associations and their activities grew rapidly after independence. Most professions formed their own organisations. So we find all types and classes of occupational groups in India - lawyers, government employees, doctors, teachers, engineers, etc. Among the prominent occupational groups are the All India Medical Council, All India Bar Association, All India Teachers' Federation, All India Posts and Telegraphs Union, etc. Though the primary objective of these organisations is to seek the welfare of the professionals they represent, they also take an interest in political activities. They try to influence policy formulation in their own favour.

15.4.5 Caste and religious groups

Various religious, linguistic and caste groups have also been formed from time to time to fight for the rights of their communities. These organisations, too, have played a political role, many of them evolving into political parties, such as the Republican Party, Muslim Majlis, Jamaat-e-Ulema, Hindu Mahasabha and Shiromani Akali Dal. Also included are the All India Christian Council, Federation of Parsi Zorastrian Anjumans in India, All India Anglo Indian Association, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Sanatana Dharma and South Indian Association. In addition, many caste groups made their own associations to protect their caste interests, such as the Marwari Association, Brahman Sabha, Vaishya Sabha, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bahujan Samaj Sangh, etc. Apart from these, many unorganized or informal caste associations can be found in educational institutions, in particular universities and college campuses. These caste associations are particularly active in local and regional politics.

15.4.6 Women's organisations as pressure groups

India has seen several movements organized by women to fight against injustice to women on issues such as bride burning, dowry, property rights, rape, sexual harassment, domestic violence, sex determination tests, common civil code and reservations for women in political organisations. One of the main demands of these pressure groups is to reserve 33 percent of the seats in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas for women. Women's organisations also played a prominent role in the passage of the Hindu Code Bill in parliament.

Write about some women's pressure groups that are active in your local area.

Visit the office of a trade union or professional association, find out about their work and tell your class about it.

Why is the right to form associations important in a democracy? Discuss in class.

15.5 Media and people's participation

Communication is to reach news and views to people using written, oral or audio-visual methods. The communication media used for the purpose include newspapers, television, radio, mobile phones, internet, social websites (Facebook, What's App, Twitter etc), magazines, cinema, etc.

15.5.1 Role of media in people's participation

Communication media have always contributed to raising people's participation in government. The technological revolution has led to the rapid development of communication media. People's reach to these communication media is also increasing. The electronic media play a key role in internationalising news, with the number of news channels increasing from day to day. Any incident occurring in any corner of the world is immediately reached to everyone by these news channels.

The news channels have naturally increased people's participation in government. They also mould public opinion. They inform people about government initiatives and programmes and share the opinions of experts with them. In this way, they help people to analyse and form their views on the government's performance.

There have been many happenings in recent times where communication media have played a key role in shaping public opinion. One well-known example is the Nirbhaya case in which some boys raped and fatally assaulted a young girl in a moving bus in Delhi.

News of this incident spread like wildfire through the communication channels and it was widely discussed. Public opinion against this merciless rape-killing led to a mass movement, with demonstrations and rallies occurring across the country and people demanding that the perpetrators be suitably punished.

One key demand of the movement was to change the existing law governing rape. The media helped build up and maintain public pressure. Eventually, the government agreed and amended the law to increase the quantum of punishment for such crimes. One significant change brought in by the new laws was that any minor aged above 16 years who is accused of assaulting a girl in such a merciless manner would also be tried and sentenced as an adult and not as a juvenile.

In a similar way, the impact of the media can be seen in the people's movement that sought the passing of the Lokpal bill in 2011. The media helped to generate critical momentum for the movement. The widespread exchange of views via the media helped consolidate public opinion, with the agitators also using the media effectively to influence the content of the proposed bill.

The media has, thus, responded to people's needs and provided them with new opportunities and alternatives to participate in government, thereby increasing people's participation in the government.

But communication media can also pose a threat to democracy. Media is usually in the hands of the government or is owned and controlled by rich corporations. They can use their media channels or publications to serve their own narrow interests. Also, people working in media usually belong to the urban middle class so they are unfamiliar with the problems of the poor and people living in rural areas. The public can then be misinformed if the media presents a wrong picture of an incident or publicizes a partisanal opinion. Political parties, pressure groups and other organisations are known for using the media in this way. So it is important for people to be aware of this and not be swayed by partisanal views. It is, therefore, important that media plays a positive role in disseminating news and opinions for democracy to flourish.

For discussion:

Make a list of all instances in your local area in which the media has been responsible for getting the government to listen to the demands of the people.

Is media more beneficial than it is harmful? What do you think?

Has the media influenced your life in any way? Give at least two examples.

In what way did the media influence your life and why do you feel the media is responsible for this influence?

15.6 Conclusion

We learnt about people's participation in democracy in this chapter. We saw that people's participation is essential for the success of democracy. In the case of India, we saw that our constitution provides many avenues for people's participation. But there are also ways outside the framework of the constitution, many of them informal, for people to participate in government. Pressure groups and media are two examples. It is important for governments in democratic countries to provide new opportunities for people's participation in government to strengthen democracy.

EXERCISES

1. **Fill in the blanks in the following:**

    1. India adopted ……………………………………………………… democracy.

    2. In India, all adults above the age of …………………………………… years have the right to vote.

    3. A political party is an officially ……………………………………….. organization.

    4. Political parties are registered by the ……………………………………………….. to participate in elections.

    5. In India, elections to establish democracy are conducted by the ………………….......

    6. The president nominates two members of the ……………………………………………… community as members of the Lok Sabha.

    7. India has ………………………………………………………….., right to vote.

    8. In 2011, the country with the highest percentage of women members of parliament was ………………………………………………………………

    9. Groups that have a close relationship with political parties are called ………………………………………………………………… organisations.

    10. ……………………………………………….. pressure groups played a key role in the passage of the Hindu Code Bill.

2. Choose the correct option from among the following multiple options:

1. In India, a person does not have the right to vote if:

    1. He/she has attained the age of 18 years.

    2. He/she is a citizen of India.

    3. He/she is declared ineligible to vote by a court.

    4. His/her name is not in the voter's list

2. Who played a key role in changing the law in the Nirbhaya case to make minors aged above 16 years liable to be tried and sentenced as adults and not as juveniles for committing heinous sex crimes?

    1. People's movement   2. Media

    3. Government   4. Nirbhaya's family

3. Which constitutional amendment lowered the voting age from 21 years to 18 years?

    1. 52nd 2. 61st

    3. 86th 4. 92nd

4. Women's representation in the Indian parliament was the highest in:

    1. 1957   2. 1989

    3. 1999   4. 2013

5. The number of seats reserved for scheduled tribes in the Lok Sabha is:

    1. 84   2. 47

    3. 48   4. 74

6. 33 percent to 50 percent seats are reserved for women in the:

    1. Local bodies   2. Lok Sabha

    3. Parliament   4. Panchayat

7. In which instance was the government pressurized by the highly charged media campaign to change the law to make a minor aged above 16 years liable to be tried as an adult?

    1. Nirbhaya case   2. Language issue

    3. Women's reservation   4. Lokpal Bill

8. The primary official medium for people's participation in a democracy is:

    1. Elections   2. People's movements

    3. Audit of plan implementation 4. Communication media

9. The main activity of a political party in a democracy is:

   1. Elections   2. People's movements

   3. Attaining power   4. Creating public opinion

10. Which option among the following comes under occupational pressure groups:

    1. Doctors', teachers', employees' and officials' groups.

    2. Scheduled tribe and scheduled caste associations.

    3. Communal and religious societies.

    4. Women's organisations.

3. Answer the following:

1. What does universal adult suffrage mean?

2. What is the main objective of political parties?

3. What is the main reason for the rise in the number of eligible voters in India?

4. Explain what is meant by voter behaviour.

5. What are the different factors that influence voter behaviour?

6. In a democracy, apart from elections, what are the channels available and the possibilities for people's participation?

7. Name at least six major political organisations in India for people's representation?

8. Explain the main differences that distinguish pressure groups from political parties.

9. Name the different communication channels.

10. On what condition can a political party form a government?

11. Give the main reason for the rise in number of eligible voters in India.

12. Explain what people's participation in democracy means.

13. What are the differences between pressure groups and political parties?

14. Why was the voting age in India lowered from 21 years to 18 years?

15. What are the reasons for people not casting their vote?

16. Why is there such a large difference between the number of registered voters and the number of people who actually cast their votes in an election?

17. Why is the voting percentage sometimes as high as 100 percent in elections to local bodies while it is around only 50 percent in Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha elections?

18. How did the Kitikho Hichiko movement in Karnataka in 1984 pressurise the government to take decisions in favour of the farmers? Describe the impact of this episode.

19. How would people's participation in a democracy be affected if there was no universal adult suffrage?

20. What are the different factors that affect voter behaviour?

21. Which pressure group has the most influence on the government and political parties? Discuss in class.

Project Work

Find out about the 'pressure groups' in your district and state. Write a detailed report on any one of them and present it in the class.

16

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Democracy and Social Movements

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In the previous chapters, we tried to understand how the common people participate in Indian democracy and the democratic system of government. In this chapter, we shall try to understand what exactly a people's movement is and what role it plays in a democracy. We shall study some examples of people's movements to find answers to these questions.

16.1 The concept and nature of social movements

When we studied the participation of the common people in democracy in the previous chapter, we saw that there are different ways in which they can participate in government in a democratic system. The examples we saw included voting in elections, active pressure groups and the media. Are there other ways in which people can participate in democratic governance?

In a democratic system, the right to vote, freedom of expression and freedom to form associations is usually guaranteed to citizens by the government. But the strength of a democracy lies in finding new ways in which people can participate in governance to ensure that the government works for the welfare of all classes in society.

A social movement is when a social group in any country or society gets together to fight for its demands. We shall look at some recent examples of social movements in India to try and answer the following questions:

1.   How does a social movement influence and catalyse people's participation?

2.   How do different groups in society influence the political system and the policy and law-making process in a democracy?

16.1.1 Dongria Kondh movement in Niyamgiri

The state of Odisha lies to the east of Chhattisgarh. The Niyamgiri Hills in Odisha contain rich bauxite (aluminium ore) deposits. The state government had entered into an agreement with a company called Vedanta in 2004 to mine these deposits. But exploiting the resources required the permission of the state forest department since these deposits lay in a densely forested area. The company acquired all the required permissions and decided to begin mining operations on January 27, 2009, having already moved in the machinery and equipment required for the purpose.

But, from the morning of the same day, the people living in the surrounding areas began collecting around Niyam Dongar, the hill on which the open-cast mine was to be located. Their numbers soon swelled to thousands, with one estimate placing the number of men and women who had gathered at

over 10,000. These people were opposed to mining in the Niyamgiri Hills so they joined hands to prevent the bulldozers from entering the area, forming a human chain 17km-long that completely encircled the Niyam Dongar. The placards they carried displayed their message: 'Vedanta go back, stop mining in Niyamgiri'!

Let us try to understand the reasons behind this incident. The Odisha government believed that the mining project was important for the state's development. The plan included developing an

Figure 16.1: A demonstration by the adivasis *of Niyamgiri*

open-cast bauxite mine to extract three million tonnes per year of bauxite on Niyam Dongar, setting up a one million tonnes per year alumina refinery to process the ore at the foothills of the Niyamgiri range, and construction of a coal-based power plant to generate 75mw of electricity at Lanjigarh in Kalahandi district. The total investment in the three projects was estimated at Rs 4,000 crore, which was expected to generate employment in the region.

On the other side were the local inhabitants of the Niyamgiri Hills area were opposed to the project. These *adivasis* belong to the Dongria Kondh, Kutia Kondh and other scheduled tribes who have been living in the region for generations. The Niyam Dongar gets its name from Niyam Raja Penu who, along with Darini Penu and other gods, is worshipped by the *adivasis*. They believe that Niyam Raja, whose sacred abode in the Niyam Dongar, is their protector.

The *adivasis* depend on the forests, wildlife, rivers, streams, forest produce, etc for their livelihood. So their lives revolve around the natural resources of the Niyamgiri Hills. If open cast mining came to the area, the forests would be destroyed, their livelihood would be snatched away and they would be displaced from their traditional habitat.

The *adivasis* had, thus, been opposing the mining project from the time the government had signed an agreement with Vedanta. Their long-drawn-out struggle had largely been peaceful. They were supported by some environmental and social activist groups. Responding to the demand of the *adivasis*, the government set up several committees to examine the project and give their recommendations. The committees found that the company had used illegal means to gain permission to mine, with the mining lease directly flouting the PESA Act (under which the village panchayats in forest regions where the *adivasis* lived are given some special powers).

The *adivasis* staged regular demonstrations, taking out rallies to protest against the Vedanta company

Figure 16.2: The adivasis of Niyamgiri participating in a gram sabha to protest against mining

entering their sacred hills. A petition was filed in the Supreme Court on their behalf. The Supreme Court passed an important judgment in 2013, stating that under the provisions of the PESA Act, the 12 village panchayats in the area would have to decide whether they would permit mining operations or not. The panchayats unanimously voted against mining.

In this way the *adivasis* were able to protect the Niyamgiri Hills and establish their traditional right to the area's natural resources. It was a victory after a long and hard-fought battle.

16.1.2 The struggle for the right to information

We had a look at the struggle of the *adivasis* of Odisha to protect their sources of livelihood. Let us now study another people's organization, this time in the state of Rajasthan.

Ajmer, Bhilwara, Pali and Rajsamand are drought-prone districts in central Rajasthan. The small farmers and agricultural labourers depend on the government's famine relief work and other drought relief projects to earn a living. Most of these projects are planned and implemented by the panchayats. But the villagers employed in these projects were not being paid the minimum daily wages for the

Figure 16.3: A rally organized by the Mazdoor-Kisan Shakti Sangathan

work they did. The minimum wages were Rs11 per day in 1987-88 but the men were paid Rs7-8 and the women only Rs5-6.

Do similar problems exist in your area? Discuss in class.

Fed up with the situation, the exploited workers began demanding that they be paid the minimum wage, registering complaints with all the concerned government departments. But they were not paid their due wages. Frustrated, they decided to get together and launch a movement to stop this exploitation. The Mazdoor-Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) was, thus, created on May 1, 1990 under the leadership of some civil society organisations.

The MKSS began holding demonstrations and hunger strikes outside the government offices to demand the payment of minimum wages but still there was no reaction from the government. The workers were told that they were paid less wages because the quantum of daily work they did had been reduced.

The MKSS decided to follow up the cases of 12 labourers from one village working on a panchayat project. At the end of each day, it measured how much work each labourer had done and kept a record for the entire project period. But even after providing this evidence, the labourers were not paid the full wages. So the farmers and labourers decided to launch a movement under the banner of MKSS. After a prolonged struggle, the 12 labourers eventually won their due wages following the intervention of the central government.

Do you agree with the method the labourers used to prove that they had done their quota of work for the day? Give reasons.

Have you heard about any demonstration or hunger strike? Discuss in class.

After their successful struggle, the daily workers began maintaining a record of their daily work. The register in which the government maintains a daily record of the work done is called the muster roll. So the workers also began examining the muster roll. They found that the local government officials

Figure 16.4: A rally

were manipulating the records to underpay them for the work they did. They also found many other corrupt practices. For instance, they found payments being made to workers who were not living in the village for the past few years. Payments were even being made in the name of some government officials. There were also cases of excess wages paid for lesser number of days worked. In addition, there were records of work done for buildings that had never been constructed.

Public hearings (Jansunwai) The workers realized that this was not just a matter of under payment but of corruption in the government system. They realized that they were getting lower payments even though the government had released the entire funds for the panchayat project. So MKSS began demanding the right to check the muster roll and government registers to track the corrupt practices of the sarpanch and other officials. But the officials were not prepared to let them do this. MKSS then decided to hold a public hearing to verify the actual execution of government projects. It organized several such public hearings.

Kot Kirana Public Hearing: The first public hearing was organized on December 2, 1994. The agenda was the development work carried out by the Raipur panchayat samiti in Kot Kirana and Bagri Kalyan villages in 1993-94. The public hearing attracted the participation of many villagers from the surrounding villages as well as many of Rajasthan's well-known intellectuals and social activists. But no government official attended. The names of 100 workers who had been paid by the panchayat for the project work were read out to the assembled gathering. But several people whose names were on the list came forward to give evidence that they had not participated in the development work nor had they received any payment from the panchayat. The muster rolls also contained the names of people who had died some years ago. It was also shown that the building for which bills for electrical fittings were submitted hadn't been constructed at all. Many such irregularities and the many layers of corruption were exposed during this first jansunwai. Subsequent public hearings unearthed many more instances of corruption.

> **Has any similar jansunwai taken place in your area? Discuss in class.**

> **Is there any issue on which you think a jansunwai should be held in your area? Discuss in class.**

Demanding the right to information: The initial demands of the people's movement were linked to the payment of minimum wages. But as more and more corrupt practices began surfacing during the five public hearings held till then, the people began demanding that all information contained in the

records of the work they had done, which was linked to their livelihood, should be made freely available to everyone. MKSS knew that the government officials were withholding these records from the public to hide their corrupt practices. It claimed that the workers had the legal right to see these records. This claim eventually emerged as the demand for the right to information.

MKSS pursued its agitation demanding the right to information but the government did not pay any heed to this demand. So the MKSS staged an sit in demonstration in Jaipur, the state capital. People from

Figure 16.5: The right to information

different regions in the state participated in the demonstration. It continued for 53 days, beginning from May 26, 1997. It ended in a dramatic manner on July 14, 1997 with the government telling the agitators that it had already enacted a law a year ago that complied with their demand. According to

S.No	State	Year
1	Tamil Nadu Right to Information Act 1997	May 5, 1997
2	Goa Right to Information Act 1997	December 2, 1997
3	Maharashtra Right to Information Act 2000	July 18, 2000
4	Rajasthan Right to Information Act 2000	January 26, 2001
5	Karnataka Right to Information Act 2000	2000
6	Delhi Right to Information Act 2001	2001

this law, the common people of Rajasthan had the right to examine and make photocopies of any bill, voucher, muster roll or other development-related documents.

The Right to Information Act was implemented for the entire country in 2005. Thus, the movement in Rajasthan to demand the right to information achieved success after a prolonged, non-violent struggle.

How does the right to information benefit us? Discuss in class.

In what way can you use the right to information? Discuss in class.

16.1.3 Peace movements

Like the social movements that we have read about till now, several important movements for world peace have been conducted across the globe. These movements have played a key role in ending wars and establishing international peace.

Peace movements are usually associated with campaigns and organized attempts to stop wars, stop

acts of violence during wars and stop arms build-up by countries. The global aim of peace movements is to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, encourage disarmament and bring an end to war. Many different kinds of organisations have been established to advocate world peace. They mostly work to establish peace camps, support anti-war candidates in elections, and carry out critical studies and analysis of the security and disarmament policies of different governments.

What is the purpose of a peace movement? Explain with examples.

What steps can the people who participate in a peace movement take to stop unrest?

Why do you think that peace between nations is necessary?

Anti-nuclear weapons movement: Japan faced massive destruction after America dropped two nuclear bombs on the country in 1945. That is why the anti-nuclear weapons movement took strong root there. In 1954, the Japanese people established a unified 'Japanese Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs'. They also voiced their protest against the testing of nuclear weapons in some islands in the Pacific Ocean. They conducted a signature campaign against these tests, collecting around 35 lakh signatures. This was the first largescale anti-nuclear weapons campaign.

England's pro-nuclear disarmament movement: Like Japan, England, too, launched a massive campaign to abolish nuclear weapons in 1958. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) demanded that England should abstain from any attempt to produce or experiment with nuclear weapons. It also demanded that England should abolish all types of nuclear weapons. The thousands of activists involved in the movement took out a march from London to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Aldermaston in Berkshire. This march came to be known as the Aldermaston march. Many such marches were conducted through the early years of the 1960s.

The well-known philosopher Bertrand Russell set up a 'Committee of 100', an anti-war group, after resigning from his post as CND president. The committee began staging protests in front of England's nuclear establishments. Russell exhorted the people to participate in these sit-in protests, claiming that the English newspapers were lukewarm to the anti-war campaign. His call began attracting thousands of members to the Committee of 100 and participation in the protests grew rapidly.

The growing numbers of protestors soon began to have an impact, attracting violent repression by the police and mass arrests. This state repression led to a steady fall in numbers of the campaigns supporters. The arrest of the 89-year-old Russell further dampened the movement because the Campaign of 100 had no leadership hierarchy nor was its membership formal.

Many local anti-war groups now began to affiliate themselves with the campaign, helping it to gain widespread support once again. But since they were not fully aware of the campaign objectives there were many misconceptions about its policies. The anti-war and nuclear disarmament focus of the committee was thus gradually diverted as it began taking up many other issues.

Discuss the following:

1. Why do you think the English parliament could not pass a proposal to abolish nuclear weapons?

2. How successful were the strikes, protests and campaigns conducted by the Committee of 100?

American anti-nuclear weapons peace movement: Like Japan and England, America also witnessed an important anti-nuclear weapons peace movement in the decade of the 1960s. At the peak of the Cold War in 1961, American women launched a 'Women Strike for Peace' campaign by marching in 60 US cities. Over 50,000 women participated in this massive campaign to demand a nuclear-free world and an end to the Cold War. It was the largest political protest in America against nuclear weapons.

Subsequently, over 50 US cities observed June 20, 1983 as Nuclear Disarmament Day. In 1986, hundreds of activists took out a nuclear disarmament march from Los Angeles to Washington DC. They also staged protests at the nuclear weapons testing facility in Nevada in 1980s and 1990s. Thus, America saw a peaceful movement to abolish nuclear weapons that began in the 1960s and continued till the end of the Cold War and achieved some significant objectives.

Peace movements in other countries: Apart from these three countries, Canada, Germany, Israel and Norway were among several other countries to have active peace movements. They supported the abolition of nuclear weapons during the Cold War and continued to oppose all kinds of weaponry in the global arms race. After the Cold War, they played an active role in limiting and stopping the American war in Iraq. They also made sustained efforts to stop international conflicts, such as the Middle East war and the civil wars in countries like Egypt, Libya and Syria.

The list of active organisations included the Green Party in many European countries, the Canadian Peace Research Association, and Germany's peace campaign to abolish nuclear technology, particularly nuclear weapons. These organizations helped take the global peace movement forward and were active in preventing international conflicts and wars.

EXERCISES

1.   **Choose the correct option from the following multiple options:**

   1.   Niyamgiri is

      1. A movement   2. A mountain

      3. A bauxite storehouse   4. A king

   2.   The Niyamgiri movement was not:

      1. An environment movement   2. A socio-economic movement

      3. A political movement   4. A movement for justice

   3.   The right to information movement began:

      1. With a demand for minimum wages.   2. To expose corruption.

      3. To get information about the muster roll.   4. For all these reasons.

   4.   The main objective of the peace movement is:

      1. To stop wars   2. Disarmament

      3. Abolish nuclear weapons   4. All these reasons

5. The following was done to protect the Niyam Dongar:

    1. A 17km-long human chain was formed to encircle the hill.

    2. The gram sabhas declared that mining the hill was illegal.

    3. Public opinion was sought through a public vote.

    4. A petition was filed in the Supreme Court under the PESA Act.

6. Which type of corruption was not occurring in Rajasthan:

    1. Excess wages for less work.

    2. Buildings constructed only on paper.

    3. Payments made to unknown people.

    4. Violation of the right to information.

7. Which was not part of the Niyamgiri project:

    1. Alumina refinery

    2. 3 million tonnes per annum bauxite production

    3. 75MW electricity power plant

    4. Wildlife conservation based on the environment

8. Which *satyagraha* did the Mazdoor-Kisan Shakti Sangathan successfully carry out:

    1. Hunger strike

    2. Strike

    3. Civil disobedience movement

    4. Public hearing and exposure of corruption in a people's court of the gram sabha.

9. The peace movement for disarmament began with:

    1. The civil wars in some Middle Eastern countries.

    2. Communal strife.

    3. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by nuclear bombs.

    4. The First World War.

10. The main purpose of disarmament for peace was:

    1. To end the Cold War.

    2. To stop the production of weapons

    3. To abolish chemical/biological weapons.

    4. To maintain peace and development

2.   Fill in the blanks:

1. American …………………………………… staged strikes, marches and demonstrations for peace in 60 US cities.

2. America observed ……………………………..……………………….. day on June 20, 1983.

3. Britain's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Berkshire is located at ………………………………………………………………………

4. Niyamgiri contains rich deposits of ……………………………………………………… ore.

5. America's nuclear testing facility is situated in ……………………………………………..

6. Mining in *Adivasi*-inhabited scheduled areas is a violation of the .... Act.

7. The Right to Information Act was implemented in India in ……………………….......... ………………………

8. The Labour party is a political party in ………………………………………………….

9. America dropped an atomic bomb on ………………………………………………… in 1945

3. Write the answers to the following questions:

1. Why wasn't the peace movement of the Committee of 100 successful? Explain with reasons.

2. Why did the peace movement for disarmament begin in Japan?

3. What are the objectives of the peace movement?

4. Explain the main benefits of the right to information.

5. Explain the experiences of the people in the jansunwai.

6. Whose decision led to the victory of the Niyamgiri *satyagraha*?

7. Which scheduled tribes lived in the Niyamgiri area?

8. What was the Supreme Court's decision on Niyamgiri?

9. Who and what do the peasants and workers depend on for their livelihood during a drought?

10. Explain what is a muster roll.

11. Write the names of any four districts in Rajasthan.

12. Explain the destruction caused by an atomic bomb.

13. Explain what disarmament means.

4. Discuss the following in class:

1. Should there be a peace movement? If yes, then why, if no then why? Explain with reasons.

2. Have you heard or read about any peace movement in India? Share what you know in class.

3. What is the role of a peace movement in a democracy?

ECONOMICS

17

Understanding Development

Development is a concept that can be interpreted in many ways. It is difficult to define the concept in a way that is acceptable to everyone because people look at development in different ways. Most people think development is achieving one's needs and aspirations. But then we would like to improve everyone's lives. So what are the possible ways in which we can make all people prosperous enough to lead a happy and contented life?

There could be a lot of disagreement on these different ways, so how do we reach a consensus on a common path to achieve our objective? How can we ensure that every individual has the opportunity and develops the capability to do the things that we consider are important for our society? How can we ensure that society provides them the opportunity to do these things? What efforts should we make in this direction? We shall discuss these questions and issues in this chapter.

> **In your view of development, what else do you visualise besides roads, electricity, housing and other infrastructure? Why do you include these in your concept of development?**

How different people see development

The table below lists the aspirations of different people. It visualises what people think about their personal development. These are only examples. It's possible that people have other objectives in mind as well. What do you think are the aspirations of the people listed below? Visualise their aspirations and complete the table:

Table 17.1

S No	Category of people	Objectives/aspirations of development
1	Daily wage labourer	Work throughout the year, better wages, children's education, …….
2	Industrialist	Availability of cheap raw materials, roads/electricity and other infrastructure, peaceful environment,…….
3	College student	Better educational facilities, employment opportunities, personal freedom and security, ……
4	Educated unemployed such as engineers	Employment opportunities, housing, …….

5	Women agricultural workers	Good wages, security, work throughout the year, health services, ……..
6	Yourself	
7	Small farmer	
8	Teacher	
9	Village *sarpanch*	
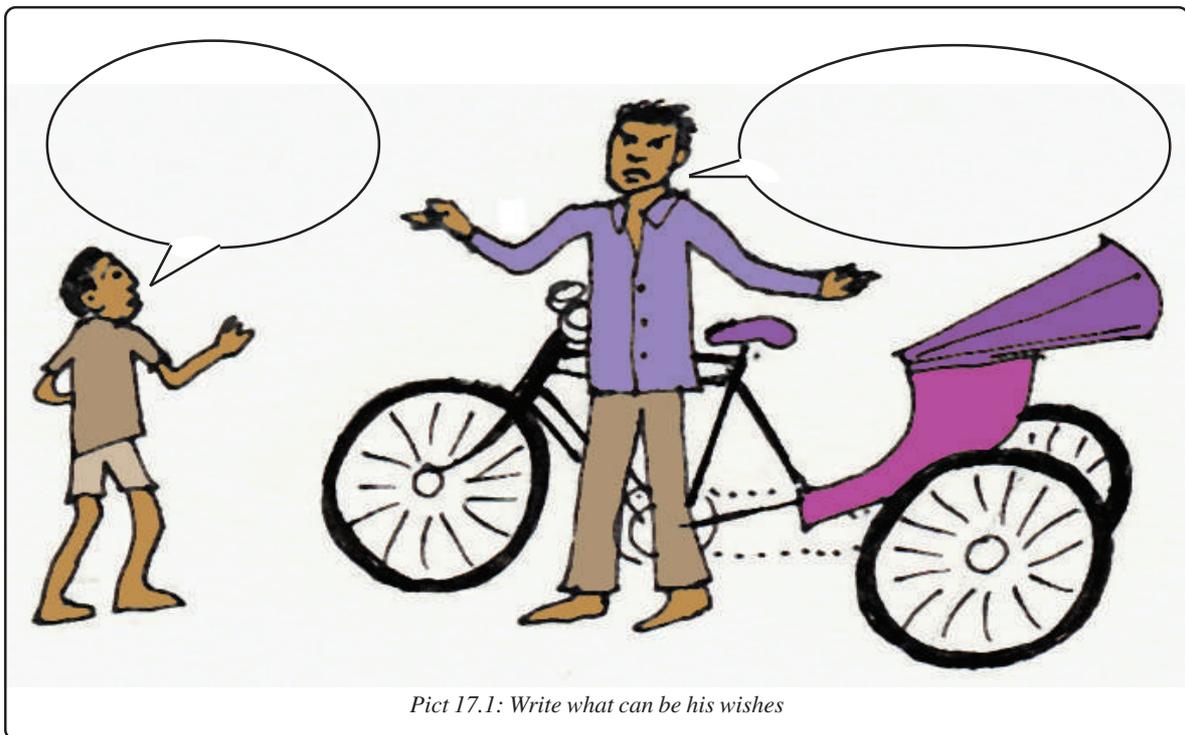
Pict 17.1: Write what can be his wishes

If we examine the table, we see that people aspire for those things that they feel are most important for them. These aspirations could be of many kinds. For example, a college student looks for freedom and security in addition to better educational facilities and employment opportunities. For many people, health services are a priority. The industrialist wants to earn the maximum profit by selling his produce. The daily labourer looks for fair wages and work throughout the year. He also hopes his children will not have to work as daily wage labourers.

These aspirations can sometimes give rise to situations of conflict. For example, a girl may want as much freedom and opportunities as her brother but her parents may not like her thinking this way. Similarly, an industrialist may want to earn a profit by selling his products at the maximum possible price but a consumer may want the same products to be easily available at a reasonable price.

This shows that people aspire to protect their own rights and the needs of their families. But what happens when we want to protect and accommodate the aspirations of all the people living in a particular region? Wouldn't we then have to think of a solution that goes beyond the individual aspirations
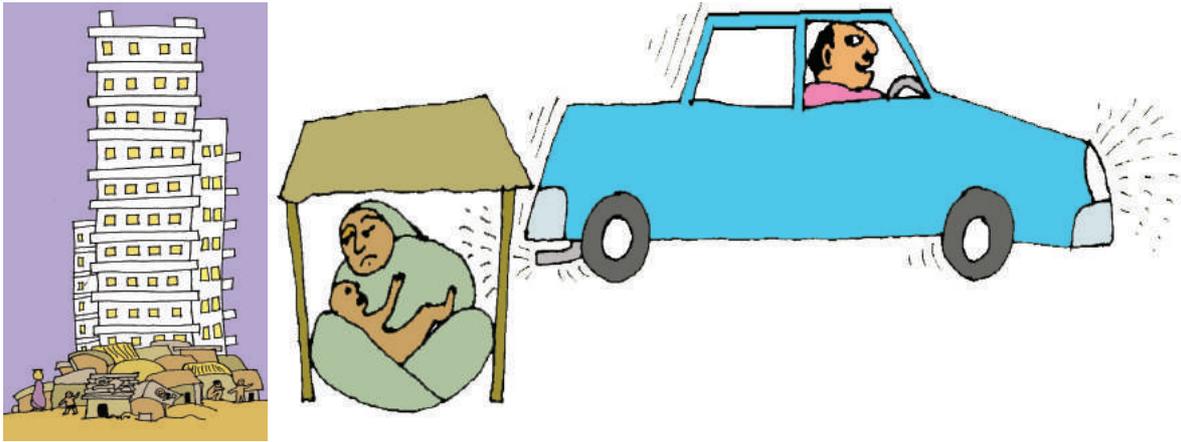
Pict 17.2: Caption ....

of people? We would have to think about everyone's rights and how we can protect them. We would have to think of the different kinds of such **universal rights that lead to public welfare**. For example, establishing a school in a village or town would provide children the opportunity to study, which may not have been available earlier. The education being free would make it universally available to everyone. Parents would not have to spend. In addition, mid-day meals and scholarships would be provided to attract more children to the school and ensure that they are not hungry. Such measures help to ensure that the right to education is universal and everyone can benefit from it. Similarly, other public facilities such as drinking water, health, roads, a public distribution system, sanitation etc are also universal, hence available to all.

Let us try to understand the concept of universal rights that lead to public welfare. Consider the case of a village with a narrow, mud road. When the weather is fine, people can come and go without any problem. But when it rains, the mud road becomes slushy. People then find it difficult to move in and out of the village. So the villagers decided to widen and pave their mud road to make it useable even during rainy weather. But to widen the road, it was necessary for some villagers to give part of their land. Some villagers agreed to donate their land but some others were not prepared to do so. The villagers convened a meeting of their *gram sabha* to discuss the issue. Eventually, all the landowners affected by the proposed road decided that they would donate the land needed to widen the road to serve the interests of all the villagers. In this way, the entire village could benefit from the construction of a wide, paved road. Public welfare would be ensured.

What do you think should be the development goals of your village/town? Explain with a few examples.

Why are scholarships for students considered to be a scheme for public welfare? Discuss in class.

Give three suggestions to improve public health facilities in your region and make them available to everyone.

Contradictions in development schemes

Over the past few years, there has been widespread discontent in many regions of our country about the way in which development programmes are being carried out. Industrialists are focusing on mining mineral resources and setting up factories to earn profits. They claim that setting up industries opens up new employment opportunities for people in the region and boosts the manufacture of goods.

But there is a contradiction in their claim. Land is required for mining mineral resources and setting up factories. Acquiring this land affects the lives of large numbers of people. Many of them are displaced and do not get adequate facilities for their rehabilitation. They lose their traditional sources of livelihood and their cultural moorings. Development, thus, gives rise to a situation of conflict in society.

Odisha is rich in coal, bauxite and iron ore resources. The state plans to set up at least 45 steel units. The people living in these mineral-rich regions constantly fear that they will be displaced when their land is acquired for these proposed industrial units. Hundreds of acres of fertile agricultural land have already been acquired for the purpose and forests have been cleared on a massive scale, leading to the drying up of their water sources. The people have, time and again, registered their protest against the establishment of these industries. Their main demand is to protect their land, water, forests and sources of livelihood. They do not wish to be displaced to an unknown location after being provided some compensation. They argue that once they exhaust the money they receive in compensation, they are forced to work as labourers, without any guarantee of employment or work security. These changes have adversely effected their traditional lifestyle.

Many environmentalists have also voiced their concern about the adverse impact of the state's industrialisation on the environment of the country. They claim that excessive mining of mineral resources and establishing industrial units are destroying our land and water resources and polluting the atmosphere. The discharge of industrial wastes is also polluting our water sources. As a result, people now face the danger of new, pollution-related health problems.

A committee set up by the Indian government investigated the largescale industrial pollution in the state and found that a few large companies had flouted the Forest Rights Act to set up industries. Consequently, the Ministry of Environment had stopped the land acquisition activities of some of these industries.

Such contradictions in development can be found in many other sectors besides the industrial sector. For example:

Garbage collected daily from the cities is dumped in distant locations in the rural areas, polluting the air and water sources of the villages.

Pict 17.3: Industries and Mining

Dams constructed for irrigation make water easily available for agriculture in some areas while areas far away from the irrigation facilities may continue to face drought conditions.

What contradictions are the establishment of industries giving rise to in the state of Odisha?

What steps need to be taken in the above example, keeping universal rightsand public welfare in mind?

Find out: What are the provisions in the Forest Rights Act to protect people's rights?

Can you think of other examples where similar kind of contradictions have arisen?

Can solutions be found to resolve these contradictory situations in the perspective of public welfare? Discuss in class.

Income and other objectives

Let us analyse Table 1.1 once again. The main objective for all the individuals listed in the table is to earn more money. For example, the labourer wants better work, the industrialist wants more profit, the college student and the unemployed engineer want better employment opportunities to increase their income. But why is this so? It is because people think that they can fulfil their needs and raise their standard of living if they earn more money.

But people also have other needs and desires, apart from earning a good income, which they also consider to be important.

On the basis of Table 17.1, what are the things that people consider as necessary, besides earning an income:

1……

2……

3……

People want freedom and expect to be treated equally by all in the society in which they live. They also see security as a need because a person cannot progress and develop in an insecure environment. The concept of security in this context is of a society that is free of fear and discrimination and where special measures are taken to protect the backward classes and they are provided with opportunities for development. Unemployed people want better employment opportunities so that they can earn more money. They also look for stability in employment and other family benefits such as medical treatment, housing, drinking water, pollution-free environment and proper education for their children. If these benefits are not available, it affects their capacity to work and obstructs their development.

Measurement and distribution of income

Let us now discuss which indicators are needed to measure development in a country. One of the most important indicators is income. People meet their needs and fulfil their aspirations with the income they earn. They buy goods and services with their money. So the total production of goods and

services of a country helps us to estimate the income earned by the people. For this, we use the per capita (per person) gross domestic product (GDP) as an indicator.

Table 17.2: Per capita GDP of select states for 2013-2014 (in rupees)	
State	**Per capita GDP**
Maharashtra	1,14,392
Kerala	1,03,820
Bihar	31,199

(*Source: Ministry of Economics and Statistics, Government of India 2015*)

Per capita GDP is an average. It is obtained by dividing the total output (production) of a country by the number of people (population) in the country. Table 17.2 gives the per capita GDP of Maharashtra, Kerala and Bihar. We are talking of the gross domestic product of these states here. Try to recall the meaning of gross domestic product from what you learned in the previous class. It is the value of the total goods and services produced by the state (during the course of any year). We can see that Maharashtra has the highest GDP per capita among the three states and Bihar the lowest. This means that, on average, goods and services worth Rs1,14,392 are available for every person in Maharashtra while goods and services worth only Rs31,199 are available in Bihar. This indicator helps us to compare different states and estimate their development over the years.

Per capita GDP is an indicator of average availability. But it doesn't mean that all people in the country get this value of goods and services. People's incomes differ. So some people can buy more services and goods and some people can buy less, depending on their income. To understand this difference, we need to look at the distribution of income. While average income (per capita income) is a good measure for comparison, it tends to conceal differences in income. This can be better understood by the following table:

Table 17.3

Year	Average income of group (in rupees)						
	A	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**	**Total income**	**Per capita income**
2010	2,000	4,000	5,000	6,000	3,000	20,000	4,000
2012	2,000	8,000	6,000	6,000	8,000	30,000	6,000

Suppose there are five people in the group, each of them with a different income. We wish to know how the income of this group changes after five years. Table 17.3 shows that the average income was higher in 2012 compared to 2010. Hence it is evident that this group developed. But the income of the

people in the group did not rise equally. In fact, some of them did not increase their income. So the income of A and D remained the same while B, C and E increased their income. That is why it is important to look at the distribution of income while using average income as a measure of development. Only then can we know whether everyone got the opportunity to develop or whether development was limited to only some of the people.

Similarly, consumption expenditure is also a major indicator of development because it is what people spend on obtaining the goods and services they need. The government conducts surveys to find out the expenditure of different classes. This information helps us to find out how much a particular group spends on its consumption needs. The group that spends more on consumption is considered to be better off. Consumption expenditure in an indirect way tells us about the income distribution among groups in society.

Let us now study Table 17.4 which shows us the per capita monthly expenditure (in rupees) of rural households in India.

Table 17.4 - Households in India (2011-12)

Rural household	Total consumption expenditure
Farmer (self-employed)	Rs1,436 per capita per month
Wage earner (regular labour)	Rs2,002 per capita per month
Casual farm labour	Rs1,159 per capita per month

Source: Report No.562, Household consumer expenditure across socio-economic groups

The table reveals that the self-employed farmer households spend Rs1,436 per capita per month. Similarly, regular wage earner households spend Rs2,002 per capita per month while casual labour households spend Rs1,159 per capita per month. The per capita per month expenditure is least for casual labour households. The reason is that this group does not get regular employment throughout the year and the wage rate is also low. As a result, these households face economic hardships and cannot raise their standard of living. If universal rights and public services determine the outcomes of development, then its impact should be seen on the living standards of these households.

**The per capita income in Chhattisgarh is …………………….. Compare this with the other states.**

Can you estimate the per capita income of your family?

What impact does unequal distribution of income have? Discuss in class.

Find out the per capita per month consumption expenditure of two contrasting households in your neighbourhood. Explain the difference in their expenditure.

The pyramid given below shows income statistics in India. Explain them in your own words.

Income below Rs1.5 lakh — 1,350 lakh households

Income from Rs1.5 lakh to Rs3.4 lakh — 71 lakh households

Income from Rs3.4 lakh to Rs17 lakh — 31 lakh households

Income above Rs17 lakh — 30 lakh households

Pict 17.4:
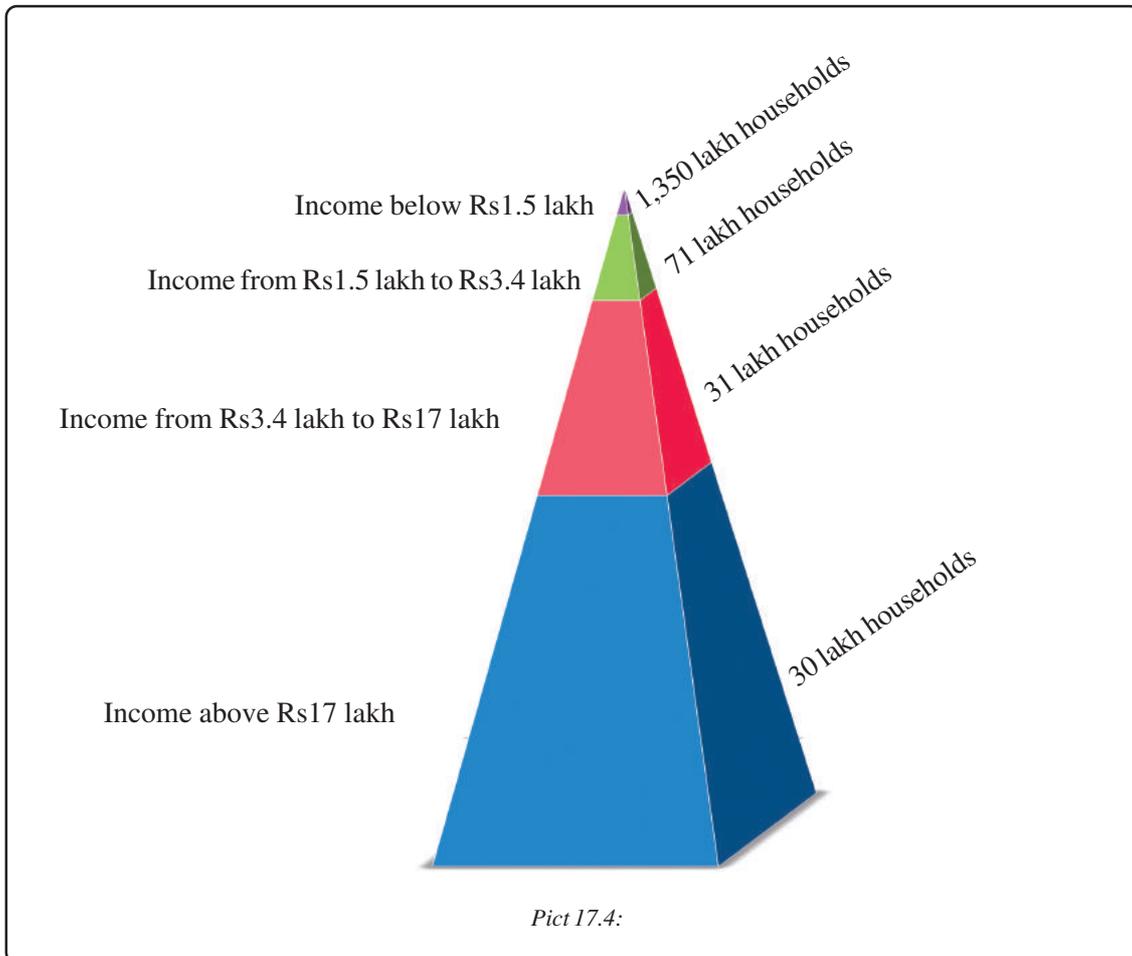
Other development indicators: education and health

Have you ever wondered why your parents spend money to educate you? Why is such expenditure necessary? Better access to education and health helps individuals to perform different tasks easily and successfully. They can benefit from better employment and other economic opportunities. Child labour is automatically eradicated in a society that builds a robust and effective educational system in which every child can gain admission. An educated person is more capable of resisting any kind of exploitation in society. Health services ensure protection against disease and ill health. The availability of education and health services is not limited to only those who enjoy their benefits but impacts the entire society. A healthy and educated individual inspires others to seize opportunities for their development.

Equal access to good education gives women the opportunity to develop their talentsand also raises questions about the traditional discrimination against daughters in favour of sons. An educated woman understands the importance of nutritious food for health and well-being. Their role in society changes in an environment in which their voices are heard. Nutritious food, safe drinking water and proper sanitation are necessary for creating a healthy society. Countries that ensure such basic services for their people develop more rapidly.

Human development report

Income is seen as an important indicator to measure development. But all round development cannot be measured by this indicator alone. We need to consider other indicators. The list of such possible indicators can be long so we have to choose the most appropriate ones. Education and health are two such important indicators that have been used along with income to measure development. For example, the human development reports published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) uses education, health and life expectancy as indicators to compare the development of different countries.

Life expectancy is an estimate of the average lifespan of a person. It estimates how many years a new-born child can be expected to live. This is an important indicator of all-round development of a country. The literacy rate indicates what percentage of the population aged above 15 years is literate. This rate would increase if education is made available for all children.

From birth up to the age of five years is an important period in human development. This is the phase during which mental development is the strongest. Children who are malnourished in infancy can be affected for life. The most important objective of development is to ensure that our future generation is given the chance to live a healthy life. There are two ways in which malnutrition in children can be measured – their height and weight at different ages. If the height and weight of a child is not as expected at a certain age, the child is considered to be malnourished. You can get more information about this measure if you visit the local *anganwadi*. We can interpret the following table on the basis of these development indicators:

Table 17.5: Development statistics of India and neighbouring countries (2010)

Country	Life expectancy (years)	Literacy rate 15+ (%)	% Malnourished children among all under-5 children	
			Height for age (%)	Weight for age (%)
Nepal	69	59	49	39
India	65	63	48	43
China	73	98	10	04
Sri Lanka	75	91	17	21

Source: UNESCO Report, HDR report 2013, UNICEF 2012

We need to take a consolidated view of income and other goals from a human development perspective. We have understood these indicators from this perspective. The impact of development should be seen in a better quality of human life especially in health and education related indicators.

Answer the following questions on the basis of Table 17.5

In which countries is the level of human development better?

Over the past 10 years, per capita income has increased three times more in India than in Nepal. Yet there is very little difference in the human development indicators. Why is this so? Discuss in class.

What additional efforts need to be taken in India to realise our human development goals?

We use per capita income as a measure to compare different countries. The currencies of these countries are pegged to the American dollar – for example, how many rupees, yen or Nepalese rupees equals a dollar. Suppose an American with $100 comes to India. How many rupees would his $100 be worth? Going by the currency exchange rate in the market, he would have about Rs6,500. But should we calculate according to the market rate if we want to compare the per capita incomes?

How do we compare and find out the dollar-rupee exchange rate if we do not use the market rate? Surveys are conducted in different countries to find out how many goods and services can be bought with a dollar in these countries. Suppose the American in our example bought goods and services worth $100 in America. *How much would he have to spend to get the same goods and services when he comes to India?* Now suppose he spent Rs3,500 to buy these goods and services. Then $1 spent in America would equal Rs35 spent in India. By doing this, we maintain purchasing power parity. Income among countries is compared by taking purchasing power parity into account.

Discuss the following Table 17.6

Country	Per capita income (US$)
India	5497
Nepal	2311
Sri Lanka	9779
China	12547

Source: Human Development Report 2015

Why is it better to use purchasing power parity to compare the income between countries? From the table above compare the per capita income of India and China.

Public facilities

We cannot buy all our basic needs and facilities with our personal income. For example, income would not help us to buy a pollution-free atmosphere. For that, we would have to move to a place with a pristine environment. Money cannot protect us from infectious and contagious diseases. We need to have a clean and sanitary environment to prevent the spread of diseases. Similarly, private security guards cannot be deployed for every individual but a safe and peaceful environment can be created for everyone. For this we need several public facilities. For example, a safe drinking water supply

system would benefit everyone. So would basic facilities such as a public distribution system that enables people to obtain their rations of food-grains and other necessities at subsidised rates. Such a system would reduce the level of malnutrition.

The long term impact of making basic facilities available to people can be seen from the following example. At the time of independence, the literacy level was very low in Himachal Pradesh. It was similar to Madhya Pradesh. It was a challenging task to establish schools in this hilly state. But the people and the government were keen to see the spread of education.

The government decided to open schools to provide free, low-cost education. Gradually, these schools were given additional facilities such as more teachers and classrooms, toilets, drinking water etc. What is surprising is that Himachal Pradesh spent Rs2,005 per student in 2005, compared to the all-India average of Rs1,049. The state also encouraged the education of girls. As a result, the education system in the state underwent massive change. Infant mortality and girl child mortality was reduced significantly. The women here are more productive and self-reliant, venturing out of their homes to work and also allowing their daughters to work. They became more active in rural institutions and cooperative societies. In this way, the spread of education led to major changes in the state, with the literacy rate touching 83.98 percent. The state has progressively& steadily increased its human development indices. These are better than most other states.

We can get glimpse of these changes from the table at 17.7 below :

Table 17.7 - Percentage of students who have had five or more year of schooling

	1993	**2006**
Girls	39%	60%
Boys	57%	75%

(Probe Revisited, OUP, 2011)

We have tried to understand the concept of development in this chapter. We have learned about the various available criteria to measure development. We learned about the true meaning of development by estimating the progress in various human development indices based on these criteria. We learned that societies can be considered developed if they score high on norms such as Income, literacy rate, life expectancy and nutrition levels.

Exercise

1. **Choose the correct options in the following:**

   1. Assume there are five families in a group. They average per capita income of the group is Rs. 4000. In two years times they average per year capita income is Rs. 5000.

      a. They group has not progresed

      b. The income of each person in the group has incresed.

      c. The group has progressed

      d. The income of every person in the group has decreased

   2. The government provied for electricity because

      a. It needs to use the extra supply that it has created

      b. It needs to earn money

      c. For public welfare

      d. For supply to government offices

2. What are the main indices to measure development?

3. India's GDP is larger than Nepal's, yet it lags in human development indicators. Why?

4. What are the factors other than per capita income that are important when comparing two or more countries?

5. Write an article on how India can be developed.

6. Do you see any contradictions in the development programmes being implemented in your area? Explain in brief.

7. In table 17.3 we assume that the prices of goods and servies have not change. Discuss?

8. A apart from the development indicator mention in this chapter can you thing other indicators?

9. If we wish to list development indicators for your school (other than examination results) what all whould you include in this?

10. Discuss the following :

    A. Infant mortality rate

    B. Money spent on illness

    C. Percentage of people who get clean drinking water

    D Those who are employed for less than 6 months in a year

11. Average income hide the inequality of income of among people. Explain

12. Different social group have different expenditure levels. What does this indicate?

18

Money and Credit

The changing nature of money

> **We need money in our daily lives. It is a medium of exchange. Most of the goods and services we need are bought using money. We pay people for these goods and services. The money we pay – rupees and paise – is known as currency. For many other purchases we may pay using bank deposits. Money facilitates all types of exchanges.**

The nature of money has evolved over the years. We learned about the use of metals as a medium of exchange in the history chapters. We saw how difficult it was to keep this money safe and secure. There was always the fear of robbery when taking them from one place to another. Trading was not easy because facilities for weighing were not always available. Some of these problems were resolved when coins began to be used. Coins gave exact
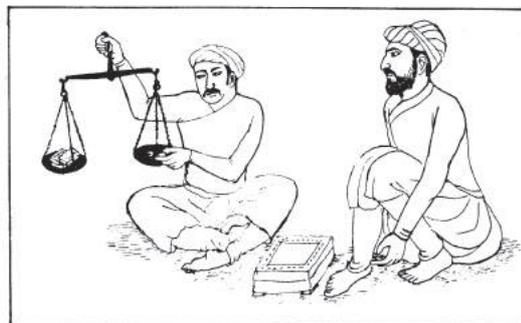

Figure 18.1: Silver being weighed in the mint

Figure 18.2: Traders would bring silver and get their coins made in the mint. This would be used by them for trading

measurements. Their value was certified and ensured by the prestige and reputation of the kings who issued them, as you can see in the following illustrations.

Metal coins soon began to be widely used as money. But although coins made exchange easier there were some problems. Coins used in business and trade had to be tested to ensure their authenticity. But malpractices such as scratching, chipping would result in small differences in weight. Over time this inevitably raised doubts about their purity. Some people also began to produce coins with adulterated metals. To prevent such malpractices and discrepancies, greater security measures were used in minting coins. For example, the layer of metal on the outer rim of the coins was made thicker to prevent tampering.

Figure 18.3: A gold coin used in India

Figure 18.4: An Indian coin minted during British colonial rule

As trade expanded, new problems surfaced. When buying goods, traders would have to pay only with coins that were authorised and used in that region. Each region had its own authorised coins. Traders therefore felt the need to exchange coins in every region they traded. Thus coin exchange became a business in its own right.

Indian traders came up with their own solution to the exchange problem, which did not require carting loads of coins from one place to another. They wrote a *hundi* (a special letter to pay the bearer) for the city where they purchased their goods.
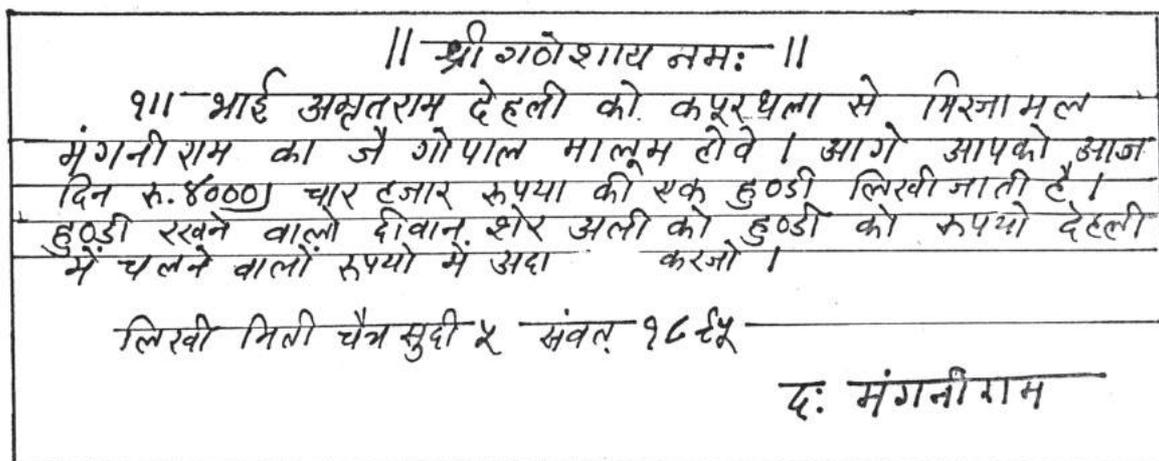
Figure 18.5: A hundi

The *hundi* in Figure 18.5 is an example. In this example, Diwan Sher Ali of Kapurthala has to go to Delhi to buy goods. He deposits Rs4,000 with Mirzamal Mangiram, a money exchange trader in Kapurthala. Mangiram also has an office in Delhi. He writes a letter, a *hundi t*o his accountant there to give Sher Ali Rs4,000 when he reaches Delhi. Sher Ali uses the money in Delhi to buy goods.

We see in this example how the spread of trade led to new forms of money being used in practice. In this way Paper money began to come into use. A similar development of paper money can be seen in the circulation of receipts among traders. These receipts, issued by jewellers, began to be accepted as secure guarantees that the jeweller would return the gold or silver on production of the receipt. Thus, trust in jewellers grew and traders then began accepting promissory notes or receipts issued by jewellers as legitimate money for carrying out their trade deals. In this way, an initial banking system managed by jewellers *or Sarafs* evolved that was widely accepted. Hence a trust built up around the use of receipts as paper money.

The nature of money in the modern age

Today, we use rupees and paise as a medium of exchange. It is universal trust that made this possible. Everyone accepts their use. This trust is reinforced by the government giving legal sanction to this currency. This means the national currency is legal tender and no one can refuse to accept it as a medium of exchange.

In keeping with tradition, rupee notes carry the following promise: I promise to pay the bearer the sum of … rupees. Earlier, the promise was to pay the bearer of the jeweller's receipt the same value in gold or silver. So, if you lose faith in the currency issued by the bank, you can claim the same value in gold or silver.


Figure 18.6: The promise of a Rs100 note

Today, it is only the assurance of the government that the promise of the note in your hand will be accepted as legal tender in the market. You can buy goods with the money. The validity of money rests on the acceptance buy the people and their faith in their government. Let us now try and understand how the government builds this trust among the people.

In the present age, we use both cash and bank deposits for our financial dealings. We use cheques, debit cards and other means besides cash to buy goods. The bank issues cheque books and debit cards to us on the basis of our deposits. We issue cheques to shopkeepers or retailers for the goods and services we buy from them. The shopkeepers deposit the cheques in their accounts. The bank verifies the cheques and honours them by transferring the amount to their accounts. The deposits kept as a bank account thus simplifies and streamlines the exchange. Hence, bank deposits are an important form of money in the modern age.

Banks keep the money of account holders in savings accounts, current accounts or as fixed deposits.

We deposit some of our income in our savings accounts. That is why they are called savings accounts. Commercial clients and businesspeople need money for their regular trade deals so they put their money in current accounts. Money is deposited and withdrawn from these accounts on a daily basis. That is why they are called current accounts. We can withdraw money whenever we need it from current and savings accounts or we can issue a cheque to make a payment to anyone. The money in

Figure 18.7: A card swipe machine

Figure 18.8: A debit card

these accounts belongs to us and we keep it with the bank for security and convenience. The bank assures us that the money will always be available whenever we demand. That is why the funds in such accounts are called demand deposits. They make exchanges practical and simple. Let us see a few examples to understand this.

A debit card is readily accepted for making a payment. The bank issues the card to make money transfers from our account. These cards carry information about the account and personal information of the account holder. When a customer presents the card to a shopkeeper to make a payment for any goods she buys, the shopkeeper swipes the card in the card swipe machine in his shop. The machine verifies the bank account details of the customer who then enters her pin code to sanction the payment. The bill amount is then transferred from the customer's account to the shopkeeper's account.

If you wish to pay a shopkeeper by cheque for a cash-less purchase you make, how do you issue the cheque to the shopkeeper? Fill in the details in the cheque format given in the example below to understand how this is done.

Figure 18.9: A cheque

You can also easily use your fixed deposits in a bank to make a payment. A fixed deposit is an amount that a client does not normally want to withdraw before a fixed period of time. The bank gives a

higher rate of interest for such deposits. You can understand how this is done by answering the following question:

Regina has Rs20,000 in her savings account and Rs1,00,000 in fixed deposits. She has to pay Rs40,000 to a shopkeeper for the purchases she has made. What should she do before issuing a cheque? Discuss in class.

These transactions can be done without spending cash. That is why they are called cash-less payments. The bank offers this facility on the basis of the money we have deposited in the bank. So it our bank account that makes such payments possible. Also, such payments are possible only because of the reciprocal exchange arrangement between banks. Clients hold accounts in different banks so this arrangement makes it possible to easily transfer money from one account to another. This inter-bank transfer system has been established by the government.

So we see that money has two forms. First is the cash we have in hand and the second is the demand deposit we have in the bank, which the bank makes available to us whenever we demand the amount.

The stock or volume of money that is presently available in India in these two forms is as follows:

Money stock as on March 31, 2016	
Currency or cash (coins and notes) with the publicDemand	Rs 13,86,000 crore
deposits in all banks (savings and current accounts)	Rs 8,91,000 crore
Fixed deposits of the public in all banks	Rs 82,54,000 crore

Source: RBI March 31, 2016

So we can see how important the system of bank deposits is for money. The money in bank accounts is used for exchange or is kept as savings. The government is responsible for ensuring that the bank system is stable and functions well. Only then do people trust the system and use it. It must be universally accepted. We shall now see how banks are managed and operated.

What is the difference between a savings account and a fixed deposit account?

Do you think that the use of cash will decrease and the use of bank accounts will keep increasing in future? Discuss in class.

Visit a bank and find out the following:

How can we transfer money electronically to a person's account without writing a cheque? (Get information on RTGS and NIFT).

In what way is electronic exchange of money more convenient than exchange by cheque? Are there any dangers in the process?

What is a credit card?

One of the special characteristics of money (cash and bank accounts) is that it is acceptable for all kinds of financial exchange. This universal acceptance is what establishes its reputation. It simplifies exchange for us.

The prices of goods in any country are measured in terms of the money that is used in that country. It is this that indicates the cost of goods or services. A person can use this money to purchase different goods and all financial transactions use this unit. That means a person can pay for any goods he needs by measuring the price indicated on the goods in terms of the unit of money used in that country.

Money is thus the basis of all possible payments, both present and future. For example, if we take a loan of Rs10,000 from a person on the condition that we will repay the amount after two years, then we will return the principal amount of Rs10,000 after two years along with the interest on the principal. In the same way, we can freely use any money we possess at present in future. This convenience or facility that we take for granted is possible only because of the universal acceptance of currency for exchange. Today, we hardly exchange goods and services for other goods and services like in the past-barter trade. Instead, we use money as a medium of exchange to trade goods and services. Money exchange solves all those problems people used to face in the past in trading goods and services.

What do you understand by the term money? Explain in your own words.

We often see shopkeepers using a toffee or chocolate as cash. Why do they do that? Is this an acceptable and convenient arrangement? Discuss in class.

Write in your own words how money becomes a unit for measuring prices in any country and also becomes a medium of exchange on which all future payments are based.

Issuance of money

All countries issue their money through their central bank. This central bank is the bank of all banks in the country. India's central bank is the Reserve Bank of India (RBI). It is the authorised institution to print and issue all the currency-notes and coins- of the country. The Government of India issues coins. The banks that we see all around us are called commercial banks. The RBI gives them permission to operate. It stipulates the policies and rules for their operations. The RBI's policies govern the lending transactions, interest rates for deposits and all economic regulations of the commercial banks.

Figure 18.10: The Reserve Bank of India headquarters

Let us now take a look at the currencies of some countries and the banks that issue these currencies. We have seen that all countries issue their currency through their central bank, which also governs all their economic activities. The currency of each country gives us important information about the history and people of that country. Let us see the information contained in the currency of some countries.

(Do with the help of your teacher)

No	Country	Currency	Issuing bank
1	India	Rupee	Reserve Bank of India
2	Bangladesh	Taka	Bangladesh Bank
3	Russia	Rouble	Bank of Russia
4	Afghanistan	Afghani	Central Bank of Afghanistan
5	China	……………...…………	……………...……………
6	United States of America	……………...……………	……………...……………
7	Japan	……………...……………	……………...……………
	(Fill in the blanks with the names of the currencies and central banks of these countries)		

Activity

> **With the help of your teacher, make a chart of the pictures of the currencies of these countries.**

> **Visit a bank and find out: What are the RBI rules that the bank has to observe in deciding the interest rates it will give for various accounts? Prepare a report.**

Banking operations

We saw that it is the duty of banks to provide cash whenever the account or deposit holder makes a demand. Banks have many account holders. The situation never arises that all the account holders demand their money as cash at the same time. Suppose a bank has 2,000 account holders. On average, around 25-50 of them would approach the bank daily to demand cash. The number would probably be more in the first few days of every month and less subsequently. If the account holder is a farmer, she would demand more cash at the time of sowing her crop and would deposit more money after the harvest. Only a limited number of people demand cash on any given day. The bank learns from experience how much cash on an average would be required. So it arranges to have enough cash available to meet this range of daily needs.

The Reserve Bank has made a rule that all banks should have adequate liquidity for their daily operations. Banks must build trust among the people by upholding the promise to give them cash when they demand it. Normally, all people do not come to the bank to demand cash. They want to keep their deposit safe and withdraw cash only when they require it. They also carry out their financial transactions by cheque or by other cash less ways. So the question is: What does the bank do with the money people have deposited with it?

Banks perform two important functions. On one hand they open accounts for people to deposit their money and use them as they require. On the other hand they give people loans and charge interest on these. Both functions are two sides of the relationship with people. On one side are people who are deposit holders with the bank and on the other side are people who have taken loans from the bank.

You might have often heard of banks giving people loans to set up a shop, construct a factory or buy a motor vehicle or tractor. Where does the bank get the money to extend loans to people? You might have seen that people put their savings in the bank, either in savings accounts or fixed deposit accounts. The bank extends loans to people from the money deposited with it. The bank runs its operations and also gives interest to the savings and term account holders from the interest it earns from its borrowers. The bank is in between these two groups of people in our society.

Source: NCERT 10th standard economics textbook

Figure 18.11

Why are the banks we see in our neighbourhood called 'commercial banks'? Discuss in class.

Credit

We use money we have to pay for the things we need. However many times we don't have enough for some purchases. We may need to take loans. We borrow money from our relatives or people we

"Madam, how much you need loan."

Figure 18.12

know or from traders or from institutions that extend loans such as banks and other financial institutions. The bank, individual or other institution extends the loan after assessing our financial capacity and we repay the loan after a fixed period of time with interest. Traders often give us time to pay for our purchases. At times traders give money to make purchases so that the final good is sold to them. These loans or loan-like situations are called credit.

Credit helps us to meet many of our current and future needs. It enhances our immediate buying capacity. The bank or lender receives rent on the loan in the form of the interest charged. Interest is the rent we pay to the bank for using its money for some time. It is given to the bank along with the principal, which is the amount that we had borrowed. Thus, just as the money loaned to a person allows him to buy the things he needs, the credit facility extended by a trader to his customers enables him to sell his goods. So the credit arrangement helps both the trader and the customer to achieve their immediate interests. Let us try and understand this with the help of an example.

> *Suresh is a working person who earns a regular monthly income. However, he cannot build himself a house with his limited income. He takes a loan with certain conditions.*
>
> *The housing loan given by the bank opens up opportunities for the services and materials of many people in the construction business – building material traders, artisans like masons and carpenters, etc. As a result, many people are able to earn money and their income rises. The house that Suresh builds with the loan remains mortgaged to the bank. He can clear the mortgage by returning the loan amount plus interest over a period of 10 years. In this case, the loan has a positive benefit. Most bank loans are usually given by mortgaging some asset. It could be property, land, gold, building, machines, vehicles or other assets.*

A loan facility, thus, gives us the opportunity to realise our needs and increase our income and wealth. But people can also be trapped by the burden of repaying a loan as the following example shows:

> *Swapna is a small farmer who cultivates peanuts on her three acres of land. She takes a loan to meet her cultivation expenses from the local moneylender in the hope that she can repay the loan once the crop is harvested. Unfortunately, the crop is ravaged by pests. She sprays expensive insecticides but they are ineffective. With the entire crop destroyed by the pest attack, she cannot repay the moneylender. Within a year, the amount of money she has to return becomes a large sum because of the accumulating interest. But she has to take another loan to buy the inputs for her next crop. This year, the harvest is normal. But she does not earn enough money to repay the growing loan. She finds herself trapped in a web of debt. She is forced to sell a portion of her land to repay her debts.*

In Sapna's case, it was impossible to repay the loan because the crop was destroyed. She had to sell some of her land to repay her loan. So, instead of helping to increase her income, the loan trapped her in debt. This is called the debt trap. The debtor suffers a lot in escaping from this web. Here, a loan has a negative impact, making the condition worse than before.

Terms and conditions for loans

We can get a better understanding of how a loan works and the impact it has by knowing the terms and conditions on which it is given. A loan is given on a fixed interest rate. The debtor returns the principal (the loan amount) along with the accumulated interest. The lender can also demand that something be mortgaged as security for the loan. This could be property owned by the debtor, such as land, buildings, vehicles, livestock, bank deposits etc, which serve as a guarantee that the debtor will return the loan with interest. In case the debtor fails to repay the loan, the lender has the right to sell the mortgaged property to recover the loan dues.

Figure 18.13

On the basis of the above facts, we can say that institutional credit (banks, government cooperative societies etc) offers loans on simple terms and lower rates of interest that suits the needs of borrowers. As we learnt in Class IX, the government continues its efforts to make cheap and easy loans available to farmers, small traders, artisans and other needy people. These efforts ensure and enhance the social security of the people. They also create a positive environment for institutional credit.

Project work

Talk to people in your neighbourhood and find out whether they have sometimes taken short- or long-term loans to meet their needs. Did these loans have a positive or negative impact? Prepare a report of your findings.

Answer the following questions:

1. **How did Sapna's loan grow into such a huge amount?**

2. **If a person takes a loan of Rs10000 at the time of his need at 5% interest per month, how much money would he have to repay after a year?**

3. **How do self-help groups get around the need for security for a loan? Discuss in class.**

Role of the Reserve Bank of India

Try and recall in which contexts we had referred to the Reserve Bank of India in this chapter.

We saw many references to the Reserve Bank of India and the important role it plays in creating the banking system and building trust in it. In this system, the bank deposits becomes a form of money. We can withdraw cash according to our needs or use cheques to carry out financial transactions. The Reserve Bank formulates rules that banks have to observe, thereby ensuring that the system remains functional.

For example, all banks have to keep cash equal to 4% of their deposits with the Reserve Bank to ensure liquid cash is available whenever needed. Apart from this, given their experience of their average daily cash needs, they keep enough cash to pay to their account holders whenever they demand cash. Banks also have to take out an insurance cover for Rs1 lakh for every account holder.

This insurance is used only in rare circumstances when the bank is unable to perform its functions and closes down. Sometimes, rumours spread that a bank is failing, loans are going bad, and hence the money of its account deposit holders is insecure. In such a situation, the Reserve Bank is expected to intervene and reassure the account holders because it is responsible for monitoring the affairs of the bank and protecting its stability. The Reserve Bank also has to ensure liquidity in the market and there is no shortage of notes and coins. It prints notes and mints coins to meet the market demand. The government has to strictly monitor the market to ensure that counterfeit notes are not in circulation.

The Reserve Bank of India implements several rules to govern loan transactions and the lending activities of banks. For example, no commercial bank is permitted to buy or sell property for earning a profit. The bank can sell property mortgaged with it to recover the loan dues of a debtor only when the debtor defaults and is unable to repay the loan. The bank can also invest money, but only within limits such as the restrictions for investment in the share market.

The Reserve Bank of India has the right to monitor the activities of all commercial banks and ensure that the loans they extend are secured and the number of loan defaulters is limited. It often has to take strict action against erring banks and monitor their activities to ensure that public trust in the banking system is maintained.

Banks have to focus their lending activities on those sectors of the economy that are a priority in government policies. Pressure is, thus, applied on them to extend loans for agriculture, education, housing, small-scale industry, exports, the official policy being that 40% of bank lending should be for these sectors.

The government's role is to ensure the health, security and stability of the banking system. From a development perspective, it's goal is also to ensure that the lending activities of the banking system reaches the deprived sections of society and the neglected sectors of the economy.

EXERCISES

1. Choose the correct options in the following:

1. The central bank of the Government of India is:

    a) State Bank of India   b) Central Bank of India

    c) State Cooperative Bank   d) Reserve Bank of India

2. This is a form of money today:

    a) Gold and silver   b) Livestock

    c) Bank savings account   d) Buildings

3. This is not a part of institutional credit:

    a) Bank   b) Cooperative society

    c) Trader   d) All of them

4. The interest rate is highest in which account:

    a) Savings account   b) Current account

    c) Fixed deposit   d) None of these

2. Fill in the blanks:

  1. …........…………………………….. is a medium for making our financial transactions simple.

  2. A Rs10 note has the ………………………………………………… signature.

  3. Currency is issued by the ……………………………………………………………… bank.

  4. Loans have a fixed ………………………………………………….. rate.

  5. A ………………………………………………… account earns less interest.

3. What is the purpose of credit?

4. Why is a measure for money essential?

5. What is the purpose of a demand deposit?

6. What are the different types of bank accounts in which people deposit money?

7. Can you predict what new forms of money may emerge 30 years from now?

8. What can be done to make bank loans available to everyone?

9. How does a loan that can increase our income also trap us in a web of debt? Explain with examples from around you.

10. Why are terms and conditions like interest rate, time period, guarantee, mortgage etc necessary for giving a loan? Explain with an example for each condition.

11. If the Reserve Bank of India did not exercise control over commercial banks, what impact would it have on the money and credit system?

12. Credit is needed for personal expenditure and trade. Give any three examples to explain.

13. What is the basis for treating deposits in the bank as money?

Websites for reference:

https://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/ic_currency.aspx

https://paisaboltahai.rbi.org.in

Reference sources:

  NCERT Class X economics textbook

  C.T. Kurian: Wealth and Illfare

19

Government Budget and Taxation

- · **What role does the government play in your neighbourhood? Discuss in class.**
- · **Do you know where the government gets the money to make public facilities available and conduct other activities?**
- · **Read the newspapers in your area and find out where the government spends money. Make a list.**

Role of the government

In the modern age, the government is responsible for several important functions. These include protecting the country against external attacks and maintaining the rule of law within the country with help of its police force. Another major responsibility of the government is to provide public facilities. The special characteristic about public facilities is that once they are set up, they can be used by everyone. For example, if electricity is supplied to an area, it can benefit all the people living in the area. The farmer can operate his pump-set for irrigation. Factories, offices, shops and houses can use the electricity. The government should try to ensure that no citizen is deprived of the use of public facilities. To make this possible, the cost of these facilities should be minimal within the buying power of the people. Only then can they enjoy and pay for these facilities.

Figure 19.1: Public facilities

The government is also responsible to ensure the livelihoods of the people. You may have heard about the right to work and the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA). The Act puts the onus on the government to provide 150 days of employment in a year to every family that demands work. This work has to be in the area where the people demanding employment live and the government should pay the capital costs and labour wages for the work. Many socially useful projects such as check dams, water harvesting structures, roads, ponds etc can be undertaken to create assets in rural areas by guaranteeing employment under MNREGA.

In the same way, the government plays an important role in ensuring food security. You will learn about the actions it undertakes in the chapter on food security.

Explain the role of the government in ensuring food security.

Why does the government provide public facilities?

The Government of India has played an important role in establishing heavy industries in the past, such as heavy engineering, electricity generation, steel production and petroleum refineries. Without these basic industries, it would have been difficult to industrialise the country. Farm production, too, has increased only because of agricultural extension activities in rural areas and the investments made in developing irrigation facilities.

The government also has an important **regulatory function**. It enacts laws to control and regulate trade. For example, the packaged food you buy carries an FSSAI stamp. It means the packaged food sold in shops by companies complies with the safety standards approved by the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India. It means the FSSAI is answerable for public health security, hence it monitors all foodstuff under various laws and regulations to ensure it is safe for human consumption. These laws are enacted to regulate the manufacture, storage, distribution and sale of foodstuff to ensure its quality. The FSSAI also sets standards for the preservatives used in various processed foods such as chips, noodles, fruit juices and soft drinks. The regulatory body periodically tests samples of foodstuff sold in the market to ensure that its guidelines are being followed. It also ensures that the sealed and packaged foodstuff is stamped with the manufacturing and expiry dates.
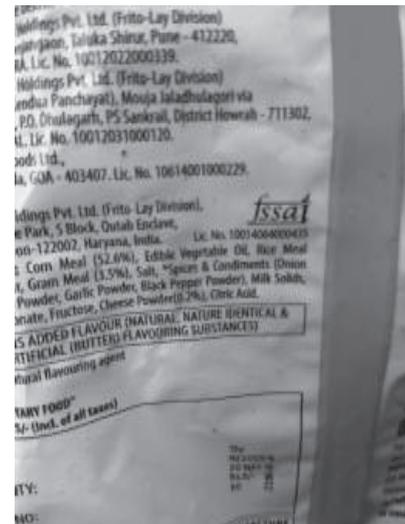
Figure 19.2: FSSAI stamp on a manufactured product

There are many other areas in which the government plays a regulatory role. You learned about the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) in the chapter on money and credit. The RBI regulates the functioning of all commercial banks in India.

Make a list of the public facilities that everybody can use. Do you think everyone has equal access to these facilities? Discuss in class.

What are the government activities that are directly linked to alleviating poverty?

Government budget

The government has many responsibilities. It has to undertake many activities, some of which we have discussed earlier. It needs to collect and spend money to do these activities. The money required to carry out these activities is collected from the people in the form of taxes. The government levies many different kinds of taxes, which we shall discuss in the section on taxation. The tax that the government collects adds to its pool of funds available-the revenue. The government needs revenue for its expenditure. The account of the government's revenue and expenditure is called the budget. A budget contains the following details:

1. How much money the government plans to spend.

2. Details of the amount of money to be given to different departments to cover their expenditure under different heads such as education, food security, defence etc.

3. The different taxes to be levied and the amount to be collected under each tax. It also indicates the changes, if any, made in the rates of different taxes.

4. How much money the government would have to borrow if its expenditure exceeds its revenue.

The details of the main aspects of the 2016-17 budget of Chhattisgarh state that are given below will help you gain some idea of what a budget is:

Proposed provisions of the Chhattisgarh government budget presented in the Vidhan Sabha

- Total expenditure for 2016-17 is Rs70000 crores, which is 6% more than in 2015-16.

- Total revenue collected during 2016-17 is estimated to be Rs62000 crores, which is 5% more than in 2015-16.

- The amounts disbursed in 2016-17 for education, roads and bridges, pension, and medicines and public health have been increased while the amount disbursed for food and warehousing has been considerably reduced.

Source: http:cgfinance.nic.in/budget doc/2016-17

Figure 19.3: The budget discussion in the Chhattisgarh Vidhan Sabha

- The sales tax collection for 2016-17 is estimated at Rs12000 crores.

Why does the government increase its estimated public expenditure every year?

Why did the government increase expenditure in some sectors in its 2016-17 budget while reducing expenditure in some sectors?

The revenue from sales tax in 2016-17 is estimated at Rs12000 crores. What could the government do if the revenue collected is only Rs6000 crores?

The government prepares and presents the budget but the Vidhan Sabha plays an important role in approving it. The Constitution of India stipulates that the central budget should be presented to and passed by the Parliament. The state budgets should be presented to and passed by the respective Vidhan Sabhas. The governments have to get the approval of the Parliament or Vidhan Sabha for all taxes and expenditures.

Discuss in class

1. Why is it necessary to get the approval of the Vidhan Sabhas to pass the budget?

2. Why doesn't the government have total freedom to incur expenditure or levy taxes?

The concept of parliamentary control of the budget is based on the fact that our country is a democracy in which the elected representatives are given certain powers. They would like proper utilisation of government revenues and an ethical and transparent system of tax collection. The government should be answerable to the people for the budget it presents. It should also be for the people's welfare and should match with their aspirations. The budget is a mirror of the government's plans and thinking hence the elected representatives need to ensure that the government continues to pursue the path of development and does not stray from this goal.

The parliamentary budget session is an important part of the democratic process. The budget is discussed at length over several days before it is approved. The opposition plays an important role in the process by debating, analysing and giving constructive suggestions on the budget. The common people can also directly demand that the government be answerable for the budget, as seen in the following example:

People's participation in the budget process

The government makes many promises to the people during and after the election process. The budget is a medium to fulfil its policies and programmes. If the budget provisions are inadequate or if the required revenue is not available, these plans and programmes remain as mere promises.

Right to food campaign for effective implementation of the National Food Security Act:

Some NGO activists held a meeting with the Delhi government where they complained that by not including *dal* and oil in the public distribution system (PDS) despite it being one of its election promises was not correct. They pointed out that many states already distribute *dal* and oil through the PDS. The activists also pointed out that the government had discontinued the public audit held every Saturday and stopped sending SMS alerts giving information on when the rations would reach the fair price shops. The charter of demands they presented to the Delhi government included a demand to provide daily mid-day meals for children or to supply eggs, bread and milk to the *anganwadis*. The charter also highlighted that the rights of mothers remained to be implemented in all the districts of Delhi. It stated that "pregnant and lactating mothers should be given Rs6,000 as their maternal right under article 4 of the NFSA.

Source: The Hindu, March 24, 2016

What all methods do the common people have to get their demands included in the budget? Discuss.

Tax

The biggest revenue source for the government is taxes. The government levies different kinds of taxes to collect revenue. You may have heard about some of these taxes, such Goods and Services tax, income tax, etc. These taxes can be broadly classified into two categories – direct and indirect taxes

Indirect Taxes

Indirect taxes are charged on goods and services. You would have seen that alongside the printed Maximum Retail Price (MRP) of goods it is written "inclusive of all taxes". It means that the price includes taxes. Similarly, for most services like telephone and mobile phone services, the price that consumers pay includes taxes.

Let us look at the example of sale of a television to see **how the taxes add up to the price.** All figures are in Rupees.

Suppose the cost of manufacturing a television set is Rs.10,000. This includes profit of the manufacturer. At the time of sale, the company pays a tax of Rs. 1,800 which is added to the price of the television set. The final price paid by the consumer includes the costs, profits and the taxes paid. We will find out more about the method of taxation and principle guiding it in the next section.

Cost of manufacturing includingprofit of the manufacturer	*Rs.10,000*
Tax	*1,800*
Price for the consumer	*11,800*

The proportion earned as profits and the taxes paid would vary from one good to another. The important thing to remember is that most goods and services carry an element of tax as part of its price.

While all taxes on goods and services add to the price, taxing certain goods and services raises the overall prices more. For example, to manufacture bicycles, steel pipes are needed. In order to make

If the tax on iron is raised, what would happen?

Iron ore price increases

Steel price increases

Steel sheet price increases

Steel pipe price increases

Steel almirah price increases

Bicycle price increases
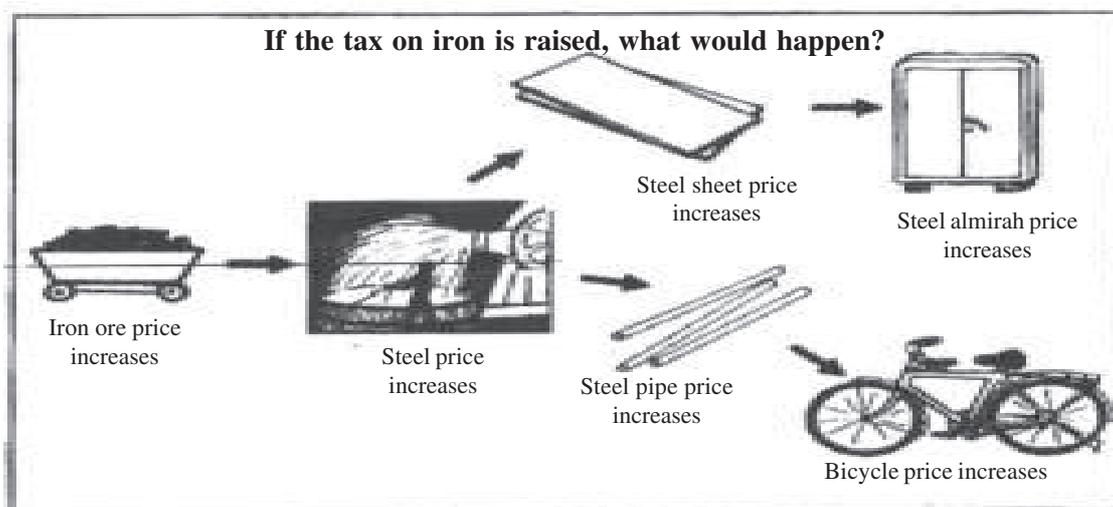
Figure 19.4: Chain effect of increasing tax

steel, the steel factory needs iron and coal. If tax on iron is increased, it will have an effect on cycles as well. The prices of all goods made of iron will go up. And since iron is used to make steel, the prices of all things made of steel will also go up. In this way, a tax increase on iron has far reaching effects.

Thus, taxing heavily basic raw materials and intermediate products that are used by many other factories – sets up a chain reaction. All things which are connected to these products, in one way or the other, are affected.

1. **In the example of the TV, what proportion of the cost of the TV did the consumer pay as tax?**

2. **If two manufacturers make a similar product but one of them does not pay taxes, how is this system unfair?**

3. **If the tax on intermediate goods increases, how is the price of final products affected? Explain using a new example from your region.**

Goods and Services Tax (GST) as Value Added Tax

GST was launched in India in 2017, though the preparations have taken across several years. Till recently, we had a variety of indirect taxes. Excise duty was charged on the production of goods. Sales tax was charged on the sale of goods. Service tax was charged on the sale of services such as mobile service, restaurant service, etc. With the launch of GST, most of the indirect taxes have been replaced by one system of Goods and Service Tax. It encompasses taxation of both production and sale of goods and services.

Modern production and sale process is a complex one and may involve many stages. Even the simplest product would comprise of atleast a few stages in production and then sale. At each stage, there is some added value. Let us understand it using the following example.

A biscuit manufacturer buys his raw materials from an unbranded source. He buys materials such as wheat flour, sugar etc on which no tax is charged. Suppose he makes Rs. 450 worth of biscuits. All his costs are included in this figure – raw materials, labour charges, salaries, office and factory rent etc. If he adds his profit margin of Rs. 50, the total value of the output is Rs. 500. This is his sale price. He sells the biscuits to a trader. At the time of sale, the biscuit manufacturer has to charge GST at the prescribed tax rate.

If the GST rate is 18%, the biscuit manufacturer would have to pay Rs. 90 as tax (18% of Rs.500) that he would charge to the trader, who buys the biscuits. This tax is collected by the biscuit manufacturer from the trader and paid to the government. The bill to the trader reads as:

Value of biscuits	*500*
GST	*90*
Total	*590*

The trader stocks the goods, maintains a shop and hires staff to do the work. She sells these biscuits to a retail store at Rs 700. This amount includes all her costs and profit margin. Rs. 700 may be considered the value of her output. At 18% GST rate, you may think she has to charge Rs. 126 as GST.

However, recall that she has paid a GST of Rs. 90 already. When she bought the biscuits from the biscuit manufacturer, the price she paid included Rs. 90 as tax. What was paid previously (Rs. 90) is thus deducted from Rs. 126 to calculate the tax that the trader charges. She gets a credit of Rs. 90 for the tax she has paid on her input (also called input tax credit).

The trader's bill will read as:

Value of biscuits	*700*
GST	*36*
Total	*736*

There is another way of looking at this. For the trader, the value of goods sold or sale price is 700 and the total value of input purchased is Rs. 500. Value added is Rs 200. Value added is simply the difference between value of goods and services sold (output) and the value of physical inputs purchased. Tax rate of 18% on Rs.200 is Rs. 36. This is the same amount as in the trader's bill! Tax is paid by the trader on value added (Rs. 200), and not on the total value (Rs.700). The inputs used in production that have already been taxed once are not taxed again. As a proof that the inputs have been taxed, the trader must show the bill of the biscuit manufacturer.

Three things are noteworthy here.

- The tax paid under value added tax system on any good is lesser as one does not have to pay tax on inputs. The total tax would have been higher if the there was no input tax credit. Under GST, the tax element in the price is thus expected to be lower.

- Bills (invoices) have a crucial role in GST. It provides proof that the buyer has paid the GST on her inputs. For the trader in our example, unless she furnishes proof of her purchase, she will have to pay to the government Rs. 126 as tax instead of Rs.36. Thus she will remember to ask the biscuit manufacturer for the bill. Similarly, the retail store owner will remember to demand a bill from the trader to show the taxes paid already. Under the GST, every intermediary has an incentive to maintain a proper bill of the transaction and pay tax. Thus it is more likely that people will pay the required tax and there will be less evasion of taxes.

- Though tax is charged by the manufacturer or trader, ultimately it is the consumer who pays the tax. The consumer is often unaware of the tax hidden in the price since it is collected indirectly from the consumer. The manufacturer and traders collect the tax and forward the

tax proceeds to the government, while the final consumer bears the final burden of tax. Isn't it an interesting system?

If in the above example of biscuits the retailer who bought these from the trader sells the biscuits to a customer for Rs 800, how would GST be charged? Prepare the bill made by the retailer.

In the above example if tax is charged in the older system on total value at 5% for biscuits what is the cost to the shopkeeper who purchased this from the trader

Moving to a transparent GST system has certain other advantages. When multiple taxes were used, these were hidden in the price as the good moved from one stage to another in the long chain from production to final consumption. All the taxes that were paid were not disclosed. It would be mentioned "Price inclusive of all taxes" but how much taxes were not stated. Under GST, tax on a product will be specifically mentioned in the bill.

Another important difference is the one tax for the whole country. Under GST, the goods and services carry the same tax rate across the country. Whether it is sold next to the factory where it is produced or thousands of kilometers away the tax rate charged would be the same. Earlier the tax rates would differ across states. Medicines or motorcycles were cheaper in one state than another. As a result, there was unwanted competition between states, with industry and trade migrating from one state to another. People smuggled goods from one state to another, without paying the required tax. Further, for the movement of goods across states, there was entry tax which would be collected at the border. You may have noticed the long line of trucks that at state borders or at the entry point of cities. Under GST, these problems will be avoided. This will save a lot of time, and energy.

GST, however, still has some way to go. For instance, petrol and diesel, two important intermediate products, have not been included in GST and these products continue to be taxed as before.

Sales Tax Rate (in percentage) on Petrol and Diesel as on 1st Nov.2017 (rounded off)

	Petrol	Diesel
Andhra Pradesh	39	31
Telangana	35	27
Chattisgarh	29	27
Odisha	26	26
Maharashtra	43	23

Discuss in class:

What do you think would be the effect of levying multiple indirect taxes on petrol and diesel rather than a single GST?

How do you think people respond to the difference in sales tax rate on petrol and diesel between Chattisgarh and Maharashtra?

You may wonder why there is no GST on petrol and diesel yet. For the states, sales tax on petrol and diesel constitute major revenues such that the states loathe to lose their power to tax these products at rates they deem suitable. After all, every government wants to keep the maximum share of revenues for oneself and use them in ways that they want. Unlike GST, revenues from sales tax can be retained wholly by the states and do not have to be shared with the central government. This is one of the many problems that GST has to overcome in future.

- **Kabir goes to Atul Electricals. He finds that there are three tax rates on electrical products. Products like mixer, juicer, iron and other consumer durables are charged at a GST rate of 28%. Water purifier machine are charged at 18%. LED bulbs are charged a GST rate of 12%. Can you guess why?**

- **Find out what is meant by CGST and SGST.**

Project work

- Collect different bills and make a poster of bills to show how GST is levied on goods and services that are sold. Are there some goods that are exempt from GST?

- GST is charged at different rates 0, 5, 12, 18 and 28 percent. Visit the market and find out two examples for each rate. Draw up a table. Discuss why different rates are charged for different goods and services?

Speak to a few producer of goods and some traders. Do you think that the market environment could be changed so that there is more compliance and less tax avoidance? Explain your view in two paragraphs.

Find out how states would get their revenue under the new system where there's no sales tax or entry tax?

Direct taxes

Until now, we have learned about indirect taxes that are levied on goods and services but it is the consumer who eventually pays them. But there are some taxes that individuals have to pay directly to the government. These taxes are levied on the income of individuals or companies or on the income of business firms. These are called direct taxes.

We have two direct taxes – income tax and corporate tax.

Corporate tax: Companies or commercial firms pay corporate tax. This tax is paid on the earned income of the company, which is calculated after deducting all expenses incurred (raw material costs, employee wages etc).

Income tax: It is levied on the personal income of individuals. There are many income sources such as salary and allowances. In addition, people can earn interest on their bank deposits. They can also give property they own on rent and earn an income. Income tax has to be paid on all this income.

Income tax has to be paid on all income earned above a specified income. The tax is a fixed percentage of the total income. The higher the income, the higher is the tax that has to be paid.

What is the most appropriate method of levying tax on income?

Should all individuals be taxed equally?

Take a look at the following three cases:

Name	Work	Monthly income (Rs)	Fixed income tax (Rs)
Jyothi	Daily labourer	1,500	50
Asif	School teacher	8,000	50
Jatinder	Trader	30,000	50

Is it justifiable to levy the same income tax for all three individuals? If Jyothi cannot feed her children two square meals a day, is it right to tax her Rs50?

You can now consider taking a fixed percentage of each individual's income as tax. But is this also justified? Assume that each of these three individuals gives 10% of their income as tax. Calculate how much each of them would pay as tax.

Name	Monthly income (Rs)	10% income tax
Jyothi	1,500	…….
Asif	8,000	…….
Jatinder	30,000	…….

We can see from the above table that it would not be justified to levy the same percentage of tax from all three because even now Jyothi would not have enough money for her family expenses. Maybe even Asif would not have enough money to spare to repair his house. But if Jyotinder were to be taxed 20% of his income he would still have enough money in hand to look after his basic needs and still have a surplus.

To make income tax more just we can say that income tax should be levied only on those who earn above a certain specified income. Suppose we specify the minimum limit of this income as Rs7,000 per month. We can also say that those who earn more income should be taxed more. Let's try to understand this with the help of an example:

If you earn this monthly income	Then you pay tax at this rate
Less than Rs7,000	0%
Rs7001 to Rs15,000	10%
Rs15001 to Rs25,000	20%
Above Rs25000	30%

Now calculate how much tax each of these individuals will pay:

Name	Monthly income (Rs)	Income tax
Jyothi	1,000	…….
Asif	6,000	…….
Jatinder	20,000	…….

Is the tax rate in the above table justifiable? Discuss this with your teacher.

We have read about some of the taxes collected by the government. Complete the table given below with the help of the following information:

Income tax 12%, corporate tax 21%, custom duty 9%, excise duty 14%, services tax 10%, sales tax 25%, other indirect taxes 9%

Taxes collected by the government

Tax	% of total taxes
Direct taxes 1. Corporate tax 2.	21%
Total	
Indirect taxes 1. 2. 3.	
Total	
Grand total	100%

Which type of taxes earn more revenue for the government?

Kanti's annual income is Rs1,00,000 and he has to pay Rs3,000 as income tax. Kamlesh's annual income is Rs2,00,000 and he has to pay Rs5,500 as income tax. Now answer the following:

- **Who pays more income tax among these two?**

- **Who has to pay a greater percentage of his income as tax?**

- **In this situation, the person who has a larger income pays …………………………………… (less/more/equal) tax.**

Equitable taxation system

Which taxation system should we adopt? That depends on what the people living in our society think and want. Many people feel that a few select people possess property worth crores of rupees while a large section of society finds it difficult to get two square meals a day. Such glaring inequality in the distribution of income is not right. Hence, the government should collect more taxes from these rich people and very little or no taxes from the poor. If it desires, the government could use the taxes it collects to provide more opportunities to the poor to raise their standard of living. As in the example of Jyothi, Asif and Jatinder, the governments of many countries levy a higher rate of taxation on higher income groups. According to income tax rules, the largest share of the total taxes should be collected from those who earn more income and those with less income should contribute the smallest share. However, when people purchase things they need, both rich and poor pay indirect taxes at the same rate. Indirect taxes are a burden on the poor. If equity in taxation is to be ensured between rich and poor, then there should be no taxes levied on essential commodities required for daily living and taxes should be levied only on luxury goods like laptops, air-conditioners, food in restaurants, etc.

The government should keep one more thing in mind while levying taxes on goods and services. There are some goods and services that people do not directly use, like diesel, aluminium, steel, machinery, truck tyres, etc. But when taxes on these items are raised, then the prices of things made from them also increases. So do the costs of all goods that are transported from place to another. Thus, even if the poor buy only essential commodities like food-grain and clothing, they share a part of the burden when the price of diesel or steel increases.

Tax evasion

Many people don't disclose details of their real income but reveal only a small portion of what they earn. Such hidden income is called black money. Many factory owners, rich landlords and traders declare a much lower income than they really earn. It is easy to calculate the income of people who receive a monthly salary. The tax they have to pay is deducted directly at source, that is from where they receive their salary. Hence, it is more difficult for salaried people to evade taxes. But these people could also have other sources of income. Because income from agriculture is not taxed, many people declare their income from other sources as agricultural income and, thus, easily evade paying taxes on that income.

There are many such people from different walks of life who evade taxes and accumulate black money. The income tax department periodically conducts tax raids on the premises of such people to unearth their hidden wealth. The department constantly seeks to simplify the taxation process so that people do not face any problem in paying their taxes.

It is easier to collect indirect taxes because there are fewer points from where they are collected. For example GST is collected from factories and traders whose sale per year is more than twenty lakhs. All small businesses are exempt. Compared to crores of working individuals this is a small set of people collecting indirect taxes that are paid by ALL people purchasing goods and services. However there is tax evasion here because actual sales are not recorded. One reason for GST is to move to a transparent system where bills are kept and taxes paid as per law..

International comparison of tax and expenditure

The total taxes collected in India are much lower than in other countries because of the many tax concessions that are given and widespread tax evasion. That is why the government expenditure, which is based on the taxes collected, is also much lower compared to other countries. The table below compares the total tax collected and the total expenditure incurred in India with several other countries:

Table 19.1: Tax collection and total expenditure (as % of GDP)

Name of country	Total tax collection	Total expenditure	Expenditure on human capital
China	19.4	29.7	7.2
India	16.6	26.6	5.1
Brazil	35.6	40.2	11
Korea	24.3	20	8.4
Vietnam	22.2	28	8.8
South Africa	28.8	32	10.7
Turkey	29.3	37.3	7.2
Russia	23	38.7	7.2
Britain	32.9	41.4	13.4
USA	25.4	35.7	13.3

(Source: Economic Survey 2015-16)

The table shows that tax collection (as % of GDP) is low in India compared to other countries. The reason given for this meagre collection is that India is a poor country, hence the people have a limited capacity to pay taxes. But this reason isn't totally true.

The tax collection directly impacts the expenditure of the government. When tax collection is low, the government gets less revenue. It does not have enough money to spend. Column 3 of the table shows the total expenditure of the countries and column 4 shows the expenditure on human capital. The expenditure on human capital includes the expenditure in providing universal health and education. We can see that the expenditure on human capital is linked to the total tax collection. Low expenditure on human capital directly impacts human development.

Summary

Taxes are needed for the government to develop the country. The government delivers public facilities to the people, provides them livelihoods, and spurs economic activities in the country. It presents a

budget every year in which it details its expenditure during the year and accounts for its revenue collection to meet this expenditure. The revenue is obtained by levying various kinds of taxes, which include direct and indirect taxes. Indirect taxes are levied on goods and services, which means that the government collects taxes from all the people indirectly. Direct taxes are personal taxes. Individuals pay tax on the income they earn while companies pay tax on the profits they make. Direct taxes are more just and equitable but they constitute only 36% of the total revenue collection. Both direct and indirect tax collection are affected by tax evasion. If tax evasion can be minimised, the government can work in better ways for the rights of the people.

EXERCISES

1. Choose the correct option in the following:

   1. The number of days of employment guaranteed under MNFREGA is

      a) 50 days   b) 100 days

      c) 150 days   d) 200 days

   2. The government's biggest revenue source is

      a) Loans   b) Profits of public sector companies

      c) Taxes   d) None of these

   3. It contains the government's income and expenditure statement

      a) Revenue   b) Taxes

      c) Profit   d) Budget

   4. The central budget is approved by

      a) Parliament   b) Vidhan Sabha

      c) Rajya Sabha   d) None of these

   5. Direct taxes include

      a) Entertainment tax   b) Services tax

      c) Sales tax   d) None of these

   6. Which of these is not an example of public facilities

      a) Car   b) Electricity

      c) Roads   d) Railways

2. Fill in the blanks in the following:

1. The government is responsible for providing …….………….………………….……………
facilities for the people.

2. FSSAI is the acronym for ……………………………………………………...........

3. The ……….….………… gives details of the government's annual income and expenditure.

4. ………...........……………………… is the tax levied on goods produced in factories.

5. …………………………………… tax is the tax levied on films shown in cinema halls.

6. Individuals pay ……………………………………. tax directly to the government.

7. Indirect taxes are levied on ………................. and ……………………………………

3. Why does the government need a budget? Why are the taxes proposed in the budget discussed?

4. What is the difference between income tax, excise duty and GST?

5. Match the following:

GST	Tax on personal income
Custom's duty	Tax on goods and services bought
Income tax	Tax on profits earned
Corporate tax	Tax on goods imported from abroad

6. How and why does an increase in the tax on steel, matches, watches, apparel, iron ore etc impact other consumer goods? The tax increase on which of these goods has the greatest impact on the prices of other goods?

7. Most people normally consume common commodities like food-grain, *dal*, oil etc. Why is it claimed that a tax on these commodities affects the poor the most?

8. Four friends together take a house on rent. The monthly rent is Rs2,000. How will the rent be divided among them?

Two of them have a monthly income of Rs3,000 while the other two have a monthly income of Rs7,000. Is there any way of dividing the rent so that the burden on all four will be the same?

Which of these alternative ways of sharing the rent do you prefer and why?

9. Tax on income and tax on goods – which of these two affects the rich the most and which affects the poor the most? Give reasons for your answer.

10. How can GST reduce tax evasion?

20

Food Security

Food is necessary for us to survive but sometimes we don't get food for some reason or the other, or we don't eat food. Have you ever starved or been without food for a day or two? How did you feel when you were hungry? How can anyone stay alive without food for a long period of time? Think of the reasons why any individual or family has to remain hungry. Discuss these issues with your teacher.

Let us examine the following situations:

A picture of drought in Madhya Pradesh: Around 80 years ago, there was a severe drought in the West Nimar region. How did the people survive this natural calamity? The students of a local school interviewed the elders of their village and documented their findings. A description in the document is given below:

"Nothing grew during the drought. People ate whatever they could lay their hands on. They ground and ate the leaves, bark and any other portion of trees. There was no edible vegetation available in the forests during the drought. Food-grain was very expensive. Normally, five kilos of food-grain cost a rupee. But during the drought you could not even buy one kilo of food-grain for five rupees. That's why people used to boil *jowar*

Figure 20.1: Hunger-stricken humans and animals

in water and drink the brew. Grain was so scarce that this brew was highly diluted. It was so clear and thin that one could see the reflection of the rafters of the roof when it was poured into a *thali* to drink. The bark of trees was ground with *bajra* to get enough flour to prepare *rotis* to eat. Food-grain was so expensive that you ate a fistful of grain and drank water from the *matka* to stay alive. Every part of the tree was consumed. Even soil was eaten."

(Source: Rookhi Sookhi, Aadarshila Shikshan Kendra, 2014)

The great Bengal famine: Around 30 lakh people perished in the famine that ravaged Bengal in 1943. It started with a small drop in the production of food-grain as a result of bad weather conditions. This fall in output set in motion a vicious chain of events that led to the terrible famine. Imports of food-grain from abroad were also affected. Traders began hoarding food-grain, which led to a steep rise in their prices. Farmers, too, retained food-grain for their personal consumption so very little food-grain reached the market for sale. The prices of all food-

Figure 20.2: A family affected by drought and hunger, 1943

(Source: Adapted from 'Poverty and Famines', Amartya Sen)

grain rose rapidly. The government also made little effort to combat hoarding and rising prices or to augment supplies of food-grain to overcome the shortages. As a result, prices of food-grain rose to alarming levels. The sky rocketing prices hit the most vulnerable among the poor especially hard – daily labourers, fishermen, carpenters, headload workers, etc. Food-grain soon went beyond their reach and they began to perish of hunger in large numbers. The dance of death had begun.

Invisible, long-term hunger: If you look at the pictures below, you will think these people are healthy. But looks can be deceptive. This woman and girl are victims of malnutrition. There are large numbers of people who are malnourished. Externally, their bodies look more or less normal but internally they are very weak. They are victims of invisible hunger. It isn't as if these people do not eat. They do. But because of their poverty and low income level they do not get enough to eat every day. If this situation of not getting enough to eat continues for a long time, it creates a situation of long-term hunger. Such a situation is extremely dangerous from the point of view of their health. Nutrition surveys reveal how widespread this situation is. You will read more about it in this chapter.

(स्रोत-जन स्वास्थ्य सहयोग, गनियारी छ.ग.)

Figure 20.3: long-term (Invisible) hunger people

Has the area in which you live experienced drought or famine in any year? Talk to your elders and prepare a report about how they faced such a situation?

What differences can you see between hunger resulting from famine and long-term hunger? Explain these differences.

Explain the vicious chain of events that led to the alarming rise in food-grain prices during the Bengal famine.

What is food security?

The three scenarios described above bring out the misery of people who are victims of hunger and starvation. The concept of food security is built on these scenarios. Humans need food in addition to air and water to stay alive. Food security is to ensure the availability of adequate quantities of nutritious food and to also ensure that this food is within the reach of all people and they are capable of obtaining it.

Food security has three dimensions:

1. **Availability** of food in India.
2. **Access** to food through government programmes.
3. **Affordability** of food (purchasing power) in the market.

The Government of India enacted the Food Security Act – also called the Right to Food Act - in 2013 to ensure food security in the country. Under this act, which applies to the majority of the people, eligible households are provided food-grain every month at subsidised prices.

> **Chhattisgarh state enacted the Chhattisgarh Food Security Act 2012 with the objective of making food-grain available in adequate quantities to all its citizens. The act states that it will "provide for food and nutritional security by ensuring access to adequate quantity of food and other requirements of good nutrition for people of the state, at affordable prices, at all times to live a life with dignity and for matters connected therewith".**

(Source: Chhattisgarh Food Security Act 2012)

Availability of Food-grain in India

The objective of food security can be realised only if food is available in adequate quantities. Food availability includes the availability of food-grain like wheat, rice, *dal*, coarse grains, etc. Food-grain production has increased manifold over the past five decades as a result of the implementation of various government plans. Food-grain production has increased four-fold since India gained independence. We can trace this growth in food-grain production in the following table:

Table 20.1: Food-grain production and availability in India

Year	Population (million tonnes)	Food-grain production (million tonnes)	Total imports/s export (million tonnes)•	Total available food-grain (million tonnes)
1951	363.2	48.1	(+) 4.8	52.9
1961	442.4	72.0	(+) 3.5	75.5
1971	551.3	94.9	(+) 2.0	96.9
1981	688.5	113.4	(+) 0.7	114.1
1991	851.7	154.3	(-) 0.1	154.2
2001	1033.2	172.2	(-) 2.9	169.3
2010	1185.8	190.8	(-) 2.2	188.6
2011	1201.9	213.9	(-) 2.9	211

• **Note:** If imports exceed exports in any year, the total available food-stock increases. This increase is shown by a (+) sign. Similarly, if exports exceed imports, the total available food-stock decreases. This is shown by a (–) sign.

(1 million tonnes = 10 lakh tonnes. 1 tonne = 1000 kg).

(Source: Economic Survey 2015-16)

FOOD
Food-Grain

Edible oil   **Food-grain**   *Dal*

Coarse grain
(Eg: Jowar, ragi, bajra and other coarse grains)

Fine grain
(Eg: Rice and wheat)

Coarse grain includes jowar, ragi, maize, kodo etc. Many people consider coarse grain to be inferior. They see this rough grain as food for the poor. In reality, such grain is highly nutritious. They form an important part of the diet of people living in the arid regions of the country.

Figure 20.4: Coarse grain

The above statistics reveal that India was facing severe foodstuff shortages at the time the country gained independence. The government had to import 4.8 million tonnes of food-grain from abroad to ensure adequate supplies in the country. In the subsequent years, food-grain production grew as the population increased. The government had to still import some food-grain to maintain adequate supplies. Food-grain production increased rapidly from the decade of the 1970s, making the country more self-sufficient in food supply and reducing the quantity of food-grain that needed to be imported.

At the time of independence, the country faced a shortage of all food-grain, including wheat, rice, pulses, oilseeds and coarse grains. Planned development led to the growth in production of all food-grain. But the biggest gains in production were in wheat and rice while the increase in coarse grain, pulses and oilseeds, which are highly nutritious, was comparatively modest.

The figures in Table 20.1 reveal that food-grain production increased in India. To understand food availability, it isn't enough to know the total food production. We also have to calculate how much food is available to every person in the country. The per capita availability tells us whether we are self-sufficient in food and whether sufficient food is available for all the people. To calculate the daily per capita food availability, we have to first divide the total food production in the country by the population to get the annual availability and then divide the figure by 365 (number of days in the year) to get the daily availability.

Table 20.2: Daily per capita food availability

Year	Daily per capita food availability (in gm)
1951	399
1991	496
2010	?
2011	481

(The change in food-stocks has not been included in the above calculation)

The calculations in the table are based on the figures contained in Table 20.1. They show that the daily per capita food availability has risen steadily but this increase is insufficient to match the growth in population.

We do not get our requirement of nutritious elements by consuming food-grain alone. We also require to consume fruit, vegetables, milk, meat, eggs, etc to meet our nutrition needs. Their consumption indicates that people a getting a balanced diet.

Calculate the daily per capita food availability in 2010 on the basis of the figures contained in Table 20.1.

What is your opinion of coarse grains?

Why is it necessary for a country to know the per capita food availability?

Access to food

To ensure food security, in addition to ensuring food availability in adequate quantities it is also necessary to ensure that all people have access to food. Some people grow the food-grain they need but the majority of people have to buy food-grain in the market so they depend on public supplies available in the market. People who live in urban areas or who don't possess land are totally dependent on the open market. Many people are poor and unemployed. Keeping the situation of such people in mind, the government undertakes several schemes in its efforts to achieve the objective of food security for all.

Let us re-examine the Chhattisgarh Food Security Act 2012 and its programmes in the light of this objective. We shall now discuss some of these programmes, such as the public distribution system (PDS), integrated child development schemes (ICDS) and the mid-day meal programme (MDM).

Public Distribution System (PDS): The PDS is an ambitious scheme run by the government. A network of fair price shops has been set up across the country to make available foodstuff such as rice, wheat, sugar, gram, salt, kerosene etc at subsidised prices to the country's most needy people. Eligible households can buy their monthly supply of a fixed quantity of these essential commodities from these fair price shops by producing their ration cards. Today, this network of fair price shops covers almost every village and town in the country. Their number presently exceeds 4.63 lakh, with Chhattisgarh alone having 11,088 shops as on October 2014.

The Food Corporation of India (FCI) ensures a steady supply of food-grain to the fair price shops to meet their distribution needs. The FCI buys wheat and rice at the government-fixed minimum support price from farmers in states with surplus food-grain production. The government announces the minimum support price in advance to encourage farmers to grow these crops and increase their production. The purchased grain is stored safely in large warehouses to maintain a steady supply of food-grain to the fair price shops. The FCI has another objective in storing food-grain – to create a buffer stock. The volume of grain in the buffer stock is determined by the country's present and future needs, especially to meet scarcities or shortages caused by a fall in grain production as a result of bad weather or natural calamities.

We collected some data on the food-stocks available in the homes of some school-children at school. We asked the children where their families buy their food-grain and other foodstuff. We also asked them whether the foodstuff they bought in the fair price shops was enough to meet their monthly requirements. Children reported that their families bought food-grain from both the fair price shop (Quota) as well as from the open market. As an example the information provided by two students is contained in Figure 20.5.

Why is a public distribution system essential to ensure food security?

Project work:

Make a table similar to Table 20.3 listing the food commodities bought by your family in a month from the fair price shop and the open market. Analyse your list.

Figure 20.3: Information given by some schoolchildren

How are the fair price shops managed in your area? What are the commodities sold through the PDS? Prepare a report.

Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS): Under this scheme, a network of *anganwadis* has been set up in the country to monitor the health of pregnant and lactating mothers as well as children aged 6 months to six years and to provide them with nutritious food and other services. This is the most crucial age for the mental and physical growth and development of children, with 90% of their mental development occurring during this phase. Hence, they receive their vaccinations on schedule and undergo routine health check-ups, with age-appropriate nutritional supplements provided as they grow up. They also receive pre-school education and health education.

According to the National Institute of Nutrition (NIN) in Hyderabad, 43% of Indian children are underweight for their age. This poses a big challenge for the ICDS programme. You saw in Table 17.6 in the chapter 'Understanding development' that the percentage of malnourished children in the country is quite high. The physical development of children after birth is monitored with the help of a weight graph to see if their growth is appropriate to their age. If you visit an *anganwadi* you will see this growth graph displayed on the wall.

The growth graph (Graph 20.1) is different for boys and girls. The child's weight from birth to 60 months (5 years) is registered in the table. The weight is considered to be normal if it within the range given in the table. If the weight is less than normal for the age, it indicates mild malnutrition. If the weight is far below normal, it indicates severe malnutrition. In such a situation, the child requires adequate care and additional nutrition supplements. Normally, a child requires only the mother's milk from birth to 6 months and additional quantities of nutritious food given at small intervals after 6 months.

Graph 20.1

Age-related weight range (for girls) from birth to 5 years as per WHO standards of physical development
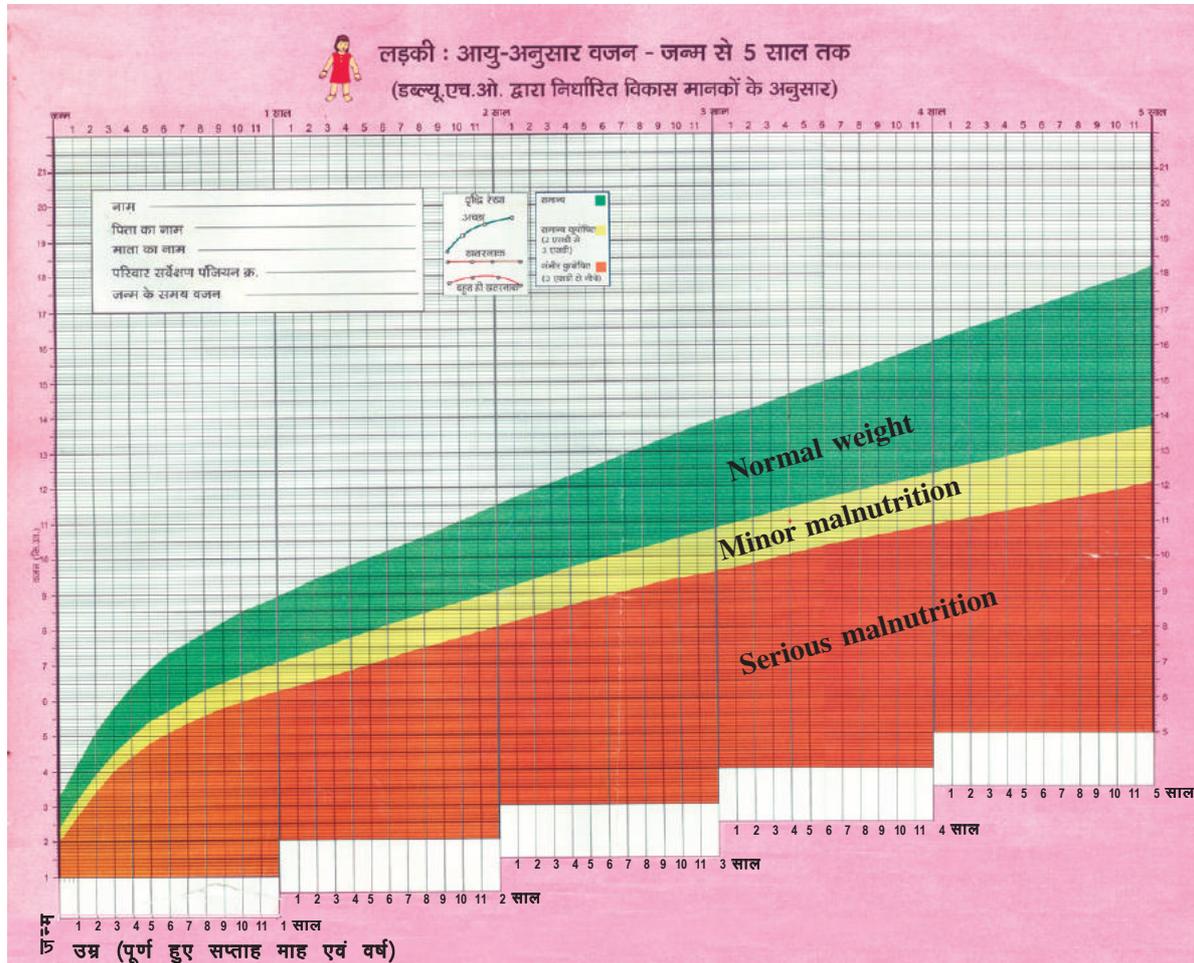
Two three-year-old girls, Santhoshi and Rambai, weigh 10.5kg and 13kg respectively. What is their nutrition status as per Graph 20.1?

Six months later, Santhoshi still weighs 10.5kg while Rambai weights 14kg. Compare their nutritional status by plotting their physical growth on the graph.

Explain the role of *anganwadis* in providing food for small children and pregnant women.

Mid-day meals (MDM): Many children eat very little food and go to school hungry. They cannot study well because they do not have the energy to study. The mid-day meal scheme seeks to resolve this problem and ensure food security for these children.

The mid-day meal scheme is an important programme run in all government schools (primary and upper primary) in all the states in the country. In addition to free and compulsory education for all schoolchildren aged 6 years to 14 years, they also get an afternoon meal. They get nutritious food in the government specified MDM menu.

Is the MDM scheme necessary to ensure food security? Explain with reasons.

Purchasing power and the market

The majority of people depend on the open market to get the food they need. Farmers grow food-grain for their personal consumption and depend on the market for a few other food commodities. The non-farming classes – labourers, traders, salaried workers etc – buy most of their food supplies in the market. Those with sufficient purchasing power can buy all the food they require. Those with low purchasing power depend on government food-distribution schemes for their food supplies. They also have to buy some food commodities in the market but their purchasing power is so low that

Figure 20.5: Schoolchildren eating their mid-day meal

they cannot buy nutritious food in adequate quantities. They fall prey to many illnesses like malnutrition because of their long-term lack of nutritious food.

The energy our body gets from food is measured in calories. A person living in an urban area requires 2100 calories of energy every day to remain healthy while a person living in a rural area who does physical labour requires 2400 calories a day. An NSSO survey has revealed that both urban and rural dwellers get less calories than this average.

According to a survey conducted in 2004, the people living in rural areas can be divided into four classes on the basis of their expenditure. The share of food commodities in their expenditure is given in Graph 20.2.

Graph 20.2: Per capita calorie intake in rural India

Calorie intake (kilocalories)

Class I (25%)	1624
Class II (25%)	1900
Class III (25%)	2143
Class IV (25%)	2521

Food expenditure
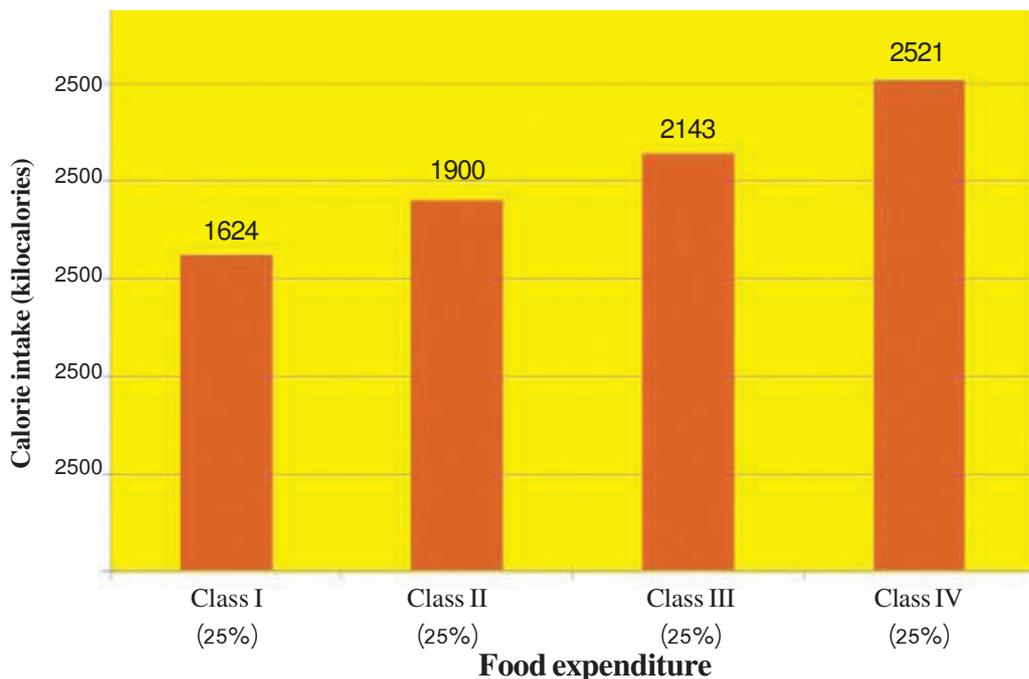
If we examine the figures in Graph 20.2, we see that the per capita calorie intake of people in Class I (1,624 calories) is considerably lower than the average daily per capita requirement of 2,400 calories. The situation is similar for people in Class II and Class III. The main reason why these working class people cannot get their daily calorie requirement is their low purchasing power.

Who are the people who depend totally on the market for their food requirements?

What do you think is the possible reason for people having so little money to spend on their food requirements? How does this affect their health?

Nutritional status

We discussed food availability, accessibility and affordability (people's purchasing power) in the context of ensuring food security for all. We also learned how various government schemes support the poor. But are all people really enjoying food security? The easiest way to find out is to medically examine them or use a scientific method to assess their nutritional status. The most widely used method is to calculate the body-mass index (BMI), based on the individual's age, height and weight. The BMI method is approved by the World Health Organisation (WHO).

We easily recognise a severe malnourished person. Such people are very weak and look ill or are excessively overweight. But we cannot always recognise people suffering from long-term malnutrition or hunger. In India, such people constitute 30-40% of the population. Ensuring food security for this huge segment of the population is both a challenge and a matter of concern. We read about the WHO growth chart to monitor the growth of children from birth to the age of five years while discussing the ICDS. BMI can also be used to find out the malnutrition status of children aged 5 years to 19 years. It looks at the height and weight in relation to age to determine the body mass index of the individual.

We calculated the BMI of some schoolchildren and found deficiencies in the physical growth and nutritional status of some of them. We discussed the data with them and examined their eating habits, going into details of what constitutes nutritious food and a balanced diet. As an example, let us calculate the BMI of one child:

Name: Rani (female)

Age: 15 years 6 months

Height: 1m and 34cm (1.34m)

Weight: 26kg

> **BMI = Body weight (in kg)/height x height (in metres)**

Rani's BMI   = 26/1.34x1.34

              = 26/1.79 = 14.52

Let us now examine Rani's BMI in the WHO growth chart, which is given at the end. This chart covers children aged 5 years to 19 years. There are separate charts for boys and girls. According to the chart, Rani's BMI falls under 'malnourished (underweight)'. She, thus, requires additional nutritional supplements.

> **Calculate your BMI and use the WHO chart to find out your physical development and nutritional status.**
>
> **Discuss your nutritional status and diet with your teacher and guardian.**

Children usually stop growing (in height) once they reach the age of 19 years. Hence, another scale is used to measure the BMI of adults. Once the BMI is calculated, the nutritional status can be determined from the following chart:

Table 20.6: BMI analysis for adults

S No	BMI	Body status	Comments
1	Below 18.5	Underweight	Nutritious diet required
2	18.5 to 24.9	Normal	Healthy body
3	25.0 to 29.9	Beginning of obesity	Balanced diet and exercise needed
4	Over 30.0	Obesity	Balanced diet, exercise plus special treatment

According to an NIN report, 35% of Indian adults have a BMI below 18.5 while 10% have a BMI exceeding 25.0.

One possible reason for malnutrition among infants is that their mothers do not get nutritious food. The mother's physical well-being directly affects the nutritional status of the child. Even today, many women do not get nutritious food and other supplements (especially during pregnancy). The development of the foetus is thus affected. Infants are born underweight and are prey to malnutrition from birth. They remain malnourished as they grow. As adults, their ability to give birth to healthy children is compromised. This cycle is perpetuated. Only when nutritious food is available can this cycle be broken and the goal of food security be achieved.

EXERCISES

1. **Choose the correct option in the following:**

1. The Chhattisgarh Food Security Act was passed in:

    a) 2011   b) 2012

    c) 2013   d) 2014

2. By which age does 90% of the mental development of children take place?

    a) 2 years   b) 3 years

    c) 4 years   d) 5 years

3. BMI stands for:

    a) Body measurement   b) Index body measurement indicator

    c) Body mass indicator   d) Body mass index

4. At what price does the FCI buy food-grain in the market?

    a) Local price   b) Wholesale price

    c) International price   d) Minimum support price

2. Fill in the blanks in the following:

1. People living in urban and rural areas require ……………………………… and ……………………….. calories per day respectively.

2. Coarse grain is the staple diet of people living in ……………………………… regions.

3. The ICDS monitors the nutritional status of children aged …………….. to …………….. years.

4. Eligible households receive their monthly ration of food-grain at ……………………………… prices.

5. New-born children should be fed ………………………………….. till the age of six months.

6. The mid-day meal scheme is run in ………………………. and ……………………………… schools.

7. The ………………………………. class is most vulnerable to malnutrition.

3. Give your comments on the following:

1. Minimum support price

2. Buffer stock

3. Fair price shops

4. Daily per capita food availability

4. What are the objectives of food security?

5. Which people are most affected by food insecurity?

6. How are daily wage workers affected by happenings like curfew, market shutdowns, strikes, etc? Share your thoughts.

7. What was the reason for the sudden spurt in the production of food-grain in the country?

8. How does food supply affect long-term natural calamities like drought or famine?

9. What steps has the government taken to widen the food security net. Describe any three schemes.

10. How does the FCI support the public distribution system?

11. Why does the government hold a buffer stock?

12. How does long-term hunger affect health?

13. Who were the people most affected by the Bengal famine of 1943?

14. Do you think invisible hunger is an obstacle in the nation's development?

15. What are main dimensions of food security? Discuss in detail.

16. What is a balanced diet? Why does our body need it?

17. Look at Table 1.5 in the chapter 'Understanding development' and explain why children aged under 5 years are underweight and short for their age, keeping in mind their nutrition status.

Project work:

18. Find out the nutritional status of the young and old in your family or your neighbouring family.

BMI-for-age BOYS
14 to 18 years

World Health Organization
(based on the WHO chart)

Years	months	Malnourished (underweight)	Normal	Malnourished (Obesity)
14	0	Less than 15.5	15.5 to 25.9	More than 25.9
14	1	Less than 15.5	15.5 to 26.0	More than 26.0
14	2	Less than 15.6	15.6 to 26.1	More than 26.1
14	3	Less than 15.6	15.6 to 26.2	More than 26.2
14	4	Less than 15.7	15.7 to 26.3	More than 26.3
14	5	Less than 15.7	15.7 to 26.4	More than 26.4
14	6	Less than 15.7	15.7 to 26.5	More than 26.5
14	7	Less than 15.8	15.8 to 26.5	More than 26.5
14	8	Less than 15.8	15.8 to 26.6	More than 26.6
14	9	Less than 15.9	15.9 to 26.7	More than 26.7
14	10	Less than 15.9	15.9 to 26.8	More than 26.8
14	11	Less than 16.0	16.0 to 26.9	More than 26.9
15	0	Less than 16.0	16.0 to 27.0	More than 27.0
15	1	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 27.1	More than 27.1
15	2	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 27.1	More than 27.1
15	3	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 27.2	More than 27.2
15	4	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 27.3	More than 27.3
15	5	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 27.4	More than 27.4
15	6	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 27.4	More than 27.4
15	7	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 27.5	More than 27.5
15	8	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 27.6	More than 27.6
15	9	Less than 16.4	16.4 to 27.7	More than 27.7
15	10	Less than 16.4	16.4 to 27.7	More than 27.7
15	11	Less than 16.5	16.5 to 27.8	More than 27.8
16	0	Less than 16.5	16.5 to 27.9	More than 27.9
16	1	Less than 16.5	16.5 to 27.9	More than 27.9
16	2	Less than 16.6	16.6 to 28.0	More than 28.0
16	3	Less than 16.6	16.6 to 28.1	More than 28.1
16	4	Less than 16.7	16.7 to 28.1	More than 28.1
16	5	Less than 16.7	16.7 to 28.2	More than 28.2
16	6	Less than 16.7	16.7 to 28.3	More than 28.3
16	7	Less than 16.8	16.8 to 28.3	More than 28.3
16	8	Less than 16.8	16.8 to 28.4	More than 28.4
16	9	Less than 16.8	16.8 to 28.5	More than 28.5
16	10	Less than 16.9	16.9 to 28.5	More than 28.5
16	11	Less than 16.9	16.9 to 28.6	More than 28.6
17	0	Less than 16.9	16.9 to 28.6	More than 28.6
17	1	Less than 17.0	17.0 to 28.7	More than 28.7
17	2	Less than 17.0	17.0 to 28.7	More than 28.7
17	3	Less than 17.0	17.1 to 28.8	More than 28.8
17	4	Less than 17.1	17.1 to 28.9	More than 28.9
17	5	Less than 17.1	17.1 to 28.9	More than 28.9
17	6	Less than 17.1	17.1 to 29.0	More than 29.0
17	7	Less than 17.1	17.1 to 29.0	More than 29.0
17	8	Less than 17.2	17.2 to 29.1	More than 29.1
17	9	Less than 17.2	17.2 to 29.1	More than 29.1
17	10	Less than 17.2	17.2 to 29.2	More than 29.2
17	11	Less than 17.3	17.3 to 29.2	More than 29.2
18	0	Less than 17.3	17.3 to 29.2	More than 29.2

BMI-for-age GIRLS
14 to 18 years

World Health Organization
(based on the WHO chart)

Years	months	Malnourished (underweight)	Normal	Malnourished (Obesity)
14	0	Less than 15.4	15.4 to 27.3	More than 27.3
14	1	Less than 15.5	15.5 to 27.4	More than 27.4
14	2	Less than 15.5	15.5 to 27.5	More than 27.5
14	3	Less than 15.6	15.6 to 27.6	More than 27.6
14	4	Less than 15.6	15.6 to 27.7	More than 26.3
14	5	Less than 15.6	15.6 to 27.7	More than 27.7
14	6	Less than 15.7	15.7 to 27.8	More than 27.8
14	7	Less than 15.7	15.7 to 27.9	More than 27.9
14	8	Less than 15.7	15.7 to 28.0	More than 28.0
14	9	Less than 15.8	15.8 to 28.0	More than 28.0
14	10	Less than 15.8	15.8 to 28.1	More than 28.1
14	11	Less than 15.8	15.8 to 28.2	More than 28.2
15	0	Less than 15.9	15.9 to 28.2	More than 28.2
15	1	Less than 15.9	15.9 to 28.3	More than 28.3
15	2	Less than 15.9	15.9 to 28.4	More than 28.4
15	3	Less than 16.0	16.0 to 28.4	More than 28.4
15	4	Less than 16.0	16.0 to 28.5	More than 28.5
15	5	Less than 16.0	16.0 to 28.6	More than 28.5
15	6	Less than 16.0	16.0 to 28.6	More than 28.6
15	7	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 28.7	More than 28.6
15	8	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 28.7	More than 28.7
15	9	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 28.7	More than 28.7
15	10	Less than 16.1	16.1 to 28.8	More than 28.8
15	11	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 28.8	More than 28.8
16	0	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 28.9	More than 28.9
16	1	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 28.9	More than 28.9
16	2	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 29.0	More than 29.0
16	3	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 29.0	More than 29.0
16	4	Less than 16.2	16.2 to 29.0	More than 29.0
16	5	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 29.1	More than 29.1
16	6	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 29.1	More than 29.1
16	7	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 29.1	More than 29.1
16	8	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 29.2	More than 29.2
16	9	Less than 16.3	16.3 to 29.2	More than 29.2

21

Globalisation

Discuss: What are the things you see around you that are connected to other countries?

- You may have seen toys made in China in your home or in the homes of your neighbours. Chinese mobiles and electronic items that we use in our daily lives are easily available in the market. Huge quantities of Chinese toys are imported into India.

Figure 21.1: Raipur bazar

- Television brings you direct coverage of events and incidents happening around the world. Today, we get instant informaion about many things in the world on the internet.

- The food we eat these days contains many items that originated in other countries, such as pizzas, burgers, noodles, chow mein, etc.

- Many patients from abroad come to India for treatment because they get better and cheaper medical care here compared to other countries.

- Students go to schools and colleges in other countries to pursue their studies. One estimate puts the number of students who go abroad for studies every year at 2.5-3.0 lakhs.

- People also travel to visit other places. For example, many tourists from abroad come to see the spectacular Chitrakoot falls in Bastar. The Kutumbsar caves, Bharamdev temple in Kawardha, etc are also tourist spots that are attracting visitors. Similarly, tourists from India are visiting Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand etc.

Figure 21.2: Some tourist spots

- More and more people are beginning to learn English in recent years because a knowledge of the language is considered necessary for getting a job. This is also the reason why people are also learning Chinese and other languages.

- You may have also heard foreign music that is popular among young people. Have you also seen a foreign film?

Figure 21.3 Chinese language teaching institution

These examples indicate that people and countries around the world are becoming more closely connected these days. There are many dimensions to these interconnections. It is also clear that these processes have gained momentum over the past few decades. Distances between countries have decreased and inter-relationships have increased. People can easily access goods and services from other countries. Our daily needs are being met on an international scale and countries are also getting culturally integrated. We shall try to understand some of the economic and social aspects of these processes in this chapter. We shall also try to identify their causes and effects.

Global production

A few decades ago, we mostly depended on Indian goods and products to meet our daily needs. The range of goods was also limited. Things are different today. The markets are flooded with a bewildering range of foreign goods such as different types and brands of mobiles, shoes, cameras, electronic products, etc. Similarly, we see many new local and international models of cars, motorcycles, trucks etc plying on the roads. The cities are packed with shops overflowing with foreign products. Behind all this is

Figure 21.4: A Bazar

the phenomenon of global production - the manufacturing process is spread across several countries and the finished products are sold in the international market.

Let us try to understand the process of global production from the following examples:

1. In the 1960s and thereafter, Ford Escort in the UK and Germany joined hands to produce a car whose components were manufactured in America, Canada, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, Belgium and a dozen other countries including Japan.

    Under this policy, Ford Escort chose to manufacture the car in countries with cheap labour and low taxes. The governments of these countries also extended several concessions to the company. Today, India has several such companies that acquire their component materials from across the globe.

    (Source: Wealth and Illfare by C.T. Kurien)

2. Look at Figure 21.5, which shows two women working in a call centre run by a local company in Bengaluru. This company is one of many such companies that provide customer services on the 800 customer care number for global multinationals like General Electric, Dell Computer, America Online and British Airways. The multinationals outsource these services cheaply to Indian

Figure 21.5 : Women working in a call centre

companies. When a company makes its products or services available from an outside source, the process is called outsourcing. The local companies that run the call centres train their English-speaking employees by showing them films and teaching them American accents and behaviour so that they can converse in American English. In this way, the American customers do not feel they are talking to foreign nationals but are being served by an American company.

This process of large companies outsourcing their work to call centres run by local companies is called business process outsourcing (BPO). It enables them to lower their costs in providing these services. These centres are set up in countries that have extensive and well-developed communication and other basic facilities.

These two examples show how the process of global production of goods and services takes place. Let us now examine the nature of these companies and how they work.

Multinational corporations (MNCs)

Multinational corporations are companies that control and own production facilities in more than one country. They source their raw materials from across the globe and also sell their products on a global scale. Most MNCs give priority to setting up their production units in countries where raw materials are easily available and there is no shortage of skilled and unskilled labour. Before setting up their facilities, they examine the policies of their target countries and choose those countries with flexible policies and low tax rates. They want the policies to be in consonance with their decisions.

MNCs have huge capital reserves. When they invest in a country, they bring with them the latest technology. This enhances their production capacity, enabling them to introduce the latest state-of-the-art models of their products in the market, being vigilant about their quality and brand image.

Many MNCs acquire local companies to expand their production capacity. For example, Lafarge France is a prestigious international cement company that has established factories in countries like Britain and Uganda to expand its market. Its main output is cement and concrete. The company began production in India after acquiring the factories of Tata Steel's Cement Division in 1999 and Raymond Cement in 2001. These factories are located in Chhattisgarh, which has abundant limestone deposits, the raw material for manufacturing cement & cheap labour is easily available. The company also had the vast Indian market to sell its product.

In some sectors such as apparel, footwear, sports goods and toys, the MNCs farm out production to small producers, buying their output and selling it in the market under their brand name. For example, in Punjab state, the MNCs contract women in Ludhiana to undertake football production activities in their homes. The MNCs provide the design and manufacturing details, farming the work out to the artisans through contracting agents. The finished products, produced at cheap rates by these artisans, are checked for quality and then sold at high margins in big stores and malls.

MNCs also sometimes launch joint ventures with local companies. For example, American company Ford Motors entered into a joint venture

Figure 21.6

with Indian company Mahindra in 1995 to manufacture cars. These cars were sold in the Indian market and also exported to other countries.

We learned about the different ways in which multinational production is carried out in these examples. MNCs are, thus, able to expand their activities and their production capacity to remain ahead of the competition. They become stronger as their production is centralised by the acquisition of small companies and producers.

How do MNCs establish their control over production in other countries?

**Fill in the blanks in the following:**

Indian consumers have much more choice today than they had three decades ago. Products from other countries are sold in the Indian market. This means that ……………………………………… with other countries is expanding. In addition, we are seeing a growing number of brands produced by ………………………………………………………………………………… in India. These companies are …………………….………..…………………………………… in India because …………………………………………................................………..

Globalisation

Over the last two-three decades, MNCs have been in search of places where they can lower their production costs. They have increased their investments in these locations. At the same time, trade between nations is growing. MNCs control a large segment of foreign trade. Growing trade and growing investment is integrating the markets and production of most countries. The growing mutual ties between countries and the process of their integration is called globalisation. There is growing exchange of more and more goods, services and technology, accompanied by growing flow of investment.

The import and export figures given in Graph 21.1 illustrate India's growing foreign trade. Foreign trade multiplied several-fold between 1990-91 and 2014-15. India exported Rs33150 crores of goods in 1990-91. In 2014-15, exports totalled Rs19,35,000 crores.

Graph 21.1: Growth of India's foreign trade
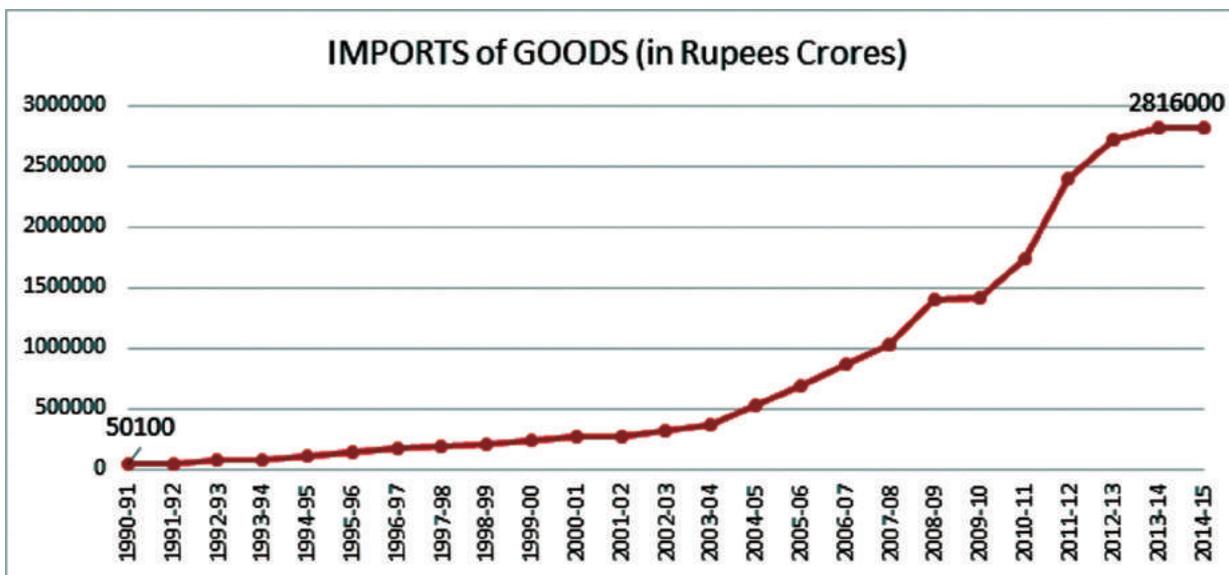
Graph 21.2: Growth of India's foreign trade

EXPORTS of GOODS (in Rupees Crores)
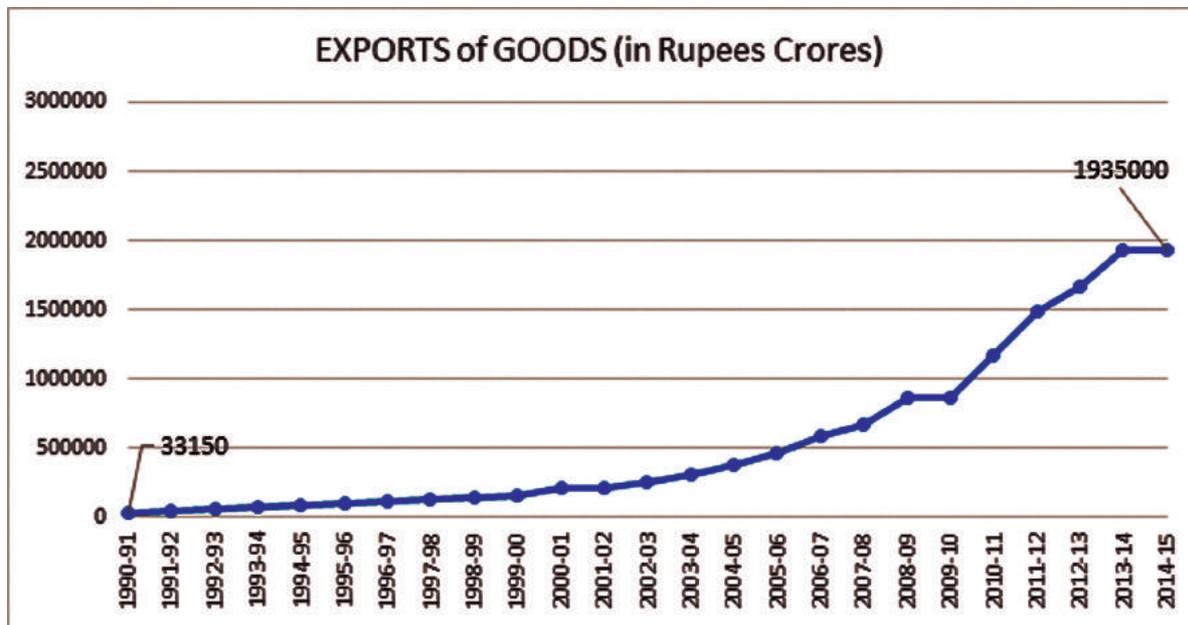
Source: RBI Handbook of Statistics on the Indian Economy, Table 144 :
Key Components of India's Balance of Payments in Rupees

Estimate the percentage increase in exports over the past 25 years on the basis of figures contained in Graph 21.2. From which year did the growth in exports register a sharp increase?

The import figures contained in Graph 21.1 reveal that imports, too, increased several-fold. Can you tell which showed higher growth – imports or exports?

We saw the import and export figures of goods. Imports and exports of services also grew rapidly. India is one of the top exporters of services. Exports of services are far higher than imports. During this period, investment in India also increased several-fold.

Causes of globalisation

Technology: Information and communication technology (ICT) has played an important part in speeding up the process of globalisation. You know that facilities like computer networks, mobile, e-mail, e-commerce, WhatsApp etc have become an indispensable part of our life in this day and age. The development of communications satellites has streamlined this communication system. The call centre in Bengaluru, which we used as an example earlier, could function only because of this technology. Innumerable companies are using this communication system to expand their activities. They can control the entire **production** process from one location. They also get production-related information instantaneously, which they can analyse to help them make decisions. The working pattern of banks has also been streamlined and RTGS has made money transactions easier.

Figure 21.7

The development of means of transportation is also a major contributor to the process of globalisation. Nowadays, large containers are packed with goods at harbours. These similar-sized containers can be easily stacked in ships for transport. There are even air-conditioned containers that preserve perishable goods for long periods of time. There are around 360 million containers today that are used to transport goods around the world. Around 90% of world trade is done by container traffic. The cost of transporting goods by sea has fallen considerably over the past 60 years.

Fall in transport and communication costs

Transport and communication costs have declined rapidly in the past decade and have been falling steadily over the past 50 years. Rail transport costs fell by around 50% between 1970 and 2000. Road transportation costs fell 40% during this period. If we examine global air transportation costs today, they are just 6% of 1955 costs. And in communications, a three-minute telephone call from London to New York, which would have cost $3,000 in 1931, costs a few coins today.

Can you identify some examples of information and communication technology in your neighbourhood? How has ICT changed the lives of people?

Discuss in class how foreign trade and foreign investment are affected by the decline in transportation and communication costs.

Liberalisation of foreign trade and foreign investment

We earlier talked about international trade and how rapidly trade grew over the past few decades. What was the reason for this growth in trade? Let us try to understand from the following example. Suppose the Indian government levies an import duty on Chinese toys. What would happen? Indian importers of Chinese toys would have to pay the duty on their imports so the price of these toys that the consumer would have to pay will go up. Chinese toys would become expensive in the Indian

market so demand would decline, leading to a fall in imports. Indian toymakers would benefit and would be able to sell larger numbers of their products.

A tax on imports restricts trade because it places an obstacle in the free flow of goods. The government usually uses this obstacle to either increase or restrict foreign trade. Which commodities should the country import and in what volume? That decision is reflected in the form of import duty.

After independence, the Indian government imposed restrictions on foreign trade and investment in order to protect Indian producers from foreign competition. Indian industry was establishing itself in the decade of the 1950s and 1960s and allowing unrestricted imports at this stage would have compromised this process. The government allowed only imports of essential commodities such as machinery, fertilisers and petroleum. It should be borne in mind that all the developed nations had protected their domestic industry during the initial stages of their development.

But the Indian government made some far-reaching changes in its economic policies in 1991 in response to the wide-ranging changes in trade patterns that were occurring on a global scale and the impact of globalisation. Some people felt the time had come for Indian producers to face the competition from global producers. It was felt that such competition would lead Indian producers to improve their productivity and become more competitive in the international market. Influential international organisations supported this decision.

As a result, many obstacles in the way of foreign trade and investment were removed. This made import and export of goods easier. Foreign companies were permitted to invest in several sectors and were even given incentives to do so. As a result, foreign companies could establish their offices and production facilities in India. The process of removing obstacles and easing restrictions is called liberalisation. It allows producers the freedom to take decisions, with the government exercising less control than earlier. That's why such a government is seen as more liberal.

> **Was the decision of the Indian government to place restrictions on foreign trade and investment after independence correct? Discuss in class.**
>
> **Explain the concept of liberalisation in your own words.**
>
> **Explain the difference between foreign trade and foreign investment.**

Globalisation's impact on India

Globalisation has not had an even impact on all classes of Indian society. The increasing competition between Indian and foreign producers that globalisation has brought has benefited consumers, especially rich urban consumers. They have greater choice of better quality products at lower prices. They, thus, enjoy a better standard of living than before.

Many top Indian companies have benefited from competition. They have raised their production standards by investing in new technology and adopting new production practices. Some have benefitted from collaborating with foreign companies. Globalisation has led to some large Indian companies developing into multinational corporations that are showing their excellence on the global stage. It has also opened out new opportunities for ICT companies to show their creativity.

However, globalisation is posing challenges for large numbers of small producers and working class people. The toy, tyre, dairy products and edible oil industries are some examples where small producers have not been able to survive the competition. Many units have shut down, leaving their workers unemployed. In India, small-scale industries account for the largest number of workers (2 crores) after agriculture.

Competition and employment uncertainty

Globalisation and competition have drastically affected the life of the working class. The majority of employers prefer flexible employment norms in a scenario of growing market competition. This causes employment uncertainty for the working class.

In the textile industry, many American and European MNCs place orders for

Figure 21.8: A garment export factory

the supply of readymade garments with Indian garment exporters. They look for the cheapest rates so they can reap the greatest profits by selling the garments across their worldwide sales network. The Indian exporters try to win these large orders by keeping their costs to the minimum. Since they cannot save on the cost of raw materials, the only possible cost-cutting avenue open to them is reducing their wage labour costs. Where factories used to employ permanent workers earlier, they now offer only temporary employment.

35-year-old Sushila was employed for many years in a garment export factory. As a permanent worker, she was entitled to medical insurance, provident fund and double wages for overtime. The factory shut down sometime in the 1990s. After being unemployed for six months, Sushila finally found work in another factory about 30km from her home. However, even after working in this factory for several years, she continued to be a temporary worker earning less than half her previous wage. She left her home at 7.30 in the morning and returned at 10.00 at night all seven days of the week. If she missed work on any day, she was not paid wages for the day. She also did not receive any of the benefits she had enjoyed earlier. The factory received export orders irregularly hence it paid less wages.

How did competition affect MNCs, Indian exporters and workers in the garment export industry?

What can the following classes do to ensure that workers get a fair wage as their due share in the benefits of globalisation?

   a)   **Government**

   b)   **Employers in exporting factories**

   c)   **MNCs**

   d)   **Workers**

The debate in India today is whether companies should adopt flexible employment policies or not. Based on what has been discussed in this chapter, explain in brief the perspectives of employers and employees on this issue.

Widening disparities

Globalisation presents two contrasting pictures of the distribution of wealth in the world today. On one side, we see the rich getting richer and stronger while, on the other, the majority of people wage a continuing struggle for employment and livelihoods.

In 2000, 66% of the wealth in the country was in the hands of the richest 10% of the population. This was an inequitable distribution of wealth. By 2015, the share of the rich increased to 75%. In contrast, the share of the remaining 90% of the population dropped from 34% in 2000 to 24% in 2015 (see Bar diagram 21.3). It is abundantly clear that a large portion of the benefits of the present development paradigm is accruing to the rich. Even now, a big segment of the population has to be satisfied with only limited opportunities for temporary employment at minimum wages. As we saw in the chapter on the services sector in Class IX and Sushila's case discussed earlier in this chapter, opportunities for permanent and secure employment are limited. So the majority of workers are forced to look for employment in the unorganised and informal sector.

Graph 21.3: Share in total wealth of the richest 10%

	2000	2015
Share of Remaining 90%	34.1	23.7
Share of richest 10%	65.9	76.3

■ Share of richest 10%   ▒ Share of Remaining 90%
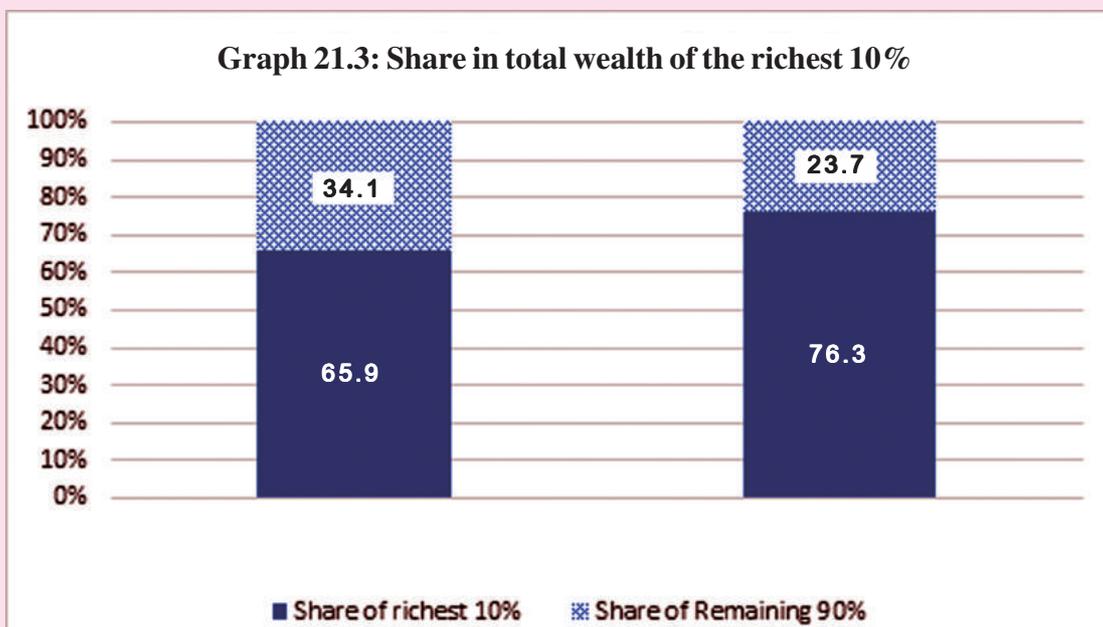
Wealth is calculated by deducting debt from the total assets of the individual, which include shares, bonds, bank deposits, real estate, etc.

(Source: Credit Suisse Wealth Report)

Impact on environment

The phenomenon of globalisation may have conferred benefits in several sectors but it has also raised new concerns. Rapid growth has led to rising consumerism but the impact of this growth on the environment is also raising questions.

A World Health Organisation study has revealed that Delhi is one of the most polluted cities in the world. The study of ambient air pollution levels showed that the PM2.5 concentration (particulates smaller than 2.5 micrometres) was 122 micrograms per cubic metre. The concentration should normally not exceed 10 micrograms. In 2008, a National Pollution Control Board study found that pollution caused permanent lung damage in 40% of school-going children in Delhi.

These problems are linked to growing vehicular traffic in the city. One of the sectors that have grown rapidly as a result of globalisation is the market for motor vehicles. When Maruti Udyog launched the industry in 1988, production was a mere 1.78 lakh motor vehicles. Within a decade to 1999, production totalled 5.33 lakh motor vehicles. After 2000, foreign investment was permitted in the automobile industry. By 2004, the production of cars alone practically doubled, after which production grew by leaps and bounds. One estimate places the number of new vehicles plying on Delhi's roads at 1,400 per day.

If seen from the perspective of growth and development, these growing production numbers are a matter of pride. But if seen from the perspective of the quality of life, these numbers are depressing, because vehicles need roads and roads require land. Our cities are turning into a concrete jungle with their buildings and web of roads. Trees are being cut. A water crisis looms as the rainwater absorbing capacity of the land diminishes. The consequences affect all.

Figure 21.9

We saw in the chapter on development how dangerous one person's development can be for another. Explain this in the context of the growing vehicular traffic.

Towards equitable globalisation

We studied the current phase of globalisation in this chapter. Globalisation is a process of rapid integration of nations. It is largely driven by foreign trade and foreign investment. The dominant role in the process is played by MNCs. Most MNCs look for places where their costs or production are the lowest. As a result, the production process forms an intricate web. Technology, in particular ICT technology, plays an important role in integrating production across nations. At the same time, liberalisation removes obstacles to trade and investment, thereby facilitating the process of globalisation.

Globalisation has benefited the rich consumer and the capable, educated and rich producer. However, competition has adversely affected the small producer and industrial worker. Social inequalities have widened as wealth gets concentrated with the rich. Growing environmental degradation has widespread repercussions.

Globalisation is an inescapable reality today. The question now is: How can it be made more just and equitable? Just globalisation would provide better opportunities to all social classes and share its benefits equitably. Development can be just and sustainable only when the government, people's organisations and the common people play an important role in the process.

EXERCISES

1. Explain globalisation in your own words.

2. The process of globalisation is driven by the flow of these components. What are they?

3. Why did the Indian government restrict foreign trade and foreign investment? Why did it want to remove obstacles in their flow?

4. How does flexibility in labour policies help companies?

5. Globalisation has unequal effects. Explain this statement in your own words.

6. How does liberalisation of trade and investment policies help the process of globalisation?

7. Globalisation will continue in future. Imagine what the world would be like 20 years from now. Describe it in your own words.

8. Suppose you hear two people debating the merits of globalisation. One says globalisation has had a negative impact on our country's development while the other says the impact has been positive. How will you respond to their arguments?

9. Explain the growing inequalities in India with the help of data and examples.

10. How has globalisation affected our environment? Discuss in class.

11. If you have to work in a call centre that services a British company, what abilities should you have?

12. What are the factors that MNC considers before setting up production facilities in any country?

13. What are the different production methods MNCs use?

14. What was the major change the Indian government made in 1991 in the direction of globalisation?

15. What challenges do small producers have to face in the process of globalisation?

16. How does globalisation affect the lives of industrial workers?

17. Why do MNCs set up joint ventures?

18. Match the following:

1)	MNCs buy from small producers at cheap rates	a) motor vehicles
2)	Import duty, trade regulation	b) garments, footwear, sports goods
3)	Indian companies investing abroad	c) call centres
4)	ICT helps production and spread of services	d) Tata Motors, Infosys, Ranbaxy
5)	Many MNCs have invested in their production	e) trade obstacles