



0968CH01

# 1

## INDIA – SIZE AND LOCATION

India is one of the ancient civilisations in the world. It has achieved multi-faceted socio-economic progress during the last five decades. It has moved forward displaying remarkable progress in the field of agriculture, industry, technology and overall economic development. India has also contributed significantly to the making of world history.

### LOCATION

India is a vast country. Lying entirely in the Northern hemisphere (Figure 1.1) the main land extends between latitudes  $8^{\circ}4'N$  and  $37^{\circ}6'N$  and longitudes  $68^{\circ}7'E$  and  $97^{\circ}25'E$ .

The Tropic of Cancer ( $23^{\circ} 30'N$ ) divides the country into almost two equal parts. To the southeast and southwest of the mainland, lie the Andaman and Nicobar islands and the Lakshadweep islands in Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea respectively. Find out the extent of these groups of islands from your atlas.

### Do You Know?

- The southernmost point of the Indian Union—'Indira Point' got submerged under the sea water in 2004 during the Tsunami.

### SIZE

The land mass of India has an area of 3.28 million square km. India's total area accounts for about 2.4 per cent of the total geographical

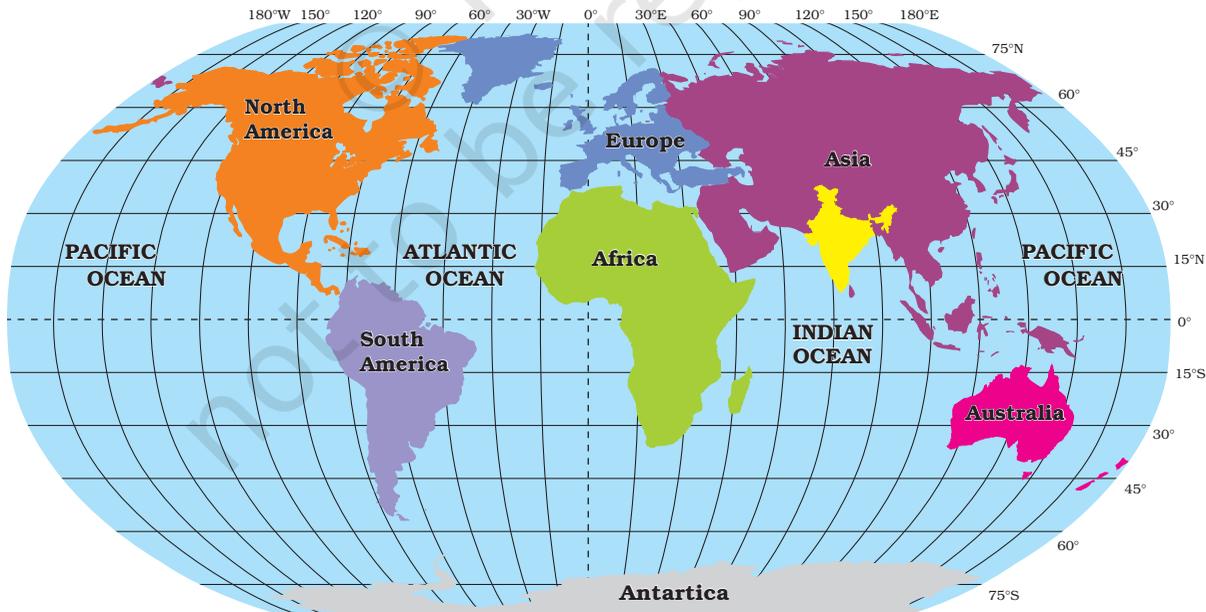


Figure 1.1 : India in the World

area of the world. From Figure 1.2 it is clear that India is the seventh largest country of the world. India has a land boundary of about 15,200 km and the total length of the coastline of the mainland, including Andaman and Nicobar and Lakshadweep, is 7,516.6 km.

India is bounded by the young fold mountains in the northwest, north and northeast. South of about 22° north latitude, it begins to taper, and extends towards the Indian Ocean, dividing it into two seas, the Arabian Sea on the west and the Bay of Bengal on its east.

Look at Figure 1.3 and note that the latitudinal and longitudinal extent of the mainland is about 30°. Despite this fact, the east-west extent appears to be smaller than the north-south extent.

From Gujarat to Arunachal Pradesh, there is a time lag of two hours. Hence, time along the Standard Meridian of India (82°30'E) passing through Mirzapur (in Uttar Pradesh) is taken as the standard time for the whole country. The latitudinal extent influences the duration of day and night, as one moves from south to north.

### Find out

- Why 82°30'E has been selected as the Standard Meridian of India?
- Why is the difference between the durations of day and night hardly felt at Kanniyakumari but not so in Kashmir?

### INDIA AND THE WORLD

The Indian landmass has a central location between the East and the West Asia. India is a southward extension of the Asian continent. The trans Indian Ocean routes, which connect the countries of Europe in the West and the countries of East Asia, provide a strategic central location to India. Note that the Deccan Peninsula protrudes into the Indian Ocean, thus helping India to establish close contact with West Asia, Africa and Europe from the western coast and with Southeast and East Asia from the eastern coast. No other country has a long coastline on the Indian Ocean as India has and indeed, it is India's eminent position in the Indian Ocean, which justifies the naming of an Ocean after it.

### Do You Know?

Since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, India's distance from Europe has been reduced by 7,000 km.



Source : United Nations Demographic Year Book 2015

Figure 1.2 : Seven Largest Countries of the World

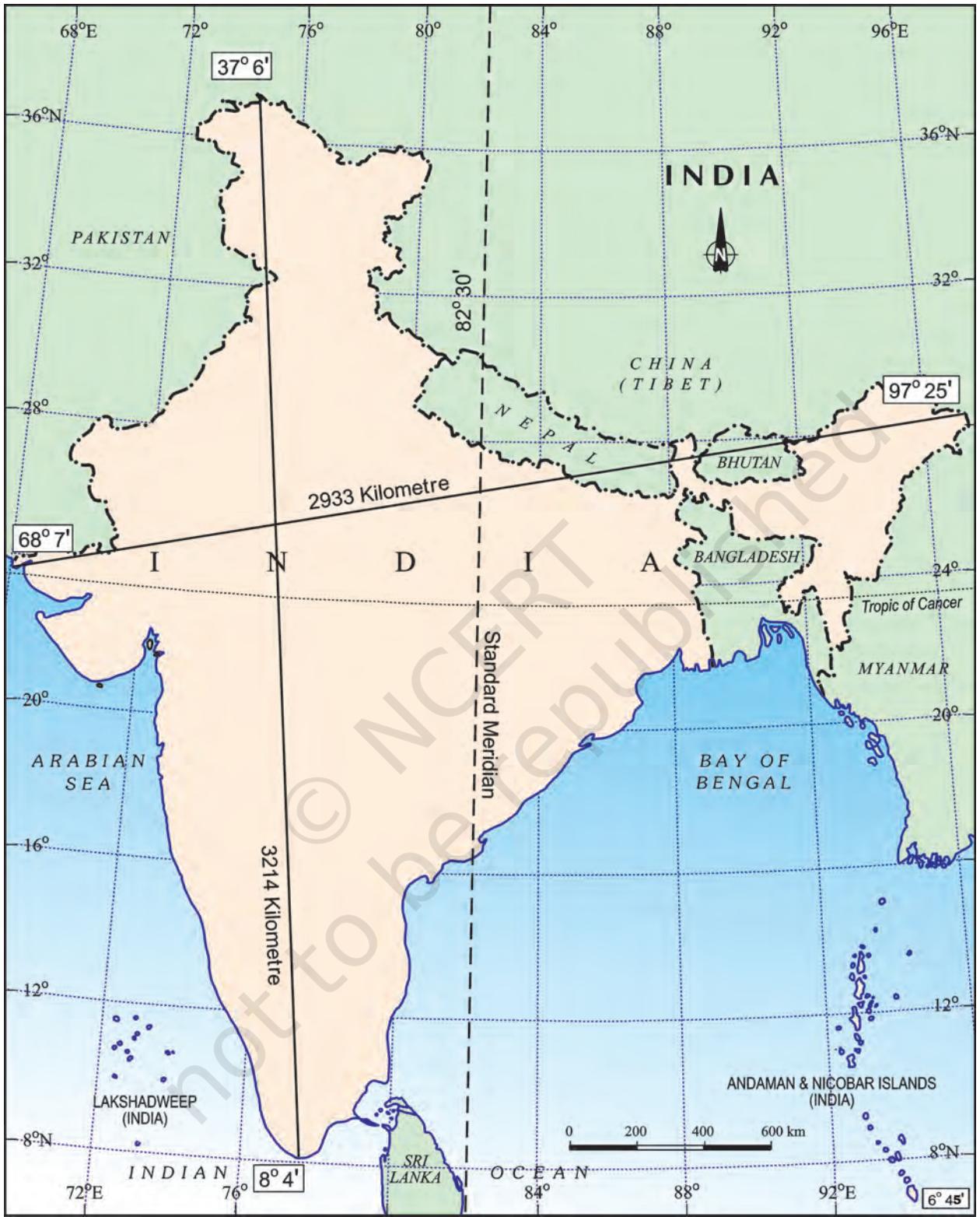


Figure 1.3 : India : Extent and Standard Meridian

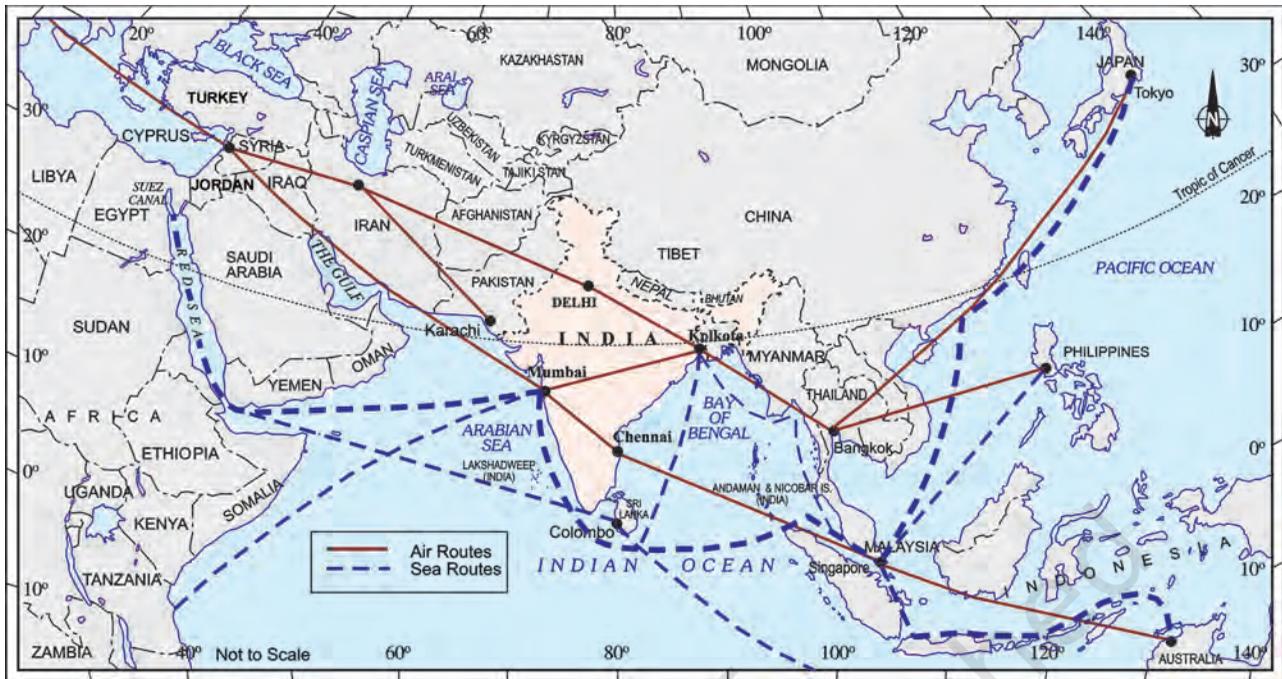


Figure 1.4 : India on International Highway of Trade and Commerce

India's contacts with the World have continued through ages but her relationships through the land routes are much older than her maritime contacts. The various passes across the mountains in the north have provided passages to the ancient travellers, while the oceans restricted such interaction for a long time.

These routes have contributed in the exchange of ideas and commodities since ancient times. The ideas of the *Upanishads* and the *Ramayana*, the stories of *Panchtantra*, the Indian numerals and the decimal system thus could reach many parts of the world. The spices, muslin and other merchandise were taken from India to different countries. On the other hand, the influence of Greek sculpture, and the architectural styles of dome and minarets from West Asia can be seen in different parts of our country.

### INDIA'S NEIGHBOURS

India occupies an important strategic position in South Asia. India has 28 states and Eight Union Territories (Figure 1.5).

### Find out

- The number of Union Territories along the western and eastern coasts.
- Area-wise which is the smallest and which is the largest state?
- The states which do not have an international border or lie on the coast.
- Classify the states into four groups each having common frontiers with (i) Pakistan, (ii) China, (iii) Myanmar, and (iv) Bangladesh.

India shares its land boundaries with Pakistan and Afghanistan in the northwest, China (Tibet), Nepal and Bhutan in the north and Myanmar and Bangladesh in the east. Our southern neighbours across the sea consist of the two island countries, namely

### Do You Know?

Before 1947, there were two types of states in India — the provinces and the Princely states. Provinces were ruled directly by British officials, who were appointed by the Viceroy. Princely states were ruled by local, hereditary rulers, who acknowledged sovereignty in return for local autonomy.



Figure 1.5 : India and Adjacent Countries

Sri Lanka and Maldives. Sri Lanka is separated from India by a narrow channel of sea formed by the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar, while Maldives Islands are situated to the south of the Lakshadweep Islands.

India has had strong geographical and historical links with her neighbours. Look at the physical map of Asia in your atlas, and note how India stands apart from the rest of Asia.

**Do You Know?**

School Bhuvan is a portal providing map-based learning to bring awareness among the students about the country's natural resources, environment and their role in sustainable development. It is an initiative of Bhuvan — NRSC/ISRO based on NCERT syllabus. You can explore various maps of India related to the secondary stage on [https://bhuvan-app1.nrsc.gov.in/mhrd\\_ncert/](https://bhuvan-app1.nrsc.gov.in/mhrd_ncert/)

## EXERCISE

- Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
  - The Tropic of Cancer does not pass through
    - Rajasthan
    - Odisha
    - Chhattisgarh
    - Tripura
  - The easternmost longitude of India is
    - 97° 25' E
    - 68° 7' E
    - 77° 6' E
    - 82° 32' E
  - Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Sikkim have common frontiers with
    - China
    - Bhutan
    - Nepal
    - Myanmar
  - If you intend to visit Kavarati during your summer vacations, which one of the following Union Territories of India you will be going to
    - Puducherry
    - Lakshadweep
    - Andaman and Nicobar
    - Daman and Diu
  - My friend hails from a country which does not share land boundary with India. Identify the country.
    - Bhutan
    - Tajikistan
    - Bangladesh
    - Nepal
- Answer the following questions briefly.
  - Name the group of islands lying in the Arabian Sea.
  - Name the countries which are larger than India.
  - Which island group of India lies to its south-east?
  - Which island countries are our southern neighbours?
- The sun rises two hours earlier in Arunachal Pradesh as compared to Gujarat in the west but the watches show the same time. How does this happen?
- The central location of India at the head of the Indian Ocean is considered of great significance. Why?

### MAP SKILLS

- Identify the following with the help of map reading.
  - The island groups of India lying in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.
  - The countries constituting Indian subcontinent.
  - The States through which the Tropic of Cancer passes.
  - The northernmost latitude in degrees.
  - The southernmost latitude of the Indian mainland in degrees.
  - The eastern and the western-most longitude in degrees.
  - The place situated on the three seas.
  - The strait separating Sri Lanka from India.
  - The Union Territories of India.

### PROJECT/ACTIVITY

- Find out the longitudinal and latitudinal extent of your state.
- Collect information about the 'Silk Route'. Also find out the new developments, which are improving communication routes in the regions of high altitude.



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# 2

## PHYSICAL FEATURES OF INDIA

**Y**ou have already learnt earlier that India is a vast country with varied land forms. What kind of terrain do you live in? If you live in the plains, you are familiar with the vast stretches of plain land. In contrast, if you live in hilly region, the rugged terrain with mountains and valleys are common features. In fact, our country has practically all major physical features of the earth, i.e., mountains, plains, deserts, plateaus and islands.

The land of India displays great physical variation. Geologically, the Peninsular Plateau constitutes one of the ancient landmasses on the earth's surface. It was supposed to be one of the most stable land blocks. The Himalayas and the Northern Plains are the most recent landforms. From the view point of geology, Himalayan mountains form an unstable zone. The whole mountain system of Himalaya represents a very youthful topography with high peaks, deep valleys and fast flowing rivers. The northern plains are formed of alluvial deposits. The peninsular plateau is composed of igneous and metamorphic rocks with gently rising hills and wide valleys.

### MAJOR PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

The physical features of India can be grouped under the following physiographic divisions (Figure 2.2):

- (1) The Himalayan Mountains
- (2) The Northern Plains
- (3) The Peninsular Plateau
- (4) The Indian Desert
- (5) The Coastal Plains
- (6) The Islands

### The Himalayan Mountains

The Himalayas, geologically young and structurally fold mountains stretch over the northern borders of India. These mountain ranges run in a west-east direction from the Indus to the Brahmaputra. The Himalayas represent the loftiest and one of the most rugged mountain barriers of the world. They form an arc, which covers a distance of about 2,400 Km. Their width varies from 400 Km in Kashmir to 150 Km in Arunachal Pradesh. The altitudinal variations are greater in the eastern half than those in the western half. The Himalaya consists of three parallel ranges in its longitudinal extent. A number of valleys lie between these ranges. The northern-most range is known as the Great or Inner Himalayas or the *Himadri*. It is the most continuous range consisting of the loftiest peaks with an average height of 6,000 metres. It contains all prominent Himalayan peaks.

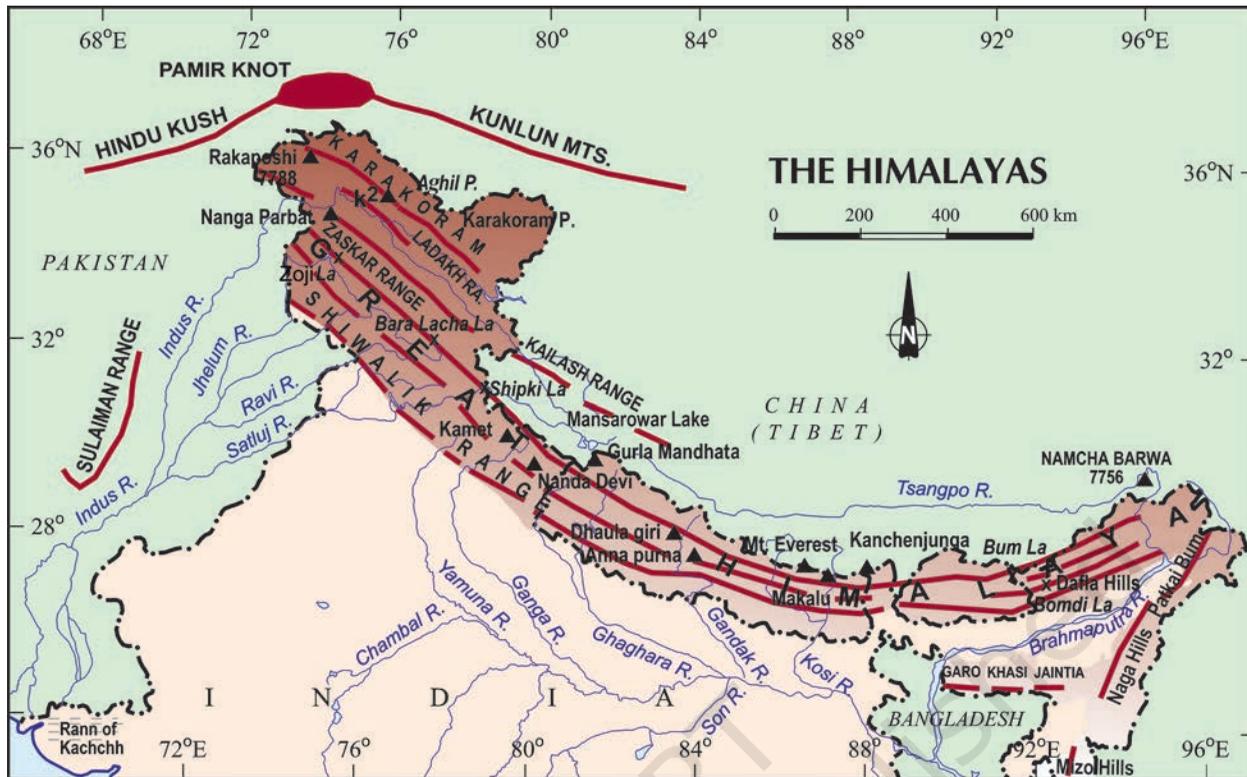


Figure 2.1 : Himalayas

**Some Highest Peaks of the Himalayas**

Peak	Country	Height in metres
Mt. Everest	Nepal	8848
Kanchenjunga	India	8598
Makalu	Nepal	8481
Dhaulagiri	Nepal	8172
Nanga Parbat	India	8126
Annapurna	Nepal	8078
Nanda Devi	India	7817
Kamet	India	7756
Namcha Barwa	India	7756
Gurla Mandhata	Nepal	7728

The folds of the Great Himalayas are asymmetrical in nature. The core of this part of Himalayas is composed of granite. It is perennially snow bound, and a number of glaciers descend from this range.

**Find out**

- The names of the glaciers and passes that lie in the Great Himalayas.
- The name of the states where the highest peaks are located.

The range lying to the south of the Himadri forms the most rugged mountain system and is known as *Himachal* or lesser Himalaya. The ranges are mainly composed of highly compressed and altered rocks. The altitude varies between 3,700 and 4,500 metres and the average width is of 50 Km. While the *Pir Panjal* range forms the longest and the most important range, the *Dhauladhar* and the *Mahabharat* ranges are also prominent ones. This range consists of the famous valley of Kashmir, the Kangra and Kullu Valley in Himachal Pradesh. This region is well-known for its hill stations.

**Find out**

- Location of Mussoorie, Nainital, Ranikhet from your atlas and also name the state where they are located.

The outer-most range of the Himalayas is called the **Shivaliks**. They extend over a width

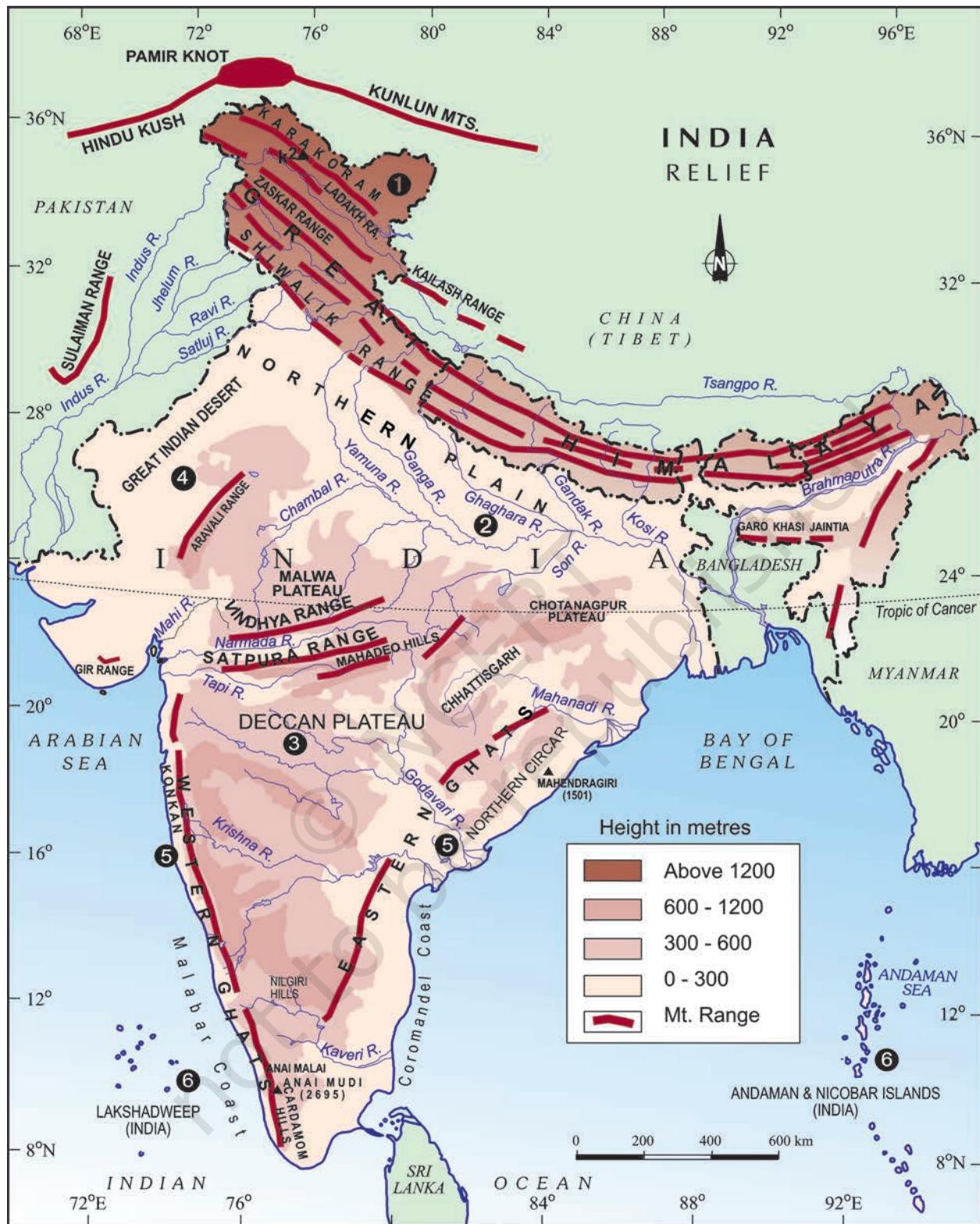


Figure 2.2 : Relief



Figure 2.3 : The Himalayas

of 10-50 Km and have an altitude varying between 900 and 1100 metres. These ranges are composed of unconsolidated sediments brought down by rivers from the main Himalayan ranges located farther north. These valleys are covered with thick gravel and alluvium. The longitudinal valley lying between lesser Himalaya and the Shiwaliks are known as Duns. Dehra Dun, Kotli Dun and Patli Dun are some of the well-known Duns.

Besides the longitudinal divisions, the Himalayas have been divided on the basis of regions from west to east. These divisions have been demarcated by river valleys. For example, the part of Himalayas lying between Indus and Satluj has been traditionally known as Punjab Himalaya but it is also known regionally as Kashmir and Himachal Himalaya from west to east respectively. The part of the Himalayas lying between Satluj and Kali rivers is known as Kumaon Himalayas. The Kali and Teesta rivers demarcate the Nepal Himalayas and the part lying between Teesta and Dihang rivers is known as Assam Himalayas. There are regional names also in these broad

categories. Find out some regional names of the Himalayas

The Brahmaputra marks the eastern-most boundary of the Himalayas. Beyond the Dihang gorge, the Himalayas bend sharply to the south and spread along the eastern boundary of India. They are known as the *Purvachal* or the Eastern hills and mountains. These hills running through the north-eastern states are mostly composed of strong sandstones, which are sedimentary rocks. Covered with dense forests, they mostly run as parallel ranges and valleys. The *Purvachal* comprises the *Patkai hills*, the *Naga hills*, the *Manipur hills* and the *Mizo hills*.



Figure 2.4 : Mizo Hills

## The Northern Plain

The northern plain has been formed by the interplay of the three major river systems, namely — the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra along with their tributaries. This plain is formed of alluvial soil. The deposition of alluvium in a vast basin lying at the foothills of the Himalaya over millions of years, formed this fertile plain. It spreads over an area of 7 lakh sq. km. The plain being about 2400 km long and 240 to 320 km broad, is a densely populated physiographic division. With a rich soil cover combined with adequate water supply and favourable climate it is agriculturally a productive part of India.



Figure 2.5 : The Northern Plains

The rivers coming from northern mountains are involved in depositional work. In the lower course, due to gentle slope, the velocity of the river decreases, which results in the formation of riverine islands.

### Do You Know?

Majuli, in the Brahmaputra river, is the largest inhabited riverine island in the world.

The rivers in their lower course split into numerous channels due to the deposition of silt. These channels are known as *distributaries*.

The Northern Plain is broadly divided into three sections. The Western part of the Northern Plain is referred to as the Punjab Plains. Formed by the Indus and its tributaries, the larger part of this plain lies in Pakistan. The Indus and its tributaries — the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Satluj originate in the Himalaya. This section of the plain is dominated by the *doabs*.

### Do You Know?

'Doab' is made up of two words — 'do' meaning two and 'ab' meaning water. Similarly 'Punjab', is also made up two words — 'Punj' meaning five and 'ab' meaning water.

The Ganga plain extends between Ghaggar and Teesta rivers. It is spread over the states of North India, Haryana, Delhi, U.P., Bihar, partly Jharkhand and West Bengal to its East, particularly in Assam lies the Brahmaputra plain.

The northern plains are generally described as flat land with no variations in its relief. It is not true. These vast plains also have diverse relief features. According to the variations in relief features, the Northern plains can be divided into four regions. The rivers, after descending from the mountains deposit pebbles in a narrow belt of about 8 to 16 km in width lying parallel to the slopes of the Shiwaliks. It is known as *bhabar*. All the streams disappear in this *bhabar* belt. South of this belt, the streams and rivers re-emerge and create a wet, swampy and marshy region known as *terai*. This was a thickly forested region full of wildlife. The forests have been cleared to create agricultural land and to settle migrants from Pakistan after partition. Locate Dudhwa National Park in this region.

The largest part of the northern plain is formed of older alluvium. It lies above the floodplains of the rivers and presents a terrace-like feature. This part is known as *bhangar*. The soil in this region contains calcareous deposits, locally known as *kankar*. The

newer, younger deposits of the floodplains are called *khadar*. They are renewed almost every year and so are fertile, thus, ideal for intensive agriculture.

### **The Peninsular Plateau**

The Peninsular plateau is a tableland composed of the old crystalline, igneous and metamorphic rocks. It was formed due to the breaking and drifting of the Gondwana land and thus, making it a part of the oldest landmass. The plateau has broad and shallow valleys and rounded hills. This plateau consists of two broad divisions, namely, the Central Highlands and the Deccan Plateau. The part of the Peninsular plateau lying to the north of the Narmada river, covering a major area of the Malwa plateau, is known as the Central Highlands. The Vindhyan range is bounded by the Satpura range on the south and the Aravalis on the northwest. The further westward extension gradually merges with the sandy and rocky desert of Rajasthan. The flow of the rivers draining this region, namely the Chambal, the Sind, the Betwa and the Ken is from southwest to northeast, thus indicating the slope. The Central Highlands are wider in the west but narrower in the east. The eastward extensions of this plateau are locally known as the *Bundelkhand* and *Baghelkhand*.



Figure 2.6 : A Waterfall in Chotanagpur Plateau

The Chotanagpur plateau marks the further eastward extension, drained by the Damodar river.

The Deccan Plateau is a triangular landmass that lies to the south of the river Narmada. The Satpura range flanks its broad base in the north, while the Mahadev, the Kaimur hills and the Maikal range form its eastern extensions. Locate these hills and ranges in the Physical map of India. The Deccan Plateau is higher in the west and slopes gently eastwards. An extension of the Plateau is also visible in the northeast, locally known as the Meghalaya, Karbi-Anglong Plateau and North Cachar Hills. It is separated by a fault from the Chotanagpur Plateau. Three prominent hill ranges from the west to the east are the Garo, the Khasi and the Jaintia Hills.

The **Western Ghats** and the **Eastern Ghats** mark the western and the eastern edges of the Deccan Plateau respectively. Western Ghats lie parallel to the western coast. They are continuous and can be crossed through passes only. Locate the Thal, Bhore and Pal Ghats in the Physical map of India.

The Western Ghats are higher than the Eastern Ghats. Their average elevation is 900–1600 metres as against 600 metres of the Eastern Ghats. The Eastern Ghats stretch from the Mahanadi Valley to the Nigiris in the south. The Eastern Ghats are discontinuous and irregular and dissected by rivers draining into the Bay of Bengal. The Western Ghats cause orographic rain by facing the rain bearing moist winds to rise along the western slopes of the Ghats. The Western Ghats are known by different local names. The height of the Western Ghats progressively increases from north to south. The highest peaks include the Anai Mudi (2,695 metres) and the Doda Betta (2,637 metres). Mahendragiri (1,501 metres) is the highest peak in the Eastern Ghats. Shevroy Hills and the Javadi Hills are located to the southeast of the

Eastern Ghats. Locate the famous hill stations of Udagamandalam, popularly known as Ooty and the Kodaikanal.

One of the distinct features of the Peninsular plateau is the black soil area known as Deccan Trap. This is of volcanic origin, hence, the rocks are igneous. Actually, these rocks have denuded over time and are responsible for the formation of black soil. The Aravali Hills lie on the western and northwestern margins of the Peninsular plateau. These are highly eroded hills and are found as broken hills. They extend from Gujarat to Delhi in a southwest-northeast direction.

### The Indian Desert

The Indian desert lies towards the western margins of the Aravali Hills. It is an undulating sandy plain covered with sand dunes. This region receives very low rainfall below 150 mm per year. It has arid climate with low vegetation cover. Streams appear during the rainy season. Soon after they disappear into the sand as they do not have enough water to reach the sea. Luni is the only large river in this region.



Figure 2.7 : The Indian Desert

Barchans (crescent-shaped dunes) cover larger areas but longitudinal dunes become

more prominent near the Indo-Pakistan boundary. If you visit Jaisalmer, you may go to see a group of barchans.

### The Coastal Plains

The Peninsular plateau is flanked by stretch of narrow coastal strips, running along the *Arabian Sea* on the *west* and the *Bay of Bengal* on the *east*. The *western coast*, sandwiched between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, is a narrow plain. It consists of three sections. The *northern* part of the coast is called the *Konkan* (Mumbai – Goa), the central stretch is called the *Kannad Plain*, while the *southern* stretch is referred to as the *Malabar coast*.



Figure 2.8 : The Coastal Plains

The plains along the Bay of Bengal are wide and level. In the northern part, it is referred to as the *Northern Circar*, while the *southern* part is known as the *Coromandel Coast*. Large rivers, such as the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri have formed extensive delta on this coast. Lake Chilika is an important feature along the eastern coast.

### Do You Know?

The Chilika Lake is the largest salt water lake in India. It lies in the state of Odisha, to the south of the Mahanadi delta.

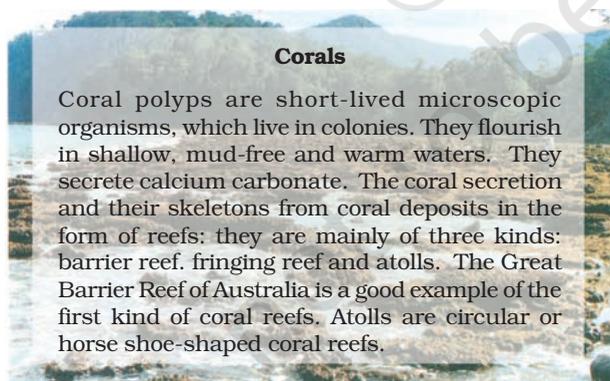
## The Islands

You have already seen that India has a vast mainland. Besides this, the country has two groups of islands. Can you identify these island groups?



Figure 2.9 : An Island

Locate the Lakshadweep Islands group lying close to the Malabar coast of Kerala. This group of islands is composed of small coral islands. Earlier they were known as Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindive. In 1973, these were named as Lakshadweep. It covers small area of 32 sq km. Kavaratti island is the administrative headquarters of Lakshadweep. This island group has great diversity of flora and fauna. The Pitti island, which is uninhabited, has a bird sanctuary.



### Corals

Coral polyps are short-lived microscopic organisms, which live in colonies. They flourish in shallow, mud-free and warm waters. They secrete calcium carbonate. The coral secretion and their skeletons form coral deposits in the form of reefs: they are mainly of three kinds: barrier reef, fringing reef and atolls. The Great Barrier Reef of Australia is a good example of the first kind of coral reefs. Atolls are circular or horse shoe-shaped coral reefs.

Now you see the elongated chain of islands located in the Bay of Bengal extending from north to south. These are Andaman and Nicobar islands. They are bigger in size and are more numerous and scattered. The entire group of islands is divided into two broad categories – The Andaman in the north and the Nicobar in the south. It is believed that these islands are an elevated portion of submarine mountains. These island groups are of great strategic importance for the country. There is great diversity of flora and fauna in this group of islands too. These islands lie close to equator and experience equatorial climate and has thick forest cover.

### Do You Know?

India's only active volcano is found on Barren island in Andaman and Nicobar group of Islands.

A detailed account of the different physiographic units highlights the unique features of each region. It would, however, be clear that each region complements the other and makes the country richer in its natural resources. The mountains are the major sources of water and forest wealth. The northern plains are the granaries of the country. They provide the base for early civilisations. The plateau is a storehouse of minerals, which has played a crucial role in the industrialisation of the country. The coastal region and island groups provide sites for fishing and port activities. Thus, the diverse physical features of the land have immense future possibilities of development.

## EXERCISE

1. Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
  - (i) A landmass bounded by sea on three sides is referred to as
    - (a) Coast
    - (b) Island
    - (c) Peninsula
    - (d) None of the above
  - (ii) Mountain ranges in the eastern part of India forming its boundary with Myanmar are collectively called
    - (a) Himachal
    - (b) Uttarakhand
    - (c) Purvachal
    - (d) None of the above
  - (iii) The western coastal strip, south of Goa is referred to as
    - (a) Coromandel
    - (b) Konkan
    - (c) Kannad
    - (d) Northern Circar
  - (iv) The highest peak in the Eastern Ghats is
    - (a) Anai Mudi
    - (b) Kanchenjunga
    - (c) Mahendragiri
    - (d) Khasi
2. Answer the following questions briefly.
  - (i) What is the *bhabar*?
  - (ii) Name the three major divisions of the Himalayas from north to south.
  - (iii) Which plateau lies between the Aravali and the Vindhyan ranges?
  - (iv) Name the island group of India having coral origin.
3. Distinguish between
  - (i) *Bhangar and Khadar*
  - (ii) Western Ghats and Eastern Ghats
4. Which are the major physiographic divisions of India? Contrast the relief of the Himalayan region with that of the Peninsular plateau.
5. Give an account of the Northern Plains of India.
6. Write short notes on the following.
  - (i) The Indian Desert
  - (ii) The Central Highlands
  - (iii) The Island groups of India

### MAP SKILLS

On an outline map of India show the following.

- (i) Mountain and hill ranges – the Karakoram, the Zaskar, the Patkai Bum, the Jaintia, the Vindhya range, the Aravali, and the Cardamom hills.
- (ii) Peaks – K2, Kanchenjunga, Nanga Parbat and the Anai Mudi.
- (iii) Plateaus, Chotanagpur and Malwa
- (iv) The Indian Desert, Western Ghats, Lakshadweep Islands

### PROJECT/ACTIVITY

Locate the peaks, passes, ranges, plateaus, hills, and duns hidden in the puzzle. Try to find where these features are located. You may start your search horizontally, vertically or diagonally.

E	M	K	U	N	L	N	A	T	H	U	L	A	R	I	A	H	I	A	T
M	H	A	S	J	M	A	N	J	K	M	A	J	L	B	H	O	R	P	J
J	N	V	F	A	E	T	D	C	A	R	D	E	M	O	M	L	O	M	K
C	R	E	I	I	Q	H	M	O	I	F	T	N	X	M	A	X	F	C	T
N	M	T	S	N	A	U	Q	R	M	S	A	N	A	D	I	D	A	N	J
A	B	X	A	T	G	A	R	O	U	L	F	V	D	I	K	P	T	D	C
C	Y	C	H	I	G	A	M	M	R	D	T	I	Z	L	A	J	P	O	K
H	R	T	K	A	N	C	H	E	N	J	U	N	G	A	L	U	L	B	E
O	O	M	O	P	I	T	P	N	O	S	S	D	D	K	S	P	D	O	K
T	D	A	N	M	L	M	D	D	C	S	A	H	L	S	A	I	E	E	J
A	R	R	K	A	G	T	H	A	R	H	E	Y	D	H	H	A	I	A	R
N	S	A	A	L	I	A	T	L	E	I	Y	A	B	A	Y	T	H	R	L
A	Z	V	N	W	R	E	D	S	P	P	A	N	H	D	A	O	J	U	K
G	O	A	N	A	I	M	U	D	I	K	D	P	M	W	D	A	B	P	E
P	A	L	L	J	S	H	E	V	R	I	Y	E	V	E	R	E	S	T	M
U	O	I	M	Y	R	Y	P	A	T	L	I	G	J	E	I	T	H	A	R
R	K	I	Q	S	L	A	H	C	N	A	V	R	V	P	E	A	T	S	P



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# 3

## DRAINAGE

The term **drainage** describes the river system of an area. Look at the physical map. You will notice that small streams flowing from different directions come together to form the main river, which ultimately drains into a large water body such as a lake or a sea or an ocean. The area drained by a single river system is called a **drainage basin**. A closer observation on a map will indicate that any elevated area, such as a mountain or an upland, separates two drainage basins. Such an upland is known as a **water divide** (Figure 3.1).

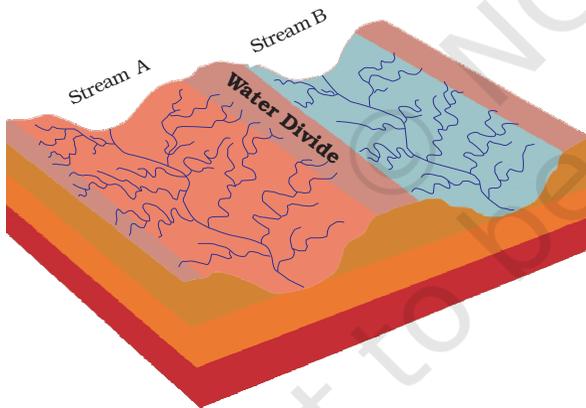


Figure 3.1 : Water Divide

### Do You Know?

The world's largest drainage basin is of the Amazon river

### Find out

• Which river has the largest basin in India?

### DRAINAGE SYSTEMS IN INDIA

The drainage systems of India are mainly controlled by the broad relief features of the subcontinent. Accordingly, the Indian rivers are divided into two major groups:

- the Himalayan rivers; and
- the Peninsular rivers.

Apart from originating from the two major physiographic regions of India, the Himalayan and the Peninsular rivers are different from each other in many ways. Most of the Himalayan rivers are **perennial**. It means that they have water throughout the year. These rivers receive water from rain as well as from melted snow from the lofty mountains. The two major Himalayan rivers, the Indus and the Brahmaputra originate from the north of the mountain ranges. They have cut through the mountains making gorges. The Himalayan rivers have long courses from their source to the sea.



Figure 3.2 : A Gorge

They perform intensive erosional activity in their upper courses and carry huge loads of silt and sand. In the middle and the lower courses, these rivers form meanders, oxbow lakes, and many other depositional features in their floodplains. They also have well-developed deltas (Figure 3.3).

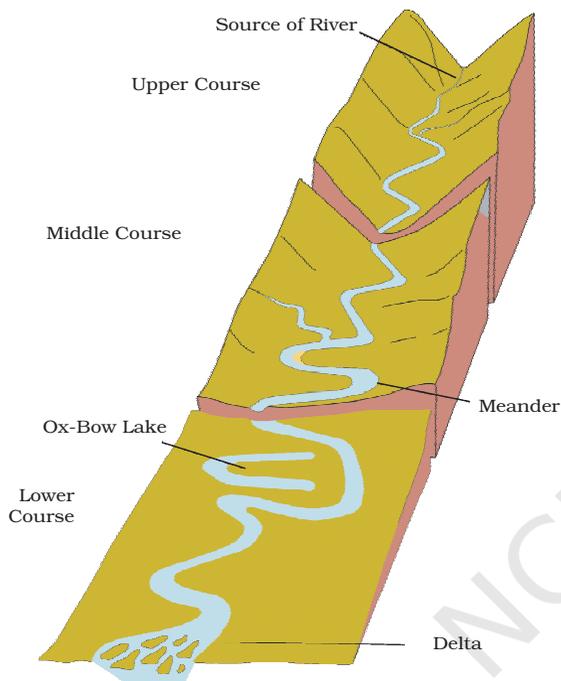


Figure 3.3 : Some Features Made by Rivers

A large number of the Peninsular rivers are seasonal, as their flow is dependent on rainfall. During the dry season, even the large rivers have reduced flow of water in their channels. The Peninsular rivers have shorter and shallower courses as compared to their Himalayan counterparts. However, some of them originate in the central highlands and flow towards the west. Can you identify two such large rivers? Most of the rivers of peninsular India originate in the Western Ghats and flow towards the Bay of Bengal.

## The Himalayan Rivers

The major Himalayan rivers are the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. These rivers are long, and are joined by many large and important tributaries. A river along with its tributaries may be called a **river system**.

### The Indus River System

The river Indus rises in Tibet, near Lake Mansarowar. Flowing west, it enters India in the Ladakh. It forms a picturesque gorge in this part. Several tributaries, the Zaskar, the Nubra, the Shyok and the Hunza, join it in the Kashmir region. The Indus flows through Baltistan and Gilgit and emerges from the mountains at Attock. The Satluj, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chenab and the Jhelum join together to enter the Indus near Mithankot in Pakistan. Beyond this, the Indus flows southwards eventually reaching the Arabian Sea, east of Karachi. The Indus plain has a very gentle slope. With a total length of 2900 km, the Indus is one of the longest rivers of the world. A little over a third of the Indus basin is located in India Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab and the rest is in Pakistan.

### Do You Know?

- According to the regulations of the **Indus Water Treaty (1960)**, India can use only 20 per cent of the total water carried by the Indus river system. This water is used for irrigation in Punjab, Haryana and the southern and the western parts of Rajasthan.

### The Ganga River System

The headwaters of the Ganga, called the 'Bhagirathi' is fed by the Gangotri Glacier and joined by the Alaknanda at Devaprayag in Uttarakhand. At Haridwar, the Ganga emerges from the mountains on to the plains.



Figure 3.4 : Major Rivers and Lakes

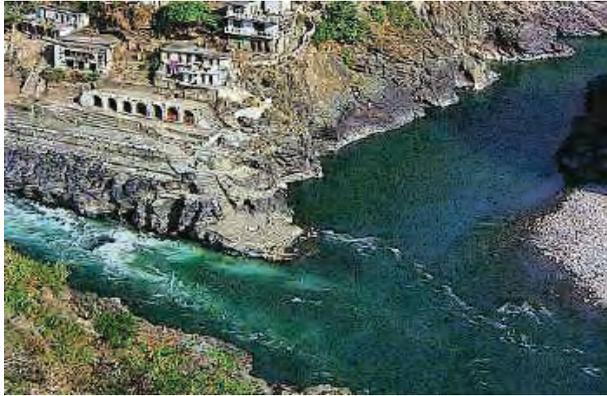


Figure 3.5 : Confluence of Bhagirathi and Alaknanda at Devaprayag

The Ganga is joined by many tributaries from the Himalayas, a few of them being major rivers, such as the Yamuna, the Ghaghara, the Gandak and the Kosi. The river Yamuna rises from the Yamunotri Glacier in the Himalayas. It flows parallel to the Ganga and as a right bank tributary meets the Ganga at Allahabad. The Ghaghara, the Gandak and the Kosi rise in the Nepal Himalaya. They are the rivers, which flood parts of the northern plains every year, causing widespread damage to life and property, whereas, they enrich the soil for agricultural use.

The main tributaries, which come from the peninsular uplands, are the Chambal, the Betwa and the Son. These rise from semi-arid areas, have shorter courses and do not carry much water in them. Find out where and how they ultimately join the Ganga.

### Do You Know?

- The *Namami Gange Programme* is an Integrated Conservation Mission approved as a 'flagship programme' by the Union Government in June 2014 to accomplish the twin objectives of effective abatement of pollution, conservation and rejuvenation of the national river, Ganga. You may explore about this project at <http://nmcg.nic.in/NamamiGanga.ssp#>

Enlarged with the waters from its right and left bank tributaries, the Ganga flows eastwards till Farakka in West Bengal. This is

the northernmost point of the Ganga delta. The river bifurcates here; the Bhagirathi-Hooghly (a distributary) flows southwards through the deltaic plains to the Bay of Bengal. The mainstream, flows southwards into Bangladesh and is joined by the Brahmaputra. Further downstream, it is known as the Meghna. This mighty river, with waters from the Ganga and the Brahmaputra, flows into the Bay of Bengal. The delta formed by these rivers is known as the *Sundarban Delta*.

### Do You Know?

- The Sundarban Delta derived its name from the Sundari tree, which grows well in marshland.
- It is the world's largest and fastest growing delta. It is also the home of Royal Bengal tiger.

The length of the Ganga is over 2500 km. Look at Figure 3.4; can you identify the type of drainage pattern formed by the Ganga river system? Ambala is located on the water divide between the Indus and the Ganga river systems. The plains from Ambala to the Sunderban stretch over nearly 1800 km, but the fall in its slope is hardly 300 metres. In other words, there is a fall of just one metre for every 6 km. Therefore, the river develops large meanders.

### The Brahmaputra River System

The Brahmaputra rises in Tibet east of Mansarowar lake very close to the sources of the Indus and the Satluj. It is slightly longer than the Indus, and most of its course lies outside India. It flows eastwards parallel to the Himalayas. On reaching the Namcha Barwa (7757 m), it takes a 'U' turn and enters India in Arunachal Pradesh through a gorge. Here, it is called the Dihang and it is joined by the Dibang, the Lohit, and many other tributaries to form the Brahmaputra in Assam.

### Do You Know?

- Brahmaputra is known as the Tsang Po in Tibet and Jamuna in Bangladesh.

In Tibet, the river carries a smaller volume of water and less silt as it is a cold and a dry area. In India, it passes through a region of high rainfall. Here the river carries a large volume of water and considerable amount of silt. The Brahmaputra has a braided channel in its entire length in Assam and forms many riverine islands. Do you remember the name of the world's largest riverine island formed by the Brahmaputra?

Every year during the rainy season, the river overflows its banks, causing widespread devastation due to floods in Assam and Bangladesh. Unlike other north Indian rivers, the Brahmaputra is marked by huge deposits of silt on its bed causing the riverbed to rise. The river also shifts its channel frequently.

### The Peninsular Rivers

The main water divide in Peninsular India is formed by the Western Ghats, which runs from north to south close to the western coast. Most of the major rivers of the Peninsula, such as the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri flow eastwards and drain into the Bay of Bengal. These rivers make deltas at their mouths. There are numerous small streams flowing west of the Western Ghats. The Narmada and the Tapi are the only long rivers, which flow west and make estuaries. The drainage basins of the peninsular rivers are comparatively smaller in size.

#### *The Narmada Basin*

The Narmada rises in the Amarkantak hills in Madhya Pradesh. It flows towards the west in a rift valley formed due to faulting. On its way to the sea, the Narmada creates many picturesque locations. The 'Marble rocks', near Jabalpur, where the Narmada flows through a deep gorge, and the 'Dhuadhar falls, where the river plunges over steep rocks, are some of the notable ones.

### Do You Know?

- The Narmada river conservation mission has been undertaken by the government of Madhya Pradesh by a scheme named *Namami Devi Narmade*. You may visit their website. <http://www.namamidevinarmade.mp.gov.in> to learn more about it.

All tributaries of the Narmada are very short and most of these join the main stream at right angles. The Narmada basin covers parts of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.

#### *The Tapi Basin*

The Tapi rises in the Satpura ranges, in the Betul district of Madhya Pradesh. It also flows in a rift valley parallel to the Narmada but it is much shorter in length. Its basin covers parts of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The coastal plains between Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea are very narrow. Hence, the coastal rivers are short. The main west flowing rivers are Sabarmati, Mahi, Bharathpuzha and Periyar. Find out the states in which these rivers drain the water.

#### *The Godavari Basin*

The Godavari is the largest Peninsular river. It rises from the slopes of the Western Ghats in the Nasik district of Maharashtra. Its length is about 1500 km. It drains into the Bay of Bengal. Its drainage basin is also the largest among the peninsular rivers. The basin covers parts of Maharashtra (about 50 per cent of the basin area lies in Maharashtra), Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. The Godavari is joined by a number of tributaries, such as the Purna, the Wardha, the Pranhita, the Manjra, the Wainganga and the Penganga. The last three tributaries are very large. Because of its length and the area it covers, it is also known as the *Dakshin Ganga*.

#### *The Mahanadi Basin*

The Mahanadi rises in the highlands of Chhattisgarh. It flows through Odisha to reach

the Bay of Bengal. The length of the river is about 860 km. Its drainage basin is shared by Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Odisha.

#### The Krishna Basin

Rising from a spring near Mahabaleshwar, the Krishna flows for about 1400 km and reaches the Bay of Bengal. The Tungabhadra, the Koyana, the Ghatprabha, the Musi and the Bhima are some of its tributaries. Its drainage basin is shared by Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

#### The Kaveri Basin

The Kaveri rises in the Brahmagiri range of the Western Ghats and it reaches the Bay of Bengal in south of Cuddalore in Tamil Nadu. The total length of the river is about 760 km. Its main tributaries are Amravati, Bhavani, Hemavati and Kabini. Its basin drains parts of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

#### Do You Know?

- The river Kaveri makes the second biggest waterfall in India, known as Shivasamudram Falls. The hydroelectric power generated from the falls is supplied to Mysuru, Bengaluru and the Kolar Gold Field.

#### Find out

- The name of the biggest waterfall in India.

Besides these major rivers, there are some smaller rivers flowing towards the east. The Damoder, the Brahmani, the Baitarni and the Subarnrekha are some notable examples. Locate them in your atlas.

#### Do You Know?

- 71 per cent of the world's surface is covered with water, but 97 per cent of that is salt water.
- Of the 3 per cent that is available as freshwater, three quarters of it is trapped as ice.

## LAKES

You may be familiar with the valley of Kashmir and the famous Dal Lake, the house boats and *shikaras*, which attract thousands of tourists every year. Similarly, you may have visited some other tourist spot near a lake and enjoyed boating, swimming and other water games.

Imagine that if Srinagar, Nainital and other tourists places did not have a lake would they have been as attractive as they are today? Have you ever tried to know the importance of lakes in making a place attractive to tourists? Apart from attraction for tourists, lakes are also useful to human beings in many ways.

#### Find out

- Lakes of large extent are called seas, like the Caspian, the Dead and the Aral seas.

India has many lakes. These differ from each other in size and other characteristics. Most lakes are permanent; some contain water only during the rainy season, like the lakes in the basins of inland drainage of semi-arid regions. There are some lakes which are the result of the action of glaciers and ice sheets, while others have been formed by wind, river action and human activities.

A meandering river across a floodplain forms **cut-offs** that later develops into **ox-bow** lakes. Spits and bars form lagoons in the coastal areas, e.g. the Chilika lake, the Pulicat lake and the Kolleru lake. Lakes in the region of inland drainage are sometimes seasonal; for example, the Sambhar lake in Rajasthan, which is a salt water lake. Its water is used for producing salt.

Most of the freshwater lakes are in the Himalayan region. They are of glacial origin. In other words, they formed when glaciers dug out a basin, which was later filled with snowmelt. The Wular lake in Jammu and Kashmir, in contrast, is the result of tectonic activity. It is the largest freshwater lake in India. The Dal lake, Bhimtal, Nainital, Loktak and Barapani are some other important freshwater lakes.



Figure 3.6 : Loktak Lake

Apart from natural lakes, the damming of the rivers for the generation of hydel power has also led to the formation of lakes, such as Guru Gobind Sagar (Bhakra Nangal Project).

#### Activity

Make a list of natural and artificial lakes with the help of the atlas.

Lakes are of great value to human beings. A lake helps to regulate the flow of a river. During heavy rains, it prevents flooding and during the dry season, it helps to maintain an even flow of water. Lakes can also be used for developing hydel power. They moderate the climate of the surroundings; maintain the aquatic ecosystem, enhance natural beauty, help develop tourism and provide recreation.

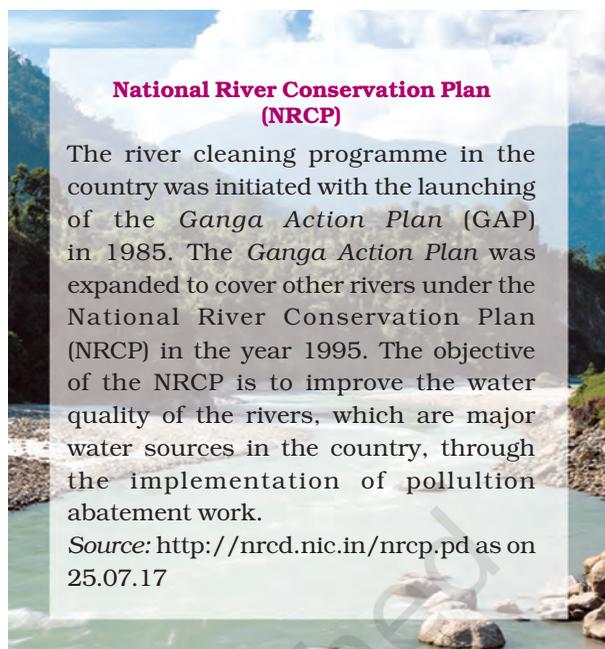
### ROLE OF RIVERS IN THE ECONOMY

Rivers have been of fundamental importance throughout the human history. Water from rivers is a basic natural resource, essential for various human activities. Therefore, riverbanks have attracted settlers from ancient times. These settlements have now become big cities. Make a list of cities in your state which are located on the bank of a river.

Using rivers for irrigation, navigation, hydro-power generation is of special significance — particularly to a country like India, where agriculture is the major source of livelihood of the majority of its population.

### RIVER POLLUTION

The growing domestic, municipal, industrial and agricultural demand for water from rivers naturally affects the quality of water. As a



#### National River Conservation Plan (NRCP)

The river cleaning programme in the country was initiated with the launching of the *Ganga Action Plan* (GAP) in 1985. The *Ganga Action Plan* was expanded to cover other rivers under the National River Conservation Plan (NRCP) in the year 1995. The objective of the NRCP is to improve the water quality of the rivers, which are major water sources in the country, through the implementation of pollution abatement work.

Source: <http://nrcd.nic.in/nrcp.pd> as on 25.07.17

result, more and more water is being drained out of the rivers reducing their volume. On the other hand, a heavy load of untreated sewage and industrial effluents are emptied into the rivers. This affects not only the quality of water but also the self-cleansing capacity of the river. For example, given the adequate streamflow, the Ganga water is able to dilute and assimilate pollution loads within 20 km of large cities. But the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation do not allow it to happen and the pollution level of many rivers has been rising. Concern over rising pollution in our rivers led to the launching of various action plans to clean the rivers. Have you heard about such action plans? How does our health get affected by polluted river water? Think about “life of human beings without fresh water”. Arrange a debate on this topic in the class.

### EXERCISE

1. Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
  - (i) *In which of the following states is the Wular lake located?*
    - (a) Rajasthan
    - (b) Uttar Pradesh
    - (c) Punjab
    - (d) Jammu and Kashmir

- (ii) The river Narmada has its source at  
 (a) Satpura (c) Amarkantak  
 (b) Brahmagiri (d) Slopes of the Western Ghats
- (iii) Which one of the following lakes is a salt water lake?  
 (a) Sambhar (c) Wular  
 (b) Dal (d) Gobind Sagar
- (iv) Which one of the following is the longest river of the Peninsular India?  
 (a) Narmada (c) Godavari  
 (b) Krishna (d) Mahanadi
- (v) Which one amongst the following rivers flows through a rift valley?  
 (a) Mahanadi (c) Krishna  
 (b) Tungabhadra (d) Tapi
2. Answer the following questions briefly.
- (i) What is meant by a water divide? Give an example.  
 (ii) Which is the largest river basin in India?  
 (iii) Where do the rivers Indus and Ganga have their origin?  
 (iv) Name the two headstreams of the Ganga. Where do they meet to form the Ganga?  
 (v) Why does the Brahmaputra in its Tibetan part have less silt, despite a longer course?  
 (vi) Which two Peninsular rivers flow through trough?  
 (vii) State some economic benefits of rivers and lakes.
3. Below are given names of a few lakes of India. Group them under two categories – natural and created by human beings.
- (a) Wular (b) Dal  
 (c) Nainital (d) Bhimtal  
 (e) Gobind Sagar (f) Loktak  
 (g) Barapani (h) Chilika  
 (i) Sambhar (j) Rana Pratap Sagar  
 (k) Nizam Sagar (l) Pulicat  
 (m) Nagarjuna Sagar (n) Hirakund
4. Discuss the significant difference between the Himalayan and the Peninsular rivers.
5. Compare the east flowing and the west flowing rivers of the Peninsular plateau.
6. Why are rivers important for the country's economy?

### Map Skills

- (i) On an outline map of India mark and label the following rivers: Ganga, Satluj, Damodar, Krishna, Narmada, Tapi, Mahanadi, and Brahmaputra.
- (ii) On an outline map of India mark and label the following lakes: Chilika, Sambhar, Wular, Pulicat, Kolleru.

### Project/Activity

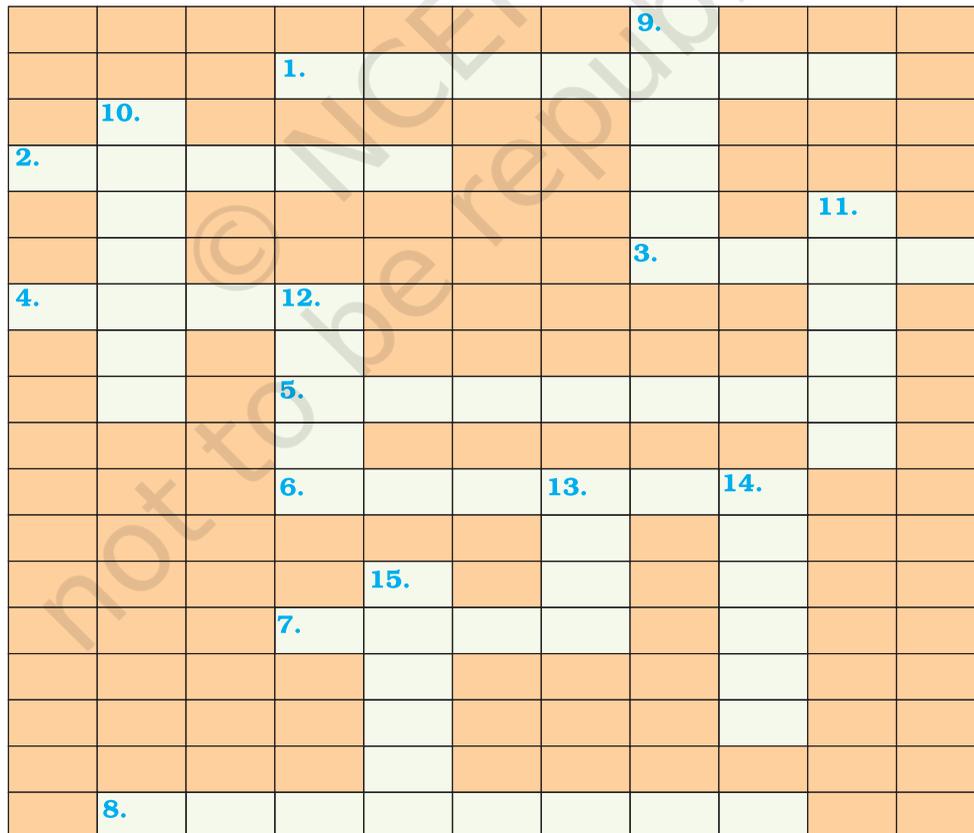
Solve this crossword puzzle with the help of given clues.

#### Across

1. Nagarjuna Sagar is a river valley project. Name the river?
2. The longest river of India.
3. The river which originates from a place known as Beas Kund.
4. The river which rises in the Betul district of MP and flows westwards.
5. The river which was known as the "Sorrow" of West Bengal.
6. The river on which the reservoir for Indira Gandhi Canal has been built.
7. The river whose source lies near Rohtang Pass.
8. The longest river of Peninsular India?

#### Down

9. A tributary of Indus originating from Himachal Pradesh.
10. The river flowing through fault, drains into the Arabian Sea.
11. A river of south India, which receives rainwater both in summer and winter.
12. A river which flows through Ladakh, Gilgit and Pakistan.
13. An important river of the Indian desert.
14. The river which joins Chenab in Pakistan.
15. A river which rises at Yamunotri glacier.





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# 4

## CLIMATE

In the last two chapters you have read about the landforms and the drainage of our country. These are the two of the three basic elements that one learns about the natural environment of any area. In this chapter you will learn about the third, that is, the atmospheric conditions that prevail over our country. Why do we wear woollens in December or why it is hot and uncomfortable in the month of May, and why it rains in June - July? The answers to all these questions can be found out by studying about the climate of India.

**Climate** refers to the sum total of weather conditions and variations over a large area for a long period of time (more than thirty years). **Weather** refers to the state of the atmosphere over an area at any point of time. The elements of weather and climate are the same, i.e. temperature, atmospheric pressure, wind, humidity and precipitation. You may have observed that the weather conditions fluctuate very often even within a day. But there is some common pattern over a few weeks or months, i.e. days are cool or hot, windy or calm, cloudy or bright, and wet or dry. On the basis of the generalised monthly atmospheric conditions, the year is divided into seasons such as winter, summer or rainy seasons.

The world is divided into a number of climatic regions. Do you know what type of climate India has and why it is so? We will learn about it in this chapter.

### Do You Know?

- The word monsoon is derived from the Arabic word 'mausim' which literally means season.
- 'Monsoon' refers to the seasonal reversal in the wind direction during a year.

The climate of India is described as the '**monsoon**' type. In Asia, this type of climate is found mainly in the south and the southeast. Despite an overall unity in the general pattern, there are perceptible regional variations in climatic conditions within the country. Let us take two important elements – temperature and precipitation, and examine how they vary from place to place and season to season.

In summer, the mercury occasionally touches 50°C in some parts of the Rajasthan desert, whereas it may be around 20°C in Pahalgam in Jammu and Kashmir. On a winter night, temperature at Drass in Jammu and Kashmir may be as low as minus 45°C. Thiruvananthapuram, on the other hand, may have a temperature of 22°C.

### Do You Know?

In certain places there is a wide difference between day and night temperatures. In the Thar Desert the day temperature may rise to 50°C, and drop down to near 15°C the same night. On the other hand, there is hardly any difference in day and night temperatures in the Andaman and Nicobar islands or in Kerala.

Let us now look at precipitation. There are variations not only in the form and types of precipitation but also in its amount and the seasonal distribution. While precipitation is mostly in the form of snowfall in the upper parts of Himalayas, it rains over the rest of the country. The annual precipitation varies from over 400 cm in Meghalaya to less than 10 cm in Ladakh and western Rajasthan. Most parts of the country receive rainfall from June to September. But some parts like the Tamil Nadu

coast gets a large portion of its rain during October and November.

In general, coastal areas experience less contrasts in temperature conditions. Seasonal contrasts are more in the interior of the country. There is decrease in rainfall generally from east to west in the Northern Plains. These variations have given rise to variety in lives of people – in terms of the food they eat, the clothes they wear and also the kind of houses they live in.

### Find out

Why the houses in Rajasthan have thick walls and flat roofs?

- Why is it that the houses in the Tarai region and in Goa and Mangalore have sloping roofs?
- Why houses in Assam are built on stilts?

## CLIMATIC CONTROLS

There are six major controls of the climate of any place. They are: **latitude, altitude, pressure and wind system, distance from the sea** (continentality), **ocean currents and relief features**.

Due to the curvature of the earth, the amount of solar energy received varies according to **latitude**. As a result, air temperature generally decreases from the equator towards the poles. As one goes from the surface of the earth to higher **altitudes**, the atmosphere becomes less dense and temperature decreases. The hills are therefore cooler during summers. The **pressure and wind** system of any area depend on the latitude and altitude of the place. Thus it influences the temperature and rainfall pattern. The sea exerts a moderating influence on climate: As the **distance from the sea** increases, its moderating influence decreases and the people experience extreme weather conditions. This condition is known as continentality (i.e. very hot during summers and very cold during winters). **Ocean currents** along with onshore winds affect the climate of the coastal areas, For example, any coastal area with warm or cold currents flowing past it, will be warmed or cooled if the winds are onshore.

### Find out

• Why most of the world's deserts are located in the western margins of continents in the subtropics?

Finally, **relief** too plays a major role in determining the climate of a place. High mountains act as barriers for cold or hot winds; they may also cause precipitation if they are high enough and lie in the path of rain-bearing winds. The leeward side of mountains remains relatively dry.

## FACTORS AFFECTING INDIA'S CLIMATE

### Latitude

The Tropic of Cancer passes through the middle of the country from the Rann of Kutch in the west to Mizoram in the east. Almost half of the country, lying south of the Tropic of Cancer, belongs to the tropical area. All the remaining area, north of the Tropic, lies in the sub-tropics. Therefore, India's climate has characteristics of tropical as well as subtropical climates.

### Altitude

India has mountains to the north, which have an average height of about 6,000 metres. India also has a vast coastal area where the maximum elevation is about 30 metres. The Himalayas prevent the cold winds from Central Asia from entering the subcontinent. It is because of these mountains that this subcontinent experiences comparatively milder winters as compared to central Asia.

### Pressure and Winds

The climate and associated weather conditions in India are governed by the following atmospheric conditions:

- **Pressure and surface winds;**
- **Upper air circulation; and**
- **Western cyclonic disturbances and tropical cyclones.**

India lies in the region of north easterly winds. These winds originate from the subtropical high-pressure belt of the northern

hemisphere. They blow southwards, get deflected to the right due to the Coriolis force, and move towards the equatorial low-pressure area. Generally, these winds carry little moisture as they originate and blow over land. Therefore, they bring little or no rain. Hence, India should have been an arid land, but it is not so. Let us see why?

**Coriolis force:** An apparent force caused by the earth's rotation. The Coriolis force is responsible for deflecting winds towards the right in the northern hemisphere and towards the left in the southern hemisphere. This is also known as 'Ferrel's Law'.

The pressure and wind conditions over India are unique. During winter, there is a high-pressure area north of the Himalayas. Cold dry winds blow from this region to the low-pressure areas over the oceans to the south. In summer, a low-pressure area develops over interior Asia, as well as, over northwestern India. This causes a complete reversal of the direction of winds during summer. Air moves from the high-pressure area over the southern Indian Ocean, in a south-easterly direction, crosses the equator, and turns right towards the low-pressure areas over the Indian subcontinent. These are known as the Southwest Monsoon winds. These winds blow over the warm oceans, gather moisture and bring widespread rainfall over the mainland of India.

The upper air circulation in this region is dominated by a westerly flow. An important component of this flow is the **jet stream**.

These jet streams are located approximately over 27°-30° north latitude, therefore, they are known as *subtropical westerly jet streams*. Over India, these jet streams blow south of the

**Jet stream:** These are a narrow belt of high altitude (above 12,000 m) westerly winds in the troposphere. Their speed varies from about 110 km/h in summer to about 184 km/h in winter. A number of separate jet streams have been identified. The most constant are the mid-latitude and the sub-tropical jet stream.

Himalayas, all through the year except in summer. The western cyclonic disturbances experienced in the north and north-western parts of the country are brought in by this westerly flow. In summer, the subtropical westerly jet stream moves north of the Himalayas with the apparent movement of the sun. An easterly jet stream, called the *sub-tropical easterly jet* stream blows over peninsular India, approximately over 14°N during the summer months.

### Western Cyclonic Disturbances

The western cyclonic disturbances are weather phenomena of the winter months brought in by the westerly flow from the Mediterranean region. They usually influence the weather of the north and north-western regions of India. Tropical cyclones occur during the monsoon, as well as, in October – November, and are part of the easterly flow. These disturbances affect the coastal regions of the country. Have you read or heard about the disasters caused by them on Odisha and Andhra Pradesh coast?

## THE INDIAN MONSOON

The climate of India is strongly influenced by monsoon winds. The sailors who came to India in historic times were one of the first to have noticed the phenomenon of the monsoon. They benefited from the reversal of the wind system as they came by sailing ships at the mercy of winds. The Arabs, who had also come to India as traders named this seasonal reversal of the wind system 'monsoon'.



Figure 4.1 : Arrival of Monsoon

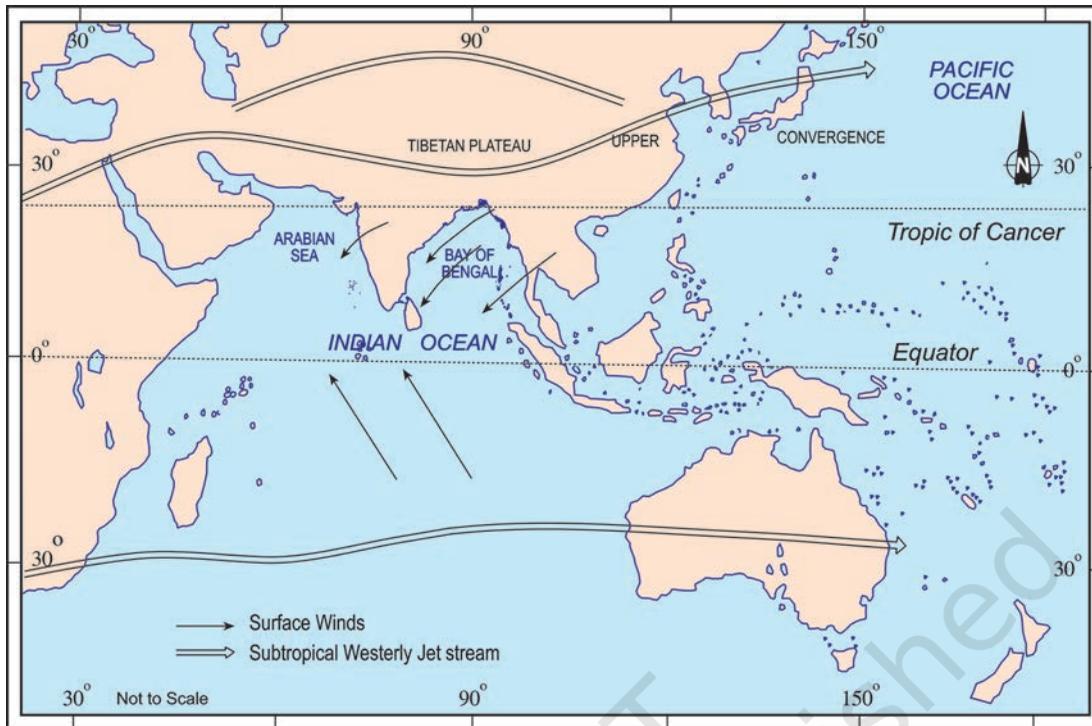


Figure 4.2 : Atmospheric Conditions over the Indian Subcontinent in the Month of January

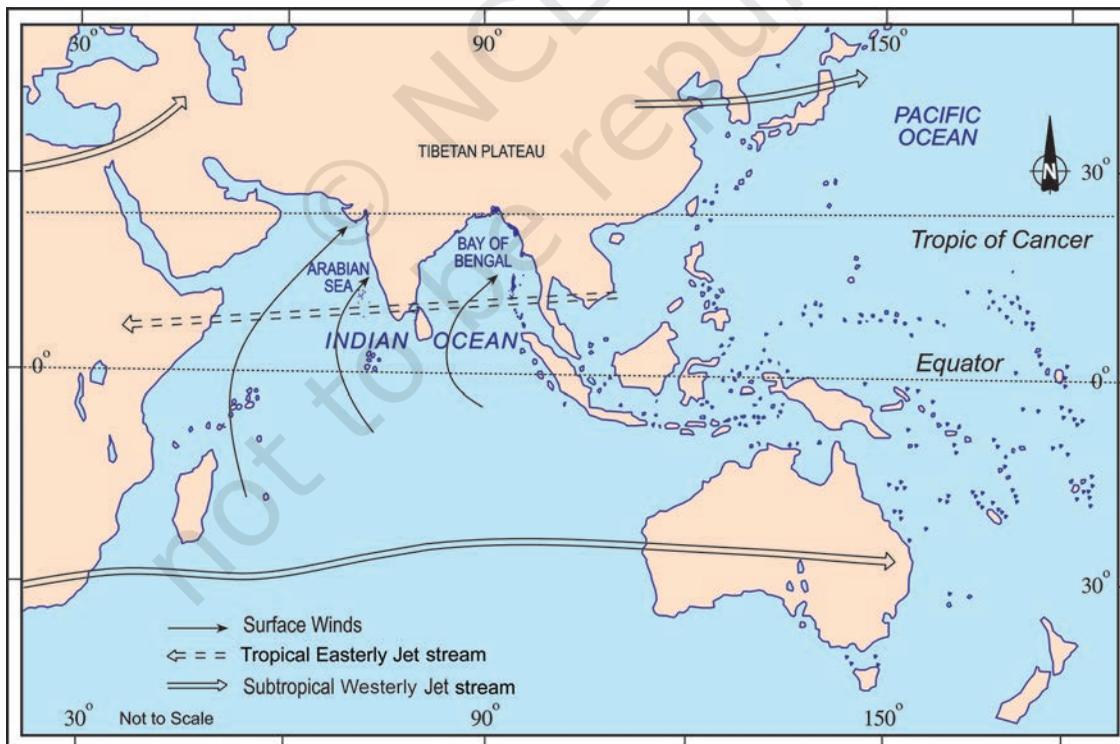


Figure 4.3 : Atmospheric Conditions over the Indian Subcontinent in the Month of June

The monsoons are experienced in the tropical area roughly between 20° N and 20° S. To understand the mechanism of the monsoons, the following facts are important.

- (a) **The differential heating and cooling of land and water** creates low pressure on the landmass of India while the seas around experience comparatively high pressure.
- (b) **The shift of the position of Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ)** in summer, over the Ganga plain (this is the equatorial trough normally positioned about 5°N of the equator. It is also known as the monsoon-trough during the monsoon season).
- (c) The presence of the **high-pressure area, east of Madagascar**, approximately at 20°S over the Indian Ocean. The intensity and position of this high-pressure area affects the Indian Monsoon.
- (d) The **Tibetan plateau gets intensely heated** during summer, which results in strong vertical air currents and the formation of low pressure over the plateau at about 9 km above sea level.
- (e) The **movement of the westerly jet stream to the north of the Himalayas** and the presence of the **tropical easterly jet stream over the Indian peninsula** during summer.

#### Inter Tropical Convergence Zone

The Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ,) is a broad trough of low pressure in equatorial latitudes. This is where the northeast and the southeast trade winds converge. This convergence zone lies more or less parallel to the equator but moves north or south with the apparent movement of the sun.

Apart from this, it has also been noticed that changes in the pressure conditions over the southern oceans also affect the monsoons. Normally when the tropical eastern south Pacific Ocean experiences high pressure, the tropical eastern Indian Ocean experiences low pressure. But in certain years, there is a reversal in the pressure conditions and the eastern Pacific has lower pressure in comparison to the eastern Indian Ocean. This periodic change in pressure

conditions is known as the **Southern Oscillation** or **SO**. The difference in pressure over Tahiti (Pacific Ocean, 18°S/149°W) and Darwin in northern Australia (Indian Ocean, 12°30'S/131°E) is computed to predict the intensity of the monsoons. If the pressure differences were negative, it would mean below average and late monsoons. A feature connected with the SO is the **El Nino** phenomenon in which a warm ocean current that flows past the Peruvian Coast, in place of the cold Peruvian current, every 2 to 5 years. The changes in pressure conditions are connected to the El Nino. Hence, the phenomenon is referred to as **ENSO** (El Nino Southern Oscillations).

**El Nino:** This is a name given to the periodic development of a warm ocean current along the coast of Peru as a temporary replacement of the cold Peruvian current. 'El Nino' is a Spanish word meaning 'the child', and refers to the baby Christ, as this current starts flowing during Christmas. The presence of the El Nino leads to an increase in sea-surface temperatures and weakening of the trade winds in the region.

#### THE ONSET OF THE MONSOON AND WITHDRAWAL

The Monsoon, unlike the trades, are not steady winds but are *pulsating* in nature, affected by different atmospheric conditions encountered by it, on its way over the warm tropical seas. The duration of the monsoon is between 100-120 days from early June to mid-September. Around the time of its arrival, the normal rainfall increases suddenly and continues constantly for several days. This is known as the '**burst**' of the monsoon, and can be distinguished from the pre-monsoon showers. The monsoon arrives at the southern tip of the Indian peninsula generally by the first week of June. Subsequently, it proceeds into two – the Arabian Sea branch and the Bay of Bengal branch. The Arabian Sea branch reaches Mumbai about ten days later on approximately the 10<sup>th</sup> of June. This is a fairly rapid advance. The Bay of Bengal branch also advances rapidly and arrives in Assam in the first week of June. The lofty mountains causes the monsoon winds to deflect towards the west

over the Ganga plains. By mid-June the Arabian Sea branch of the monsoon arrives over Saurashtra-Kuchchh and the central part of the country. The Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal branches of the monsoon merge over the northwestern part of the Ganga plains. Delhi generally receives the monsoon showers from the Bay of Bengal branch by the end of June (tentative date is 29<sup>th</sup> of June). By the first week of July, western Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and eastern Rajasthan experience the monsoon. By mid-July, the monsoon reaches Himachal Pradesh and the rest of the country (Figure 4.3).

Withdrawal or the retreat of the monsoon is a more gradual process (Figure 4.4). The withdrawal of the monsoon begins in northwestern states of India by early September. By mid-October, it withdraws completely from the northern half of the peninsula. The withdrawal from the southern half of the peninsula is fairly rapid. By early December, the monsoon has withdrawn from the rest of the country.

The islands receive the very first monsoon showers, progressively from south to north, from the last week of April to the first week of May. The withdrawal, takes place progressively from north to south from the first week of December to the first week of January. By this time the rest of the country is already under the influence of the winter monsoon.

## THE SEASONS

The monsoon type of climate is characterised by a distinct seasonal pattern. The weather conditions greatly change from one season to the other. These changes are particularly noticeable in the interior parts of the country. The coastal areas do not experience much variation in temperature though there is variation in rainfall pattern. How many seasons are experienced in your place? Four main seasons can be identified in India – the cold weather season, the hot weather season, the advancing monsoon and the retreating monsoon with some regional variations.

### The Cold Weather Season (Winter)

The cold weather season begins from mid-November in northern India and stays till February. December and January are the coldest months in the northern part of India. The temperature decreases from south to the north. The average temperature of Chennai, on the eastern coast, is between 24° – 25° Celsius, while in the northern plains, it ranges between 10°C and 15° Celsius. Days are warm and nights are cold. Frost is common in the north and the higher slopes of the Himalayas experience snowfall.

During this season, the northeast trade winds prevail over the country. They blow from land to sea and hence, for most part of the country, it is a dry season. Some amount of rainfall occurs on the Tamil Nadu coast from these winds as, here they blow from sea to land.

In the northern part of the country, a feeble high-pressure region develops, with light winds moving outwards from this area. Influenced by the relief, these winds blow through the Ganga valley from the west and the northwest. The weather is normally marked by clear sky, low temperatures and low humidity and feeble, variable winds.

A characteristic feature of the cold weather season over the northern plains is the inflow of cyclonic disturbances from the west and the northwest. These low-pressure systems, originate over the Mediterranean Sea and western Asia and move into India, along with the westerly flow. They cause the much-needed winter rains over the plains and snowfall in the mountains. Although the total amount of winter rainfall locally known as '*mahawat*' is small, they are of immense importance for the cultivation of '*rabi*' crops.

The peninsular region does not have a well-defined cold season. There is hardly any noticeable seasonal change in temperature pattern during winters due to the moderating influence of the sea.

### The Hot Weather Season (Summer)

Due to the apparent northward movement of the sun, the global heat belt shifts northwards. As such, from March to May, it is hot weather season



Figure 4.4 : Advancing Monsoon

in India. The influence of the shifting of the heat belt can be seen clearly from temperature recordings taken during March-May at different latitudes. In March, the highest temperature is about 38° Celsius, recorded on the Deccan plateau. In April, temperatures in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh are around 42° Celsius. In May, temperature of 45° Celsius is common in the northwestern parts of the country. In peninsular India, temperatures remain lower due to the moderating influence of the oceans.

The summer months experience rising temperature and falling air pressure in the northern part of the country. Towards the end of May, an elongated low-pressure area develops in the region extending from the Thar Desert in the northwest to Patna and Chotanagpur plateau in the east and southeast. Circulation of air begins to set in around this trough.

A striking feature of the hot weather season is the 'loo'. These are strong, gusty, hot, dry winds blowing during the day over the north and northwestern India. Sometimes they even continue until late in the evening. Direct exposure to these winds may even prove to be fatal. Dust storms are very common during the month of May in northern India. These storms bring temporary relief as they lower the temperature and may bring light rain and cool breeze. This is also the season for localised thunderstorms, associated with violent winds, torrential downpours, often accompanied by hail. In West Bengal, these storms are known as the 'Kaal Baisakhi'.

Towards the close of the summer season, pre-monsoon showers are common especially, in Kerala and Karnataka. They help in the early ripening of mangoes, and are often referred to as 'mango showers'.

### **Advancing Monsoon (The Rainy Season)**

By early June, the low-pressure condition over the northern plains intensifies. It attracts, the trade winds of the southern hemisphere. These south-east trade winds originate over the warm subtropical areas of the southern oceans. They cross the equator and blow in a south-

westerly direction entering the Indian peninsula as the south-west monsoon. As these winds blow over warm oceans, they bring abundant moisture to the subcontinent. These winds are strong and blow at an average velocity of 30 km per hour. With the exception of the extreme north-west, the monsoon winds cover the country in about a month.

The inflow of the south-west monsoon into India brings about a total change in the weather. Early in the season, the windward side of the Western Ghats receives very heavy rainfall, more than 250 cm. The Deccan Plateau and parts of Madhya Pradesh also receive some amount of rain in spite of lying in the rain shadow area. The maximum rainfall of this season is received in the north-eastern part of the country. Mawsynram in the southern ranges of the Khasi Hills receives the highest average rainfall in the world. Rainfall in the Ganga valley decreases from the east to the west. Rajasthan and parts of Gujarat get scanty rainfall.

Another phenomenon associated with the monsoon is its tendency to have 'breaks' in rainfall. Thus, it has wet and dry spells. In other words, the monsoon rains take place only for a few days at a time. They are interspersed with rainless intervals. These breaks in monsoon are related to the movement of the monsoon trough. For various reasons, the trough and its axis keep on moving northward or southward, which determines the spatial distribution of rainfall. When the axis of the monsoon trough lies over the plains, rainfall is good in these parts. On the other hand, whenever the axis shifts closer to the Himalayas, there are longer dry spells in the plains, and widespread rain occur in the mountainous catchment areas of the Himalayan rivers. These heavy rains bring in their wake, devastating floods causing damage to life and property in the plains. The frequency and intensity of tropical depressions too, determine the amount and duration of monsoon rains. These depressions form at the head of the Bay of Bengal and cross over to the mainland. The depressions follow the axis of the "monsoon



Figure 4.5 : Retreating Monsoon

trough of low pressure”. The monsoon is known for its uncertainties. The alternation of dry and wet spells vary in intensity, frequency and duration. While it causes heavy floods in one part, it may be responsible for droughts in the other. It is often irregular in its arrival and its retreat. Hence, it sometimes disturbs the farming schedule of millions of farmers all over the country.

### **Retreating/Post Monsoons (The Transition Season)**

During October-November, with the apparent movement of the sun towards the south, the monsoon trough or the low-pressure trough over the northern plains becomes weaker. This is gradually replaced by a high-pressure system. The south-west monsoon winds weaken and start withdrawing gradually. By the beginning of October, the monsoon withdraws from the Northern Plains.

The months of October-November form a period of transition from hot rainy season to dry winter conditions. The retreat of the monsoon is marked by clear skies and rise in

**Do You Know?** Mawsynram, the wettest place on the earth is also reputed for its stalagmite and stalactite caves.

temperature. While day temperatures are high, nights are cool and pleasant. The land is still moist. Owing to the conditions of high temperature and humidity, the weather becomes rather oppressive during the day. This is commonly known as ‘October heat’. In the second half of October, the mercury begins to fall rapidly in northern India.

The low-pressure conditions, over north-western India, get transferred to the Bay of Bengal by early November. This shift is associated with the occurrence of cyclonic depressions, which originate over the Andaman Sea. These cyclones generally cross the eastern coasts of India cause heavy and widespread rain. These tropical cyclones are often very destructive. The thickly populated

deltas of the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri are frequently struck by cyclones, which cause great damage to life and property. Sometimes, these cyclones arrive at the coasts of Odisha, West Bengal and Bangladesh. The bulk of the rainfall of the Coromandel Coast is derived from depressions and cyclones.

### **DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL**

Parts of western coast and northeastern India receive over about 400 cm of rainfall annually. However, it is less than 60 cm in western Rajasthan and adjoining parts of Gujarat, Haryana and Punjab. Rainfall is equally low in the interior of the Deccan plateau, and east of the Sahyadris. Why do these regions receive low rainfall? A third area of low precipitation is around Leh in Jammu and Kashmir. The rest of the country receives moderate rainfall. Snowfall is restricted to the Himalayan region.

Owing to the nature of monsoons, the annual rainfall is highly variable from year to year. Variability is high in the regions of low rainfall, such as parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat and the leeward side of the Western Ghats. As such, while areas of high rainfall are liable to be affected by floods, areas of low rainfall are drought-prone (Figure 4.6 and 4.7).

### **MONSOON AS A UNIFYING BOND**

You have already known the way the Himalayas protect the subcontinent from extremely cold winds from central Asia. This enables northern India to have uniformly higher temperatures compared to other areas on the same latitudes. Similarly, the Peninsular plateau, under the influence of the sea from three sides, has moderate temperatures. Despite such moderating influences, there are great variations in the temperature conditions. Nevertheless, the unifying influence of the monsoon on the Indian subcontinent is quite perceptible. The seasonal alteration of the wind systems and the associated weather conditions provide a rhythmic cycle of seasons. Even the uncertainties of rain and uneven distribution

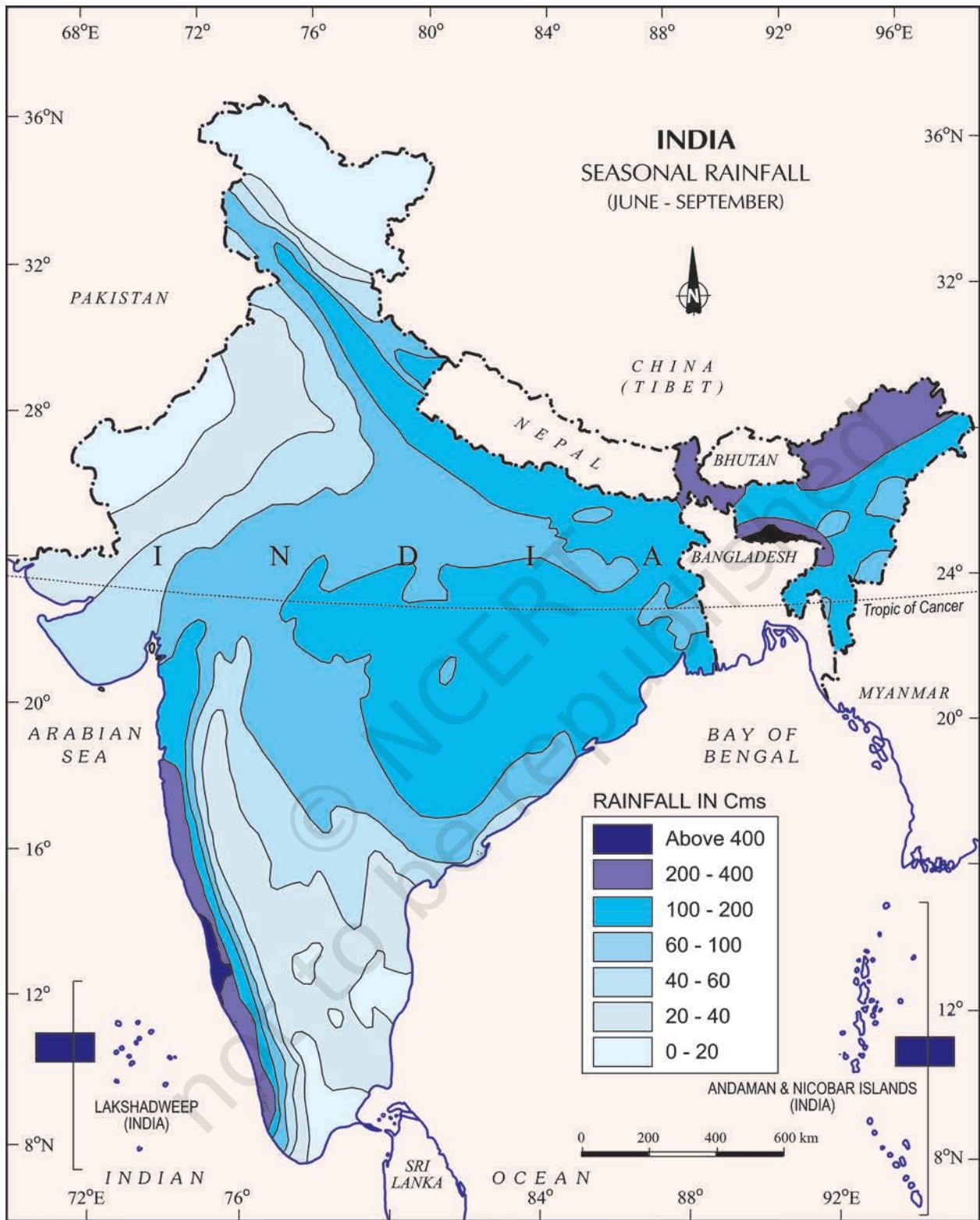


Figure 4.6 : Seasonal Rainfall (June-September)

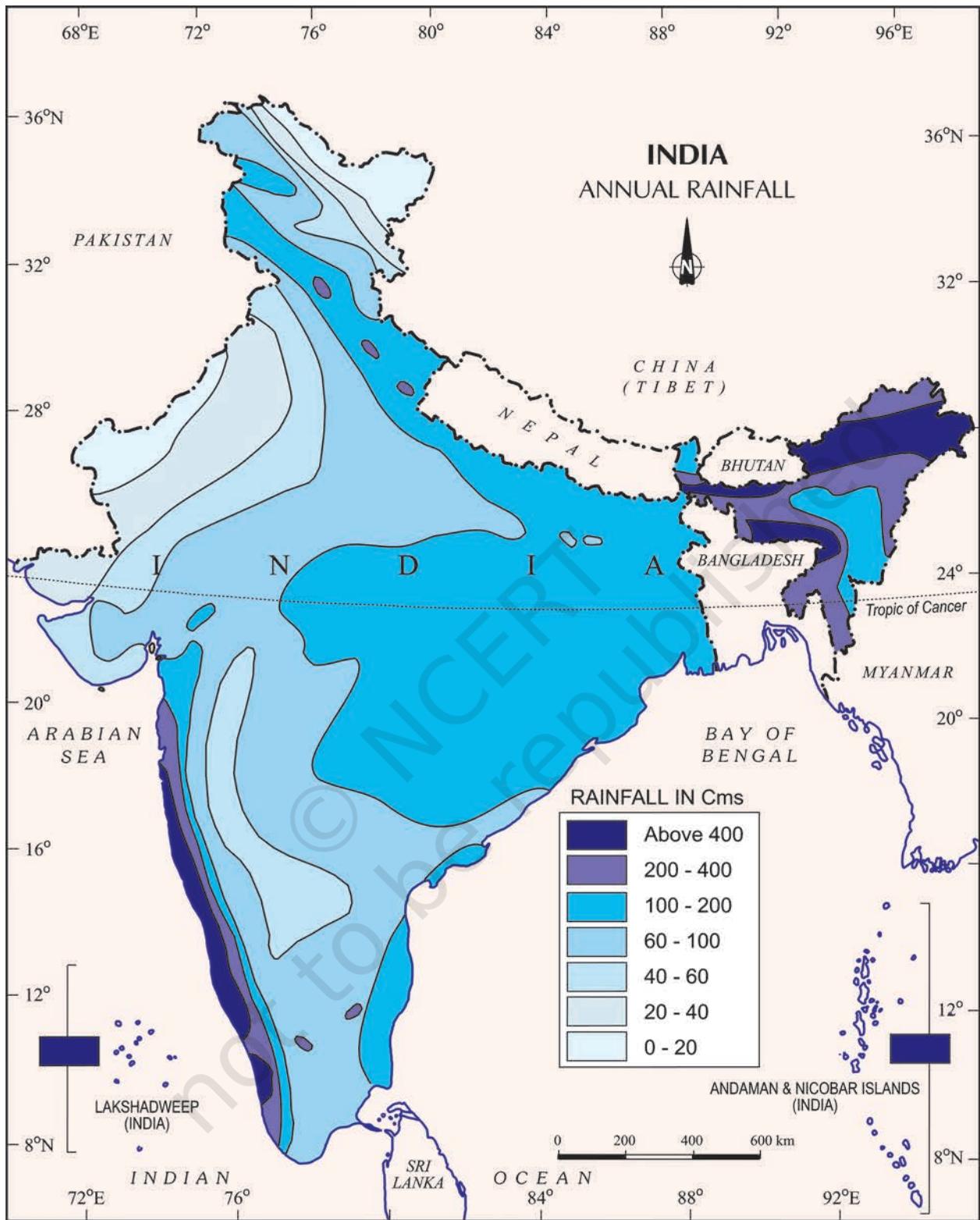


Figure 4.7 : Annual Rainfall

# Devastated by deluge

## Haze hazard on road Chennai submerged

### Hint of an early summer

Tuesday: 28.4 °C

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, January 31

THE MERCURY is soaring, paving the way for what could be an early onset of summer, the weatherman has said. It may touch 30 degrees Celsius within a couple of days in Delhi.

The mercury settled at 28.4 degrees Celsius on Tuesday, nearly six degrees above the average, breaking a decade-old record.

### FOG CHECK

Flight operations at Delhi Airport was normal with the runway visibility at 1,500 metres. However, thick fog in the NCR made driving difficult in the early hours.



**DELAYED:** 17 incoming trains: departure of six trains was rescheduled.

**RESCHEDULED:** Kashi Vishwanath from New Delhi to Varanasi, Lichchivi Express from New Delhi to Muzaffarpur, Bhupeneshwar Raj from New Delhi to Seldah, Sultampur Express from New Delhi to Sultampur and Janta Express from Delhi to Howrah.

### Cold comfort for New Year revellers

## A day Mumbai won't forget

SORAB Ghaswala  
Mumbai, December 30

JULY 26, 2005 started off as just another soggy day in Mumbai. But, the rainfall was one of the heaviest Mumbai had seen over the past century. As citizens went about their morning chores, they had no inkling that by dusk the city would be swamped.

By sunset, 435 residents had either drowned in their houses or vehicles as rain-water started rising with alarming rapidity. By night, the city and its people were defeated. No transport, no electricity and no place to go. Mumbai was on its knees.

The weather bureau had predicted just another "normal" rainy day for the city. But it poured 944.2 m.m. (three feet of rain) over 24 hours, the highest in 100 years.

Before 26/7, Mumbaiites, used to about 15 cm of rain, would tease, "What's a Mumbai monsoon without some days of disruption?" On 26/7, the joke was on them.

G.C. Shekhar  
Chennai, December 30

**IF 2004 was the year of the tsunami, 2005 turned out to be the year of rains and floods in Tamil Nadu.** Unlike the tsunami, which affected a belt of six coastal districts in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, the floods wreaked havoc across the state.

**In five furious spells, the last two being cyclones that weakened before hitting the coast, the rain gods lashed Tamil Nadu from October to December with almost every district drenched and drowned.**

Chennai, which was flouted as an alternative to Bangalore, found itself floating on water on three occasions. The rains and floods killed 350

people. Fields were inundated, crops damaged, roads looked like backwaters. And this was the city that cried for water in summers.

The rains showed up the state's failure to literally tap the resources as 90 tmc of water flowed into the sea. Irrigation tanks and reservoirs were breached. The suburbs were the worst hit as many localities remained under water from October to December.

When the relief efforts began, that brought calamity of another order: Rush for rations resulted in one of the most avoidable tragedies as 48 people were killed in stampedes outside two relief centres.

This was one rain cloud

### Fog is in, get ready for disruptions

A thin blanket of fog enveloped the city in the early hours of Friday. Visibility was reduced to 500 metres in most areas. There

## Freezing Kashmir

RASHID Ahmad  
Srinagar  
Celsius up, temperature takes normal course

**IF YOU** are in Kashmir, you know the weather is not what you need. The city experienced a high of 22.2 degree Celsius (1 degree above normal) despite a partly cloudy sky in some parts. The minimum was also normal at 5.4 degree Celsius that was two degrees below normal.

**WINTER BREAK**  
There's a circulation over west Rajasthan which is moving east. The temperatures has gone up because of the presence of this western disturbance. As it moves over Delhi, the direction of the wind being received by the city may change from northwesterly to north-easterly or easterly. So far the cold north-westerlies have been knocking the temperature in Delhi down. But they further fall in temperature appear unlikely, said Sadrating met office director R D Singh. The HPC weather forecast also indicates that the minimum on Thursday may hover about 5 degree Celsius. Towards Saturday, the minimum may rise to 6 degree Celsius. "The city that had almost dropped to

## After 2 days of biting cold, sun shines Expect a ballistic winter after western winds are in

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, November 30

ACROSS NORTH India, it's a winter of woes. Amritsar is icy with a minimum temperature of 5°C. Snowfall, of up to 78 cm, has blanketed Srinagar. In Delhi, it's still a pleasant nip. This mild wintry condition, however, will definitely not last, says the Met.

In a day or two, winds from Afghanistan, known as western disturbances, will lash the Capital. Conditions are perfect for harsh winter ahead, said Met officials, who have declared "official winter" in Delhi from Thursday.

"Wednesday's morning mist, moisture in the air, low night temperature and the cold winds that hit the city by evening are enough indications for the weather department to declare the onset of winter a day in advance," an official said.

Winter may have been delayed in much of north India by about a fortnight, but it has set in on time in Delhi, he added.

In vast swathes of north India, the past week has been colder than average. "Winter trying to make up for the lost time," the weatherman added in a lighter vein. With temperatures consistently below the average for this year, there is a spectre of this year's winter being colder than usual.

In the ski resort of Gulmarg, there's heavy snow. Night temperature dipped four degrees past normal and Churu in Rajasthan has become bitterly cold. But Delhi continues to be comfortable. Night temperature on Wednesday hovered around 10°C.

"The western disturbances are unpredictable. They might hit Delhi within the next 72 hours or may not for another week. But it is time to get your woollens out. Temperatures will drop progressively in the days to come," said Delhi Met chief R.D. Singh. With mornings getting misty, the dreaded fog may not be far behind. And with pollution levels at a five-year high, the fog this time may be worse.

Delhi has been colder this fortnight compared to the same period last year. The temperature pattern is similar to the record-

### So, it's officially winter in the Capital

Delhi

**Max: 25°C, Min: 8** In a day or two, winds from Afghanistan — western disturbances — will lash the Capital. Winter declared from Dec 1.

Srinagar

**Max: 8°C, Min: -3** It's a sea of snow there. Like much of Kashmir, it is experiencing sub-zero temperatures and bitterly cold weather.

Amritsar

**Max: 21°C, Min: 5** The great plains are extremely cold. The coming days will be worse with expected sub-zero temperatures.

Shimla

**Max: 10°C, Min: -4** The Himachal capital is blanketed in heavy snow. Higher reaches are even colder.

breaking winter of 2003 — the worst in 40 years.

The Met office says it cannot forecast so far ahead in future. "It may not be record breaking winter, but it will definitely be chillier than an average winter," said a weather official.

The official pointed out that snowfall in Kashmir and Shimla has been heavier and earlier than usual. The temperature in Shimla dropped two degrees below normal. Srinagar at 4.3°C was cold too.

Northerly cold winds have struck Rajasthan, affecting normal life last night with Churu and Sriganganagar shivering at 5°C each, about two-three degrees below normal. Nights in Jodhpur, Bikaner, Ajmer and Jaipur divisions have become harsh.

### Activity

- On the basis of the news items above, find out the names of places and the seasons described.
- Compare the rainfall description of Chennai and Mumbai and explain the reasons for the difference.
- Evaluate flood as a disaster with the help of a case study.

are very much typical of the monsoons. The Indian landscape, its animal and plant life, its entire agricultural calendar and the life of the people, including their festivities, revolve around this phenomenon. Year after year, people of India from north to south and from

east to west, eagerly await the arrival of the monsoon. These monsoon winds bind the whole country by providing water to set the agricultural activities in motion. The river valleys which carry this water also unite as a single river valley unit.

### EXERCISE

1. Choose the correct answer from the four alternatives given below.
  - (i) Which one of the following places receives the highest rainfall in the world?
    - (a) Silchar
    - (b) Mawsynram
    - (c) Cherrapunji
    - (d) Guwahati
  - (ii) The wind blowing in the northern plains in summers is known as:
    - (a) *Kaal Baisakhi*
    - (b) *Loo*
    - (c) Trade Winds
    - (d) None of the above
  - (iii) Which one of the following causes rainfall during winters in north-western part of India.
    - (a) Cyclonic depression
    - (b) Retreating monsoon
    - (c) Western disturbances
    - (d) Southwest monsoon
  - (iv) Monsoon arrives in India approximately in:
    - (a) Early May
    - (b) Early July
    - (c) Early June
    - (d) Early August
  - (v) Which one of the following characterises the cold weather season in India?
    - (a) Warm days and warm nights
    - (b) Warm days and cold nights
    - (c) Cool days and cold nights
    - (d) Cold days and warm nights
2. Answer the following questions briefly.
  - (i) What are the controls affecting the climate of India?
  - (ii) Why does India have a monsoon type of climate?
  - (iii) Which part of India does experience the highest diurnal range of temperature and why?
  - (iv) Which winds account for rainfall along the Malabar coast?
  - (v) What are Jet streams and how do they affect the climate of India?
  - (vi) Define monsoons. What do you understand by “break” in monsoon?
  - (vii) Why is the monsoon considered a unifying bond?
3. Why does the rainfall decrease from the east to the west in Northern India.
4. Give reasons as to why.
  - (i) Seasonal reversal of wind direction takes place over the Indian subcontinent?
  - (ii) The bulk of rainfall in India is concentrated over a few months.
  - (iii) The Tamil Nadu coast receives winter rainfall.
  - (iv) The delta region of the eastern coast is frequently struck by cyclones.
  - (v) Parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat and the leeward side of the Western Ghats are drought-prone.

5. Describe the regional variations in the climatic conditions of India with the help of suitable examples.
6. Discuss the mechanism of monsoons.
7. Give an account of weather conditions and characteristics of the cold season.
8. Give the characteristics and effects of the monsoon rainfall in India.

### MAP SKILLS

On an outline map of India, show the following.

- (i) Areas receiving rainfall over 400 cm.
- (ii) Areas receiving less than 20 cm of rainfall.
- (iii) The direction of the south-west monsoon over India.

### PROJECT/ACTIVITY

- (i) Find out which songs, dances, festivals and special food preparations are associated with certain seasons in your region. Do they have some commonality with other regions of India?
- (ii) Collect photographs of typical rural houses, and clothing of people from different regions of India. Examine whether they reflect any relationship with the climatic condition and relief of the area.

### FOR DOING IT YOURSELF

1. In Table-I, the average mean monthly temperatures and amounts of rainfall of 10 representative stations have been given. It is for you to study on your own and convert them into 'temperature and rainfall' graphs. A glance at these visual representations will help you to grasp instantly the similarities and differences between them. One such graph (Figure 1) is already prepared for you. See if you can arrive at some broad generalisations about our diverse climatic conditions. We hope you are in for a great joy of learning. Do the following activities.

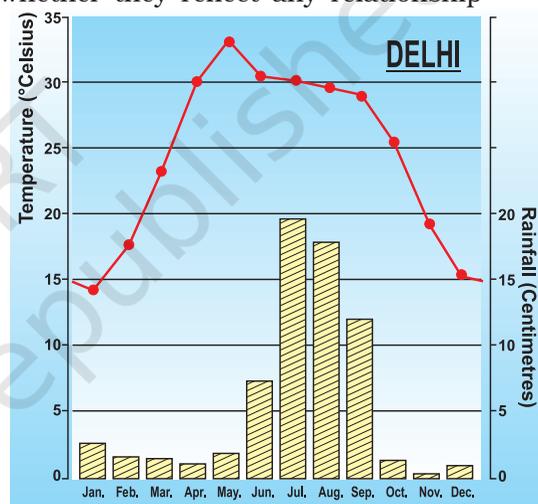


Figure 1 : Temperature and Rainfall of Delhi

2. Re-arrange the 10 stations in two different sequences:
  - (i) According to their distance from the equator.
  - (ii) According to their altitude above mean sealevel.
3.
  - (i) Name two rainiest stations.
  - (ii) Name two driest stations.
  - (iii) Two stations with most equable climate.
  - (iv) Two stations with most extreme climate.
  - (v) Two stations most influenced by the Arabian branch of southwest monsoons.
  - (vi) Two stations most influenced by the Bay of Bengal branch of southwest monsoons.
  - (vii) Two stations influenced by both branches of the southwest monsoons
  - (viii) Two stations influenced by retreating and northeast monsoons.
  - (ix) Two stations receiving winter showers from the western disturbances.
  - (x) The two hottest stations in the months of
    - (a) February
    - (b) April
    - (c) May
    - (d) June

**Table I**

Stations	Latitude	Altitude (Metres)	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual Rainfall
Temperature (°C) Bengaluru Rainfall (cm)	12°58'N	909	20.5 0.7	22.7 0.9	25.2 1.1	27.1 4.5	26.7 10.7	24.2 7.1	23.0 11.1	23.0 13.7	23.1 16.4	22.9 15.3	18.9 6.1	20.2 1.3	88.9
Temperature (°C) Mumbai Rainfall (cm)	19° N	11	24.4 0.2	24.4 0.2	26.7 –	28.3 –	30.0 1.8	28.9 50.6	27.2 61.0	27.2 36.9	27.2 26.9	27.8 4.8	27.2 1.0	25.0 –	183.4
Temperature (°C) Kolkata Rainfall (cm)	22°34' N	6	19.6 1.2	22.0 2.8	27.1 3.4	30.1 5.1	30.4 13.4	29.9 29.0	28.9 33.1	28.7 33.4	28.9 25.3	27.6 12.7	23.4 2.7	19.7 0.4	162.5
Temperature (°C) Delhi Rainfall (cm)	29° N	219	14.4 2.5	16.7 1.5	23.3 1.3	30.0 1.0	33.3 1.8	33.3 7.4	30.0 19.3	29.4 17.8	28.9 11.9	25.6 1.3	19.4 0.2	15.6 1.0	67.0
Temperature (°C) Jodhpur Rainfall (cm)	26°18' N	224	16.8 0.5	19.2 0.6	26.6 0.3	29.8 0.3	33.3 1.0	33.9 3.1	31.3 10.8	29.0 13.1	20.1 5.7	27.0 0.8	20.1 0.2	14.9 0.2	36.6
Temperature (°C) Chennai Rainfall (cm)	13°4' N	7	24.5 4.6	25.7 1.3	27.7 1.3	30.4 1.8	33.0 3.8	32.5 4.5	31.0 8.7	30.2 11.3	29.8 11.9	28.0 30.6	25.9 35.0	24.7 13.9	128.6
Temperature (°C) Nagpur Rainfall (cm)	21°9' N	312	21.5 1.1	23.9 2.3	28.3 1.7	32.7 1.6	35.5 2.1	32.0 22.2	27.7 37.6	27.3 28.6	27.9 18.5	26.7 5.5	23.1 2.0	20.7 1.0	124.2
Temperature (°C) Shillong Rainfall (cm)	24°34' N	1461	9.8 1.4	11.3 2.9	15.9 5.6	18.5 14.6	19.2 29.5	20.5 47.6	21.1 35.9	20.9 34.3	20.0 30.2	17.2 18.8	13.3 3.8	10.4 0.6	225.3
Temperature (°C) Thiruvananthapuram Rainfall (cm)	8°29' N	61	26.7 2.3	27.3 2.1	28.3 3.7	28.7 10.6	28.6 20.8	26.6 35.6	26.2 22.3	2.6.2 14.6	26.5 13.8	26.7 27.3	26.6 20.6	26.5 7.5	181.2
Temperature (°C) Leh 34° N Rainfall (cm)	34°N	3506	–8.5 1.0	–7.2 0.8	–0.6 0.8	6.1 0.5	10.0 0.5	14.4 0.5	17.2 1.3	16.1 1.3	12.2 0.8	6.1 0.5	0.0 –	–5.6 0.5	8.5

4. Now find out

- (i) Why are Thiruvananthapuram and Shillong rainier in June than in July?
- (ii) Why is July rainier in Mumbai than in Thiruvananthapuram?
- (iii) Why are southwest monsoons less rainy in Chennai?
- (iv) Why is Shillong rainier than Kolkata?
- (v) Why is Kolkata rainier in July than in June unlike Shillong which is rainier in June than in July?
- (vi) Why does Delhi receive more rain than Jodhpur?

5. Now think why

- Thiruvananthapuram has equable climate?
- Chennai has more rains only after the fury of monsoon is over in most parts of the country?
- Jodhpur has a hot desert type of climate?
- Leh has moderate precipitation almost throughout the year?
- while in Delhi and Jodhpur most of the rain is confined to nearly three months, in Thiruvananthapuram and Shillong it is almost nine months of the year?

In spite of these facts see carefully if there are strong evidences to conclude that the monsoons still provide a very strong framework lending overall climatic unity to the whole country.



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5

## NATURAL VEGETATION AND WILDLIFE

**H**ave you observed the type of trees, bushes, grasses and birds in the fields and parks in and around your school? Are they similar or there are variations? India being a vast country you can imagine the types of bio-forms available throughout the country.

Our country India is one of the 12 mega bio-diversity countries of the world. With about 47,000 plant species India occupies tenth place in the world and fourth in Asia in plant diversity. There are about 15,000 flowering plants in India, which account for 6 per cent in the world's total number of flowering plants. The country has many non-flowering plants, such as ferns, algae and fungi. India also has approximately 90,000 species of animals, as well as, a rich variety of fish in its fresh and marine waters.

Natural vegetation refers to a plant community, which has grown naturally without human aid and has been left undisturbed by humans for a long time. This is termed as a **virgin vegetation**. Thus, cultivated crops and fruits, orchards form part of vegetation but not natural vegetation.

### Do You Know?

The virgin vegetation, which are purely Indian are known as endemic or indigenous species but those which have come from outside India are termed as exotic plants.

The term **flora** is used to denote plants of a particular region or period. Similarly, the species of animals are referred to as **fauna**. This huge diversity in flora and fauna kingdom is due to the following factors.

### RELIEF

#### Land

Land affects the natural vegetation directly and indirectly. Do you expect the same type of vegetation in mountainous, plateau and plain areas or in dry and wet regions? The nature of land influences the type of vegetation. The fertile level is generally devoted to agriculture. The undulating and rough terrains are areas where grassland and woodlands develop and give shelter to a variety of wildlife.

#### Soil

The soils also vary over space. Different types of soils provide basis for different types of vegetation. The sandy soils of the desert support cactus and thorny bushes, while wet, marshy, deltaic soils support mangroves and deltaic vegetation. The hill slopes with some depth of soil have conical trees.

### CLIMATE

#### Temperature

The character and extent of vegetation are mainly determined by temperature along with humidity in the air, precipitation and soil. On the slopes of the Himalayas and the hills of the Peninsula above the height of 915 metres, the fall in the temperature affects the types of vegetation and its growth, and changes it from tropical to subtropical temperate and alpine vegetation.

**Table 5.1 : Temperature Characteristics of the Vegetation Zones**

Vegetation Zones	Mean annual Average Temp. (in degree C)	Mean Temp. in January (in degree C)	Remarks
Tropical	Above 24°C	Above 18°	No Frost
Subtropical	17°C to 24°C	10°C to 18°C	Frost is rare
Temperate	7°C to 17°C	-1°C to (-10) °C	Frost some snow
Alpine	Below 7°C	Below-1°C	Snow

Source : Environment Atlas of India, June 2001, Central Pollution Control Board, Delhi

### Photoperiod (Sunlight )

The variation in duration of sunlight at different places is due to differences in latitude, altitude, season and duration of the day. Due to longer duration of sunlight, trees grow faster in summer.

#### Find out

Why are the southern slopes in Himalayan region covered with thick vegetation cover as compared to northern slopes of the same hills?

humus to the soil and shelter to the wildlife. India's natural vegetation has undergone many changes due to several factors, such as the growing demand for cultivated land, development of industries and mining, urbanisation and over-grazing of pastures.

#### Activity

Celebrate *Van Mahotsav* in your school/locality and plant a few saplings and notice their growth

### Precipitation

In India, almost the entire rainfall is brought in by the advancing southwest monsoon (June to September) and retreating northeast monsoons. Areas of heavy rainfall have more dense vegetation as compared to areas of less rainfall.

#### Find out

Why are the western slopes of the Western Ghats covered with thick forests and not the eastern slopes?

The vegetation cover of India in large parts is no more natural in the real sense. Except in some inaccessible regions, like the Himalayas, the hilly region of central India and the *marusthali*, the vegetation in most of the areas has been modified at some places, or replaced or degraded by human occupancy.

#### Activity

Study the bar graph (Figure 5.1) and answer the following questions.

- Name the state having maximum area under forest cover.
- Name the union territory having minimum area under forest cover and why?

Have you ever thought as to why forests are important for human beings? Forests are renewable resources and play a major role in enhancing the quality of environment. They modify local climate, control soil erosion, regulate stream flow, support a variety of industries, provide livelihood for many communities and offer panoramic or scenic view for recreation. They control wind force and temperature and cause rains. They provide

#### Do You Know?

According to India State of Forest Report 2011, the forest cover in India is 21.05 per cent.

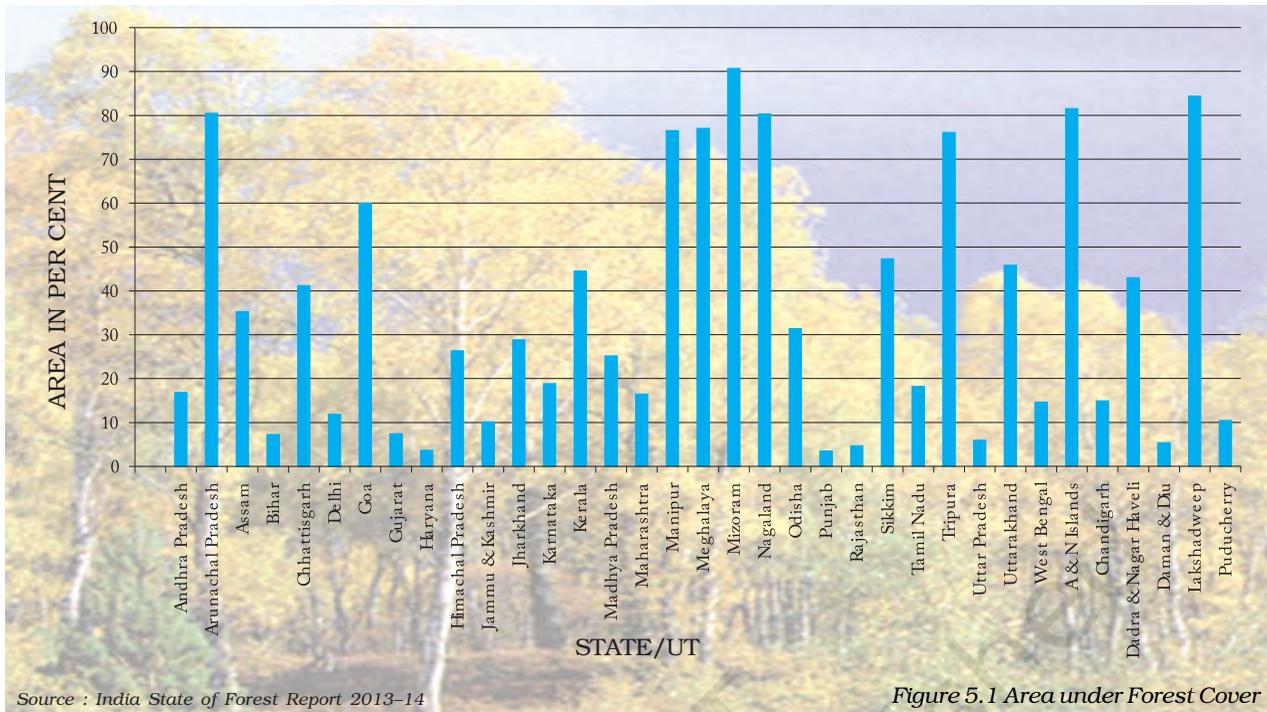


Figure 5.1 Area under Forest Cover

## TYPES OF VEGETATION

The following major types of vegetation may be identified in our country (Figure 5.3).

- (i) Tropical Evergreen Forests
- (ii) Tropical Deciduous Forests
- (iii) Tropical Thorn Forests and Scrubs
- (iv) Montane Forests
- (v) Mangrove Forests

### Tropical Evergreen Forests

These forests are restricted to heavy rainfall areas of the Western Ghats and the island groups of Lakshadweep, Andaman and Nicobar, upper parts of Assam and Tamil Nadu coast. They are at their best in areas having more than 200 cm of rainfall with a short dry season. The trees reach great heights up to 60 metres or even above. Since the region is warm and wet throughout the year, it has a luxuriant vegetation of all kinds — trees, shrubs and creepers giving it a multilayered structure. There is no definite time for trees to shed their leaves. As such, these forests appear green all the year round.

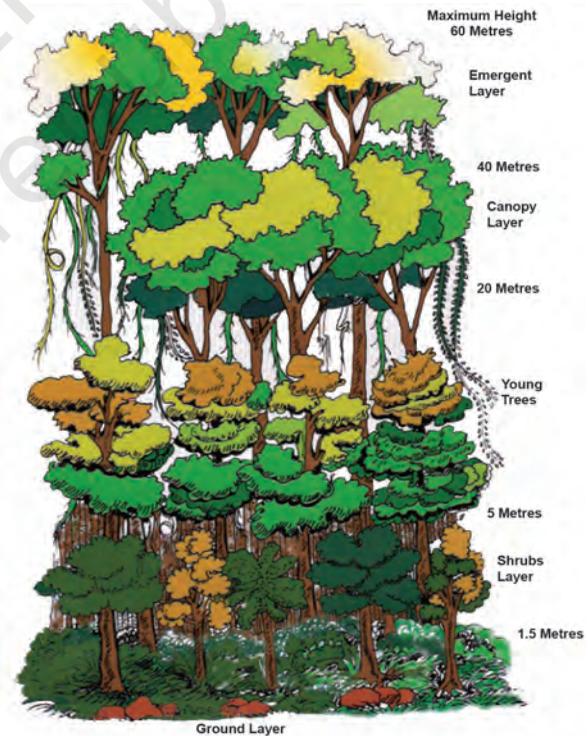


Figure 5.2 : Tropical Evergreen Forest

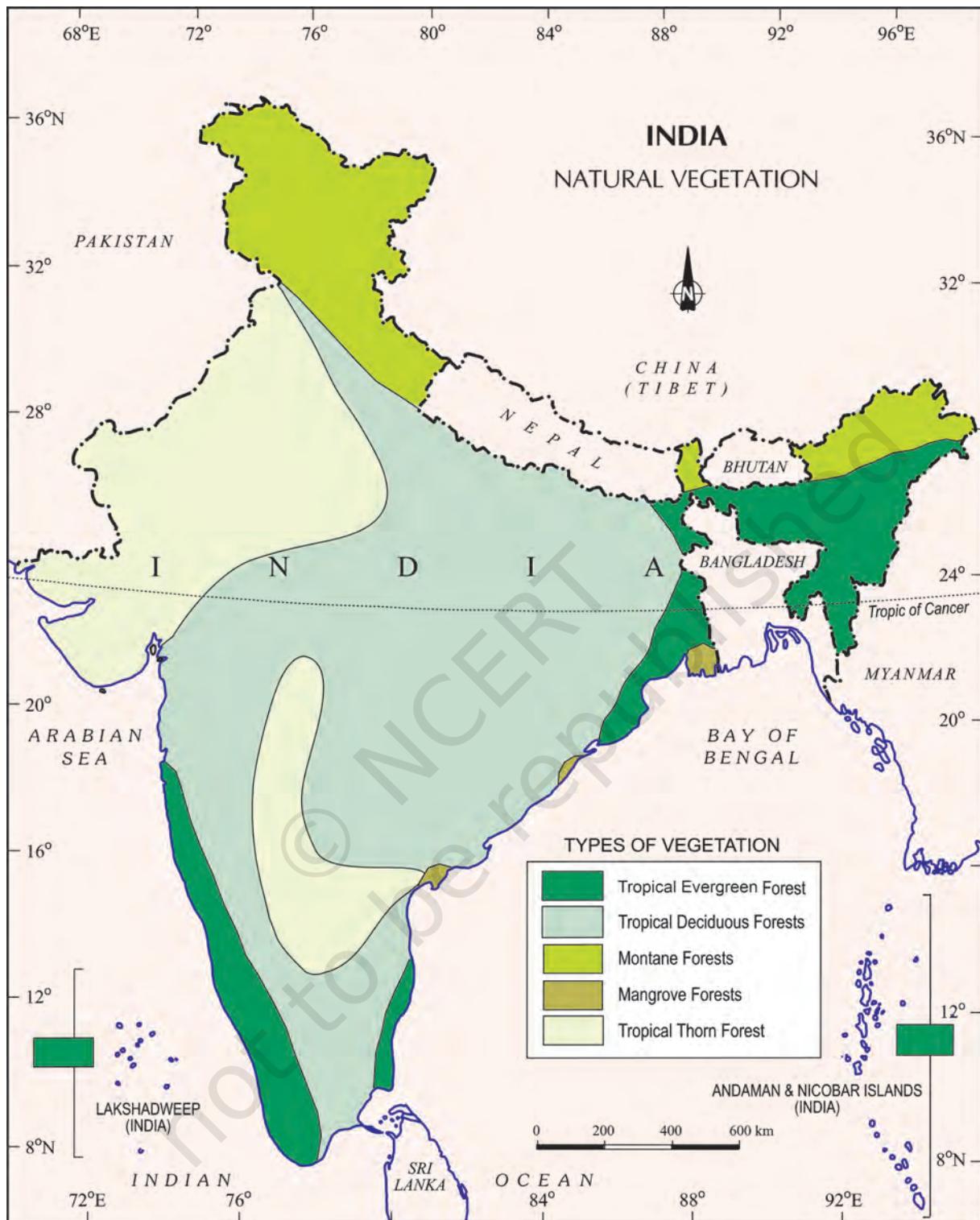


Figure 5.3 : Natural Vegetation

Study the given map for the forest cover and try to find the reasons as to why certain states have more forest area as compared to others?

Some of the commercially important trees of this forest are ebony, mahogany, rosewood, rubber and cinchona.

The common animals found in these forests are elephant, monkey, lemur and deer. One-horned rhinoceroses are found in the jungles of Assam and West Bengal. Besides these animals, plenty of birds, bats, sloth, scorpions and snails are also found in these jungles.

### Tropical Deciduous Forests

These are the most widespread forests of India. They are also called the monsoon forests and spread over the region receiving rainfall between 200 cm and 70 cm. Trees of this forest type shed their leaves for about six to eight weeks in dry summer.

On the basis of the availability of water, these forests are further divided into moist and dry deciduous. The former is found in areas receiving rainfall between 200 and 100 cm. These forests exist, therefore, mostly in the eastern part of the country — northeastern states, along the foothills of the Himalayas, Jharkhand, West Odisha and Chhattisgarh, and on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats. Teak is the most dominant species of this forest. Bamboos, *sal*, *shisham*, sandalwood, *khair*, *kusum*, *arjun* and mulberry are other commercially important species.



Figure 5.4 : Tropical Deciduous Forest

The dry deciduous forests are found in areas having rainfall between 100 cm and 70 cm. These forests are found in the rainier parts of the Peninsular plateau and the plains of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. There are open stretches, in which teak, *sal*, *peepal* and *neem* grow. A large part of this region has been cleared for cultivation and some parts are used for grazing.

In these forests, the common animals found are lion, tiger, pig, deer and elephant. A huge variety of birds, lizards, snakes and tortoises are also found here.

### The Thorn Forests and Scrubs

In regions with less than 70 cm of rainfall, the natural vegetation consists of thorny trees and bushes. This type of vegetation is found in the north-western part of the country, including semi-arid areas of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Acacias, palms, euphorbias and cacti are the main plant species. Trees are scattered and have long roots penetrating deep into the soil in order to get moisture. The stems are succulent to conserve water. Leaves are mostly thick and small to minimise evaporation. These forests give way to thorn forests and scrubs in arid areas.

In these forests, the common animals are rats, mice, rabbits, fox, wolf, tiger, lion, wild ass, horses and camels.



Figure 5.5 : Thorn Forests and Scrubs

### Montane Forests

In mountainous areas, the decrease in temperature with increasing altitude leads to the corresponding change in natural vegetation. As such, there is a succession of natural vegetation belts in the same order as we see from the tropical to the tundra region. The wet temperate type of forests are found between a height of 1000 and 2000 metres. Evergreen broad-leaf trees, such as oaks and chestnuts predominate. Between 1500 and 3000 metres, temperate forests containing coniferous trees, like pine, deodar, silver fir, spruce and cedar, are found. These forests cover mostly the southern slopes of the Himalayas, places having high altitude in southern and north-east India. At higher elevations, temperate grasslands are common. At high altitudes, generally, more than 3,600 metres above the sea level, temperate forests and grasslands give way to the Alpine vegetation. Silver fir, junipers, pines and birches are the common trees of these forests. However, they get progressively stunted as they approach the snow-line. Ultimately, through shrubs and scrubs, they merge into the Alpine grasslands. These are used



Figure 5.6 : Montane Forests

extensively for grazing by nomadic tribes, like the Gujjars and the Bakarwals. At higher altitudes, mosses and lichens form part of tundra vegetation.

The common animals found in these forests are Kashmir stag, spotted deer, wild sheep, jack rabbit, Tibetan antelope, yak, snow leopard, squirrels, Shaggy horn wild ibex, bear and rare red panda, sheep and goats with thick hair.

### Mangrove Forests

The mangrove tidal forests are found in the areas of coasts influenced by tides. Mud and silt get accumulated on such coasts. Dense mangroves are the common varieties with roots of the plants submerged under water. The deltas of the Ganga, the Mahanadi, the Krishna, the Godavari and the Kaveri are covered by such vegetation. In the Ganga-Brahmaputra delta, sundari trees are found, which provide durable hard timber. Palm, coconut, *keora*, *agar*, etc., also grow in some parts of the delta.

Royal Bengal Tiger is the famous animal in these forests. Turtles, crocodiles, gharials and snakes are also found in these forests.

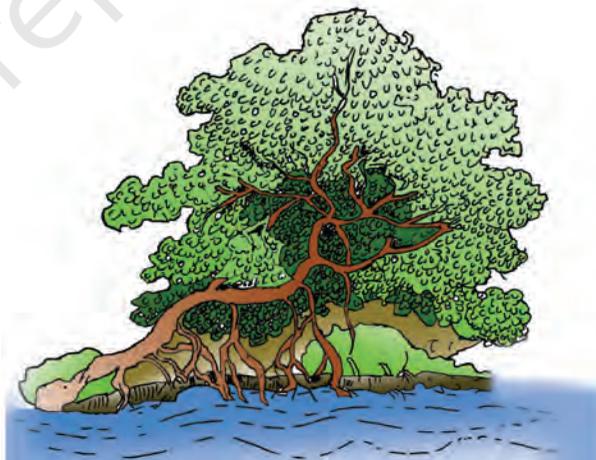


Figure 5.7 : Mangrove Forests

**Let us discuss :** What will happen if plants and animals disappear from the earth's surface? Can the human beings survive under such a situation? Why is biodiversity necessary and why should it be conserved?

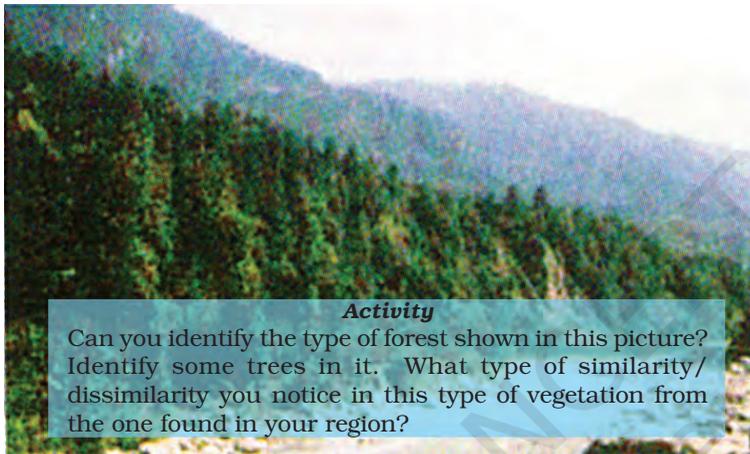
### MEDICINAL PLANTS

India is known for its herbs and spices from ancient times. Some 2,000 plants have been described in Ayurveda and at least 500 are in regular use. The World Conservation Union's Red List has named 352 medicinal plants of which 52 are critically threatened and 49 endangered. The commonly used plants in India are:

<b>Sarpagandha</b>	: Used to treat blood pressure; it is found only in India.
<b>Jamun</b>	: The juice from ripe fruit is used to prepare vinegar, which is carminative and diuretic, and has digestive properties. The powder of the seed is used for controlling diabetes.
<b>Arjun</b>	: The fresh juice of leaves is a cure for earache. It is also used to regulate blood pressure.
<b>Babool</b>	: Leaves are used as a cure for eye sores. Its gum is used as a tonic.
<b>Neem</b>	: Has high antibiotic and antibacterial properties.
<b>Tulsi</b>	: Is used to cure cough and cold.
<b>Kachnar</b>	: Is used to cure asthma and ulcers. The buds and roots are good for digestive problems.

Identify more medicinal plants in your area. Which plants are used as medicines by local people to cure some diseases?

Source : Medicinal Plants by Dr. S.K. Jain, 5th edition 1994, National Book Trust of India



#### Activity

Can you identify the type of forest shown in this picture? Identify some trees in it. What type of similarity/dissimilarity you notice in this type of vegetation from the one found in your region?

### WILDLIFE

Like its flora, India is also rich in its fauna. It has approximately 90,000 animal species. The country has about 2,000 species of birds. They constitute 13% of the world's total. There are 2,546 species of fish, which account for nearly 12% of the world's stock. It also shares between 5 and 8 per cent of the world's amphibians, reptiles and mammals.

The elephants are the most majestic animals among the mammals. They are found in the hot wet forests of Assam, Karnataka and Kerala. One-horned rhinoceroses are the other animals, which live in swampy and marshy lands of Assam and West Bengal. Arid areas of the Rann of Kachchh and the Thar Desert are the habitat for wild ass and camels respectively. Indian bison, *nilgai* (blue bull), *chousingha* (four-horned antelope), gazel and

different species of deer are some other animals found in India. It also has several species of monkeys.

**Do You Know?** Wildlife Protection Act was implemented in 1972 in India.

India is the only country in the world that has both tigers and lions. The natural habitat of the Indian lion is the Gir forest in Gujarat. Tigers are found in the forests of Madhya Pradesh, the Sunderbans of West Bengal and the Himalayan region. Leopards, too, are members of the cat family. They are important among animals of prey.



#### Do you know

The Gir Forest is the last remaining habitat of the Asiatic lion.

The Himalayas harbour a hardy range of animals, which survive in extreme cold. Ladakh's freezing high altitudes are a home to yak, the shaggy horned wild ox weighing around one tonne, the Tibetan antelope, the *bharal* (blue sheep), wild sheep, and the *kiang* (Tibetan wild ass). Furthermore, the ibex, bear, snow-leopard and rare red panda are found in certain pockets.

In the rivers, lakes and coastal areas, turtles, crocodiles and gharials are found. The



Figure 5.8 : Wildlife Reserves

latter is the only representative of a variety of crocodile, found in the world today.

Bird life in India is colourful. Peacocks, pheasants, ducks, parakeets, cranes and pigeons are some of the birds inhabiting the forests and wetlands of the country.

We have selected our crops from a bio-diverse environment, i.e., from the reserve of edible plants. We also experimented and selected many medicinal plants. The animals were selected from large stock provided by nature as milch animal. They also provided us draught power, transportation, meat and eggs. The fish provide nutritive food. Many insects help in pollination of crops and fruit trees and exerting biological control on such insects is harmful. Every species has a role to play in the ecosystem. Hence, conservation is essential. As has been mentioned earlier due to excessive exploitation of plant and animal resources by human beings, the ecosystem has been disturbed. About 1,300 plant

species are endangered and 20 species are extinct. Quite a few animal species are also endangered and some have become extinct.

The main causes for this major threat to nature are hunting by greedy hunters for commercial purposes. Pollution due to chemical and industrial waste, acid deposits, introduction of alien species and reckless cutting of the forests to bring land under cultivation and habitation, are also responsible for the imbalance.

To protect the flora and fauna of the country, the government has taken many steps.

- (i) Eighteen biosphere reserves have been set up in the country to protect flora and fauna. Ten out of these, the Sundarbans Nanda Devi, the Gulf of Mannar, the Nilgiri, Nokrek, Great Nicobar, Manas, Simlipal, Pachmarhi and Achanakmar-Amarkantak have been included in the world network of biosphere reserves.

**Govt on save-culture task**  
CHETAN Chauhan  
New Delhi, January 30

**All not lost: Tigers alive in Kuno**  
VULTURES HAVE all but been wiped out of Sariska National Park, a crisis that has provoked the government to try to bring them back to the park. In Sariska, the government will try to bring back the birds from the forest.

**Tigers for Sariska**  
IF EVERYTHING goes well in the next three to four months, there might roar again in Sariska. The state government has sent a proposal to the Centre to import tigers from other sanctuaries to Sariska. The state's principal chief wildlife warden R. N. Malhotra believes that Union government will give the green signal to the Rs 4 crore project this month. The Centre will also decide from where the tigers will be brought. In the first phase, a pair of tiger and tigress will be introduced into the park.

**22 tigers killed by poachers in Bhar past two years, says Tiger Watch.**  
In Bhar, police say four arrested poachers, three have confessed to killing nine tigers and a leopard. Officials say no poaching case reported in the last two years.

**Rhino killed for horn**  
KAZIRANGA NATIONAL PARK (KNP) authorities lo the carcass of a rare one-horned rhino and an Asiatic buffalo in two separate ranges of the Park on Tuesday. This follows the poisoning of two Royal Bengal tigers in the park. Forest guards found a partially decomposed carcass of an adult rhino in a "virtually island-like spot in Burapahar range. The carcass was found on five other rhinos within the park.

**Tigers dying, census confirms**  
THE Ministry of Environment and Forests has approved the continuation of tiger census in Sariska National Park. The census is being conducted by the Sariska Tiger Reserve. The census is being conducted by the Sariska Tiger Reserve. The census is being conducted by the Sariska Tiger Reserve.

**CBI to probe Ranthambore tiger deaths**  
THE MINISTRY of environment and forests has decided to ask the Central Bureau of Investigation to conduct an independent investigation into the large-scale poaching of tigers in the Ranthambore Tiger Reserve. 22 tigers have been killed in Ranthambore in the past three years, the Rajasthan Police claim only 12 were killed. They are depending on the version given by a village pradhan and his two associates who were arrested in charges of poaching in November 2009 and had confessed to killing 12 tigers. They had said that one body part of the tiger fetched them Rs 500,000. A dead tiger's skin and teeth and bones are worth Rs 20 lakh in the global market.

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### Activity

- (i) Find out from the above newspaper cuttings, the main concern highlighted in the given news items.
- (ii) Collect more information about various endangered species from newspapers and magazines.
- (iii) Find out various steps taken by the Indian government to protect them.
- (iv) Describe how you can contribute to the protection of endangered animals and birds.

### Migratory Birds

Some of the wetlands of India are popular with migratory birds. During winter, birds, such as Siberian Crane, come in large numbers. One such place favourable with birds is the Rann of Kachchh. At a place where the desert merges with the sea, flamingo with their brilliant pink plumage come in thousands to build nest mounds from the salty mud and raise their young ones. It is one among many extraordinary sights in the country. Is it not a rich natural heritage of ours?



### Eighteen Bio-reserves

- |                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| • Sundarbans     | • Simlipal              |
| • Gulf of Mannar | • Dihang-Dibang         |
| • Nilgiri        | • Dibru Saikhowa        |
| • Nanda Devi     | • Agasthyamalai         |
| • Nokrek         | • Kangchendzonga        |
| • Great Nicobar  | • Pachmarhi             |
| • Manas          | • Achanakmar-Amarkantak |

- (ii) Financial and technical assistance is provided to many botanical gardens by the government since 1992.
- Kachchh
  - Cold Desert

- Seshachalam
- Panna

- (iii) Project Tiger, Project Rhino, Project Great Indian Bustard and many other eco-developmental projects have been introduced.
- (iv) 103 National Parks, 535 Wildlife sanctuaries and Zoological gardens are set up to take care of natural heritage.

All of us must realise the importance of the natural ecosystem for our own survival. It is possible if indiscriminate destruction of natural environment is put to an immediate end.

### EXERCISE

1. Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below:
- (i) To which one of the following types of vegetation does rubber belong to?
- |            |                        |
|------------|------------------------|
| (a) Tundra | (c) Himalayan          |
| (b) Tidal  | (d) Tropical Evergreen |
- (ii) Cinchona trees are found in the areas of rainfall more than
- |            |                     |
|------------|---------------------|
| (a) 100 cm | (c) 70 cm           |
| (b) 50 cm  | (d) less than 50 cm |
- (iii) In which of the following state is the Simlipal bio-reserve located?
- |            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| (a) Punjab | (b) Delhi       |
| (c) Odisha | (d) West Bengal |
- (iv) Which one of the following bio-reserves of India is not included in the world network of bioserve?
- |             |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|
| (a) Manas   | (c) Gulf of Mannar |
| (b) Nilgiri | (d) Panna          |

2. Answer the following questions briefly.
  - (i) What factors are responsible for the distribution of plants and animals in India?
  - (ii) What is a bio-reserve? Give two examples.
  - (iii) Name two animals having habitat in tropical and montane type of vegetation.
3. Distinguish between
  - (i) Flora and Fauna
  - (ii) Tropical Evergreen and Deciduous forests
4. Name different types of Vegetation found in India and describe the vegetation of high altitudes.
5. Quite a few species of plants and animals are endangered in India. Why?
6. Why has India a rich heritage of flora and fauna?

### **Map Skills**

On an outline map of India, label the following.

- (i) Areas of Evergreen Forests
- (ii) Areas of Dry Deciduous Forests
- (iii) Two national parks each in Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western parts of the Country

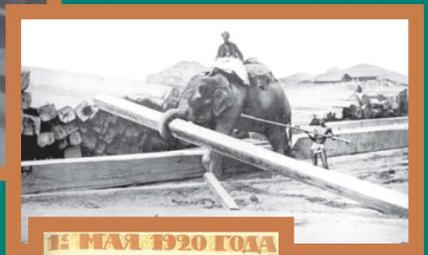
### **Project/Activity**

- (i) Find some trees in your neighbourhood having medicinal values.
- (ii) Find ten occupations getting raw material from forests and wildlife.
- (iii) Write a poem or paragraph showing the importance of wildlife.
- (iv) Write the script of a street play giving the importance of tree plantation and try to enact it in your locality.
- (v) Plant a tree either on your birthday or one of your family member's birthday. Note the growth of the tree and notice in which season it grows faster.

# Social Science

## India and the Contemporary World - I

### Textbook in History for Class IX



**Social Science**

**India and the Contemporary World - I**  
**Textbook in History for Class IX**



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एन सी ई आर टी  
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**राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्**  
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## Foreword

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The National Curriculum Framework, 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognize that, given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days are actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavor by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

NCERT appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the Advisory Group on Social Science, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisor for this book, Professor Neeladri Bhattacharya for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development

of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations, which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairpersonship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G. P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

New Delhi  
20 December 2005

*Director*  
National Council of Educational  
Research and Training

## History and a Changing World

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As we live our life in the present and read about the happenings around the world in newspapers, we do not usually pause to think about the longer history of these events. We see change before our eyes, but do not always ask, why are things changing? Very often we do not even notice that things were not the same in the past. History is about tracking these changes, understanding how and why they are taking place, how the present world in which we live has evolved.

The focus of the history books of Classes IX and X is on the emergence of the contemporary world. In earlier classes (VI – VIII) you have read about the history of India. In the next two years (Classes IX and X) you will see how the story of India's past is related to the larger history of the world. We cannot understand what was happening within India unless we see this connection. This is particularly true about a world in which economies and societies have become increasingly inter-connected. History cannot be always contained within defined territorial boundaries.

In any case there is no reason to think of national territorial boundaries as the only valid unit of our study. There are times when a focus on a small region - a locality, a village, an island, a desert tract, a forest, a mountain - helps us understand the rich variety in people's lives and histories that make up the life of the nation. We cannot talk of the nation without the people, nor the locality without the nation. Borrowing from the statement of a famous French historian, Fernand Braudel, we may also say: it is not possible to talk of the nation without the world.

The textbooks you will read in the next two years will combine these different levels of focus. We move between a close focus on particular communities and regions to the history of the nation; between the histories as they unfold in India and Europe to the developments in Africa and Indonesia. Our focus will shift according to themes.

What are these themes and how are they organised? What is the logic behind the choices of themes?

All too often in the past, the history of the modern world was associated with the history of the west. It was as if change and progress happened only in the west. As if the histories of other countries were frozen in time, they were motionless and static. People in the west were seen as enterprising, innovative, scientific, industrious, efficient and willing to change. People in the east - or in Africa and South America - were considered traditional, lazy, superstitious, and resistant to change.

For many years now these notions have been questioned by historians. We know now that every society has had its history of change. So in understanding the making of the modern world we have to look at the way different societies experienced and

fashioned these changes. We have to see how the histories of these different countries were inter-linked. Changes in one society shaped the other; developments in India and other colonies impacted on Europe. The contemporary world was not shaped by the west alone.

So the history of the contemporary world is not only about the growth of industries and trade, technology and science, railways and roads. It is equally about the forest dwellers and pastoralists, shifting cultivators and small peasants. All these social groups in diverse ways have played their part in making the contemporary world what it is. And it is this varied world which you will learn about this year.

Section I, in both books, focuses on some of the events and processes that are critical to the understanding of the modern world. This year you will read about the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and Nazism in this section. Next year you will know about nationalism and anti-colonial movements in India and elsewhere.

Section II will move from dramatic events to the routines of people's lives – their economic activities and livelihood patterns. You will see what the contemporary world has meant for forest people and pastoralists; and how they have coped with and defined the nature of these changes. Next year you will read more about the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, capitalism and colonialism.

True, we read a lot about such issues. But what we read does not tell us about their histories. They give us no idea of how things have evolved and why they change. Once we learn to ask historical questions about all that is around us, history in fact acquires a new meaning. It allows us to see everyday things from a different angle. We realise that even seemingly ordinary things have a history that is important for us to know.

To know how the contemporary world has evolved we will therefore move from India to Africa, from Europe to Indonesia. We will read both about the big events and important ideas, as well as everyday life. In the process of these journeys you will discover how history can be exciting, how it can help us understand the world in which we live.

*Neeladri Bhattacharya*  
*Chief Advisor – History*

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Illustrating the book would have been impossible without the help of many institutions and individuals. The Maasai Association, the North Dakota State University Libraries, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the UNESCO PARZOR project and the Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi provided photographs and reproductions from their archive at very short notice. Some of the pictures have been accessed from the collections of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw, Poland, Rabindra Bhawan Photo Archives, Viswabharati University, Shantiniketan. Sanjay Barnela, Mukul Mangalik, and Vasant Saberwal allowed generous access to their large collection of photographs of pastoralists and forest dwellers. We turned to Malvika Karlekar for help in acquiring some of the pictures for the chapter on clothing, and to Ram Guha for photographs on cricket. Anish Vanaik helped in our photo research.

Shalini Advani did several rounds of copy editing with care, and ensured that the text was accessible to children. Shyama Warner has done more than proof reading. We thank them both for meeting our impossible deadlines and being so involved with the project.

We have made every effort to acknowledge credits at the end of the book; but we apologise in advance for any omissions that may have inadvertently taken place.

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### For Extended Learning

You may access the following chapters through QR Code.

- Peasants and Farmers
- History and Sport: The Story of Cricket
- Clothing: A Social History

These Chapters were printed in the previous textbook; the same are being provided in digital mode for extended learning.

## SECTION I



### EVENTS AND PROCESSES

In Section I, you will read about the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the rise of Nazism. In different ways all these events were important in the making of the modern world.

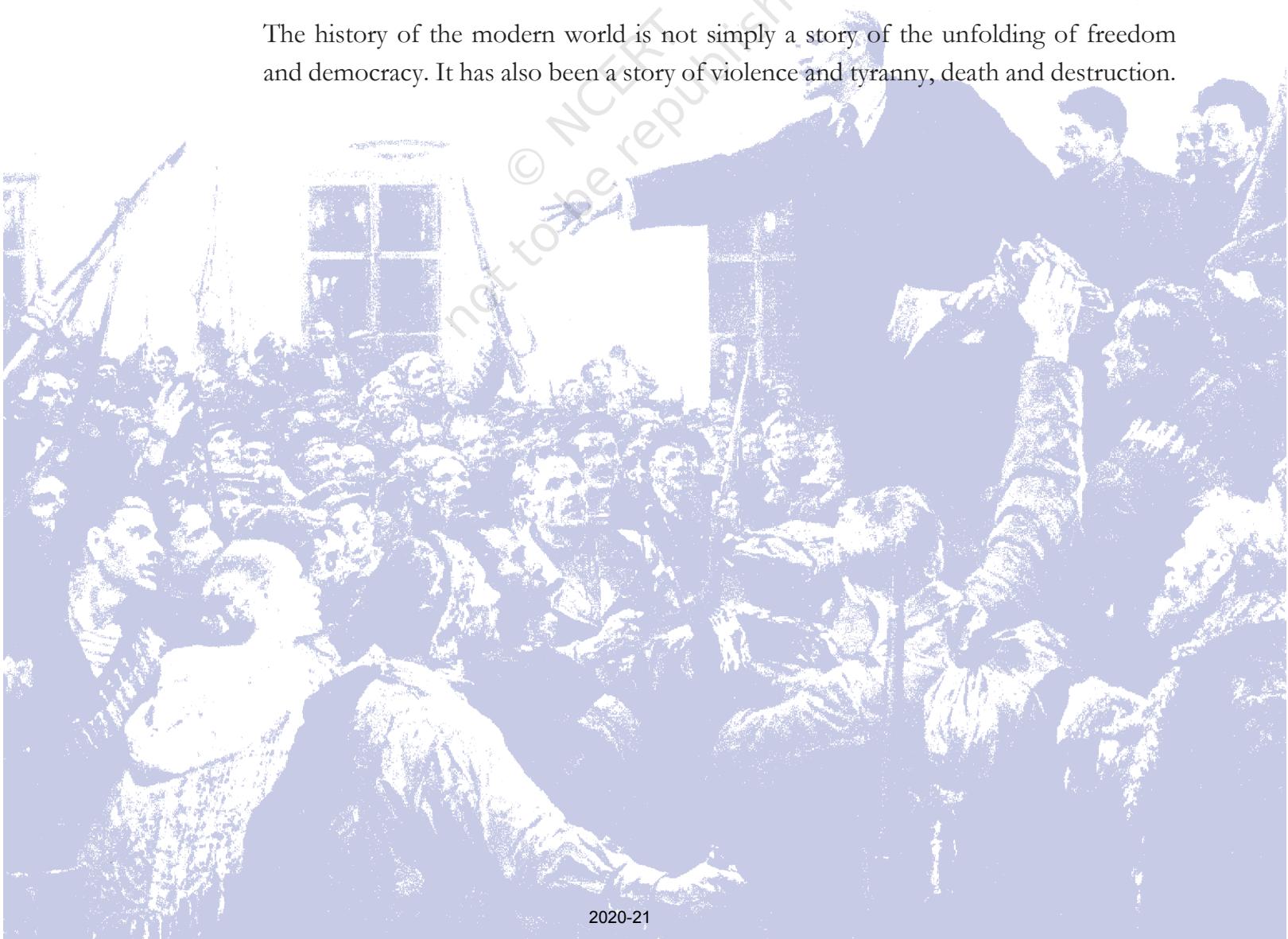
Chapter I is on the French Revolution. Today we often take the ideas of liberty, freedom and equality for granted. But we need to remind ourselves that these ideas also have a history. By looking at the French Revolution you will read a small part of that history. The French Revolution led to the end of monarchy in France. A society based on privileges gave way to a new system of governance. The Declaration of the Rights of Man during the revolution, announced the coming of a new time. The idea that all individuals had rights and could claim equality became part of a new language of politics. These notions of equality and freedom emerged as the central ideas of a new age; but in different countries they were reinterpreted and rethought in many different ways. The anti-colonial movements in India and China, Africa and South America, produced ideas that were innovative and original, but they spoke in a language that gained currency only from the late eighteenth century.

In Chapter II, you will read about the coming of socialism in Europe, and the dramatic events that forced the ruling monarch, Tsar Nicholas II, to give up power. The Russian Revolution sought to change society in a different way. It raised the question of economic equality and the well-being of workers and peasants. The chapter will tell you about the changes that were initiated by the new Soviet government, the problems it faced and the measures it undertook. While Soviet Russia pushed ahead with industrialisation and mechanisation of agriculture, it denied the rights of citizens that were essential to the working of a democratic society. The ideals of socialism,

however, became part of the anti-colonial movements in different countries. Today the Soviet Union has broken up and socialism is in crisis but through the twentieth century it has been a powerful force in the shaping of the contemporary world.

Chapter III will take you to Germany. It will discuss the rise of Hitler and the politics of Nazism. You will read about the children and women in Nazi Germany, about schools and concentration camps. You will see how Nazism denied various minorities a right to live, how it drew upon a long tradition of anti-Jewish feelings to persecute the Jews, and how it waged a relentless battle against democracy and socialism. But the story of Nazism's rise is not only about a few specific events, about massacres and killings. It is about the working of an elaborate and frightening system which operated at different levels. Some in India were impressed with the ideas of Hitler but most watched the rise of Nazism with horror.

The history of the modern world is not simply a story of the unfolding of freedom and democracy. It has also been a story of violence and tyranny, death and destruction.



# The French Revolution

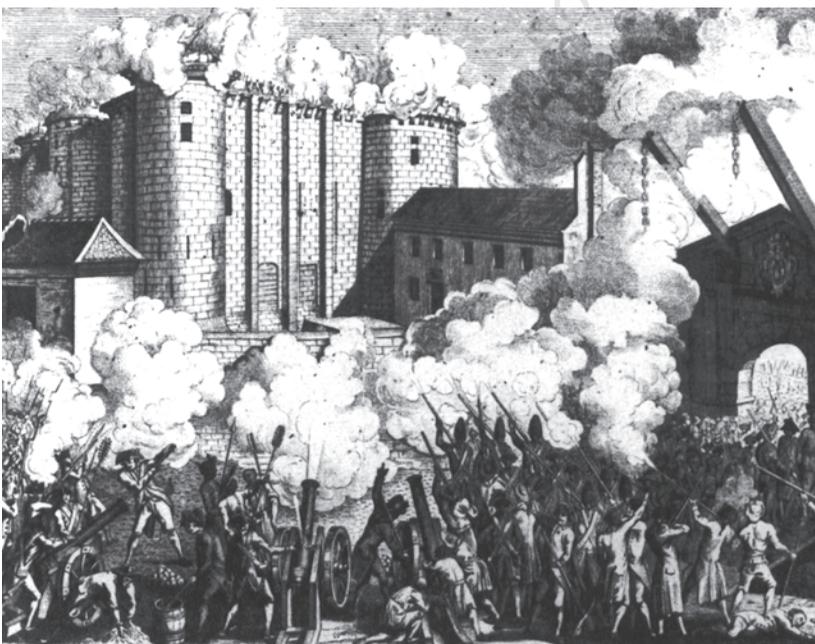


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On the morning of 14 July 1789, the city of Paris was in a state of alarm. The king had commanded troops to move into the city. Rumours spread that he would soon order the army to open fire upon the citizens. Some 7,000 men and women gathered in front of the town hall and decided to form a peoples' militia. They broke into a number of government buildings in search of arms.

Finally, a group of several hundred people marched towards the eastern part of the city and stormed the fortress-prison, the Bastille, where they hoped to find hoarded ammunition. In the armed fight that followed, the commander of the Bastille was killed and the prisoners released – though there were only seven of them. Yet the Bastille was hated by all, because it stood for the despotic power of the king. The fortress was demolished and its stone fragments were sold in the markets to all those who wished to keep a souvenir of its destruction.

The days that followed saw more rioting both in Paris and the countryside. Most people were protesting against the high price of bread. Much later, when historians looked back upon this time, they saw it as the beginning of a chain of events that ultimately led to the execution of the king in France, though most people at the time did not anticipate this outcome. How and why did this happen?



**Fig. 1 – Storming of the Bastille.**  
Soon after the demolition of the Bastille, artists made prints commemorating the event.

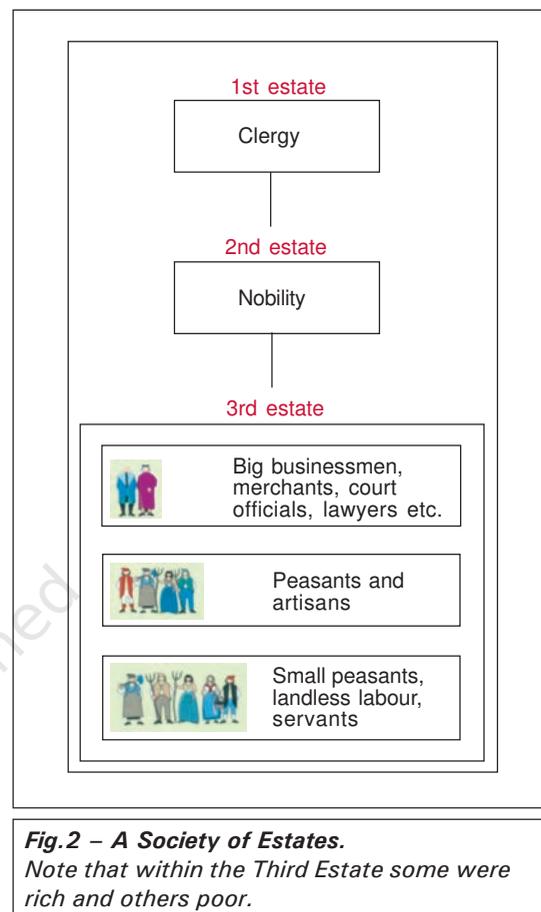
# 1 French Society During the Late Eighteenth Century

In 1774, Louis XVI of the Bourbon family of kings ascended the throne of France. He was 20 years old and married to the Austrian princess Marie Antoinette. Upon his accession the new king found an empty treasury. Long years of war had drained the financial resources of France. Added to this was the cost of maintaining an extravagant court at the immense palace of Versailles. Under Louis XVI, France helped the thirteen American colonies to gain their independence from the common enemy, Britain. The war added more than a billion *livres* to a debt that had already risen to more than 2 billion *livres*. Lenders who gave the state credit, now began to charge 10 per cent interest on loans. So the French government was obliged to spend an increasing percentage of its budget on interest payments alone. To meet its regular expenses, such as the cost of maintaining an army, the court, running government offices or universities, the state was forced to increase taxes. Yet even this measure would not have sufficed. French society in the eighteenth century was divided into three estates, and only members of the third estate paid taxes.

The society of estates was part of the feudal system that dated back to the middle ages. The term Old Regime is usually used to describe the society and institutions of France before 1789.

Fig. 2 shows how the system of estates in French society was organised. Peasants made up about 90 per cent of the population. However, only a small number of them owned the land they cultivated. About 60 per cent of the land was owned by nobles, the Church and other richer members of the third estate. The members of the first two estates, that is, the **clergy** and the nobility, enjoyed certain privileges by birth. The most important of these was exemption from paying taxes to the state. The nobles further enjoyed feudal privileges. These included feudal dues, which they extracted from the peasants. Peasants were obliged to render services to the lord – to work in his house and fields – to serve in the army or to participate in building roads.

The Church too extracted its share of taxes called **tithes** from the peasants, and finally, all members of the third estate had to pay taxes to the state. These included a direct tax, called **taille**, and a number of indirect taxes which were levied on articles of everyday consumption like salt or tobacco. The burden of financing activities of the state through taxes was borne by the third estate alone.



**Fig.2 – A Society of Estates.**  
Note that within the Third Estate some were rich and others poor.

## New words

Livre – Unit of currency in France, discontinued in 1794

Clergy – Group of persons invested with special functions in the church

Tithe – A tax levied by the church, comprising one-tenth of the agricultural produce

Taille – Tax to be paid directly to the state



'This poor fellow brings everything, grain, fruits, money, salad. The fat lord sits there, ready to accept it all. He does not even care to grace him with a look.'

### Activity

Explain why the artist has portrayed the nobleman as the spider and the peasant as the fly.

'The nobleman is the spider, the peasant the fly.'

'The more the devil has, the more he wants.'

**Fig.3 – The Spider and the Fly.**  
An anonymous etching.

## 1.1 The Struggle to Survive

The population of France rose from about 23 million in 1715 to 28 million in 1789. This led to a rapid increase in the demand for foodgrains. Production of grains could not keep pace with the demand. So the price of bread which was the staple diet of the majority rose rapidly. Most workers were employed as labourers in workshops whose owner fixed their wages. But wages did not keep pace with the rise in prices. So the gap between the poor and the rich widened. Things became worse whenever drought or hail reduced the harvest. This led to a **subsistence crisis**, something that occurred frequently in France during the Old Regime.

### New words

Subsistence crisis – An extreme situation where the basic means of livelihood are endangered  
Anonymous – One whose name remains unknown

## 1.2 How a Subsistence Crisis Happens

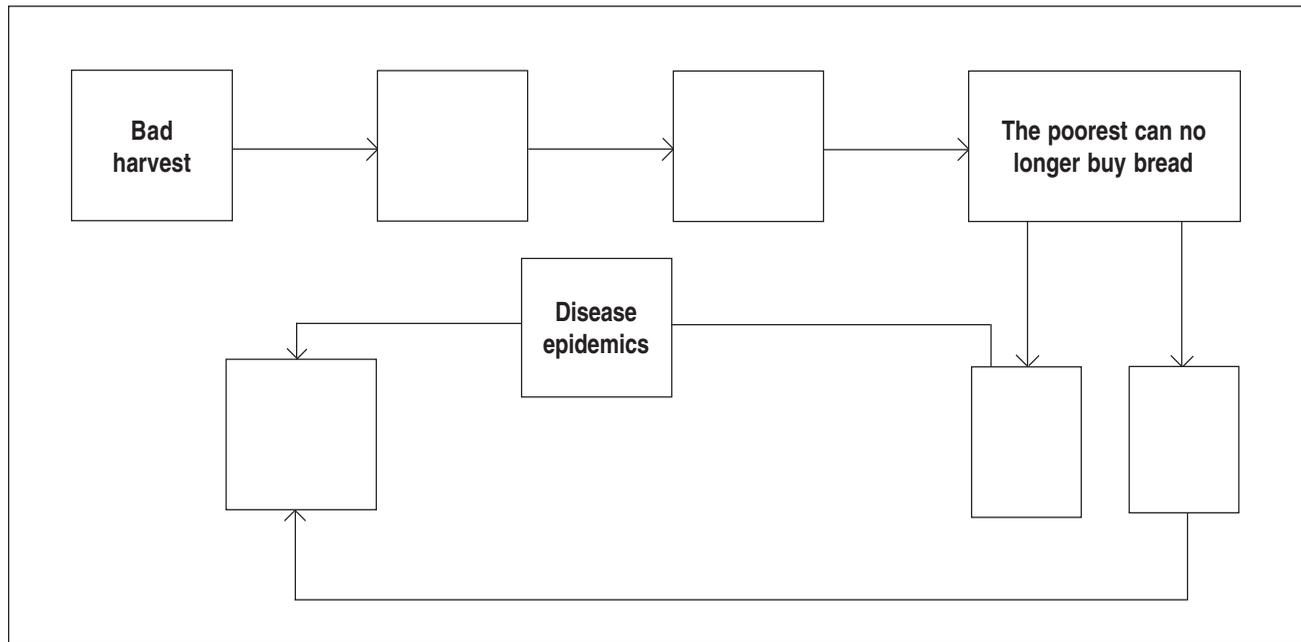


Fig.4 – The course of a subsistence crisis.

### Activity

Fill in the blank boxes in Fig. 4 with appropriate terms from among the following:

**Food riots, scarcity of grain, increased number of deaths, rising food prices, weaker bodies.**

## 1.3 A Growing Middle Class Envisages an End to Privileges

In the past, peasants and workers had participated in revolts against increasing taxes and food scarcity. But they lacked the means and programmes to carry out full-scale measures that would bring about a change in the social and economic order. This was left to those groups within the third estate who had become prosperous and had access to education and new ideas.

The eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of social groups, termed the middle class, who earned their wealth through an expanding overseas trade and from the manufacture of goods such as woollen and silk textiles that were either exported or bought by the richer members of society. In addition to merchants and manufacturers, the third estate included professions such as lawyers or administrative officials. All of these were educated and believed that no group in society should be privileged by birth. Rather, a person's social position must depend on his merit. These ideas envisaging a society based on freedom and equal laws and opportunities for all, were put forward by philosophers such as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke sought to refute the doctrine of the divine and absolute right

of the monarch. Rousseau carried the idea forward, proposing a form of government based on a social contract between people and their representatives. In *The Spirit of the Laws*, Montesquieu proposed a division of power within the government between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. This model of government was put into force in the USA, after the thirteen colonies declared their independence from Britain. The American constitution and its guarantee of individual rights was an important example for political thinkers in France.

The ideas of these philosophers were discussed intensively in salons and coffee-houses and spread among people through books and newspapers. These were frequently read aloud in groups for the benefit of those who could not read and write. The news that Louis XVI planned to impose further taxes to be able to meet the expenses of the state generated anger and protest against the system of privileges.

#### Source A

##### Accounts of lived experiences in the Old Regime

1. Georges Danton, who later became active in revolutionary politics, wrote to a friend in 1793, looking back upon the time when he had just completed his studies:

'I was educated in the residential college of Plessis. There I was in the company of important men ... Once my studies ended, I was left with nothing. I started looking for a post. It was impossible to find one at the law courts in Paris. The choice of a career in the army was not open to me as I was not a noble by birth, nor did I have a patron. The church too could not offer me a refuge. I could not buy an office as I did not possess a sou. My old friends turned their backs to me ... the system had provided us with an education without however offering a field where our talents could be utilised.'

2. An Englishman, Arthur Young, travelled through France during the years from 1787 to 1789 and wrote detailed descriptions of his journeys. He often commented on what he saw.

'He who decides to be served and waited upon by slaves, ill-treated slaves at that, must be fully aware that by doing so he is placing his property and his life in a situation which is very different from that he would be in, had he chosen the services of free and well-treated men. And he who chooses to dine to the accompaniment of his victims' groans, should not complain if during a riot his daughter gets kidnapped or his son's throat is slit.'

Source

#### Activity

What message is Young trying to convey here? Whom does he mean when he speaks of 'slaves'? Who is he criticising? What dangers does he sense in the situation of 1787?

## 2 The Outbreak of the Revolution

Louis XVI had to increase taxes for reasons you have learnt in the previous section. How do you think he could have gone about doing this? In France of the Old Regime the monarch did not have the power to impose taxes according to his will alone. Rather he had to call a meeting of the Estates General which would then pass his proposals for new taxes. The Estates General was a political body to which the three estates sent their representatives. However, the monarch alone could decide when to call a meeting of this body. The last time it was done was in 1614.

On 5 May 1789, Louis XVI called together an assembly of the Estates General to pass proposals for new taxes. A resplendent hall in Versailles was prepared to host the delegates. The first and second estates sent 300 representatives each, who were seated in rows facing each other on two sides, while the 600 members of the third estate had to stand at the back. The third estate was represented by its more prosperous and educated members. Peasants, artisans and women were denied entry to the assembly. However, their grievances and demands were listed in some 40,000 letters which the representatives had brought with them.

Voting in the Estates General in the past had been conducted according to the principle that each estate had one vote. This time too Louis XVI was determined to continue the same practice. But members of the third estate demanded that voting now be conducted by the assembly as a whole, where each member would have one vote. This was one of the democratic principles put forward by philosophers like Rousseau in his book *The Social Contract*. When the king rejected this proposal, members of the third estate walked out of the assembly in protest.

The representatives of the third estate viewed themselves as spokesmen for the whole French nation. On 20 June they assembled in the hall of an indoor tennis court in the grounds of Versailles. They declared themselves a National Assembly and swore not to disperse till they had drafted a constitution for France that would limit the powers of the monarch. They were led by Mirabeau and Abbé Sieyès. Mirabeau was born in a noble family but was convinced of the need to do away with a society of feudal privilege. He brought out a journal and delivered powerful speeches to the crowds assembled at Versailles.

### Some important dates

1774

Louis XVI becomes king of France, faces empty treasury and growing discontent within society of the Old Regime.

1789

Convocation of Estates General, Third Estate forms National Assembly, the Bastille is stormed, peasant revolts in the countryside.

1791

A constitution is framed to limit the powers of the king and to guarantee basic rights to all human beings.

1792-93

France becomes a republic, the king is beheaded.

Overthrow of the Jacobin republic, a Directory rules France.

1804

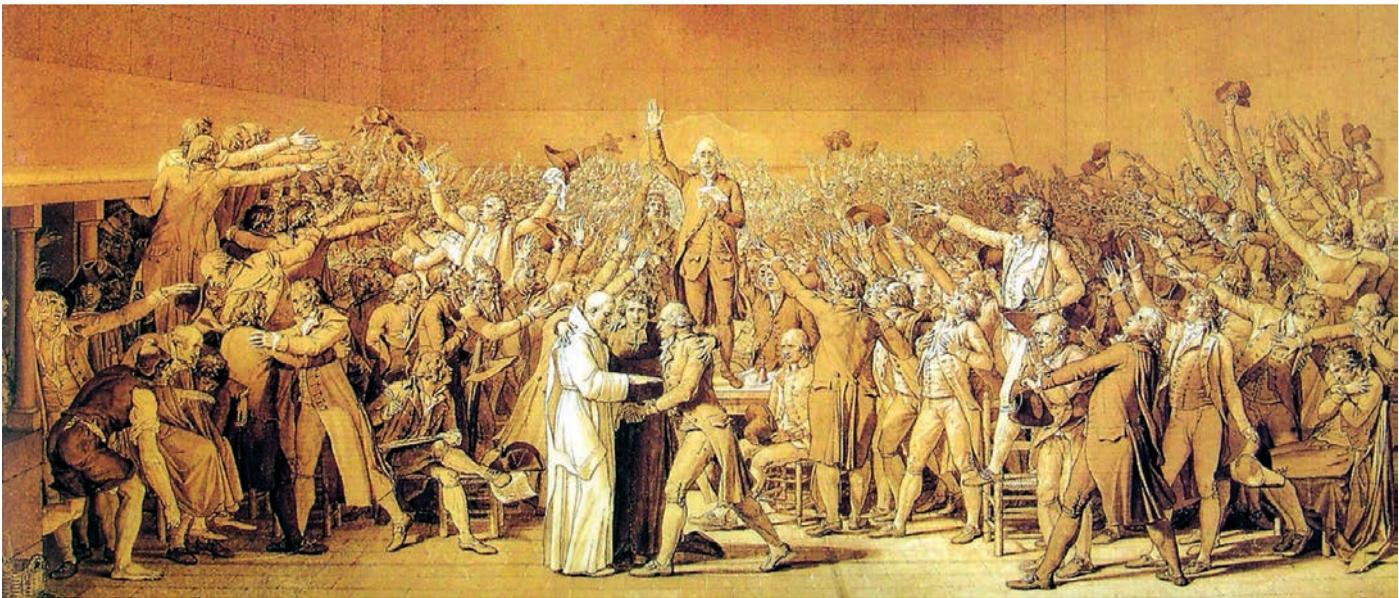
Napoleon becomes emperor of France, annexes large parts of Europe.

1815

Napoleon defeated at Waterloo.

### Activity

Representatives of the Third Estate take the oath raising their arms in the direction of Bailly, the President of the Assembly, standing on a table in the centre. Do you think that during the actual event Bailly would have stood with his back to the assembled deputies? What could have been David's intention in placing Bailly (Fig.5) the way he has done?



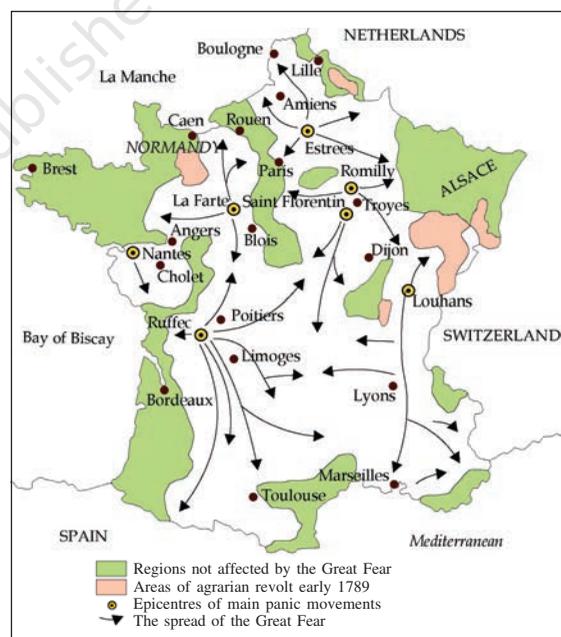
**Fig.5 – The Tennis Court Oath.**  
 Preparatory sketch for a large painting by Jacques-Louis David. The painting was intended to be hung in the National Assembly.

Abbé Sieyès, originally a priest, wrote an influential pamphlet called ‘What is the Third Estate?’

While the National Assembly was busy at Versailles drafting a constitution, the rest of France seethed with turmoil. A severe winter had meant a bad harvest; the price of bread rose, often bakers exploited the situation and hoarded supplies. After spending hours in long queues at the bakery, crowds of angry women stormed into the shops. At the same time, the king ordered troops to move into Paris. On 14 July, the agitated crowd stormed and destroyed the Bastille.

In the countryside rumours spread from village to village that the lords of the **manor** had hired bands of brigands who were on their way to destroy the ripe crops. Caught in a frenzy of fear, peasants in several districts seized hoes and pitchforks and attacked **chateaux**. They looted hoarded grain and burnt down documents containing records of manorial dues. A large number of nobles fled from their homes, many of them migrating to neighbouring countries.

Faced with the power of his revolting subjects, Louis XVI finally accorded recognition to the National Assembly and accepted the principle that his powers would from now on be checked by a constitution. On the night of 4 August 1789, the Assembly passed a decree abolishing the feudal system of obligations and taxes. Members of the clergy too were forced to give up their privileges. Tithes were abolished and lands owned by the Church were confiscated. As a result, the government acquired assets worth at least 2 billion livres.



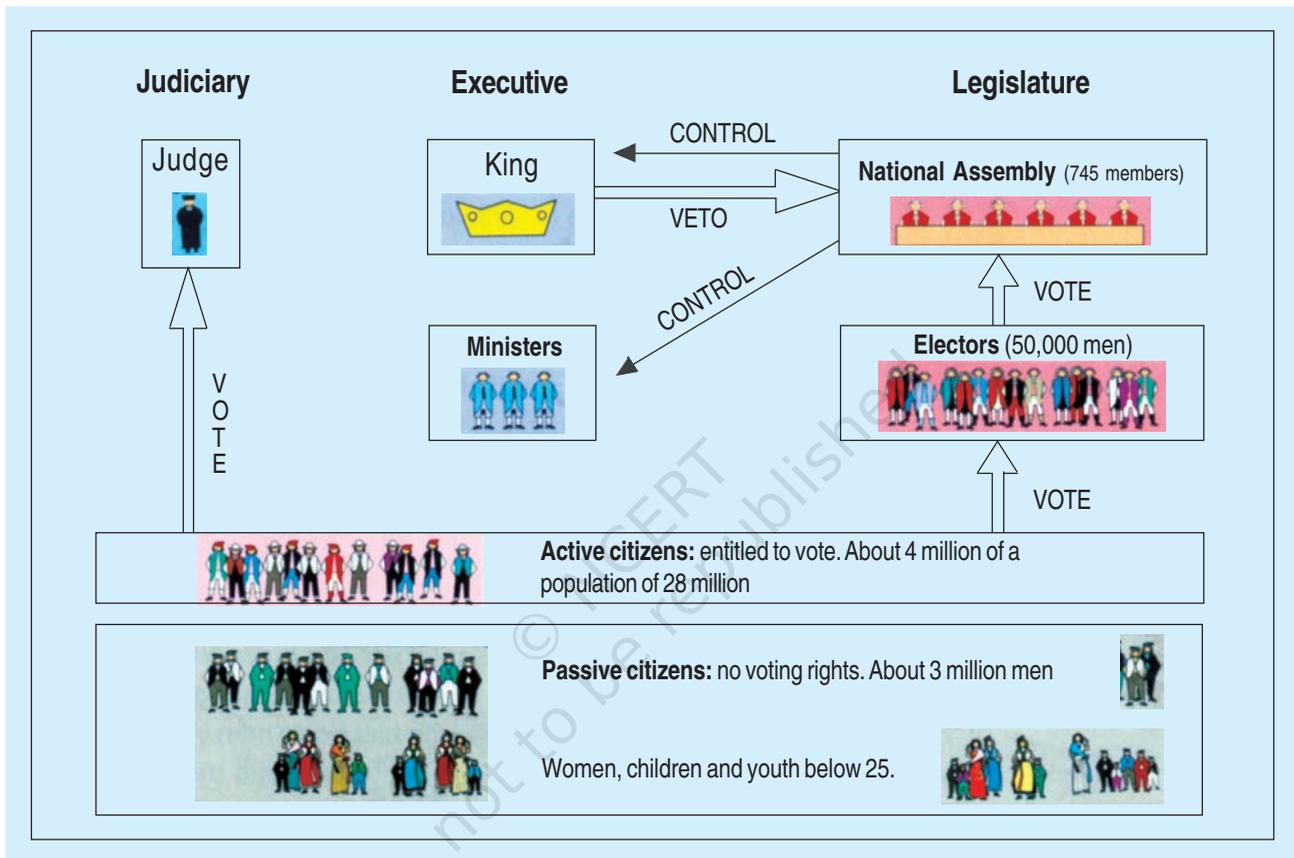
**Fig.6 – The spread of the Great Fear.**  
 The map shows how bands of peasants spread from one point to another.

### New words

Chateau (pl. chateaux) – Castle or stately residence belonging to a king or a nobleman  
 Manor – An estate consisting of the lord’s lands and his mansion

## 2.1 France Becomes a Constitutional Monarchy

The National Assembly completed the draft of the constitution in 1791. Its main object was to limit the powers of the monarch. These powers instead of being concentrated in the hands of one person, were now separated and assigned to different institutions – the legislature, executive and judiciary. This made France a constitutional monarchy. Fig. 7 explains how the new political system worked.



**Fig. 7 – The Political system under the Constitution of 1791.**

The Constitution of 1791 vested the power to make laws in the National Assembly, which was indirectly elected. That is, citizens voted for a group of electors, who in turn chose the Assembly. Not all citizens, however, had the right to vote. Only men above 25 years of age who paid taxes equal to at least 3 days of a labourer's wage were given the status of active citizens, that is, they were entitled to vote. The remaining men and all women were classed as passive citizens. To qualify as an elector and then as a member of the Assembly, a man had to belong to the highest bracket of taxpayers.



**Fig.8** – The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, painted by the artist Le Barbier in 1790. The figure on the right represents France. The figure on the left symbolises the law.

### Source C

#### The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.
2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man; these are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.
3. The source of all sovereignty resides in the nation; no group or individual may exercise authority that does not come from the people.
4. Liberty consists of the power to do whatever is not injurious to others.
5. The law has the right to forbid only actions that are injurious to society.
6. Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to participate in its formation, personally or through their representatives. All citizens are equal before it.
7. No man may be accused, arrested or detained, except in cases determined by the law.
11. Every citizen may speak, write and print freely; he must take responsibility for the abuse of such liberty in cases determined by the law.
12. For the maintenance of the public force and for the expenses of administration a common tax is indispensable; it must be assessed equally on all citizens in proportion to their means.
17. Since property is a sacred and inviolable right, no one may be deprived of it, unless a legally established public necessity requires it. In that case a just compensation must be given in advance.

The Constitution began with a Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Rights such as the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, equality before law, were established as ‘natural and inalienable’ rights, that is, they belonged to each human being by birth and could not be taken away. It was the duty of the state to protect each citizen’s natural rights.

### Source B

The revolutionary journalist Jean-Paul Marat commented in his newspaper *L’Ami du peuple* (The friend of the people) on the Constitution drafted by the National Assembly:



‘The task of representing the people has been given to the rich ... the lot of the poor and oppressed will never be improved by peaceful means alone. Here we have absolute proof of how wealth influences the law. Yet laws will last only as long as the people agree to obey them. And when they have managed to cast off the yoke of the aristocrats, they will do the same to the other owners of wealth.’

Source: An extract from the newspaper *L’Ami du peuple*.

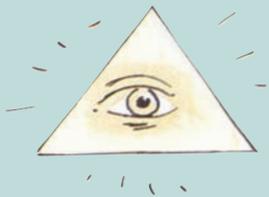
## Reading political symbols

The majority of men and women in the eighteenth century could not read or write. So images and symbols were frequently used instead of printed words to communicate important ideas. The painting by Le Barbier (Fig. 8) uses many such symbols to convey the content of the Declaration of Rights. Let us try to read these symbols.

**The broken chain:** Chains were used to fetter slaves. A broken chain stands for the act of becoming free.



**The bundle of rods or fasces:** One rod can be easily broken, but not an entire bundle. Strength lies in unity.

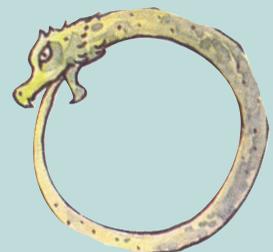


**The eye within a triangle radiating light:** The all-seeing eye stands for knowledge. The rays of the sun will drive away the clouds of ignorance.

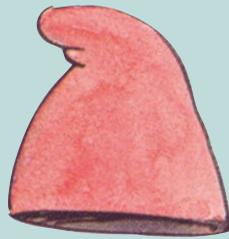


**Sceptre:** Symbol of royal power.

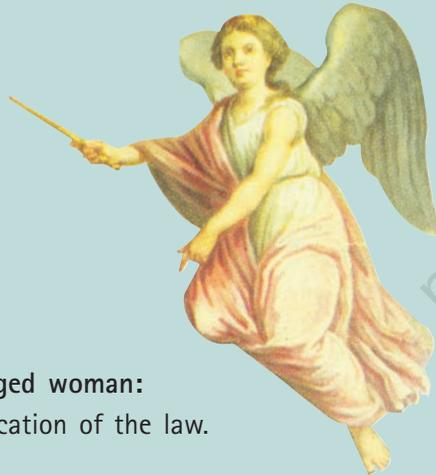
**Snake biting its tail to form a ring:** Symbol of Eternity. A ring has neither beginning nor end.



**Red Phrygian cap:** Cap worn by a slave upon becoming free.

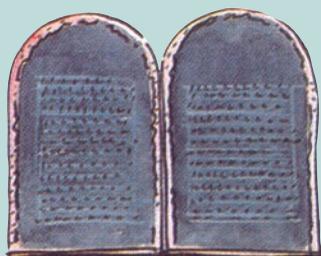


**Blue-white-red:** The national colours of France.



**The winged woman:**  
Personification of the law.

**The Law Tablet:** The law is the same for all, and all are equal before it.



## Activity

1. Identify the symbols in Box 1 which stand for liberty, equality and fraternity.
2. Explain the meaning of the painting of the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen (Fig. 8) by reading only the symbols.
3. Compare the political rights which the Constitution of 1791 gave to the citizens with Articles 1 and 6 of the Declaration (Source C). Are the two documents consistent? Do the two documents convey the same idea?
4. Which groups of French society would have gained from the Constitution of 1791? Which groups would have had reason to be dissatisfied? What developments does Marat (Source B) anticipate in the future?
5. Imagine the impact of the events in France on neighbouring countries such as Prussia, Austria-Hungary or Spain, all of which were absolute monarchies. How would the kings, traders, peasants, nobles or members of the clergy here have reacted to the news of what was happening in France?

### 3 France Abolishes Monarchy and Becomes a Republic

The situation in France continued to be tense during the following years. Although Louis XVI had signed the Constitution, he entered into secret negotiations with the King of Prussia. Rulers of other neighbouring countries too were worried by the developments in France and made plans to send troops to put down the events that had been taking place there since the summer of 1789. Before this could happen, the National Assembly voted in April 1792 to declare war against Prussia and Austria. Thousands of volunteers thronged from the provinces to join the army. They saw this as a war of the people against kings and aristocracies all over Europe. Among the patriotic songs they sang was the *Marseillaise*, composed by the poet Roget de L'Isle. It was sung for the first time by volunteers from *Marseilles* as they marched into Paris and so got its name. The *Marseillaise* is now the national anthem of France.

The revolutionary wars brought losses and economic difficulties to the people. While the men were away fighting at the front, women were left to cope with the tasks of earning a living and looking after their families. Large sections of the population were convinced that the revolution had to be carried further, as the Constitution of 1791 gave political rights only to the richer sections of society. Political clubs became an important rallying point for people who wished to discuss government policies and plan their own forms of action. The most successful of these clubs was that of the Jacobins, which got its name from the former **convent** of St Jacob in Paris. Women too, who had been active throughout this period, formed their own clubs. Section 4 of this chapter will tell you more about their activities and demands.

The members of the Jacobin club belonged mainly to the less prosperous sections of society. They included small shopkeepers, artisans such as shoemakers, pastry cooks, watch-makers, printers, as well as servants and daily-wage workers. Their leader was Maximilian Robespierre. A large group among the Jacobins decided to start wearing long striped trousers similar to those worn by dock workers. This was to set themselves apart from the fashionable sections of society, especially nobles, who wore knee breeches. It

#### New words

Convent – Building belonging to a community devoted to a religious life



Fig.9 – A sans-culottes couple.



**Fig. 10 – Nanine Vallain, Liberty.**

*This is one of the rare paintings by a woman artist. The revolutionary events made it possible for women to train with established painters and to exhibit their works in the Salon, which was an exhibition held every two years.*

*The painting is a female allegory of liberty – that is, the female form symbolises the idea of freedom.*

## Activity

Look carefully at the painting and identify the objects which are political symbols you saw in Box 1 (broken chain, red cap, fasces, Charter of the Declaration of Rights). The pyramid stands for equality, often represented by a triangle. Use the symbols to interpret the painting. Describe your impressions of the female figure of liberty.

was a way of proclaiming the end of the power wielded by the wearers of knee breeches. These Jacobins came to be known as the sans-culottes, literally meaning ‘those without knee breeches’. Sans-culottes men wore in addition the red cap that symbolised liberty. Women however were not allowed to do so.

In the summer of 1792 the Jacobins planned an insurrection of a large number of Parisians who were angered by the short supplies and high prices of food. On the morning of August 10 they stormed the Palace of the Tuileries, massacred the king’s guards and held the king himself as hostage for several hours. Later the Assembly voted to imprison the royal family. Elections were held. From now on all men of 21 years and above, regardless of wealth, got the right to vote.

The newly elected assembly was called the Convention. On 21 September 1792 it abolished the monarchy and declared France a republic. As you know, a republic is a form of government where the people elect the government including the head of the

government. There is no hereditary monarchy. You can try and find out about some other countries that are republics and investigate when and how they became so.

Louis XVI was sentenced to death by a court on the charge of **treason**. On 21 January 1793 he was executed publicly at the Place de la Concorde. The queen Marie Antoinette met with the same fate shortly after.

### 3.1 The Reign of Terror

The period from 1793 to 1794 is referred to as the Reign of Terror. Robespierre followed a policy of severe control and punishment. All those whom he saw as being ‘enemies’ of the republic – ex-nobles and clergy, members of other political parties, even members of his own party who did not agree with his methods – were arrested, imprisoned and then tried by a revolutionary tribunal. If the court found them ‘guilty’ they were guillotined. The guillotine is a device consisting of two poles and a blade with which a person is beheaded. It was named after Dr Guillotin who invented it.

Robespierre’s government issued laws placing a maximum ceiling on wages and prices. Meat and bread were rationed. Peasants were forced to transport their grain to the cities and sell it at prices fixed by the government. The use of more expensive white flour was forbidden; all citizens were required to eat the *pain d’égalité* (equality bread), a loaf made of wholewheat. Equality was also sought to be practised through forms of speech and address. Instead of the traditional Monsieur (Sir) and Madame (Madam) all French men and women were henceforth Citoyen and Citoyenne (Citizen). Churches were shut down and their buildings converted into barracks or offices.

Robespierre pursued his policies so relentlessly that even his supporters began to demand moderation. Finally, he was convicted by a court in July 1794, arrested and on the next day sent to the guillotine.

### Activity

Compare the views of Desmoulins and Robespierre. How does each one understand the use of state force? What does Robespierre mean by ‘the war of liberty against tyranny’? How does Desmoulins perceive liberty? Refer once more to Source C. What did the constitutional laws on the rights of individuals lay down? Discuss your views on the subject in class.

### New words

Treason – Betrayal of one’s country or government

### Source D

#### What is liberty? Two conflicting views:

The revolutionary journalist Camille Desmoulins wrote the following in 1793. He was executed shortly after, during the Reign of Terror.

‘Some people believe that Liberty is like a child, which needs to go through a phase of being disciplined before it attains maturity. Quite the opposite. Liberty is Happiness, Reason, Equality, Justice, it is the Declaration of Rights ... You would like to finish off all your enemies by guillotining them. Has anyone heard of something more senseless? Would it be possible to bring a single person to the scaffold without making ten more enemies among his relations and friends?’



On 7 February 1794, Robespierre made a speech at the Convention, which was then carried by the newspaper *Le Moniteur Universel*. Here is an extract from it:

‘To establish and consolidate democracy, to achieve the peaceful rule of constitutional laws, we must first finish the war of liberty against tyranny .... We must annihilate the enemies of the republic at home and abroad, or else we shall perish. In time of Revolution a democratic government may rely on terror. Terror is nothing but justice, swift, severe and inflexible; ... and is used to meet the most urgent needs of the fatherland. To curb the enemies of Liberty through terror is the right of the founder of the Republic.’



**Fig. 11** – The revolutionary government sought to mobilise the loyalty of its subjects through various means – one of them was the staging of festivals like this one. Symbols from civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome were used to convey the aura of a hallowed history. The pavilion on the raised platform in the middle carried by classical columns was made of perishable material that could be dismantled. Describe the groups of people, their clothes, their roles and actions. What impression of a revolutionary festival does this image convey?

### 3.2 A Directory Rules France

The fall of the Jacobin government allowed the wealthier middle classes to seize power. A new constitution was introduced which denied the vote to non-propertied sections of society. It provided for two elected legislative councils. These then appointed a Directory, an executive made up of five members. This was meant as a safeguard against the concentration of power in a one-man executive as under the Jacobins. However, the Directors often clashed with the legislative councils, who then sought to dismiss them. The political instability of the Directory paved the way for the rise of a military dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Through all these changes in the form of government, the ideals of freedom, of equality before the law and of fraternity remained inspiring ideals that motivated political movements in France and the rest of Europe during the following century.

## 4 Did Women have a Revolution?



**Fig. 12 – Parisian women on their way to Versailles.**

*This print is one of the many pictorial representations of the events of 5 October 1789, when women marched to Versailles and brought the king back with them to Paris.*

From the very beginning women were active participants in the events which brought about so many important changes in French society. They hoped that their involvement would pressurise the revolutionary government to introduce measures to improve their lives. Most women of the third estate had to work for a living. They worked as seamstresses or laundresses, sold flowers, fruits and vegetables at the market, or were employed as domestic servants in the houses of prosperous people. Most women did not have access to education or job training. Only daughters of nobles or wealthier members of the third estate could study at a convent, after which their families arranged a marriage for them. Working women had also to care for their families, that is, cook, fetch water, queue up for bread and look after the children. Their wages were lower than those of men.

In order to discuss and voice their interests women started their own political clubs and newspapers. About sixty women's clubs came up in different French cities. The Society of Revolutionary and Republican Women was the most famous of them. One of their

### Activity

Describe the persons represented in Fig. 12 – their actions, their postures, the objects they are carrying. Look carefully to see whether all of them come from the same social group. What symbols has the artist included in the image? What do they stand for? Do the actions of the women reflect traditional ideas of how women were expected to behave in public? What do you think: does the artist sympathise with the women's activities or is he critical of them? Discuss your views in the class.

main demands was that women enjoy the same political rights as men. Women were disappointed that the Constitution of 1791 reduced them to passive citizens. They demanded the right to vote, to be elected to the Assembly and to hold political office. Only then, they felt, would their interests be represented in the new government.

In the early years, the revolutionary government did introduce laws that helped improve the lives of women. Together with the creation of state schools, schooling was made compulsory for all girls. Their fathers could no longer force them into marriage against their will. Marriage was made into a contract entered into freely and registered under civil law. Divorce was made legal, and could be applied for by both women and men. Women could now train for jobs, could become artists or run small businesses.

Women's struggle for equal political rights, however, continued. During the Reign of Terror, the new government issued laws ordering closure of women's clubs and banning their political activities. Many prominent women were arrested and a number of them executed.

Women's movements for voting rights and equal wages continued through the next two hundred years in many countries of the world. The fight for the vote was carried out through an international suffrage movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The example of the political activities of French women during the revolutionary years was kept alive as an inspiring memory. It was finally in 1946 that women in France won the right to vote.

#### Source E

### The life of a revolutionary woman – Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793)

Olympe de Gouges was one of the most important of the politically active women in revolutionary France. She protested against the Constitution and the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen as they excluded women from basic rights that each human being was entitled to. So, in 1791, she wrote a *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen*, which she addressed to the Queen and to the members of the National Assembly, demanding that they act upon it. In 1793, Olympe de Gouges criticised the Jacobin government for forcibly closing down women's clubs. She was tried by the National Convention, which charged her with treason. Soon after this she was executed.



**Source F****Some of the basic rights set forth in Olympe de Gouges' Declaration.**

1. Woman is born free and remains equal to man in rights.
2. The goal of all political associations is the preservation of the natural rights of woman and man: These rights are liberty, property, security, and above all resistance to oppression.
3. The source of all sovereignty resides in the nation, which is nothing but the union of woman and man.
4. The law should be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens should have a say either personally or by their representatives in its formulation; it should be the same for all. All female and male citizens are equally entitled to all honours and public employment according to their abilities and without any other distinction than that of their talents.
5. No woman is an exception; she is accused, arrested, and detained in cases determined by law. Women, like men, obey this rigorous law.

**Activity**

Compare the manifesto drafted by Olympe de Gouges (Source F) with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (Source C).



**Fig. 13 – Women queuing up at a bakery.**

**Activity**

Imagine yourself to be one of the women in Fig. 13. Formulate a response to the arguments put forward by Chaumette (Source G).

**Source G**

In 1793, the Jacobin politician Chaumette sought to justify the closure of women's clubs on the following grounds:

'Has Nature entrusted domestic duties to men? Has she given us breasts to nurture babies?

No.

She said to Man:

Be a man. Hunting, agriculture, political duties ... that is your kingdom.

She said to Woman:

Be a woman ... the things of the household, the sweet duties of motherhood – those are your tasks.

Shameless are those women, who wish to become men. Have not duties been fairly distributed?'

## 5 The Abolition of Slavery

One of the most revolutionary social reforms of the Jacobin regime was the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. The colonies in the Caribbean – Martinique, Guadeloupe and San Domingo – were important suppliers of commodities such as tobacco, indigo, sugar and coffee. But the reluctance of Europeans to go and work in distant and unfamiliar lands meant a shortage of labour on the plantations. So this was met by a triangular slave trade between Europe, Africa and the Americas. The slave trade began in the seventeenth century. French merchants sailed from the ports of Bordeaux or Nantes to the African coast, where they bought slaves from local chieftains. Branded and shackled, the slaves were packed tightly into ships for the three-month long voyage across the Atlantic to the Caribbean. There they were sold to plantation owners. The exploitation of slave labour made it possible to meet the growing demand in European markets for sugar, coffee, and indigo. Port cities like Bordeaux and Nantes owed their economic prosperity to the flourishing slave trade.

Throughout the eighteenth century there was little criticism of slavery in France. The National Assembly held long debates about whether the rights of man should be extended to all French subjects including those in the colonies. But it did not pass any laws, fearing opposition from businessmen whose incomes depended on the slave trade. It was finally the Convention which in 1794 legislated to free all slaves in the French overseas possessions. This, however, turned out to be a short-term measure: ten years later, Napoleon reintroduced slavery. Plantation owners understood their freedom as including the right to enslave African **Negroes** in pursuit of their economic interests. Slavery was finally abolished in French colonies in 1848.



**Fig. 14 – The emancipation of slaves.** This print of 1794 describes the **emancipation** of slaves. The tricolour banner on top carries the slogan: ‘The rights of man’. The inscription below reads: ‘The freedom of the unfree’. A French woman prepares to ‘civilise’ the African and American Indian slaves by giving them European clothes to wear.

### Activity

Record your impressions of this print (Fig. 14). Describe the objects lying on the ground. What do they symbolise? What attitude does the picture express towards non-European slaves?

#### New words

**Negroes** – A term used for the indigenous people of Africa south of the Sahara. It is a derogatory term not in common use any longer

**Emancipation** – The act of freeing

## 6 The Revolution and Everyday Life

Can politics change the clothes people wear, the language they speak or the books they read? The years following 1789 in France saw many such changes in the lives of men, women and children. The revolutionary governments took it upon themselves to pass laws that would translate the ideals of liberty and equality into everyday practice.

One important law that came into effect soon after the storming of the Bastille in the summer of 1789 was the abolition of censorship. In the Old Regime all written material and cultural activities – books, newspapers, plays – could be published or performed only after they had been approved by the censors of the king. Now the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen proclaimed freedom of speech and expression to be a natural right. Newspapers, pamphlets, books and printed pictures flooded the towns of France from where they travelled rapidly into the countryside. They all described and discussed the events and changes taking place in France. Freedom of the press also meant that opposing views of events could be expressed. Each side sought to convince the others of its position through the medium of print. Plays, songs and festive processions attracted large numbers of people. This was one way they could grasp and identify with ideas such as liberty or justice that political philosophers wrote about at length in texts which only a handful of educated people could read.

### Activity

Describe the picture in your own words. What are the images that the artist has used to communicate the following ideas: greed, equality, justice, takeover by the state of the assets of the church?



**Fig. 15 – The patriotic fat-reducing press.**  
*This anonymous print of 1790 seeks to make the idea of justice tangible.*



**Fig. 16 - Marat addressing the people. This is a painting by Louis-Leopold Boilly.**  
 Recall what you have learnt about Marat in this chapter. Describe the scene around him. Account for his great popularity. What kinds of reactions would a painting like this produce among viewers in the Salon?

## Conclusion

In 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself Emperor of France. He set out to conquer neighbouring European countries, dispossessing dynasties and creating kingdoms where he placed members of his family. Napoleon saw his role as a moderniser of Europe. He introduced many laws such as the protection of private property and a uniform system of weights and measures provided by the decimal system. Initially, many saw Napoleon as a liberator who would bring freedom for the people. But soon the Napoleonic armies came to be viewed everywhere as an invading force. He was finally defeated at Waterloo in 1815. Many of his measures that carried the revolutionary ideas of liberty and modern laws to other parts of Europe had an impact on people long after Napoleon had left.

The ideas of liberty and democratic rights were the most important legacy of the French Revolution. These spread from France to the rest of Europe during the nineteenth century, where feudal systems



**Fig. 17 – Napoleon crossing the Alps, painting by David.**

were abolished. Colonised peoples reworked the idea of freedom from bondage into their movements to create a sovereign nation state. Tipu Sultan and Rammohan Roy are two examples of individuals who responded to the ideas coming from revolutionary France.

### Box 2

Raja Rammohan Roy was one of those who was inspired by new ideas that were spreading through Europe at that time. The French Revolution and later, the July Revolution excited his imagination.

'He could think and talk of nothing else when he heard of the July Revolution in France in 1830. On his way to England at Cape Town he insisted on visiting frigates (warships) flying the revolutionary tri-colour flag though he had been temporarily lamed by an accident.'

Susobhan Sarkar, *Notes on the Bengal Renaissance* 1946.

## Activities

1. Find out more about any one of the revolutionary figures you have read about in this chapter. Write a short biography of this person.
2. The French Revolution saw the rise of newspapers describing the events of each day and week. Collect information and pictures on any one event and write a newspaper article. You could also conduct an imaginary interview with important personages such as Mirabeau, Olympe de Gouges or Robespierre. Work in groups of two or three. Each group could then put up their articles on a board to produce a wallpaper on the French Revolution.

Activities

## Questions

1. Describe the circumstances leading to the outbreak of revolutionary protest in France.
2. Which groups of French society benefited from the revolution? Which groups were forced to relinquish power? Which sections of society would have been disappointed with the outcome of the revolution?
3. Describe the legacy of the French Revolution for the peoples of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
4. Draw up a list of democratic rights we enjoy today whose origins could be traced to the French Revolution.
5. Would you agree with the view that the message of universal rights was beset with contradictions? Explain.
6. How would you explain the rise of Napoleon?



# Socialism in Europe and the Russian Revolution



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## 1 The Age of Social Change

In the previous chapter you read about the powerful ideas of freedom and equality that circulated in Europe after the French Revolution. The French Revolution opened up the possibility of creating a dramatic change in the way in which society was structured. As you have read, before the eighteenth century society was broadly divided into estates and orders and it was the aristocracy and church which controlled economic and social power. Suddenly, after the revolution, it seemed possible to change this. In many parts of the world including Europe and Asia, new ideas about individual rights and who controlled social power began to be discussed. In India, Raja Rammohan Roy and Derozio talked of the significance of the French Revolution, and many others debated the ideas of post-revolutionary Europe. The developments in the colonies, in turn, reshaped these ideas of societal change.

Not everyone in Europe, however, wanted a complete transformation of society. Responses varied from those who accepted that some change was necessary but wished for a gradual shift, to those who wanted to restructure society radically. Some were 'conservatives', others were 'liberals' or 'radicals'. What did these terms really mean in the context of the time? What separated these strands of politics and what linked them together? We must remember that these terms do not mean the same thing in all contexts or at all times.

We will look briefly at some of the important political traditions of the nineteenth century, and see how they influenced change. Then we will focus on one historical event in which there was an attempt at a radical transformation of society. Through the revolution in Russia, socialism became one of the most significant and powerful ideas to shape society in the twentieth century.

### 1.1 Liberals, Radicals and Conservatives

One of the groups which looked to change society were the liberals. Liberals wanted a nation which tolerated all religions. We should remember that at this time European states usually discriminated in

favour of one religion or another (Britain favoured the Church of England, Austria and Spain favoured the Catholic Church). Liberals also opposed the uncontrolled power of dynastic rulers. They wanted to safeguard the rights of individuals against governments. They argued for a representative, elected parliamentary government, subject to laws interpreted by a well-trained judiciary that was independent of rulers and officials. However, they were not ‘democrats’. They did not believe in universal adult franchise, that is, the right of every citizen to vote. They felt men of property mainly should have the vote. They also did not want the vote for women.

In contrast, radicals wanted a nation in which government was based on the majority of a country’s population. Many supported women’s **suffragette** movements. Unlike liberals, they opposed the privileges of great landowners and wealthy factory owners. They were not against the existence of private property but disliked concentration of property in the hands of a few.

Conservatives were opposed to radicals and liberals. After the French Revolution, however, even conservatives had opened their minds to the need for change. Earlier, in the eighteenth century, conservatives had been generally opposed to the idea of change. By the nineteenth century, they accepted that some change was inevitable but believed that the past had to be respected and change had to be brought about through a slow process.

Such differing ideas about societal change clashed during the social and political turmoil that followed the French Revolution. The various attempts at revolution and national transformation in the nineteenth century helped define both the limits and potential of these political tendencies.

## 1.2 Industrial Society and Social Change

These political trends were signs of a new time. It was a time of profound social and economic changes. It was a time when new cities came up and new industrialised regions developed, railways expanded and the Industrial Revolution occurred.

Industrialisation brought men, women and children to factories. Work hours were often long and wages were poor. Unemployment was common, particularly during times of low demand for industrial goods. Housing and sanitation were problems since towns were growing rapidly. Liberals and radicals searched for solutions to these issues.

### New words

Suffragette movement – A movement to give women the right to vote.



**Fig. 1 – The London poor in the mid-nineteenth century as seen by a contemporary.**

From: Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 1861.

Almost all industries were the property of individuals. Liberals and radicals themselves were often property owners and employers. Having made their wealth through trade or industrial ventures, they felt that such effort should be encouraged – that its benefits would be achieved if the workforce in the economy was healthy and citizens were educated. Opposed to the privileges the old aristocracy had by birth, they firmly believed in the value of individual effort, labour and enterprise. If freedom of individuals was ensured, if the poor could labour, and those with capital could operate without restraint, they believed that societies would develop. Many working men and women who wanted changes in the world rallied around liberal and radical groups and parties in the early nineteenth century.

Some nationalists, liberals and radicals wanted revolutions to put an end to the kind of governments established in Europe in 1815. In France, Italy, Germany and Russia, they became revolutionaries and worked to overthrow existing monarchs. Nationalists talked of revolutions that would create ‘nations’ where all citizens would have

equal rights. After 1815, Giuseppe Mazzini, an Italian nationalist, conspired with others to achieve this in Italy. Nationalists elsewhere – including India – read his writings.

### 1.3 The Coming of Socialism to Europe

Perhaps one of the most far-reaching visions of how society should be structured was socialism. By the mid - nineteenth century in Europe, socialism was a well-known body of ideas that attracted widespread attention.

Socialists were against private property, and saw it as the root of all social ills of the time. Why? Individuals owned the property that gave employment but the proprietors were concerned only with personal gain and not with the welfare of those who made the property productive. So if society as a whole rather than single individuals controlled property, more attention would be paid to collective social interests. Socialists wanted this change and campaigned for it.

How could a society without property operate? What would be the basis of socialist society?

Socialists had different visions of the future. Some believed in the idea of cooperatives. Robert Owen (1771-1858), a leading English manufacturer, sought to build a cooperative community called New Harmony in Indiana (USA). Other socialists felt that cooperatives could not be built on a wide scale only through individual initiative: they demanded that *governments* encourage cooperatives. In France, for instance, Louis Blanc (1813-1882) wanted the government to encourage cooperatives and replace capitalist enterprises. These cooperatives were to be associations of people who produced goods together and divided the profits according to the work done by members.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) added other ideas to this body of arguments. Marx argued that industrial society was 'capitalist'. Capitalists owned the capital invested in factories, and the profit of capitalists was produced by workers. The conditions of workers could not improve as long as this profit was accumulated by private capitalists. Workers had to overthrow capitalism and the rule of private property. Marx believed that to free themselves from capitalist exploitation, workers had to construct a radically socialist society where all property was socially controlled. This would be a communist society. He was convinced that workers would triumph in their conflict with capitalists. A communist society was the natural society of the future.

### Activity

List two differences between the capitalist and socialist ideas of private property.

## 1.4 Support for Socialism

By the 1870s, socialist ideas spread through Europe. To coordinate their efforts, socialists formed an international body – namely, the Second International.

Workers in England and Germany began forming associations to fight for better living and working conditions. They set up funds to help members in times of distress and demanded a reduction of working hours and the right to vote. In Germany, these associations worked closely with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and helped it win parliamentary seats. By 1905, socialists and trade unionists formed a Labour Party in Britain and a Socialist Party in France. However, till 1914, socialists never succeeded in forming a government in Europe. Represented by strong figures in parliamentary politics, their ideas did shape legislation, but governments continued to be run by conservatives, liberals and radicals.

### Activity

Imagine that a meeting has been called in your area to discuss the socialist idea of doing away with private property and introducing collective ownership. Write the speech you would make at the meeting if you are:

- a poor labourer working in the fields
- a medium-level landowner
- a house owner



**Fig.2** – This is a painting of the Paris Commune of 1871 (From Illustrated London News, 1871). It portrays a scene from the popular uprising in Paris between March and May 1871. This was a period when the town council (commune) of Paris was taken over by a ‘peoples’ government’ consisting of workers, ordinary people, professionals, political activists and others. The uprising emerged against a background of growing discontent against the policies of the French state. The ‘Paris Commune’ was ultimately crushed by government troops but it was celebrated by Socialists the world over as a prelude to a socialist revolution. The Paris Commune is also popularly remembered for two important legacies: one, for its association with the workers’ red flag – that was the flag adopted by the communards ( revolutionaries) in Paris; two, for the ‘Marseillaise’, originally written as a war song in 1792, it became a symbol of the Commune and of the struggle for liberty.

## 2 The Russian Revolution

In one of the least industrialised of European states this situation was reversed. Socialists took over the government in Russia through the October Revolution of 1917. The fall of monarchy in February 1917 and the events of October are normally called the Russian Revolution.

How did this come about? What were the social and political conditions in Russia when the revolution occurred? To answer these questions, let us look at Russia a few years before the revolution.

### 2.1 The Russian Empire in 1914

In 1914, Tsar Nicholas II ruled Russia and its empire. Besides the territory around Moscow, the Russian empire included current-day Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, parts of Poland, Ukraine and Belarus. It stretched to the Pacific and comprised today's Central Asian states, as well as Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The majority religion was Russian Orthodox Christianity – which had grown out of the Greek Orthodox Church – but the empire also included Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and Buddhists.



**Fig.3 – Tsar Nicholas II in the White Hall of the Winter Palace, St Petersburg, 1900.**  
Painted by Ernest Lipgart (1847-1932)



**Fig.4 – Europe in 1914.**  
The map shows the Russian empire and the European countries at war during the First World War.

## 2.2 Economy and Society

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of Russia's people were agriculturists. About 85 per cent of the Russian empire's population earned their living from agriculture. This proportion was higher than in most European countries. For instance, in France and Germany the proportion was between 40 per cent and 50 per cent. In the empire, cultivators produced for the market as well as for their own needs and Russia was a major exporter of grain.

Industry was found in pockets. Prominent industrial areas were St Petersburg and Moscow. Craftsmen undertook much of the production, but large factories existed alongside craft workshops. Many factories were set up in the 1890s, when Russia's railway network was extended, and foreign investment in industry increased. Coal production doubled and iron and steel output quadrupled. By the 1900s, in some areas factory workers and craftsmen were almost equal in number.

Most industry was the private property of industrialists. Government supervised large factories to ensure minimum wages and limited hours of work. But factory inspectors could not prevent rules being broken. In craft units and small workshops, the working day was sometimes 15 hours, compared with 10 or 12 hours in factories. Accommodation varied from rooms to dormitories.

Workers were a divided social group. Some had strong links with the villages from which they came. Others had settled in cities permanently. Workers were divided by skill. A metalworker of St. Petersburg recalled, 'Metalworkers considered themselves aristocrats among other workers. Their occupations demanded more training and skill . . .' Women made up 31 per cent of the factory labour force by 1914, but they were paid less than men (between half and three-quarters of a man's wage). Divisions among workers showed themselves in dress and manners too. Some workers formed associations to help members in times of unemployment or financial hardship but such associations were few.

Despite divisions, workers did unite to strike work (stop work) when they disagreed with employers about dismissals or work conditions. These strikes took place frequently in the textile industry during 1896-1897, and in the metal industry during 1902.

In the countryside, peasants cultivated most of the land. But the nobility, the crown and the Orthodox Church owned large properties. Like workers, peasants too were divided. They were also



**Fig.5 – Unemployed peasants in pre-war St Petersburg.**

*Many survived by eating at charitable kitchens and living in poorhouses.*



**Fig.6 – Workers sleeping in bunkers in a dormitory in pre-revolutionary Russia.**

*They slept in shifts and could not keep their families with them.*

deeply religious. But except in a few cases they had no respect for the nobility. Nobles got their power and position through their services to the Tsar, not through local popularity. This was unlike France where, during the French Revolution in Brittany, peasants respected nobles and fought for them. In Russia, peasants wanted the land of the nobles to be given to them. Frequently, they refused to pay rent and even murdered landlords. In 1902, this occurred on a large scale in south Russia. And in 1905, such incidents took place all over Russia.

Russian peasants were different from other European peasants in another way. They pooled their land together periodically and their commune (*mir*) divided it according to the needs of individual families.

### 2.3 Socialism in Russia

All political parties were illegal in Russia before 1914. The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party was founded in 1898 by socialists who respected Marx's ideas. However, because of government policing, it had to operate as an illegal organisation. It set up a newspaper, mobilised workers and organised strikes.

Some Russian socialists felt that the Russian peasant custom of dividing land periodically made them natural socialists. So peasants, not workers, would be the main force of the revolution, and Russia could become socialist more quickly than other countries. Socialists were active in the countryside through the late nineteenth century. They formed the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1900. This party struggled for peasants' rights and demanded that land belonging to nobles be transferred to peasants. Social Democrats disagreed with Socialist Revolutionaries about peasants. Lenin felt that peasants were not one united group. Some were poor and others rich, some worked as labourers while others were capitalists who employed workers. Given this 'differentiation' within them, they could not all be part of a socialist movement.

The party was divided over the strategy of organisation. Vladimir Lenin (who led the Bolshevik group) thought that in a repressive society like Tsarist Russia the party should be disciplined and should control the number and quality of its members. Others (Mensheviks) thought that the party should be open to all (as in Germany).

### 2.4 A Turbulent Time: The 1905 Revolution

Russia was an **autocracy**. Unlike other European rulers, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Tsar was not subject to

#### Source A

Alexander Shlyapnikov, a socialist worker of the time, gives us a description of how the meetings were organised:

'Propaganda was done in the plants and shops on an individual basis. There were also discussion circles ... Legal meetings took place on matters concerning [official issues], but this activity was skilfully integrated into the general struggle for the liberation of the working class. Illegal meetings were ... arranged on the spur of the moment but in an organised way during lunch, in evening break, in front of the exit, in the yard or, in establishments with several floors, on the stairs. The most alert workers would form a "plug" in the doorway, and the whole mass piled up in the exit. An agitator would get up right there on the spot. Management would contact the police on the telephone, but the speeches would have already been made and the necessary decision taken by the time they arrived ...'

Alexander Shlyapnikov, *On the Eve of 1917. Reminiscences from the Revolutionary Underground*.

parliament. Liberals in Russia campaigned to end this state of affairs. Together with the Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries, they worked with peasants and workers during the revolution of 1905 to demand a constitution. They were supported in the empire by nationalists (in Poland for instance) and in Muslim-dominated areas by **jadidists** who wanted modernised Islam to lead their societies.

The year 1904 was a particularly bad one for Russian workers. Prices of essential goods rose so quickly that **real wages** declined by 20 per cent. The membership of workers' associations rose dramatically. When four members of the Assembly of Russian Workers, which had been formed in 1904, were dismissed at the Putilov Iron Works, there was a call for industrial action. Over the next few days over 110,000 workers in St Petersburg went on strike demanding a reduction in the working day to eight hours, an increase in wages and improvement in working conditions.

When the procession of workers led by Father Gapon reached the Winter Palace it was attacked by the police and the Cossacks. Over 100 workers were killed and about 300 wounded. The incident, known as Bloody Sunday, started a series of events that became known as the 1905 Revolution. Strikes took place all over the country and universities closed down when student bodies staged walkouts, complaining about the lack of civil liberties. Lawyers, doctors, engineers and other middle-class workers established the Union of Unions and demanded a constituent assembly.

During the 1905 Revolution, the Tsar allowed the creation of an elected consultative Parliament or Duma. For a brief while during the revolution, there existed a large number of trade unions and factory committees made up of factory workers. After 1905, most committees and unions worked unofficially, since they were declared illegal. Severe restrictions were placed on political activity. The Tsar dismissed the first Duma within 75 days and the re-elected second Duma within three months. He did not want any questioning of his authority or any reduction in his power. He changed the voting laws and packed the third Duma with conservative politicians. Liberals and revolutionaries were kept out.

## 2.5 The First World War and the Russian Empire

In 1914, war broke out between two European alliances – Germany, Austria and Turkey (the Central powers) and France, Britain and Russia (later Italy and Romania). Each country had a global empire

### Activity

Why were there revolutionary disturbances in Russia in 1905? What were the demands of revolutionaries?

### New words

Jadidists – Muslim reformers within the Russian empire

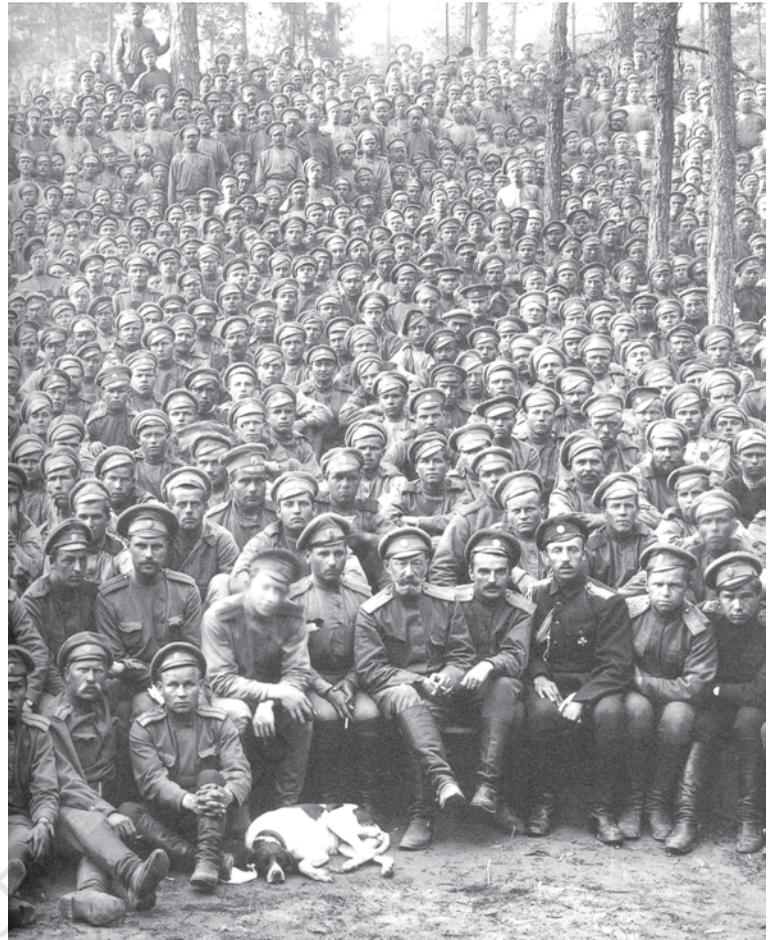
Real wage – Reflects the quantities of goods which the wages will actually buy.

and the war was fought outside Europe as well as in Europe. This was the First World War.

In Russia, the war was initially popular and people rallied around Tsar Nicholas II. As the war continued, though, the Tsar refused to consult the main parties in the Duma. Support wore thin. Anti-German sentiments ran high, as can be seen in the renaming of St Petersburg – a German name – as Petrograd. The Tsarina Alexandra's German origins and poor advisers, especially a monk called Rasputin, made the autocracy unpopular.

The First World War on the 'eastern front' differed from that on the 'western front'. In the west, armies fought from trenches stretched along eastern France. In the east, armies moved a good deal and fought battles leaving large casualties. Defeats were shocking and demoralising. Russia's armies lost badly in Germany and Austria between 1914 and 1916. There were over 7 million casualties by 1917. As they retreated, the Russian army destroyed crops and buildings to prevent the enemy from being able to live off the land. The destruction of crops and buildings led to over 3 million refugees in Russia. The situation discredited the government and the Tsar. Soldiers did not wish to fight such a war.

The war also had a severe impact on industry. Russia's own industries were few in number and the country was cut off from other suppliers of industrial goods by German control of the Baltic Sea. Industrial equipment disintegrated more rapidly in Russia than elsewhere in Europe. By 1916, railway lines began to break down. Able-bodied men were called up to the war. As a result, there were labour shortages and small workshops producing essentials were shut down. Large supplies of grain were sent to feed the army. For the people in the cities, bread and flour became scarce. By the winter of 1916, riots at bread shops were common.



**Fig. 7 – Russian soldiers during the First World War.**

*The Imperial Russian army came to be known as the 'Russian steam roller'. It was the largest armed force in the world. When this army shifted its loyalty and began supporting the revolutionaries, Tsarist power collapsed.*

## Activity

The year is 1916. You are a general in the Tsar's army on the eastern front. You are writing a report for the government in Moscow. In your report suggest what you think the government should do to improve the situation.

### 3 The February Revolution in Petrograd

In the winter of 1917, conditions in the capital, Petrograd, were grim. The layout of the city seemed to emphasise the divisions among its people. The workers' quarters and factories were located on the right bank of the River Neva. On the left bank were the fashionable areas, the Winter Palace, and official buildings, including the palace where the Duma met. In February 1917, food shortages were deeply felt in the workers' quarters. The winter was very cold – there had been exceptional frost and heavy snow. Parliamentarians wishing to preserve elected government, were opposed to the Tsar's desire to dissolve the Duma.

On 22 February, a lockout took place at a factory on the right bank. The next day, workers in fifty factories called a strike in sympathy. In many factories, women led the way to strikes. This came to be called the International Women's Day. Demonstrating workers crossed from the factory quarters to the centre of the capital – the Nevskii Prospekt. At this stage, no political party was actively organising the movement. As the fashionable quarters and official buildings were surrounded by workers, the government imposed a curfew. Demonstrators dispersed by the evening, but they came back on the 24th and 25th. The government called out the cavalry and police to keep an eye on them.

On Sunday, 25 February, the government suspended the Duma. Politicians spoke out against the measure. Demonstrators returned in force to the streets of the left bank on the 26th. On the 27th, the Police Headquarters were ransacked. The streets thronged with people raising slogans about bread, wages, better hours and democracy. The government tried to control the situation and called out the cavalry once again. However, the cavalry refused to fire on the demonstrators. An officer was shot at the barracks of a regiment and three other regiments mutinied, voting to join the striking workers. By that evening, soldiers and



Fig.8 – The Petrograd Soviet meeting in the Duma, February 1917.

striking workers had gathered to form a 'soviet' or 'council' in the same building as the Duma met. This was the Petrograd Soviet.

The very next day, a delegation went to see the Tsar. Military commanders advised him to abdicate. He followed their advice and abdicated on 2 March. Soviet leaders and Duma leaders formed a Provisional Government to run the country. Russia's future would be decided by a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Petrograd had led the February Revolution that brought down the monarchy in February 1917.

### Box 1

#### Women in the February Revolution

'Women workers, often ... inspired their male co-workers ... At the Lorenz telephone factory, ... Marfa Vasileva almost single handedly called a successful strike. Already that morning, in celebration of Women's Day, women workers had presented red bows to the men ... Then Marfa Vasileva, a milling machine operator stopped work and declared an impromptu strike. The workers on the floor were ready to support her ... The foreman informed the management and sent her a loaf of bread. She took the bread but refused to go back to work. The administrator asked her again why she refused to work and she replied, "I cannot be the only one who is satiated when others are hungry". Women workers from another section of the factory gathered around Marfa in support and gradually all the other women ceased working. Soon the men downed their tools as well and the entire crowd rushed onto the street.'

From: Choi Chatterji, *Celebrating Women* (2002).

### 3.1 After February

Army officials, landowners and industrialists were influential in the Provisional Government. But the liberals as well as socialists among them worked towards an elected government. Restrictions on public meetings and associations were removed. 'Soviets', like the Petrograd Soviet, were set up everywhere, though no common system of election was followed.

In April 1917, the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin returned to Russia from his exile. He and the Bolsheviks had opposed the war since 1914. Now he felt it was time for soviets to take over power. He declared that the war be brought to a close, land be transferred to the peasants, and banks be nationalised. These three demands were Lenin's 'April Theses'. He also argued that the Bolshevik Party rename itself the Communist Party to indicate its new radical aims. Most others in the Bolshevik Party were initially surprised by the April Theses. They thought that the time was not yet ripe for a

### Activity

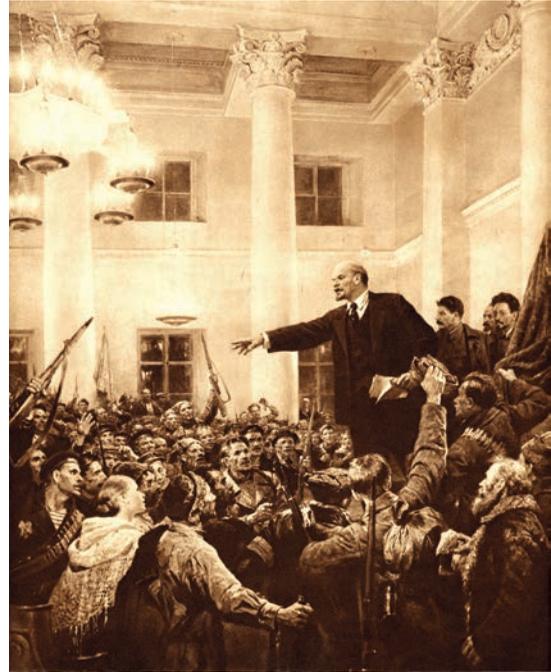
Look again at Source A and Box 1.

- List five changes in the mood of the workers.
- Place yourself in the position of a woman who has seen both situations and write an account of what has changed.

socialist revolution and the Provisional Government needed to be supported. But the developments of the subsequent months changed their attitude.

Through the summer the workers' movement spread. In industrial areas, factory committees were formed which began questioning the way industrialists ran their factories. Trade unions grew in number. Soldiers' committees were formed in the army. In June, about 500 Soviets sent representatives to an All Russian Congress of Soviets. As the Provisional Government saw its power reduce and Bolshevik influence grow, it decided to take stern measures against the spreading discontent. It resisted attempts by workers to run factories and began arresting leaders. Popular demonstrations staged by the Bolsheviks in July 1917 were sternly repressed. Many Bolshevik leaders had to go into hiding or flee.

Meanwhile in the countryside, peasants and their Socialist Revolutionary leaders pressed for a redistribution of land. Land committees were formed to handle this. Encouraged by the Socialist Revolutionaries, peasants seized land between July and September 1917.



*Fig.9 – A Bolshevik image of Lenin addressing workers in April 1917.*



*Fig.10 – The July Days. A pro-Bolshevik demonstration on 17 July 1917 being fired upon by the army.*

### 3.2 The Revolution of October 1917

As the conflict between the Provisional Government and the Bolsheviks grew, Lenin feared the Provisional Government would set up a dictatorship. In September, he began discussions for an uprising against the government. Bolshevik supporters in the army, soviets and factories were brought together.

On 16 October 1917, Lenin persuaded the Petrograd Soviet and the Bolshevik Party to agree to a socialist seizure of power. A Military Revolutionary Committee was appointed by the Soviet under Leon Trotskii to organise the seizure. The date of the event was kept a secret.

The uprising began on 24 October. Sensing trouble, Prime Minister Kerenskii had left the city to summon troops. At dawn, military men loyal to the government seized the buildings of two Bolshevik newspapers. Pro-government troops were sent to take over telephone and telegraph offices and protect the Winter Palace. In a swift response, the Military Revolutionary Committee ordered its supporters to seize government offices and arrest ministers. Late in the day, the ship *Aurora* shelled the Winter Palace. Other vessels sailed down the Neva and took over various military points. By nightfall, the city was under the committee's control and the ministers had surrendered. At a meeting of the All Russian Congress of Soviets in Petrograd, the majority approved the Bolshevik action. Uprisings took place in other cities. There was heavy fighting – especially in Moscow – but by December, the Bolsheviks controlled the Moscow-Petrograd area.



#### Box 2

##### Date of the Russian Revolution

Russia followed the Julian calendar until 1 February 1918. The country then changed to the Gregorian calendar, which is followed everywhere today. The Gregorian dates are 13 days ahead of the Julian dates. So by our calendar, the 'February' Revolution took place on 12th March and the 'October' Revolution took place on 7th November.

##### Some important dates

1850s -1880s

Debates over socialism in Russia.

1898

Formation of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party.

1905

The Bloody Sunday and the Revolution of 1905.

1917

2nd March - Abdication of the Tsar.  
24th October - Bolshevik uprising in Petrograd.

1918-20

The Civil War.

1919

Formation of Comintern.

1929

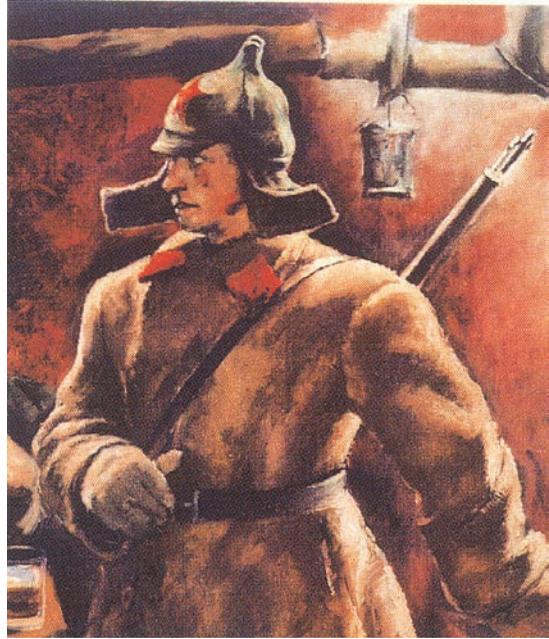
Beginning of Collectivisation.

**Fig. 11** – Lenin (left) and Trotskii (right) with workers at Petrograd.

## 4 What Changed after October?

The Bolsheviks were totally opposed to private property. Most industry and banks were nationalised in November 1917. This meant that the government took over ownership and management. Land was declared social property and peasants were allowed to seize the land of the nobility. In cities, Bolsheviks enforced the partition of large houses according to family requirements. They banned the use of the old titles of aristocracy. To assert the change, new uniforms were designed for the army and officials, following a clothing competition organised in 1918 – when the Soviet hat (*budeonovka*) was chosen.

The Bolshevik Party was renamed the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). In November 1917, the Bolsheviks conducted the elections to the Constituent Assembly, but they failed to gain majority support. In January 1918, the Assembly rejected Bolshevik measures and Lenin dismissed the Assembly. He thought the All Russian Congress of Soviets was more democratic than an assembly elected in uncertain conditions. In March 1918, despite opposition by their political allies, the Bolsheviks made peace with Germany at Brest Litovsk. In the years that followed, the Bolsheviks became the only party to participate in the elections to the All Russian Congress of Soviets, which became the Parliament of the country. Russia became a one-party state. Trade unions were kept under party control. The secret police (called the Cheka first, and later OGPU and NKVD) punished those who criticised the Bolsheviks. Many young writers and artists rallied to the Party because it stood for socialism and for change. After October 1917, this led to experiments in the arts and architecture. But many became disillusioned because of the censorship the Party encouraged.



**Fig. 12 – A soldier wearing the Soviet hat (budeonovka).**



**Fig. 13 – May Day demonstration in Moscow in 1918.**

**Box 3****The October Revolution and the Russian Countryside: Two Views**

'News of the revolutionary uprising of October 25, 1917, reached the village the following day and was greeted with enthusiasm; to the peasants it meant free land and an end to the war. ...The day the news arrived, the landowner's manor house was looted, his stock farms were "requisitioned" and his vast orchard was cut down and sold to the peasants for wood; all his far buildings were torn down and left in ruins while the land was distributed among the peasants who were prepared to live the new Soviet life'.

From: Fedor Belov, *The History of a Soviet Collective Farm*

A member of a landowning family wrote to a relative about what happened at the estate:

'The "coup" happened quite painlessly, quietly and peacefully. ...The first days were unbearable.. Mikhail Mikhailovich [the estate owner] was calm...The girls also...I must say the chairman behaves correctly and even politely. We were left two cows and two horses. The servants tell them all the time not to bother us. "Let them live. We vouch for their safety and property. We want them treated as humanely as possible...."

...There are rumours that several villages are trying to evict the committees and return the estate to Mikhail Mikhailovich. I don't know if this will happen, or if it's good for us. But we rejoice that there is a conscience in our people...'

From: Serge Schmemmann, *Echoes of a Native Land. Two Centuries of a Russian Village (1997)*.

**4.1 The Civil War**

When the Bolsheviks ordered land redistribution, the Russian army began to break up. Soldiers, mostly peasants, wished to go home for the redistribution and deserted. Non-Bolshevik socialists, liberals and supporters of autocracy condemned the Bolshevik uprising. Their leaders moved to south Russia and organised troops to fight the Bolsheviks (the 'reds'). During 1918 and 1919, the 'greens' (Socialist Revolutionaries) and 'whites' (pro-Tsarists) controlled most of the Russian empire. They were backed by French, American, British and Japanese troops – all those forces who were worried at the growth of socialism in Russia. As these troops and the Bolsheviks fought a civil war, looting, banditry and famine became common.

Supporters of private property among 'whites' took harsh steps with peasants who had seized land. Such actions led to the loss of popular support for the non-Bolsheviks. By January 1920, the Bolsheviks controlled most of the former Russian empire. They succeeded due

**Activity**

Read the two views on the revolution in the countryside. Imagine yourself to be a witness to the events. Write a short account from the standpoint of:

- an owner of an estate
- a small peasant
- a journalist

to cooperation with non-Russian nationalities and Muslim *jadidists*. Cooperation did not work where Russian colonists themselves turned Bolshevik. In Khiva, in Central Asia, Bolshevik colonists brutally massacred local nationalists in the name of defending socialism. In this situation, many were confused about what the Bolshevik government represented.

Partly to remedy this, most non-Russian nationalities were given political **autonomy** in the Soviet Union (USSR) – the state the Bolsheviks created from the Russian empire in December 1922. But since this was combined with unpopular policies that the Bolsheviks forced the local government to follow – like the harsh discouragement of **nomadism** – attempts to win over different nationalities were only partly successful.

### New words

Autonomy – The right to govern themselves

Nomadism – Lifestyle of those who do not live in one place but move from area to area to earn their living

## Activity

Why did people in Central Asia respond to the Russian Revolution in different ways?

### Source B

#### Central Asia of the October Revolution: Two Views

M.N.Roy was an Indian revolutionary, a founder of the Mexican Communist Party and prominent Comintern leader in India, China and Europe. He was in Central Asia at the time of the civil war in the 1920s. He wrote:

'The chieftain was a benevolent old man; his attendant ... a youth who ... spoke Russian ... He had heard of the Revolution, which had overthrown the Tsar and driven away the Generals who conquered the homeland of the Kirgiz. So, the Revolution meant that the Kirgiz were masters of their home again. "Long Live the Revolution" shouted the Kirgiz youth who seemed to be a born Bolshevik. The whole tribe joined.'

M.N.Roy, *Memoirs* (1964).

'The Kirghiz welcomed the first revolution (ie February Revolution) with joy and the second revolution with consternation and terror ... [This] first revolution freed them from the oppression of the Tsarist regime and strengthened their hope that ... autonomy would be realised. The second revolution (October Revolution) was accompanied by violence, pillage, taxes and the establishment of dictatorial power ... Once a small group of Tsarist bureaucrats oppressed the Kirghiz. Now the same group of people ... perpetuate the same regime ...'

*Kazakh leader in 1919*, quoted in Alexander Bennigsen and Chantal Quelquejay, *Les Mouvements Nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie*, (1960).

Source

## 4.2 Making a Socialist Society

During the civil war, the Bolsheviks kept industries and banks nationalised. They permitted peasants to cultivate the land that had been socialised. Bolsheviks used confiscated land to demonstrate what collective work could be.

A process of centralised planning was introduced. Officials assessed how the economy could work and set targets for a five-year period. On this basis they made the Five Year Plans. The government fixed all prices to promote industrial growth during the first two 'Plans'

### Box 4

#### Socialist Cultivation in a Village in the Ukraine

'A commune was set up using two [confiscated] farms as a base. The commune consisted of thirteen families with a total of seventy persons ... The farm tools taken from the ... farms were turned over to the commune ... The members ate in a communal dining hall and income was divided in accordance with the principles of "cooperative communism". The entire proceeds of the members' labor, as well as all dwellings and facilities belonging to the commune were shared by the commune members.'

Fedor Belov, *The History of a Soviet Collective Farm (1955)*.

(1927-1932 and 1933-1938). Centralised planning led to economic growth. Industrial production increased (between 1929 and 1933 by 100 per cent in the case of oil, coal and steel). New factory cities came into being.

However, rapid construction led to poor working conditions. In the city of Magnitogorsk, the construction of a steel plant was achieved in three years. Workers lived hard lives and the result was 550 stoppages of work in the first year alone. In living quarters, 'in the wintertime, at 40 degrees below, people had to climb down from the fourth floor and dash across the street in order to go to the toilet'.

An extended schooling system developed, and arrangements were made for factory workers and peasants to enter universities. Crèches were established in factories for the children of women workers. Cheap public health care was provided. Model living quarters were set up for workers. The effect of all this was uneven, though, since government resources were limited.



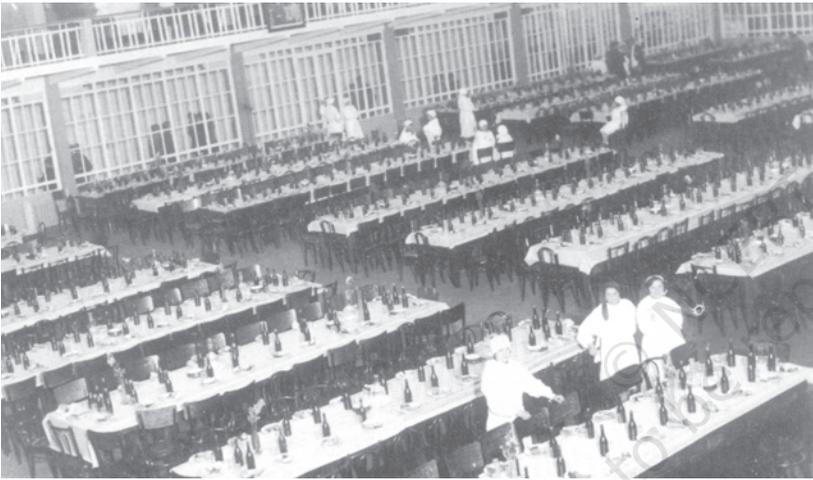
**Fig. 14 – Factories came to be seen as a symbol of socialism.**  
This poster states: 'The smoke from the chimneys is the breathing of Soviet Russia.'



**Fig. 15 – Children at school in Soviet Russia in the 1930s.**  
They are studying the Soviet economy.



**Fig. 16 – A child in Magnitogorsk during the First Five Year Plan.**  
He is working for Soviet Russia.



**Fig. 17 – Factory dining hall in the 1930s.**

**Source C**

**Dreams and Realities of a Soviet Childhood in 1933**

Dear grandfather Kalinin ...

My family is large, there are four children. We don't have a father – he died, fighting for the worker's cause, and my mother ... is ailing ... I want to study very much, but I cannot go to school. I had some old boots, but they are completely torn and no one can mend them. My mother is sick, we have no money and no bread, but I want to study very much. ...there stands before us the task of studying, studying and studying. That is what Vladimir Ilich Lenin said. But I have to stop going to school. We have no relatives and there is no one to help us, so I have to go to work in a factory, to prevent the family from starving. Dear grandfather, I am 13, I study well and have no bad reports. I am in Class 5 ...

Letter of 1933 from a 13-year-old worker to Kalinin, Soviet President

From: V. Sokolov (ed), *Obshchestvo I Vlast, v 1930-ye gody* (Moscow, 1997).

Source

### 4.3 Stalinism and Collectivisation



The period of the early Planned Economy was linked to the disasters of the collectivisation of agriculture. By 1927-1928, the towns in Soviet Russia were facing an acute problem of grain supplies. The government fixed prices at which grain must be sold, but the peasants refused to sell their grain to government buyers at these prices.

Stalin, who headed the party after the death of Lenin, introduced firm emergency measures. He believed that rich peasants and traders in the countryside were holding stocks in the hope of higher prices. Speculation had to be stopped and supplies confiscated.

In 1928, Party members toured the grain-producing areas, supervising enforced grain collections, and raiding 'kulaks' – the name for well-to-do peasants. As shortages continued, the decision was taken to collectivise farms. It was argued that grain shortages were partly due to the small size of holdings. After 1917, land had been given over to peasants. These small-sized peasant farms could not be modernised. To develop modern farms, and run them along industrial lines with machinery, it was necessary to 'eliminate kulaks', take away land from peasants, and establish state-controlled large farms.

What followed was Stalin's collectivisation programme. From 1929, the Party forced all peasants to cultivate in collective farms (*kolkhozs*). The bulk of land and implements were transferred to the ownership of collective farms. Peasants worked on the land, and the *kolkhoz* profit was shared. Enraged peasants resisted the authorities and destroyed their livestock. Between 1929 and 1931, the number of cattle fell by one-third. Those who resisted collectivisation were severely punished. Many were **deported** and **exiled**. As they resisted collectivisation, peasants argued that they were not rich and they were not against socialism. They merely did not want to work in collective farms for a variety of reasons. Stalin's government allowed some independent cultivation, but treated such cultivators unsympathetically.

In spite of collectivisation, production did not increase immediately. In fact, the bad harvests of 1930-1933 led to one of most devastating famines in Soviet history when over 4 million died.

#### New words

Deported – Forcibly removed from one's own country.

Exiled – Forced to live away from one's own country.



**Fig. 18 – A poster during collectivisation. It states: 'We shall strike at the kulak working for the decrease in cultivation.'**



**Fig. 19 – Peasant women being gathered to work in the large collective farms.**

## Source D

### Official view of the opposition to collectivisation and the government response

'From the second half of February of this year, in various regions of the Ukraine ... mass insurrections of the peasantry have taken place, caused by distortions of the Party's line by a section of the lower ranks of the Party and the Soviet apparatus in the course of the introduction of collectivisation and preparatory work for the spring harvest.

Within a short time, large scale activities from the above-mentioned regions carried over into neighbouring areas – and the most aggressive insurrections have taken place near the border.

The greater part of the peasant insurrections have been linked with outright demands for the return of collectivised stocks of grain, livestock and tools ...

Between 1st February and 15th March, 25,000 have been arrested ... 656 have been executed, 3673 have been imprisoned in labour camps and 5580 exiled ...'

Report of K.M. Karlson, President of the State Police Administration of the Ukraine to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, on 19 March 1930.

From: V. Sokolov (ed), *Obshchestvo I Vlast, v 1930-ye gody*

Source

Many within the Party criticised the confusion in industrial production under the Planned Economy and the consequences of collectivisation. Stalin and his sympathisers charged these critics with conspiracy against socialism. Accusations were made throughout the country, and by 1939, over 2 million were in prisons or labour camps. Most were innocent of the crimes, but no one spoke for them. A large number were forced to make false confessions under torture and were executed – several among them were talented professionals.

## Source E

This is a letter written by a peasant who did not want to join the collective farm.

To the newspaper *Krestianskaia Gazeta* (Peasant Newspaper)

'... I am a natural working peasant born in 1879 ... there are 6 members in my family, my wife was born in 1881, my son is 16, two daughters 19, all three go to school, my sister is 71. From 1932, heavy taxes have been levied on me that I have found impossible. From 1935, local authorities have increased the taxes on me ... and I was unable to handle them and all my property was registered: my horse, cow, calf, sheep with lambs, all my implements, furniture and my reserve of wood for repair of buildings and they sold the lot for the taxes. In 1936, they sold two of my buildings ... the kolkhoz bought them. In 1937, of two huts I had, one was sold and one was confiscated ...'

Afanasii Dedorovich Frebenev, an independent cultivator.

From: V. Sokolov (ed), *Obshchestvo I Vlast, v 1930-ye gody*.

Source

## 5 The Global Influence of the Russian Revolution and the USSR

Existing socialist parties in Europe did not wholly approve of the way the Bolsheviks took power – and kept it. However, the possibility of a workers' state fired people's imagination across the world. In many countries, communist parties were formed – like the Communist Party of Great Britain. The Bolsheviks encouraged colonial peoples to follow their experiment. Many non-Russians from outside the USSR participated in the Conference of the Peoples of the East (1920) and the Bolshevik-founded Comintern (an international union of pro-Bolshevik socialist parties). Some received education in the USSR's Communist University of the Workers of the East. By the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, the USSR had given socialism a global face and world stature.

Yet by the 1950s it was acknowledged within the country that the style of government in the USSR was not in keeping with the ideals of the Russian Revolution. In the world socialist movement too it was recognised that all was not well in the Soviet Union. A backward country had become a great power. Its industries and agriculture had developed and the poor were being fed. But it had denied the essential freedoms to its citizens and carried out its developmental projects through repressive policies. By the end of the twentieth century, the international reputation of the USSR as a socialist country had declined though it was recognised that socialist ideals still enjoyed respect among its people. But in each country the ideas of socialism were rethought in a variety of different ways.

### Box 5

#### Writing about the Russian Revolution in India

Among those the Russian Revolution inspired were many Indians. Several attended the Communist University. By the mid-1920s the Communist Party was formed in India. Its members kept in touch with the Soviet Communist Party. Important Indian political and cultural figures took an interest in the Soviet experiment and visited Russia, among them Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore, who wrote about Soviet Socialism. In India, writings gave impressions of Soviet Russia. In Hindi, R.S. Avasthi wrote in 1920-21 *Russian Revolution, Lenin, His Life and His Thoughts*, and later *The Red Revolution*. S.D. Vidyalankar wrote *The Rebirth of Russia* and *The Soviet State of Russia*. There was much that was written in Bengali, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu.



**Fig. 20 – Special Issue on Lenin of the Indo-Soviet Journal.** Indian communists mobilised support for the USSR during the Second World War.

## Source F

### An Indian arrives in Soviet Russia in 1920

'For the first time in our lives, we were seeing Europeans mixing freely with Asians. On seeing the Russians mingling freely with the rest of the people of the country we were convinced that we had come to a land of real equality.

We saw freedom in its true light. In spite of their poverty, imposed by the counter-revolutionaries and the imperialists, the people were more jovial and satisfied than ever before. The revolution had instilled confidence and fearlessness in them. The real brotherhood of mankind would be seen here among these people of fifty different nationalities. No barriers of caste or religion hindered them from mixing freely with one another. Every soul was transformed into an orator. One could see a worker, a peasant or a soldier haranguing like a professional lecturer.'

Shaukat Usmani, *Historic Trips of a Revolutionary*.

## Source G

### Rabindranath Tagore wrote from Russia in 1930

'Moscow appears much less clean than the other European capitals. None of those hurrying along the streets look smart. The whole place belongs to the workers ... Here the masses have not in the least been put in the shade by the gentlemen ... those who lived in the background for ages have come forward in the open today ... I thought of the peasants and workers in my own country. It all seemed like the work of the Genii in the Arabian Nights. [here] only a decade ago they were as illiterate, helpless and hungry as our own masses ... Who could be more astonished than an unfortunate Indian like myself to see how they had removed the mountain of ignorance and helplessness in these few years'.

## Activity

Compare the passages written by Shaukat Usmani and Rabindranath Tagore. Read them in relation to Sources C, D and E.

- What did Indians find impressive about the USSR ?
- What did the writers fail to notice?

## Activities

1. Imagine that you are a striking worker in 1905 who is being tried in court for your act of rebellion. Draft the speech you would make in your defence. Act out your speech for your class.
2. Write the headline and a short news item about the uprising of 24 October 1917 for each of the following newspapers
  - a Conservative paper in France
  - a Radical newspaper in Britain
  - a Bolshevik newspaper in Russia
3. Imagine that you are a middle-level wheat farmer in Russia after collectivisation. You have decided to write a letter to Stalin explaining your objections to collectivisation. What would you write about the conditions of your life? What do you think would be Stalin's response to such a farmer?

Activities

## Questions

1. What were the social, economic and political conditions in Russia before 1905?
2. In what ways was the working population in Russia different from other countries in Europe, before 1917?
3. Why did the Tsarist autocracy collapse in 1917?
4. Make two lists: one with the main events and the effects of the February Revolution and the other with the main events and effects of the October Revolution. Write a paragraph on who was involved in each, who were the leaders and what was the impact of each on Soviet history.
5. What were the main changes brought about by the Bolsheviks immediately after the October Revolution?
6. Write a few lines to show what you know about:
  - kulaks
  - the Duma
  - women workers between 1900 and 1930
  - the Liberals
  - Stalin's collectivisation programme.



# Nazism and the Rise of Hitler



0966CH03

In the spring of 1945, a little eleven-year-old German boy called Helmuth was lying in bed when he overheard his parents discussing something in serious tones. His father, a prominent physician, deliberated with his wife whether the time had come to kill the entire family, or if he should commit suicide alone. His father spoke about his fear of revenge, saying, 'Now the **Allies** will do to us what we did to the crippled and Jews.' The next day, he took Helmuth to the woods, where they spent their last happy time together, singing old children's songs. Later, Helmuth's father shot himself in his office. Helmuth remembers that he saw his father's bloody uniform being burnt in the family fireplace. So traumatised was he by what he had overheard and what had happened, that he reacted by refusing to eat at home for the following nine years! He was afraid that his mother might poison him.

Although Helmuth may not have realised all that it meant, his father had been a Nazi and a supporter of Adolf Hitler. Many of you will know something about the Nazis and Hitler. You probably know of Hitler's determination to make Germany into a mighty power and his ambition of conquering all of Europe. You may have heard that he killed Jews. But Nazism was not one or two isolated acts. It was a system, a structure of ideas about the world and politics. Let us try and understand what Nazism was all about. Let us see why Helmuth's father killed himself and what the basis of his fear was.

In May 1945, Germany surrendered to the Allies. Anticipating what was coming, Hitler, his propaganda minister Goebbels and his entire family committed suicide collectively in his Berlin bunker in April. At the end of the war, an International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg was set up to prosecute Nazi war criminals for Crimes against Peace, for War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. Germany's conduct during the war, especially those actions which



*Fig. 1 – Hitler (centre) and Goebbels (left) leaving after an official meeting, 1932.*

## New words

**Allies** – The Allied Powers were initially led by the UK and France. In 1941 they were joined by the USSR and USA. They fought against the Axis Powers, namely Germany, Italy and Japan.

came to be called Crimes Against Humanity, raised serious moral and ethical questions and invited worldwide condemnation. What were these acts?

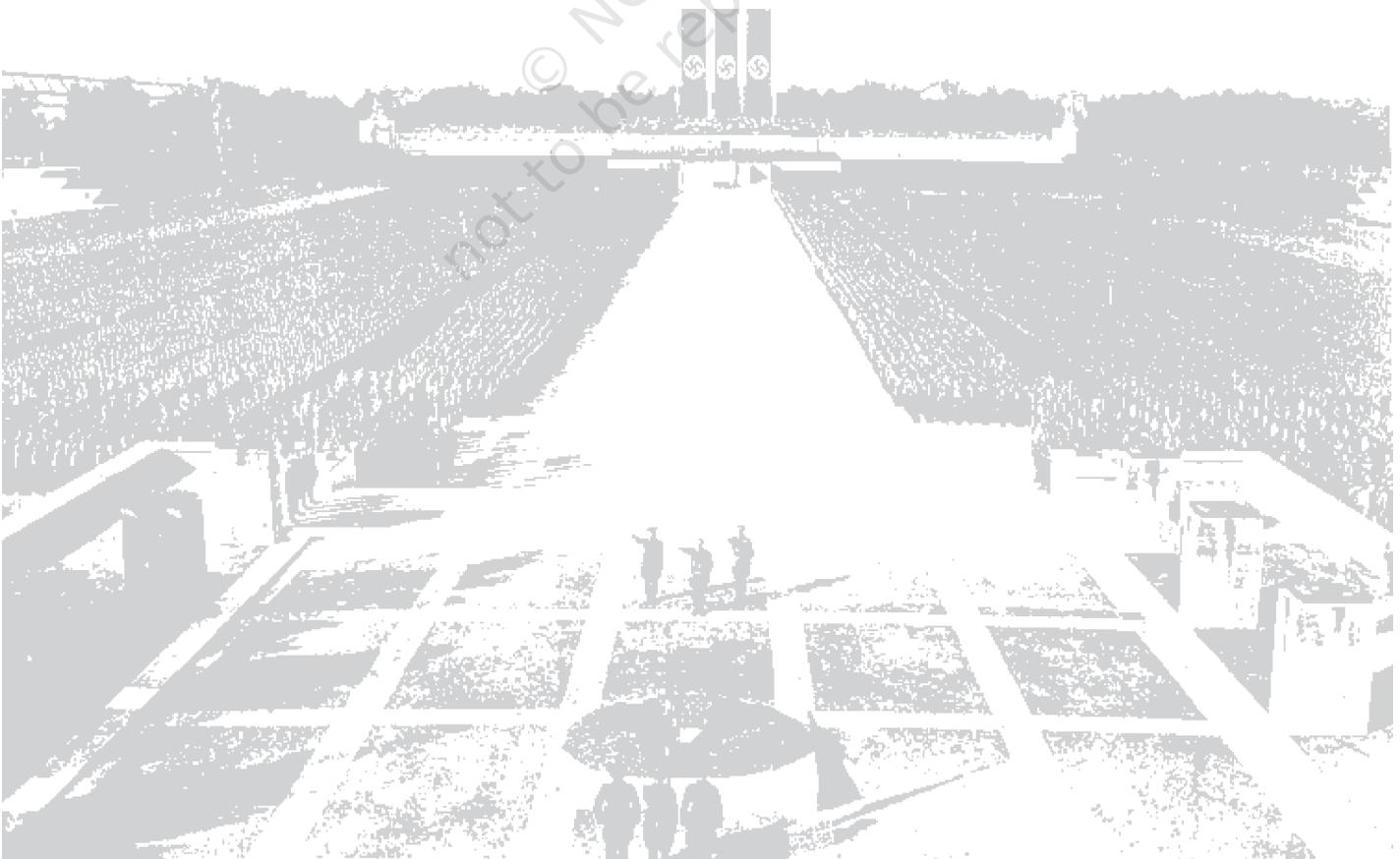
Under the shadow of the Second World War, Germany had waged a **genocidal** war, which resulted in the mass murder of selected groups of innocent civilians of Europe. The number of people killed included 6 million Jews, 200,000 Gypsies, 1 million Polish civilians, 70,000 Germans who were considered mentally and physically disabled, besides innumerable political opponents. Nazis devised an unprecedented means of killing people, that is, by gassing them in various killing centres like Auschwitz. The Nuremberg Tribunal sentenced only eleven leading Nazis to death. Many others were imprisoned for life. The retribution did come, yet the punishment of the Nazis was far short of the brutality and extent of their crimes. The Allies did not want to be as harsh on defeated Germany as they had been after the First World War.

Everyone came to feel that the rise of Nazi Germany could be partly traced back to the German experience at the end of the First World War.

What was this experience?

#### New words

Genocidal – Killing on large scale leading to destruction of large sections of people

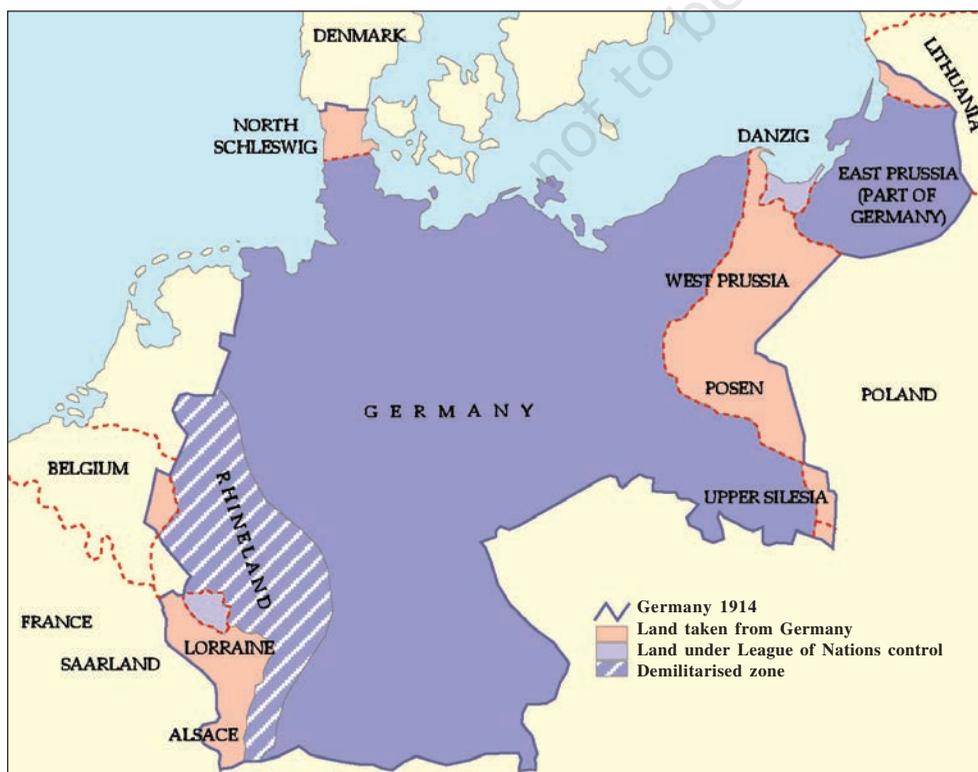


# 1 Birth of the Weimar Republic

Germany, a powerful empire in the early years of the twentieth century, fought the First World War (1914-1918) alongside the Austrian empire and against the Allies (England, France and Russia.) All joined the war enthusiastically hoping to gain from a quick victory. Little did they realise that the war would stretch on, eventually draining Europe of all its resources. Germany made initial gains by occupying France and Belgium. However the Allies, strengthened by the US entry in 1917, won, defeating Germany and the Central Powers in November 1918.

The defeat of Imperial Germany and the abdication of the emperor gave an opportunity to parliamentary parties to recast German polity. A National Assembly met at Weimar and established a democratic constitution with a federal structure. Deputies were now elected to the German Parliament or Reichstag, on the basis of equal and universal votes cast by all adults including women.

This republic, however, was not received well by its own people largely because of the terms it was forced to accept after Germany's defeat at the end of the First World War. The peace treaty at



*Fig.2 – Germany after the Versailles Treaty. You can see in this map the parts of the territory that Germany lost after the treaty.*

Versailles with the Allies was a harsh and humiliating peace. Germany lost its overseas colonies, a tenth of its population, 13 per cent of its territories, 75 per cent of its iron and 26 per cent of its coal to France, Poland, Denmark and Lithuania. The Allied Powers demilitarised Germany to weaken its power. The War Guilt Clause held Germany responsible for the war and damages the Allied countries suffered. Germany was forced to pay compensation amounting to £6 billion. The Allied armies also occupied the resource-rich Rhineland for much of the 1920s. Many Germans held the new Weimar Republic responsible for not only the defeat in the war but the disgrace at Versailles.

### 1.1 The Effects of the War

The war had a devastating impact on the entire continent both psychologically and financially. From a continent of creditors, Europe turned into one of debtors. Unfortunately, the infant Weimar Republic was being made to pay for the sins of the old empire. The republic carried the burden of war guilt and national humiliation and was financially crippled by being forced to pay compensation. Those who supported the Weimar Republic, mainly Socialists, Catholics and Democrats, became easy targets of attack in the conservative nationalist circles. They were mockingly called the 'November criminals'. This mindset had a major impact on the political developments of the early 1930s, as we will soon see.

The First World War left a deep imprint on European society and polity. Soldiers came to be placed above civilians. Politicians and publicists laid great stress on the need for men to be aggressive, strong and masculine. The media glorified trench life. The truth, however, was that soldiers lived miserable lives in these trenches, trapped with rats feeding on corpses. They faced poisonous gas and enemy shelling, and witnessed their ranks reduce rapidly. Aggressive war propaganda and national honour occupied centre stage in the public sphere, while popular support grew for conservative dictatorships that had recently come into being. Democracy was indeed a young and fragile idea, which could not survive the instabilities of interwar Europe.

### 1.2 Political Radicalism and Economic Crises

The birth of the Weimar Republic coincided with the revolutionary uprising of the Spartacist League on the pattern of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Soviets of workers and sailors were established



**Fig.3 – This is a rally organised by the radical group known as the Spartacist League.**  
*In the winter of 1918-1919 the streets of Berlin were taken over by the people. Political demonstrations became common.*

in many cities. The political atmosphere in Berlin was charged with demands for Soviet-style governance. Those opposed to this – such as the socialists, Democrats and Catholics – met in Weimar to give shape to the democratic republic. The Weimar Republic crushed the uprising with the help of a war veterans organisation called Free Corps. The anguished Spartacists later founded the Communist Party of Germany. Communists and Socialists henceforth became irreconcilable enemies and could not make common cause against Hitler. Both revolutionaries and militant nationalists craved for radical solutions.

Political radicalisation was only heightened by the economic crisis of 1923. Germany had fought the war largely on loans and had to pay war **reparations** in gold. This **depleted** gold reserves at a time resources were scarce. In 1923 Germany refused to pay, and the French occupied its leading industrial area, Ruhr, to claim their coal. Germany retaliated with passive resistance and printed paper currency recklessly. With too much printed money in circulation, the value of the German mark fell. In April the US dollar was equal to 24,000 marks, in July 353,000 marks, in August 4,621,000 marks and at

#### New words

Deplete – Reduce, empty out  
 Reparation – Make up for a wrong done



**Fig.4 – Baskets and carts being loaded at a bank in Berlin with paper currency for wage payment, 1923.**  
*The German mark had so little value that vast amounts had to be used even for small payments.*

98,860,000 marks by December, the figure had run into trillions. As the value of the mark collapsed, prices of goods soared. The image of Germans carrying cartloads of currency notes to buy a loaf of bread was widely publicised evoking worldwide sympathy. This crisis came to be known as hyperinflation, a situation when prices rise phenomenally high.

Eventually, the Americans intervened and bailed Germany out of the crisis by introducing the Dawes Plan, which reworked the terms of reparation to ease the financial burden on Germans.

### 1.3 The Years of Depression

The years between 1924 and 1928 saw some stability. Yet this was built on sand. German investments and industrial recovery were totally dependent on short-term loans, largely from the USA. This support was withdrawn when the **Wall Street Exchange** crashed in 1929. Fearing a fall in prices, people made frantic efforts to sell their shares. On one single day, 24 October, 13 million shares were sold. This was the start of the Great Economic Depression. Over the next three years, between 1929 and 1932, the national income of the USA fell by half. Factories shut down, exports fell, farmers were badly hit and speculators withdrew their money from the market. The effects of this recession in the US economy were felt worldwide.

The German economy was the worst hit by the economic crisis. By 1932, industrial production was reduced to 40 per cent of the 1929 level. Workers lost their jobs or were paid reduced wages. The number of unemployed touched an unprecedented 6 million. On the streets of Germany you could see men with placards around their necks saying, 'Willing to do any work'. Unemployed youths played cards or simply sat at street corners, or desperately queued up at the local employment exchange. As jobs disappeared, the youth took to criminal activities and total despair became commonplace.

The economic crisis created deep anxieties and fears in people. The middle classes, especially salaried employees and pensioners, saw their savings diminish when the currency lost its value. Small businessmen, the self-employed and retailers suffered as their

#### New words

Wall Street Exchange – The name of the world's biggest stock exchange located in the USA.



*Fig.5 – Homeless men queuing up for a night's shelter, 1923.*



*Fig.6 – Sleeping on the line. During the Great Depression the unemployed could not hope for either wage or shelter. On winter nights when they wanted a shelter over their head, they had to pay to sleep like this.*

businesses got ruined. These sections of society were filled with the fear of **proletarianisation**, an anxiety of being reduced to the ranks of the working class, or worse still, the unemployed. Only organised workers could manage to keep their heads above water, but unemployment weakened their bargaining power. Big business was in crisis. The large mass of peasantry was affected by a sharp fall in agricultural prices and women, unable to fill their children's stomachs, were filled with a sense of deep despair.

Politically too the Weimar Republic was fragile. The Weimar constitution had some inherent defects, which made it unstable and vulnerable to dictatorship. One was proportional representation. This made achieving a majority by any one party a near impossible task, leading to a rule by coalitions. Another defect was Article 48, which gave the President the powers to impose emergency, suspend civil rights and rule by decree. Within its short life, the Weimar Republic saw twenty different cabinets lasting on an average 239 days, and a liberal use of Article 48. Yet the crisis could not be managed. People lost confidence in the democratic parliamentary system, which seemed to offer no solutions.

#### New words

Proletarianisation – To become impoverished to the level of working classes.



## 2 Hitler's Rise to Power

This crisis in the economy, polity and society formed the background to Hitler's rise to power. Born in 1889 in Austria, Hitler spent his youth in poverty. When the First World War broke out, he enrolled for the army, acted as a messenger in the front, became a corporal, and earned medals for bravery. The German defeat horrified him and the Versailles Treaty made him furious. In 1919, he joined a small group called the German Workers' Party. He subsequently took over the organisation and renamed it the National Socialist German Workers' Party. This party came to be known as the Nazi Party.

In 1923, Hitler planned to seize control of Bavaria, march to Berlin and capture power. He failed, was arrested, tried for treason, and later released. The Nazis could not effectively mobilise popular support till the early 1930s. It was during the Great Depression that Nazism became a mass movement. As we have seen, after 1929, banks collapsed and businesses shut down, workers lost their jobs and the middle classes were threatened with destitution. In such a situation Nazi **propaganda** stirred hopes of a better future. In 1928, the Nazi Party got no more than 2.6 per cent votes in the Reichstag – the German parliament. By 1932, it had become the largest party with 37 per cent votes.



*Fig. 7 – Hitler being greeted at the Party Congress in Nuremberg in 1938.*

### New words

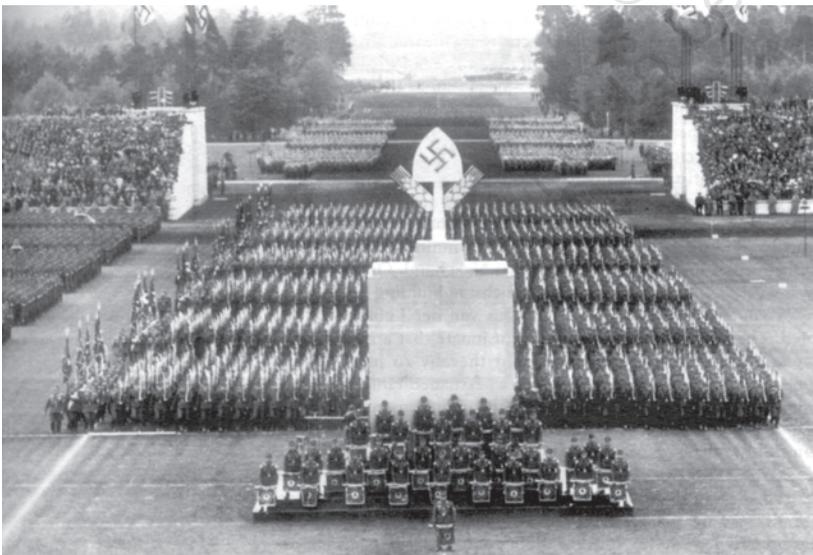
Propaganda – Specific type of message directly aimed at influencing the opinion of people (through the use of posters, films, speeches, etc.)



**Fig.8 – Nuremberg Rally, 1936.**  
*Rallies like this were held every year. An important aspect of these was the demonstration of Nazi power as various organisations paraded past Hitler, swore loyalty and listened to his speeches.*

Hitler was a powerful speaker. His passion and his words moved people. He promised to build a strong nation, undo the injustice of the Versailles Treaty and restore the dignity of the German people. He promised employment for those looking for work, and a secure future for the youth. He promised to weed out all foreign influences and resist all foreign ‘conspiracies’ against Germany.

Hitler devised a new style of politics. He understood the significance of rituals and spectacle in mass mobilisation. Nazis held massive rallies



**Fig.9 – Hitler addressing SA and SS columns.**  
*Notice the sweeping and straight columns of people. Such photographs were intended to show the grandeur and power of the Nazi movement*

and public meetings to demonstrate the support for Hitler and instil a sense of unity among the people. The Red banners with the Swastika, the Nazi salute, and the ritualised rounds of applause after the speeches were all part of this spectacle of power.

Nazi propaganda skilfully projected Hitler as a messiah, a saviour, as someone who had arrived to deliver people from their distress. It is an image that captured the imagination of a people whose sense of dignity and pride had been shattered, and who were living in a time of acute economic and political crises.

## 2.1 The Destruction of Democracy

On 30 January 1933, President Hindenburg offered the Chancellorship, the highest position in the cabinet of ministers, to Hitler. By now the Nazis had managed to rally the conservatives to their cause. Having acquired power, Hitler set out to dismantle the structures of democratic rule. A mysterious fire that broke out in the German Parliament building in February facilitated his move. The Fire Decree of 28 February 1933 indefinitely suspended civic rights like freedom of speech, press and assembly that had been guaranteed by the Weimar constitution. Then he turned on his arch-enemies, the Communists, most of whom were hurriedly packed off to the newly established **concentration camps**. The repression of the Communists was severe. Out of the surviving 6,808 arrest files of Duesseldorf, a small city of half a million population, 1,440 were those of Communists alone. They were, however, only one among the 52 types of victims persecuted by the Nazis across the country.

On 3 March 1933, the famous Enabling Act was passed. This Act established dictatorship in Germany. It gave Hitler all powers to sideline Parliament and rule by decree. All political parties and trade unions were banned except for the Nazi Party and its affiliates. The state established complete control over the economy, media, army and judiciary.

Special surveillance and security forces were created to control and order society in ways that the Nazis wanted. Apart from the already existing regular police in green uniform and the SA or the Storm Troopers, these included the Gestapo (secret state police), the SS (the protection squads), criminal police and the Security Service (SD). It was the extra-constitutional powers of these newly organised forces that gave the Nazi state its reputation as the most dreaded criminal state. People could now be detained in Gestapo torture chambers, rounded up and sent to concentration camps, deported at will or arrested without any legal procedures. The police forces acquired powers to rule with impunity.

### New words

**Concentration camp** – A camp where people were isolated and detained without due process of law. Typically, it was surrounded by electrified barbed wire fences.

## 2.2 Reconstruction

Hitler assigned the responsibility of economic recovery to the economist Hjalmar Schacht who aimed at full production and full employment through a state-funded work-creation programme. This project produced the famous German superhighways and the people's car, the Volkswagen.

In foreign policy also Hitler acquired quick successes. He pulled out of the League of Nations in 1933, reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936, and integrated Austria and Germany in 1938 under the slogan, *One people, One empire, and One leader*. He then went on to wrest German-speaking Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, and gobbled up the entire country. In all of this he had the unspoken support of England, which had considered the Versailles verdict too harsh. These quick successes at home and abroad seemed to reverse the destiny of the country.

Hitler did not stop here. Schacht had advised Hitler against investing hugely in rearmament as the state still ran on deficit financing. Cautious people, however, had no place in Nazi Germany. Schacht had to leave. Hitler chose war as the way out of the approaching



**Fig. 10 – The poster announces: ‘Your volkswagen’.**  
Such posters suggested that owning a car was no longer just a dream for an ordinary worker.



**Fig. 11 – Expansion of Nazi power: Europe 1942.**

economic crisis. Resources were to be accumulated through expansion of territory. In September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. This started a war with France and England. In September 1940, a Tripartite Pact was signed between Germany, Italy and Japan, strengthening Hitler's claim to international power. Puppet regimes, supportive of Nazi Germany, were installed in a large part of Europe. By the end of 1940, Hitler was at the pinnacle of his power.

Hitler now moved to achieve his long-term aim of conquering Eastern Europe. He wanted to ensure food supplies and living space for Germans. He attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. In this historic blunder Hitler exposed the German western front to British aerial bombing and the eastern front to the powerful Soviet armies. The Soviet Red Army inflicted a crushing and humiliating defeat on Germany at Stalingrad. After this the Soviet Red Army hounded out the retreating German soldiers until they reached the heart of Berlin, establishing Soviet hegemony over the entire Eastern Europe for half a century thereafter.

Meanwhile, the USA had resisted involvement in the war. It was unwilling to once again face all the economic problems that the First World War had caused. But it could not stay out of the war for long. Japan was expanding its power in the east. It had occupied French Indo-China and was planning attacks on US naval bases in the Pacific. When Japan extended its support to Hitler and bombed the US base at Pearl Harbor, the US entered the Second World War. The war ended in May 1945 with Hitler's defeat and the US dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima in Japan.

From this brief account of what happened in the Second World War, we now return to Helmuth and his father's story, a story of Nazi criminality during the war.

**Fig. 12 – Newspapers in India track the developments in Germany.**



### 3 The Nazi Worldview

The crimes that Nazis committed were linked to a system of belief and a set of practices.

Nazi ideology was synonymous with Hitler's worldview. According to this there was no equality between people, but only a racial hierarchy. In this view blond, blue-eyed, Nordic German Aryans were at the top, while Jews were located at the lowest rung. They came to be regarded as an anti-race, the arch-enemies of the Aryans. All other coloured people were placed in between depending upon their external features. Hitler's racism borrowed from thinkers like Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. Darwin was a natural scientist who tried to explain the creation of plants and animals through the concept of evolution and natural selection. Herbert Spencer later added the idea of survival of the fittest. According to this idea, only those species survived on earth that could adapt themselves to changing climatic conditions. We should bear in mind that Darwin never advocated human intervention in what he thought was a purely natural process of selection. However, his ideas were used by racist thinkers and politicians to justify imperial rule over conquered peoples. The Nazi argument was simple: the strongest race would survive and the weak ones would perish. The Aryan race was the finest. It had to retain its purity, become stronger and dominate the world.

The other aspect of Hitler's ideology related to the geopolitical concept of *Lebensraum*, or living space. He believed that new territories had to be acquired for settlement. This would enhance the area of the mother country, while enabling the settlers on new lands to retain an intimate link with the place of their origin. It would also enhance the material resources and power of the German nation.

Hitler intended to extend German boundaries by moving eastwards, to concentrate all Germans geographically in one place. Poland became the laboratory for this experimentation.

#### 3.1 Establishment of the Racial State

Once in power, the Nazis quickly began to implement their dream of creating an exclusive racial community of pure Germans by physically eliminating all those who were seen as 'undesirable' in the

#### Source A

'For this earth is not allotted to anyone nor is it presented to anyone as a gift. It is awarded by providence to people who in their hearts have the courage to conquer it, the strength to preserve it, and the industry to put it to the plough... The primary right of this world is the right to life, so far as one possesses the strength for this. Hence on the basis of this right a vigorous nation will always find ways of adapting its territory to its population size.'

*Hitler, Secret Book, ed. Telford Taylor.*

#### Source B

'In an era when the earth is gradually being divided up among states, some of which embrace almost entire continents, we cannot speak of a world power in connection with a formation whose political mother country is limited to the absurd area of five hundred kilometers.'

*Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 644.*

### Activity

Read Sources A and B

- What do they tell you about Hitler's imperial ambition?
- What do you think Mahatma Gandhi would have said to Hitler about these ideas?

#### New words

Nordic German Aryans – One branch of those classified as Aryans. They lived in north European countries and had German or related origin.

extended empire. Nazis wanted only a society of 'pure and healthy Nordic Aryans'. They alone were considered 'desirable'. Only they were seen as worthy of prospering and multiplying against all others who were classed as 'undesirable'. This meant that even those Germans who were seen as impure or abnormal had no right to exist. Under the Euthanasia Programme, Helmuth's father along with other Nazi officials had condemned to death many Germans who were considered mentally or physically unfit.

Jews were not the only community classified as 'undesirable'. There were others. Many **Gypsies** and blacks living in Nazi Germany were considered as racial 'inferiors' who threatened the biological purity of the 'superior Aryan' race. They were widely **persecuted**. Even Russians and Poles were considered subhuman, and hence undeserving of any humanity. When Germany occupied Poland and parts of Russia, captured civilians were forced to work as slave labour. Many of them died simply through hard work and starvation.

Jews remained the worst sufferers in Nazi Germany. Nazi hatred of Jews had a precursor in the traditional Christian hostility towards Jews. They had been stereotyped as killers of Christ and **usurers**. Until medieval times Jews were barred from owning land. They survived mainly through trade and moneylending. They lived in separately marked areas called ghettos. They were often persecuted through periodic organised violence, and expulsion from the land. However, Hitler's hatred of Jews was based on pseudoscientific theories of race, which held that conversion was no solution to 'the Jewish problem'. It could be solved only through their total elimination.

From 1933 to 1938 the Nazis terrorised, **pauperised** and segregated the Jews, compelling them to leave the country. The next phase, 1939-1945, aimed at concentrating them in certain areas and eventually killing them in gas chambers in Poland.

### 3.2 The Racial Utopia

Under the shadow of war, the Nazis proceeded to realise their murderous, racial ideal. Genocide and war became two sides of the same coin. Occupied Poland was divided up. Much of north-western Poland was annexed to Germany. Poles were forced to leave their homes and properties behind to be occupied by ethnic Germans brought in from occupied Europe. Poles were then herded like



**Fig. 13** – Police escorting gypsies who are being deported to Auschwitz, 1943-1944.

#### New words

**Gypsy** – The groups that were classified as 'gypsy' had their own community identity. Sinti and Roma were two such communities.

Many of them traced their origin to India.

**Pauperised** – Reduce to absolute poverty

**Persecution** – Systematic, organised punishment of those belonging to a group or religion

**Usurers** – Moneylenders charging excessive interest; often used as a term of abuse

cattle in the other part called the General Government, the destination of all ‘undesirables’ of the empire. Members of the Polish intelligentsia were murdered in large numbers in order to keep the entire people intellectually and spiritually servile. Polish children who looked like Aryans were forcibly snatched from their mothers and examined by ‘race experts’. If they passed the race tests they were raised in German families and if not, they were deposited in orphanages where most perished. With some of the largest ghettos and gas chambers, the General Government also served as the killing fields for the Jews.

## Activity

See the next two pages and write briefly:

- What does citizenship mean to you? Look at Chapters 1 and 3 and write 200 words on how the French Revolution and Nazism defined citizenship.
- What did the Nuremberg Laws mean to the ‘undesirables’ in Nazi Germany? What other legal measures were taken against them to make them feel unwanted?



**Fig. 14** – This is one of the freight cars used to deport Jews to the death chambers.

# STEPS TO DEATH

## Stage 1: Exclusion 1933–1939

**YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO LIVE AMONG US AS CITIZENS**

The Nuremberg Laws of citizenship of September 1935:

1. Only Persons of German or related blood would henceforth be German citizens enjoying the protection of the German empire.
2. Marriages between Jews and Germans were forbidden.
3. Extramarital relations between Jews and Germans became a crime.
4. Jews were forbidden to fly the national flag.

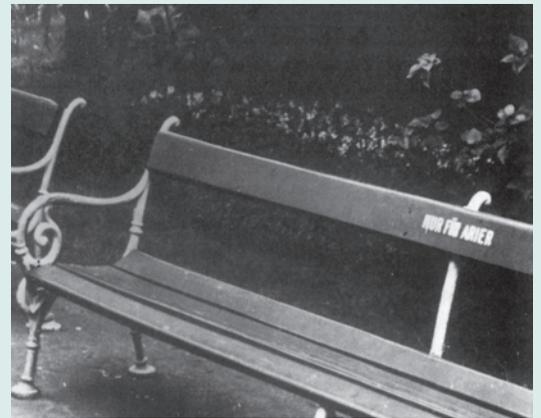
Other legal measures included:

- Boycott of Jewish businesses
- Expulsion from government services
- Forced selling and confiscation of their properties

Besides, Jewish properties were vandalised and looted, houses attacked, synagogues burnt and men arrested in a pogrom in November, 1938, remembered as 'the night of broken glass'



*Fig. 15 – The sign declares that this North Sea bathing resort is free of Jews.*



*Fig. 16 – Park bench announces: 'FOR ARYANS ONLY'*

### New words

Synagogues – Place of worship for people of Jewish faith

## Stage 2: Ghettoisation 1940 – 1944

**YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO LIVE AMONG US**

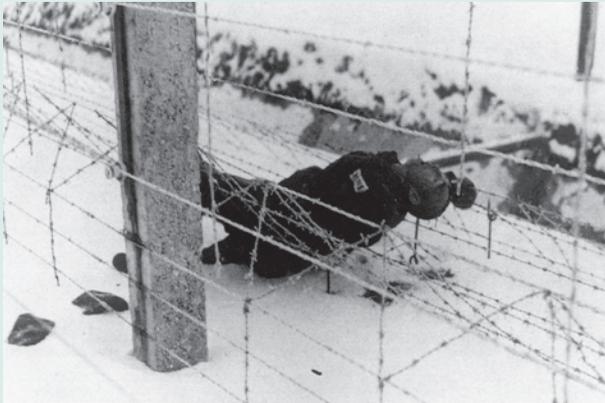
From September 1941, all Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David on their breasts. This identity mark was stamped on their passport, all legal documents and houses. They were kept in Jewish houses in Germany, and in ghettos like Lodz and Warsaw in the east. These became sites of extreme misery and poverty. Jews had to surrender all their wealth before they entered a ghetto. Soon the ghettos were brimming with hunger, starvation and disease due to deprivation and poor hygiene.



*Fig. 17 – 'This is all I have to sell'. Men and women were left with nothing to survive in the ghettos.*

Stage 3: **Annihilation** 1941 onwards:

**YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO LIVE**



*Fig.18 – Killed while trying to escape. The concentration camps were enclosed with live wires.*



*Fig.19 – Piles of clothes outside the gas chamber.*

Jews from Jewish houses, concentration camps and ghettos from different parts of Europe were brought to death factories by goods trains. In Poland and elsewhere in the east, most notably Belzek, Auschwitz, Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno and Majdanek, they were charred in gas chambers. Mass killings took place within minutes with scientific precision.



*Fig.20 – A Concentration Camp.*



*Fig.21 – A concentration camp. A camera can make a death camp look beautiful.*



*Fig.22 – Shoes taken away from prisoners before the 'Final Solution'.*

## 4 Youth in Nazi Germany

Hitler was fanatically interested in the youth of the country. He felt that a strong Nazi society could be established only by teaching children Nazi ideology. This required a control over the child both inside and outside school.

What happened in schools under Nazism? All schools were 'cleansed' and 'purified'. This meant that teachers who were Jews or seen as 'politically unreliable' were dismissed. Children were first segregated: Germans and Jews could not sit together or play together. Subsequently, 'undesirable children' – Jews, the physically handicapped, Gypsies – were thrown out of schools. And finally in the 1940s, they were taken to the gas chambers.

'Good German' children were subjected to a process of Nazi schooling, a prolonged period of ideological training. School textbooks were rewritten. Racial science was introduced to justify Nazi ideas of race. Stereotypes about Jews were popularised even through maths classes. Children were taught to be loyal and submissive, hate Jews, and worship Hitler. Even the function of sports was to nurture a spirit of violence and aggression among children. Hitler believed that boxing could make children iron hearted, strong and masculine.

Youth organisations were made responsible for educating German youth in the 'the spirit of National Socialism'. Ten-year-olds had to enter **Jungvolk**. At 14, all boys had to join the Nazi youth organisation – Hitler Youth – where they learnt to worship war, glorify aggression and violence, condemn democracy, and hate Jews, communists, Gypsies and all those categorised as 'undesirable'. After a period of rigorous ideological and physical training they joined the Labour Service, usually at the age of 18. Then they had to serve in the armed forces and enter one of the Nazi organisations.

The Youth League of the Nazis was founded in 1922. Four years later it was renamed Hitler Youth. To unify the youth movement under Nazi control, all other youth organisations were systematically dissolved and finally banned.

### New words

Jungvolk – Nazi youth groups for children below 14 years of age.



**Fig.23 – Classroom scene depicting a lesson on racial anti-Semitism.**

From *Der Giftpilz (The Poison Mushroom)* by Ernst Hiemer (Nuremberg: der Sturmer, 1938), p.7. Caption reads: 'The Jewish nose is bent at its point. It looks like the number six.'



**Fig.24 – Jewish teacher and Jewish pupils expelled from school under the jeers of classmates.**

From *Trau keinem jud auf gruner Heid: Ein Bilderbuch fur Gross und Keom (Trust No Jew on the Green Heath: a Picture Book for Big and Little)*, By Elvira Bauer (Nuremberg: Der Sturmer, 1936).

## Activity

If you were a student sitting in one of these classes, how would you have felt towards Jews?

Have you ever thought of the stereotypes of other communities that people around you believe in? How have they acquired them?

**Source: C**

All boys between the ages of six and ten went through a preliminary training in Nazi ideology. At the end of the training they had to take the following oath of loyalty to Hitler:

'In the presence of this blood banner which represents our Fuhrer I swear to devote all my energies and my strength to the saviour of our country, Adolf Hitler. I am willing and ready to give up my life for him, so help me God.'

*From W. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*

**Source: D**

Robert Lay, head of the German Labour Front, said:

'We start when the child is three years old. As soon as he even starts to think, he is given a little flag to wave. Then comes school, the Hitler Youth, military service. But when all this is over, we don't let go of anyone. The labour front takes hold of them, and keeps hold until they go to the grave, whether they like it or not.'



**Fig.25** – 'Desirable' children that Hitler wanted to see multiplied.



**Fig.26** – A German-blooded infant with his mother being brought from occupied Europe to Annexed Poland for settlement.



**Fig.27** – Jewish children arriving at a death factory to be gassed

**Activity**

Look at Figs. 23, 24, and 27. Imagine yourself to be a Jew or a Pole in Nazi Germany. It is September 1941, and the law forcing Jews to wear the Star of David has just been declared. Write an account of one day in your life.

**4.1 The Nazi Cult of Motherhood**

Children in Nazi Germany were repeatedly told that women were radically different from men. The fight for equal rights for men and women that had become part of democratic struggles everywhere was wrong and it would destroy society. While boys were taught to be aggressive, masculine and steel hearted, girls were told that they had to become good mothers and rear pure-blooded Aryan children. Girls had to maintain the purity of the race, distance

themselves from Jews, look after the home, and teach their children Nazi values. They had to be the bearers of the Aryan culture and race.

In 1933 Hitler said: 'In my state the mother is the most important citizen.' But in Nazi Germany all mothers were not treated equally. Women who bore racially undesirable children were punished and those who produced racially desirable children were awarded. They were given favoured treatment in hospitals and were also entitled to concessions in shops and on theatre tickets and railway fares. To encourage women to produce many children, Honour Crosses were awarded. A bronze cross was given for four children, silver for six and gold for eight or more.

All 'Aryan' women who deviated from the prescribed code of conduct were publicly condemned, and severely punished. Those who maintained contact with Jews, Poles and Russians were paraded through the town with shaved heads, blackened faces and placards hanging around their necks announcing 'I have sullied the honour of the nation'. Many received jail sentences and lost civic honour as well as their husbands and families for this 'criminal offence'.

#### 4.2. The Art of Propaganda

The Nazi regime used language and media with care, and often to great effect. The terms they coined to describe their various practices are not only deceptive. They are chilling. Nazis never used the words 'kill' or 'murder' in their official communications. Mass killings were termed *special treatment*, *final solution* (for the Jews), *ethanasia* (for the disabled), *selection* and *disinfections*. 'Evacuation' meant deporting people to gas chambers. Do you know what the gas chambers were called? They were labelled 'disinfection-areas', and looked like bathrooms equipped with fake showerheads.

Media was carefully used to win support for the regime and popularise its worldview. Nazi ideas were spread through visual images, films, radio, posters, catchy slogans and leaflets. In posters, groups identified as the 'enemies' of Germans were stereotyped, mocked, abused and described as evil. Socialists and liberals were represented as weak and degenerate. They were attacked as malicious foreign agents. Propaganda films were made to create hatred for Jews. The most infamous film was *The Eternal Jew*. Orthodox Jews were stereotyped and marked. They were shown

#### Source E

In an address to women at the Nuremberg Party Rally, 8 September 1934, Hitler said:

We do not consider it correct for the woman to interfere in the world of the man, in his main sphere. We consider it natural that these two worlds remain distinct...What the man gives in courage on the battlefield, the woman gives in eternal self-sacrifice, in eternal pain and suffering. Every child that women bring to the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.

## Source F

Hitler at the Nuremberg Party Rally, 8 September 1934, also said:

'The woman is the most stable element in the preservation of a folk...she has the most unerring sense of everything that is important to not let a race disappear because it is her children who would be affected by all this suffering in the first place...That is why we have integrated the woman in the struggle of the racial community just as nature and providence have determined so.'

with flowing beards wearing kaftans, whereas in reality it was difficult to distinguish German Jews by their outward appearance because they were a highly assimilated community. They were referred to as vermin, rats and pests. Their movements were compared to those of rodents. Nazism worked on the minds of the people, tapped their emotions, and turned their hatred and anger at those marked as 'undesirable'.

The Nazis made equal efforts to appeal to all the different sections of the population. They sought to win their support by suggesting that Nazis alone could solve all their problems.

## Activity

How would you have reacted to Hitler's ideas if you were:

- A Jewish woman
- A non-Jewish German woman



**Fig.28 – A Nazi poster attacking Jews.**

Caption above reads: 'Money is the God of Jews. In order to earn money he commits the greatest crimes. He does not rest, until he can sit on a big sack of money, until he has become the king of money.'

## Activity

What do you think this poster is trying to depict?

**GERMAN FARMER  
YOU BELONG TO HITLER!**

**WHY?**

The German farmer stands in between two great dangers today:

The one danger American economic system –  
Big Capitalism!

The other is the Marxist economic system of Bolshevism.

Big Capitalism and Bolshevism work hand in hand:  
they are born of Jewish thought  
and serve the master plan of world Jewery.

Who alone can rescue the farmer from these dangers?

**NATIONAL SOCIALISM.**

From: *a Nazi leaflet, 1932.*

**Fig. 29** – The leaflet shows how the Nazis appealed to the peasants.



**Fig. 30** – A Nazi party poster of the 1920s. It asks workers to vote for Hitler, the frontline soldier.

## Activity

Look at Figs. 29 and 30 and answer the following:

What do they tell us about Nazi propaganda? How are the Nazis trying to mobilise different sections of the population?

### Some important dates

- August 1, 1914  
First World War begins.
- November 9, 1918  
Germany capitulates, ending the war.
- November 9, 1918  
Proclamation of the Weimar Republic.
- June 28, 1919  
Treaty of Versailles.
- January 30, 1933  
Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany.
- September 1, 1939  
Germany invades Poland. Beginning of the Second World War.
- June 22, 1941  
Germany invades the USSR.
- June 23, 1941  
Mass murder of the Jews begins.
- December 8, 1941  
The United States joins Second World War.
- January 27, 1945  
Soviet troops liberate Auschwitz.
- May 8, 1945  
Allied victory in Europe.

## 5 Ordinary People and the Crimes Against Humanity

How did the common people react to Nazism?

Many saw the world through Nazi eyes, and spoke their mind in Nazi language. They felt hatred and anger surge inside them when they saw someone who looked like a Jew. They marked the houses of Jews and reported suspicious neighbours. They genuinely believed Nazism would bring prosperity and improve general well-being.

But not every German was a Nazi. Many organised active resistance to Nazism, braving police repression and death. The large majority of Germans, however, were passive onlookers and apathetic witnesses. They were too scared to act, to differ, to protest. They preferred to look away. Pastor Niemoeller, a resistance fighter, observed an absence of protest, an uncanny silence, amongst ordinary Germans in the face of brutal and organised crimes committed against people in the Nazi empire. He wrote movingly about this silence:

'First they came for the Communists,  
Well, I was not a Communist –  
So I said nothing.  
Then they came for the Social Democrats,  
Well, I was not a Social Democrat  
So I did nothing,  
Then they came for the trade unionists,  
But I was not a trade unionist.  
And then they came for the Jews,  
But I was not a Jew – so I did little.  
Then when they came for me,  
There was no one left who could stand up for me.'

### Activity

Why does Erna Kranz say, 'I could only say for myself'? How do you view her opinion?

#### Box 1

Was the lack of concern for Nazi victims only because of the Terror? No, says Lawrence Rees who interviewed people from diverse backgrounds for his recent documentary, 'The Nazis: A Warning from History'.

Erna Kranz, an ordinary German teenager in the 1930s and a grandmother now, said to Rees:

'1930s offered a glimmer of hope, not just for the unemployed but for everybody for we all felt downtrodden. From my own experience I could say salaries increased and Germany seemed to have regained its sense of purpose. I could only say for myself, I thought it was a good time. I liked it.'

What Jews felt in Nazi Germany is a different story altogether. Charlotte Beradt secretly recorded people's dreams in her diary and later published them in a highly disconcerting book called the *Third Reich of Dreams*. She describes how Jews themselves began believing in the Nazi stereotypes about them. They dreamt of their hooked noses, black hair and eyes, Jewish looks and body movements. The stereotypical images publicised in the Nazi press haunted the Jews. They troubled them even in their dreams. Jews died many deaths even before they reached the gas chamber.

### 5.1 Knowledge about the Holocaust

Information about Nazi practices had trickled out of Germany during the last years of the regime. But it was only after the war ended and Germany was defeated that the world came to realise the horrors of what had happened. While the Germans were preoccupied with their own plight as a defeated nation emerging out of the rubble, the Jews wanted the world to remember the atrocities and sufferings they had endured during the Nazi killing operations – also called the *Holocaust*. At its height, a ghetto inhabitant had said to another that he wanted to outlive the war just for half an hour. Presumably he meant that he wanted to be able to tell the world about what had happened in Nazi Germany. This indomitable spirit to bear witness and to preserve the documents can be seen in many ghetto and camp inhabitants who wrote diaries, kept notebooks, and created archives. On the other hand when the war seemed lost, the Nazi leadership distributed petrol to its functionaries to destroy all incriminating evidence available in offices.

Yet the history and the memory of the Holocaust live on in memoirs, fiction, documentaries, poetry, memorials and museums in many parts of the world today. These are a tribute to those who resisted it, an embarrassing reminder to those who collaborated, and a warning to those who watched in silence.



**Fig.31** – Inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto collected documents and placed them in three milk cans along with other containers. As destruction seemed imminent, these containers were buried in the cellars of buildings in 1943. This can was discovered in 1950.



**Fig.32** – Denmark secretly rescued their Jews from Germany. This is one of the boats used for the purpose.

## Mahatma Gandhi writes to Hitler

LETTER TO ADOLF HITLER  
AS AT WARDHA, C. P., INDIA,  
July 23, 1939

HERR HITLER  
BERLIN  
GERMANY

DEAR FRIEND,  
Friends have been urging me to write to you for the sake of humanity. But I have resisted their request, because of the feeling that any letter from me would be an impertinence. Something tells me that I must not calculate and that I must make my appeal for whatever it may be worth.  
It is quite clear that you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state.  
Must you pay that price for an object however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success?  
Anyway  
I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you.

*I remain,*  
*Your sincere friend,*  
M. K. GANDHI

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI  
VOL. 76.

LETTER TO ADOLF HITLER  
WARDHA,  
December 24, 1940

We have found in non-violence a force which, if organised, can without doubt match itself against a combination of all the most violent forces in the world. In non-violent technique, as I have said, there is no such thing as defeat. It is all 'do or die' without killing or hurting. It can be used practically without money and obviously without the aid of science of destruction which you have brought to such perfection. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that it is nobody's monopoly. If not the British, some other power will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. You are leaving no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a recital of cruel deed, however skilfully planned. I, therefore, appeal to you in the name of humanity to stop the war....

*I am,*  
*Your sincere friend,*  
M. K. GANDHI

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI  
VOL. 79.

## Activities

1. Write a one page history of Germany
  - as a schoolchild in Nazi Germany
  - as a Jewish survivor of a concentration camp
  - as a political opponent of the Nazi regime
2. Imagine that you are Helmuth. You have had many Jewish friends in school and do not believe that Jews are bad. Write a paragraph on what you would say to your father.

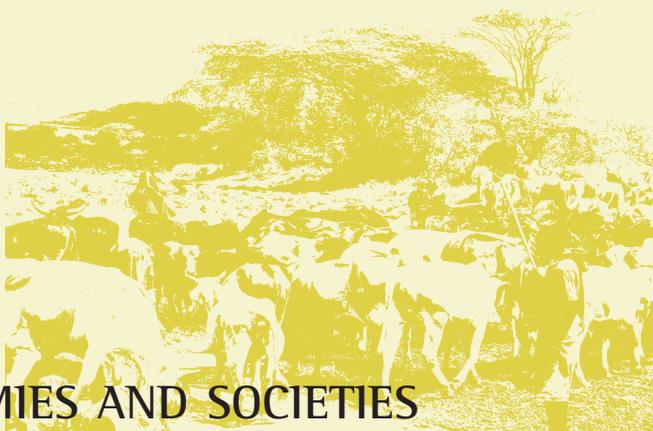
Activities

## Questions

1. Describe the problems faced by the Weimar Republic.
2. Discuss why Nazism became popular in Germany by 1930.
3. What are the peculiar features of Nazi thinking?
4. Explain why Nazi propaganda was effective in creating a hatred for Jews.
5. Explain what role women had in Nazi society. Return to Chapter 1 on the French Revolution. Write a paragraph comparing and contrasting the role of women in the two periods.
6. In what ways did the Nazi state seek to establish total control over its people ?



## SECTION II

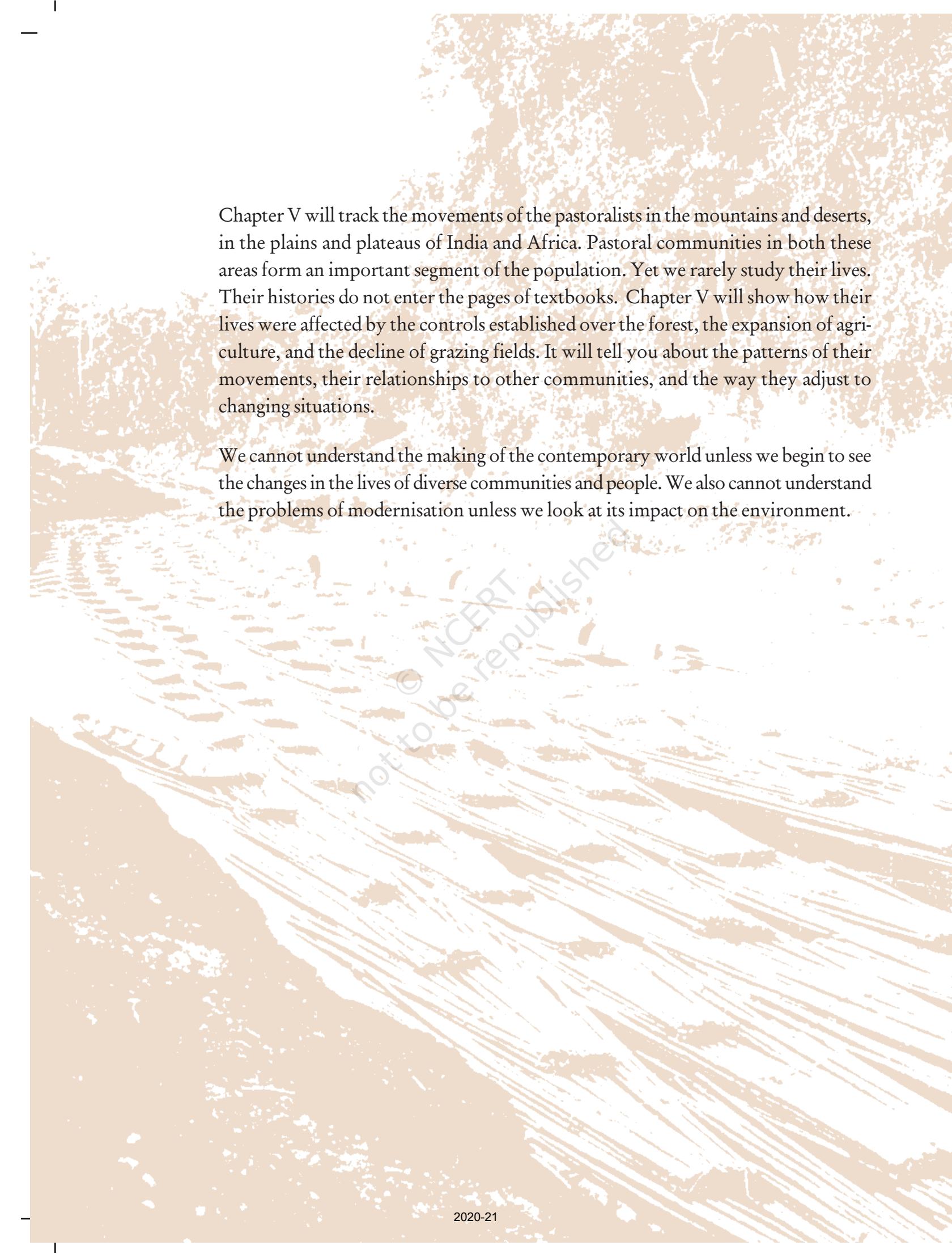


### LIVELIHOODS, ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES

In Section II we will shift our focus to the study of livelihoods and economies. We will look at how the lives of forest dwellers and pastoralists changed in the modern world and how they played a part in shaping these changes.

All too often in looking at the emergence of the modern world, we only focus on factories and cities, on the industrial and agricultural sectors which supply the market. But we forget that there are other economies outside these sectors, other people too who matter to the nation. To modern eyes, the lives of pastoralists and forest dwellers, the shifting cultivators and food gatherers often seem to be stuck in the past. It is as if their lives are not important when we study the emergence of the contemporary world. The chapters in Section II will suggest that we need to know about their lives, see how they organise their world and operate their economies. These communities are very much part of the modern world we live in today. They are not simply survivors from a bygone era.

Chapter IV will take you into the forest and tell you about the variety of ways the forests were used by communities living within them. It will show how in the nineteenth century the growth of industries and urban centres, ships and railways, created a new demand on the forests for timber and other forest products. New demands led to new rules of forest use, new ways of organising the forest. You will see how colonial control was established over the forests, how forest areas were mapped, trees were classified, and plantations were developed. All these developments affected the lives of those local communities who used forest resources. They were forced to operate within new systems and reorganise their lives. But they also rebelled against the rules and persuaded the state to change its policies. The chapter will give you an idea of the history of such developments in India and Indonesia.



Chapter V will track the movements of the pastoralists in the mountains and deserts, in the plains and plateaus of India and Africa. Pastoral communities in both these areas form an important segment of the population. Yet we rarely study their lives. Their histories do not enter the pages of textbooks. Chapter V will show how their lives were affected by the controls established over the forest, the expansion of agriculture, and the decline of grazing fields. It will tell you about the patterns of their movements, their relationships to other communities, and the way they adjust to changing situations.

We cannot understand the making of the contemporary world unless we begin to see the changes in the lives of diverse communities and people. We also cannot understand the problems of modernisation unless we look at its impact on the environment.

# Forest Society and Colonialism



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Take a quick look around your school and home and identify all the things that come from forests: the paper in the book you are reading, desks and tables, doors and windows, the dyes that colour your clothes, spices in your food, the cellophane wrapper of your toffee, *tendu* leaf in *bidis*, gum, honey, coffee, tea and rubber. Do not miss out the oil in chocolates, which comes from *sal* seeds, the tannin used to convert skins and hides into leather, or the herbs and roots used for medicinal purposes. Forests also provide bamboo, wood for fuel, grass, charcoal, packaging, fruits, flowers, animals, birds and many other things. In the Amazon forests or in the Western Ghats, it is possible to find as many as 500 different plant species in one forest patch.

A lot of this diversity is fast disappearing. Between 1700 and 1995, the period of industrialisation, 13.9 million sq km of forest or 9.3 per cent of the world's total area was cleared for industrial uses, cultivation, pastures and fuelwood.



**Fig. 1 – A sal forest in Chhattisgarh.**

Look at the different heights of the trees and plants in this picture, and the variety of species. This is a dense forest, so very little sunlight falls on the forest floor.

# 1 Why Deforestation?

The disappearance of forests is referred to as deforestation. Deforestation is not a recent problem. The process began many centuries ago; but under colonial rule it became more systematic and extensive. Let us look at some of the causes of deforestation in India.

## 1.1 Land to be Improved

In 1600, approximately one-sixth of India's landmass was under cultivation. Now that figure has gone up to about half. As population increased over the centuries and the demand for food went up, peasants extended the boundaries of cultivation, clearing forests and breaking new land. In the colonial period, cultivation expanded rapidly for a variety of reasons. First, the British directly encouraged



**Fig.2 – When the valleys were full.** Painting by John Dawson.  
Native Americans like the Lakota tribe who lived in the Great North American Plains had a diversified economy. They cultivated maize, foraged for wild plants and hunted bison. Keeping vast areas open for the bison to range in was seen by the English settlers as wasteful. After the 1860s the bison were killed in large numbers.

the production of commercial crops like jute, sugar, wheat and cotton. The demand for these crops increased in nineteenth-century Europe where foodgrains were needed to feed the growing urban population and raw materials were required for industrial

### Box 1

The absence of cultivation in a place does not mean the land was uninhabited. In Australia, when the white settlers landed, they claimed that the continent was empty or *terra nullius*. In fact, they were guided through the landscape by aboriginal tracks, and led by aboriginal guides. The different aboriginal communities in Australia had clearly demarcated territories. The Ngarrindjeri people of Australia plotted their land along the symbolic body of the first ancestor, Ngurunderi. This land included five different environments: salt water, riverine tracts, lakes, bush and desert plains, which satisfied different socio-economic needs.

production. Second, in the early nineteenth century, the colonial state thought that forests were unproductive. They were considered to be wilderness that had to be brought under cultivation so that the land could yield agricultural products and revenue, and enhance the income of the state. So between 1880 and 1920, cultivated area rose by 6.7 million hectares.

We always see the expansion of cultivation as a sign of progress. But we should not forget that for land to be brought under the plough, forests have to be cleared.

### Source A

The idea that uncultivated land had to be taken over and improved was popular with colonisers everywhere in the world. It was an argument that justified conquest.

In 1896 the American writer, Richard Harding, wrote on the Honduras in Central America:

'There is no more interesting question of the present day than that of what is to be done with the world's land which is lying unimproved; whether it shall go to the great power that is willing to turn it to account, or remain with its original owner, who fails to understand its value. The Central Americans are like a gang of semi-barbarians in a beautifully furnished house, of which they can understand neither its possibilities of comfort nor its use.'

Three years later the American-owned United Fruit Company was founded, and grew bananas on an industrial scale in Central America. The company acquired such power over the governments of these countries that they came to be known as Banana Republics.

Quoted in David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, (1993).

## 1.2 Sleepers on the Tracks



**Fig.3 – Converting sal logs into sleepers in the Singhbhum forests, Chhotanagpur, May 1897.** Adivasis were hired by the forest department to cut trees, and make smooth planks which would serve as sleepers for the railways. At the same time, they were not allowed to cut these trees to build their own houses.

### New words

Sleepers – Wooden planks laid across railway tracks; they hold the tracks in position

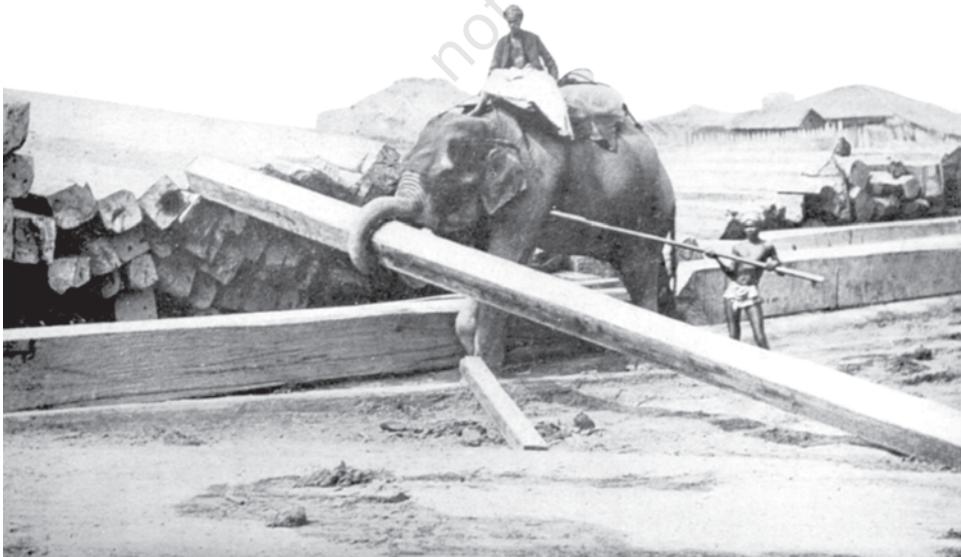
By the early nineteenth century, oak forests in England were disappearing. This created a problem of timber supply for the Royal Navy. How could English ships be built without a regular supply of strong and durable timber? How could imperial power be protected and maintained without ships? By the 1820s, search parties were sent to explore the forest resources of India. Within a decade, trees were being felled on a massive scale and vast quantities of timber were being exported from India.

The spread of railways from the 1850s created a new demand. Railways were essential for colonial trade and for the movement of imperial troops. To run locomotives, wood was needed as fuel, and to lay railway lines sleepers were essential to hold the tracks together. Each mile of railway track required between 1,760 and 2,000 sleepers.

From the 1860s, the railway network expanded rapidly. By 1890, about 25,500 km of track had been laid. In 1946, the length of the tracks had increased to over 765,000 km. As the railway tracks spread through India, a larger and larger number of trees were felled. As early as the 1850s, in the Madras Presidency alone, 35,000 trees were being cut annually for sleepers. The government gave out contracts to individuals to supply the required quantities. These contractors began cutting trees indiscriminately. Forests around the railway tracks fast started disappearing.



**Fig.4 – Bamboo rafts being floated down the Kassalong river, Chittagong Hill Tracts.**



**Fig.5 – Elephants piling squares of timber at a timber yard in Rangoon.**  
In the colonial period elephants were frequently used to lift heavy timber both in the forests and at the timber yards.

## Source B

'The new line to be constructed was the Indus Valley Railway between Multan and Sukkur, a distance of nearly 300 miles. At the rate of 2000 sleepers per mile this would require 600,000 sleepers 10 feet by 10 inches by 5 inches (or 3.5 cubic feet apiece), being upwards of 2,000,000 cubic feet. The locomotives would use wood fuel. At the rate of one train daily either way and at one maund per train-mile an annual supply of 219,000 maunds would be demanded. In addition a large supply of fuel for brick-burning would be required. The sleepers would have to come mainly from the Sind Forests. The fuel from the tamarisk and Jhand forests of Sind and the Punjab. The other new line was the Northern State Railway from Lahore to Multan. It was estimated that 2,200,000 sleepers would be required for its construction.'

E.P. Stebbing, *The Forests of India*, Vol. II (1923).

## Activity

Each mile of railway track required between 1,760 and 2,000 sleepers. If one average-sized tree yields 3 to 5 sleepers for a 3 metre wide broad gauge track, calculate approximately how many trees would have to be cut to lay one mile of track.



**Fig.6 - Women returning home after collecting fuelwood.**

**Fig.7 - Truck carrying logs**

When the forest department decided to take up an area for logging, one of the first things it did was to build wide roads so that trucks could enter. Compare this to the forest tracks along which people walk to collect fuelwood and other minor forest produce. Many such trucks of wood go from forest areas to big cities.

### 1.3 Plantations

Large areas of natural forests were also cleared to make way for tea, coffee and rubber plantations to meet Europe's growing need for these commodities. The colonial government took over the forests, and gave vast areas to European planters at cheap rates. These areas were enclosed and cleared of forests, and planted with tea or coffee.



*Fig.8 – Pleasure Brand Tea.*



## 2 The Rise of Commercial Forestry

In the previous section we have seen that the British needed forests in order to build ships and railways. The British were worried that the use of forests by local people and the reckless felling of trees by traders would destroy forests. So they decided to invite a German expert, Dietrich Brandis, for advice, and made him the first Inspector General of Forests in India.

Brandis realised that a proper system had to be introduced to manage the forests and people had to be trained in the science of conservation. This system would need legal sanction. Rules about the use of forest resources had to be framed. Felling of trees and grazing had to be restricted so that forests could be preserved for timber production. Anybody who cut trees without following the system had to be



2020-21

### Activity

If you were the Government of India in 1862 and responsible for supplying the railways with sleepers and fuel on such a large scale, what were the steps you would have taken?

**Fig.9 – One aisle of a managed poplar forest in Tuscany, Italy.**

*Poplar forests are good mainly for timber. They are not used for leaves, fruit or other products. Look at the straight lines of trees, all of a uniform height. This is the model that 'scientific' forestry has promoted.*



**Fig. 10 – A deodar plantation in Kangra, 1933.**  
From *Indian Forest Records*, Vol. XV.

punished. So Brandis set up the Indian Forest Service in 1864 and helped formulate the Indian Forest Act of 1865. The Imperial Forest Research Institute was set up at Dehradun in 1906. The system they taught here was called ‘**scientific forestry**’. Many people now, including ecologists, feel that this system is not scientific at all.

In scientific forestry, natural forests which had lots of different types of trees were cut down. In their place, one type of tree was planted in straight rows. This is called a plantation. Forest officials surveyed the forests, estimated the area under different types of trees, and made working plans for forest management. They planned how much of the plantation area to cut every year. The area cut was then to be replanted so that it was ready to be cut again in some years.

After the Forest Act was enacted in 1865, it was amended twice, once in 1878 and then in 1927. The 1878 Act divided forests into three categories: reserved, protected and village forests. The best forests were called ‘reserved forests’. Villagers could not take anything from these forests, even for their own use. For house building or fuel, they could take wood from protected or village forests.

## 2.1 How were the Lives of People Affected?

Foresters and villagers had very different ideas of what a good forest should look like. Villagers wanted forests with a mixture of species to satisfy different needs – fuel, fodder, leaves. The forest department on the other hand wanted trees which were suitable for building



**Fig. 11 – The Imperial Forest School, Dehra Dun, India.**  
*The first forestry school to be inaugurated in the British Empire.*  
From: *Indian Forester*, Vol. XXXI

### New words

Scientific forestry – A system of cutting trees controlled by the forest department, in which old trees are cut and new ones planted



**Fig. 12 – Collecting mahua ( *Madhuca indica*) from the forests.**  
 Villagers wake up before dawn and go to the forest to collect the mahua flowers which have fallen on the forest floor. Mahua trees are precious. Mahua flowers can be eaten or used to make alcohol. The seeds can be used to make oil.

ships or railways. They needed trees that could provide hard wood, and were tall and straight. So particular species like teak and *sal* were promoted and others were cut.

In forest areas, people use forest products – roots, leaves, fruits, and tubers – for many things. Fruits and tubers are nutritious to eat, especially during the monsoons before the harvest has come in. Herbs are used for medicine, wood for agricultural implements like yokes and ploughs, bamboo makes excellent fences and is also used to make baskets and umbrellas. A dried scooped-out gourd can be used as a portable water bottle. Almost everything is available in the forest – leaves can be stitched together to make disposable plates and cups, the *siadi* (*Bauhinia vahlii*) creeper can be used to make ropes, and the thorny bark of the *semur* (silk-cotton) tree is used to grate vegetables. Oil for cooking and to light lamps can be pressed from the fruit of the *mahua* tree.

The Forest Act meant severe hardship for villagers across the country. After the Act, all their everyday practices – cutting wood for their



**Fig. 13 – Drying tendu leaves.**  
 The sale of tendu leaves is a major source of income for many people living in forests. Each bundle contains approximately 50 leaves, and if a person works very hard they can perhaps collect as many as 100 bundles in a day. Women, children and old men are the main collectors.



**Fig. 14 – Bringing grain from the threshing grounds to the field.**

The men are carrying grain in baskets from the threshing fields. Men carry the baskets slung on a pole across their shoulders, while women carry the baskets on their heads.

houses, grazing their cattle, collecting fruits and roots, hunting and fishing – became illegal. People were now forced to steal wood from the forests, and if they were caught, they were at the mercy of the forest guards who would take bribes from them. Women who collected fuelwood were especially worried. It was also common for police constables and forest guards to harass people by demanding free food from them.

## 2.2 How did Forest Rules Affect Cultivation?

One of the major impacts of European colonialism was on the practice of shifting cultivation or swidden agriculture. This is a traditional agricultural practice in many parts of Asia, Africa and South America. It has many local names such as *lading* in Southeast Asia, *milpa* in Central America, *chitemene* or *tavy* in Africa, and *chena* in Sri Lanka. In India, *dhya*, *penda*, *bewar*, *nevad*, *jhum*, *podu*, *kbandad* and *kumri* are some of the local terms for swidden agriculture.

In shifting cultivation, parts of the forest are cut and burnt in rotation. Seeds are sown in the ashes after the first monsoon rains, and the crop is harvested by October-November. Such plots are cultivated for a couple of years and then left fallow for 12 to 18 years for the forest to grow back. A mixture of crops is grown on these plots. In central India and Africa it could be millets, in Brazil manioc, and in other parts of Latin America maize and beans.

European foresters regarded this practice as harmful for the forests. They felt that land which was used for cultivation every few years could not grow trees for railway timber. When a forest was burnt, there was the added danger of the flames spreading and burning valuable timber.

## Activity

Children living around forest areas can often identify hundreds of species of trees and plants. How many species of trees can you name?



**Fig. 15 – Taungya cultivation was a system in which local farmers were allowed to cultivate temporarily within a plantation. In this photo taken in Tharrawaddy division in Burma in 1921 the cultivators are sowing paddy. The men make holes in the soil using long bamboo poles with iron tips. The women sow paddy in each hole.**



**Fig. 16 – Burning the forest penda or podu plot.**

*In shifting cultivation, a clearing is made in the forest, usually on the slopes of hills. After the trees have been cut, they are burnt to provide ashes. The seeds are then scattered in the area, and left to be irrigated by the rain.*

Shifting cultivation also made it harder for the government to calculate taxes. Therefore, the government decided to ban shifting cultivation. As a result, many communities were forcibly displaced from their homes in the forests. Some had to change occupations, while some resisted through large and small rebellions.

### 2.3 Who could Hunt?

The new forest laws changed the lives of forest dwellers in yet another way. Before the forest laws, many people who lived in or near forests had survived by hunting deer, partridges and a variety of small animals. This customary practice was prohibited by the forest laws. Those who were caught hunting were now punished for poaching.

While the forest laws deprived people of their customary rights to hunt, hunting of big game became a sport. In India, hunting of tigers and other animals had been part of the culture of the court and nobility for centuries. Many Mughal paintings show princes and emperors enjoying a hunt. But under colonial rule the scale of hunting increased to such an extent that various species became almost extinct. The British saw large animals as signs of a wild, primitive and savage society. They believed that by killing dangerous animals the British



**Fig. 17 – The little fisherman.**

*Children accompany their parents to the forest and learn early how to fish, collect forest produce and cultivate. The bamboo trap which the boy is holding in his right hand is kept at the mouth of a stream – the fish flow into it.*



**Fig. 18 – Lord Reading hunting in Nepal.**

Count the dead tigers in the photo. When British colonial officials and Rajas went hunting they were accompanied by a whole retinue of servants. Usually, the tracking was done by skilled village hunters, and the Sahib simply fired the shot.

would civilise India. They gave rewards for the killing of tigers, wolves and other large animals on the grounds that they posed a threat to cultivators. Over 80,000 tigers, 150,000 leopards and 200,000 wolves were killed for reward in the period 1875-1925. Gradually, the tiger came to be seen as a sporting trophy. The Maharaja of Sarguja alone shot 1,157 tigers and 2,000 leopards up to 1957. A British administrator, George Yule, killed 400 tigers. Initially certain areas of forests were reserved for hunting. Only much later did environmentalists and conservators begin to argue that all these species of animals needed to be protected, and not killed.

#### 2.4 New Trades, New Employments and New Services

While people lost out in many ways after the forest department took control of the forests, some people benefited from the new opportunities that had opened up in trade. Many communities left their traditional occupations and started trading in forest products. This happened not only in India but across the world. For example,

#### Source C

Baigas are a forest community of Central India. In 1892, after their shifting cultivation was stopped, they petitioned to the government:

'We daily starve, having had no foodgrain in our possession. The only wealth we possess is our axe. We have no clothes to cover our body with, but we pass cold nights by the fireside. We are now dying for want of food. We cannot go elsewhere. What fault have we done that the government does not take care of us? Prisoners are supplied with ample food in jail. A cultivator of the grass is not deprived of his holding, but the government does not give us our right who have lived here for generations past.'

Verrier Elwin (1939), cited in Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India*.

with the growing demand for rubber in the mid-nineteenth century, the Mundurucu peoples of the Brazilian Amazon who lived in villages on high ground and cultivated manioc, began to collect latex from wild rubber trees for supplying to traders. Gradually, they descended to live in trading posts and became completely dependent on traders.

In India, the trade in forest products was not new. From the medieval period onwards, we have records of adivasi communities trading elephants and other goods like hides, horns, silk cocoons, ivory, bamboo, spices, fibres, grasses, gums and resins through nomadic communities like the Banjaras.

With the coming of the British, however, trade was completely regulated by the government. The British government gave many large European trading firms the sole right to trade in the forest products of particular areas. Grazing and hunting by local people were restricted. In the process, many pastoralist and nomadic communities like the Korava, Karacha and Yerukula of the Madras Presidency lost their livelihoods. Some of them began to be called 'criminal tribes', and were forced to work instead in factories, mines and plantations, under government supervision.

New opportunities of work did not always mean improved well-being for the people. In Assam, both men and women from forest communities like Santhals and Oraons from Jharkhand, and Gonds from Chhattisgarh were recruited to work on tea plantations. Their wages were low and conditions of work were very bad. They could not return easily to their home villages from where they had been recruited.

#### Source D

##### Rubber extraction in the Putumayo

'Everywhere in the world, conditions of work in plantations were horrific.

The extraction of rubber in the Putumayo region of the Amazon, by the Peruvian Rubber Company (with British and Peruvian interests) was dependent on the forced labour of the local Indians, called Huitotos. From 1900-1912, the Putumayo output of 4000 tons of rubber was associated with a decrease of some 30,000 among the Indian population due to torture, disease and flight. A letter by an employee of a rubber company describes how the rubber was collected. The manager summoned hundreds of Indians to the station:

He grasped his carbine and machete and began the slaughter of these defenceless Indians, leaving the ground covered with 150 corpses, among them, men, women and children. Bathed in blood and appealing for mercy, the survivors were heaped with the dead and burned to death, while the manager shouted, "I want to exterminate all the Indians who do not obey my orders about the rubber that I require them to bring in." '

Michael Taussig, 'Culture of Terror-Space of Death', in Nicholas Dirks, ed. *Colonialism and Culture*, 1992.

Source

### 3 Rebellion in the Forest

In many parts of India, and across the world, forest communities rebelled against the changes that were being imposed on them. The leaders of these movements against the British like Siddhu and Kanu in the Santhal Parganas, Birsa Munda of Chhotanagpur or Alluri Sitarama Raju of Andhra Pradesh are still remembered today in songs and stories. We will now discuss in detail one such rebellion which took place in the kingdom of Bastar in 1910.

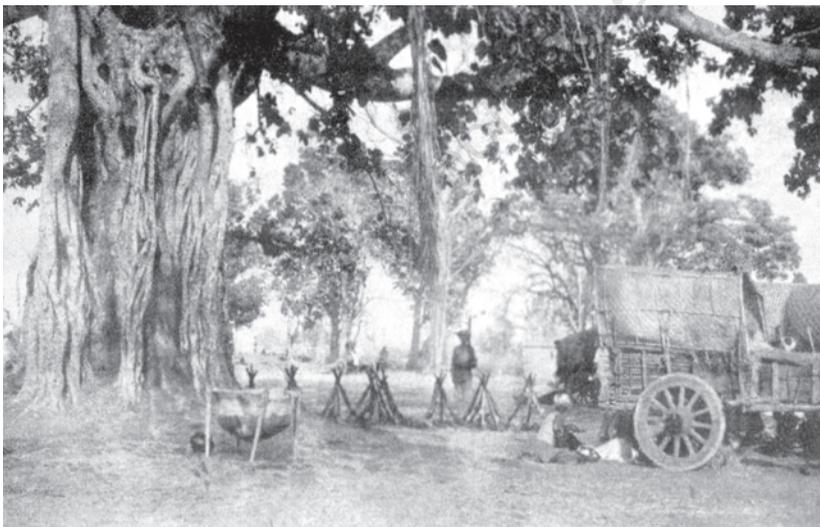
#### 3.1 The People of Bastar

Bastar is located in the southernmost part of Chhattisgarh and borders Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra. The central part of Bastar is on a plateau. To the north of this plateau is the Chhattisgarh plain and to its south is the Godavari plain. The river Indrawati winds across Bastar east to west. A number of different communities live in Bastar such as Maria and Muria Gonds, Dhurwas, Bhatras and Halbas. They speak different languages but share common customs and beliefs. The people of Bastar believe that each village was given its land by the Earth, and in return, they look after



**Fig.20 – Bastar in 2000.**

In 1947 Bastar kingdom was merged with Kanker kingdom and become Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh. In 1998 it was divided again into three districts, Kanker, Bastar and Dantewada. In 2001, these became part of Chhattisgarh. The 1910 rebellion first started in the Kanger forest area (encircled) and soon spread to other parts of the state.



**Fig.19 – Army camp in Bastar, 1910.**

This photograph of an army camp was taken in Bastar in 1910. The army moved with tents, cooks and soldiers. Here a sepoy is guarding the camp against rebels.

the earth by making some offerings at each agricultural festival. In addition to the Earth, they show respect to the spirits of the river, the forest and the mountain. Since each village knows where its boundaries lie, the local people look after all the natural resources within that boundary. If people from a village want to take some wood from the forests of another village, they pay a small fee called *devsari*, *dand* or *man* in exchange. Some villages also protect their forests by engaging watchmen and each household contributes some grain to pay them. Every year there is one big hunt where the headmen of villages in a *pargana* (cluster of villages) meet and discuss issues of concern, including forests.

### 3.2 The Fears of the People

When the colonial government proposed to reserve two-thirds of the forest in 1905, and stop shifting cultivation, hunting and collection of forest produce, the people of Bastar were very worried. Some villages were allowed to stay on in the reserved forests on the condition that they worked free for the forest department in cutting and transporting trees, and protecting the forest from fires. Subsequently, these came to be known as 'forest villages'. People of other villages were displaced without any notice or compensation. For long, villagers had been suffering from increased land rents and frequent demands for free labour and goods by colonial officials. Then came the terrible famines, in 1899-1900 and again in 1907-1908. Reservations proved to be the last straw.

People began to gather and discuss these issues in their village councils, in bazaars and at festivals or wherever the headmen and priests of several villages were assembled. The initiative was taken by the Dhurwas of the Kanger forest, where reservation first took place. Although there was no single leader, many people speak of Gunda Dhur, from village Nethanar, as an important figure in the movement. In 1910, mango boughs, a lump of earth, chillies and arrows, began circulating between villages. These were actually messages inviting villagers to rebel against the British. Every village contributed something to the rebellion expenses. Bazaars were looted, the houses of officials and traders, schools and police stations were burnt and robbed, and grain redistributed. Most of those who were attacked were in some way associated with the colonial state and its oppressive laws. William Ward, a missionary who observed the events, wrote: 'From all directions came streaming into Jagdalpur, police, merchants, forest peons, schoolmasters and immigrants.'

#### Source E

'Bhondia collected 400 men, sacrificed a number of goats and started off to intercept the Dewan who was expected to return from the direction of Bijapur. This mob started on the 10th February, burnt the Marenga school, the police post, lines and pound at Keslur and the school at Tokapal (Rajur), detached a contingent to burn Karanji school and captured a head constable and four constables of the State reserve police who had been sent out to escort the Dewan and bring him in. The mob did not maltreat the guard seriously but eased them of their weapons and let them go. One party of rebels under Bhondia Majhi went off to the Koer river to block the passage there in case the Dewan left the main road. The rest went on to Dilmilli to stop the main road from Bijapur. Buddha Majhi and Harchand Naik led the main body.'

Letter from DeBrett, Political Agent, Chhattisgarh Feudatory States to Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, 23 June 1910.

**Source F**

Elders living in Bastar recounted the story of this battle they had heard from their parents:

Podiyami Ganga of Kankapal was told by his father Podiyami Tokeli that:

'The British came and started taking land. The Raja didn't pay attention to things happening around him, so seeing that land was being taken, his supporters gathered people. War started. His staunch supporters died and the rest were whipped. My father, Podiyami Tokeli suffered many strokes, but he escaped and survived. It was a movement to get rid of the British. The British used to tie them to horses and pull them. From every village two or three people went to Jagdalpur: Gargideva and Michkola of Chidpal, Dole and Adrabundi of Markamiras, Vadapandu of Baleras, Unga of Palem and many others.'

Similarly, Chendru, an elder from village Nandrasa, said:

'On the people's side, were the big elders – Mille Mudaal of Palem, Soyekal Dhurwa of Nandrasa, and Pandwa Majhi. People from every pargana camped in Alnar tarai. The paltan (force) surrounded the people in a flash. Gunda Dhur had flying powers and flew away. But what could those with bows and arrows do? The battle took place at night. The people hid in shrubs and crawled away. The army paltan also ran away. All those who remained alive (of the people), somehow found their way home to their villages.'

The British sent troops to suppress the rebellion. The adivasi leaders tried to negotiate, but the British surrounded their camps and fired upon them. After that they marched through the villages flogging and punishing those who had taken part in the rebellion. Most villages were deserted as people fled into the jungles. It took three months (February - May) for the British to regain control. However, they never managed to capture Gunda Dhur. In a major victory for the rebels, work on reservation was temporarily suspended, and the area to be reserved was reduced to roughly half of that planned before 1910.

The story of the forests and people of Bastar does not end there. After Independence, the same practice of keeping people out of the forests and reserving them for industrial use continued. In the 1970s, the World Bank proposed that 4,600 hectares of natural *sal* forest should be replaced by tropical pine to provide pulp for the paper industry. It was only after protests by local environmentalists that the project was stopped.

Let us now go to another part of Asia, Indonesia, and see what was happening there over the same period.

## 4 Forest Transformations in Java

Java is now famous as a rice-producing island in Indonesia. But once upon a time it was covered mostly with forests. The colonial power in Indonesia were the Dutch, and as we will see, there were many similarities in the laws for forest control in Indonesia and India. Java in Indonesia is where the Dutch started forest management. Like the British, they wanted timber from Java to build ships. In 1600, the population of Java was an estimated 3.4 million. There were many villages in the fertile plains, but there were also many communities living in the mountains and practising shifting cultivation.

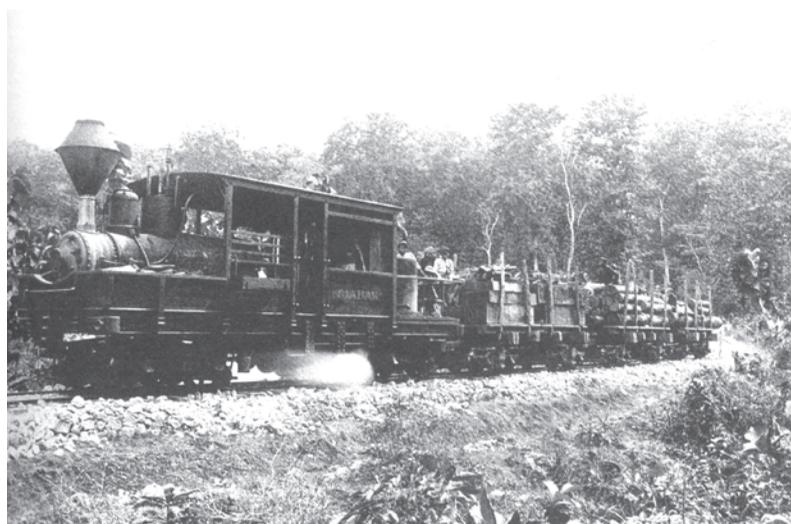
### 4.1 The Woodcutters of Java

The Kalangs of Java were a community of skilled forest cutters and shifting cultivators. They were so valuable that in 1755 when the Mataram kingdom of Java split, the 6,000 Kalang families were equally divided between the two kingdoms. Without their expertise, it would have been difficult to harvest teak and for the kings to build their palaces. When the Dutch began to gain control over the forests in the eighteenth century, they tried to make the Kalangs work under them. In 1770, the Kalangs resisted by attacking a Dutch fort at Joana, but the uprising was suppressed.

### 4.2 Dutch Scientific Forestry

In the nineteenth century, when it became important to control territory and not just people, the Dutch enacted forest laws in Java, restricting villagers' access to forests. Now wood could only be cut for specified purposes like making river boats or constructing houses, and only from specific forests under close supervision. Villagers were punished for grazing cattle in young stands, transporting wood without a permit, or travelling on forest roads with horse carts or cattle.

As in India, the need to manage forests for shipbuilding and railways led to the



**Fig.21 – Train transporting teak out of the forest – late colonial period.**

introduction of a forest service. In 1882, 280,000 sleepers were exported from Java alone. However, all this required labour to cut the trees, transport the logs and prepare the sleepers. The Dutch first imposed rents on land being cultivated in the forest and then exempted some villages from these rents if they worked collectively to provide free labour and buffaloes for cutting and transporting timber. This was known as the *blandongdiensten* system. Later, instead of rent exemption, forest villagers were given small wages, but their right to cultivate forest land was restricted.

### 4.3 Samin's Challenge

Around 1890, Surontiko Samin of Randublatung village, a teak forest village, began questioning state ownership of the forest. He argued that the state had not created the wind, water, earth and wood, so it could not own it. Soon a widespread movement developed. Amongst those who helped organise it were Samin's sons-in-law. By 1907, 3,000 families were following his ideas. Some of the Saminists protested by lying down on their land when the Dutch came to survey it, while others refused to pay taxes or fines or perform labour.

### Source G

Dirk van Hogendorp, an official of the United East India Company in colonial Java said:

'Batavians! Be amazed! Hear with wonder what I have to communicate. Our fleets are destroyed, our trade languishes, our navigation is going to ruin - we purchase with immense treasures, timber and other materials for ship-building from the northern powers, and on Java we leave warlike and mercantile squadrons with their roots in the ground. Yes, the forests of Java have timber enough to build a respectable navy in a short time, besides as many merchant ships as we require ... In spite of all (the cutting) the forests of Java grow as fast as they are cut, and would be inexhaustible under good care and management.'

Dirk van Hogendorp, cited in Peluso, *Rich Forests, Poor People*, 1992.



**Fig. 22** – Most of Indonesia's forests are located in islands like Sumatra, Kalimantan and West Irian. However, Java is where the Dutch began their 'scientific forestry'. The island, which is now famous for rice production, was once richly covered with teak.

#### 4.4 War and Deforestation

The First World War and the Second World War had a major impact on forests. In India, working plans were abandoned at this time, and the forest department cut trees freely to meet British war needs. In Java, just before the Japanese occupied the region, the Dutch followed ‘a scorched earth’ policy, destroying sawmills, and burning huge piles of giant teak logs so that they would not fall into Japanese hands. The Japanese then exploited the forests recklessly for their own war industries, forcing forest villagers to cut down forests. Many villagers used this opportunity to expand cultivation in the forest. After the war, it was difficult for the Indonesian forest service to get this land back. As in India, people’s need for agricultural land has brought them into conflict with the forest department’s desire to control the land and exclude people from it.

#### 4.5 New Developments in Forestry

Since the 1980s, governments across Asia and Africa have begun to see that scientific forestry and the policy of keeping forest communities away from forests has resulted in many conflicts. Conservation of forests rather than collecting timber has become a more important goal. The government has recognised that in order to meet this goal, the people who live near the forests must be involved. In many cases, across India, from Mizoram to Kerala, dense forests have survived only because villages protected them in sacred groves known as *sarnas*, *devarakudu*, *kan*, *rai*, etc. Some villages have been patrolling their own forests, with each household taking it in turns, instead of leaving it to the forest guards. Local forest communities and environmentalists today are thinking of different forms of forest management.



**Fig.23 – Indian Munitions Board, War Timber Sleepers piled at Soolay pagoda ready for shipment, 1917.**

*The Allies would not have been as successful in the First World War and the Second World War if they had not been able to exploit the resources and people of their colonies. Both the world wars had a devastating effect on the forests of India, Indonesia and elsewhere. The forest department cut freely to satisfy war needs.*

**Fig.24 – Log yard in Rembang under Dutch colonial rule.**

## Activities

1. Have there been changes in forest areas where you live? Find out what these changes are and why they have happened.
2. Write a dialogue between a colonial forester and an adivasi discussing the issue of hunting in the forest.

Activities

## Questions

1. Discuss how the changes in forest management in the colonial period affected the following groups of people:
  - Shifting cultivators
  - Nomadic and pastoralist communities
  - Firms trading in timber/forest produce
  - Plantation owners
  - Kings/British officials engaged in shikar (hunting)
2. What are the similarities between colonial management of the forests in Bastar and in Java?
3. Between 1880 and 1920, forest cover in the Indian subcontinent declined by 9.7 million hectares, from 108.6 million hectares to 98.9 million hectares. Discuss the role of the following factors in this decline:
  - Railways
  - Shipbuilding
  - Agricultural expansion
  - Commercial farming
  - Tea/Coffee plantations
  - Adivasis and other peasant users
4. Why are forests affected by wars?



# Pastoralists in the Modern World



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**Fig. 1 – Sheep grazing on the Bugyals of eastern Garhwal.**

Bugyals are vast natural pastures on the high mountains, above 12,000 feet. They are under snow in the winter and come to life after April. At this time the entire mountainside is covered with a variety of grasses, roots and herbs. By monsoon, these pastures are thick with vegetation and carpeted with wild flowers.

In this chapter you will read about nomadic pastoralists. Nomads are people who do not live in one place but move from one area to another to earn their living. In many parts of India we can see nomadic pastoralists on the move with their herds of goats and sheep, or camels and cattle. Have you ever wondered where they are coming from and where they are headed? Do you know how they live and earn? What their past has been?

Pastoralists rarely enter the pages of history textbooks. When you read about the economy – whether in your classes of history or economics – you learn about agriculture and industry. Sometimes you read about artisans; but rarely about pastoralists. As if their lives do not matter. As if they are figures from the past who have no place in modern society.

In this chapter you will see how pastoralism has been important in societies like India and Africa. You will read about the way colonialism impacted their lives, and how they have coped with the pressures of modern society. The chapter will first focus on India and then Africa.

# 1 Pastoral Nomads and their Movements

## 1.1 In the Mountains

Even today the Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir are great herders of goat and sheep. Many of them migrated to this region in the nineteenth century in search of pastures for their animals. Gradually, over the decades, they established themselves in the area, and moved annually between their summer and winter grazing grounds. In winter, when the high mountains were covered with snow, they lived with their herds in the low hills of the Siwalik range. The dry scrub forests here provided pasture for their herds. By the end of April they began their northern march for their summer grazing grounds. Several households came together for this journey, forming what is known as a *kafila*. They crossed the Pir Panjal passes and entered the valley of Kashmir. With the onset of summer, the snow melted and the mountainsides were lush green. The variety of grasses that sprouted provided rich nutritious forage for the animal herds. By end September the Bakarwals were on the move again, this time on their downward journey, back to their winter base. When the high mountains were covered with snow, the herds were grazed in the low hills.

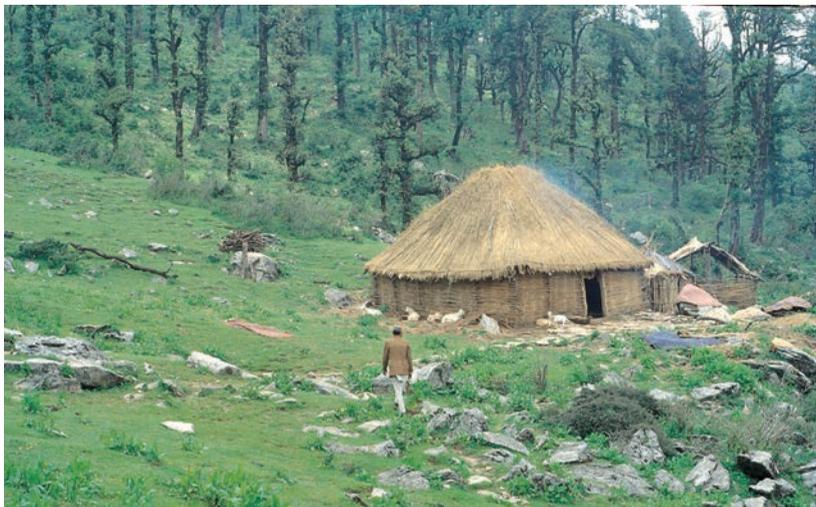
In a different area of the mountains, the Gaddi shepherds of Himachal Pradesh had a similar cycle of seasonal movement. They too spent their winter in the low hills of Siwalik range, grazing their flocks in scrub forests. By April they moved north and spent the summer in Lahul and Spiti. When the snow melted and the high passes were clear, many of them moved on to higher mountain

### Source A

Writing in the 1850s, G.C. Barnes gave the following description of the Gujjars of Kangra:

'In the hills the Gujjars are exclusively a pastoral tribe – they cultivate scarcely at all. The Gaddis keep flocks of sheep and goats and the Gujjars, wealth consists of buffaloes. These people live in the skirts of the forests, and maintain their existence exclusively by the sale of the milk, ghee, and other produce of their herds. The men graze the cattle, and frequently lie out for weeks in the woods tending their herds. The women repair to the markets every morning with baskets on their heads, with little earthen pots filled with milk, butter-milk and ghee, each of these pots containing the proportion required for a day's meal. During the hot weather the Gujjars usually drive their herds to the upper range, where the buffaloes rejoice in the rich grass which the rains bring forth and at the same time attain condition from the temperate climate and the immunity from venomous flies that torment their existence in the plains.'

From: G.C. Barnes, *Settlement Report of Kangra, 1850-55.*



**Fig.2 – A Gujjar Mandap on the high mountains in central Garhwal.**

The Gujjar cattle herders live in these mandaps made of ringal – a hill bamboo – and grass from the Bugyal. A mandap was also a work place. Here the Gujjar used to make ghee which they took down for sale. In recent years they have begun to transport the milk directly in buses and trucks. These mandaps are at about 10,000 to 11,000 feet. Buffaloes cannot climb any higher.



**Fig.3 – Gaddis waiting for shearing to begin. Uhl valley near Palampur in Himachal Pradesh.**

meadows. By September they began their return movement. On the way they stopped once again in the villages of Lahul and Spiti, reaping their summer harvest and sowing their winter crop. Then they descended with their flock to their winter grazing ground on the Siwalik hills. Next April, once again, they began their march with their goats and sheep, to the summer meadows.

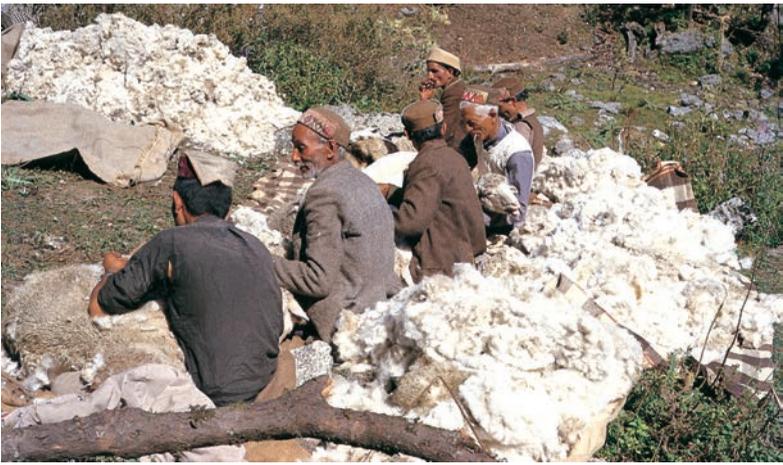
Further to the east, in Garhwal and Kumaon, the Gujjar cattle herders came down to the dry forests of the **bhabar** in the winter, and went up to the high meadows – the **bugyals** – in summer. Many of them were originally from Jammu and came to the UP hills in the nineteenth century in search of good pastures.

This pattern of cyclical movement between summer and winter pastures was typical of many pastoral communities of the Himalayas, including the Bhotiyas, Sherpas and Kinnauris. All of them had to adjust to seasonal changes and make effective use of available pastures in different places. When the pasture was exhausted or unusable in one place they moved their herds and flock to new areas. This continuous movement also allowed the pastures to recover; it prevented their overuse.

**New words**

Bhabar – A dry forested area below the foothills of Garhwal and Kumaun

Bugyal – Vast meadows in the high mountains



**Fig.4 – Gaddi sheep being sheared.**  
*By September the Gaddi shepherds come down from the high meadows (Dhars). On the way down they halt for a while to have their sheep sheared. The sheep are bathed and cleaned before the wool is cut.*

## 1.2 On the Plateaus, Plains and Deserts

Not all pastoralists operated in the mountains. They were also to be found in the plateaus, plains and deserts of India.

Dhangars were an important pastoral community of Maharashtra. In the early twentieth century their population in this region was estimated to be 467,000. Most of them were shepherds, some were blanket weavers, and still others were buffalo herders. The Dhangar shepherds stayed in the central plateau of Maharashtra during the monsoon. This was a semi-arid region with low rainfall and poor soil. It was covered with thorny scrub. Nothing but dry crops like *bajra* could be sown here. In the monsoon this tract became a vast grazing ground for the Dhangar flocks. By October the Dhangars harvested their *bajra* and started on their move west. After a march of about a month they reached the Konkan. This was a flourishing agricultural tract with high rainfall and rich soil. Here the shepherds



**Fig.5 – Raika camels grazing on the Thar desert in western Rajasthan.**  
Only camels can survive on the dry and thorny bushes that can be found here; but to get enough feed they have to graze over a very extensive area.

were welcomed by Konkani peasants. After the *kharif* harvest was cut at this time, the fields had to be fertilised and made ready for the *rabi* harvest. Dhangar flocks manured the fields and fed on the **stubble**. The Konkani peasants also gave supplies of rice which the shepherds took back to the plateau where grain was scarce. With the onset of the monsoon the Dhangars left the Konkan and the coastal areas with their flocks and returned to their settlements on the dry plateau. The sheep could not tolerate the wet monsoon conditions.

### New words

*Kharif* – The autumn crop, usually harvested between September and October

*Rabi* – The spring crop, usually harvested after March

Stubble – Lower ends of grain stalks left in the ground after harvesting

In Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, again, the dry central plateau was covered with stone and grass, inhabited by cattle, goat and sheep herders. The Gollas herded cattle. The Kurumas and Kurubas reared sheep and goats and sold woven blankets. They lived near the woods, cultivated small patches of land, engaged in a variety of petty trades and took care of their herds. Unlike the mountain pastoralists, it was not the cold and the snow that defined the seasonal rhythms of their movement: rather it was the alternation of the monsoon and dry season. In the dry season they moved to the coastal tracts, and left when the rains came. Only buffaloes liked the swampy, wet conditions of the coastal areas during the monsoon months. Other herds had to be shifted to the dry plateau at this time.

Banjaras were yet another well-known group of graziers. They were to be found in the villages of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In search of good pastureland for their cattle, they moved over long distances, selling plough cattle and other goods to villagers in exchange for grain and fodder.

#### Source B

The accounts of many travellers tell us about the life of pastoral groups. In the early nineteenth century, Buchanan visited the Gollas during his travel through Mysore. He wrote:

'Their families live in small villages near the skirt of the woods, where they cultivate a little ground, and keep some of their cattle, selling in the towns the produce of the dairy. Their families are very numerous, seven to eight young men in each being common. Two or three of these attend the flocks in the woods, while the remainder cultivate their fields, and supply the towns with firewood, and with straw for thatch.'

From: Francis Hamilton Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (London, 1807).

### Activity

Read Sources A and B.

- Write briefly about what they tell you about the nature of the work undertaken by men and women in pastoral households.
- Why do you think pastoral groups often live on the edges of forests?

In the deserts of Rajasthan lived the Raikas. The rainfall in the region was meagre and uncertain. On cultivated land, harvests fluctuated every year. Over vast stretches no crop could be grown. So the Raikas combined cultivation with pastoralism. During the monsoons, the Raikas of Barmer, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Bikaner stayed in their home villages, where pasture was available. By October, when these grazing grounds were dry and exhausted, they moved out in search of other pasture and water, and returned again during the next monsoon. One group of Raikas – known as the Maru (desert) Raikas – herded camels and another group reared sheep and goat.



**Fig. 6 – A camel herder in his settlement.**  
This is on the Thar desert near Jaisalmer in Rajasthan. The camel herders of the region are Maru (desert) Raikas, and their settlement is called a dhandi.



**Fig.7 – A camel fair at Balotra in western Rajasthan.** Camel herders come to the fair to sell and buy camels. The Maru Raikas also display their expertise in training their camels. Horses from Gujarat are also brought for sale at this fair.

So we see that the life of these pastoral groups was sustained by a careful consideration of a host of factors. They had to judge how long the herds could stay in one area, and know where they could find water and pasture. They needed to calculate the timing of their movements, and ensure that they could move through different territories. They had to set up a relationship with farmers on the way, so that the herds could graze in harvested fields and manure the soil. They combined a range of different activities – cultivation, trade, and herding – to make their living.

How did the life of pastoralists change under colonial rule?



**Fig.8 – A camel fair at Pushkar.**



**Fig.9 – A Maru Raika genealogist with a group of Raikas.**

*The genealogist recounts the history of the community. Such oral traditions give pastoral groups their own sense of identity. These oral traditions can tell us about how a group looks at its own past.*



**Fig.10 – Maldhari herders moving in search of pastures. Their villages are in the Rann of Kutch.**

## 2 Colonial Rule and Pastoral Life

Under colonial rule, the life of pastoralists changed dramatically. Their grazing grounds shrank, their movements were regulated, and the revenue they had to pay increased. Their agricultural stock declined and their trades and crafts were adversely affected. How?

First, the colonial state wanted to transform all grazing lands into cultivated farms. Land revenue was one of the main sources of its finance. By expanding cultivation it could increase its revenue collection. It could at the same time produce more jute, cotton, wheat and other agricultural produce that were required in England. To colonial officials all uncultivated land appeared to be unproductive: it produced neither revenue nor agricultural produce. It was seen as 'waste land' that needed to be brought under cultivation. From the mid-nineteenth century, Waste Land Rules were enacted in various parts of the country. By these Rules uncultivated lands were taken over and given to select individuals. These individuals were granted various concessions and encouraged to settle these lands. Some of them were made headmen of villages in the newly cleared areas. In most areas the lands taken over were actually grazing tracts used regularly by pastoralists. So expansion of cultivation inevitably meant the decline of pastures and a problem for pastoralists.

Second, by the mid-nineteenth century, various Forest Acts were also being enacted in the different provinces. Through these Acts some forests which produced commercially valuable timber like *deodar* or *sal* were declared 'Reserved'. No pastoralist was allowed access to these forests. Other forests were classified as 'Protected'. In these, some **customary** grazing rights of pastoralists were granted but their movements were severely restricted. The colonial officials believed that grazing destroyed the saplings and young shoots of trees that germinated on the forest floor. The herds trampled over the saplings and munched away the shoots. This prevented new trees from growing.

These Forest Acts changed the lives of pastoralists. They were now prevented from entering many forests that had earlier provided valuable forage for their cattle. Even in the areas they were allowed entry, their movements were regulated. They needed a permit for entry. The timing of their entry and departure was

### Source C

H.S. Gibson, the Deputy Conservator of Forests, Darjeeling, wrote in 1913:

'... forest which is used for grazing cannot be used for any other purpose and is unable to yield timber and fuel, which are the main legitimate forest produce ...'

### Activity

Write a comment on the closure of the forests to grazing from the standpoint of:

- a forester
- a pastoralist

### New words

Customary rights – Rights that people are used to by custom and tradition

specified, and the number of days they could spend in the forest was limited. Pastoralists could no longer remain in an area even if forage was available, the grass was succulent and the undergrowth in the forest was ample. They had to move because the Forest Department permits that had been issued to them now ruled their lives. The permit specified the periods in which they could be legally within a forest. If they overstayed they were liable to fines.

Third, British officials were suspicious of nomadic people. They distrusted mobile craftsmen and traders who hawked their goods in villages, and pastoralists who changed their places of residence every season, moving in search of good pastures for their herds. The colonial government wanted to rule over a settled population. They wanted the rural people to live in villages, in fixed places with fixed rights on particular fields. Such a population was easy to identify and control. Those who were settled were seen as peaceable and law abiding; those who were nomadic were considered to be criminal. In 1871, the colonial government in India passed the Criminal Tribes Act. By this Act many communities of craftsmen, traders and pastoralists were classified as Criminal Tribes. They were stated to be criminal by nature and birth. Once this Act came into force, these communities were expected to live only in notified village settlements. They were not allowed to move out without a permit. The village police kept a continuous watch on them.

Fourth, to expand its revenue income, the colonial government looked for every possible source of taxation. So tax was imposed on land, on canal water, on salt, on trade goods, and even on animals. Pastoralists had to pay tax on every animal they grazed on the pastures. In most pastoral tracts of India, grazing tax was introduced in the mid-nineteenth century. The tax per head of cattle went up rapidly and the system of collection was made increasingly efficient. In the decades between the 1850s and 1880s the right to collect the tax was auctioned out to contractors. These contractors tried to extract as high a tax as they could to recover the money they had paid to the state and earn as much profit as they could within the year. By the 1880s the government began collecting taxes directly from the pastoralists. Each of them was given a pass. To enter a grazing tract, a cattle herder had to show the pass and pay the tax. The number of cattle heads he had and the amount of tax he paid was entered on the pass.

### Source D

In the 1920s, a Royal Commission on Agriculture reported:

'The extent of the area available for grazing has gone down tremendously with the extension of area under cultivation because of increasing population, extension of irrigation facilities, acquiring the pastures for Government purposes, for example, defence, industries and agricultural experimental farms. [Now] breeders find it difficult to raise large herds. Thus their earnings have gone down. The quality of their livestock has deteriorated, dietary standards have fallen and indebtedness has increased.'

*The Report of the Royal Commission of Agriculture in India, 1928.*

## Activity

Imagine you are living in the 1890s.

You belong to a community of nomadic pastoralists and craftsmen. You learn that the Government has declared your community as a Criminal Tribe.

- Describe briefly what you would have felt and done.
- Write a petition to the local collector explaining why the Act is unjust and how it will affect your life.

## 2.1 How Did these Changes Affect the Lives of Pastoralists? ■

These measures led to a serious shortage of pastures. When grazing lands were taken over and turned into cultivated fields, the available area of pastureland declined. Similarly, the reservation of forests meant that shepherds and cattle herders could no longer freely pasture their cattle in the forests.

As pasturelands disappeared under the plough, the existing animal stock had to feed on whatever grazing land remained. This led to continuous intensive grazing of these pastures. Usually nomadic pastoralists grazed their animals in one area and moved to another area. These pastoral movements allowed time for the natural restoration of vegetation growth. When restrictions were imposed on pastoral movements, grazing lands came to be continuously used and the quality of pastures declined. This in turn created a further shortage of forage for animals and the deterioration of animal stock. Underfed cattle died in large numbers during scarcities and famines.



**Fig. 11 – Pastoralists in India.**  
This map indicates the location of only those pastoral communities mentioned in the chapter. There are many others living in various parts of India.

## 2.2 How Did the Pastoralists Cope with these Changes? ■■■

Pastoralists reacted to these changes in a variety of ways. Some reduced the number of cattle in their herds, since there was not enough pasture to feed large numbers. Others discovered new pastures when movement to old grazing grounds became difficult. After 1947, the camel and sheep herding Raikas, for instance, could no longer move into Sindh and graze their camels on the banks of the Indus, as they had done earlier. The new political boundaries between India and Pakistan stopped their movement. So they had to find new places to go. In recent years they have been migrating to Haryana where sheep can graze on agricultural fields after the harvests are cut. This is the time that the fields need manure that the animals provide.

Over the years, some richer pastoralists began buying land and settling down, giving up their nomadic life. Some became settled peasants cultivating land, others took to more extensive trading. Many poor pastoralists, on the other hand, borrowed money from moneylenders to survive. At times they lost their cattle and sheep and became labourers, working on fields or in small towns.

Yet, pastoralists not only continue to survive, in many regions their numbers have expanded over recent decades. When pasturelands in one place was closed to them, they changed the direction of their movement, reduced the size of the herd, combined pastoral activity with other forms of income and adapted to the changes in the modern world. Many ecologists believe that in dry regions and in the mountains, pastoralism is still ecologically the most viable form of life.

Such changes were not experienced only by pastoral communities in India. In many other parts of the world, new laws and settlement patterns forced pastoral communities to alter their lives. How did pastoral communities elsewhere cope with these changes in the modern world?

### 3 Pastoralism in Africa

Let us move to Africa where over half the world's pastoral population lives. Even today, over 22 million Africans depend on some form of pastoral activity for their livelihood. They include communities like Bedouins, Berbers, Maasai, Somali, Boran and Turkana. Most of them now live in the semi-arid grasslands or arid deserts where rainfed agriculture is difficult. They raise cattle, camels, goats, sheep and donkeys; and they sell milk, meat, animal skin and wool. Some also earn through trade and transport, others combine pastoral activity with agriculture; still others do a variety of odd jobs to supplement their meagre and uncertain earnings from pastoralism.

Like pastoralists in India, the lives of African pastoralists have changed dramatically over the colonial and post-colonial periods. What have these changes been?



**Fig. 12 – A view of Maasai land with Kilimanjaro in the background.**

*Forced by changing conditions, the Maasai have grown dependent on food produced in other areas such as maize meal, rice, potatoes, cabbage. Traditionally the Maasai frowned upon this. Maasai believed that tilling the land for crop farming is a crime against nature. Once you cultivate the land, it is no longer suitable for grazing. Courtesy: The Maasai Association.*



**Fig. 13 – Pastoral communities in Africa.**  
*The inset shows the location of the Maasais in Kenya and Tanzania.*

We will discuss some of these changes by looking at one pastoral community – the Maasai – in some detail. The Maasai cattle herders live primarily in east Africa: 300, 000 in southern Kenya and another 150,000 in Tanzania. We will see how new laws and regulations took away their land and restricted their movement. This affected their lives in times of drought and even reshaped their social relationships.

### 3.1 Where have the Grazing Lands Gone?

One of the problems the Maasais have faced is the continuous loss of their grazing lands. Before colonial times, Maasailand stretched over a vast area from north Kenya to the steppes of northern Tanzania. In the late nineteenth century, European imperial powers scrambled for territorial possessions in Africa, slicing up the region into different colonies. In 1885, Maasailand was cut into half with an international boundary between British Kenya and German Tanganyika. Subsequently, the best grazing lands were gradually taken over for white settlement and the Maasai were pushed into a small area in

**On Tanganyika**  
 Britain conquered what had been German East Africa during the First World War. In 1919 Tanganyika came under British control. It attained independence in 1961 and united with Zanzibar to form Tanzania in 1964.

south Kenya and north Tanzania. The Maasai lost about 60 per cent of their pre-colonial lands. They were confined to an arid zone with uncertain rainfall and poor pastures.

From the late nineteenth century, the British colonial government in east Africa also encouraged local peasant communities to expand cultivation. As cultivation expanded, pasturelands were turned into cultivated fields. In pre-colonial times, the Maasai pastoralists had dominated their agricultural neighbours both economically and politically. By the end of colonial rule the situation had reversed.

Large areas of grazing land were also turned into game reserves like the Maasai Mara and Samburu National Park in Kenya and Serengeti Park in Tanzania. Pastoralists were not allowed to enter these reserves; they could neither hunt animals nor graze their herds in these areas. Very often these reserves were in areas that had traditionally been regular grazing grounds for Maasai herds. The Serengeti National Park, for instance, was created over 14,760 km. of Maasai grazing land.



**Fig. 14** – Without grass, livestock (cattle, goats and sheep) are malnourished, which means less food available for families and their children. The areas hardest hit by drought and food shortage are in the vicinity of Amboseli National Park, which last year generated approximately 240 million Kenyan Shillings (estimated \$3.5 million US) from tourism. In addition, the Kilimanjaro Water Project cuts through the communities of this area but the villagers are barred from using the water for irrigation or for livestock. Courtesy: The Maasai Association.



**Fig. 15** – The title Maasai derives from the word Maa. Maa-sai means 'My People'. The Maasai are traditionally nomadic and pastoral people who depend on milk and meat for subsistence. High temperatures combine with low rainfall to create conditions which are dry, dusty, and extremely hot. Drought conditions are common in this semi-arid land of equatorial heat. During such times pastoral animals die in large numbers. Courtesy: The Maasai Association.

### Source E

Pastoral communities elsewhere in Africa faced similar problems. In Namibia, in south-west Africa, the Kaokoland herders traditionally moved between Kaokoland and nearby Ovamboland, and they sold skin, meat and other trade products in neighbouring markets. All this was stopped with the new system of territorial boundaries that restricted movements between regions.

The nomadic cattle herders of Kaokoland in Namibia complained:

'We have difficulty. We cry. We are imprisoned. We do not know why we are locked up. We are in jail. We have no place to live ... We cannot get meat from the south ... Our sleeping skins cannot be sent out ... Ovamboland is closed for us. We lived in Ovamboland for a long time. We want to take our cattle there, also our sheep and goats. The borders are closed. The borders press us heavily. We cannot live.'

Statement of Kaokoland herders, Namibia, 1949.

Quoted in Michael Bollig, 'The colonial encapsulation of the north western Namibian pastoral economy', *Africa* 68 (4), 1998.

**Source F**

In most places in colonial Africa, the police were given instructions to keep a watch on the movements of pastoralists, and prevent them from entering white areas. The following is one such instruction given by a magistrate to the police, in south-west Africa, restricting the movements of the pastoralists of Kaokoland in Namibia:

'Passes to enter the Territory should not be given to these Natives unless exceptional circumstances necessitate their entering ... The object of the above proclamation is to restrict the number of natives entering the Territory and to keep a check on them, and ordinary visiting passes should therefore never be issued to them.'

'Kaokoveld permits to enter', Magistrate to Police Station Commanders of Outjo and Kamanjab, 24 November, 1937.

Source

The loss of the finest grazing lands and water resources created pressure on the small area of land that the Maasai were confined within. Continuous grazing within a small area inevitably meant a deterioration of the quality of pastures. Fodder was always in short supply. Feeding the cattle became a persistent problem.

### 3.2 The Borders are Closed

In the nineteenth century, African pastoralists could move over vast areas in search of pastures. When the pastures were exhausted in one place they moved to a different area to graze their cattle. From the late nineteenth century, the colonial government began imposing various restrictions on their mobility.

Like the Maasai, other pastoral groups were also forced to live within the confines of special reserves. The boundaries of these reserves became the limits within which they could now move. They were not allowed to move out with their stock without special permits. And it was difficult to get permits without trouble and harassment. Those found guilty of disobeying the rules were severely punished.

Pastoralists were also not allowed to enter the markets in white areas. In many regions, they were prohibited from participating in any form of trade. White settlers and European colonists saw pastoralists as dangerous and savage – people with whom all contact had to be minimised. Cutting off all links was, however, never really possible, because white colonists had to depend on black labour to bore mines and, build roads and towns.

The new territorial boundaries and restrictions imposed on them suddenly changed the lives of pastoralists. This adversely affected

both their pastoral and trading activities. Earlier, pastoralists not only looked after animal herds but traded in various products. The restrictions under colonial rule did not entirely stop their trading activities but they were now subject to various restrictions.

### 3.3 When Pastures Dry

Drought affects the life of pastoralists everywhere. When rains fail and pastures are dry, cattle are likely to starve unless they can be moved to areas where forage is available. That is why, traditionally, pastoralists are nomadic; they move from place to place. This nomadism allows them to survive bad times and avoid crises.

But from the colonial period, the Maasai were bound down to a fixed area, confined within a reserve, and prohibited from moving in search of pastures. They were cut off from the best grazing lands and forced to live within a semi-arid tract prone to frequent droughts. Since they could not shift their cattle to places where pastures were available, large numbers of Maasai cattle died of starvation and disease in these years of drought. An enquiry in 1930 showed that the Maasai in Kenya possessed 720,000 cattle, 820,000 sheep and 171,000 donkeys. In just two years of severe drought, 1933 and 1934, over half the cattle in the Maasai Reserve died.

As the area of grazing lands shrank, the adverse effect of the droughts increased in intensity. The frequent bad years led to a steady decline of the animal stock of the pastoralists.

### 3.4 Not All were Equally Affected

In Maasailand, as elsewhere in Africa, not all pastoralists were equally affected by the changes in the colonial period. In pre-colonial times Maasai society was divided into two social categories – elders and warriors. The elders formed the ruling group and met in periodic councils to decide on the affairs of the community and settle disputes. The warriors consisted of younger people, mainly responsible for the protection of the tribe. They defended the community and organised cattle raids. Raiding was important in a society where cattle was wealth. It is through raids that the power of different pastoral groups was asserted. Young men came to be recognised as members of the warrior class when they proved their manliness by raiding the cattle of other pastoral groups and participating in wars. They, however, were subject to the authority of the elders.



**Fig. 16** – Note how the warriors wear traditional deep red shukas, brightly beaded Maasai jewelry and carry five-foot, steel tipped spears. Their long pleats of intricately plaited hair are tinted red with ochre. As per tradition they face East to honour the rising sun. Warriors are in charge of society's security while boys are responsible for herding livestock. During the drought season, both warriors and boys assume responsibility for herding livestock. Courtesy: The Maasai Association.



*Fig. 17 - Even today, young men go through an elaborate ritual before they become warriors, although actually it is no longer common. They must travel throughout the section's region for about four months, ending with an event where they run to the homestead and enter with an attitude of a raider. During the ceremony, boys dress in loose clothing and dance non-stop throughout the day. This ceremony is the transition into a new age. Girls are not required to go through such a ritual. Courtesy: The Maasai Association.*

To administer the affairs of the Maasai, the British introduced a series of measures that had important implications. They appointed chiefs of different sub-groups of Maasai, who were made responsible for the affairs of the tribe. The British imposed various restrictions on raiding and warfare. Consequently, the traditional authority of both elders and warriors was adversely affected.

The chiefs appointed by the colonial government often accumulated wealth over time. They had a regular income with which they could buy animals, goods and land. They lent money to poor neighbours who needed cash to pay taxes. Many of them began living in towns, and became involved in trade. Their wives and children stayed back in the villages to look after the animals. These chiefs managed to survive the devastations of war and drought. They had both pastoral and non-pastoral income, and could buy animals when their stock was depleted.

But the life history of the poor pastoralists who depended only on their livestock was different. Most often, they did not have the resources to tide over bad times. In times of war and famine, they lost nearly everything. They had to go looking for work in the towns. Some eked out a living as charcoal burners, others did odd jobs. The lucky could get more regular work in road or building construction.

The social changes in Maasai society occurred at two levels. First, the traditional difference based on age, between the elders

and warriors, was disturbed, though it did not break down entirely. Second, a new distinction between the wealthy and poor pastoralists developed.

## Conclusion

So we see that pastoral communities in different parts of the world are affected in a variety of different ways by changes in the modern world. New laws and new borders affect the patterns of their movement. With increasing restrictions on their mobility, pastoralists find it difficult to move in search of pastures. As pasture lands disappear grazing becomes a problem, while pastures that remain deteriorate through continuous over grazing. Times of drought become times of crises, when cattle die in large numbers.

Yet, pastoralists do adapt to new times. They change the paths of their annual movement, reduce their cattle numbers, press for rights to enter new areas, exert political pressure on the government for relief, subsidy and other forms of support and demand a right in the management of forests and water resources. Pastoralists are not relics of the past. They are not people who have no place in the modern world. Environmentalists and economists have increasingly come to recognise that pastoral nomadism is a form of life that is perfectly suited to many hilly and dry regions of the world.



**Fig. 18 – A Raika shepherd on Jaipur highway.**  
*Heavy traffic on highways has made migration of shepherds a new experience.*

## Activities

1. Imagine that it is 1950 and you are a 60-year-old Raika herder living in post-Independence India. You are telling your grand-daughter about the changes which have taken place in your lifestyle after Independence. What would you say?
2. Imagine that you have been asked by a famous magazine to write an article about the life and customs of the Maasai in pre-colonial Africa. Write the article, giving it an interesting title.
3. Find out more about some of the pastoral communities marked in Figs. 11 and 13.

Activities

## Questions

1. Explain why nomadic tribes need to move from one place to another. What are the advantages to the environment of this continuous movement?
2. Discuss why the colonial government in India brought in the following laws. In each case, explain how the law changed the lives of pastoralists:
  - Waste Land rules
  - Forest Acts
  - Criminal Tribes Act
  - Grazing Tax
3. Give reasons to explain why the Maasai community lost their grazing lands.
4. There are many similarities in the way in which the modern world forced changes in the lives of pastoral communities in India and East Africa. Write about any two examples of changes which were similar for Indian pastoralists and the Maasai herders.



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SOCIAL SCIENCE

# DEMOCRATIC POLITICS-I

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November 2010 *Kartika 1932*  
January 2012 *Magha 1933*  
November 2012 *Kartika 1934*  
December 2013 *Agrahayana 1935*  
December 2014 *Pausa 1936*  
December 2015 *Pausa 1937*  
January 2017 *Magha 1938*  
December 2017 *Pausa 1939*  
February 2019 *Magha 1940*  
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## FOREWORD

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days is actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the advisory group in Social Sciences, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisors

for this book, Professor Yogendra Yadav and Professor Suhas Palshikar for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairmanship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G.P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

New Delhi  
20 December 2005

*Director*  
National Council of Educational  
Research and Training

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## A LETTER FOR YOU

Dear teachers and parents,

'Civics is boring'. You may have heard this from your students or your child. You may have felt that they had a point. Syllabi of Civics in our country tend to focus on formal institutions of government. The textbooks are full of constitutional, legal and procedural details, presented in a dry and abstract manner. No wonder children experience disconnect between the theory they read in the textbook and what they see in real life around them. This is perhaps what makes Civics 'boring' for young adults in a country otherwise full of passion for politics.

The present textbook is a small step towards changing this. The impetus came from the National Curriculum Framework 2005 that provided the space and opportunity to bring about this basic change. The foreword to this book by the Director of the NCERT explains the philosophy of the new curriculum. It meant a complete overhaul of the traditional Civics syllabi. The change in the name – from Civics to Political Science – reflects the shift in the focus. The new syllabi recognise that the student at this stage is aware of and needs to know more about politics. Accordingly, the students in classes IX and X will be offered an introduction to various facets of politics. Democracy is the window through which they get to look at the theory and the practice of politics.

With this textbook you are going to take the students on a tour of a museum of contemporary democracy. You will first take them quickly through a series of stories from different parts of the world. Once they develop a sense and feel of democracy, you can ask some reflective questions: what is democracy? Why democracy? With this clarity you can take them to a gallery on constitutions. An understanding of what and how of the constitutions would prepare them for an exhibition on three aspects of democratic politics: elections, institutions and rights. You may encounter many contentious themes during this tour. Our attempt here is not to hand over a definite opinion to the students but to enable them to think on their own.

This textbook is meant to help the students enjoy this tour and to assist you in guiding them. It does not merely inform the students. It encourages them to think on their own. It interacts with them through questions, moves

them with stories and pictures and tickles them with cartoons. It helps you in reviewing their progress and in getting them involved with activities. All these features have meant taking more space than used to be the case earlier. It is precisely to reduce the information load that the book takes more pages. Please do read 'How to use this book' on the following pages to be able to use these features of the book. The tour will continue in the textbook for class X and will focus more on the working of democracy. We hope this tour will create interest in them to understand politics more carefully and to help them become active and participant citizens.

This hope of ours rests on you. That is why this book makes more demands on you. You may have to learn more about new names, events and places. You may face questions that the textbook does not answer. You may have to guide the students through sensitive and passionate debates that naturally arise when we discuss politics. Just when you begin to feel tired or irritated, do entertain a thought. When your student asks a question that you find difficult to answer, when she seeks information that is not easy to find or expresses an opinion that you don't approve of, this may actually be a sign of your success as a teacher or a parent. As we all know, getting students to question is critical to their learning process both as a student and as citizens of a democracy. This is what the present book tries to cultivate.

The desire to get rid of the 'boring Civics' tag brought together, perhaps for the first time in our country, a group of political scientists, school teachers and educationists to think about how to teach politics to our next generation. You can read about this group, the Textbook Development Committee, on page xii. All these colleagues spared their valuable time and mental space for this unscheduled event in their academic calendar. Professor Krishna Kumar, Director NCERT, not only dragged some of us into this pleasant duty but also supported us at every stage. Professor Hari Vasudevan and Professor Gopal Guru provided this experiment the protection it needed. Professor Mrinal Miri, Professor G. P. Deshpande and other members of the National Monitoring Committee offered valuable inputs and criticisms. The experiment gained many friends on the way: Ambassador Jorge Heine, Arvind Sardana, Aditya Nigam, Suman Lata and Chandni Khanduja read different parts of the draft and provided valuable inputs. At many points it drew upon Lokniti research programme and Lokniti network of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies for intellectual and logistic resources. Above all, this experiment drew upon the insights and energy of Alex M. George, Pankaj Pushkar and Manish Jain – three young educationists committed to a radical pedagogy — who taught us how to think about the challenge of school education. Designer Oroon Das and cartoonist Irfan Khan and copy editor Devyani Onial helped us turn the idea of this book into a reality.

We sincerely hope that you and the students would enjoy this book and perhaps look at politics as something valuable, something worth taking seriously, something worth studying. We look forward to your feedback.

K. C. Suri  
ADVISOR

Yogendra Yadav  
Suhas Palshikar  
CHIEF ADVISORS

## HOW TO USE THIS BOOK?

**OVERVIEW** comes at the beginning of each chapter. You can use it to understand the purpose of the chapter and how it links with the rest of the book. It also helps you explain the rationale behind the different sections of the chapter. If you are in doubt about what to teach, what to emphasise and what kind of questions to ask, please do refer back to the overview.

Sections and Sub-sections help you break the chapter into small bits that you can take up one by one. Each chapter is usually divided into four sections, each of which you can complete within about three periods. **Section Heading(s)** are numbered and announce the beginning of a fresh theme within the chapter. **Sub-section heading(s)** provide convenient breaks for you to sum up one point and move to the next. Boxes are very much part of the main text and are meant to be taught. They provide additional information or analysis that requires a little detour.

Each chapter begins with one or more real life stories or imagined dialogues. This is to create an interest and understanding of some central issues discussed in the chapter. Sometimes smaller stories or examples are used to lead the student into a section or sub-section. Please do tell this story in all its details. If you can, please add more details to those given here. You don't need to bother very much if the student does not grasp the full significance of the story at this stage. As the chapter develops, it draws upon from the initial story and moves from the concrete to the abstract. But please do not ask the students to memorise the facts and details of the story like the year, names of personalities or places, etc. The same applies to any other example used in this book. This would kill their interest and defeat the very purpose of using stories. If the story is good, some details will stay in their memory. Even if no details stay with them but they can draw the general point from any such instance, we have succeeded in our task.



Munki and Unni are two characters specially designed for this book by cartoonist Irfan Khan. The two of them keep appearing every now and then to ask all kinds of questions: impish, irrelevant, irreverent or even impossible. The questions are sparked off by the points made in the text. But in most cases you will not find the answer in the textbook itself. Munki and Unni are

there to assure the students that the kind of ‘funny’ thoughts that often come to their minds are not stupid and to give them the courage to ask such questions. They give you the space to take a detour and get into a side discussion that is often richer than the main one. Please do not use these questions for evaluation.

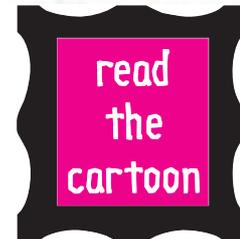
You would notice lots of cartoons and pictures in this book. This brings visual relief and some fun. But these images are meant to do more. These are parts of the teaching and learning process. The caption to each visual provides background information to help the student appreciate the message. It also asks them questions. Please do stop at each cartoon or visual and get the students involved in reading the message. If you can, please select some more cartoons from your regional languages and use them. Similarly there are several maps and many more references to countries unknown to the students. One of the aims of this book is to expand the student’s imagination beyond our own country. Please keep and refer to a recent political map of the world while teaching this book.

Check your progress questions come usually at the end of every section. These questions give you an opportunity to ensure that the students comprehend the things discussed in that section. These questions also indicate to you the kind of learning you might wish to emphasise. May we urge you to please make more questions of this kind so that the student can move away from learning by rote.

Activity may involve getting the students together within the classroom or doing things outside the classroom. You would need to guide them by assigning tasks to individuals or to groups. The activity and its location in the chapter is only suggestive. If you can think of an activity that relates better to students’ own life, please feel free to replace our suggestion with yours.

Glossary of unfamiliar words or concepts comes at the end of a chapter. Such a word appears in pink when it is used for the first time. Please encourage the students to refer to the glossary and learn to use the word in a different context. But there is no need for them to memorise the definition given in the glossary.

Exercises come at the end of each chapter. You would notice that there are many more questions here than used to be the case. You would also notice that the questions are of a different kind. These questions do not test the student’s ability to recall and reproduce what they have read in the Chapter. Keeping in with the approach of the new NCF, we have asked questions that require interpretation, application, analysis, and reasoning based on what they have learnt in the Chapter. You would need to spend some time with the students going over these exercises. Please feel free to come up with new and better questions than suggested here and use those for student evaluation.



**ACTIVITY**



**exercises**



**Let us read the newspaper** is both an exercise and an activity. You can use it to ensure that the students can apply what they have learnt to a different context. You can also use it to encourage the habit of newspaper reading. Where most students have access to news channels on television, you may supplement or modify the projects suggested here to include watching of news and current affair programmes. Here again, if you think a different project will suit your students' context and resources, you must be right. Please go ahead.

### ACCESSING ONLINE INFORMATION

We are living in an era of information and communication revolution. Printed books, textbooks and the mass media such as newspapers and periodicals have ceased to be the only sources of information. Now millions of websites (World Wide Web) provide easy and instant access to a vast and diverse amount of online information. The World Wide Web has enabled a sudden and extreme decentralisation of information. Since many schools do not possess the latest encyclopaedias and traditional libraries, students and teachers may rely on the Internet to access the needed information.

While using this textbook, the teachers and students may sometimes feel that information provided in the book is, 'insufficient' for learning or classroom teaching. You may want to know more about certain ideas, concepts and events in different countries. We would suggest some of the ways you can use the Internet for this purpose.

You may find some information in free encyclopaedias like [www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org) or [www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com) Search engines like **Google** and **Yahoo** can provide links to websites that are specifically dedicated to different topics that you may be interested in.

Similarly, several important newspapers and magazines are available online. Some of them allow you to access their archives without payments and registrations. Similarly a few TV channels also allow you to access information without registrations and payments.

Some other websites would be useful to know more about the various institutions discussed in the text. You could find the links to all the Indian government institutional websites from [www.india.gov.in](http://www.india.gov.in). Specifically [http://india.gov.in/directories\\_gov.php](http://india.gov.in/directories_gov.php) will provide you the direct link to various institutions. Similarly various international organisations such as United Nations, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, human rights organisations such as National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) too have their own websites. Apart from Indian constitution you will also find constitutions of many countries also being available online. You can also look at parliaments around the world by following the link from Inter Parliamentary Union [www.ipu.org/english/home.htm](http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm)

Further you may want to use more images, pictures, or cartoons for discussions. You will find them in newspapers that are available online. Apart from it, you could also look at [www.politicalcartoons.com](http://www.politicalcartoons.com) for this purpose. Similarly, through searching "images" category of **Google** you could locate them.

You may find it useful to visit the websites like [www.plato.stanford.edu](http://www.plato.stanford.edu), [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net), [www.brainyencyclopeid.com](http://www.brainyencyclopeid.com) especially when you wish to get more clarity on certain theoretical aspects or to learn more about politics.

### **REQUEST FOR FEEDBACK**

How did you like this textbook? What was your experience in reading or using this? What were the difficulties you faced? What changes would you like to see in the next version of this book? Write to us on all these and any other matter related to this textbook. You could be a teacher, a parent, a student or just a general reader. We value any and every feedback.

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# THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

## PREAMBLE

**WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA**, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a <sup>1</sup>**[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 <sup>2</sup>[unity and integrity of the Nation];

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

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)



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## CHAPTER 1

# WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? WHY DEMOCRACY?

## OVERVIEW

What is democracy? What are its features? This chapter builds on a simple definition of democracy. Step by step, we work out the meaning of the terms involved in this definition. The aim here is to understand clearly the bare minimum features of a democratic form of government. After going through this chapter we should be able to distinguish a democratic form of government from a non-democratic government. Towards the end of this chapter, we step beyond this minimal objective and introduce a broader idea of democracy.

Democracy is the most prevalent form of government in the world today and it is expanding to more countries. But why is it so? What makes it better than other forms of government? That is the second big question that we take up in this chapter.

# 1.1 WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

You have already read about different forms of government. On the basis of your understanding of democracy so far, mentioning a few examples write down some common features of:

- Democratic governments
- Non-democratic governments

## Why define democracy?

Before we proceed further, let us first take note of an objection by Merry. She does not like this way of defining democracy and wants to ask some basic questions. Her teacher Matilda Lyngdoh responds to her questions, as other classmates join the discussion:

**Merry:** Ma'am, I don't like this idea. First we spend time discussing democracy and then we want to find out the meaning of democracy. I mean logically shouldn't we have approached it the other way round? Shouldn't the meaning have come first and then the example?

**Lyngdoh Madam:** I can see your point. But that is not how we reason in everyday life. We use words like pen, rain or love. Do we wait to have a definition of these words before we use them? Come to think of it, do we have clear definition of these words? It is only by using a word that we understand its meaning.

**Merry:** But then why do we need definitions at all?

**Lyngdoh Madam:** We need a definition only when we come across a difficulty in the use of a word. We need a definition of rain only when we wish to distinguish it from, say, drizzle or cloudburst. The same is true for democracy. We need a clear definition only because people use it for different purposes, because very different kinds of governments call themselves democracy.

**Ribiang:** But why do we need to work on a definition? The other day you quoted Abraham Lincoln to us: "Democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people". We in Meghalaya always ruled ourselves. That is accepted by everyone. Why do we need to change that?

**Lyngdoh Madam:** I am not saying we need to change it. I too find this definition very beautiful.

But we don't know if this is the best way of defining unless we think about it ourselves. We must not accept something just because it is famous, just because everyone accepts it.

**Yolanda:** Ma'am, can I suggest something? We don't need to look for any definition. I read somewhere that the word democracy comes from a Greek word 'Demokratia'. In Greek 'demos' means people and 'kratia' means rule. So democracy is rule by the people. This is the correct meaning. Where is the need to debate?

**Lyngdoh Madam:** That is also a very helpful way of thinking about this matter. I would just say that this does not always work. A word does not remain tied to its origin. Just think of computers. Originally they were used for computing, that is to say calculating, very difficult mathematical sums. These were very powerful calculators. But nowadays very few people use computers for computing sums. They use it for writing, for designing, for listening to music and for watching films. Words remain the same but their meaning can change with time. In that case it is not very useful to look at the origins of a word.

**Merry:** Ma'am, so basically what you are saying is that there is no shortcut to our thinking about the matter ourselves. We have to think about its meaning and evolve a definition.

**Lyngdoh Madam:** You got me right. Let us get on with it now.



## A C T I V I T Y

Let us take Lyngdoh Madam seriously and try to write down the exact definition of some of the simple words that we use all the time: pen, rain and love. For example, is there a way of defining a pen that distinguishes it clearly from a pencil, a brush, a chalk or crayon.

- What have you learnt from this attempt?
- What does it teach us about understanding the meaning of democracy?

## A simple definition

Let us get back to our discussion on similarities and differences among governments that are called



I have heard a different version. Democracy is off the people, far (from) the people and (where they) buy the people. Why don't we accept that?

democracies. One simple factor common to all democracies is: the government is chosen by the people. We could thus start with a simple definition: **democracy is a form of government in which the rulers are elected by the people.**

This is a useful starting point. This definition allows us to separate democracy from forms of government that are clearly not democratic. The army rulers of Myanmar were not elected by the people. Those who happened to be in control of the army became the rulers of the country. People had no say in this decision. Dictators like Pinochet (Chile) are not elected by the people. This also applies to monarchies. The kings of Saudi Arabia rule not because the people have chosen them to do so but

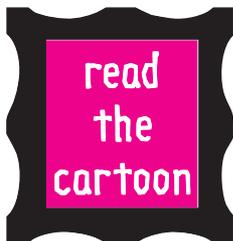
because they happen to be born into the royal family.

This simple definition is not adequate. It reminds us that democracy is people's rule. But if we use this definition in an unthinking manner, we would end up calling almost every government that holds an election a democracy. That would be very misleading. As we shall find out in Chapter 3, every government in contemporary world wants to be called a democracy, even if it is not so. That is why we need to carefully distinguish between a government that is a democracy and one that pretends to be one. We can do so by understanding each word in this definition carefully and spelling out the features of a democratic government.



Ribiang went back home and collected some more famous quotations on democracy. This time she did not mention the names of the people who said or wrote these. She wants you to read these and comment on how good or useful these thoughts are:

- Democracy gives every man the right to be his own oppressor.
- Democracy consists of choosing your dictators after they've told you what you think it is you want to hear.
- Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary
- Democracy is a device that insures we shall be governed no better than we deserve.
- All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy.



This cartoon was drawn when elections were held in Iraq with the presence of US and other foreign powers. What do you think this cartoon is saying? Why is 'democracy' written the way it is?

©Stephane Peray, Thailand, Cagle Cartoons Inc.



WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? WHY DEMOCRACY?

3

## 1.2 FEATURES OF DEMOCRACY

We have started with a simple definition that **democracy is a form of government in which the rulers are elected by the people**. This raises many questions:

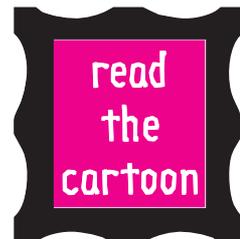
- Who are **the rulers** in this definition? Which officials must be elected for any government to be called a democracy? Which decisions may be taken by non-elected officials in a democracy?
- What kind of **election** constitutes a democratic election? What conditions must be fulfilled for an election to be considered democratic?
- Who are **the people** who can elect the rulers or get elected as rulers? Should this include every citizen on an equal basis? Can a democracy deny some citizens this right?
- Finally, what kind of a **form of government** is democracy? Can elected rulers do whatever they

want in a democracy? Or must a democratic government function with some limits? Is it necessary for a democracy to respect some rights of the citizens?

Let us consider each of these questions with the help of some examples.

### Major decisions by elected leaders

In Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf led a military coup in October 1999. He overthrew a democratically elected government and declared himself the 'Chief Executive' of the country. Later he changed his designation to President and in 2002 held a referendum in the country that granted him a five-year extension. Pakistani media, human rights organisations and democracy activists said that the referendum was based on



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Syria is a small west Asian country. The ruling Ba'ath Party and some of its small allies are the only parties allowed in that country. Do you think this cartoon could apply to China or Mexico? What does the crown of leaves on democracy signify?

## read the cartoon

This cartoon was drawn in the context of Latin America. Do you think it applies to the Pakistani situation as well? Think of other countries where this could apply? Does this happen sometimes in our country as well?

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malpractices and fraud. In August 2002 he issued a 'Legal Framework Order' that amended the Constitution of Pakistan. According to this Order, the President can dismiss the national and provincial assemblies. The work of the civilian cabinet is supervised by a National Security Council which is dominated by military officers. After passing this law, elections were held to the national and provincial assemblies. So Pakistan has had elections, elected representatives have some powers. But the final power rested with military officers and General Musharraf himself.

Clearly, there are many reasons why Pakistan under General Musharraf should not be called a democracy. But let us focus on one of these. Can we say that the rulers are elected by the people in Pakistan? Not quite. People may have elected their representatives to the national and provincial assemblies but those elected representatives were not really the

rulers. They cannot take the final decisions. The power to take final decision rested with army officials and with General Musharraf, and none of them were elected by the people. This happens in many dictatorships and monarchies. They formally have an elected parliament and government but the real power is with those who are not elected. In a few countries, the real power was with some external powers and not with locally elected representatives. This cannot be called people's rule.

This gives us the first feature. **In a democracy the final decision-making power must rest with those elected by the people.**

## Free and fair electoral competition

In China, elections are regularly held after every five years for electing the country's parliament, called Quanguo Renmin Daibiao Dahui (National People's Congress). The National People's Congress has the power to appoint the President of the country. It has nearly 3,000 members elected from all over China. Some members are elected by the army. Before contesting elections, a candidate needs the approval of the Chinese Communist Party. Only those who are members of the Chinese Communist Party or eight smaller parties allied to it were allowed to contest elections held in 2002-03. The government is always formed by the Communist Party.

Since its independence in 1930, Mexico holds elections after every six years to elect its President. The country has never been under a military or dictator's rule. But until 2000 every election was won by a



All this is so remote for me. Is democracy all about rulers and governments? Can we talk about a democratic classroom? Or a democratic family?

party called PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). Opposition parties did contest elections, but never managed to win. The PRI was known to use many dirty tricks to win elections. All those who were employed in government offices had to attend its party meetings. Teachers of government schools used to force parents to vote for the PRI. Media largely ignored the activities of opposition political parties except to criticise them. Sometimes the polling booths were shifted from one place to another in the last minute, which made it difficult for people to cast their votes. The PRI spent a large sum of money in the campaign for its candidates.

Should we consider the elections described above as examples of people electing their rulers? Reading these examples we get a sense that we cannot. There are many problems here. In China the elections do not offer the people any serious choice. They have to choose the ruling party and the candidates approved by it. Can we call this a choice? In the Mexican example, people seemed to really have a choice but in practice they had no choice. There was no way the ruling party could be defeated, even if people were against it. These are not fair elections.

We can thus add a second feature to our understanding of democracy. Holding elections of any kind is not sufficient. The elections must offer a real choice between political alternatives. And it should be possible for people to use this choice to remove the existing rulers, if they wish so. So, **a democracy must be based on a free and fair election where those currently in power have a fair chance of losing.** We shall find out more about a democratic election in Chapter 3.

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read  
the  
cartoon

This cartoon was titled 'Building Democracy' and was first published in a Latin American publication. What do moneybags signify here? Could this cartoon be applied to India?

### One person, one vote, one value

Earlier, we read about how the struggle for democracy was linked to the demand for universal adult franchise. This principle has now come to be accepted almost all over the world. Yet there are many instances of denial of equal right to vote.

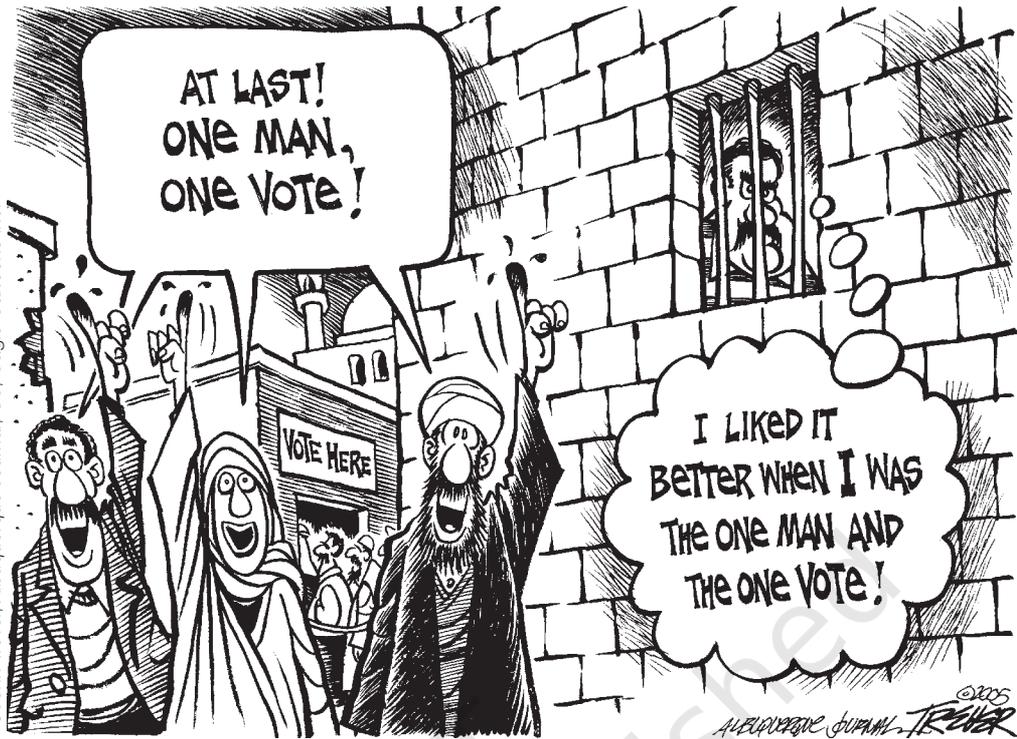
- Until 2015, in Saudi Arabia women did not have the right to vote.
- Estonia has made its citizenship rules in such a way that people belonging to Russian minority find it difficult to get the right to vote.
- In Fiji, the electoral system is such that the vote of an indigenous Fiji has more value than that of an Indian-Fijian.

Democracy is based on a fundamental principle of political equality. That gives us the third feature of democracy: **in a democracy, each adult citizen must have one vote and each vote must have one value.** We shall read more about it in Chapter 3.

read  
the  
cartoon

This cartoon is about the Iraqi election held after Saddam Hussein's regime was overthrown. He is shown behind the bars. What is the cartoonist saying here? Compare the message of this cartoon with the first cartoon in this chapter.

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### Rule of law and respect for rights

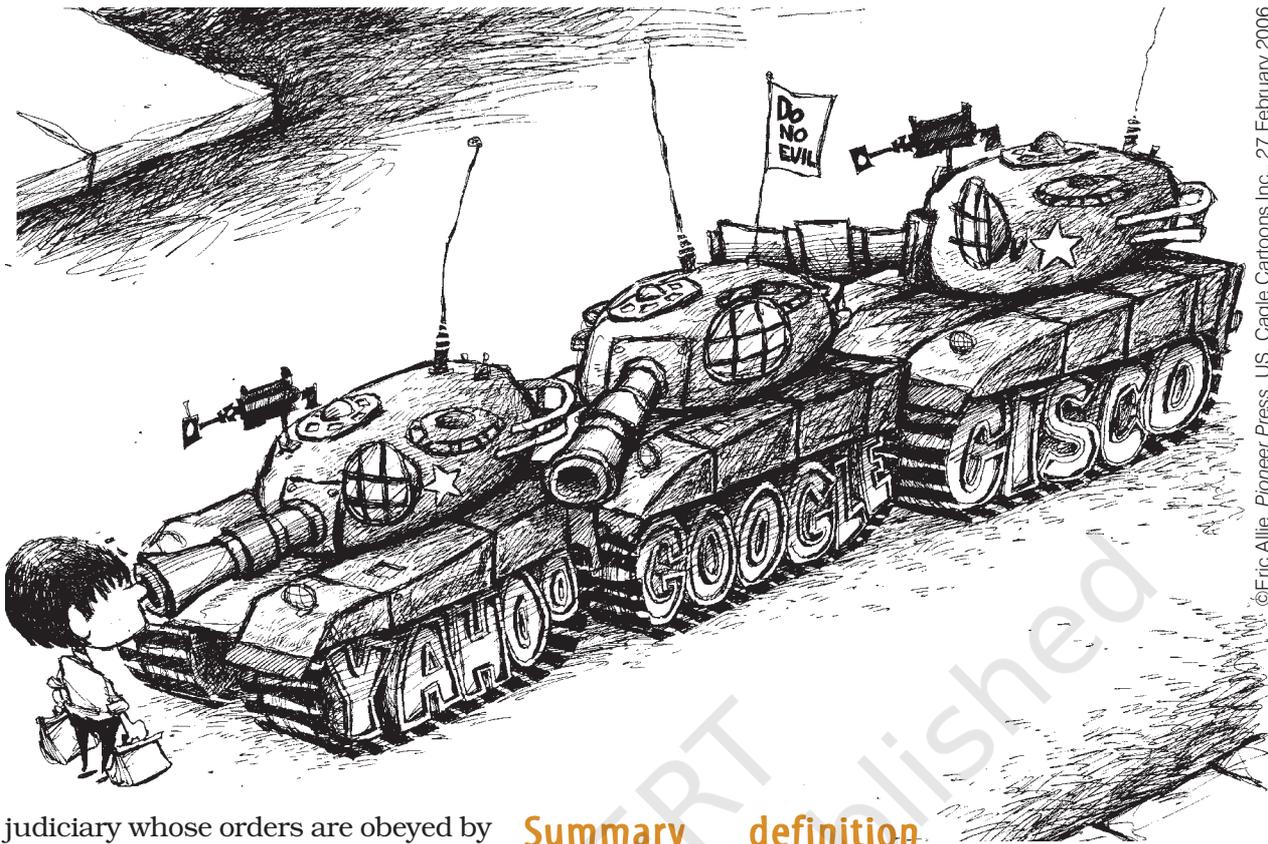
Zimbabwe attained independence from White minority rule in 1980. Since then the country has been ruled by ZANU-PF, the party that led the freedom struggle. Its leader, Robert Mugabe, ruled the country since independence. Elections were held regularly and always won by ZANU-PF. President Mugabe was popular but also used unfair practices in elections. Over the years his government changed the constitution several times to increase the powers of the President and make him less accountable. Opposition party workers were harassed and their meeting disrupted. Public protests and demonstrations against the government were declared illegal. There was a law that limited the right to criticise the President. Television and radio were controlled by the government and gave only the ruling party's version. There were independent newspapers but the

government harassed those journalists who went against it. The government ignored some court judgments that went against it and pressurised judges. He was forced out of office in 2017.

The example of Zimbabwe shows that popular approval of the rulers is necessary in a democracy, but it is not sufficient. Popular governments can be undemocratic. Popular leaders can be autocratic. If we wish to assess a democracy, it is important to look at the elections. But it is equally important to look before and after the elections. There should be sufficient room for normal political activity, including political opposition, in the period before elections. This requires that the state should respect some basic rights of the citizen. They should be free to think, to have opinions, to express these in public, to form associations, to protest and take other political actions. Everyone should be equal in the eyes of law. These rights must be protected by an independent



Why talk about Zimbabwe? I read similar reports from many parts of our own country. Why don't we discuss that?



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judiciary whose orders are obeyed by everyone. We shall read more about these rights in Chapter 5.

Similarly, there are some conditions that apply to the way a government is run after the elections. A democratic government cannot do whatever it likes, simply because it has won an election. It has to respect some basic rules. In particular it has to respect some guarantees to the minorities. Every major decision has to go through a series of consultations. Every office bearer has certain rights and responsibilities assigned by the constitution and the law. Each of these is accountable not only to the people but also to other independent officials. We shall read more about this in Chapter 4.

Both these aspects give us the fourth and final feature of democracy: **a democratic government rules within limits set by constitutional law and citizens' rights.**

## Summary definition

Let us sum up the discussion so far. We started with a simple definition that **democracy is a form of government in which the rulers are elected by the people.** We found that this definition was not adequate unless we explained some of the key words used in it. Through a series of examples we worked out four features of democracy as a form of government. Accordingly, democracy is a form of government in which:

- Rulers elected by the people take all the major decisions;
- Elections offer a choice and fair opportunity to the people to change the current rulers;
- This choice and opportunity is available to all the people on an equal basis; and
- The exercise of this choice leads to a government limited by basic rules of the constitution and citizens' rights.

read  
the  
cartoon

Chinese government blocked free flow of information on the internet by placing restrictions on popular websites like 'Google' and 'Yahoo'. The image of tanks and an unarmed student reminds the reader of another major event in recent Chinese history. Find out about that event.



Read these five examples of working or denial of democracy. Match each of these with the relevant feature of democracy discussed above.

Example	Feature
King of Bhutan has declared that in future he will be guided by the advice given to him by elected representatives.	Rule of law
Many Tamil workers who migrated from India were not given a right to vote in Sri Lanka.	Respect for Rights
The king imposed a ban on political gatherings, demonstrations and rallies.	One person one vote one value
The Indian Supreme Court held that the dissolution of Bihar assembly was unconstitutional.	Free and fair electoral competition
Political parties in Bangladesh have agreed that a neutral government should rule the country at the time of elections.	Major decisions by elected leaders

### 1.3 WHY DEMOCRACY?

An argument broke out in Madam Lyngdoh’s class. She had finished teaching the previous section on what is democracy and asked the students if they thought democracy was the best form of government. Everyone had something to say.

**Jeni:** Whatever, how does it make a difference? The point is that this can’t be the best form of government. Democracy is all about chaos, instability, corruption and hypocrisy. Politicians fight among themselves. Who cares for the country?

#### Debating merits of democracy

**Poimon:** So, what should we have instead? Go back to the British rule? Invite some kings to rule this country?

**Yolanda:** We live in a democratic country. All over the world people want democracy. Countries that were not democratic earlier are becoming democratic now. All great people have said nice things about democracy. Isn’t it obvious that democracy is the best? Do we need to debate this?

**Rose:** I don’t know. I think what this country needs is a strong leader, someone who does not have to bother about elections and parliament. One leader should have all the powers. He should be able to do whatever is needed in country’s interest. That alone can remove corruption and poverty from this country.



I want to be in Lyngdoh Madam’s class! That sounds like a democratic classroom. Doesn’t it?

**Tangini:** But Lyngdoh Madam had said we should not accept something just because it is famous, just because everyone else accepts it. Isn’t it possible that everyone is following a wrong path?

**Someone shouted:** That is called dictatorship!  
**Hoi:** What if that person starts using all these powers for himself and his family? What if he is corrupt himself?

**Jeni:** Yes, it actually is a wrong path. What has democracy brought to our country? Seven decades of democracy and there is so much poverty in the country.

**Rose:** I am speaking only of the honest, sincere and strong leader.

**Ribiang:** But what has democracy got to do with it? Do we have poverty because we are democratic or do we have poverty despite being a democracy?

**Hoi:** But that is not fair. You are comparing a real democracy with an ideal dictatorship. We should compare an ideal with an ideal, the real with the real. Go and check the record of dictators in real life. They are most corrupt, selfish and brutal. It is just that we don’t get to know about this. And what is worse, you can’t even get rid of them.

Madam Lyngdoh was listening to this discussion with interest. Now she stepped in: “I was delighted to see you all arguing so passionately. I don’t know who is right and who is wrong. That is for you to settle. But I did feel that you all wanted to speak your mind. You may have felt very bad if someone tried to stop you or if someone punished you for saying what you felt. Would you be able to do that in a country that is not democratic? Is that a good argument for democracy?”

### Arguments against democracy

This conversation has most of the arguments that we routinely hear against democracy. Let us go over some of these arguments:

- Leaders keep changing in a democracy. This leads to instability.
- Democracy is all about political competition and power play. There is no scope for morality.
- So many people have to be consulted in a democracy that it leads to delays.
- Elected leaders do not know the best interest of the people. It leads to bad decisions.
- Democracy leads to corruption for it is based on electoral competition.
- Ordinary people don’t know what is good for them; they should not decide anything.

Are there some other arguments against democracy that you can think of? Which of these arguments applies mainly to democracy? Which of these can apply to misuse of any form of government? Which of these do you agree with?

Clearly, democracy is not a magical solution for all the problems. It has not ended poverty in our country and in other parts of the world. Democracy as a form of government only ensures that

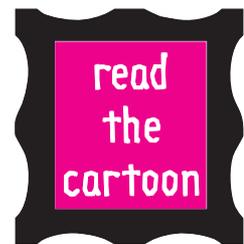
people take their own decisions. This does not guarantee that their decisions will be good. People can make mistakes. Involving the people in these decisions does lead to delays in decision making. It is also true that democracy leads to frequent changes in leadership. Sometimes this can set back big decisions and affect the government’s efficiency.

These arguments show that democracy of the kind we see may not be the ideal form of government. But that is not a question we face in real life. The real question we face is different: is democracy better than other forms of government that are there for us to choose from?

### Arguments for democracy

China’s famine of 1958-1961 was the worst recorded famine in world history. Nearly three crore people died in this famine. During those days, India’s economic condition was not much better than China. Yet India did not have a famine of the kind China had. Economists think

This cartoon is from Brazil, a country that has long experience of dictatorship. It is entitled “The Hidden Side of Dictatorship”. Which hidden sides does this cartoon depict? Is it necessary for every dictatorship to have a hidden side? If possible, find this out about the dictators including Pinochet in Chile, Jaruzelski in Poland, Sani Abacha in Nigeria and Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines.



that this was a result of different government policies in the two countries. The existence of democracy in India made the Indian government respond to food scarcity in a way that the Chinese government did not. They point out that no large-scale famine has ever taken place in an independent and democratic country. If China too had multiparty elections, an opposition party and a press free to criticise the government, then so many people may not have died in the famine.

This example brings out one of the reasons why democracy is considered the best form of government. Democracy is better than any other form of government in responding to the needs of the people. A non-democratic government may and can respond to the people's needs, but it all depends on the wishes of the people who rule. If the rulers don't want to, they don't have to act according to the wishes of the people. A democracy requires that the rulers have to attend to the needs of the people. **A democratic government is a better government because it is a more accountable form of government.**

There is another reason why democracy should lead to better decisions than any non-democratic government. Democracy is based on consultation and discussion. A democratic decision always involves many persons, discussions and meetings. When a number of people put their heads together, they are able to point out possible mistakes in any decision. This takes time. But there is a big advantage in taking time over important decisions. This reduces the chances of rash or irresponsible decisions. **Thus democracy improves the quality of decision-making.**

This is related to the third argument. **Democracy provides a method to deal with differences and conflicts.** In any society people are bound to have differences of opinions and interests. These differences are particularly sharp in a country like ours which has an amazing social diversity. People belong to different regions, speak different languages, practise different religions and have different castes. They look at the world very differently and have different preferences. The preferences of one group can clash with those of other groups. How do we resolve such a conflict? The conflict can be solved by brutal power. Whichever group is more powerful will dictate its terms and others will have to accept that. But that would lead to resentment and unhappiness. Different groups may not be able to live together for long in such a way. Democracy provides the only peaceful solution to this problem. In democracy, no one is a permanent winner. No one is a permanent loser. Different groups can live with one another peacefully. In a diverse country like India, democracy keeps our country together.

These three arguments were about the effects of democracy on the quality of government and social life. But the strongest argument for democracy is not about what democracy does to the government. It is about what democracy does to the citizens. Even if democracy does not bring about better decisions and accountable government, it is still better than other forms of government. **Democracy enhances the dignity of citizens.** As we discussed above, democracy is based on the principle of political equality, on recognising that the



What would have happened if India was not a democracy? Could we have stayed together as a single nation?

poorest and the least educated has the same status as the rich and the educated. People are not subjects of a ruler, they are the rulers themselves. Even when they make mistakes, they are responsible for their conduct.

Finally, democracy **is better than other forms of government because it allows us to correct its own mistakes.** As we saw above, there is no guarantee that mistakes cannot be made in democracy. No form of government can guarantee that. The advantage in a democracy is that such mistakes cannot be hidden for long. There is a space for public discussion on these mistakes. And there is a room for correction. Either

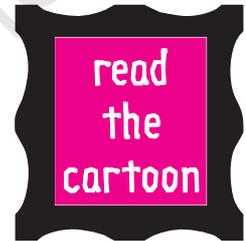
the rulers have to change their decisions, or the rulers can be changed. This cannot happen in a non-democratic government.

Let us sum it up. Democracy cannot get us everything and is not the solution to all problems. But it is clearly better than any other alternative that we know. It offers better chances of a good decision, it is likely to respect people's own wishes and allows different kinds of people to live together. Even when it fails to do some of these things, it allows a way of correcting its mistakes and offers more dignity to all citizens. That is why democracy is considered the best form of government.

This cartoon was published in Canada just before its parliamentary elections of 2004. Everyone, including the cartoonist, expected the Liberal party to win once again. When the results came, the Liberal Party lost the elections. Is this cartoon an argument against democracy or for democracy?



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Rajesh and Muzaffar read an article. It showed that no democracy has ever gone to war with another democracy. Wars take place only when one of the two governments is non-democratic. The article said that this was a great merit of democracy. After reading the essay, Rajesh and Muzaffar had different reactions. Rajesh said that this was not a good argument for democracy. It was just a matter of chance. It is possible that in future democracies may have wars. Muzaffar said that it could not be a matter of chance. Democracies take decisions in such a way that it reduces the chances of war. **Which of the two positions do you agree with and why?**



This famous cartoon by R K Laxman comments on the celebrations of the fifty years of independence. How many images on the wall do you recognize? Do many common people feel the way the common man in this cartoon does?

**read  
the  
cartoon**

## 1.4 BROADER MEANINGS OF DEMOCRACY

In this chapter we have considered the meaning of democracy in a limited and descriptive sense. We have understood democracy as a form of government. This way of defining democracy helps us to identify a clear set of minimal features that a democracy must have. The most common form that democracy takes in our times is that of a representative democracy. You have already read about this in the previous classes. In the countries we call democracy, all the people do not rule. A majority is allowed to take decisions on behalf of all the people. Even the majority does not rule directly. The majority of people rule

through their elected representatives. This becomes necessary because:

- Modern democracies involve such a large number of people that it is physically impossible for them to sit together and take a collective decision.
- Even if they could, the citizen does not have the time, the desire or the skills to take part in all the decisions.

This gives us a clear but minimal understanding of democracy. This clarity helps us to distinguish democracies from non-democracies. But it does not allow us to distinguish between a democracy and a good democracy. It does not



© R.K. Laxman, The Times of India

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? WHY DEMOCRACY?

allow us to see the operation of democracy beyond government. For this we need to turn to broader meanings of democracy.

Sometimes we use democracy for organisations other than the government. Just read these statements:

- *“We are a very democratic family. Whenever a decision has to be taken, we all sit down and arrive at a consensus. My opinion matters as much as my father’s.”*
- *“I don’t like teachers who do not allow students to speak and ask questions in the class. I would like to have teachers with democratic temperament.”*
- *“One leader and his family members decide everything in this party. How can they talk of democracy?”*

These ways of using the word democracy go back to its basic sense of a method of taking decisions. A democratic decision involves consultation with and consent of all those who are affected by that decision. Those who are not powerful have the same say in taking the decision as those who are powerful. This can apply to a government or a family or any other organisation. Thus democracy is also a principle that can be applied to any sphere of life.

Sometimes we use the word democracy not to describe any existing government but to set up an ideal standard that all democracies must aim to become:

- *“True democracy will come to this country only when no one goes hungry to bed.”*
- *“In a democracy every citizen must be able to play equal role in decision making. For this you don’t need just an equal right to vote. Every citizen needs to have equal information, basic education, equal resources and a lot of commitment.”*

If we take these ideals seriously, then no country in the world is a democracy. Yet an understanding of democracy as an ideal reminds us of why we value democracy. It enables us to judge an existing democracy and identify its weaknesses. It helps us to distinguish between a minimal democracy and a good democracy.

In this book we do not deal much with this expanded notion of democracy. Our focus here is with some core institutional features of democracy as a form of government. Next year you will read more about a democratic society and ways of evaluating our democracy. At this stage we just need to note that democracy can apply to many spheres of life and that democracy can take many forms. There can be various ways of taking decisions in a democratic manner, as long as the basic principle of consultation on an equal basis is accepted. The most common form of democracy in today’s world is rule through people’s elected representatives. We shall read more about that in Chapter 3. But if the community is small, there can be other ways of taking democratic decisions. All the people can sit together and take decisions directly. This is how Gram Sabha should work in a village. Can you think of some other democratic ways of decision making?



In my village the Gram Sabha never meets. Is that democratic?



## A C T I V I T Y

Find out the total number of eligible voters in your assembly constituency and your parliamentary constituency. Find out how many people can fit into the largest stadium in your area. Is it possible for all the voters in your parliamentary or assembly constituency to sit together and have a meaningful discussion?

This also means that no country is a perfect democracy. The features of democracy that we discussed in this chapter provide only the minimum conditions of a democracy. That does not make it an ideal democracy. Every democracy has to try to realise the ideals of a democratic decision-making. This cannot be achieved once and for all. This requires a constant effort to save and strengthen democratic forms of decision-making. What we do as citizens can make a difference to making our country more or less democratic. This is the strength and

the weakness of democracy: the fate of the country depends not just on what the rulers do, but mainly on what we, as citizens, do.

This is what distinguished democracy from other governments. Other forms of government like monarchy, dictatorship or one-party rule do not require all citizens to take part in politics. In fact most non-democratic governments would like citizens not to take part in politics. But democracy depends on active political participation by all the citizens. That is why a study of democracy must focus on democratic politics.

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## exercises

- 1 Here is some information about four countries. Based on this information, how would you classify each of these countries. Write 'democratic', 'undemocratic' or 'not sure' against each of these.
  - a Country A: People who do not accept the country's official religion do not have a right to vote.
  - b Country B: The same party has been winning elections for the last twenty years.
  - c Country C: Ruling party has lost in the last three elections.
  - d Country D: There is no independent election commission.
  
- 2 Here is some information about four countries. Based on this information, how would you classify each of these countries. Write 'democratic', 'undemocratic' or 'not sure' against each of these.
  - a Country P: The parliament cannot pass a law about the army without the consent of the Chief of Army.
  - b Country Q: The parliament cannot pass a law reducing the powers of the judiciary.
  - c Country R: The country's leaders cannot sign any treaty with another country without taking permission from its neighbouring country.
  - d Country S: All the major economic decisions about the country are taken by officials of the central bank which the ministers cannot change.
  
- 3 Which of these is **not** a good argument in favour of democracy? Why?
  - a People feel free and equal in a democracy.
  - b Democracies resolve conflict in a better way than others.
  - c Democratic government is more accountable to the people.
  - d Democracies are more prosperous than others.

- 4 Each of these statements contains a democratic and an undemocratic element. Write out the two separately for each statement.
- a A minister said that some laws have to be passed by the parliament in order to conform to the regulations decided by the World Trade Organisation (WTO).
  - b The Election Commission ordered re-polling in a constituency where large-scale rigging was reported.
  - c Women's representation in the parliament has barely reached 10 per cent. This led women's organisations to demand one-third seats for women.
- 5 Which of these is **not** a valid reason for arguing that there is a lesser possibility of famine in a democratic country?
- a Opposition parties can draw attention to hunger and starvation.
  - b Free press can report suffering from famine in different parts of the country.
  - c Government fears its defeat in the next elections.
  - d People are free to believe in and practise any religion.
- 6 There are 40 villages in a district where the government has made no provision for drinking water. These villagers met and considered many methods of forcing the government to respond to their need. Which of these is **not** a democratic method?
- a Filing a case in the courts claiming that water is part of right to life.
  - b Boycotting the next elections to give a message to all parties.
  - c Organising public meetings against government's policies.
  - d Paying money to government officials to get water.
- 7 Write a response to the following arguments against democracy:
- a Army is the most disciplined and corruption-free organisation in the country. Therefore army should rule the country.
  - b Rule of the majority means the rule of ignorant people. What we need is the rule of the wise, even if they are in small numbers.
  - c If we want religious leaders to guide us in spiritual matters, why not invite them to guide us in politics as well. The country should be ruled by religious leaders.
- 8 Are the following statements in keeping with democracy as a value? Why?
- a Father to daughter: I don't want to hear your opinion about your marriage. In our family children marry where the parents tell them to.
  - b Teacher to student: Don't disturb my concentration by asking me questions in the classroom.
  - c Employee to the officer: Our working hours must be reduced according to the law.
- 9 Consider the following facts about a country and decide if you would call it a democracy. Give reasons to support your decision.

## exercises

- a All the citizens of the country have right to vote. Elections are held regularly.
  - b The country took loan from international agencies. One of the conditions for giving loan was that the government would reduce its expenses on education and health.
  - c People speak more than seven languages but education is available only in one language, the language spoken by 52 percent people of that country.
  - d Several organisations have given a call for peaceful demonstrations and nation wide strikes in the country to oppose these policies. Government has arrested these leaders.
  - e The government owns the radio and television in the country. All the newspapers have to get permission from the government to publish any news about government's policies and protests.
- 10** In 2004 a report published in USA pointed to the increasing inequalities in that country. Inequalities in income reflected in the participation of people in democracy. It also shaped their abilities to influence the decisions taken by the government. The report highlighted that:
- If an average Black family earns \$ 100 then the income of average White family is \$ 162. A White family has twelve times more wealth than the average Black family.
  - In a President's election 'nearly 9 out of 10 individuals in families with income over \$ 75,000 have voted. These people are the top 20% of the population in terms of their income. On the other hand only 5 people out of 10 from families with income less than \$ 15,000 have voted. They are the bottom 20% of the population in terms of their income.
  - About 95% contribution to the political parties comes from the rich. This gives them opportunity to express their opinions and concerns, which is not available to most citizens.
  - As poor sections participate less in politics, the government does not listen to their concerns – coming out of poverty, getting job, education, health care and housing for them. Politicians hear most regularly about the concerns of business persons and the rich.
- Write an essay on 'Democracy and Poverty' using the information given in this report but using examples from India.



Most newspapers have an editorial page. On that page the newspaper publishes its own opinions about current affairs. The paper also publishes the views of other writers and intellectuals and letters written by the readers. Follow any one newspaper for one month and collect editorials, articles and letters on that page that have anything to do with democracy. Classify these into the following categories:

- Constitutional and legal aspects of democracy
- Citizens' rights
- Electoral and party politics
- Criticism of democracy



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## CHAPTER 2

# CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

## OVERVIEW

We noted in the previous chapter that in a democracy the rulers are not free to do what they like. There are certain basic rules that the citizens and the government have to follow. All such rules together are called constitution. As the supreme law of the country, the constitution determines the rights of citizens, the powers of the government and how the government should function.

In this chapter we ask some basic questions about the constitutional design of a democracy. Why do we need a constitution? How are the constitutions drawn up? Who designs them and in what way? What are the values that shape the constitutions in democratic states? Once a constitution is accepted, can we make changes later as required by the changing conditions?

One recent instance of designing constitution for a democratic state is that of South Africa. We begin this chapter by looking at what happened there and how the South Africans went about this task of designing their constitution. Then we turn to how the Indian Constitution was made, what its foundational values are, and how it provides a good framework for the conduct of citizens' life and that of the government.



Nelson Mandela

## 2.1 DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

*"I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."*

This was Nelson Mandela, being tried for **treason** by the white South African government. He and seven other leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for daring to oppose the **apartheid** regime in his country. He spent the next 28 years in South Africa's most dreaded prison, Robben Island.

1

A signboard emblematic of the tense relations of the apartheid era, 1953.

South Africa History Online



1

### Struggle against apartheid

Apartheid was the name of a system of racial discrimination unique to South Africa. The white Europeans imposed this system on South Africa. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the trading companies from Europe occupied it with arms and force, in the way they occupied India. But unlike India, a large number of 'whites' had settled in South Africa and became the local rulers. The system of

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Sign on Durban beach in English, Afrikaans and Zulu. In English it reads: 'CITY OF DURBAN Under section 37 of the Durban beach by-laws, this bathing area is reserved for the sole use of members of the white race group'.

apartheid divided the people and labelled them on the basis of their skin colour. The native people of South Africa are black in colour. They made up about three-fourth of the population and were called 'blacks'. Besides these two groups, there were people of mixed races who were called 'coloured' and people who migrated from India. The white rulers treated all non-whites as inferiors. The non-whites did not have voting rights.

The apartheid system was particularly oppressive for the blacks. They were forbidden from living in white areas. They could work in white areas only if they had a permit. Trains, buses, taxis, hotels, hospitals, schools and colleges, libraries, cinema halls, theatres, beaches, swimming pools,

2



John Muller, Wikipedia, GNU Free Documentation License

public toilets, were all separate for the whites and blacks. This was called segregation. They could not even visit the churches where the whites worshipped. Blacks could not form associations or protest against the terrible treatment.

Since 1950, the blacks, coloured and Indians fought against the apartheid system. They launched protest marches and strikes. The African National Congress (ANC) was the umbrella organisation that led the struggle against the policies of segregation. This included many workers' unions and the Communist Party. Many sensitive whites also joined the ANC to oppose apartheid and played a leading role in this struggle. Several countries denounced apartheid as unjust and racist. But the white racist government continued to rule by detaining, torturing and killing thousands of black and coloured people.



## A C T I V I T Y

- Make a poster on the life and struggle of Nelson Mandela.
- If available, read some portions of his autobiography, *The Long Walk to Freedom*, in the classroom.

### Towards a new constitution

As protests and struggles against apartheid had increased, the government realised that they could no longer keep the blacks under their rule through repression. The white regime changed its policies. Discriminatory laws were repealed. Ban on political parties and restrictions on the media were lifted. After 28 years of imprisonment, Nelson Mandela walked out of the jail as a free man. Finally, at the midnight of 26 April 1994, the new

national flag of the Republic of South Africa was unfurled marking the newly born democracy in the world. The apartheid government came to an end, paving way for the formation of a multi-racial government.

How did this come about? Let us hear Mandela, the first president of this new South Africa, on this extraordinary transition:

*“Historical enemies succeeded in negotiating a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy exactly because we were prepared to accept the inherent capacity for goodness in the other. My wish is that South Africans never give up on the belief in goodness, that they cherish that faith in human beings is the cornerstone of our democracy.”*

After the emergence of the new democratic South Africa, black leaders appealed to fellow blacks to forgive the whites for the atrocities they had committed while in power. They said let us build a new South Africa based on equality of all races and men and women, on democratic values, social justice and human rights. The party that ruled through oppression and brutal killings and the party that led the freedom struggle sat together to draw up a common **constitution**.

After two years of discussion and debate they came out with one of the finest constitutions the world has ever had. This constitution gave to its citizens the most extensive rights available in any country. Together, they decided that in the search for a solution to the problems, nobody should be excluded, no one should be treated as a demon. They agreed that everybody should become part of the solution, whatever they might have done or represented in the past. The **preamble** to the South African Constitution (see page 28) sums up this spirit.



What would have happened in South Africa if the black majority had decided to take revenge on the whites for all their oppression and exploitation?



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The South African constitution inspires democrats all over the world. A state denounced by the entire world till 1994 as the most undemocratic one is now seen as a model of democracy. What made this change possible was the determination of the people of South Africa to work together, to transform bitter experiences into the binding glue of a rainbow nation. Speaking on the South African Constitution, Mandela said:

*“The Constitution of South Africa speaks of both the past and the future. On the one hand, it is a solemn pact in which we, as South Africans, declare to one another that we shall never permit a repetition of our racist, brutal and repressive past. But it is more than that. It is also a charter for the transformation of our country into one which is truly shared by all its people — a country which in the fullest sense belongs to all of us, black and white, women and men.”*

This image captures the spirit of South Africa today. South Africans call themselves a 'rainbow nation'. Can you guess why?

For more details about South Africa, visit <https://www.gov.za>



Does the story of South African struggle for freedom remind you of the Indian national movement? Make a list of similarities and dissimilarities between the two on the following points:

- Nature of colonialism
- Relationship between different communities
- Leadership: Gandhi/ Mandela
- Party that led the struggle: African National Congress/ Indian National Congress
- Method of struggle

## 2.2 WHY DO WE NEED A CONSTITUTION?

The South African example is a good way to understand why we need a constitution and what do constitutions do. The oppressor and the oppressed in this new democracy were planning to live together as equals. It was not going to be easy for them to trust each other. They had

their fears. They wanted to safeguard their interests. The black majority was keen to ensure that the democratic principle of majority rule was not compromised. They wanted substantial social and economic rights. The white minority was keen to protect its privileges and property.

After long negotiations both parties agreed to a compromise. The whites agreed to the principle of majority rule and that of one person one vote. They also agreed to accept some basic rights for the poor and the workers. The blacks agreed that majority rule would not be absolute. They agreed that the majority would not take away the property of the white minority. This compromise was not easy. How was this compromise going to be implemented? Even if they managed to trust each other, what was the guarantee that this trust will not be broken in future?

The only way to build and maintain trust in such a situation is to write down some rules of the game that everyone would abide by. These rules lay down how the rulers are to be chosen in future. These rules also determine what the elected governments are empowered to do and what they cannot do. Finally these rules decide the rights of the citizen. These rules will work only if the winner cannot change them very easily. This is what the South Africans did. They agreed on some basic rules. They also agreed that these rules will be supreme, that no government will be able to ignore these. This set of basic rules is called a constitution.

Constitution making is not unique to South Africa. Every country has diverse groups of people. Their relationship may not have been as bad as that between the whites and the blacks in South Africa. But all over the world people have differences of opinion and interests. Whether democratic or not, most countries in the world need to have these basic rules. This applies not just to governments. Any association needs to have its constitution. It could be a club in your area, a cooperative

society or a political party, they all need a constitution.



## A C T I V I T Y

Approach a club or cooperative society or union or political party in your locality. Get a copy of their rule book (it is often called Rules of Association) and read it. Are these rules in accordance with principles of democracy? Do they give membership to any person without discrimination?

Thus, the constitution of a country is a set of written rules that are accepted by all people living together in a country. Constitution is the supreme law that determines the relationship among people living in a territory (called citizens) and also the relationship between the people and government. A constitution does many things:

- First, it generates a degree of trust and coordination that is necessary for different kind of people to live together;
- Second, it specifies how the government will be constituted, who will have power to take which decisions;
- Third, it lays down limits on the powers of the government and tells us what the rights of the citizens are; and
- Fourth, it expresses the aspirations of the people about creating a good society.

All countries that have constitutions are not necessarily democratic. But all countries that are democratic will have constitutions. After the War of Independence against Great Britain, the Americans gave themselves a constitution. After the Revolution, the French people approved a democratic constitution. Since then it has become a practice in all democracies to have a written constitution.



This is not fair! What was the point in having a Constituent Assembly in India if all the basics were already decided?



**Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel**

(1875-1950) born: Gujarat. Minister of Home, Information and Broadcasting in the Interim Government. Lawyer and leader of Bardoli peasant satyagraha. Played a decisive role in the integration of the Indian princely states. Later: Deputy Prime Minister.

All sketches by Rajeev Kumar



**Abul Kalam Azad**

(1888-1958) born: Saudi Arabia. Educationist, author and theologian; scholar of Arabic. Congress leader, active in the national movement. Opposed Muslim separatist politics. Later: Education Minister in the first union cabinet.



**T.T. Krishnamachari**

(1899-1974) born: Tamil Nadu. Member, Drafting Committee. Entrepreneur and Congress leader. Later: Finance Minister in the Union Cabinet.

## 2.3 MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Like South Africa, India's Constitution was also drawn up under very difficult circumstances. The making of the constitution for a huge and diverse country like India was not an easy affair. At that time the people of India were emerging from the status of subjects to that of citizens. The country was born through a partition on the basis of religious differences. This was a traumatic experience for the people of India and Pakistan.

At least ten lakh people were killed on both sides of the border in partition related violence. There was another problem. The British had left it to the rulers of the princely states to decide whether they wanted to merge with India or with Pakistan or remain independent. The merger of these princely states was a difficult and uncertain task. When the constitution was being written, the future of the country did not look as secure as it does today. The makers of the constitution had anxieties about the present and the future of the country.



### ACTIVITY

Speak to your grandparents or some other elders in your locality. Ask them if they have any memory of partition or independence or the making of the constitution. What were their fears and hopes about the country at that time? Discuss these in the classroom.

### The path to Constitution

Despite all these difficulties, there was one big advantage for the makers of the Indian Constitution. Unlike South Africa, they did not have to create a consensus about what a democratic India should look

like. Much of this consensus had evolved during the freedom struggle. Our national movement was not merely a struggle against a foreign rule. It was also a struggle to rejuvenate our country and to transform our society and politics. There were sharp differences of opinion within the freedom struggle about the path India should take after Independence. Such differences exist even today. Yet some basic ideas had come to be accepted by almost everyone.

As far back as in 1928, Motilal Nehru and eight other Congress leaders drafted a constitution for India. In 1931, the resolution at the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress dwelt on how independent India's constitution should look like. Both these documents were committed to the inclusion of universal adult franchise, right to freedom and equality and to protecting the rights of minorities in the constitution of independent India. Thus some basic values were accepted by all leaders much before the **Constituent Assembly** met to deliberate on the Constitution.

The familiarity with political institutions of colonial rule also helped develop an agreement over the institutional design. The British rule had given voting rights only to a few. On that basis the British had introduced very weak legislatures. Elections were held in 1937 to Provincial Legislatures and Ministries all over British India. These were not fully democratic governments. But the experience gained by Indians in the working of the legislative institutions proved to be very useful for the country in setting up its own institutions and

working in them. That is why the Indian constitution adopted many institutional details and procedures from colonial laws like the Government of India Act, 1935.

Years of thinking and deliberation on the framework of the constitution had another benefit. Our leaders gained confidence to learn from other countries, but on our own terms. Many of our leaders were inspired by the ideals of French Revolution, the practice of parliamentary democracy in Britain and the Bill of Rights in the US. The socialist revolution in Russia had inspired many Indians to think of shaping a system based on social and economic equality. Yet they were not simply imitating what others had done. At each step they were questioning whether these things suited our country. All these factors contributed to the making of our Constitution.

## The Constituent Assembly

Who, then, were the makers of the Indian Constitution? You will find here very brief sketch of some of the leaders who played an important role in making the Constitution.



## A C T I V I T Y

Find out more about any member of the Constituent Assembly from your state or region who is not mentioned here. Collect a photograph or make a sketch of that leader. Write a short note on him or her, following the same style as used here: Name (year of birth-year of death), place of birth (by current political boundaries), brief description of political activities; role played after the Constituent Assembly.

The drafting of the document called the constitution was done by an assembly of elected representatives

called the Constituent Assembly. Elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in July 1946. Its first meeting was held in December 1946. Soon after, the country was divided into India and Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly was also divided into the Constituent Assembly of India and that of Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly that wrote the Indian constitution had 299 members. The Assembly adopted the Constitution on 26 November 1949 but it came into effect on 26 January 1950. To mark this day we celebrate January 26 as Republic Day every year.

Why should we accept the Constitution made by this Assembly more than six decades ago? We have already noted one reason above. The Constitution does not reflect the views of its members alone. It expresses a broad consensus of its time. Many countries of the world have had to rewrite their Constitution afresh because the basic rules were not acceptable to all major social groups or political parties. In some other countries, the Constitution exists as a mere piece of paper. No one actually follows it. The experience of our Constitution is different. Over the last half a century, several groups have questioned some provisions of the Constitution. But no large social group or political party has ever questioned the legitimacy of the Constitution itself. This is an unusual achievement for any constitution.

The second reason for accepting the Constitution is that the Constituent Assembly represented the people of India. There was no universal adult franchise at that time. So the Constituent Assembly could not have been chosen directly by all the people of India. It was



### Rajendra Prasad

(1884-1963) born: Bihar. President of the Constituent Assembly. Lawyer, known for his role in the Champaran satyagraha. Three times the president of Congress. Later: the first President of India.



### Jaipal Singh

(1903-1970) born: Jharkhand. A sportsman and educationist. Captain of the first national Hockey team. Founder President of Adivasi Maha Sabha. Later: founder of Jharkhand Party.



### H. C. Mookherjee

(1887-1956) born: Bengal. Vice-Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. Reputed author and educationist. Congress leader. Member of All India Christian Council and Bengal Legislative Assembly. Later: Governor of West Bengal.



**G. Durgabai Deshmukh**  
(1909-1981)

born: Andhra Pradesh.  
Advocate and public activist  
for women's emancipation.  
Founder of Andhra Mahila  
Sabha. Congress leader.  
Later: Founder Chairperson  
of Central Social Welfare  
Board.

electd mainly by the members of the existing Provincial Legislatures that we mentioned above. This ensured a fair geographical share of members from all the regions of the country. The Assembly was dominated by the Indian National Congress, the party that led India's freedom struggle. But the Congress itself included a variety of political groups and opinions. The Assembly had many members who did not agree with the Congress. In social terms too, the Assembly represented members from different language groups, castes, classes, religions and occupations. Even if the Constituent Assembly was elected by universal adult franchise, its composition would not have been very different.

Finally, the manner in which the Constituent Assembly worked gives sanctity to the Constitution. The

Constituent Assembly worked in a systematic, open and consensual manner. First some basic principles were decided and agreed upon. Then a Drafting Committee chaired by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar prepared a **draft** constitution for discussion. Several rounds of thorough discussion took place on the Draft Constitution, **clause** by clause. More than two thousand amendments were considered. The members deliberated for 114 days spread over three years. Every document presented and every word spoken in the Constituent Assembly has been recorded and preserved. These are called 'Constituent Assembly Debates'. When printed, these debates are 12 bulky volumes! These debates provide the rationale behind every provision of the Constitution. These are used to interpret the meaning of the Constitution.



Read the information about all the makers of the Indian Constitution given in the side columns here. You don't need to memorise this information. Just give examples from these to support the following statements:

1. The Assembly had many members who were not with the Congress
2. The Assembly represented members from different social groups
3. Members of the Assembly believed in different ideologies



**Baldev Singh**  
(1901-1961)

born: Haryana.  
A successful entrepreneur  
and leader of the Panthic  
Akali Party in the Punjab  
Assembly. A nominee of  
the Congress in the  
Constituent Assembly.  
Later: Defence Minister in  
the Union Cabinet.

## 2.4 GUIDING VALUES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

In this book we shall study the exact provisions of the Constitution on different subjects. At this stage let us begin by understanding the overall **philosophy** of what our Constitution is all about. We can do this in two ways. We can understand it by reading the views of some of our major leaders on our Constitution. But it is equally important to read what the Constitution says about its own philosophy. This is what the preamble to the Constitution does.

Let us turn to these, one by one.

### The Dream and the Promise

Some of you may have noticed a name missing from the sketches of the makers of the constitution: Mahatma Gandhi. He was not a member of the Constituent Assembly. Yet there were many members who followed his vision. Years ago, writing in his magazine *Young India* in 1931, he had spelt out what he wanted the Constitution to do:

*I shall strive for a constitution which will release India from all thralldom and patronage ... I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of the intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men ... I shall be satisfied with nothing else.*



This dream of an India that has eliminated inequality was shared by Dr. Ambedkar, who played a key role in the making of the Constitution but he had a different understanding of

how inequalities could be removed. He often bitterly criticised Mahatma Gandhi and his vision. In his concluding speech to the Constituent Assembly he stated his anxiety very clearly:

*On the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1950 we are going to enter a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril.*

Finally let us turn to Jawaharlal Nehru giving his famous speech to the

Constituent Assembly at the stroke of midnight on 15 August 1947:



**Kanhaiyalal Maniklal Munshi**

(1887-1971) born:Gujarat. Advocate, historian and linguist. Congress leader and Gandhian. Later: Minister in the Union Cabinet. Founder of the Swatantra Party.



**Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar**

(1891-1956) born: Madhya Pradesh. Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Social revolutionary thinker and agitator against caste divisions and caste based inequalities. Later: Law minister in the first cabinet of post-independence India. Founder of Republican Party of India.



**Shyama Prasad Mukherjee**

(1901-1953) born: West Bengal. Minister for Industry and Supply in the Interim Government. Educationist and lawyer. Active in Hindu Mahasabha. Later: Founder President of Bharatiya Jansangh.



**Jawaharlal Nehru**  
(1889-1964) born: Uttar Pradesh. Prime Minister of the interim government. Lawyer and Congress leader. Advocate of socialism, democracy and anti-imperialism. Later: First Prime Minister of India.



**Sarojini Naidu**  
(1879-1949)  
born: Andhra Pradesh. Poet, writer and political activist. Among the foremost women leaders in the Congress. Later: Governor of Uttar Pradesh.



**Somnath Lahiri**  
(1901-1984) born: West Bengal. Writer and editor. Leader of the Communist Party of India. Later: Member of West Bengal Legislative Assembly.



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

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

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

Read the three quotations above carefully.

- Can you identify one idea that is common to all these three?
- What are the differences in their ways of expressing that common idea?

## Philosophy of the Constitution

Values that inspired and guided the freedom struggle and were in turn nurtured by it, formed the foundation for India's democracy. These values are embedded in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. They guide all the

articles of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution begins with a short statement of its basic values. This is called the Preamble to the constitution. Taking inspiration from American model, most countries in the contemporary world have chosen to begin their constitutions with a preamble.

### *We the People of the United States,*

in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

We, the people of South Africa,  
Recognise the injustices of our past;

Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;

Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and

Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to —

Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;

Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;

Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and

Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

May God protect our people.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.

God seën Suid-Afrika. God bless South Africa.

Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.

## **WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA**

The constitution has been drawn up and enacted by the people through their representatives, and not handed down to them by a king or any outside powers.

### **SOVEREIGN**

People have supreme right to make decisions on internal as well as external matters. No external power can dictate the government of India.

### **SOCIALIST**

Wealth is generated socially and should be shared equally by society. Government should regulate the ownership of land and industry to reduce socio-economic inequalities.

### **SECULAR**

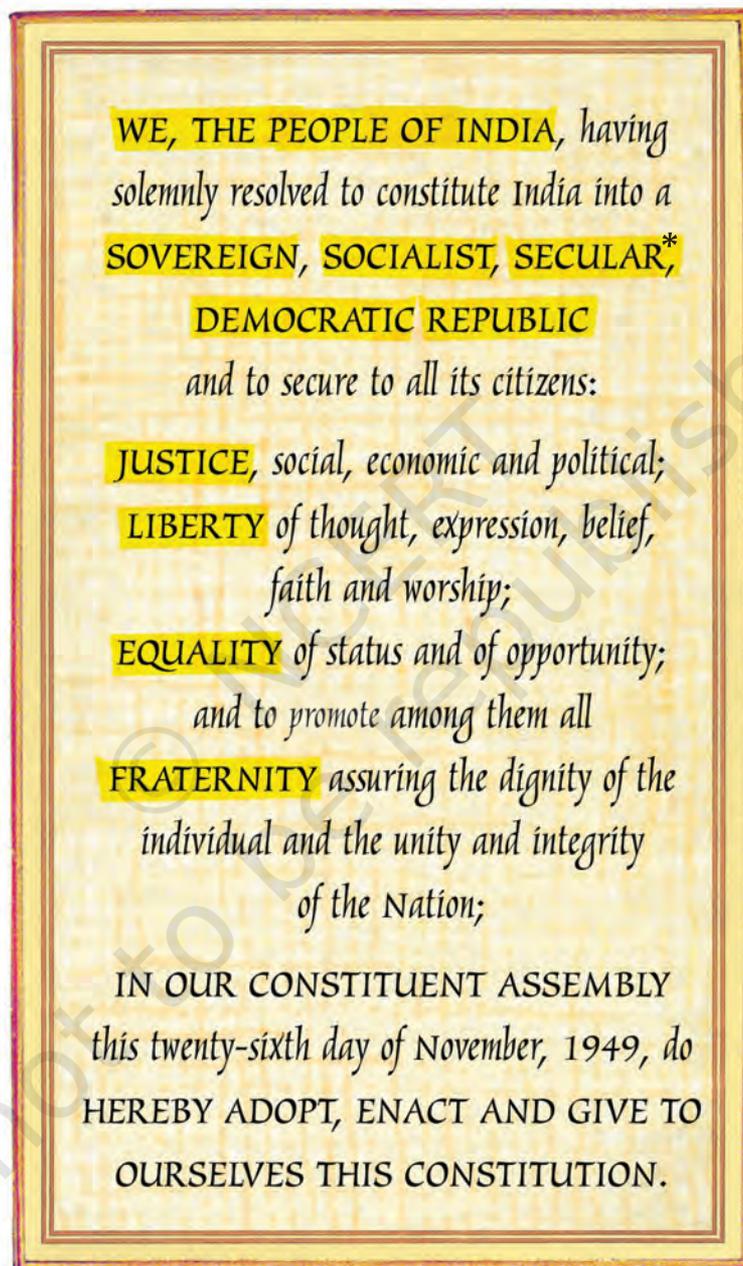
Citizens have complete freedom to follow any religion. But there is no official religion. Government treats all religious beliefs and practices with equal respect.

### **DEMOCRATIC**

A form of government where people enjoy equal political rights, elect their rulers and hold them accountable. The government is run according to some basic rules.

Let us read the Preamble of our Constitution very carefully and understand the meaning of each of its key words.

The Preamble of the Constitution reads like a poem on democracy. It contains the philosophy on which the entire Constitution has been built. It provides a standard to examine and evaluate any law and action of government, to find out whether it is good or bad. It is the soul of the Indian Constitution.



Note: \*The terms 'Socialist' and 'Secular' were added in Preamble through the 42<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment in 1976.

## **REPUBLIC**

The head of the state is an elected person and not a hereditary position.

## **JUSTICE**

Citizens cannot be discriminated on the grounds of caste, religion and gender. Social inequalities have to be reduced. Government should work for the welfare of all, especially of the disadvantaged groups.

## **LIBERTY**

There are no unreasonable restrictions on the citizens in what they think, how they wish to express their thoughts and the way they wish to follow up their thoughts in action.

## **EQUALITY**

All are equal before the law. The traditional social inequalities have to be ended. The government should ensure equal opportunity for all.

## **FRATERNITY**

All of us should behave as if we are members of the same family. No one should treat a fellow citizen as inferior.

Compare the Preambles to the constitutions of the United States of America, India and South Africa.

- Make a list of ideas that are common to all these three.
- Note down at least one of the major differences among these.
- Which of the three makes a reference to the past?
- Which of these does not invoke God?



## Institutional design

A constitution is not merely a statement of values and philosophy. As we noted above, a constitution is mainly about embodying these values into institutional arrangements. Much of the document called Constitution of India is about these arrangements. It is a very long and detailed document. Therefore it needs to be amended quite regularly to keep it updated. Those who crafted the Indian Constitution felt that it has to be in accordance with people's aspirations and changes in society. They did not see it as a sacred, static and unalterable law. So, they made provisions to incorporate changes from time to time. These changes are called constitutional amendments.

The Constitution describes the institutional arrangements in a very legal language. If you read the Constitution for the first time, it can

be quite difficult to understand. Yet the basic institutional design is not very difficult to understand. Like any Constitution, the Indian Constitution lays down a procedure for choosing persons to govern the country. It defines who will have how much power to take which decisions. And it puts limits to what the government can do by providing some rights to the citizen that cannot be violated. The remaining three chapters in this book are about these three aspects of the working of Indian constitution. We shall look at some key constitutional provisions in each chapter and understand how they work in democratic politics. But this textbook will not cover all the salient features of the institutional design in the Indian Constitution. Some other aspects will be covered in your textbook next year.

**Apartheid:** The official policy of racial separation and ill treatment of blacks followed by the government of South Africa between 1948 and 1989.

**Clause:** A distinct section of a document.

**Constituent Assembly:** An assembly of people's representatives that writes a constitution for a country.

**Constitution:** Supreme law of a country, containing fundamental rules governing the politics and society in a country.

**Constitutional amendment:** A change in the constitution made by the supreme legislative body in a country.

**Draft:** A preliminary version of a legal document.

**Philosophy:** The most fundamental principles underlying one's thoughts and actions.

**Preamble:** An introductory statement in a constitution which states the reasons and guiding values of the constitution.

**Treason:** The offence of attempting to overthrow the government of the state to which the offender owes allegiance.

**Tryst:** A meeting or meeting place that has been agreed upon.



- 1 Here are some false statements. Identify the mistake in each case and rewrite these correctly based on what you have read in this chapter.
  - a Leaders of the freedom movement had an open mind about whether the country should be democratic or not after independence.
  - b Members of the Constituent Assembly of India held the same views on all provisions of the Constitution.
  - c A country that has a constitution must be a democracy.
  - d Constitution cannot be amended because it is the supreme law of a country.
  
- 2 Which of these was the most salient underlying conflict in the making of a democratic constitution in South Africa?
  - a Between South Africa and its neighbours
  - b Between men and women
  - c Between the white majority and the black minority
  - d Between the coloured minority and the black majority
  
- 3 Which of these is a provision that a democratic constitution does not have?
  - a Powers of the head of the state
  - b Name of the head of the state
  - c Powers of the legislature
  - d Name of the country
  
- 4 Match the following leaders with their roles in the making of the Constitution:
 

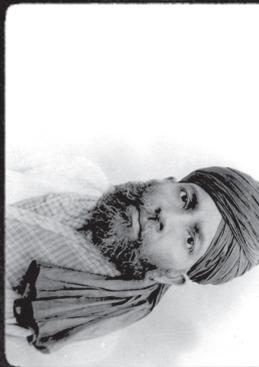
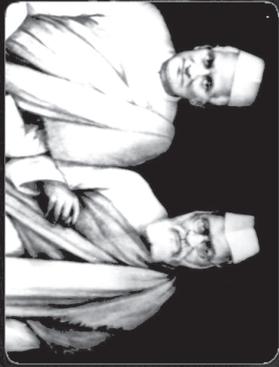
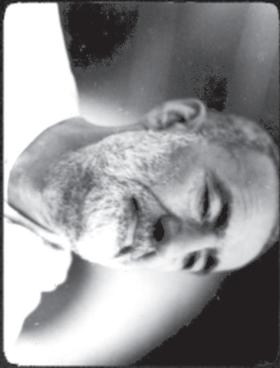
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a Motilal Nehru</li> <li>b B.R. Ambedkar</li> <li>c Rajendra Prasad</li> <li>d Sarojini Naidu</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i President of the Constituent Assembly</li> <li>ii Member of the Constituent Assembly</li> <li>iii Chairman of the Drafting Committee</li> <li>iv Prepared a Constitution for India in 1928</li> </ol>
---	--
  
- 5 Read again the extracts from Nehru's speech 'Tryst with Destiny' and answer the following:
  - a Why did Nehru use the expression "not wholly or in full measure" in the first sentence?
  - b What pledge did he want the makers of the Indian Constitution to take?
  - c "*The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye*". Who was he referring to?
  
- 6 Here are some of the guiding values of the Constitution and their meaning. Rewrite them by matching them correctly.
 

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a Sovereign</li> <li>b Republic</li> <li>c Fraternity</li> <li>d Secular</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i Government will not favour any religion.</li> <li>ii People have the supreme right to make decisions.</li> <li>iii Head of the state is an elected person.</li> <li>iv People should live like brothers and sisters.</li> </ol>
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- 7 How did your school celebrate the Constitution Day on November 26th? Prepare a brief report.
- 8 Here are different opinions about what made India a democracy. How much importance would you give to each of these factors?
- a Democracy in India is a gift of the British rulers. We received training to work with representative legislative institutions under the British rule.
  - b Freedom Struggle challenged the colonial exploitation and denial of different freedoms to Indians. Free India could not be anything but democratic.
  - c We were lucky to have leaders who had democratic convictions. The denial of democracy in several other newly independent countries shows the important role of these leaders.
- 9 Read the following extract from a conduct book for 'married women', published in 1912. *'God has made the female species delicate and fragile both physically and emotionally, pitiably incapable of self-defence. They are destined thus by God to remain in male protection – of father, husband and son – all their lives. Women should, therefore, not despair, but feel obliged that they can dedicate themselves to the service of men'*. Do you think the values expressed in this para reflected the values underlying our constitution? Or does this go against the constitutional values?
- 10 Read the following statements about a constitution. Give reasons why each of these is true or not true.
- a The authority of the rules of the constitution is the same as that of any other law.
  - b Constitution lays down how different organs of the government will be formed.
  - c Rights of citizens and limits on the power of the government are laid down in the constitution.
  - d A constitution is about institutions, not about values

Follow the newspapers for any report on a discussion on any constitutional amendment or demand for any constitutional amendment. You could, for example, focus on the demand for constitutional amendment for reservation for women in legislatures. Was there a public debate? What reasons were put forward in favour of the amendment? How did different parties react to the constitutional amendment? Did the amendment take place?





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## CHAPTER 3

# ELECTORAL POLITICS

## OVERVIEW

In Chapter 1 we have seen that in a democracy it is neither possible nor necessary for people to govern directly. The most common form of democracy in our times is for the people to govern through their representatives. In this chapter we will look at how these representatives are elected. We begin by understanding why elections are necessary and useful in a democracy. We try to understand how electoral competition among parties serves the people. We then go on to ask what makes an election democratic. The basic idea here is to distinguish democratic elections from non-democratic elections.

The rest of the chapter tries to assess elections in India in the light of this yardstick. We take a look at each stage of elections, from the drawing of boundaries of different constituencies to the declaration of results. At each stage we ask what should happen and what does happen in elections. Towards the end of the chapter, we turn to an assessment of whether elections in India are free and fair. Here we also examine the role of the Election Commission in ensuring free and fair elections.



Do most leaders fulfil their election promises?

## 3.1 WHY ELECTIONS?

### Assembly Election in Haryana

The time is after midnight. An expectant crowd sitting for the past five hours in a chowk of the town is waiting for its leader to come. The organisers assure and reassure the crowd that he would be here any moment. The crowd stands up whenever a passing vehicle comes that way. It arouses hopes that he has come.

The leader is Mr. Devi Lal, chief of the Haryana Sangharsh Samiti, who was to address a meeting in Karnal on Thursday night. The 76-year-old leader, is a very busy man these days. His day starts at 8 a.m. and ends after 11 p.m. ... he had already addressed nine election meetings since morning... been constantly addressing public meetings for the past 23 months and preparing for this election.

This newspaper report is about the State assembly election in Haryana in 1987. The State had been ruled by a Congress party led government since 1982. Chaudhary Devi Lal, then an opposition leader, led a movement called 'Nyaya Yudh' (Struggle for Justice) and formed a new party, Lok Dal. His party joined other opposition parties to form a front against the Congress in the elections. In the election campaign, Devi Lal said that if his party won the elections, his

government would waive the loans of farmers and small businessmen. He promised that this would be the first action of his government.

The people were unhappy with the existing government. They were also attracted by Devi Lal's promise. So, when elections were held, they voted overwhelmingly in favour of Lok Dal and its allies. Lok Dal and its partners won 76 out of 90 seats in the State Assembly. Lok Dal alone won 60 seats and thus had a clear majority in the Assembly. The Congress could win only 5 seats.

Once the election results were announced, the sitting Chief Minister resigned. The newly elected Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) of Lok Dal chose Devi Lal as their leader. The Governor invited Devi Lal to be the new Chief Minister. Three days after the election results were declared, he became the Chief Minister. As soon as he became the Chief Minister, his Government issued a Government Order waiving the outstanding loans of small farmers, agricultural labourers and small businessmen. His party ruled the State for four years. The next elections were held in 1991. But this time his party did not win popular support. The Congress won the election and formed the government.



Jagdeep and Navpreet read this story and drew the following conclusions. Can you say which of these are right or wrong (or if the information given in the story is inadequate to call them right or wrong):

- Elections can lead to changes in the policy of the government.
- The Governor invited Devi Lal to become the Chief Minister because he was impressed with his speeches.
- People are unhappy with every ruling party and vote against it in the next election.
- The party that wins the election forms the government.
- This election led to a lot of economic development in Haryana.
- The Congress Chief Minister need not have resigned after his party lost elections.



## A C T I V I T Y

Do you know when the last Assembly election was held in your state? Which other elections have taken place in your locality in the last five years? Write down the level of elections (National, Assembly, Panchayat, etc.), when were they held and the name and designation (MP, MLA, etc.) of the persons who got elected from your area.

### Why do we need elections?

Elections take place regularly in any democracy. There are more than one hundred countries in the world in which elections take place to choose people's representatives. We also read that elections are held in many countries that are not democratic.

But why do we need elections? Let us try to imagine a democracy without elections. A rule of the people is possible without any elections if all the people can sit together everyday and take all the decisions. But as we have already seen in Chapter 1, this is not possible in any large community. Nor is it possible for everyone to have the time and knowledge to take decisions on all matters. Therefore in most democracies people rule through their representatives.

Is there a democratic way of selecting representatives without elections? Let us think of a place where representatives are selected on the basis of age and experience. Or a place where they are chosen on the basis of education or knowledge. There could be some difficulty in deciding on who is more experienced or knowledgeable. But let us say the people can resolve these difficulties. Clearly, such a place does not require elections.

But can we call this place a democracy? How do we find out if the people like their representatives or not? How do we ensure that these representatives rule as per the wishes of the people? How to make sure that those who the people don't like do not remain their representatives? This requires a mechanism by which people can choose their representatives at regular intervals and change them if they wish to do so. This mechanism is called election. Therefore, elections are considered essential in our times for any representative democracy.

In an election the voters make many choices:

- They can choose who will make laws for them.
- They can choose who will form the government and take major decisions.
- They can choose the party whose policies will guide the government and law making.

### What makes an election democratic?

Elections can be held in many ways. All democratic countries hold elections. But most non-democratic countries also hold some kind of elections. How do we distinguish democratic elections from any other election? We have discussed this question briefly in Chapter 1. We discussed many examples of countries where elections are held but they can't really be called democratic elections. Let us recall what we learnt there and start with a simple list of the minimum conditions of a democratic election:

- First, everyone should be able to choose. This means that everyone should have one vote and every vote should have equal value.



We have seen why democracies need to have elections. But why do rulers in non-democratic countries need to hold elections?

- Second, there should be something to choose from. Parties and candidates should be free to contest elections and should offer some real choice to the voters.
- Third, the choice should be offered at regular intervals. Elections must be held regularly after every few years.
- Fourth, the candidate preferred by the people should get elected.
- Fifth, elections should be conducted in a free and fair manner where people can choose as they really wish.

These might look like very simple and easy conditions. But there are many countries where these are not fulfilled. In this chapter we will apply these conditions to the elections held in our own country to see if we can call these democratic elections.

### Is it good to have political competition?

Elections are thus all about political competition. This competition takes various forms. The most obvious form is the competition among political parties. At the **constituency** level, it takes the form of competition among several candidates. If there is no competition, elections will become pointless.

But is it good to have political competition? Clearly, an electoral competition has many demerits. It creates a sense of disunity and 'factionalism' in every locality. You would have heard of people complaining of 'party-politics' in your locality. Different political parties and leaders often level allegations against one another. Parties and candidates often use dirty tricks to win elections. Some people say that this pressure to win electoral fights does not allow sensible long-term policies to be formulated. Some good people who

may wish to serve the country do not enter this arena. They do not like the idea of being dragged into unhealthy competition.

Our Constitution makers were aware of these problems. Yet they opted for free competition in elections as the way to select our future leaders. They did so because this system works better in the long run. In an ideal world all political leaders know what is good for the people and are motivated only by a desire to serve them. Political competition is not necessary in such an ideal world. But that is not what happens in real life. Political leaders all over the world, like all other professionals, are motivated by a desire to advance their political careers. They want to remain in power or get power and positions for themselves. They may wish to serve the people as well, but it is risky to depend entirely on their sense of duty. Besides even when they wish to serve the people, they may not know what is required to do so, or their ideas may not match what the people really want.

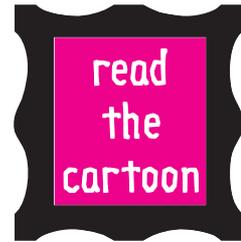
How do we deal with this real life situation? One way is to try and improve the knowledge and character of political leaders. The other and more realistic way is to set up a system where political leaders are rewarded for serving the people and punished for not doing so. Who decides this reward or punishment? The simple answer is: the people. This is what electoral competition does. Regular electoral competition provides incentives to political parties and leaders. They know that if they raise issues that people want to be raised, their popularity and chances of victory will increase in the next elections. But if they fail to satisfy the voters with their work they will not be able to win again.



Ah! So, elections are like exams where politicians and parties know if they have passed or failed. But who are the examiners?

So if a political party is motivated only by desire to be in power, even then it will be forced to serve the people. This is a bit like the way market works. Even if a shopkeeper is interested only in his profit, he is forced to give good service to the

customers. If he does not, the customer will go to some other shop. Similarly, political competition may cause divisions and some ugliness, but it finally helps to force political parties and leaders to serve the people.



Read these two cartoons carefully. Write the message of each of them in your own words. Have a discussion in class on which of the two is closer to the reality in your own locality. Draw a cartoon to depict what elections do to the relationship between voters and political leaders.

## 3.2 WHAT IS OUR SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS?

Can we say that Indian elections are democratic? To answer this question, let us take a look at how elections are held in India. Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha (Assembly) elections are held regularly after every five years. After five years the term of all the elected representatives comes to an end. The Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha stands 'dissolved'. Elections are held in all constituencies at the same time, either on the same day or within a few days. This is called a general election. Sometimes election is held only for one constituency to fill the vacancy caused by death or resignation of a member. This is

called a by-election. In this chapter we will focus on general elections.

### Electoral constituencies

You read about the people of Haryana electing 90 MLAs. You may have wondered how they did that. Did every person in Haryana vote for all the 90 MLAs? You perhaps know that this is not the case. In our country we follow an area based system of representation. The country is divided into different areas for purposes of elections. These areas are called electoral constituencies. The voters who live in an area elect one representative.

For Lok Sabha elections, the country is divided into 543 constituencies. The representative elected from each constituency is called a Member of Parliament or an MP. One of the features of a democratic election is that every vote should have equal value. That is why our Constitution requires that each constituency should have a roughly equal population living within it.

Similarly, each state is divided into a specific number of Assembly constituencies. In this case, the elected representative is called the Member of Legislative Assembly or an MLA. Each Parliamentary

constituency has within it several assembly constituencies. The same principle applies for Panchayat and Municipal elections. Each village or town is divided into several 'wards' that are like constituencies. Each ward elects one member of the village or the urban local body. Sometimes these constituencies are counted as 'seats', for each constituency represents one seat in the assembly. When we say that 'Lok Dal won 60 seats' in Haryana, it means that candidates of Lok Dal won in 60 assembly constituencies in the state and thus Lok Dal had 60 MLAs in the state assembly.

### GULBARGA LOK SABHA CONSTITUENCY



### GULBARGA (KALABURAGI) DISTRICT IN KARNATAKA



- Why is the boundary of the Gulbarga Lok Sabha constituency not the same as the district boundary of Gulbarga (Kalaburagi)? Draw a similar map for your own Lok Sabha constituency.
- How many Assembly constituencies are there in the Gulbarga Lok Sabha constituency? Is it the same in your own Lok Sabha constituency?

## Reserved Constituencies

Our Constitution entitles every citizen to elect her/his representative and to be elected as a representative. The Constitution makers, however, were worried that in an open electoral competition, certain weaker sections may not stand a good chance to get elected to the Lok Sabha and the state Legislative Assemblies. They may not have the required resources, education and contacts to contest and win elections against others. Those who are influential and resourceful may prevent them from winning elections. If that happens, our Parliament and Assemblies would be deprived of the voice of a significant section of our population. That would make our democracy less representative and less democratic.

So, the makers of our Constitution thought of a special system of reserved constituencies for the weaker sections. Some constituencies are reserved for people who belong to the Scheduled Castes [SC] and Scheduled Tribes [ST]. In a SC reserved constituency only someone who belongs to the Scheduled Castes can stand for election. Similarly only those belonging to the Scheduled Tribes can contest an election from a constituency reserved for ST. Currently, in the Lok Sabha, 84 seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes and 47 for the Scheduled Tribes (as on 26 January 2019). This number is in proportion to their share in the total population. Thus the reserved seats for SC and ST do not take away the legitimate share of any other social group.

This system of reservation was extended later to other weaker sections at the district and local level. In many states, seats in rural (panchayat) and urban (municipalities and corporations)

local bodies are now reserved for Other Backward Classes (OBC) as well. However, the proportion of seats reserved varies from state to state. Similarly, one-third of the seats are reserved in rural and urban local bodies for women candidates.

## Voters' list

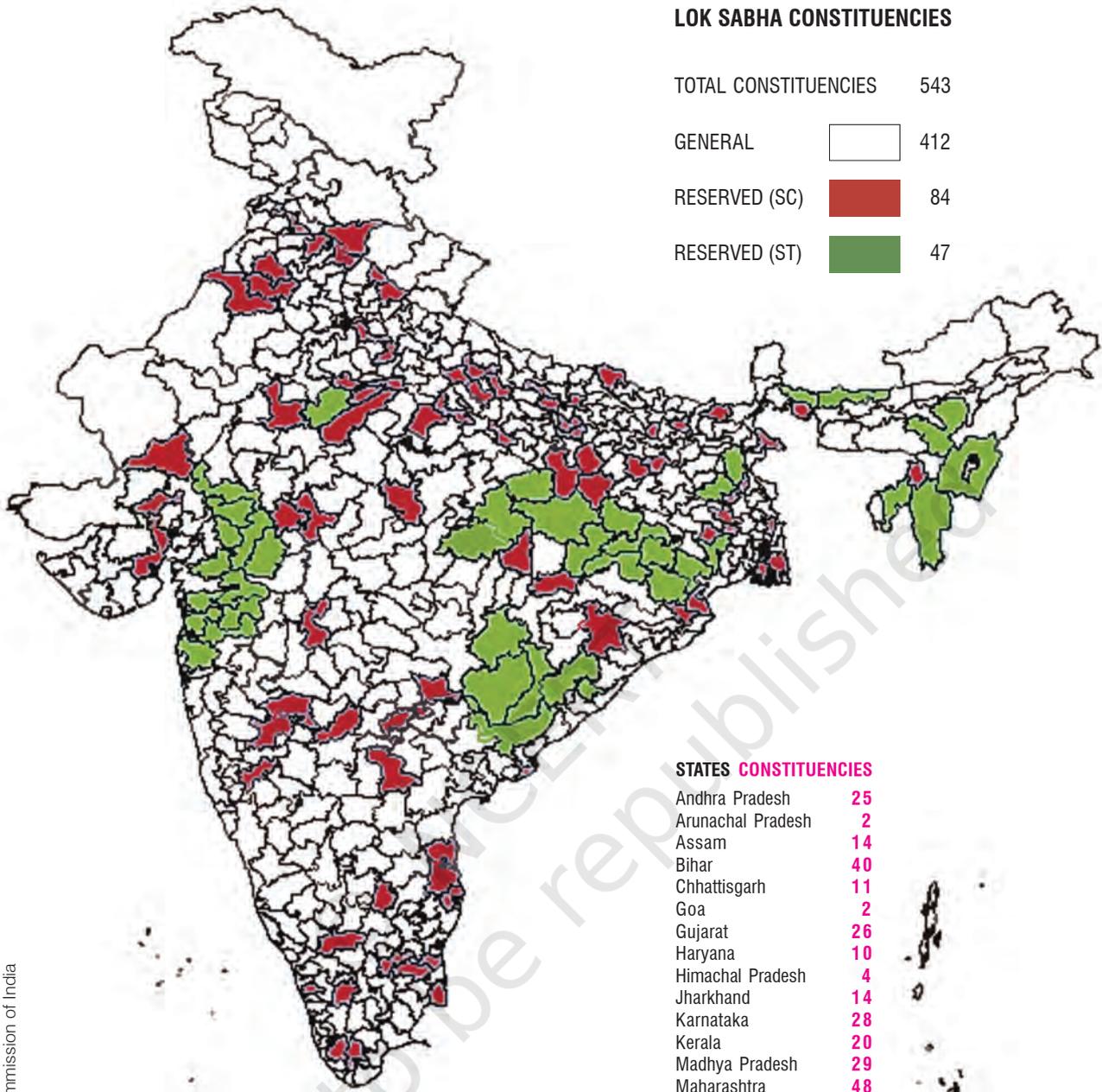
Once the constituencies are decided, the next step is to decide who can and who cannot vote. This decision cannot be left to anyone till the last day. In a democratic election, the list of those who are eligible to vote is prepared much before the election and given to everyone. This list is officially called the Electoral Roll and is commonly known as the Voters' List.

This is an important step for it is linked to the first condition of a democratic election: everyone should get an equal opportunity to choose representatives. Earlier, we read about the principle of universal adult franchise. In practice it means that everyone should have one vote and each vote should have equal value. No one should be denied the right to vote without a good reason. Different citizens differ from one another in many ways: some are rich, some are poor; some are highly educated, some are not so educated or not educated at all; some are kind, others are not so kind. But all of them are human beings with their own needs and views. That is why all of them deserve to have an equal say in decisions that affect them.

In our country, all the citizens aged 18 years and above can vote in an election. Every citizen has the right to vote, regardless of his or her caste, religion or gender. Some criminals and persons with unsound mind can



Like in Panchayats, should we not have at least one-third seats in the parliament and assemblies reserved for women?



### LOK SABHA CONSTITUENCIES

TOTAL CONSTITUENCIES		543
GENERAL	<span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; border: 1px solid black; background-color: white;"></span>	412
RESERVED (SC)	<span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: red;"></span>	84
RESERVED (ST)	<span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: green;"></span>	47

### STATES CONSTITUENCIES

Andhra Pradesh	25
Arunachal Pradesh	2
Assam	14
Bihar	40
Chhattisgarh	11
Goa	2
Gujarat	26
Haryana	10
Himachal Pradesh	4
Jharkhand	14
Karnataka	28
Kerala	20
Madhya Pradesh	29
Maharashtra	48
Manipur	2
Meghalaya	2
Mizoram	1
Nagaland	1
Odisha	21
Punjab	13
Rajasthan	25
Sikkim	1
Tamil Nadu	39
Telangana	17
Tripura	2
Uttar Pradesh	80
Uttarakhand	5
West Bengal	42

### UNION TERRITORIES

Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1
Chandigarh	1
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1
Daman & Diu	1
Delhi	7
Jammu and Kashmir	5
Ladakh	1
Lakshadweep	1
Puducherry	1

See the map above and answer the following questions.

- What is the number of Lok Sabha constituencies in your state and the neighbouring two states?
- Which states have more than 30 Lok Sabha constituencies?
- Why do some states have such a large number of constituencies?
- Why are some constituencies small in area while others are very big?
- Are the constituencies reserved for the SCs and STs evenly spread all over the entire country or are there more in some areas?

be denied the right to vote, but only in rare situations. It is the responsibility of the government to get the names of all the eligible voters put on the voters' list. As new persons attain voting age names are added to the voters' list. Names of those who move out of a place or those who are dead are deleted. A complete revision of the list takes place every five years. This is done to ensure that it remains up to date. In the last few years a new system of Election Photo Identity Card [EPIC] has been introduced. The government has tried to give this card to every person on the voters list. The voters are required to carry this card when they go out to vote, so that no one can vote for someone else. But the card is not yet compulsory for voting. For voting, the voters can show many other proofs of identity like the ration card or the driving licence.

### Nomination of candidates

We noted above that in a democratic election people should have a real choice. This happens only when there are almost no restrictions on anyone to contest an election. This is what our system provides. Anyone who can be a voter can also become a candidate in elections. The only difference is that in order to be a candidate the minimum age is 25 years, while it is only 18 years for being a voter. There are some other restrictions on criminals etc. but these apply in very extreme cases. Political parties nominate their candidates who get the party symbol and support. Party's nomination is often called party 'ticket'.

Every person who wishes to contest an election has to fill a 'nomination form' and give some money as 'security deposit'.

Recently, a new system of declaration has been introduced on direction from the Supreme Court. Every candidate has to make a legal declaration, giving full details of :

- Serious criminal cases pending against the candidate;
- Details of the assets and liabilities of the candidate and his or her family; and
- Educational qualifications of the candidate.

This information has to be made public. This provides an opportunity to the voters to make their decision on the basis of the information provided by the candidates.

### Educational qualifications for candidates

Why is there no educational qualification for holding such an important position when some kind of educational qualification is needed for any other job in the country?

- Educational qualifications are not relevant to all kinds of jobs. The relevant qualification for selection to the Indian cricket team, for example, is not the attainment of educational degrees but the ability to play cricket well. Similarly the relevant qualification for being an MLA or an MP is the ability to understand people's concerns, problems and to represent their interests. Whether they can do so or not is examined by lakhs of examiners — their voters — after every five years.
- Even if education was relevant, it should be left to the people to decide how much importance they give to educational qualifications.
- In our country putting an educational qualification would go against the spirit of democracy for yet another reason. It would mean depriving a majority of the country's citizens the right to contest elections. If, for example, a graduate degree like B.A., B.Com or B.Sc was made compulsory for candidates, more than 90 per cent of the citizens will become ineligible to contest elections.



Why are the candidates required to give a detailed statement of their property?

**ELECTORAL ROLL -2018 STATE (S16) MIZORAM**

No. Name and Reservation Status of Assembly Constituency :	7 - TUIVAWL (ST)	Part Number	14														
No. Name and Reservation Status of Parliamentary Constituency (ies) in which the assembly constituency is located :	1 - MIZORAM (ST)																
<b>1 . DETAILS OF REVISION</b>																	
Year of Revision : 2018	Qualifying Date : 01/01/2019	<b>Roll Identification:</b>															
Type of Revision : Special Summary Revision	Date of Publication : 28/12/2018	Basic Roll of Intensive Revision, 2005 integrated with all supplements preceeding Special Summary Revision, 2019															
<b>2 . DETAILS OF PART AND POLLING AREA</b>																	
No. & Name of Sections in the part :																	
1 Vervek		<table border="1" style="width:100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Main Village/Town :</td><td>VERVEK</td></tr> <tr><td>PostOffice :</td><td>DARLAWN</td></tr> <tr><td>Block :</td><td>DARLAWN</td></tr> <tr><td>PoliceStation :</td><td>SAKAWRDAI</td></tr> <tr><td>Subdivision :</td><td>SAKAWRDAI</td></tr> <tr><td>District :</td><td>AIZAWL</td></tr> <tr><td>Pincode :</td><td>796111</td></tr> </table>		Main Village/Town :	VERVEK	PostOffice :	DARLAWN	Block :	DARLAWN	PoliceStation :	SAKAWRDAI	Subdivision :	SAKAWRDAI	District :	AIZAWL	Pincode :	796111
Main Village/Town :	VERVEK																
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Block :	DARLAWN																
PoliceStation :	SAKAWRDAI																
Subdivision :	SAKAWRDAI																
District :	AIZAWL																
Pincode :	796111																
<b>3 . POLLING STATION DETAILS</b>																	
No. and Name of Polling Station :	14VERVEK	Type of Polling Station (Male/Female/General)	General														
Address of Polling Station :	Govt. Primary School, Village Name :VERVEK Post Office :DARLAWN District:AIZAWL	Number of Auxiliary Polling Stations in this part :	0														
<b>4 . NUMBER OF ELECTORS</b>																	
Starting Serial No.	Ending Serial No.	Net Electors															
		Male	With Photo	Without Photo	Female	With Photo	Without Photo	Total	With Photo	Without Photo							
1	181	93	93	0	88	88	0	181	181	0							

Assembly constituency **7 - TUIVAWL** Part No. - **14**

Section No. & Name: **1 Vervek** District - **AIZAWL** PIN- **796111**

<b>1</b> KDJ0178376 Name : Lawrkhuma Father's Name : Khawma House No : 1 Age : 60 Sex : Male	<b>2</b> KDJ0178566 Name : Thanseil Husband's Name : Lawrkhuma House No : 1 Age : 50 Sex : Female	<b>3</b> KDJ0203133 Name : Nghakliana Father's Name : Lawrkhuma House No : 1 Age : 31 Sex : Male
<b>4</b> KDJ0196766 Name : Hmingchhuangi Father's Name : Lawrkhuma House No : 1 Age : 28 Sex : Female	<b>5</b> TXU0025494 Name : Malsawmzuail Father's Name : Lawrkhuma House No : 1 Age : 24 Sex : Female	<b>6</b> KDJ0177931 Name : Lalrimawia Father's Name : Lawrkhuma House No : 2 Age : 42 Sex : Male
<b>7</b> KDJ0178483 Name : Lalthapui Husband's Name : L. Rinmawia House No : 2 Age : 28 Sex : Female	<b>8</b> TXU0051458 Name : Jessy Vanlalidiki Father's Name : Zomawia House No : 2 Age : 21 Sex : Female	<b>9</b> KDJ0178160 Name : Thanzuala Father's Name : Lalrema House No : 3 Age : 52 Sex : Male

Match the following features of our electoral system with the principles they reflect.

Principles	Features of election system
Universal adult franchise	Each constituency has roughly the same population
Representation of weaker sections	Everyone who is 18 years of age or older has a right to vote
Open political competition	Anyone can form a party or contest elections
One vote one value	Reservation of seats for the SCs and the STs



## Election Campaign

The main purpose of election is to give people a chance to choose the representatives, the government and the policies they prefer. Therefore it is necessary to have a free and open discussion about who is a better representative, which party will make a better government or what is a good policy. This is what happens during election campaigns.

In our country such campaigns take place for a two-week period between the announcement of the final list of candidates and the date of polling. During this period the candidates contact their voters, political leaders address election meetings and political parties mobilise their supporters. This is also the period when newspapers and television news are full of election related stories and debates. But election campaign is not limited to these two weeks only. Political parties start preparing for elections months before they actually take place.



## A C T I V I T Y

How was the election campaign in your constituency in the last Lok Sabha elections? Prepare a list of what the candidates and parties said and did.

In election campaigns, political parties try to focus public attention on some big issues. They want to attract the public to that issue and get them to vote for their party on that basis. Let us look at some of the successful slogans given by different political parties in various elections.

- The Congress party led by Indira Gandhi gave the slogan of **Garibi Hatao (Remove poverty)** in the Lok Sabha elections of 1971. The party promised to reorient all the policies of the government to remove poverty from the country.
- **Save Democracy** was the slogan given by Janata Party under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, in the Lok Sabha election held in 1977. The party promised to undo the excesses committed during Emergency and restore civil liberties.
- The Left Front used the slogan of **Land to the Tiller** in the West Bengal Assembly elections held in 1977.
- **'Protect the Self-Respect of the Telugus'** was the slogan used by N. T. Rama Rao, the leader of the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections in 1983.

In a democracy it is best to leave political parties and candidates free to conduct their election campaigns the way they want to. But it is sometimes necessary to regulate

campaigns to ensure that every political party and candidate gets a fair and equal chance to compete. According to our election law, no party or candidate can:

- Bribe or threaten voters;
- Appeal to them in the name of caste or religion;
- Use government resources for election campaign; and
- Spend more than ₹ 25 lakh in a constituency for a Lok Sabha election or ₹ 10 lakh in a constituency in an Assembly election.

If they do so, their election can be rejected by the court even after they have been declared elected. In addition to the laws, all the political parties in our country have agreed to a Model **Code of Conduct** for election campaigns. According to this, no party or candidate can:

- Use any place of worship for election propaganda;

- Use government vehicles, aircrafts and officials for elections; and
- Once elections are announced, Ministers shall not lay foundation stones of any projects, take any big policy decisions or make any promises of providing public facilities.

## Polling and counting of votes

The final stage of an election is the day when the voters cast or 'poll' their vote. That day is usually called the election day. Every person whose name is on the voters' list can go to a nearby 'polling booth', situated usually in a local school or a government office. Once the voter goes inside the booth, the election officials identify her, put a mark on her finger and allow her to cast her vote. An agent of each candidate is allowed to sit inside the polling booth and ensure that the voting takes place in a fair way.

Draw a cartoon here about the Model Code of Conduct for the guidance of political parties and candidates during elections.

## Are the elections too expensive for our country?

A large amount of money is spent in conducting elections in India. For instance, the government spent about ₹3,500 crores in conducting Lok Sabha elections in 2014. That works out to about ₹40 per person on the voters' list. The amount spent by parties and candidates was more than what the government spent. Roughly speaking, the expenditure made by government, parties and candidates was around ₹30,000 crores or ₹500 per voter.

Some people say that elections are a burden on our people, that our poor country cannot afford to hold elections once every five years. Let us compare this expenditure with some other figures:

- In 2005, our government decided to buy six nuclear submarines from France. Each submarine cost about ₹3,000 crores.
- Delhi hosted the Commonwealth Games in 2010. The estimate for its cost is around ₹20,000 crores.

Are the elections too expensive? You decide.

### Election result in Gulbarga

Let us go back to our example of Gulbarga. In 2014, a total of 8 candidates contested elections in that constituency. The total eligible voters were 17.21 lakhs. Of these 9.98 lakh voters had cast their votes. The candidate of the Congress party, Mallikarjun Kharge secured about 5.07 lakh votes. This was 50.82 percent of the total votes polled. But since he had secured more votes than anyone else, he was declared elected a Member of Parliament from Gulbarga Lok Sabha constituency.

### Election Result of Gulbarga constituency, GENERAL ELECTION TO LOK SABHA, 2014

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES POLLED	% OF VOTES
D.G. Sagar	JD(S)	15690	1.57
Mallikarjun Kharge	INC	507193	50.82
Danni Mahadev B.	BSP	11428	1.14
Revunaik Belamagi	BJP	432460	43.33
B.T. Lalitha Naik	AAAP	9074	0.91
S.M. Sharma	SUCI	4943	0.50
Shankar Jadhav	BHPP	2877	0.29
Ramu	IND	4085	0.41
None of the Above	NOTA	9888	0.99

- What is the percentage of voters who had actually cast their votes?
- To win an election is it necessary for a person to secure more than half the votes polled?

Earlier the voters used to indicate who they wanted to vote for by putting a stamp on the ballot paper. A ballot paper is a sheet of paper on which the names of the contesting candidates along with party name and symbols are listed. Nowadays electronic voting machines (EVM) are used to record votes. The machine shows the names of the candidates and the party symbols. Independent candidates too have their own symbols, allotted by election commission. All that the voter has to do is to press the button against the name of the candidate she wants to give her vote.

Once the polling is over, all the EVMs are sealed and taken to a

secure place. A few days later, on a fixed date, all the EVMs from a constituency are opened and the votes secured by each candidate are counted. The agents of all candidates are present there to ensure that the counting is done properly. The candidate who secures the highest number of votes from a constituency is declared elected. In a general election, usually the counting of votes in all the constituencies takes place at the same time, on the same day. Television channels, radio and newspapers report this event. Within a few hours of counting, all the results are declared and it becomes clear as to who will form the next government.

Identify the fair and the unfair electoral practices among the following:

- A minister flags off a new train in his constituency a week before polling day.
- A candidate promises that she will get a new train for her constituency if she is elected.
- Supporters of a candidate take the voters to a temple and make them take an oath that they will vote for him.
- The supporters of a candidate distribute blankets in slums in return for a promise for vote.



Why are party agents present in the polling booth and the counting centre?



### 3.3 WHAT MAKES ELECTIONS IN INDIA DEMOCRATIC?

We get to read a lot about unfair practices in elections. Newspapers and television reports often refer to such allegations. Most of these reports are about the following:

- Inclusion of false names and exclusion of genuine names in the voters' list;
- Misuse of government facilities and officials by the ruling party;
- Excessive use of money by rich candidates and big parties; and
- Intimidation of voters and **rigging** on the polling day.

Many of these reports are correct. We feel unhappy when we read or see such reports. But fortunately they are not on such a scale so as to defeat the very purpose of elections. This becomes clear if we ask a basic question: Can a party win an election and come to power not because it has popular support but through electoral malpractices? This is a vital question. Let us carefully examine various aspects of this question.

#### Independent Election Commission

One simple way of checking whether elections are fair or not is to look at who conducts the elections. Are they independent of the government? Or can the government or the ruling party influence or pressurise them? Do they have enough powers to be able to conduct free and fair elections? Do they actually use these powers?

The answer to all these questions is quite positive for our country. In our country elections are conducted by an independent and very powerful Election Commission (EC). It enjoys the same kind of independence that the judiciary enjoys. The Chief

Election Commissioner (CEC) is appointed by the President of India. But once appointed, the Chief Election Commissioner is not answerable to the President or the government. Even if the ruling party or the government does not like what the Commission does, it is virtually impossible for it to remove the CEC.

Very few election commissions in the world have such wide-ranging powers as the Election Commission of India.

- EC takes decisions on every aspect of conduct and control of elections from the announcement of elections to the declaration of results.
- It implements the Code of Conduct and punishes any candidate or party that violates it.
- During the election period, the EC can order the government to follow some guidelines, to prevent use and misuse of governmental power to enhance its chances to win elections, or to transfer some government officials.
- When on election duty, government officers work under the control of the EC and not the government.

In the last 25 years or so, the Election Commission has begun to exercise all its powers and even expand them. It is very common now for the Election Commission to reprimand the government and administration for their lapses. When election officials come to the opinion that polling was not fair in some booths or even an entire constituency, they order a repoll. The ruling parties often do not like what the EC does. But they have to obey. This would not have happened if the EC was not independent and powerful.

For more details about the Election Commission of India, visit <https://eci.gov.in>



Why does the Election Commission have so much powers? Is this good for democracy?

**EC issues notification constituting 14th Lok Sabha**

**EC tightens norms for poll expenses**

**EC to visit Gujarat again, review poll arrangements**

**HC asks EC to bar 'criminal' netas**

**EC shoots down HM advice on poll reforms**

**Photo I-cards not mandatory in Bihar polls**

**EC accepts new Haryana DGP**

**EC will seek power to censure political ads**

**EC says no immediate plan to ban Exit Polls**

**EC orders repoll in 398 more booths**

**EC to keep closer eye on hidden poll costs**



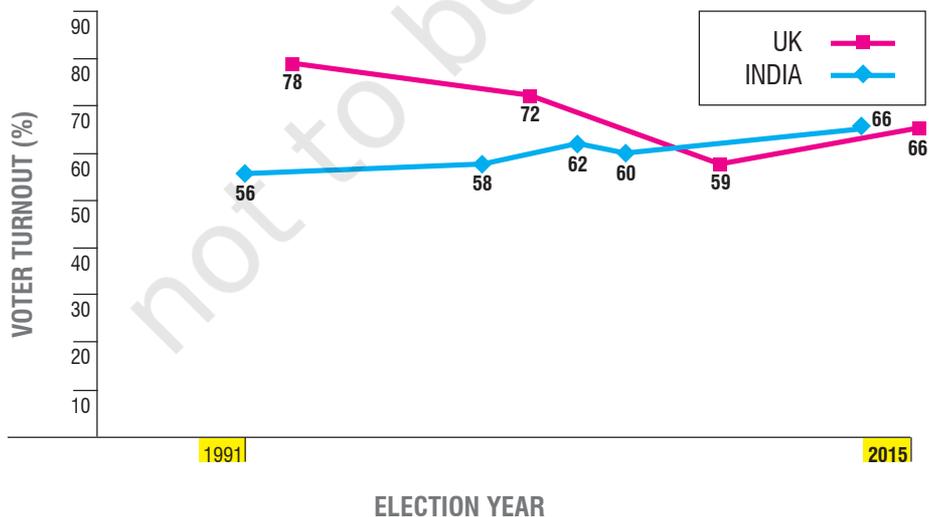
Read these headlines carefully and identify which powers are used by the Election Commission in each instance to ensure free and fair elections.

### Popular participation

Another way to check the quality of the election process is to see whether people participate in it with enthusiasm. If the election process is not free or fair, people will not continue to participate in the exercise. Now, read these charts and draw some conclusions about participation in India:

1 People's participation in election is usually measured by voter turnout figures. Turnout indicates the per cent of eligible voters who actually cast their vote. Over the last fifty years, the turnout in Europe and North America has declined. In India the turnout has either remained stable or actually gone up.

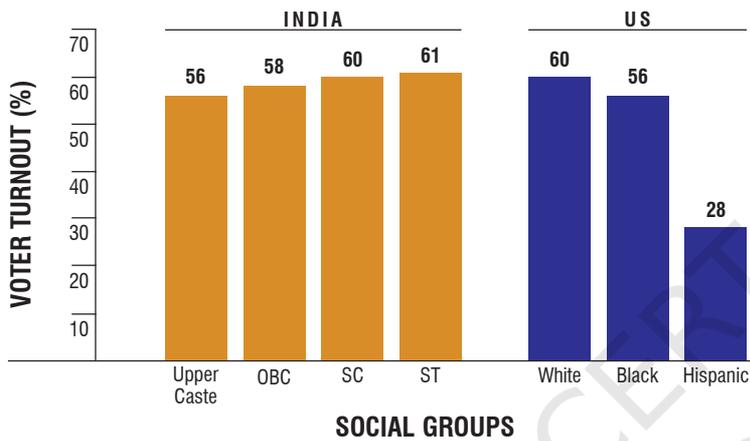
#### 1 VOTER TURNOUT IN INDIA AND THE UK



**2** In India the poor, illiterate and underprivileged people vote in larger proportion as compared to the rich and privileged sections. This is in contrast to western democracies. For example in the United States of America, poor people, African Americans and Hispanics vote much less than the rich and the white people.

**4** The interest of voters in election-related activities has been increasing over the years. During the 2004 elections, more than one-third voters took part in a campaign-related activities. More than half of the people identified themselves as being close to one or the other political party. One out of every seven voters is a member of a political party.

**2 VOTER TURNOUT IN INDIA AND US BY SOCIAL GROUPS, 2004**

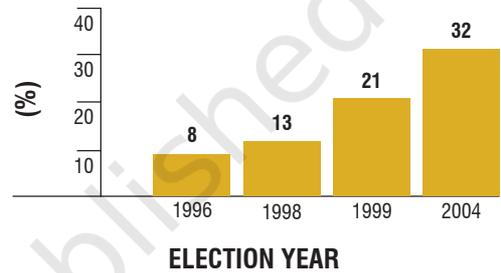


Source: Figures for India from National Election Study 2004, CSDS. Figures for US from National Election Study 2004, University of Michigan.

**3** Common people in India attach a lot of importance to elections. They feel that through elections they can bring pressure on political parties to adopt policies and programmes favourable to them. They also feel that their vote matters in the way things are run in the country.

**4 THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN ANY ELECTION RELATED ACTIVITY IN INDIA**

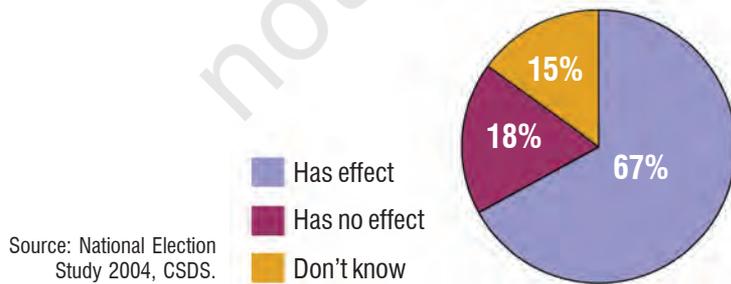
Source: National Election Study 1996-2004, CSDS.



**ACTIVITY**

Ask the eligible voters in your family whether they voted in the last election to the Lok Sabha or to the state assembly. If they did not, ask them why did they not vote. If they did, ask them which party and candidate they voted for and why. Also ask them whether they had participated in any other election-related activity like attending an election meeting or rally etc.

**3 DO YOU THINK YOUR VOTE MAKES A DIFFERENCE?**



Source: National Election Study 2004, CSDS.

**Acceptance of election outcome**

One final test of the free and fairness of election has in the outcome itself. If elections are not free or fair, the outcome always favours the powerful. In such a situation, the ruling parties do not lose elections. Usually, the

losing party does not accept the outcome of a rigged election.

The outcome of India's elections speaks for itself:

- The ruling parties routinely lose elections in India both at the national and state level. In fact in every two out of the three elections held in the last 25 years, the ruling party lost.
- In the US, an **incumbent** or 'sitting' elected representative rarely loses an election. In India about half of the sitting MPs or MLAs lose elections.
- Candidates who are known to have spent a lot of money on 'buying votes' and those with known criminal connections often lose elections.
- Barring very few disputed elections, the electoral outcomes are usually accepted as 'people's verdict' by the defeated party.

## Challenges to free and fair elections

All this leads to a simple conclusion: elections in India are basically free and fair. The party that wins an election and forms government does so because people have chosen it over its rivals. This may not be true for every constituency. A few candidates may win purely on the basis of money power and unfair means. But the overall verdict of a general election still reflects popular preference. There are very few exceptions to this rule in the last 60 years in our country. This is what makes Indian elections democratic.

Yet the picture looks different if we ask deeper questions: Are people's preferences based on real knowledge? Are the voters getting a real choice? Is election really **level playing field** for everyone? Can an ordinary citizen hope to win elections?

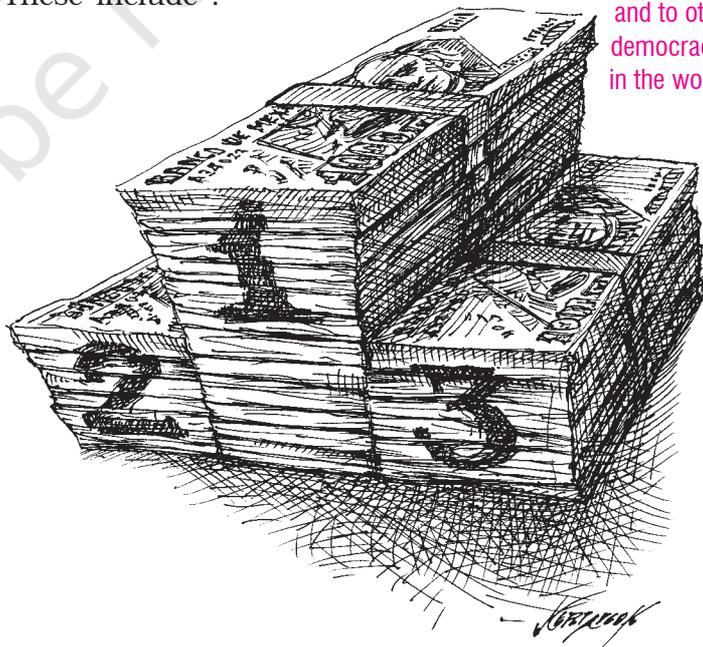


The leader is coming out of a press conference: "What was the need to say that we have distributed tickets only amongst suitable and winnable family relations?" Do you think that family politics is confined to only a few states or parties?

read  
the  
cartoon

Titled 'Electoral Campaigns', this cartoon was drawn in the Latin American context. Does this apply to India and to other democracies in the world?

Questions of this kind bring the many limitations and challenges of Indian elections to our attention. These include :

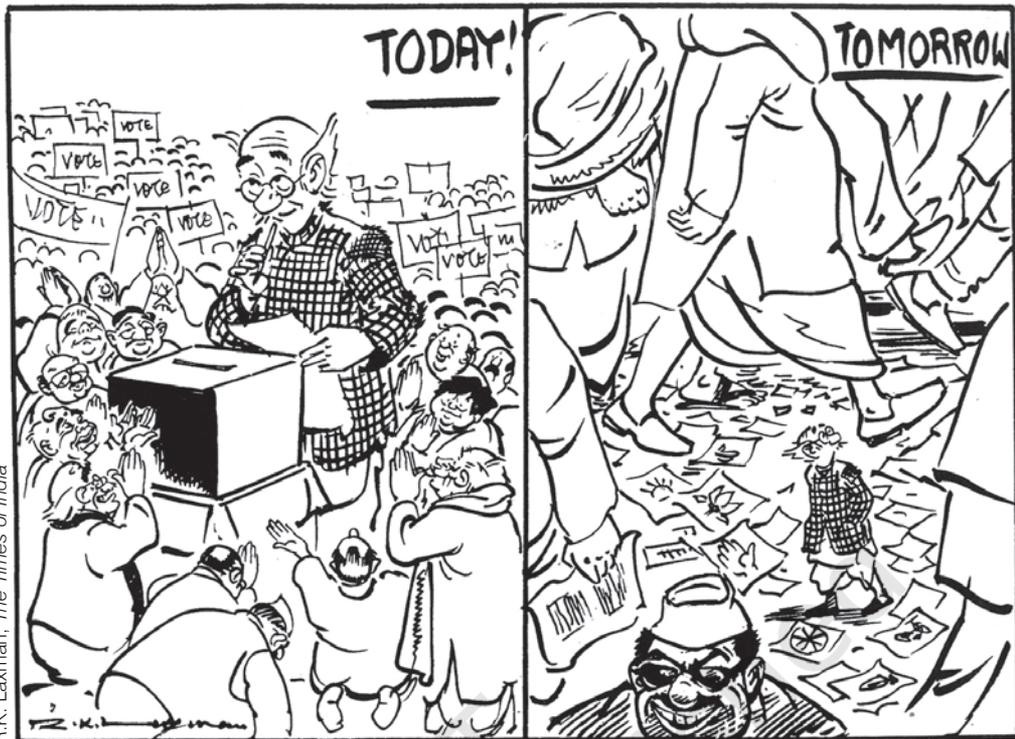


©Nerriticon, El Economista, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Is this an accurate picture of what happens to the voter before and after elections? Must this always happen in a democracy? Can you think of examples when this did not happen?

read  
the  
cartoon

R.K. Laxman, The Times of India



- Candidates and parties with a lot of money may not be sure of their victory but they do enjoy a big and unfair advantage over smaller parties and independents.
- In some parts of the country, candidates with criminal connection have been able to push others out of the electoral race and to secure a 'ticket' from major parties.
- Some families tend to dominate political parties; tickets are distributed to relatives from these families.
- Very often elections offer little choice to ordinary citizens, for both the major parties are quite

similar to each other both in policies and practice.

- Smaller parties and independent candidates suffer a huge disadvantage compared to bigger parties.

These challenges exist not just in India but also in many established democracies. These deeper issues are a matter of concern for those who believe in democracy. That is why citizens, social activists and organisations have been demanding reforms in our electoral system. Can you think of some reforms? What can an ordinary citizen do to face these challenges?

Here are some facts on Indian elections. Comment on each of these to say whether they reflect the strength or the weakness of our electoral system:

- The 16th Lok Sabha has 12 per cent women members.
- The Election Commission often refuses to accept the government's advice about when the elections should be held.
- The 16th Lok Sabha has more than 440 members whose assets are more than Rs.1 crore.
- After losing an election the Chief Minister said: "I respect the people's verdict".





**Code of Conduct:** A set of norms and guidelines to be followed by political parties and contesting candidates during election time.

**Constituency:** Voters in a geographical area who elect a representative to the legislative bodies.

**Incumbent:** The current holder of a political office. Usually the choice for the voters in elections is between the incumbent party or candidate and those who oppose them.

**Level playing field:** Condition in which all parties and candidates contesting in an election have equal opportunities to appeal for votes and to carry out election campaign.

**Rigging:** Fraud and malpractices indulged by a party or candidate to increase its votes. It includes stuffing ballot boxes by a few persons using the votes of others; recording multiple votes by the same person; and bribing or coercing polling officers to favour a candidate.

**Turnout:** The percentage of eligible voters who cast their votes in an election.

- 
- Which of the following statements about the reasons for conducting elections are false?
    - Elections enable people to judge the performance of the government.
    - People select the representative of their choice in an election.
    - Elections enable people to evaluate the performance of the judiciary.
    - People can indicate which policies they prefer.
  - Which of these is *not* a good reason to say that Indian elections are democratic?
    - India has the largest number of voters in the world.
    - India's Election Commission is very powerful.
    - In India, everyone above the age of 18 has a right to vote.
    - In India, the losing parties accept the electoral verdict.

## exercises

- Match the following :

<b>a</b> It is necessary to keep the voters list up to date because	<b>i</b> there is a fair representation of all sections of our society
<b>b</b> Some constituencies are reserved for SCs and STs so that	<b>ii</b> everyone has equal opportunity to elect their representative
<b>c</b> Everyone has one and only one vote so that	<b>iii</b> all candidates must have a fair chance of competing in elections
<b>d</b> Party in power is not allowed to use government vehicles because	<b>iv</b> some people may have moved away from the area where they voted last

- 4** List all the different election related activities mentioned in the chapter and arrange them in a time sequence, beginning with the first activity and ending with the last. Some of these activities are given below: releasing election manifestos; counting of votes; making of voters' list; election campaign; declaration of election results; casting of votes; ordering of re-poll; announcing election schedule; filing nomination.
- 5** Surekha is an officer in-charge of ensuring free and fair elections in an assembly constituency in a state. Describe what should she focus on for each of the following stages of election:
- a** Election campaign
  - b** Polling day
  - c** Counting day
- 6** The table below gives the proportion of different communities among the candidates who won elections to the US Congress. Compare these to the proportion of these communities in the population of the US. Based on this, would you suggest a system of reservations in the US Congress? If yes, why and for which communities? If no, why not?

	Proportion of the community (in per cent) in the	
	House of representatives	Population of US
Blacks	8	13
Hispanics	5	13
Whites	86	70

- 7** Can we draw the following conclusions from the information given in this chapter? Give two facts to support your position for each of these.
- a** Election Commission of India does not have enough powers to conduct free and fair elections in the country.
  - b** There is a high level of popular participation in the elections in our country.
  - c** It is very easy for the party in power to win an election.
  - d** Many reforms are needed to make our elections completely free and fair.
- 8** Chinappa was convicted for torturing his wife for dowry. Satbir was held guilty of practicing untouchability. The court did not allow either of them to contest elections. Does this decision go against the principles of democratic elections?
- 9** Here are some reports of electoral malpractices from different parts of the world. Is there anything that these countries can learn from India to improve their elections? What would you suggest in each case?
- a** During an election in Nigeria, the officer in charge of counting votes deliberately increased the votes of one candidate and declared

- him elected. The court later found out that more than five lakh votes cast for one candidate were counted in favour of another.
- b** Just before elections in Fiji, a pamphlet was distributed warning voters that a vote for former Prime Minister, Mahendra Chaudhry will lead to bloodshed. This was a threat to voters of Indian origin.
  - c** In the US, each state has its own method of voting, its own procedure of counting and its own authority for conducting elections. Authorities in the state of Florida took many controversial decisions that favoured Mr. Bush in the presidential elections in 2000. But no one could change those decisions.
- 10** Here are some reports of malpractices in Indian elections. Identify what the problem in each case is. What should be done to correct the situation?
- a** Following the announcement of elections, the minister promised to provide financial aid to reopen the closed sugar mill.
  - b** Opposition parties alleged that their statements and campaign was not given due attention in Doordarshan and All India Radio.
  - c** An inquiry by the Election Commission showed that electoral rolls of a state contain name of 20 lakh fake voters.
  - d** The hoodlums of a political party were moving with guns, physically preventing supporters of other political parties to meet the voters and attacking meetings of other parties.
- 11** Ramesh was not in class when this chapter was being taught. He came the next day and repeated what he had heard from his father. Can you tell Ramesh what is wrong with these statements?
- a** Women always vote the way men tell them to. So what is the point of giving them the right to vote?
  - b** Party politics creates tension in society. Elections should be decided by consensus not by competition.
  - c** Only graduates should be allowed to stand as candidates for elections.

Assembly elections are usually held every year in a few states of the country. You can collect information about the elections that take place during this session. While collecting news items, divide these into three parts:

- Important events that took place before the election – main agenda discussed by political parties; information about people’s demand; role of the Election Commission.
- Important events on the day of the election and counting – turnout in elections; reports of malpractice; re-polls; the types of predictions made; and the final outcome.
- Post elections – reasons offered by political parties for winning or losing elections; analysis of the election verdict by the media; selection of the Chief Minister.

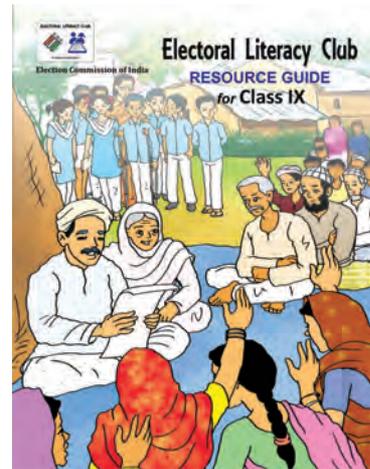




## National Voters' Day (NVD) Pledge

We, the citizens of India, having abiding faith in democracy, hereby pledge to uphold the democratic traditions of our country and the dignity of free, fair and peaceful elections, and to vote in every election fearlessly and without being influenced by considerations of religion, race, caste, community, language or any inducement.

How did your school celebrate the National Voters' Day on 25th January? Did you take the NVD Pledge?



Is Electoral Literacy Club (ELC) functioning in your school? For details about Systematic Voters' Education and Electoral Participation (SVEEP) programme of the Election Commission of India, visit <http://ecisveep.nic.in>



The tableau of the Election Commission of India passes through the Rajpath, New Delhi, on the occasion of the 67th Republic Day Parade in 2016.



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## CHAPTER 4

# WORKING OF INSTITUTIONS

## OVERVIEW

Democracy is not just about people electing their rulers. In a democracy the rulers have to follow some rules and procedures. They have to work with and within institutions. This chapter is about the working of such institutions in a democracy. We try to understand this by looking at the manner in which major decisions are taken and implemented in our country. We also look at how disputes regarding these decisions are resolved. In this process we come across three institutions that play a key role in major decisions – legislature, executive and judiciary.

You have already read something about these institutions in earlier classes. Here we shall quickly summarise those and move on to asking larger questions. In the case of each institution we ask: What does this institution do? How is this institution connected to other institutions? What makes its functioning more or less democratic? The basic objective here is to understand how all these institutions together carry on the work of government. Sometimes we compare these with similar institutions in other democracies. In this chapter we take our examples from the working of the national level government called Central Government, Union Government, or just Government of India. While reading this chapter, you can think of and discuss examples from the working of the government in your state.

## 4.1 HOW IS A MAJOR POLICY DECISION TAKEN?

### A Government Order

On August 13, 1990, the Government of India issued an Order. It was called an **Office Memorandum**. Like all government orders, it had a number and is known by that: O. M. No. 36012/31/90-Est (SCT), dated 13.8.1990. The Joint Secretary, an officer in the Department of Personnel and Training in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and

Pensions, signed the Order. It was quite short, barely one page. It looked like any ordinary circular or notice that you may have seen in school. The government issues hundreds of orders every day on different matters. But this one was very important and became a source of controversy for several years. Let us see how the decision was taken and what happened later.

G.I., Dept. of Per. & Trg., O.M. No.36012/31/90-Est. (SCT), dated 13.8.1990

**SUBJECT: 27% Reservation for Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in Civil Posts/ Services.**

In a multiple undulating society like ours, early achievement of the objective of social justice as enshrined in the Constitution is a must. The Second Backward Classes Commission, called the MANDAL COMMISSION, was established by the then Government with this purpose in view, which submitted its report to the Government of India on 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1980.

2. Government have carefully considered the report and the recommendations of the Commission in the present context regarding the benefits to be extended to the socially and educationally backward classes as opined by the Commission and are of the clear view that at the outset certain weightage has to be provided to such classes in the services of the Union and their Public Undertakings. Accordingly orders are issued as follows :-

- (i) 27% of the vacancies in civil posts and services under the Government of India shall be reserved for SEBC;
- (ii) The aforesaid reservation shall apply to vacancies to be filled by direct

G.I., Dept. of Per. & Trg., O.M. No.36012/22/93-Est. (SCT) dated 8.9.1993

**SUBJECT: Reservation for Other Backward Classes in Civil Posts and Services under the Government of India - Regarding.**

The undersigned is directed to refer to this Department's O.M. No.36012/31/90-Est. (SCT), dated the 13<sup>th</sup> August, 1990<sup>1</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1991<sup>2</sup>, regarding reservation for Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in Civil Posts and Services under the Government of India and to say that following the Supreme Court judgement in the Indira Sawhney and other v. Union of India and others case [Writ Petition (Civil) No.930 of 1990], the Government of India appointed an Expert Committee to recommend the criteria for exclusion of the socially advanced persons/sections from the benefits of reservations for Other Backward Classes in civil posts and services under the Government of India.

This Order announced a major policy decision. It said that 27 per cent of the vacancies in civil posts and services under the Government of India are reserved for the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC). SEBC is another name for all those people who belong to castes that are considered backward by the government. The benefit of job reservation was till then available only to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Now a new third category called SEBC was introduced. Only persons who belong to backward classes were eligible for this quota of 27 per cent jobs. Others could not compete for these jobs.

### The Decision Makers

Who decided to issue this Memorandum? Clearly, such a big decision could not have been taken by the person who signed that document. The officer was merely implementing the instructions given by the Minister of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, of which the Department was a part. We can guess that such a major decision would have involved other major functionaries in our country. You have already read in the previous class about some of them. Let us go over some of the main points that you covered then:

- President is the head of the **state** and is the highest formal authority in the country.
- Prime Minister is the head of the **government** and actually exercises all governmental powers. He takes most of the decisions in the Cabinet meetings.
- Parliament consists of the President and two Houses, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The Prime Minister must have the support of a majority of Lok Sabha members.

So, were all these people involved in this decision regarding the Office Memorandum? Let us find out.



## A C T I V I T Y

- Which points, other than the ones mentioned above, do you recall about these institutions from the previous class? Discuss in class.
- Can you think of a major decision made by your state government? How were the Governor, the Council of Ministers, the state assembly and the courts involved in that decision?



Is every Office Memorandum a major political decision? If not, what made this one different?

This Office Memorandum was the culmination of a long chain of events. The Government of India had appointed the Second Backward Classes Commission in 1979. It was headed by B.P. Mandal. Hence it was popularly called the Mandal Commission. It was asked to determine the criteria to identify the socially and educationally backward classes in India and recommend steps to be taken for their advancement. The Commission gave its Report in 1980 and made many recommendations. One of these was that 27 per cent of government jobs be reserved for the socially and educationally backward classes. The Report and recommendations were discussed in the Parliament.

For several years, many parliamentarians and parties kept demanding the implementation of the Commission's recommendations. Then came the Lok Sabha election of 1989. In its election manifesto, the Janata Dal promised that if voted to power, it would implement the Mandal Commission report. The Janata Dal did form the government after this election. Its leader V. P. Singh became the Prime Minister. Several developments took place after that:

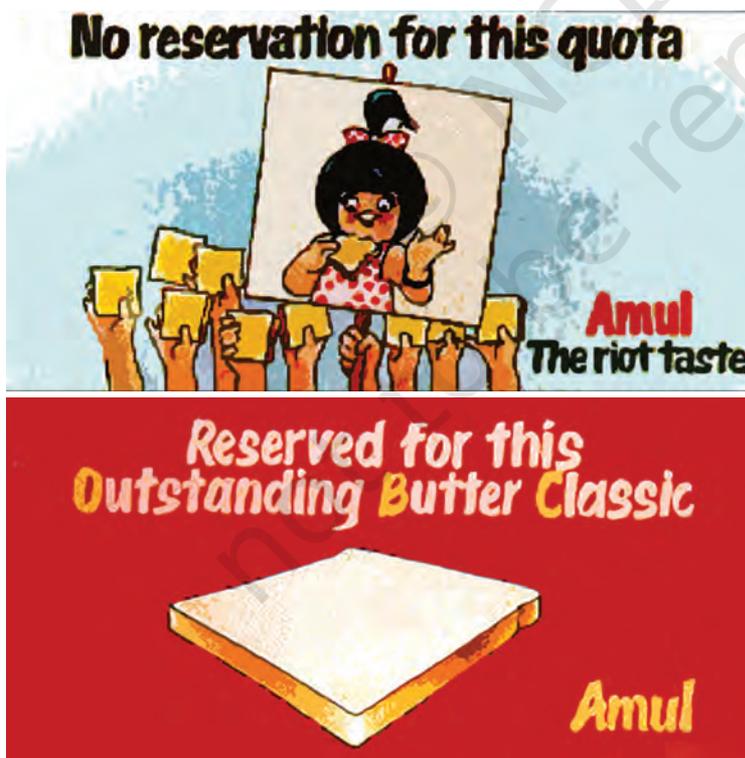


Now I can see clearly! That is why they talk of Mandalisation of politics. Don't they?

## read the image

Reservation debate was such an important issue during 1990-91 that advertisers used this theme to sell their products. Can you spot some references to political events and debates in these Amul Butter hoardings?

©GCMMF India



- The President of India in his address to the Parliament announced the intention of the government to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.
- On 6 August 1990, the Union Cabinet took a formal decision to implement the recommendations.
- Next day Prime Minister V.P. Singh informed the Parliament about this decision through a statement in both the Houses of Parliament.
- The decision of the Cabinet was sent to the Department of Personnel and Training. The senior officers of the Department drafted an order in line with the Cabinet decision and took the minister's approval. An officer signed the order on behalf of the Union Government. This was how O.M. No. 36012/ 31/90 was born on 13 August 1990.

For the next few months, this was the most hotly debated issue in the country. Newspapers and magazines

were full of different views and opinions on this issue. It led to widespread protests and counter-protests, some of which were violent. People reacted strongly because this decision affected thousands of job opportunities. Some felt that existence of inequalities among people of different castes in India necessitated job **reservations**. They felt, this would give a fair opportunity to those communities who so far had not adequately been represented in government employment.

Others felt that this was unfair as it would deny equality of opportunity to those who did not belong to backward communities. They would be denied jobs even though they could be more qualified. Some felt that this would perpetuate caste feelings among people and hamper national unity. In this chapter we won't discuss whether the decision was good or not. We only take this example to understand how major decisions are taken and implemented in the country.

Who resolved this dispute? You know that the Supreme Court and the High Courts in India settle disputes arising out of governmental decisions. Some persons and associations opposed to this order filed a number of cases in the courts. They appealed to the courts to declare the order invalid and stop its implementation. The Supreme Court of India bunched all these cases together. This case was known as the 'Indira Sawhney and others Vs Union of India case'. Eleven judges of the Supreme Court heard arguments of both sides. By a majority, the Supreme Court judges in 1992 declared that this order of the Government of India was valid. At the same time the Supreme Court asked the government to modify its

original order. It said that well-to-do persons among the backward classes should be excluded from getting the benefit of reservation. Accordingly, the Department of

Personnel and Training issued another Office Memorandum on 8 September 1993. The dispute thus came to an end and this policy has been followed since then.

Who did what in this case of reservations for backward classes?	
Supreme Court	Made formal announcement about this decision
Cabinet	Implemented the decision by issuing an order
President	Took the decision to give 27% job reservations
Government Officials	Upheld reservations as valid



### Need for Political Institutions

We have seen one example of how the government works. Governing a country involves various such activities. For example, the government is responsible for ensuring security to the citizens and providing facilities for education and health to all. It collects taxes and spends the money thus raised on administration, defence and development programmes. It formulates and implements several welfare schemes. Some persons have to take decisions on how to go about these activities. Others have to implement these decisions. If disputes arise on these decisions or in their implementation, there should be someone to determine what is right and what is wrong. It is important that everyone should know who is responsible for doing what. It is also important that these activities keep taking place even if the persons in key positions change.

So, to attend to all these tasks, several arrangements are made in all modern democracies. Such arrangements are called institutions. A democracy works well when these institutions perform functions assigned to them. The Constitution of any country lays down basic rules on the powers and functions

of each institution. In the example above, we saw several such institutions at work.

- The Prime Minister and the Cabinet are institutions that take all important policy decisions.
- The Civil Servants, working together, are responsible for taking steps to implement the ministers' decisions.
- Supreme Court is an institution where disputes between citizens and the government are finally settled.

Can you think of some other institutions in this example? What is their role?

Working with institutions is not easy. Institutions involve rules and regulations. This can bind the hands of leaders. Institutions involve meetings, committees and routines. This often leads to delays and complications. Therefore dealing with institutions can be frustrating. One might feel that it is much better to have one person take all decisions without any rules, procedures and meetings. But that is not the spirit of democracy. Some of the delays and complications introduced by institutions are very useful. They provide an opportunity for a wider set of people to be consulted in any decision. Institutions make it



Which institutions are at work in the running of your school? Would it be better if one person alone took all the decisions regarding management of your school?

difficult to have a good decision taken very quickly. But they also make it equally difficult to rush

through a bad decision. That is why democratic governments insist on institutions.

## 4.2 PARLIAMENT

In the example of the Office Memorandum, do you remember the role of Parliament? Perhaps not. Since this decision was not taken by Parliament, you might think that Parliament had no role in it. But let us go back to the story and see whether Parliament figures in it. Let us recall the points made earlier by completing the following sentences:

- The Report of the Mandal Commission was discussed ...
- The President of India mentioned this in his ...
- The Prime Minister made a ...

The decision was not directly taken in Parliament. But Parliamentary discussions on the Report influenced and shaped the decision of the government. They brought pressure on the government to act on the Mandal recommendation. If Parliament was not in favour of this decision, the Government could not have gone ahead with it. Can you guess why? Recall what you read about Parliament in the earlier

class and try to imagine what Parliament could have done if it did not approve of the Cabinet's decision.

### Why do we need a Parliament?

In all democracies, an assembly of elected representatives exercises supreme political authority on behalf of the people. In India such a national assembly of elected representatives is called Parliament. At the state level this is called **Legislature** or Legislative Assembly. The name may vary in different countries, but such an assembly exists in every democracy. It exercises political authority on behalf of the people in many ways:

- 1** Parliament is the final authority for making laws in any country. This task of law making or legislation is so crucial that these assemblies are called legislatures. Parliaments all over the world can make new laws, change existing laws, or abolish existing laws and make new ones in their place.
- 2** Parliaments all over the world exercise some control over those who run the government. In some countries like India this control is direct and full. Those who run the government can take decisions only so long as they enjoy support of Parliament.
- 3** Parliaments control all the money that governments have. In most countries the public money can be spent only when Parliament sanctions it.



4 Parliament is the highest forum of discussion and debate on public issues and national policy in any country. Parliament can seek information about any matter.

## Two Houses of Parliament

Since Parliament plays a central role in modern democracies, most large countries divide the role and powers of Parliament in two parts. They are called Chambers or Houses. One House is usually directly elected by the people and exercises the real power on behalf of the people. The second House is usually elected indirectly and performs some special functions. The most common work for the second House is to look after the interests of various states, regions or federal units.

In our country, Parliament consists of two Houses. The two Houses are known as the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and the House of the People (Lok Sabha). The President of India is a part of Parliament, although she is not a member of either House. That is why all laws made in the Houses come into force only after they receive the assent of the President.

You have read about the Indian Parliament in earlier classes. From the Chapter 3 you know how Lok Sabha elections take place. Let us recall some key differences between the composition of these two Houses of Parliament. Answer the following for the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha:

- What is the total number of members? ...
- Who elects the members? ...
- What is the length of the term (in years)? ...
- Can the House be dissolved or is it permanent? ...

Which of the two Houses is more powerful? It might appear that the Rajya Sabha is more powerful, for sometimes it is called the 'Upper Chamber' and the Lok Sabha the 'Lower Chamber'. But this does not mean that Rajya Sabha is more powerful than Lok Sabha. This is just an old style of speaking and not the language used in our Constitution.

Our Constitution does give the Rajya Sabha some special powers over the states. But on most matters, the Lok Sabha exercises supreme power. Let us see how:

- 1 Any ordinary law needs to be passed by both the Houses. But if there is a difference between the two Houses, the final decision is taken in a joint session in which members of both the Houses sit together. Because of the larger number of members, the view of the Lok Sabha is likely to prevail in such a meeting.
- 2 Lok Sabha exercises more powers in money matters. Once the Lok Sabha passes the budget of the government or any other money related law, the Rajya Sabha cannot reject it. The Rajya Sabha can only delay it by 14 days or suggest changes in it. The Lok Sabha may or may not accept these changes.



## A C T I V I T Y

When Parliament is in session, there is a special programme everyday on Doordarshan about the proceedings in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Watch the proceedings or read about it in the newspapers and note the following:

- Powers of the two Houses of Parliament.
- Role of the Speaker.
- Role of the Opposition.



What is the point in having so much debate and discussion in the Parliament when we know that the view of the ruling party is going to prevail?

**3** Most importantly, the Lok Sabha controls the Council of Ministers. Only a person who enjoys the support of the majority of the members in the Lok Sabha is appointed the Prime Minister. If the

majority of the Lok Sabha members say they have 'no confidence' in the Council of Ministers, all ministers including the Prime Minister, have to quit. The Rajya Sabha does not have this power.

## A day in the life of the Lok Sabha

7 December 2004 was an ordinary day in the life of the Fourteenth Lok Sabha. Let us take a look at what happened in the course of that day. Identify the role and powers of the parliament on the basis of the proceedings for the day as given below. You can also enact this day in your classroom.



**11:00** Various ministries gave written answers to about 250 questions that were asked by members. These included:

- What is the government's policy on talking to militant groups in Kashmir?
- What are the figures of atrocities against Scheduled Tribes, including those inflicted by the police?
- What is the government doing about overpricing of medicines by big companies?



**12:00** A large number of official documents were presented and were available for discussion. These included:

- Recruitment rules for the Indo-Tibetan Border Police Force
- Annual Report of the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur
- Report and accounts of Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Limited, Visakhapatnam



**12:02** The Minister of Development of North Eastern Region made a statement regarding Revitalisation of the North Eastern Council.

The Minister of State for Railways presented a statement showing the grant needed by the

Railways in addition to that sanctioned in the Railway Budget.

The Minister of Human Resource Development introduced the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Bill, 2004. He also gave a statement explaining why the government had to bring an ordinance for this.



**12:14** Several members highlighted some issues, including:

- The vindictiveness of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) in registering cases against some leaders in the Tehelka case.
- Need to include Rajasthani as an official language in the Constitution.
- Need to renew the insurance policies of farmers and agricultural workers of Andhra Pradesh.



**2:26** Two bills proposed by the government were considered and passed. These were:

- The Securities Laws (Amendment) Bill
- The Enforcement of Security Interest and Recovery of Debts Laws (Amendment) Bill



**4:00** Finally, there was a long discussion regarding the foreign policy of the government and the need to continue an independent foreign policy in the context of the situation in Iraq.



**7:17** Discussion concluded. House adjourned for next day.

## 4.3 POLITICAL EXECUTIVE

Do you remember the story of the Office Memorandum with which we started this chapter? We found out that the person who signed the document did not take this decision. He was only executing the policy decision taken by someone else. We noted the role of the Prime Minister in taking that decision. But we also know that he could not have taken that decision if he did not have support from the Lok Sabha. In that sense he was only executing the wishes of the Parliament.

Thus, at different levels of any government we find functionaries who take day-to-day decisions but do not exercise supreme power on behalf of the people. All those functionaries are collectively known as the **executive**. They are called executive because they are in charge of the 'execution' of the policies of the government. Thus, when we talk about 'the government' we usually mean the executive.

### Political and Permanent Executive

In a democratic country, two categories make up the executive. One that is elected by the people for a specific period, is called the political executive. Political leaders who take the big decisions fall in this category. In the second category, people are appointed on a long-term basis. This is called the permanent executive or civil services. Persons working in civil services are called civil servants. They remain in office even when the ruling party changes. These officers work under political executive and assist them in carrying out the day-to-day administration. Can you recall the role of political and non-political

executive in the case of the Office Memorandum?

You might ask: Why does the political executive have more power than the non-political executive? Why is the minister more powerful than the civil servant? The civil servant is usually more educated and has more expert knowledge of the subject. The advisors working in the Finance Ministry know more about economics than the Finance Minister. Sometimes the ministers may know very little about the technical matters that come under their ministry. This could easily happen in ministries like Defence, Industry, Health, Science and Technology, Mines, etc. Why should the minister have the final say on these matters?

The reason is very simple. In a democracy the will of the people is supreme. The minister is an elected representative of the people and thus empowered to exercise the will of the people on their behalf. She is finally answerable to the people for all the consequences of her decision. That is why the minister takes all the final decisions. The minister decides the overall framework and objectives in which decisions on policy should be made. The minister is not, and is not expected to be, an expert in the matters of her ministry. The minister takes the advice of experts on all technical matters. But very often experts hold different opinions or place before her more than one option. Depending on what the overall objective is, the minister decides.

Actually this happens in any large organisation. Those who understand the overall picture take the most

important decisions, not the experts. The experts can tell the route, but someone with a larger view decides the destination. In a democracy elected ministers perform this role.

## Prime Minister and Council of Ministers

Prime Minister is the most important **political institution** in the country. Yet there is no direct election to the post of the Prime Minister. The President appoints the Prime Minister. But the President cannot appoint anyone she likes. The President appoints the leader of the majority party or the coalition of parties that commands a majority in the Lok Sabha, as Prime Minister. In case no single party or alliance gets a majority, the President appoints the person most likely to secure a majority support. The Prime Minister does not have a fixed tenure. He continues in power so long as he remains the leader of the majority party or coalition.

After the appointment of the Prime Minister, the President appoints other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Ministers are usually from the party or the coalition that has the majority in the Lok Sabha. The Prime Minister is free to choose ministers, as long as they are members of Parliament. Sometimes, a person who is not a member of Parliament can also become a minister. But such a person has to get elected to one of the Houses of Parliament within six months of appointment as minister.

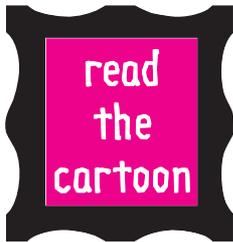
Council of Ministers is the official name for the body that includes all the Ministers. It usually has 60 to 80 Ministers of different ranks.

- **Cabinet Ministers** are usually top-level leaders of the ruling party or parties who are in charge of the major ministries. Usually the Cabinet Ministers meet to take decisions in the name of the Council of Ministers. Cabinet is thus the inner ring of the Council of Ministers. It comprises about 25 ministers.

- **Ministers of State with independent charge** are usually in-charge of smaller Ministries. They participate in the Cabinet meetings only when specially invited.

- **Ministers of State** are attached to and required to assist Cabinet Ministers.

Since it is not practical for all ministers to meet regularly and discuss everything, the decisions are taken in Cabinet meetings. That is why parliamentary democracy in most countries is often known as the Cabinet form of government. The Cabinet works as a team. The ministers may have different views and opinions, but everyone has to own up to every decision of the Cabinet.



The race to become minister is not new. Here is a cartoon depicting ministerial aspirants waiting to get a berth in Nehru's Cabinet after the 1962 elections. Why do you think political leaders are so keen to become ministers?



No minister can openly criticise any decision of the government, even if it is about another Ministry or Department. Every ministry has secretaries, who are civil servants. The secretaries provide the necessary background information to the ministers to take decisions. The Cabinet as a team is assisted by the Cabinet Secretariat. This includes many senior civil servants who try to coordinate the working of different ministries.



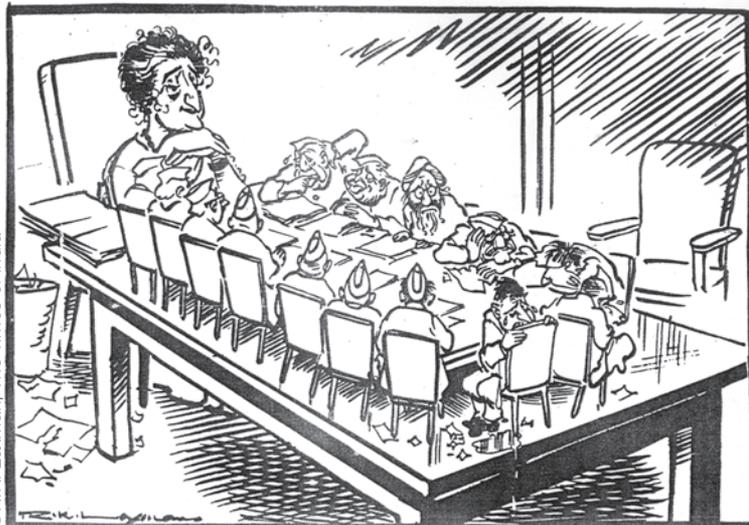
## A C T I V I T Y

- List the names of five Cabinet Ministers and their ministries each at the Union level and in your state.
- Meet the Mayor or Municipal Chairperson of your town or the President of Zilla Parishad of your district and ask him or her about how the city, town or district is administered.

## Powers of the Prime Minister

The Constitution does not say very much about the powers of the Prime Minister or the ministers or their relationship with each other. But as head of the government, the Prime Minister has wide ranging powers. He chairs Cabinet meetings. He coordinates the work of different Departments. His decisions are final in case disagreements arise between Departments. He exercises general supervision of different ministries. All ministers work under his leadership. The Prime Minister distributes and redistributes work to the ministers. He also has the power to dismiss ministers. When the Prime Minister quits, the entire ministry quits.

Thus, if the Cabinet is the most powerful institution in India, within the Cabinet it is the Prime Minister



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who is the most powerful. The powers of the Prime Minister in all parliamentary democracies of the world have increased so much in recent decades that parliamentary democracies are some times seen as Prime Ministerial form of government. As political parties have come to play a major role in politics, the Prime Minister controls the Cabinet and Parliament through the party. The media also contributes to this trend by making politics and elections as a competition between top leaders of parties. In India too we have seen such a tendency towards the concentration of powers in the hands of the Prime Minister. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, exercised enormous authority because he had great influence over the public. Indira Gandhi was also a very powerful leader compared to her colleagues in the Cabinet. Of course, the extent of power wielded by a Prime Minister also depends on the personality of the person holding that position.

However, in recent years the rise of coalition politics has imposed certain constraints on the power of the Prime Minister. The Prime

read  
the  
cartoon

This cartoon depicts a cabinet meeting chaired by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in early 1970s, at the peak of her popularity. Do you think similar cartoons could be drawn about other prime ministers who followed her?



Why does this book refer to the President as 'she'? Have we ever had a woman President in our country?



Did you protest when the book referred to the Prime Minister as 'he'? Have we not had a woman Prime Minister? Why should we assume that all the important positions are held by men?

Minister of a **coalition government** cannot take decisions as he likes. He has to accommodate different groups and factions in his party as well as among alliance partners. He also has to heed to the views and positions of the coalition partners and other parties, on whose support the survival of the government depends.

## The President

While the Prime Minister is the head of the government, the President is the head of the State. In our political system the head of the State exercises only nominal powers. The President of India is like the Queen of Britain whose functions are to a large extent ceremonial. The President supervises the overall functioning of all the political institutions in the country so that they operate in harmony to achieve the objectives of the State.

The President is not elected directly by the people. The elected Members of Parliament (MPs) and the elected Members of the Legislative Assemblies (MLAs) elect her. A candidate standing for President's post has to get a majority of votes to win the election. This ensures that the President can be seen to represent the entire nation. At the same time the President can never claim the kind of direct popular mandate that the Prime Minister can. This ensures that she remains only a nominal executive.

The same is true of the powers of the President. If you casually read the Constitution you would think that there is nothing that she cannot do. All governmental activities take place in the name of the President. All laws and major policy decisions of the government are issued in her name. All major appointments are made in the name of the President. These include the appointment of

Press Information Bureau



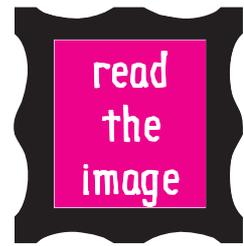
The President, Shri Ram Nath Kovind administering the oath of office of the Prime Minister to Shri Narendra Modi, at a Swearing-in Ceremony, at Rashtrapati Bhavan on 30 May 2019.

the Chief Justice of India, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts of the states, the Governors of the states, the Election Commissioners, ambassadors to other countries, etc. All international treaties and agreements are made in the name of the President. The President is the supreme commander of the defence forces of India.

But we should remember that the President exercises all these powers only on the advice of the Council of Ministers. The President can ask the Council of Ministers to reconsider its advice. But if the same advice is given again, she is bound to act according to it. Similarly, a bill passed by the Parliament becomes a law only after the President gives assent to it. If the President wants, she can delay this for some time and send the bill back to Parliament for reconsideration. But if Parliament passes the bill again, she has to sign it.

So you may wonder what does the President really do? Can she do anything on her own at all? There is one very important thing she should do on her own: appoint the Prime Minister. When a party or coalition of parties secures a clear majority in the elections, the President, has to appoint the leader of the majority party or the coalition that enjoys majority support in the Lok Sabha.

When no party or coalition gets a majority in the Lok Sabha, the President exercises her discretion. The President appoints a leader who in her opinion can muster majority support in the Lok Sabha. In such a case, the President can ask the newly appointed Prime Minister to prove majority support in the Lok Sabha within a specified time.



## The Presidential System

Presidents all over the world are not always nominal executives like the President of India. In many countries of the world, the President is both the head of the state and the head of the government. The President of the United States of America is the most well known example of this kind of President. The US President is directly elected by the people. He personally chooses and appoints all Ministers. The law making is still done by the legislature (called the Congress in the US), but the president can veto any law. Most importantly, the president does not need the support of the majority of members in the Congress and neither is he answerable to them. He has a fixed tenure of four years and completes it even if his party does not have a majority in the Congress.

This model is followed in most of the countries of Latin America and many of the ex-Soviet Union countries. Given the centrality of the President, this system of government is called the Presidential form of government. In countries like ours that follow the British model, the parliament is supreme. Therefore our system is called the parliamentary system of government.



What is better for a democracy: A Prime Minister who can do whatever he wishes or a Prime Minister who needs to consult other leaders and parties?

Eliamma, Annakutti and Marymol read the section on the President. Each of them had a question. Can you help them in answering these questions?

**Eliamma:** What happens if the President and the Prime Minister disagree about some policy? Does the view of the Prime Minister always prevail?

**Annakutti:** I find it funny that the President is the Supreme Commander of Armed Forces. I doubt if the President can even lift a heavy gun. What is the point in making the President the Commander?

**Marymol:** I would say, what is the point in having a President at all if all the real powers are with the Prime Minister?



## 4.4 THE JUDICIARY

It is quite common in the US for judges to be nominated on the basis of well-known political opinions and affiliations. This fictitious advertisement appeared in the US in 2005 when President Bush was considering various candidates for nomination to the US supreme court. What does this cartoon say about the independence of the judiciary? Why do such cartoons not appear in our country? Does this demonstrate the independence of our judiciary?

©M.E. Cohen, National, Cagle Cartoons Inc.



Let us return, one final time, to the story of Office Memorandum that we started with. This time let us not recall the story, but imagine how different the story could have been. Remember, the story came to a satisfactory end because the Supreme Court gave a verdict that was accepted by everyone. Imagine what would have happened in the following situations:

- If there was nothing like a Supreme Court in the country.
- Even if there was a Supreme Court, if it had no power to judge actions of the government.
- Even if it had the power, if no one trusted the Supreme Court to give a fair verdict.
- Even if it gave a fair judgement, if those who appealed against the Government Order did not accept the judgement.



### A C T I V I T Y

Follow the news about any major court case in a High Court or the Supreme Court. What was the original verdict? Did the High Court or the Supreme Court change it? What was the reason?

This is why an independent and powerful **judiciary** is considered essential for democracies. All the courts at different levels in a country put together are called the judiciary. The Indian judiciary consists of a Supreme Court for the entire nation, High Courts in the states, District Courts and the courts at local level. India has an integrated judiciary. It means the Supreme Court controls the judicial administration in the country. Its decisions are binding on all other courts of the country. It can take up any dispute

- Between citizens of the country;
- Between citizens and government;
- Between two or more state governments; and
- Between governments at the union and state level.

It is the highest court of appeal in civil and criminal cases. It can hear appeals against the decisions of the High Courts.

Independence of the judiciary means that it is not under the control of the legislature or the executive. The judges do not act on the direction of the government or according to the wishes of the party in power. That is why all modern democracies have courts that are independent of the legislature and the executive. India has achieved this. The judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts are appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister and in

consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In practice it now means that the senior judges of the Supreme Court select the new judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts. There is very little scope for interference by the political executive. The senior most judge of the Supreme Court is usually appointed the Chief Justice. Once a person is appointed as judge of the Supreme Court or the High Court it is nearly impossible to remove him or her from that position. It is as difficult as removing the President of India. A judge can be removed only by an impeachment motion passed separately by two-thirds members of the two Houses of the Parliament. It has never happened in the history of Indian democracy.

The judiciary in India is also one of the most powerful in the world. The Supreme Court and the High Courts have the power to interpret the Constitution of the country. They can declare invalid any law of the legislature or the actions of the executive, whether at the Union level or at the state level, if they find such a law or action is against the

Constitution. Thus they can determine the Constitutional validity of any legislation or action of the executive in the country, when it is challenged before them. This is known as the judicial review. The Supreme Court of India has also ruled that the core or basic principles of the Constitution cannot be changed by the Parliament.

The powers and the independence of the Indian judiciary allow it to act as the guardian of the Fundamental Rights. We shall see in the next chapter that the citizens have a right to approach the courts to seek remedy in case of any violation of their rights. In recent years the Courts have given several judgments and directives to protect public interest and human rights. Any one can approach the courts if public interest is hurt by the actions of government. This is called public interest litigation. The courts intervene to prevent the misuse of the government's power to make decisions. They check malpractices on the part of public officials. That is why the judiciary enjoys a high level of confidence among the people.



Why are people allowed to go to courts against the government's decisions?

Give one reason each to argue that Indian judiciary is independent with respect to:

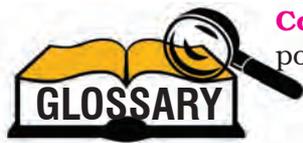
**Appointment of judges:** ...

**Removal of judges:** ...

**Powers of the judiciary:** ...



The Chief Justice of India, Shri Justice J.S. Khehar administering the oath of the office of the President of India to Shri Ram Nath Kovind, at a swearing-in ceremony in the Central Hall of Parliament in New Delhi on 25 July 2017.



**Coalition government:** A government formed by an alliance of two or more political parties, usually when no single party enjoys majority support of the members in a legislature.

**Executive:** A body of persons having authority to initiate major policies, make decisions and implement them on the basis of the Constitution and laws of the country.

**Government:** A set of institutions that have the power to make, implement and interpret laws so as to ensure an orderly life. In its broad sense, government administers and supervises over citizens and resources of a country.

**Judiciary:** An institution empowered to administer justice and provide a mechanism for the resolution of legal disputes. All the courts in the country are collectively referred to as judiciary.

**Legislature:** An assembly of people's representatives with the power to enact laws for a country. In addition to enacting laws, legislatures have authority to raise taxes and adopt the budget and other money bills.

**Office Memorandum:** A communication issued by an appropriate authority stating the policy or decision of the government.

**Political Institution:** A set of procedures for regulating the conduct of government and political life in the country.

**Reservations:** A policy that declares some positions in government employment and educational institutions 'reserved' for people and communities who have been discriminated against, are disadvantaged and backward.

**State:** Political association occupying a definite territory, having an organised government and possessing power to make domestic and foreign policies. Governments may change, but the state continues. In common speech, the terms country, nation and state are used as synonyms.

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## exercises

- 1 If you are elected as the President of India which of the following decision can you take on your own?
  - a Select the person you like as Prime Minister.
  - b Dismiss a Prime Minister who has a majority in Lok Sabha.
  - c Ask for reconsideration of a bill passed by both the Houses.
  - d Nominate the leaders of your choice to the Council of Ministers.
- 2 Who among the following is a part of the political executive?
  - a District Collector
  - b Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs
  - c Home Minister
  - d Director General of Police
- 3 Which of the following statements about the judiciary is false?
  - a Every law passed by the Parliament needs approval of the Supreme Court
  - b Judiciary can strike down a law if it goes against the spirit of the Constitution
  - c Judiciary is independent of the Executive
  - d Any citizen can approach the courts if her rights are violated

- 4 Which of the following institutions can make changes to an existing law of the country?
- a The Supreme Court
  - b The President
  - c The Prime Minister
  - d The Parliament

5 Match the ministry with the news that the ministry may have released:

a A new policy is being made to increase the jute exports from the country.	i Ministry of Defence
b Telephone services will be made more accessible to rural areas.	ii Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Public Distribution
c The price of rice and wheat sold under the Public Distribution System will go down.	iii Ministry of Health
d A pulse polio campaign will be launched.	iv Ministry of Commerce and Industry
e The allowances of the soldiers posted on high altitudes will be increased.	v Ministry of Communications and Information Technology

- 6 Of all the institutions that we have studied in this chapter, name the one that exercises the powers on each of the following matters.
- a Decision on allocation of money for developing infrastructure like roads, irrigation etc. and different welfare activities for the citizens
  - b Considers the recommendation of a Committee on a law to regulate the stock exchange
  - c Decides on a legal dispute between two state governments
  - d Implements the decision to provide relief for the victims of an earthquake.
- 7 Why is the Prime Minister in India not directly elected by the people? Choose the most appropriate answer and give reasons for your choice.
- a In a Parliamentary democracy only the leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha can become the Prime Minister.
  - b Lok Sabha can remove the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers even before the expiry of their term.
  - c Since the Prime Minister is appointed by the President there is no need for it.
  - d Direct election of the Prime Minister will involve lot of expenditure on election.
- 8 Three friends went to watch a film that showed the hero becoming Chief Minister for a day and making big changes in the state. Imran said this is what the country needs. Rizwan said this kind of a personal

## exercises

rule without institutions is dangerous. Shankar said all this is a fantasy. No minister can do anything in one day. What would be your reaction to such a film?

- 9 A teacher was making preparations for a mock parliament. She called two students to act as leaders of two political parties. She gave them an option: Each one could choose to have a majority either in the mock Lok Sabha or in the mock Rajya Sabha. If this choice was given to you, which one would you choose and why?
- 10 After reading the example of the reservation order, three students had different reactions about the role of the judiciary. Which view, according to you, is a correct reading of the role of judiciary?
- a Srinivas argues that since the Supreme Court agreed with the government, it is not independent.
  - b Anjaiah says that judiciary is independent because it could have given a verdict against the government order. The Supreme Court did direct the government to modify it.
  - c Vijaya thinks that the judiciary is neither independent nor conformist, but acts as a mediator between opposing parties. The court struck a good balance between those who supported and those who opposed the order.



Collect newspapers for the last one week and classify the news related to the working of any of the institutions discussed in this chapter into four groups:

- Working of the **legislatures**
- Working of the **political executive**
- Working of the **civil services**
- Working of the **judiciary**



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## CHAPTER 5

# DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

## OVERVIEW

In the previous two chapters we have looked at two major elements of a democratic government. In Chapter 3 we saw how a democratic government has to be periodically elected by the people in a free and fair manner. In Chapter 4 we learnt that a democracy must be based on institutions that follow certain rules and procedures. These elements are necessary but not sufficient for a democracy. Elections and institutions need to be combined with a third element – enjoyment of rights – to make a government democratic. Even the most properly elected rulers working through the established institutional process must learn not to cross some limits. Citizens' democratic rights set those limits in a democracy.

This is what we take up in this final chapter of the book. We begin by discussing some real life cases to imagine what it means to live without rights. This leads to a discussion on what we mean by rights and why do we need them. As in the previous chapters, the general discussion is followed by a focus on India. We discuss one by one the Fundamental Rights in the Indian Constitution. Then we turn to how these rights can be used by ordinary citizens. Who will protect and enforce them? Finally we take a look at how the scope of rights has been expanding.

## 5.1 LIFE WITHOUT RIGHTS

In this book we have mentioned rights again and again. If you remember, we have discussed rights in each of the four preceding chapters. Can you fill in the blanks by recalling the rights dimension in each chapter?

Chapter 1: A comprehensive definition of democracy includes ...

Chapter 2: Our Constitution makers believed that fundamental rights

were quite central to the Constitution because ...

Chapter 3: Every adult citizen of India has the right to ... and to be ...

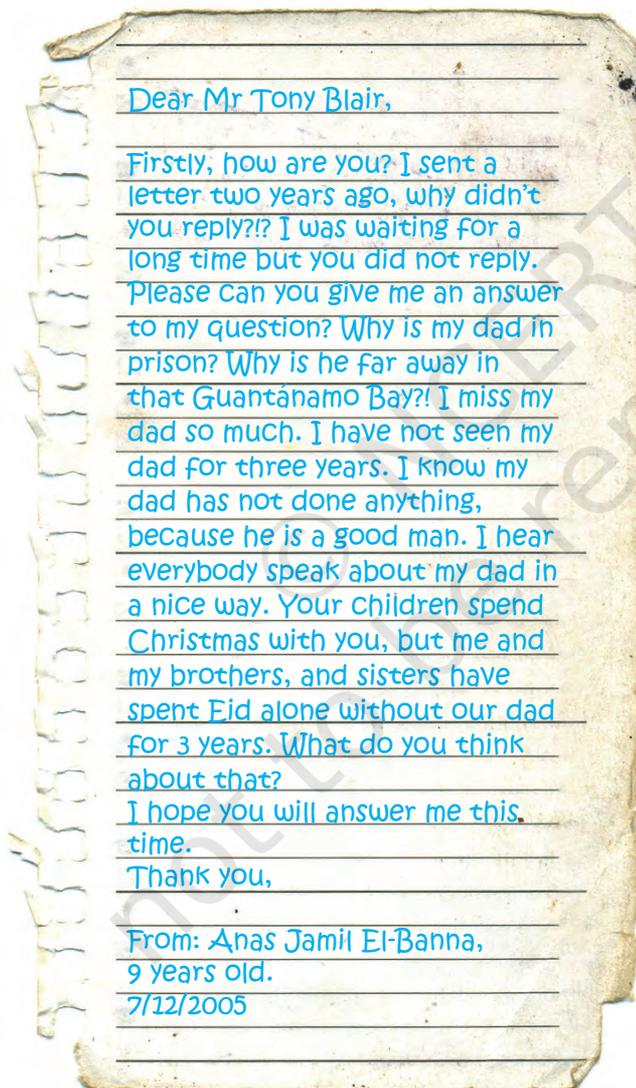
Chapter 4: If a law is against the Constitution, every citizen has the right to approach ...

Let us now begin with three examples of what it means to live in the absence of rights.

### Prison in Guantanamo Bay

About 600 people were secretly picked up by the US forces from all over the world and put in a prison in Guantanamo Bay, an area near Cuba controlled by American Navy. Anas's father, Jamil El-Banna, was among them. The American government said that they were enemies of the US and linked to the attack on New York on 11 September 2001. In most cases the governments of their countries were not asked or even informed about their imprisonment. Like other prisoners, El-Banna's family got to know that he was in that prison only through the media. Families of prisoners, media or even UN representatives were not allowed to meet them. The US army arrested them, interrogated them and decided whether to keep them there or not. There was no trial before any magistrate in the US. Nor could these prisoners approach courts in their own country.

**Amnesty International**, an international human rights organisation, collected information on the condition of the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay and reported that the prisoners were being tortured in ways that violated the US laws. They



were being denied the treatment that even prisoners of war must get as per international treaties. Many prisoners had tried protesting against these conditions by going on a hunger strike. Prisoners were not released even after they were officially declared not guilty. An independent inquiry by the UN supported these findings. The UN Secretary General said the prison in Guantanamo Bay should be closed down. The US government refused to accept these pleas.

### Citizens' Rights in Saudi Arabia

The case of Guantanamo Bay looks like an exception, for it involves the government of one country denying rights to citizens of another country. Let us therefore look at the case of Saudi Arabia and the position of the citizens with regard to their government. Consider these facts:

- The country is ruled by a hereditary king and the people have no role in electing or changing their rulers.
- The king selects the legislature as well as the executive. He appoints the judges and can change any of their decisions.
- Citizens cannot form political parties or any political organisations. Media cannot report anything that the monarch does not like.
- There is no freedom of religion. Every citizen is required to be Muslim. Non-Muslim residents can follow their religion in private, but not in public.
- Women are subjected to many public restrictions. The testimony of one man is considered equal to that of two women.

This is true not just of Saudi Arabia. There are many countries in the world where several of these conditions exist.

### Ethnic massacre in Kosovo

You might think that this is possible in an absolute monarchy but not in countries which choose their rulers. Just consider this story from Kosovo. This was a province of Yugoslavia before its split. In this province the population was overwhelmingly ethnic Albanian. But in the entire country, Serbs were in majority. A narrow minded Serb nationalist Milosevic (pronounced Miloshevich) had won the election. His government was very hostile to the Kosovo Albanians. He wanted the Serbs to dominate the country. Many Serb leaders thought that Ethnic minorities like Albanians should either leave the country or accept the dominance of the Serbs.

This is what happened to an Albanian family in a town in Kosovo in April 1999:

"74-year-old Batisha Hoxha was sitting in her kitchen with her 77-year-old husband, Izet, staying warm by the stove. They had heard explosions but did not realise that Serbian troops had already entered the town. The next thing she knew, five or six soldiers had burst through the front door and were demanding "Where are your children?"

"... they shot Izet three times in the chest" recalled Batisha. With her husband dying before her, the soldiers pulled the wedding ring off her finger and told her to get out. "I was not even outside the gate when they burned the house" ... She was standing on the street in the rain with no house, no husband, no possessions but the clothes she was wearing."

This news report was typical of what happened to thousands of Albanians in that period. Do



If you were a Serb, would you support what Milosevic did in Kosovo? Do you think his project of establishing Serb dominance was good for the Serbs?

remember that this massacre was being carried out by the army of their own country, working under the direction of a leader who came to power through democratic elections. This was one of the worst instances of killings based on ethnic prejudices in recent times. Finally several other countries intervened to stop this massacre. Milosevic lost power and was tried by the International Court of Justice for crimes against humanity.



## A C T I V I T Y

- Write a letter to Anas Jamil in UK, describing your reactions after reading his letter to Tony Blair.
- Write a letter from Batisha in Kosovo to a woman who faced a similar situation in India.
- Write a memorandum on behalf of women in Saudi Arabia to the Secretary General of the United Nations.



### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

For each of the three cases of life without rights, mention an example from India. These could include the following:

- Newspaper reports on custodial violence.
- Newspaper reports on force-feeding of prisoners who go on hunger strike.
- Ethnic massacre in any part of our country.
- Reports regarding unequal treatment of women.

List the **similarities** and **differences** between the earlier case and the Indian example. It is not necessary that for each of these cases you must find an exact Indian parallel.

## 5.2 RIGHTS IN A DEMOCRACY

Think of all the examples that we have discussed so far. Think of the victims in each example: the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, women in Saudi Arabia, Albanians in Kosovo. If you were in their position, what would you have wished? If you could, what would you do to ensure that such things do not happen to anyone?

You would perhaps desire a system where security, dignity and fair play are assured to everyone. You might want, for example, that no one should be arrested without proper reason and information. And if someone is arrested, he or she should have a fair chance to defend themselves. You might agree that such assurance cannot apply to

everything. One has to be reasonable in what one expects and demands of everyone else, for one has to grant the same to everyone. But you might insist that the assurance does not remain on paper, that there is someone to enforce these assurances, that those who violate these are punished. In other words, you might want a system where at least a minimum is guaranteed to everyone – powerful or weak, rich or poor, majority or minority. This is the spirit behind thinking about rights.

### What are rights?

Rights are **claims** of a person over other fellow beings, over the society and over the government. All of us

want to live happily, without fear and without being subjected to degraded treatment. For this we expect others to behave in such a way that does not harm us or hurt us. Equally, our actions should not also harm or hurt others. So a right is possible when you make a claim that is equally possible for others. You cannot have a right that harms or hurts others. You cannot have a right to play a game in such a way that it breaks the neighbour's window. The Serbs in Yugoslavia could not have claimed the whole country for themselves. The claims we make should be reasonable. They should be such that can be made available to others in an equal measure. Thus, a right comes with an obligation to respect other rights.

Just because we claim something it does not become our right. It has to be recognised by the society we live in. Rights acquire meaning only in society. Every society makes certain rules to regulate our conduct. They tell us what is right and what is wrong. What is recognised by the society as rightful becomes the basis of rights. That is why the notion of rights changes from time to time and society to society. Two hundred years ago anyone who said that women should have right to vote would have sounded strange. Today not granting them vote in Saudi Arabia appears strange.

When the socially recognised claims are written into law they acquire real force. Otherwise they remain merely as natural or moral rights. The prisoners in Guantanamo Bay had a moral claim not to be tortured or humiliated. But they could not go to anyone to enforce this claim. When law recognises some claims they become

enforceable. We can then demand their application. When fellow citizens or the government do not respect these rights we call it violation or infringement of our rights. In such circumstances citizens can approach courts to protect their rights. So, if we want to call any claim a right, it has to have these three qualities. **Rights are reasonable claims of persons recognised by society and sanctioned by law.**

### Why do we need rights in a democracy?

Rights are necessary for the very sustenance of a democracy. In a democracy every citizen has to have the right to vote and the right to be elected to government. For democratic elections to take place, it is necessary that citizens should have the right to express their opinion, form political parties and take part in political activities.

Rights also perform a very special role in a democracy. Rights protect minorities from the oppression of majority. They ensure that the majority cannot do whatever it likes. Rights are guarantees which can be used when things go wrong. Things may go wrong when some citizens may wish to take away the rights of others. This usually happens when those in majority want to dominate those in minority. The government should protect the citizens' rights in such a situation. But sometimes elected governments may not protect or may even attack the rights of their own citizens. That is why some rights need to be placed higher than the government, so that the government cannot violate them. In most democracies the basic rights of the citizen are written down in the constitution.



What are the examples of elected governments not protecting or even attacking the rights of their own citizens? Why do they do that?

## 5.3 RIGHTS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

In India, like most other democracies in the world, these rights are mentioned in the Constitution. Some rights which are fundamental to our life are given a special status. They are called Fundamental Rights. We have already read in Chapter 2 the preamble to our Constitution. It talks about securing for all its citizens equality, liberty and justice. Fundamental Rights put this promise into effect. They are an important basic feature of India's Constitution.



Everyone knows that the rich can have better lawyers in the courts. What is the point in talking about equality before law?

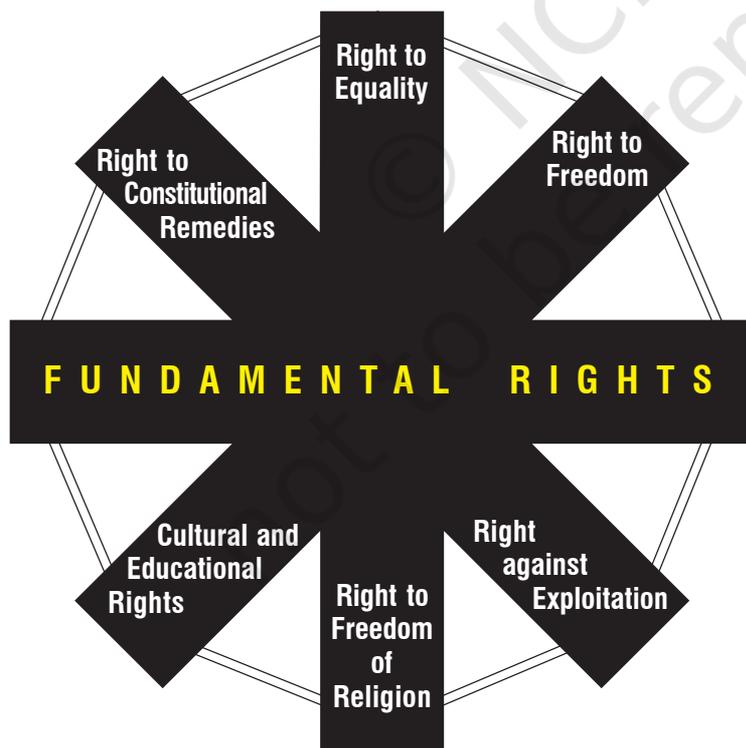
You already know our Constitution provides for six Fundamental Rights. Can you recall these? What exactly do these rights mean for an ordinary citizen? Let us look at these one by one.

### Right to Equality

The Constitution says that the government shall not deny to any person in India equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws. It means that the laws apply in the same manner to all, regardless of a person's status. This is called the rule of law. Rule of law is the foundation of any democracy. It means that no person is above the law. There cannot be any distinction between a political leader, government official and an ordinary citizen.

Every citizen, from the Prime Minister to a small farmer in a remote village, is subjected to the same laws. No person can legally claim any special treatment or privilege just because he or she happens to be an important person. For example, a few years ago a former Prime Minister of the country faced a court case on charges of cheating. The court finally declared that he was not guilty. But as long as the case continued, he had to go to the court, give evidence and file papers, just like any other citizen.

This basic position is further clarified in the Constitution by spelling out some implications of the Right to Equality. The government shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Every citizen shall have access to public places like shops, restaurants, hotels, and cinema halls. Similarly, there shall be no restriction with regard to the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads, playgrounds and places of public resorts maintained by government or dedicated to the use of general public. This might appear very obvious, but it was necessary to



incorporate these rights in the Constitution of our country where the traditional caste system did not allow people from some communities to access all public places.

The same principle applies to public jobs. All citizens have equality of opportunity in matters relating to employment or appointment to any position in the government. No citizen shall be discriminated against or made ineligible for employment on the grounds mentioned above. You have read in Chapter 4 that the Government of India has provided reservations for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Various governments have different schemes for giving preference to women, poor or physically handicapped in some kinds of jobs. Are these reservations against the right to equality? They are not. For equality does not mean giving everyone the same treatment, no matter what they need. Equality means giving everyone an equal opportunity to achieve whatever one is capable of. Sometimes it is necessary to give special treatment to someone in order to ensure equal opportunity. This is what job reservations do. Just to clarify this, the Constitution says that reservations of this kind are not a violation of the Right to Equality.

The principle of non-discrimination extends to social life as well. The Constitution mentions one extreme form of social discrimination, the practice of untouchability, and clearly directs the government to put an end to it. The practice of untouchability has been forbidden in any form. Untouchability here does not only mean refusal to touch people belonging to certain castes. It refers to any belief or social



## A C T I V I T Y

- Go to the playground of the school or any stadium and watch a 400 metre race on any track. Why are the competitors in the outer lane placed ahead of those in the inner lane at the starting point of the race? What would happen if all the competitors start the race from the same line? Which of these two would be an equal and fair race? Apply this example to a competition for jobs.
- Observe any big public building. Is there a ramp for physically handicapped? Are there any other facilities that make it possible for physically handicapped to use the building in the same way as any one else? Should these special facilities be provided, if it leads to extra expenditure on the building? Do these special provisions go against the principle of equality?

practice which looks down upon people on account of their birth with certain caste labels. Such practice denies them interaction with others or access to public places as equal citizens. So the Constitution made untouchability a punishable offence.

## Many Forms of Untouchability

In 1999, P. Sainath wrote a series of newsreports in *The Hindu* describing untouchability and caste discrimination that was still being practiced against Dalits or persons belonging to Scheduled Castes. He travelled to various parts of the country and found that in many places:

- Tea stalls kept two kinds of cups, one for Dalits one for others;
- Barbers refused to serve dalit clients;
- Dalit students were made to sit separately in the classroom or drink water from separate picher;
- Dalit grooms were not allowed to ride a horse in the wedding procession; and
- Dalits were not allowed to use common handpump or if they did, the handpump was washed to purify it.

All these fall under the definition of untouchability. Can you think of some examples from your own area?

## Right to Freedom

Freedom means absence of constraints. In practical life it means absence of interference in our affairs by others – be it other individuals or the government. We want to live in society, but we want to be free. We want to do things in the way we want to do them. Others should not dictate us what we should do. So, under the Indian Constitution all citizens have the right to

- Freedom of speech and expression
- Assembly in a peaceful manner
- Form associations and unions
- Move freely throughout the country
- Reside in any part of the country, and
- Practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

You should remember that every citizen has the right to all these freedoms. That means you cannot exercise your freedom in such a

manner that violates others' right to freedom. Your freedoms should not cause public nuisance or disorder. You are free to do everything which injures no one else. Freedom is not unlimited licence to do what one wants. Accordingly, the government can impose certain reasonable restrictions on our freedoms in the larger interests of the society.

**Freedom of speech and expression** is one of the essential features of any democracy. Our ideas and personality develop only when we are able to freely communicate with others. You may think differently from others. Even if a hundred people think in one way, you should have the freedom to think differently and express your views accordingly. You may disagree with a policy of government or activities of an association. You are free to criticise the government or the activities of the association in your conversations with parents, friends and relatives. You may publicise your views through a pamphlet, magazine or newspaper. You can do it through paintings, poetry or songs. However, you cannot use this freedom to instigate violence against others. You cannot use it to incite people to rebel against government.



Should the freedom of expression be extended to those who are spreading wrong and narrow-minded ideas? Should they be allowed to confuse the public?



Irfan Khan

Neither can you use it to defame others by saying false and mean things that cause damage to a person's reputation.

**Citizens have the freedom to hold meetings, processions, rallies and demonstrations on any issue.**

They may want to discuss a problem, exchange ideas, mobilise public support to a cause, or seek votes for a candidate or party in an election. But such meetings have to be peaceful. They should not lead to public disorder or breach of peace in society. Those who participate in these activities and meetings should not carry weapons with them. Citizens also can form associations. For example workers in a factory can form a workers' union to promote their interests. Some people in a town may come together to form an association to campaign against corruption or pollution.

As citizens we have the **freedom to travel to any part of the country.**

We are free to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India. Let us say a person who belongs to the state of Assam wants to start a business in Hyderabad. He may not have any connection with that city, he may not have even seen it ever. Yet as a citizen of India he has the right to set up base there. This right allows lakhs of people to migrate from villages to towns and from poorer regions of the countries to prosperous regions and big cities. The same freedom extends to choice of occupations. No one can force you to do or not to do a certain job. Women cannot be told that some kinds of occupations are not for them. People from deprived castes cannot be kept to their traditional occupations.

The Constitution says that no person can be deprived of his **life or personal liberty** except according to



procedure established by law. It means that no person can be killed unless the court has ordered a death sentence. It also means that a government or police officer cannot arrest or detain any citizen unless he has proper legal justification. Even when they do, they have to follow some procedures:

- A person who is arrested and detained in custody will have to be informed of the reasons for such arrest and detention.
- A person who is arrested and detained shall be produced before the nearest magistrate within a period of 24 hours of arrest.
- Such a person has the right to consult a lawyer or engage a lawyer for his defence.



Let us recall the cases of threat to the most basic of all liberties, the protection of victims in both these cases faced a individual life and personal liberty.



Are these cases instances of violation of right to freedom? If yes, which constitutional provision does each of these violate?

- The government of India banned Salman Rushdie's book *Satanic Verses* on the ground that it was disrespectful to Prophet Mohammed and was likely to hurt the feelings of Muslim community.
- Every film has to be approved by the Censor Board of the government before it can be shown to the public. But there is no such restriction if the same story is published in a book or a magazine.
- The government is considering a proposal that there will be industrial zones or sectors of economy where workers will not be allowed to form unions or go on strike.
- City administration has imposed a ban on use of public microphones after 10 p.m. in view of the approaching secondary school examinations.

### Right against Exploitation

Once the right to liberty and equality is granted, it follows that every citizen has a right not to be exploited. Yet the Constitution makers thought it was necessary to write down certain clear provisions to prevent exploitation of the weaker sections of the society.

The Constitution mentions three specific evils and declares these illegal. First, the Constitution prohibits 'traffic in human beings'. Traffic here means selling and buying of human beings, usually women, for immoral purposes. Second, our Constitution also prohibits forced labour or *begar* in

any form. *Begar* is a practice where the worker is forced to render service to the 'master' free of charge or at a nominal remuneration. When this practice takes place on a life-long basis, it is called the practice of bonded labour.

Finally, the Constitution also prohibits child labour. No one can employ a child below the age of fourteen to work in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous work, such as railways and ports. Using this as a basis many laws have been made to prohibit children from working in industries such as beedi making, firecrackers and matches, printing and dyeing.



On the basis of these news reports write a letter to the editor or a petition to a court highlighting the violation of right against exploitation:

A petition was filed in the Madras High Court. The petitioner said a large number of children aged between seven and 12 were taken from villages in Salem district and sold at auctions at Olur Nagar in Kerala's Thrissur district. The petitioner requested the courts to order the government to check these facts. (March 2005)

Children, from the age of five, were employed in the iron ore mines in the Hospet, Sandur and the Ikal areas in Karnataka. Children were forced to carry out digging, breaking stones, loading, dumping, transporting and processing of iron ore with no safety equipment, fixed wages and working hours. They handled a high-level of toxic wastes and were exposed to mine dust, which was above the permissible level. The school dropout rate in the region was very high. (May 2005)

The latest annual survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation found that the number of female child labourers was growing both in rural and urban areas. The survey revealed there were 41 female child labourers per thousand worker population in rural areas as against the previous figure of 34 per thousand. The figure for male child had remained at 31. (April 2005)



## A C T I V I T Y

Do you know what the minimum wages in your state are? If not, can you find out? Speak to five people doing different types of work in your neighbourhood and find out if they are earning the minimum wages or not. Ask them if they know what the minimum wages are. Ask them if men and women are getting the same wages.

### Right to Freedom of Religion

Right to freedom includes right to freedom of religion as well. In this case too, the Constitution makers were very particular to state it clearly. You have already read in Chapter 2 that India is a secular state. Most people in India, like anywhere else in the world, follow different religions. Some may not believe in any religion. Secularism is based on the idea that the state is concerned only with relations among human beings, and not with the relation between human beings and God. A secular state is one that does not establish any one religion as official religion. Indian secularism practices an attitude of a principled and equal distance from all religions. The state has to be neutral and impartial in dealing with all religions.

Every person has a **right to profess, practice and propagate the religion** he or she believes in. Every religious group or sect is free to manage its religious affairs. A right to propagate one's religion, however, does not mean that a person has right to compel another person to convert into his religion by means of force, fraud, inducement or allurements. Of course, a person is free to change religion on his or her own will. Freedom to practice religion does not mean that a person can do whatever he wants in the name of

religion. For example, one cannot sacrifice animals or human beings as offerings to supernatural forces or gods. Religious practices which treat women as inferior or those that infringe women's freedom are not allowed. For example, one cannot force a widow to shave head or wear white clothes.

A secular state is one that does not confer any privilege or favour on any particular religion. Nor does it punish or discriminate against people on the basis of religion they follow. Thus the government cannot compel any person to pay any taxes for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious institution. There shall be no religious instruction in the government educational institutions. In educational institutions managed by private bodies no person shall be compelled to take part in any religious instruction or to attend any religious worship.

### Cultural and Educational Rights

You might wonder why the Constitution makers were so particular in providing written guarantees of the rights of the minorities. Why are there no special guarantees for the majority? Well, for the simple reason that the working of democracy gives power to the majority. It is the language, culture and religion of minorities that needs special protection. Otherwise, they may get neglected or undermined under the impact of the language, religion and culture of the majority.

That is why the Constitution specifies the cultural and educational rights of the minorities:

- Any section of citizens with a distinct language or culture have a right to conserve it.



The Constitution does not give people their religion. Then how can it give people the right to practise their religion?

- Admission to any educational institution maintained by government or receiving government aid cannot be denied to any citizen on the ground of religion or language.
- All minorities have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Here minority does not mean only religious minority at the national level. In some places people speaking a particular language are in majority; people speaking a different language are in a minority. For example, Telugu speaking people form a majority in Andhra Pradesh. But they are a minority in the neighbouring State of Karnataka. Sikhs constitute a majority in Punjab. But they are a minority in Rajasthan, Haryana and Delhi.



Read these news reports and identify the right that is being debated in each of these cases:

- An emergency session of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) rejected the proposal to form a separate body to manage the affairs of Sikh shrines in Haryana. It warned the government that the Sikh community would not tolerate any interference in their religious affairs. (June 2005)
- The Allahabad High Court quashed the Central law, which gave Aligarh Muslim University its minority status, and held illegal the reservation of seats for Muslims in its postgraduate medical courses. (January 2006)
- The Rajasthan Government has decided to enact an anti-conversion law. Christian leaders have said that the Bill would aggravate the sense of insecurity and fear in the minds of minorities. (March 2005)

### How can we secure these rights?

If rights are like guarantees, they are of no use if there is no one to honour them. The fundamental rights in the Constitution are important because they are enforceable. We have a right to seek the enforcement of the above mentioned rights. This is called the **Right to Constitutional Remedies**. This itself is a Fundamental Right. This right makes other rights effective. It is possible that sometimes our rights may be violated by fellow citizens, private bodies or by the government. When any of our rights are violated we can seek remedy through courts. If it is a Fundamental Right we can directly approach the Supreme Court or the High Court of a state. That is why Dr. Ambedkar called the Right to Constitutional Remedies, 'the heart and soul' of our Constitution.

Fundamental Rights are guaranteed against the actions of the Legislatures, the Executive, and any other authorities instituted by the government. There can be no law or action that violates the Fundamental Rights. If any act of the Legislature or the Executive takes away or limits any of the Fundamental Rights it will be invalid. We can challenge such laws of the central and state governments, the policies and actions of the government or the governmental organisations like the nationalised banks or electricity boards. Courts also enforce the Fundamental Rights against private individuals and bodies. The Supreme Court and High Courts have the power to issue directions, orders or **writs** for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights. They can also award compensation to the



Can the President of India stop you from approaching the Supreme Court to secure your fundamental rights?



## National Human Rights Commission

Do you notice references to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in the news collage on this page? These references reflect the growing awareness of human rights and struggles for human dignity. Many cases of human rights violations in diverse fields, for instance, Gujarat riots, are being brought to the public notice from across India. Human rights organisations and the media often criticise government agencies for not seriously pursuing these cases or catching the culprits.

Someone had to intervene on behalf of the victims. This is where the National Human Rights Commission stepped in. This is an independent commission set up by law in 1993. Like judiciary, the Commission is independent of the government. The Commission is appointed by the President and includes retired judges, officers and eminent citizens. Yet it does not have the burden of deciding court cases. So it can focus on helping the victims secure their human rights. These include all the rights granted to the citizens by the Constitution. For NHRC human rights also include the rights mentioned in the UN sponsored international treaties that India has signed.

The NHRC cannot by itself punish the guilty. That is the responsibility of courts. The NHRC is there to make independent and credible inquiry into any case of violation of human rights. It also inquires into any case of abetment of such violation or negligence in controlling it by any government officer and takes other general steps to promote human rights in the country. The Commission presents its findings and recommendations to the government or intervene in the court on behalf of the victims. It has wide ranging powers to carry out its inquiry. Like any court it can **summon** witnesses, question any government official, demand any official paper, visit any prison for inspection or send its own team for on-the-spot inquiry.

Any citizen of India can write a letter to this address to complain against the violation of human rights: **National Human Rights Commission**, G.P.O. Complex, INA, New Delhi 110023. There is no fee or any formal procedure to approach the NHRC. Like NHRC, there are State Human Rights Commissions in 26 states of the country (as on 10 December 2018). For more details, visit <http://www.nhrc.nic.in>

victims and punishment to the violators. We have already seen in Chapter 4 that the judiciary in our country is independent of the government and the parliament. We also noted that our judiciary is very powerful and can do whatever is needed to protect the rights of the citizens.

In case of any violation of a Fundamental Right the aggrieved person can go to a court for remedy. But now, any person can go to court against the violation of the Fundamental Right, if it is of social or public interest. It is called Public Interest Litigation (PIL). Under the

PIL any citizen or group of citizens can approach the Supreme Court or a High Court for the protection of public interest against a particular law or action of the government. One can write to the judges even on a postcard. The court will take up the matter if the judges find it in public interest.



## A C T I V I T Y

Is there a State Human Rights Commission in your state? Find out about its activities.

Write a petition to the NHRC if you know any instances of human rights violation in your area.

## 5.4 EXPANDING SCOPE OF RIGHTS



Are these rights only for adults? Which of these rights are available to children?

We began this chapter by discussing the significance of rights. In much of the chapter we have focussed only on Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. You might think that Fundamental Rights granted by the Constitution are the only rights citizen have. This is not true. While Fundamental Rights are the source of all rights, our Constitution and law offers a wider range of rights. Over the years the scope of rights has expanded.

Sometimes it leads to expansion in the legal rights that the citizen can enjoy. From time to time, the courts gave judgments to expand the scope of rights. Certain rights like right to freedom of press, right to information, and right to education are derived from the Fundamental Rights. Now school education has become a right for Indian citizens. The governments are responsible for providing free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14 years. Parliament has enacted a law giving the right to

information to the citizens. This Act was made under the Fundamental Right to freedom of thought and expression. We have a right to seek information from government offices. Recently the Supreme Court has expanded the meaning of the right to life to include the right to food. Also, rights are not limited only to Fundamental Rights as enumerated in the Constitution. Constitution provides many more rights, which may not be Fundamental Rights. For example the right to property is not a Fundamental Right but it is a constitutional right. Right to vote in elections is an important constitutional right.

Sometimes the expansion takes place in what is called human rights. These are universal moral claims that may or may not have been recognised by law. In that sense these claims are not rights going by the definition that we presented earlier. With the expansion of democracy all over the world, there is greater pressure on governments to accept these claims.

Some international **covenants** have also contributed to the expansion of rights.

### International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

This international covenant recognises many rights that are not directly a part of the Fundamental Rights in the Indian Constitution. This has not yet become an international treaty. But human right activists all over the world see this as a standard of human rights. These include:

- right to work: opportunity to everyone to earn livelihood by working
- right to safe and healthy working conditions, fair wages that can provide decent standard of living for the workers and their families
- right to adequate standard of living including adequate food, clothing and housing
- right to social security and insurance
- right to health: medical care during illness, special care for women during childbirth and prevention of epidemics
- right to education: free and compulsory primary education, equal access to higher education.

Thus the scope of rights has been expanding and new rights are evolving over time. They are result of struggle of the people. New rights emerge as societies develop or as new constitutions are made. The Constitution of South Africa guarantees its citizens several kinds of new rights:

- Right to privacy, so that citizens or their home cannot be searched, their phones cannot be tapped, their communication cannot be opened.
- Right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being;
- Right to have access to adequate housing.
- Right to have access to health care services, sufficient food and water; no one may be refused emergency medical treatment.

Many people think that the right to work, right to health, right to minimum livelihood and right to privacy should be made fundamental rights in India as well. What do you think?

**Amnesty International:** An international organisation of volunteers who campaign for human rights. This organisation brings out independent reports on the violation of human rights all over the world.

**Claim:** Demand for legal or moral entitlements a person makes on fellow citizens, society or the government.

**Covenant:** Promise made by individuals, groups or countries to uphold a rule or principle. It is legally binding on the signatories to the agreement or statement.

**Dalit:** A person who belongs to the castes which were considered low and not touchable by others. Dalits are also known by other names such as the Scheduled Castes, Depressed Classes etc.

**Ethnic group:** An ethnic group is a human population whose members usually identify with each other on the basis of a common ancestry. People of an ethnic group are united by cultural practices, religious beliefs and historical memories.

**Traffic:** Selling and buying of men, women or children for immoral purposes.

**Summon:** An order issued by a court asking a person to appear before it.

**Writ:** A formal document containing an order of the court to the government issued only by High Court or the Supreme Court.



- 1 Which of the following is not an instance of an exercise of a fundamental right?
  - a Workers from Bihar go to the Punjab to work on the farms
  - b Christian missions set up a chain of missionary schools
  - c Men and women government employees get the same salary
  - d Parents' property is inherited by their children
  
- 2 Which of the following freedoms is not available to an Indian citizen?
  - a Freedom to criticise the government
  - b Freedom to participate in armed revolution
  - c Freedom to start a movement to change the government
  - d Freedom to oppose the central values of the Constitution
  
- 3 Which of the following rights is available under the Indian Constitution?
  - a Right to work
  - b Right to adequate livelihood
  - c Right to protect one's culture
  - d Right to privacy
  
- 4 Name the Fundamental Right under which each of the following rights falls:
  - a Freedom to propagate one's religion
  - b Right to life
  - c Abolition of untouchability
  - d Ban on bonded labour
  
- 5 Which of these statements about the relationship between democracy and rights is more valid? Give reasons for your preference.
  - a Every country that is a democracy gives rights to its citizens.
  - b Every country that gives rights to its citizens is a democracy.
  - c Giving rights is good, but it is not necessary for a democracy.
  
- 6 Are these restrictions on the right to freedom justified? Give reasons for your answer.
  - a Indian citizens need permission to visit some border areas of the country for reasons of security.
  - b Outsiders are not allowed to buy property in some areas to protect the interest of the local population.
  - c The government bans the publication of a book that can go against the ruling party in the next elections.
  
- 7 Manoj went to a college to apply for admission into an MBA course. The clerk refused to take his application and said "You, the son of a sweeper, wish to be a manager! Has anyone done this job in your community? Go to the municipality office and apply for a sweeper's position". Which of Manoj's fundamental rights are being violated in this instance? Spell these out in a letter from Manoj to the district collector.

- 8** When Madhurima went to the property registration office, the Registrar told her, “You can’t write your name as Madhurima Banerjee d/o A. K. Banerjee. You are married, so you must give your husband’s name. Your husband’s surname is Rao. So your name should be changed to Madhurima Rao.” She did not agree. She said “If my husband’s name has not changed after marriage, why should mine?” In your opinion who is right in this dispute? And why?
- 9** Thousands of tribals and other forest dwellers gathered at Piparia in Hoshangabad district in Madhya Pradesh to protest against their proposed displacement from the Satpura National Park, Bori Wildlife Sanctuary and Panchmarhi Wildlife Sanctuary. They argue that such a displacement is an attack on their livelihood and beliefs. Government claims that their displacement is essential for the development of the area and for protection of wildlife. Write a petition on behalf of the forest dwellers to the NHRC, a response from the government and a report of the NHRC on this matter.
- 10** Draw a web interconnecting different rights discussed in this chapter. For example right to freedom of movement is connected to the freedom of occupation. One reason for this is that freedom of movement enables a person to go to place of work within one’s village or city or to another village, city or state. Similarly this right can be used for pilgrimage, connected with freedom to follow one’s religion. Draw a circle for each right and mark arrows that show connection between or among different rights. For each arrow, give an example that shows the linkage.

In every chapter we have done an exercise on reading the newspaper. Let us now try to write for the newspaper. Take any example from the reports discussed in this chapter or any other local example that you are familiar with and write the following:

- Letter to the editor highlighting a case of human rights violation.
- Press release by a human rights organisation.
- A headline and a news item concerning a Supreme Court order related to Fundamental Rights.
- Editorial on growing incidents of custodial violence.

Put these together and make a newspaper for your school notice board.



# ECONOMICS

**Textbook for Class IX**



0970



एन सी ई आर टी  
NCERT

राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्  
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## FOREWORD

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days are actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the advisory group in Social Sciences, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the

Chief Advisor for this book, Professor Tapas Majumdar for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairmanship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G.P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

New Delhi  
20 December 2005

*Director*  
National Council of Educational  
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# THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

## PREAMBLE

**WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA**, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a <sup>1</sup>**[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 <sup>2</sup>[unity and integrity of the Nation];

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

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

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We are grateful to Jan Breman and Parthiv Shah, for giving us permission to use photographs from their book *Working in the mill no more*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2005. We also acknowledge the contribution made by Arvind Sadana of Eklavya, Madhya Pradesh; Janmejoy Khuntia, *Senior Lecturer*, School of Correspondence Course, Delhi University.

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## Our National Anthem

*Jana-gana-mana adhinayaka, jaya he  
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.  
Punjab-Sindh-Gujarat-Maratha  
Dravida-Utkala-Banga  
Vindhya-Himachala-Yamuna-Ganga  
Uchchhala-jaladhi-taranga.  
Tava shubha name jage,  
Tava shubha asisa mage,  
Gahe tava jaya gatha.  
Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka jaya he  
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.  
Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he,  
Jaya jaya jaya, jaya he!*

Our National Anthem, composed originally in Bangla by Rabindranath Tagore, was adopted in its Hindi version by the Constituent Assembly as the national anthem of India on 24 January 1950.

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# Constitution of India

## Part IV A (Article 51 A)

### Fundamental Duties

It shall be the duty of every citizen of India —

- (a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
- (b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
- (c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
- (d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;
- (e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
- (f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
- (g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures;
- (h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
- (i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
- (j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;
- \* (k) who is a parent or guardian, to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

---

**Note:** The Article 51A containing Fundamental Duties was inserted by the Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act, 1976 (with effect from 3 January 1977).

\* (k) was inserted by the Constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002 (with effect from 1 April 2010).



## Overview

The purpose of the story is to introduce some basic concepts relating to production and this we do through a story of a hypothetical village called Palampur.\*

Farming is the main activity in Palampur, whereas several other activities such as small scale manufacturing, dairy, transport, etc. are carried out on a limited scale. These production activities need various types of resources — natural resources, man-made items, human effort, money, etc. As we read through the story of Palampur, we will learn how various resources combine to produce the desired goods and services in the village.

## Introduction

Palampur is well-connected with neighbouring villages and towns. Raiganj, a big village, is 3 kms from Palampur. An all weather road connects the village to Raiganj and further on to the nearest small town of Shahpur. Many kinds of transport are visible on this road starting from bullock carts, *tongas*, bogeys (wooden cart drawn by buffalos) loaded with jaggery (*gur*) and other commodities to motor vehicles like motorcycles, jeeps, tractors and trucks.

This village has about 450 families belonging to several different castes. The 80 upper caste families own the majority of land in the village. Their houses, some of them quite large, are made of brick with cement plastering. The SCs (dalits) comprise one third of the population and live in one corner of the village and in much smaller houses some of which are of mud and straw. Most of the houses have

\* The narrative is partly based on a research study by Gilbert Etienne of a village in Bulandshahr district in Western Uttar Pradesh.

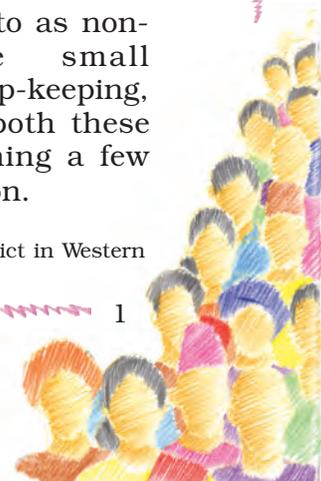


**Picture 1.1** Scene of a village

electric connections. Electricity powers all the tubewells in the fields and is used in various types of small business. Palampur has two primary schools and one high school. There is a primary health centre run by the government and one private dispensary where the sick are treated.

- The description above shows that Palampur has fairly well-developed system of roads, transport, electricity, irrigation, schools and health centre. Compare these facilities with those in your nearby village.

The story of Palampur, an imaginary village, will take us through the different types of production activities in the village. In villages across India, farming is the main production activity. The other production activities, referred to as non-farm activities include small manufacturing, transport, shop-keeping, etc. We shall take a look at both these types of activities, after learning a few general things about production.



## Organisation of Production

The aim of production is to produce the goods and services that we want. There are four requirements for production of goods and services.

The first requirement is **land**, and other natural resources such as water, forests, minerals.

The second requirement is **labour**, i.e. people who will do the work. Some production activities require highly educated workers to perform the necessary tasks. Other activities require workers who can do manual work. Each worker is providing the labour necessary for production.

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

- (a) *Tools, machines, buildings:* Tools and machines range from very simple tools such as a farmer's plough to sophisticated machines such as generators, turbines, computers, etc. Tools, machines, buildings can be used in production over many years, and are called **fixed capital**.
- (b) *Raw materials and money in hand:* Production requires a variety of raw materials such as the yarn used by the weaver and the clay used by the potter. Also, some money is always required during production to make payments and buy other necessary items. Raw materials and money in hand are called **working capital**. Unlike tools, machines and buildings, these are used up in production.

There is a fourth requirement too. You will need knowledge and enterprise to be able to put together land, labour and physical capital and produce an output either to use yourself or to sell in the market. This these days is called human

capital. We shall learn more about **human capital** in the next chapter.

- In the picture, identify the land, labour and fixed capital used in production.



**Picture 1.2** A factory, with several labourers and machines

Every production is organised by combining land, labour, physical capital and human capital, which are known as **factors of production**. As we read through the story of Palampur, we will learn more about the first three factors of production. For convenience, we will refer to the physical capital as the capital in this chapter.

## Farming in Palampur

### 1. Land is fixed

Farming is the main production activity in Palampur. 75 per cent of the people who are working are dependent on farming for their livelihood. They could be farmers or farm labourers. The well-being of these people is closely related to production on the farms.

But remember that there is a basic constraint in raising farm production. Land area under cultivation is practically fixed. Since 1960 in Palampur, there has been no expansion in land area under

cultivation. By then, some of the wastelands in the village had been converted to cultivable land. There exists no further scope to increase farm production by bringing new land under cultivation.

The standard unit of measuring land is hectare, though in the villages you may find land area being discussed in local units such as *bigha*, *quintha* etc. One hectare equals the area of a square with one side measuring 100 metres. Can you compare the area of a 1 hectare field with the area of your school ground?



## 2. Is there a way one can grow more from the same land?

In the kind of crops grown and facilities available, Palampur would resemble a village of the western part of the state of Uttar Pradesh. All land is cultivated in Palampur. No land is left idle. During the rainy season (kharif) farmers grow jowar and bajra. These plants are used as cattle feed. It is followed by cultivation of potato between October and December. In the winter season (rabi), fields are sown with wheat. From the wheat produced, farmers keep enough wheat for the family's consumption and sell the surplus wheat at the market at Raiganj. A part of the land area is also devoted to sugarcane which is harvested once every year. Sugarcane, in its raw form, or as jaggery, is sold to traders in Shahpur.

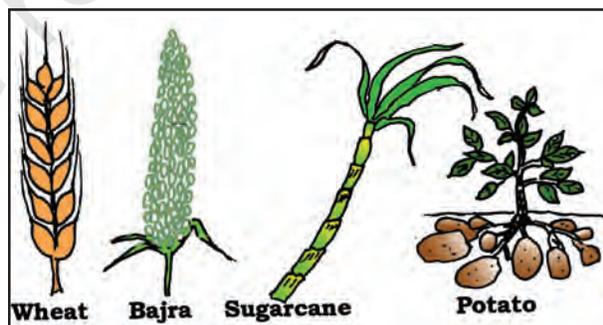
The main reason why farmers are able to grow three different crops in a year in Palampur is due to the well-developed system of irrigation. Electricity came early to Palampur. Its major impact was to transform the system of irrigation. Persian wheels were, till then, used by farmers to draw water from the wells and irrigate small fields. People saw that the electric-run tubewells could irrigate much

larger areas of land more effectively. The first few tubewells were installed by the government. Soon, however, farmers started setting up private tubewells. As a result, by mid-1970s the entire cultivated area of 200 hectares (ha.) was irrigated.

Not all villages in India have such high levels of irrigation. Apart from the riverine plains, coastal regions in our country are well-irrigated. In contrast, plateau regions such as the Deccan plateau have low levels of irrigation. Of the total cultivated area in the country a little less than 40 per cent is irrigated even today. In the remaining areas, farming is largely dependent on rainfall.



To grow more than one crop on a piece of land during the year is known as multiple cropping. It is the most common way of increasing production on a given piece of land. All farmers in Palampur grow atleast two main crops; many are growing potato as the third crop in the past fifteen to twenty years.



Picture 1.3 Different crops



### Let's Discuss

- The following Table 1.1 shows the land under cultivation in India in units of million hectares. Plot this on the graph provided. What does the graph show? Discuss in class.



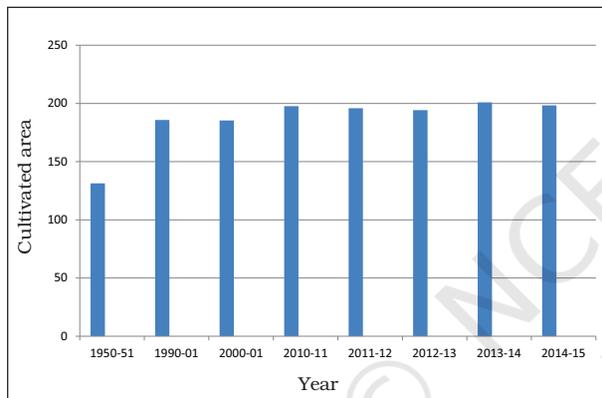
**Table 1.1:** Cultivated area over the years

Year	Cultivated Area ( in Million Hectares )
1950-51	132
1990-91	186
2000-01	186
2010-11 (P)	198
2011-12 (P)	196
2012-13 (P)	194
2013-14 (P)	201
2014-15 (P)	198

(P) - Provisional Data

**Source:** Pocket Book of Agriculture Statistics 2018, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Agriculture, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare.

Cultivated area (in million hectares)

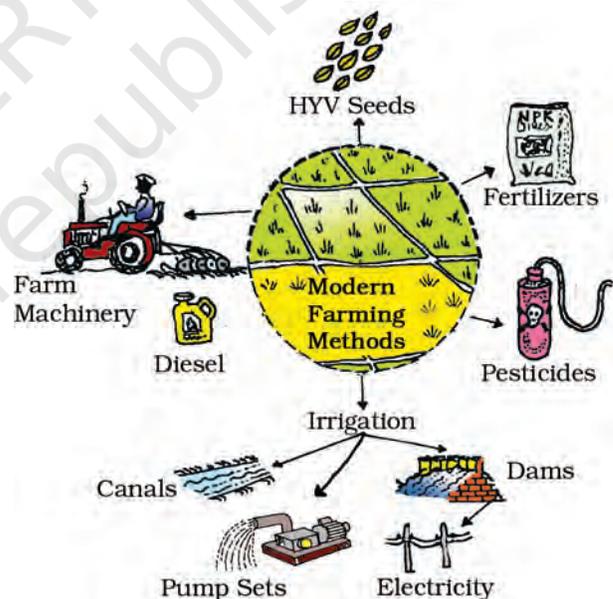


- Is it important to increase the area under irrigation? Why?
- You have read about the crops grown in Palampur. Fill the following table based on information on the crops grown in your region.

You have seen that one way of increasing production from the same land is by multiple cropping. The other way is to use modern farming methods for higher yield. Yield is measured as

crop produced on a given piece of land during a single season. Till the mid-1960s, the seeds used in cultivation were traditional ones with relatively low yields. Traditional seeds needed less irrigation. Farmers used cow-dung and other natural manure as fertilizers. All these were readily available with the farmers who did not have to buy them.

The Green Revolution in the late 1960s introduced the Indian farmer to cultivation of wheat and rice using high yielding varieties (HYVs) of seeds. Compared to the traditional seeds, the HYV seeds promised to produce much greater amounts of grain on a single plant. As a result, the same piece of land would now produce far larger quantities of foodgrains than was possible earlier. HYV seeds, however, needed plenty of water and also chemical fertilizers and pesticides to produce best results.



**Picture 1.4** Modern Farming Methods: HYV seeds, chemical fertilizer etc.

Name of crop	Month sown	Month Harvested	Source of irrigation (Rain, tanks, tubewells, canals, etc.)



Higher yields were possible only from a combination of HYV seeds, irrigation, chemical fertilisers, pesticides, etc.

Farmers of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh were the first to try out the modern farming method in India. The farmers in these regions set up tubewells for irrigation, and made use of HYV seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides in farming. Some of them bought farm machinery, like tractors and threshers, which made ploughing and harvesting faster. They were rewarded with high yields of wheat.

In Palampur, the yield of wheat grown from the traditional varieties was 1300 kg per hectare. With HYV seeds, the yield went up to 3200 kg per hectare. There was a large increase in the production of wheat. Farmers now had greater amounts of surplus wheat to sell in the markets.

### *Let's Discuss*

- What is the difference between multiple cropping and modern farming method?
- The following table shows the production of wheat and pulses in India after the Green Revolution in units of million tonnes. Plot this on a graph. Was the Green Revolution equally successful for both the crops? Discuss.
- What is the working capital required by the farmer using modern farming methods?

**Table 1.2:** Production of pulses and wheat (in Million Tonnes)

	Production of Pulses	Production of Wheat
1965 - 66	10	10
1970 - 71	12	24
1980 - 81	11	36
1990 - 91	14	55
2000 - 01	11	70
2010 - 11	18	87
2012 - 13	18	94
2013 - 14	19	96
2014 - 15	17	87
2015 - 16	17	94
2016 - 17	23	99
2017 - 18	25	100

**Source:** Annual Report 2018–19 Department of Agriculture, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare, as on February, 2019, Government of India.

- Modern farming methods require the farmer to start with more cash than before. Why?

### *Suggested Activity*

- During your field visit talk to some farmers of your region. Find out:
  1. What kind of farming methods — modern or traditional or mixed — do the farmers use? Write a note.
  2. What are the sources of irrigation?
  3. How much of the cultivated land is irrigated? (very little/nearly half/majority/all)
  4. From where do farmers obtain the inputs that they require?

### 3. Will the land sustain?

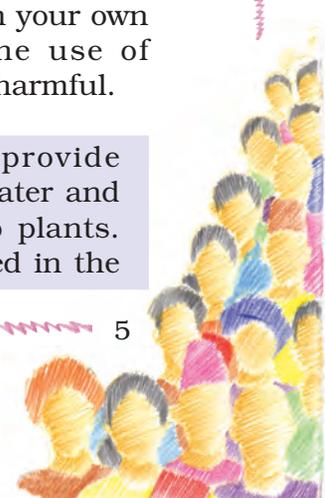
Land being a natural resource, it is necessary to be careful in its use. Scientific reports indicate that the modern farming methods have overused the natural resource base.

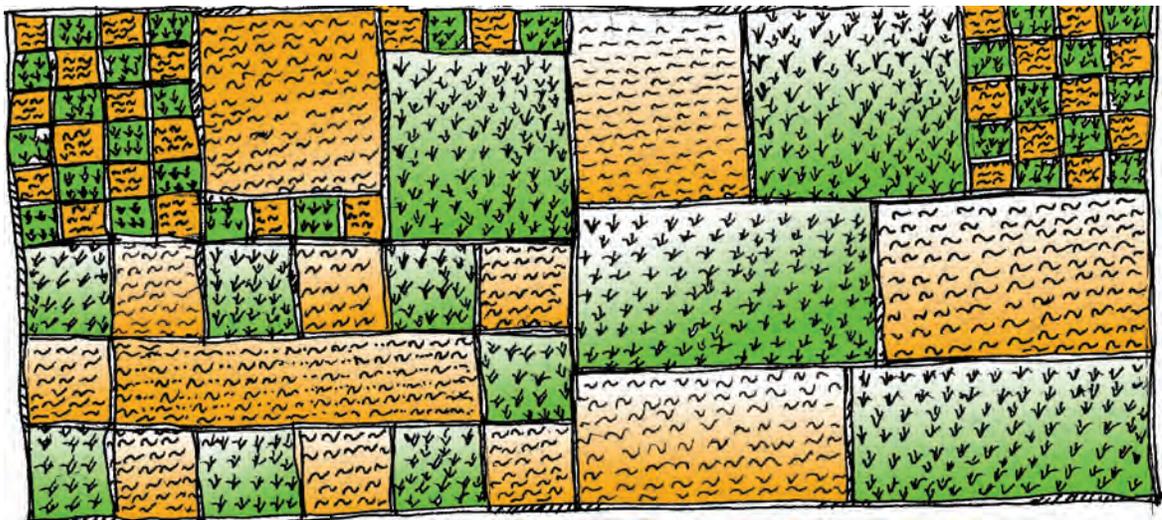
In many areas, Green Revolution is associated with the loss of soil fertility due to increased use of chemical fertilisers. Also, continuous use of groundwater for tubewell irrigation has led to the depletion of the water-table. Environmental resources, like soil fertility and groundwater, are built up over years. Once destroyed it is very difficult to restore them. We must take care of the environment to ensure future development of agriculture.

### *Suggested Activity*

- After reading the following reports from newspapers/magazines, write a letter to the Agriculture Minister in your own words telling him how the use of chemical fertilisers can be harmful.

...Chemical fertilisers provide minerals which dissolve in water and are immediately available to plants. But these may not be retained in the





**Picture 1.5** Palampur village: Distribution of cultivated land

soil for long. They may escape from the soil and pollute groundwater, rivers and lakes. Chemical fertilizers can also kill bacteria and other micro-organisms in the soil. This means some time after their use, the soil will be less fertile than ever before....(Source: Down to Earth, New Delhi)

.....The consumption of chemical fertilizers in Punjab is highest in the country. The continuous use of chemical fertilizers has led to degradation of soil health. Punjab farmers are now forced to use more and more chemical fertilizers and other inputs to achieve the same production level. This means cost of cultivation is rising very fast.....(Source: The Tribune, Chandigarh)



land, 240 families cultivate small plots of land less than 2 hectares in size. Cultivation of such plots doesn't bring adequate income to the farmer family.

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

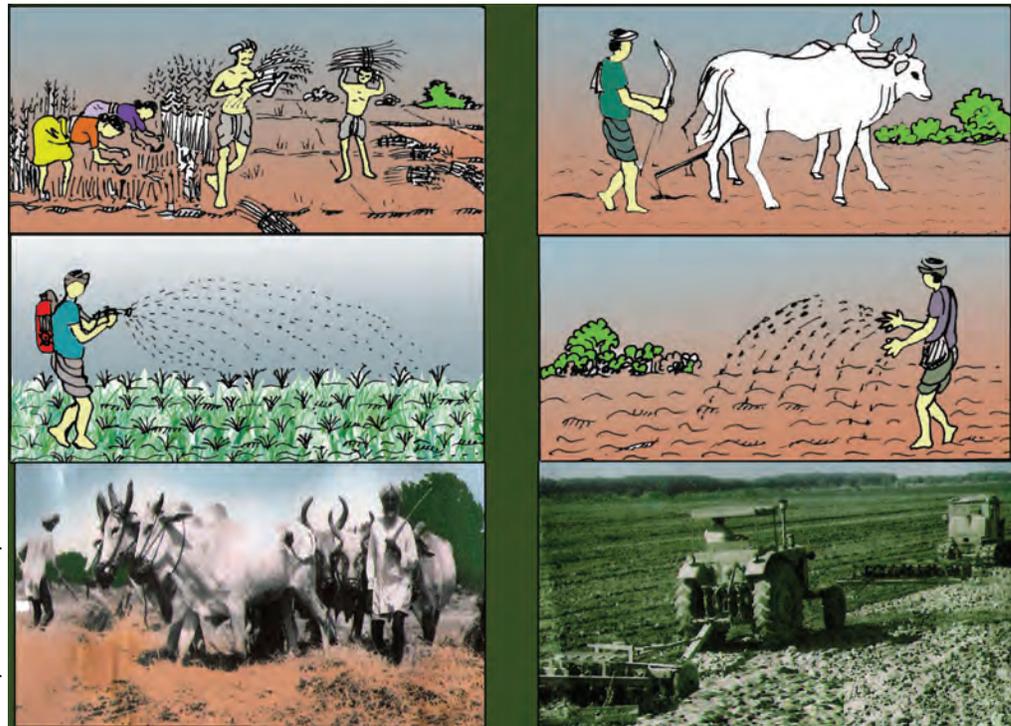


#### 4. How is land distributed between the farmers of Palampur?

You must have realised how important land is for farming. Unfortunately, not all the people engaged in agriculture have sufficient land for cultivation. In Palampur, about one third of the 450 families are landless, i.e. 150 families, most of them dalits, have no land for cultivation.

Of the remaining families who own

You can see the large number of small plots scattered around the village in the picture. These are cultivated by the small farmers. On the other hand, more than half the area of the village is covered by plots that are quite large in size. In Palampur, there are 60 families of medium and large farmers who cultivate more than 2 hectares of land. A few of the large farmers have land extending over 10 hectares or more.

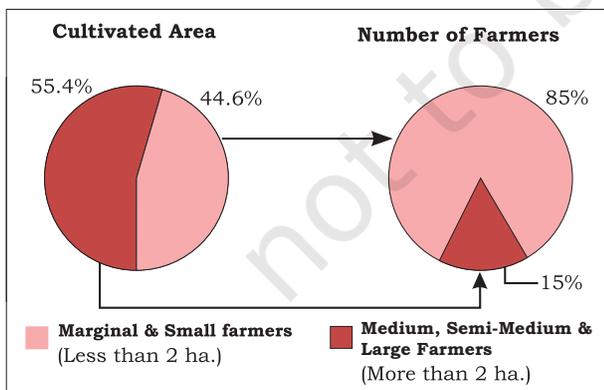


**Picture 1.6** Work on the fields: Wheat crop—ploughing by bullocks, sowing, spraying of insecticides, cultivation by traditional method, cultivation by modern method, and cutting of crops.

### Let's Discuss

- In the Picture 1.5, can you shade the land cultivated by the small farmers?
- Why do so many families of farmers cultivate such small plots of land?
- The distribution of farmers in India and the amount of land they cultivate is given in the following Graph 1.1. Discuss in the classroom.

**Graph 1.1:** Distribution of Cultivated Area and Farmers



**Source:** Pocket Book of Agriculture Statistics 2018 and State of Indian Agriculture 2018, Department of Agriculture, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare (As per Agriculture Census, 2010–11).

### Let's Discuss

- Would you agree that the distribution of cultivated land is unequal in Palampur? Do you find a similar situation for India? Explain.

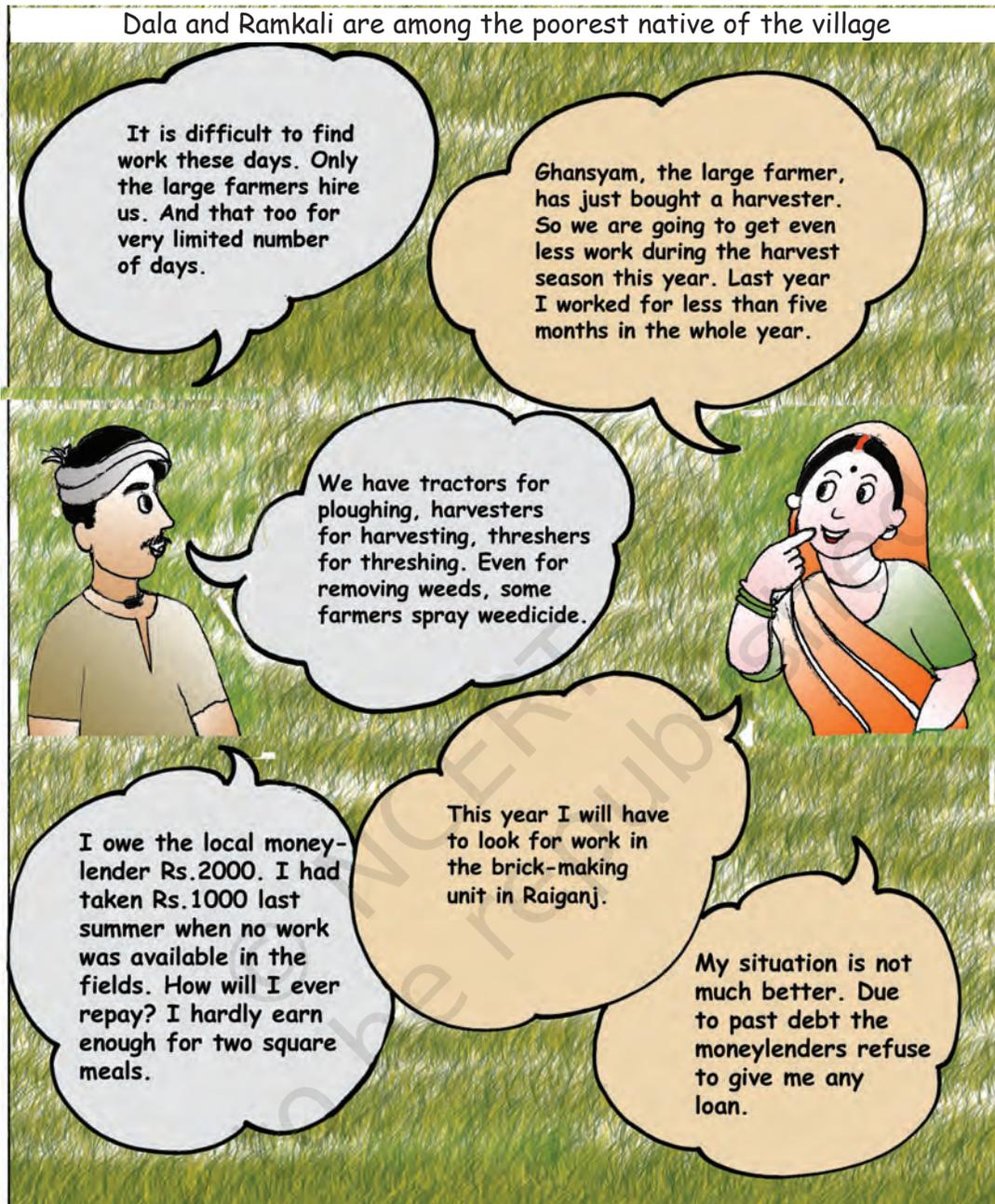
### 5. Who will provide the labour?

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

### Let's Discuss

- Identify the work being done on the field in the Pictures 1.6 and arrange them in a proper sequence.

Farm labourers come either from landless families or families cultivating small plots of land. Unlike farmers, farm labourers do not have a right over the



**Picture 1.7** The conversation between Dala and Ramkali

crops grown on the land. Instead they are paid wages by the farmer for whom they work. Wages can be in cash or in kind e.g. crop. Sometimes labourers get meals also. Wages vary widely from region to region, from crop to crop, from one farm activity to another (like sowing and harvesting). There is also a wide variation in the duration of employment. A farm

labourer might be employed on a daily basis, or for one particular farm activity like harvesting, or for the whole year.

Dala is a landless farm labourer who works on daily wages in Palampur. This means he must regularly look for work. The minimum wages for a farm labourer set by the government is Rs 300 per day (March 2019), but Dala gets only Rs 160. There is



heavy competition for work among the farm labourers in Palampur, so people agree to work for lower wages. Dala complains about his situation to Ramkali, who is another farm labourer.

Both Dala and Ramkali are among the poorest people in the village.

### Let's Discuss

- Why are farm labourers like Dala and Ramkali poor?
- Gosaipur and Majauli are two villages in North Bihar. Out of a total of 850 households in the two villages, there are more than 250 men who are employed in rural Punjab and Haryana or in Delhi, Mumbai, Surat, Hyderabad or Nagpur. Such migration is common in most villages across India. Why do people migrate? Can you describe (based on your imagination) the work that the migrants of Gosaipur and Majauli might do at the place of destination?

## 6. The capital needed in farming

You have already seen that the modern farming methods require a great deal of capital, so that the farmer now needs more money than before.

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

Savita is a small farmer. She plans to cultivate wheat on her 1 hectare of land. Besides seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, she needs cash to buy water and repair her farm instruments. She estimates that the working capital itself would cost a minimum of Rs 3,000. She doesn't have the money, so she decides to borrow from Tejpal Singh, a large

farmer. Tejpal Singh agrees to give Savita the loan at an interest rate of 24 per cent for four months, which is a very high interest rate. Savita also has to promise to work on his field as a farm labourer during the harvest season at Rs 100 per day. As you can tell, this wage is quite low. Savita knows that she will have to work very hard to complete harvesting on her own field, and then work as a farm labourer for Tejpal Singh. The harvest time is a very busy time. As a mother of three children she has a lot of household responsibilities. Savita agrees to these tough conditions as she knows getting a loan is difficult for a small farmer.

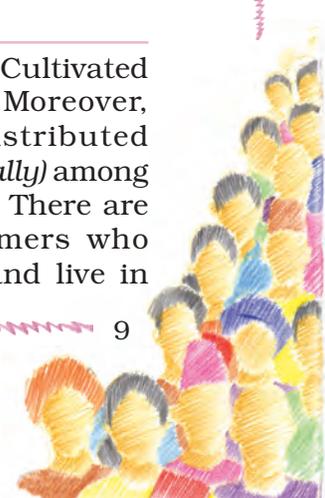
2. In contrast to the small farmers, the medium and large farmers have their own savings from farming. They are thus able to arrange for the capital needed. How do these farmers have their own savings? You shall find the answer in the next section.

### Let's discuss the story so far....

We have read about the three factors of production—land, labour and capital—and how they are used in farming. Let us fill in the blanks given below.

Among the three factors of production, we found that labour is the most abundant factor of production. There are many people who are willing to work as farm labourers in the villages, whereas the opportunities of work are limited. They belong to either landless families or \_\_\_\_\_. They are paid low wages, and lead a difficult life.

In contrast to labour, \_\_\_\_\_ is a scarce factor of production. Cultivated land area is \_\_\_\_\_. Moreover, even the existing land is distributed \_\_\_\_\_ (*equally/unequally*) among the people engaged in farming. There are a large number of small farmers who cultivate small plots of land and live in



conditions not much better than the landless farm labourer. To make the maximum use of the existing land, farmers use \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. Both these have led to increase in production of crops.

Modern farming methods require a great deal of \_\_\_\_\_. Small farmers usually need to borrow money to arrange for the capital, and are put to great distress to repay the loan. Therefore, capital too is a scarce factor of production, particularly for the small farmers.

Though both land and capital are scarce, there is a basic difference between the two factors of production. \_\_\_\_\_ is a natural resource, whereas \_\_\_\_\_ is man-made. It is possible to increase capital, whereas land is fixed. Therefore, it is very important that we take good care of land and other natural resources used in farming.

## 7. Sale of Surplus Farm Products

Let us suppose that the farmers have produced wheat on their lands using the three factors of production. The wheat is harvested and production is complete. What do the farmers do with the wheat? They retain a part of the wheat for the family's consumption and sell the surplus wheat. Small farmers like Savita and Gobind's sons have little surplus wheat because their total production is small and from this a substantial share is kept for their own family needs. So it is the medium and large farmers who supply wheat to the market. In the Picture 1.1, you can see the bullock cart streaming into the market each carrying loads of wheat. The traders at the market buy the wheat and sell it further to shopkeepers in the towns and cities.

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

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

Like Tejpal Singh, other large and medium farmers sell the surplus farm products. A part of the earnings is saved and kept for buying capital for the next season. Thus, they are able to arrange for the capital for farming from their own savings. Some farmers might also use the savings to buy cattle, trucks, or to set up shops. As we shall see, these constitute the capital for non-farm activities.

## Non-Farm Activities in Palampur

We have learnt about farming as the main production activity in Palampur. We shall now take a look at some of the non-farm production activities. Only 25 per cent of the people working in Palampur are engaged in activities other than agriculture.

### 1. Dairy — the other common activity

Dairy is a common activity in many families of Palampur. People feed their buffalos on various kinds of grass and the *jowar* and *bajra* that grows during the rainy season. The milk is sold in Raiganj, the nearby large village. Two traders from Shahpur town have set up collection cum chilling centres at Raiganj from where the milk is transported to far away towns and cities.

## Let's Discuss

- Let us take three farmers. Each has grown wheat on his field though the production is different (see Column 2). The consumption of wheat by each farmer family is the same (Column 3). The whole of surplus wheat this year is used as capital for next year's production. Also suppose, production is twice the capital used in production. Complete the tables.

### Farmer 1

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

### Farmer 2

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

### Farmer 3

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



## Let's Discuss

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

## 2. An example of small-scale manufacturing in Palampur

At present, less than fifty people are engaged in manufacturing in Palampur.

Unlike the manufacturing that takes place in the big factories in the towns and cities, manufacturing in Palampur involves very simple production methods



and are done on a small scale. They are carried out mostly at home or in the fields with the help of family labour. Rarely are labourers hired.

Mishrilal has purchased a mechanical sugarcane crushing machine run on electricity and has set it up on his field. Sugarcane crushing was earlier done with the help of bullocks, but people prefer to do it by machines these days. Mishrilal also buys sugarcane from other farmers and processes it into jaggery. The jaggery is then sold to traders at Shahpur. In the process, Mishrilal makes a small profit.

Kareem has opened a computer class centre in the village. In recent years a large number of students have been attending college in Shahpur town. Kareem found that a number of students from the village are also attending computer classes in the town. There were two women in the village who had a degree in computer applications. He decided to employ them. He bought computers and set up the classes in the front room of their house overlooking the market. High school students have started attending them in good numbers.

### Let's Discuss

- What capital did Mishrilal need to set up his jaggery manufacturing unit?
- Who provides the labour in this case?
- Can you guess why Mishrilal is unable to increase his profit?
- Could you think of any reasons when he might face a loss?
- Why does Mishrilal sell his jaggery to traders in Shahpur and not in his village?

### Let's Discuss

- In what ways is Kareem's capital and labour different from Mishrilal's?
- Why didn't someone start a computer centre earlier? Discuss the possible reasons.

### 4. Transport: a fast developing sector

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

### 3. The shopkeepers of Palampur

People involved in trade (exchange of goods) are not many in Palampur. The traders of Palampur are shopkeepers who buy various goods from wholesale markets in the cities and sell them in the village. You will see small general stores in the village selling a wide range of items like rice, wheat, sugar, tea, oil, biscuits, soap, toothpaste, batteries, candles, notebooks, pen, pencil, even some cloth. A few of the families whose houses are close to the bus stand have used a part of the space to open small shops. They sell eatables.

Kishora is a farm labourer. Like other such labourers, Kishora found it difficult to meet his family's needs from the wages that he received. A few years back Kishora took a loan from the bank. This was under a government programme which was giving cheap loans to poor landless households. Kishora bought a buffalo with this money. He now sells the buffalo's milk.



Further, he has attached a wooden cart to his buffalo and uses it to transport various items. Once a week, he goes to the river Ganga to bring back clay for the potter. Or sometimes he goes to Shahpur with a load of jaggery or other commodities. Every month he gets some work in transport. As a result, Kishora is able to earn more than what he used to do some years back.

### Let's Discuss

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

### Summary

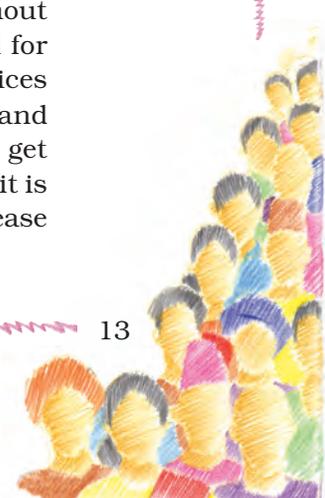
Farming is the main production activity in the village. Over the years there have been many important changes in the way farming is practiced. These have allowed the farmers to produce more crops from the same amount of land. This is an important achievement, since land is fixed and scarce. But in raising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

The new ways of farming need less land, but much more of capital. The medium and large farmers are able to use their own savings from production to arrange for capital during the next season. On the other hand, the small farmers who constitute about 80 per cent of total farmers in India, find it difficult to obtain capital. Because of the small size of their plots, their production is not enough. The lack of surplus means that they are unable to obtain capital from their own savings, and have to borrow. Besides the debt, many of the small farmers have to do additional work as farm labourers to feed themselves and their families.

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

At present, the non-farm sector in the village is not very large. Out of every 100 workers in the rural areas in India, only 24 are engaged in non-farm activities. Though there is a variety of non-farm activities in the villages (we have only seen a few examples), the number of people employed in each is quite small.

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





## Exercises

- Every village in India is surveyed once in ten years during the Census and some of details are presented in the following format. Fill up the following based on information on Palampur.
  - LOCATION:
  - TOTAL AREA OF THE VILLAGE:
  - LAND USE (in hectares):

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

- FACILITIES:

Educational	
Medical	
Market	
Electricity Supply	
Communication	
Nearest Town	

- Modern farming methods require more inputs which are manufactured in industry. Do you agree?
- How did the spread of electricity help farmers in Palampur?
- Is it important to increase the area under irrigation? Why?
- Construct a table on the distribution of land among the 450 families of Palampur.
- Why are the wages for farm labourers in Palampur less than minimum wages?
- In your region, talk to two labourers. Choose either farm labourers or labourers working at construction sites. What wages do they get? Are they paid in cash or kind? Do they get work regularly? Are they in debt?
- What are the different ways of increasing production on the same piece of land? Use examples to explain.
- Describe the work of a farmer with 1 hectare of land.
- How do the medium and large farmers obtain capital for farming? How is it different from the small farmers?
- On what terms did Savita get a loan from Tajpal Singh? Would Savita's condition be different if she could get a loan from the bank at a low rate of interest?
- Talk to some old residents in your region and write a short report on the changes in irrigation and changes in production methods during the last 30 years. (Optional)

13. What are the non-farm production activities taking place in your region? Make a short list.
14. What can be done so that more non-farm production activities can be started in villages?



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### Overview

The chapter 'People as Resource' is an effort to explain population as an asset for the economy rather than a liability. Population becomes human capital when there is investment made in the form of education, training and medical care. In fact, human capital is the stock of skill and productive knowledge embodied in them.

'People as Resource' is a way of referring to a country's working people in terms of their existing productive skills and abilities. Looking at the population from this productive aspect emphasises its ability to contribute to the creation of the Gross National Product. Like other resources population also is a resource — a 'human resource'. This is the positive side of a large population that is often overlooked when we look only at the negative side, considering only the problems of providing the population with food, education and access to health facilities. When the existing 'human resource' is further developed by becoming more educated and healthy, we call it 'human capital formation' that adds to the productive power of the country just like 'physical capital formation'.

Investment in human capital (through education, training, medical care) yields a return just like investment in physical capital. This can be seen directly in the form of higher incomes earned because of higher productivity of the more educated or the better trained persons, as well as the higher productivity of healthier people.

India's Green Revolution is a dramatic example of how the input of greater knowledge in the form of improved production technologies can rapidly increase the productivity of scarce land resources. India's IT revolution is a striking instance of how the importance of human capital has come to acquire a higher position than that of material, plant and machinery.

**Source:** Planning Commission, Govt. of India.





Picture 2.1

### Let's Discuss

- Looking at the photograph can you explain how a doctor, teacher, engineer and a tailor are an asset to the economy?

Not only do the more educated and the healthier people gain through higher incomes, society also gains in other indirect ways because the advantages of a more educated or a healthier population spreads to those also who themselves were not directly educated or given health care. In fact, human capital is in one way superior to other resources like land and physical capital: human resource can make use of land and capital. Land and capital cannot become useful on its own!

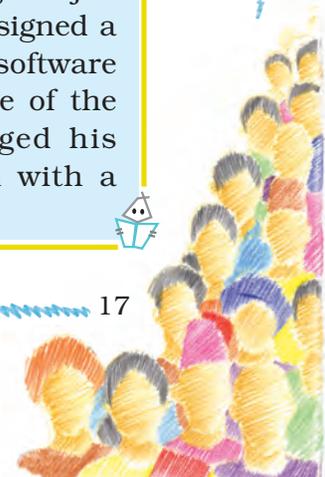
For many decades in India, a large population has been considered a liability rather than an asset. But a large

population need not be a burden for the economy. It can be turned into a productive asset by investment in human capital (for example, by spending resources on education and health for all, training of industrial and agricultural workers in the use of modern technology, useful scientific researches and so on).

The two following cases illustrate how people can try to become a more productive resource:

### Story of Sakal

There were two friends Vilas and Sakal living in the same village Semapur. Sakal was a twelve-year-old boy. His mother Sheela looked after domestic chores. His father Buta Chaudhary worked in an agricultural field. Sakal helped his mother in domestic chores. He also looked after his younger brother Jeetu and sister Seetu. His uncle Shyam had passed the matriculation examination, but, was sitting idle in the house as he had no job. Buta and Sheela were eager to teach Sakal. They forced him to join the village school which he soon joined. He started studying and completed his higher secondary examination. His father persuaded him to continue his studies. He raised a loan for Sakal to study a vocational course in computers. Sakal was meritorious and interested in studies from the beginning. With great vigour and enthusiasm he completed his course. After some time he got a job in a private firm. He even designed a new kind of software. This software helped him increase the sale of the firm. His boss acknowledged his services and rewarded him with a promotion.





**Picture 2.2** Stories of Vilas and Sakal

### Story of Vilas

Vilas was an eleven-year old boy residing in the same village as Sakal. Vilas's father Mahesh was a fisherman. His father passed away when he was only two years old. His mother Geeta sold fish to earn money to feed the family. She bought fish from the landowner's pond and sold it in the nearby *mandi*. She could earn only Rs 150 a day by selling fish. Vilas became a patient of arthritis. His mother could not afford to take him to the doctor. He could not go to school either. He was not interested in studies. He helped his mother in cooking and also looked after his younger brother Mohan. After some time his mother fell sick and there was no one to look after her. There was no one in the family to support them. Vilas, too, was forced to sell fish in the same village. He like his mother earned only a meagre income.

### Let's Discuss

- Do you notice any difference between the two friends? What are those?

### Activity

Visit a nearby village or a slum area and write down a case study of a boy or girl of your age facing the same condition as Vilas or Sakal.

In the two case studies we saw Sakal went to school and Vilas did not go. Sakal was physically strong and healthy. There was no need for him to visit the doctor frequently. Vilas was a patient of arthritis. He lacked the means to visit the doctor. Sakal acquired a degree in computer programming. Sakal found a job in a private firm while Vilas continued with the same work as his mother. He earned a meagre income like his mother to support a family.

In the case of Sakal, several years of education added to the quality of labour. This enhanced his total productivity. Total productivity adds to the growth of the economy. This in turn pays an

individual through salary or in some other form of his choice. In case of Vilas, there could not be any education or health care in the early part of his life. He spends his life selling fish like his mother. Henceforth, he draws the same salary of unskilled labourer as his mother.

Investment in human resource (via education and medical care) can give high rates of return in future. This investment on people is the same as investment in land and capital.

A child, too, with investments made on her education and health, can yield a high return in future in the form of higher earnings and greater contribution to the society. Educated parents are found to invest more heavily on the education of their child. This is because they have realised the importance of education for themselves. They are also conscious of proper nutrition and hygiene. They accordingly look after their children's needs for education at school and good health. A virtuous cycle is, thus, created in this case. In contrast, a vicious cycle may be created by disadvantaged parents, who themselves uneducated and lacking in hygiene, keep their children in a similarly disadvantaged state.

Countries, like Japan, have invested in human resource. They did not have any natural resource. These countries are developed/rich. They import the natural resource needed in their country. How did they become rich/developed? They have invested on people, especially in the field of education and health. These people have made efficient use of other resources, like land and capital. Efficiency and the technology evolved by people have made these countries rich/developed.

## Economic Activities by Men and Women

Like Vilas and Sakal, people have been engaged in various activities. We saw that Vilas sold fish and Sakal got a job in the firm. The various activities have been classified into three main sectors i.e., primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary sector includes agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishing, poultry farming, mining and quarrying. Manufacturing is included in the secondary sector. Trade, transport, communication, banking, education, health, tourism, services, insurance, etc. are included in the tertiary sector. The activities in this sector result in the production of goods and services. These activities add value to the national income. These activities are called economic activities. Economic activities have two parts — market activities and non-market activities. Market activities involve remuneration to anyone who performs i.e., activity performed for pay or profit. These include production of goods or services, including government service. Non-market activities are the production for self-consumption. These can be



**Picture 2.3** Based on the picture can you classify these activities into three sectors?



consumption and processing of primary product and own account production of fixed assets.

### Activity

Visit a village or colony located near to your residential area and note down the various activities undertaken by the people of that village or colony.

If this is not possible, ask your neighbour what is their profession? In which of the three sectors will you categorise their work?

Say whether these activities are economic or non-economic activities:

Vilas sells fish in the village market.

Vilas cooks food for his family.

Sakal works in the private firm.

Sakal looks after his younger brother and sister.



Due to historical and cultural reasons there is a division of labour between men and women in the family. Women generally look after domestic chores and men work in the fields. Sakal's mother Sheela cooks food, cleans utensils, washes clothes, cleans the house and looks after her children. Sakal's father Buta cultivates the field, sells the produce in the market and earns money for the family.

Sheela is not paid for the services delivered for upbringing of the family. Buta earns money, which he spends on rearing his family. Women are not paid for their service delivered in the family. The household work done by women is not recognised in the National Income.

Geeta, mother of Vilas, earned an income by selling fish. Thus women are paid for their work when they enter the labour market. Their earning like that of their male counterpart is determined on the basis of education and skill.

Education helps individual to make better use of the economic opportunities available before him. Education and skill are the major determinants of the earning of any individual in the market. A majority of women have meagre education and low skill formation. Women are paid low compared to men. Most women work where job security is not there. Various activities relating to legal protection is meagre. Employment in this sector is characterised by irregular and low income. In this sector there is an absence of basic facilities like maternity leave, childcare and other social security systems. However, women with high education and skill formation are paid at par with the men. Among the organised sector, teaching and medicine attract them the most. Some women have entered administrative and other services including job, that need high levels of scientific and technological competence. Ask your sister or your classmate what she would like to take up as a career?

### Quality of Population

The quality of population depends upon the literacy rate, health of a person indicated by life expectancy and skill formation acquired by the people of the country. The quality of the population ultimately decides the growth rate of the country. Literate and healthy population are an asset.

### Education

Sakal's education in the initial years of his life bore him the fruits in the later years in terms of a good job and salary. We saw education was an important input for the growth of Sakal. It opened new horizon for him, provided new aspiration and developed values of life. Not only for Sakal, education contributes towards the growth of society also. It enhances the





**Picture 2.4** School children

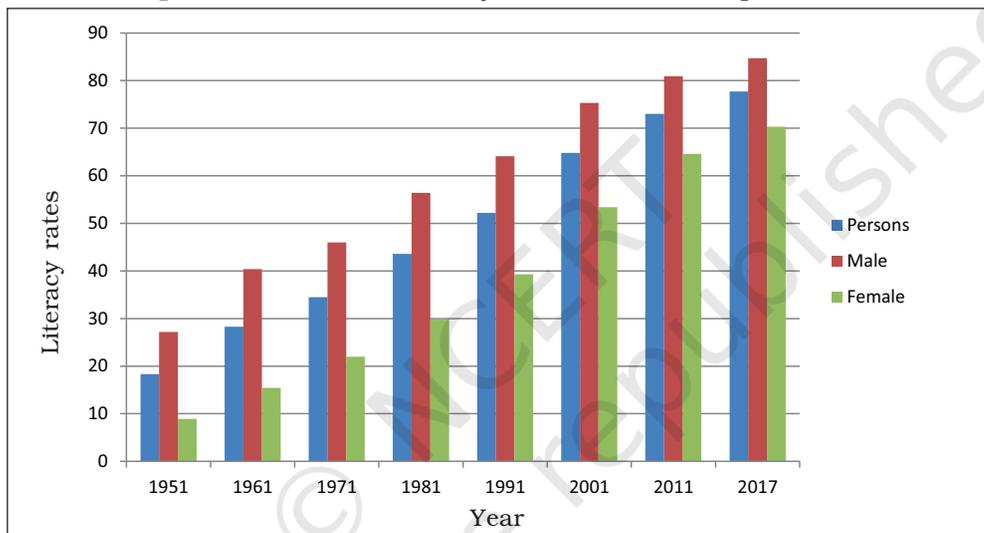
national income, cultural richness and increases the efficiency of governance. There is a provision made for providing universal access, retention and quality in

...human being is a positive asset and a precious national resource which needs to be cherished, nurtured and developed with tenderness and care, coupled with dynamism. Each individual's growth presents a different range of problems and requirements. ... The catalytic action of education in this complex and dynamic growth process needs to be planned meticulously and executed with great sensitivity.



**Source:** National Education Policy, 1986.

**Graph 2.1:** Trends in Literacy Rates In Post-Independent India



**Source:** Census of India, Office of Registrar General, India, 2019  
(<http://mospi.nic.in/publiction/women-and-men-indi-2019>)

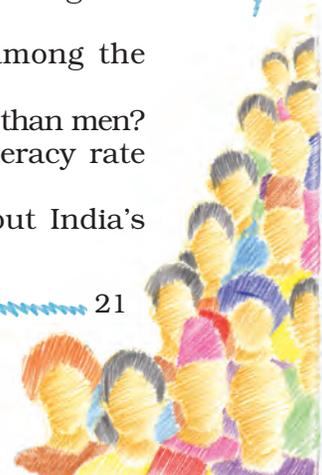
elementary education with a special emphasis on girls. There is also an establishment of pace setting of schools like Navodaya Vidyalaya in each district. Vocational streams have been developed to equip large number of high school students with occupations related to knowledge and skills. The plan outlay on education has increased from Rs 151 crore in the first plan to Rs 99,300 crore in 2020–21. The expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP rose from 0.64% in 1951–52 to 3.1% in 2019–20 (B.E.) and has remained stagnant around 3% from past few years. The Budgetary Estimate



### Let's Discuss

Study the graph and answer the following questions:

1. Has the literacy rates of the population increased since 1951?
2. In which year India has the highest literacy rates?
3. Why literacy rate is high among the males of India?
4. Why are women less educated than men?
5. How would you calculate literacy rate in India?
6. What is your projection about India's literacy rate in 2025?



### Activity

Count the number of boys and girls studying in your school or in your neighbouring co-ed school.

Ask the school administrator to provide you with the data of boys and girls studying in the classroom. Study the difference if any and explain for reasons in the classroom.



as stated in the Budget Documents of Union State Governments, Reserve Bank of India, the expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP has declined to 2.7% in 2017–18 (B.E.) The literacy rates have increased from 18% in 1951 to 85% in 2017. Literacy is not only a right, it is also needed if the citizens are to perform their duties and enjoy their rights properly. However, a vast difference is noticed across different sections of the population. Literacy among males is nearly 14.4% higher than females and it is about 14.2% higher in urban areas as compared to rural areas. In 2017–18, literacy rates varied from 96.2% in Kerala to 70.9% in Bihar. The primary school system has expanded to over 8.41 lakh in 2015–16. Unfortunately, this huge expansion of

schools has been diluted by the poor quality of schooling and high dropout rates. “*Sarva Siksha Abhiyan* is a significant step towards providing elementary education to all children in the age group of 6–14 years by 2010... It is a time-bound initiative of the Central government, in partnership with the States, the local government and the community for achieving the goal of universalisation of elementary education.” Along with it, bridge courses and back-to-school camps have been initiated to increase the enrolment in elementary education. Mid-day meal scheme has been implemented to encourage attendance and retention of children and improve their nutritional status. These policies could add to the literate population of India.

The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education in the age group of 18 to 23 years is 26.3% in 2018–19, which would be broadly in line with world average. The strategy focuses on increasing access, quality, adoption of state-specific curriculum modification, vocationalisation and networking on the use of information technology. There is also focus on distance education, convergence of formal, non-formal, distance and IT education institutions.

**Table 2.1:** Number of Institutions of Higher Education, Enrolment and Faculty

Year	Number of Colleges	Number of Universities	Students	Teachers in Universities & Colleges
1950–51	750	30	2,63,000	24,000
1990–91	7,346	177	49,25,000	2,72,000
1998–99	11,089	238	74,17,000	3,42,000
2010–11	33,023	523	186,70,050	8,16,966
2012–13	37,204	628	223,02,938	9,25,396
2014–15	40,760	711	265,85,437	12,61,350
2015–16	41,435	753	284,84,741	14,38,000
2016–17	42,338	795	294,27,158*	14,70,190*
2017–18	41,012	851	366,42,378	12,84,957
2018–19	39,931	993	37,399,388	14,16,299

**Source:** UGC Annual Report 2010–11, 2012–13, 2013–14, 2015–16 and Selected Educational Statistics, Ministry of HRD.  
[www.ugc.ac.in\\_Annual Report. 2018–19.pdf](http://www.ugc.ac.in_Annual Report. 2018–19.pdf)

\* Provisional Data from All India Survey on Higher Education, 2017–18, 2018–19.

Over the past 60 years, there has been a significant growth in the number of university and institutions of higher learning in specialised areas. Let us read the table to see the increase in the number of college, universities, enrolment of students and recruitment of teachers from 1951 to 2018–19.

### Let's Discuss

Discuss this table in the classroom and answer the following questions.

1. Is the increase in the number of colleges adequate to admit the increasing number of students?
2. Do you think we should have more number of universities?
3. What is the increase noticed among the teachers in the year 2015–16.
4. What is your idea about future colleges and universities?

### Health

Firm maximise profit: Do you think any firm would be induced to employ people who might not work efficiently as healthy workers because of ill health?

The health of a person helps him to realise his/her potential and the ability



**Picture 2.5** Children standing in queue for health check-up

\* Infant mortality rate is the death of a child below one year of age.

\*\* Birth rates is the number of babies born for every 1,000 people during a particular period of time.

\*\*\* Death rate is the number of people per 1,000 who die during a particular period of time.

to fight illness. He/She will not be able to maximise his/her output to the overall growth of the organisation. Indeed; health is an indispensable basis for realising one's well-being. Henceforth, improvement in the health status of the population has been the priority of the country. Our national policy, too, aims at improving the accessibility of healthcare, family welfare and nutritional service with a special focus on the underprivileged segment of the population. Over the last five decades, India has built a vast health infrastructure and has also developed the manpower required at primary, secondary and tertiary sector in government, as well as, in the private sector.

These measures, which have been adopted, have increased the life expectancy to over 68.3 years in 2016. \*Infant mortality rate (IMR) has come down from 147 in 1951 to 34 in 2016. \*\*Crude birth rates have dropped to 20.4 and \*\*\*death rates to 6.4 within the same duration of time. Increase in life expectancy and improvement in childcare are useful in assessing the future progress of the country. Increase in longevity of life is an indicator of good quality of life marked by self-confidence. Reduction in infant mortality involves the protection of children from infection, ensuring the nutrition of both the mother and the child, and childcare. 

**Source:** National Health Profile, 2019

### Let's Discuss

Study Table 2.2 and answer the following questions.

1. What is the percentage increase in dispensaries from 1951 to 2020?
2. What is the percentage increase in doctors and nursing personnel from 1951 to 2020?

**Table 2.2:** Health infrastructure over the years

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
<b>H</b> SC/PHC/CHC	182,709	184,359	185,933	187,505	189,784
 Dispensaries and Hospitals	29,715	29,957	30,044	31,641	31,733
 Beds (Govt.)	675,779	754,724	6,34,879	710,761	713,986
 Registered Doctor in Medical Council	36,355	41,711	44,934	43,581	41,371
 Nursing Personnel (ANM+RN&RM+LHV)	2,621,981	2,639,229	2,778,248	2,878,182	2,966,375

SC: Sub centre, PHC: Primary Health Centre, CHC: Community Health Centre. ANM: Auxiliary Nurse Hydrides, RN&RM: Registered Nurses & Registered Midwives, LHV: Lady Health Visitors.

**Source:** National Health Policy, 2013, 2014, 2015, (National Health Profile, 2016, 2017, 2018, Central Bureau of Health Intelligence, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.)

- Do you think the increase in the number of doctors and nurses is adequate for India? If not, why?
- What other facilities would you like to provide in a hospital?
- Discuss about the hospital you have visited?
- Can you draw a graph using this table.

There are many places in India which do not have even these basic facilities. There are only 529 medical colleges in the country and 313 dental colleges. Just four states, like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu have the maximum number of colleges.

### Activity

Visit a nearby hospital, either government or private and note down the following details.

How many beds are there in the hospital you have visited?

How many doctors are there in the hospital?

How many nurses work in that hospital?

Besides, try to gather the following additional information:

How many hospitals are there in your locality?

How many dispensaries are there in your locality?



### Unemployment

Sakal's mother Sheela looked after the domestic chores, children and helped her husband Buta in the field. Sakal's brother, Jeetu, and sister, Seetu, spend their time playing and roaming. Can you call Sheela or Jeetu or Seetu unemployed? If not, why?

Unemployment is said to exist when people who are willing to work at the going wages cannot find jobs. Sheela is not interested in working outside her



domestic domain. Jeetu and Seetu are too small to be counted in the work force population. Neither Jeetu, Seetu or Sheela can be counted as unemployed. The workforce population includes people from 15 years to 59 years. Sakal's brother and sister do not fall within this age group so they cannot be called unemployed. Sakal's mother Sheela works for the family. She is not willing to work outside her domestic domain for payment. She too cannot be called unemployed. Sakal's grandparents (although not mentioned in the story) cannot be called unemployed.

In case of India we have unemployment in rural and urban areas. However, the nature of unemployment differs in rural and urban areas. In case of rural areas, there is **seasonal** and **disguised unemployment**. Urban areas have mostly educated unemployment.

Seasonal unemployment happens when people are not able to find jobs during some months of the year. People dependant upon agriculture usually face such kind of problem. There are certain busy seasons when sowing, harvesting, weeding and threshing is done. Certain months do not provide much work to the people dependant on agriculture.

In case of disguised unemployment people appear to be employed. They have agricultural plot where they find work. This usually happens among family members engaged in agricultural activity. The work requires the service of five people but engages eight people. Three people are extra. These three people also work in the same plot as the others. The contribution made by the three extra people does not add to the contribution made by the five people. If three people are removed the productivity of the field will not decline. The field requires the service of five people and the three extra people are disguised unemployed.

In case of urban areas educated unemployment has become a common

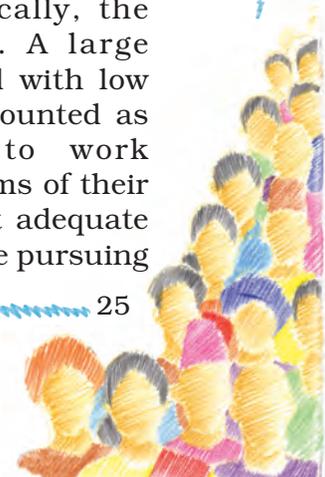
phenomenon. Many youth with matriculation, graduation and post graduation degrees are not able to find job. A study showed that unemployment of graduate and post-graduate has increased faster than among matriculates. A paradoxical manpower situation is witnessed as surplus of manpower in certain categories coexist with shortage of manpower in others. There is unemployment among technically qualified person on one hand, while there is a dearth of technical skills required for economic growth.

Unemployment leads to wastage of manpower resource. People who are an asset for the economy turn into a liability. There is a feeling of hopelessness and despair among the youth. People do not have enough money to support their family. Inability of educated people who are willing to work to find gainful employment implies a great social waste.

Unemployment tends to increase economic overload. The dependence of the unemployed on the working population increases. The quality of life of an individual as well as of society is adversely affected. When a family has to live on a bare subsistence level there is a general decline in its health status and rising withdrawal from the school system.

Hence, unemployment has detrimental impact on the overall growth of an economy. Increase in unemployment is an indicator of a depressed economy. It also wastes the resource, which could have been gainfully employed. If people cannot be used as a resource they naturally appear as a liability to the economy.

In case of India, statistically, the unemployment rate is low. A large number of people represented with low income and productivity are counted as employed. They appear to work throughout the year but in terms of their potential and income, it is not adequate for them. The work that they are pursuing



seems forced upon them. They may therefore want other work of their choice. Poor people cannot afford to sit idle. They tend to engage in any activity irrespective of its earning potential. Their earning keeps them on a bare subsistence level.



**Picture 2.6** Can you remember how much did you pay when you asked him to mend your shoes or slippers?

Moreover, the employment structure is characterised by self-employment in the primary sector. The whole family contributes in the field even though not everybody is really needed. So there is disguised unemployment in the agriculture sector. But the entire family shares what has been produced. This concept of sharing of work in the field and the produce raised reduces the hardship of unemployment in the rural sector. But this does not reduce the poverty of the family, gradually surplus labour from every household tends to migrate from the village in search of jobs.

Let us discuss about the employment scenario in the three sectors mentioned earlier. Agriculture, is the most labour absorbing sector of the economy. In recent years, there has been a decline in the dependence of population on agriculture partly because of disguised unemployment discussed earlier. Some of the surplus labour in agriculture has moved to either

the secondary or the tertiary sector. In the secondary sector, small scale manufacturing is the most labour-absorbing. In case of the tertiary sector, various new services are now appearing like biotechnology, information technology and so on.

Let us read a story to know how people could become an asset for the economy of a village.

### Story of a Village

There was a village inhabited by several families. Each family produced enough to feed its members. Each family met its needs by the members making their own clothes and teaching their own children. One of the families decided to send one of its sons to an agriculture college. The boy got his admission in the nearby college of agriculture. After some time he became qualified in agro-engineering and came back to the village. He proved to be so creative that he could design an improved type of plough, which increased the yield of wheat. Thus a new job of agro-engineer was created and filled in the village. The family in the village sold the surplus in a nearby neighbouring village. They earned good profit, which they shared among themselves. Inspired by this success all the families after some time held a meeting in the village. They all wanted to have a better future for their children too. They requested the panchayat to open a school in the village. They assured the panchayat that they would all send their children to school. The panchayat, with the help of government, opened a school. A teacher was recruited from a nearby town. All the children of this village started going to school. After sometime one of the families gave training to his daughter in

tailoring. She started stitching clothes for all the families of the village for everyone now wanted to buy and wear well-tailored clothes. Thus another new job, that of a tailor was created. This had another positive effect. The time of the farmers in going far for buying clothes was saved. As the farmers spent more time in the field, the yield of the farms went up. This was the beginning of prosperity. The farmers had more than what they could

consume. Now they could sell what they produced to others who came to their village markets. Over time, this village, which formally had no job opportunities in the beginning, had many like teacher, tailor, agro-engineer and many more. This was the story of a simple village where the rising level of human capital enabled it to evolve into a place rich with complex and modern economic activities.



### Summary

You have seen how inputs like education and health helped in making people an asset for the economy. The chapter also discusses about the economic activities undertaken in the three sectors of the economy. We also study about the problem associated with unemployment. Finally the chapter ends with the story of a village which formally had no job but later had plenty.



### Exercises

1. What do you understand by 'people as a resource'?
2. How is human resource different from other resources like land and physical capital?
3. What is the role of education in human capital formation?
4. What is the role of health in human capital formation?
5. What part does health play in the individual's working life?
6. What are the various activities undertaken in the primary sector, secondary sector and tertiary sector?
7. What is the difference between economic activities and non-economic activities?
8. Why are women employed in low paid work?
9. How will you explain the term unemployment?
10. What is the difference between disguised unemployment and seasonal unemployment?
11. Why is educated unemployed, a peculiar problem of India?
12. In which field do you think India can build the maximum employment opportunity?
13. Can you suggest some measures in the education system to mitigate the problem of the educated unemployed?
14. Can you imagine some village which initially had no job opportunities but later came up with many?
15. Which capital would you consider the best — land, labour, physical capital and human capital? Why?





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### Overview

This chapter deals with one of the most difficult challenges faced by independent India—poverty. After discussing this multi-dimensional problem through examples, the chapter discusses the way poverty is seen in social sciences. Poverty trends in India and the world are illustrated through the concept of the poverty line. Causes of poverty as well as anti-poverty measures taken by the government are also discussed. The chapter ends with broadening the official concept of poverty into human poverty.

### Introduction

In our daily life, we come across many people who we think are poor. They could be landless labourers in villages or people living in overcrowded *jhuggis* in cities. They could be daily wage workers at construction sites or child workers in

*dhabas*. They could also be beggars with children in tatters. We see poverty all around us. In fact, every fifth person in India is poor. (This means, roughly 270 million (or 27 crore) people in India live in poverty 2011-12.) This also means that India has the largest single concentration of the poor in the world. This illustrates the seriousness of the challenge.

### Two Typical Cases of Poverty

#### Urban Case

Thirty-three year old Ram Saran works as a daily-wage labourer in a wheat flour mill near Ranchi in Jharkhand. He manages to earn around Rs 1,500 a month when he finds employment, which is not often. The money is not enough to sustain his family of six—that includes his wife and four children aged between 12 years to six months.



Picture 3.1 Story of Ram Saran

He has to send money home to his old parents who live in a village near Ramgarh. His father a landless labourer, depends on Ram Saran and his brother who lives in Hazaribagh, for sustenance. Ram Saran lives in a one-room rented house in a crowded basti in the outskirts of the city. It's a temporary shack built of bricks and clay tiles. His wife Santa Devi, works as a part time maid in a few houses and manages to earn another Rs 800. They manage a meagre meal of dal and rice twice a day, but there's never enough for all of them. His elder son works as a helper in a tea shop to supplement the family income and earns another Rs 300, while his 10-year-old daughter takes care of the younger siblings. None of the children go to school. They have only two pairs of hand-me-down clothes each. New ones are bought only when the old clothes become unwearable. Shoes are a luxury. The younger kids are undernourished. They have no access to healthcare when they fall ill.

### Rural case

Lakha Singh belongs to a small village near Meerut in Uttar Pradesh. His family doesn't own any land, so they do odd jobs for the big farmers. Work is erratic and so is income. At times they get paid Rs 50 for a hard day's work. But often it's in kind like a few kilograms of wheat or *dal* or even vegetables for toiling in the farm through the day. The family of eight cannot always manage two square meals a day. Lakha lives in a *kuchha* hut on the outskirts of the village. The women of the family spend the day chopping fodder and collecting firewood in the fields. His father a TB patient, passed away two years ago due to lack of medication. His mother now suffers from the same disease and life is slowly ebbing away. Although, the village has a primary school, Lakha never went there. He had to start earning when he was 10 years old. New clothes happen once in a few years. Even soap and oil are a luxury for the family.



Picture 3.2 Story of Lakha Singh

Study the above cases of poverty and discuss the following issues related to poverty:

- Landlessness
- Unemployment
- Size of families
- Illiteracy
- Poor health/malnutrition
- Child labour
- Helplessness

These two typical cases illustrate many dimensions of poverty. They show that poverty means hunger and lack of shelter. It also is a situation in which parents are not able to send their children to school or a situation where sick people cannot afford treatment. Poverty also means lack of clean water and sanitation facilities. It also means lack of a regular job at a minimum decent level. Above all it means living with a sense of helplessness. Poor people are in a situation in which they are ill-treated at almost every place, in farms, factories, government offices, hospitals, railway stations etc. Obviously, nobody would like to live in poverty.

One of the biggest challenges of independent India has been to bring millions of its people out of abject poverty. Mahatama Gandhi always insisted that India would be truly independent only when the poorest of its people become free of human suffering.

### **Poverty as seen by social scientists**

Since poverty has many facets, social scientists look at it through a variety of indicators. Usually the indicators used relate to the levels of income and consumption. But now poverty is looked through other social indicators like illiteracy level, lack of general resistance due to malnutrition, lack of access to healthcare, lack of job opportunities, lack of access to safe drinking water, sanitation etc. Analysis of poverty based on social exclusion and vulnerability is now becoming very common (see box).

#### **Social exclusion**

According to this concept, poverty must be seen in terms of the poor having to live only in a poor surrounding with other poor people, excluded from enjoying social equality of better-off people in better surroundings. Social exclusion can be

both a cause as well as a consequence of poverty in the usual sense. Broadly, it is a process through which individuals or groups are excluded from facilities, benefits and opportunities that others (their “betters”) enjoy. A typical example is the working of the caste system in India in which people belonging to certain castes are excluded from equal opportunities. Social exclusion thus may lead to, but can cause more damage than, having a very low income.

#### **Vulnerability**

Vulnerability to poverty is a measure, which describes the greater probability of certain communities (say, members of a backward caste) or individuals (such as a widow or a physically handicapped person) of becoming, or remaining, poor in the coming years. Vulnerability is determined by the options available to different communities for finding an alternative living in terms of assets, education, health and job opportunities. Further, it is analysed on the basis of the greater risks these groups face at the time of natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunami), terrorism etc. Additional analysis is made of their social and economic ability to handle these risks. In fact, vulnerability describes the greater probability of being more adversely affected than other people when bad time comes for everybody, whether a flood or an earthquake or simply a fall in the availability of jobs!



#### **Poverty Line**

At the centre of the discussion on poverty is usually the concept of the “poverty line”. A common method used to measure poverty is based on the income or



consumption levels. A person is considered poor if his or her income or consumption level falls below a given “minimum level” necessary to fulfill the basic needs. What is necessary to satisfy the basic needs is different at different times and in different countries. Therefore, poverty line may vary with time and place. Each country uses an imaginary line that is considered appropriate for its existing level of development and its accepted minimum social norms. For example, a person not having a car in the United States may be considered poor. In India, owning of a car is still considered a luxury.

While determining the poverty line in India, a minimum level of food requirement, clothing, footwear, fuel and light, educational and medical requirement, etc., are determined for subsistence. These physical quantities are multiplied by their prices in rupees. The present formula for food requirement while estimating the poverty line is based on the desired calorie requirement. Food items, such as cereals, pulses, vegetable, milk, oil, sugar, etc., together provide these needed calories. The calorie needs vary depending on age, sex and the type of work that a person does. The accepted average calorie requirement in India is 2400 calories per person per day in rural areas and 2100 calories per person per day in urban areas. Since people living in rural areas engage themselves in more physical work, calorie requirements in rural areas are considered to be higher than in urban areas. The monetary expenditure per capita needed for buying these calorie requirements in terms of food grains, etc., is revised periodically taking into consideration the rise in prices.

On the basis of these calculations, for the year 2011–12, the poverty line for a person was fixed at Rs 816 per month for rural areas and Rs 1000 for urban areas. Despite less calorie requirement, the

higher amount for urban areas has been fixed because of high prices of many essential products in urban centres. In this way in the year 2011–12, a family of five members living in rural areas and earning less than about Rs 4,080 per month will be below the poverty line. A similar family in the urban areas would need a minimum of Rs 5,000 per month to meet their basic requirements. The poverty line is estimated periodically (normally every five years) by conducting sample surveys. These surveys are carried out by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). However, for making comparisons between developing countries, many international organisations like the World Bank use a uniform standard for the poverty line: minimum availability of the equivalent of \$1.90 per person per day (2011, ppp).

### **Let's Discuss**

Discuss the following:

- Why do different countries use different poverty lines?
- What do you think would be the “minimum necessary level” in your locality?

### **Poverty Estimates**

It is clear from Table 3.1 that there is a substantial decline in poverty ratios in India from about 45 per cent in 1993–94 to 37.2 per cent in 2004–05. The proportion of people below poverty line further came down to about 22 per cent in 2011–12. If the trend continues, people below poverty line may come down to less than 20 per cent in the next few years. Although the percentage of people living under poverty declined in the earlier two decades (1973–1993), the number of poor declined from 407 million in 2004–05 to 270 million in 2011–12 with an average annual decline of 2.2 percentage points during 2004–05 to 2011–12.



**Table 3.1:** Estimates of Poverty in India (Tendulkar Methodology)

Year	Poverty ratio (%)			Number of poor (in millions)		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Combined
1993-94	50	32	45	329	75	404
2004-05	42	26	37	326	81	407
2009-10	34	21	30	278	76	355
2011-12	26	14	22	217	53	270

**Source:** India in figures, 2018, Government of India Central Statistics office.

### Let's Discuss

Study Table 3.1 and answer the following questions:

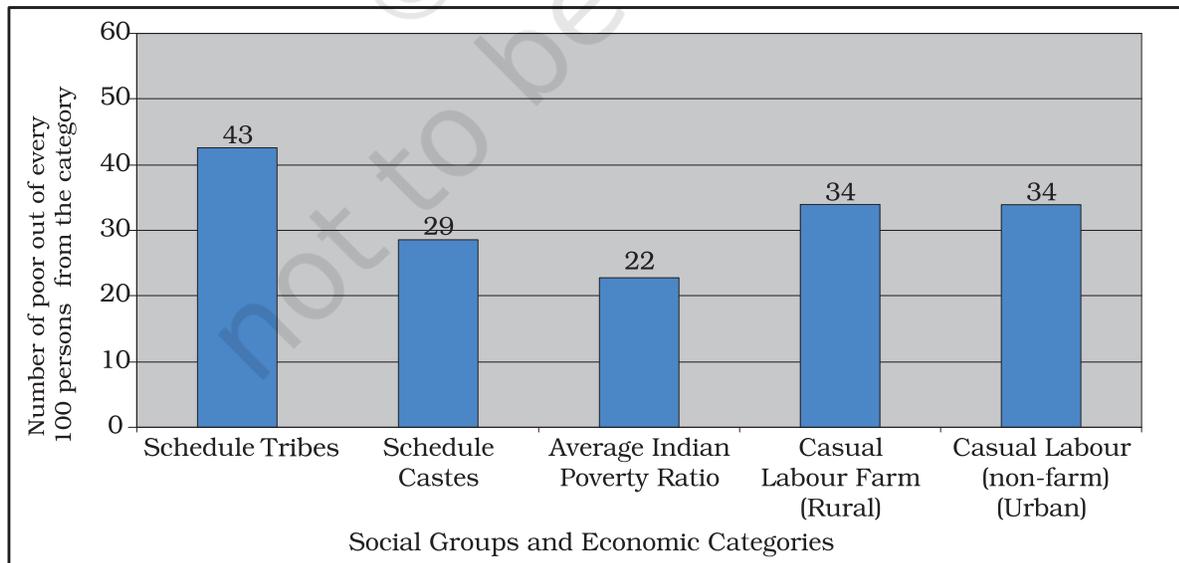
- Even if poverty ratio declined between 1993-94 and 2004-05, why did the number of poor remain at about 407 million?
- Are the dynamics of poverty reduction the same in rural and urban India?

### Vulnerable Groups

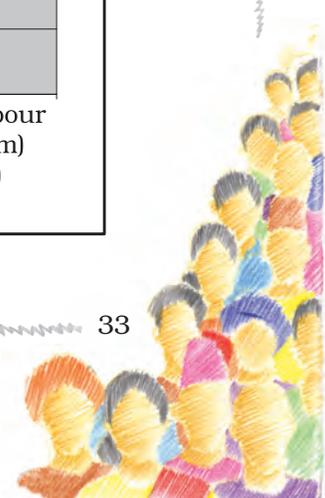
The proportion of people below poverty line is also not same for all social groups and economic categories in India. Social groups, which are most vulnerable to poverty are Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households. Similarly,

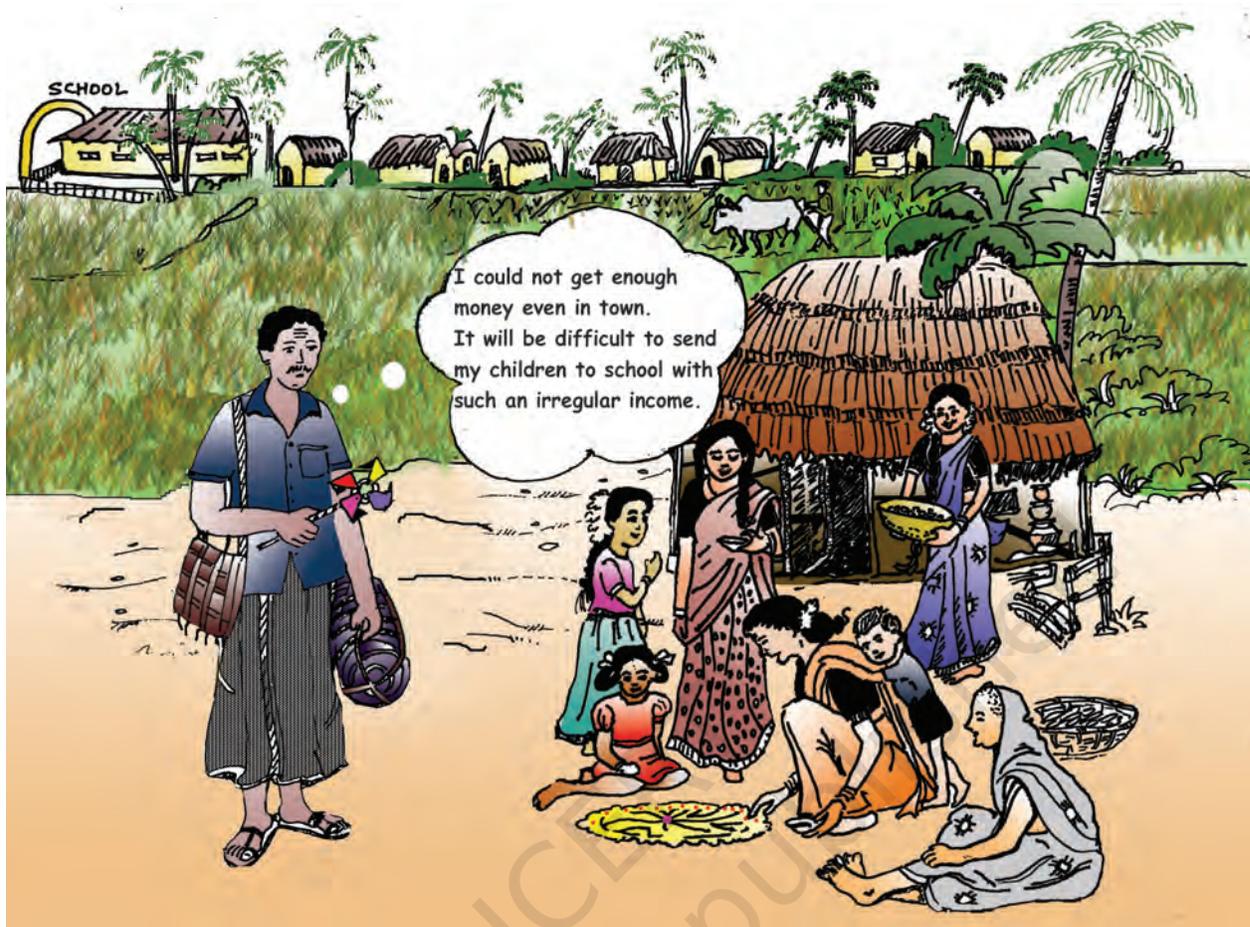
among the economic groups, the most vulnerable groups are the rural agricultural labour households and the urban casual labour households. Graph 3.1 shows the percentage of poor people in all these groups. Although the average for people below poverty line for all groups in India is 22, 43 out of 100 people belonging to Scheduled Tribes are not able to meet their basic needs. Similarly, 34 per cent of casual workers in urban areas are below poverty line. About 34 per cent of casual labour farm (in rural areas) and 29 per cent of Scheduled Castes are also poor. The double disadvantage of being a landless casual wage labour household in the socially disadvantaged social groups of the

**Graph 3.1:** Poverty in India 2011-12: Most Vulnerable Groups



**Source:** [www.worldbank.org/2016/India-s-Poverty-Profile](http://www.worldbank.org/2016/India-s-Poverty-Profile)





**Picture 3.3** Story of Sivaraman

scheduled caste or the scheduled tribe population highlights the seriousness of the problem. Some recent studies have shown that except for the scheduled tribe households, all the other three groups (i.e. scheduled castes, rural agricultural labourers and the urban casual labour households) have seen a decline in poverty in the 1990s.

Apart from these social groups, there is also inequality of incomes within a family. In poor families all suffer, but some suffer more than others. In some cases women, elderly people and female infants are denied equal access to resources available to the family.

### Story of Sivaraman

Sivaraman lives in a small village near Karur town in Tamil Nadu. Karur is famous for its handloom and powerloom fabrics. There are a 100 families in the village. Sivaraman an *Aryunthathiyar* (cobbler) by caste now works as an agricultural labourer for Rs 160 per day. But that's only for five to six months in a year. At other times, he does odd jobs in the town. His wife Sasikala too works with him. But she can rarely find work these days, and even if she does, she's paid Rs 100 per day for the same work that Sivaraman does. There are eight members in the family. Sivaraman's 65 year old widowed mother is ill and

needs to be helped with her daily chores. He has a 25-year-old unmarried sister and four children aged between 1 year to 16 years. Three of them are girls, the youngest is a son. None of the girls go to school. Buying books and other things for school-going girls is a luxury he cannot afford. Also, he has to get them married at some point of time so he doesn't want to spend on their education now. His mother has lost interest in life and is just waiting to die someday. His sister and elder daughter take care of the household. Sivaraman plans to send his son to school when he comes of age. His unmarried sister does not get along with his wife. Sasikala finds her a burden but Sivaraman can't find a suitable groom due to lack of money. Although the family has difficulty in arranging two meals a day, Sivaraman manages to buy milk once in a while, but only for his son.



### **Let's Discuss**

Observe some of the poor families around you and try to find the following:

- Which social and economic group do they belong to?
- Who are the earning members in the family?
- What is the condition of the old people in the family?
- Are all the children (boys and girls) attending schools?

### **Inter-State Disparities**

Poverty in India also has another aspect or dimension. The proportion of poor people is not the same in every state. Although state level poverty has witnessed a secular decline from the levels of early

seventies, the success rate of reducing poverty varies from state to state. Recent estimates show while the all India Head Count Ratio (HCR) was 21.9 per cent in 2011-12 states like Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Odisha had above all India poverty level. As the Graph 3.2 shows, Bihar and Odisha continue to be the two poorest states with poverty ratios of 33.7 and 32.6 per cent respectively. Along with rural poverty, urban poverty is also high in Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

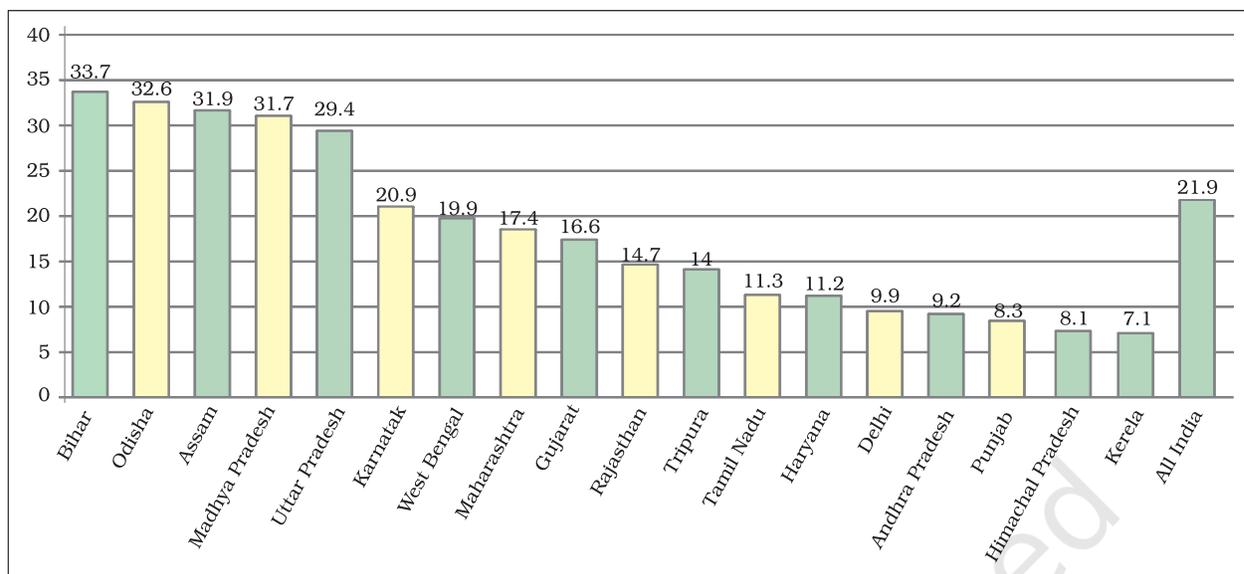
In comparison, there has been a significant decline in poverty in Kerala, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and West Bengal. States like Punjab and Haryana have traditionally succeeded in reducing poverty with the help of high agricultural growth rates. Kerala has focused more on human resource development. In West Bengal, land reform measures have helped in reducing poverty. In Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu public distribution of food grains could have been responsible for the improvement.

### **Global Poverty Scenario**

The proportion of people in different countries living in extreme economic poverty— defined by the World Bank as living on less than \$1.90 per day—has fallen from 36 per cent in 1990 to 10 per cent in 2015. Although there has been a substantial reduction in global poverty, it is marked with great regional differences. Poverty declined substantially in China and Southeast Asian countries as a result of rapid economic growth and massive investments in human resource development. Number of poors in China has come down from 88.3 per cent in 1981 to 14.7 per cent in 2008 to 0.6 per cent in 2019. In the countries of *South Asia* (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan) the decline has also



**Graph 3.2:** Poverty Ratio in Selected Indian States, (As per 2011 Census)



**Source:** Economic Survey 2018–19, Government of India, 2019.

### **Let's Discuss**

Study the Graph 3.2 and do the following:

- Identify the three states where the poverty ratio is the highest.
- Identify the three states where poverty ratio is the lowest.

been rapid 34 per cent in 2005 to 15.2 per cent in 2014. With decline in the percentage of the poor, the number of poor has also declined significantly from 510.4 million in 2005 to 274.5 million in 2013. Because of different poverty line definition, poverty in India is also shown higher than the national estimates.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, poverty in fact declined from 51 per cent in 2005 to 40.2 per cent in 2018 (see graph 3.3). In Latin America, the ratio of poverty has also declined from 10 per cent in 2005 to 4 per cent in 2018 (see graph 3.3). Poverty has also resurfaced in some of the former socialist countries like Russia, where officially it was non-existent earlier. Table 3.2 shows the proportion of people living under poverty in different countries as defined by the international poverty line (means population below \$1.90 a day).

The new sustainable development goals of the United Nations (UN) proposes ending poverty of all types by 2030.

### **Let's Discuss**

Study the Graph 3.4 and do the following:

- Identify the areas of the world, where poverty ratios have declined.
- Identify the area of the globe which has the largest concentration of the poor.

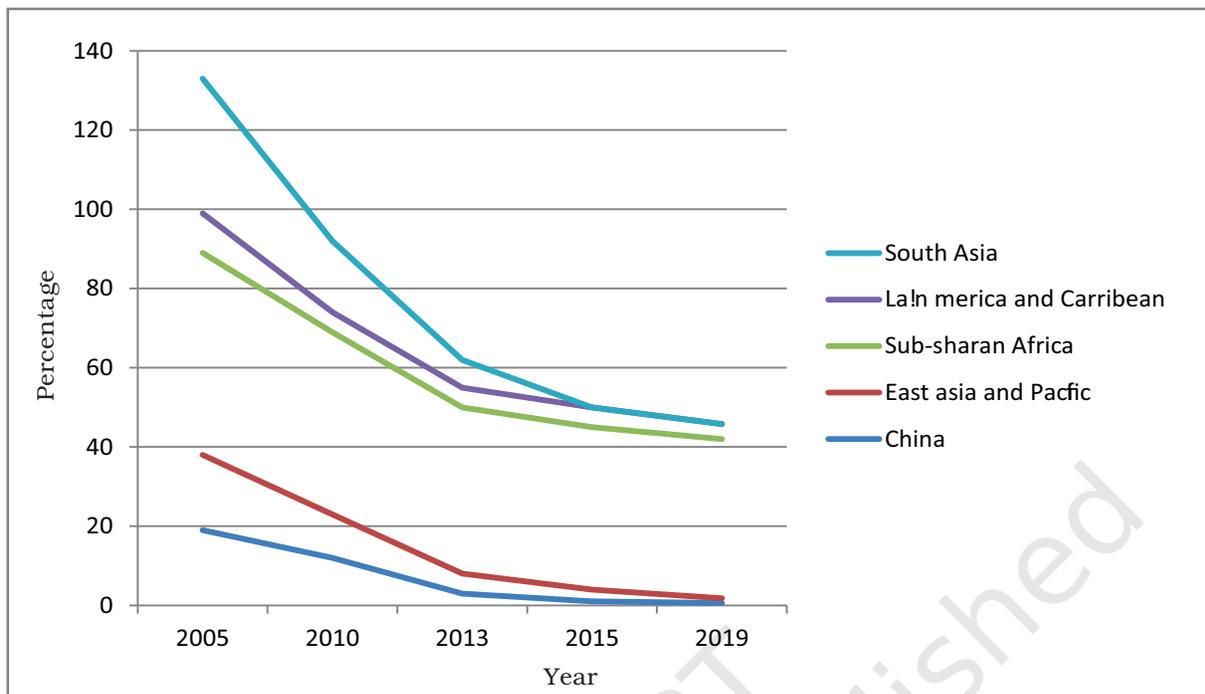
**Table 3.2:** Poverty: Head Count Ratio Comparison among Some Selected Countries

Country	% of Population below \$1.90 a day (2011 ppp)
1. Nigeria	39.1 (2018)
2. Bangladesh	14.5 (2016)
3. India	22.5 (2011)
4. Pakistan	4.0 (2015)
5. China	0.5 (2016)
6. Brazil	4.4 (2018)
7. Indonesia	3.6 (2018)
8. Sri Lanka	0.9 (2016)

**Source:** Poverty and Equity Database, World Bank Data; (databank.worldbank.org)

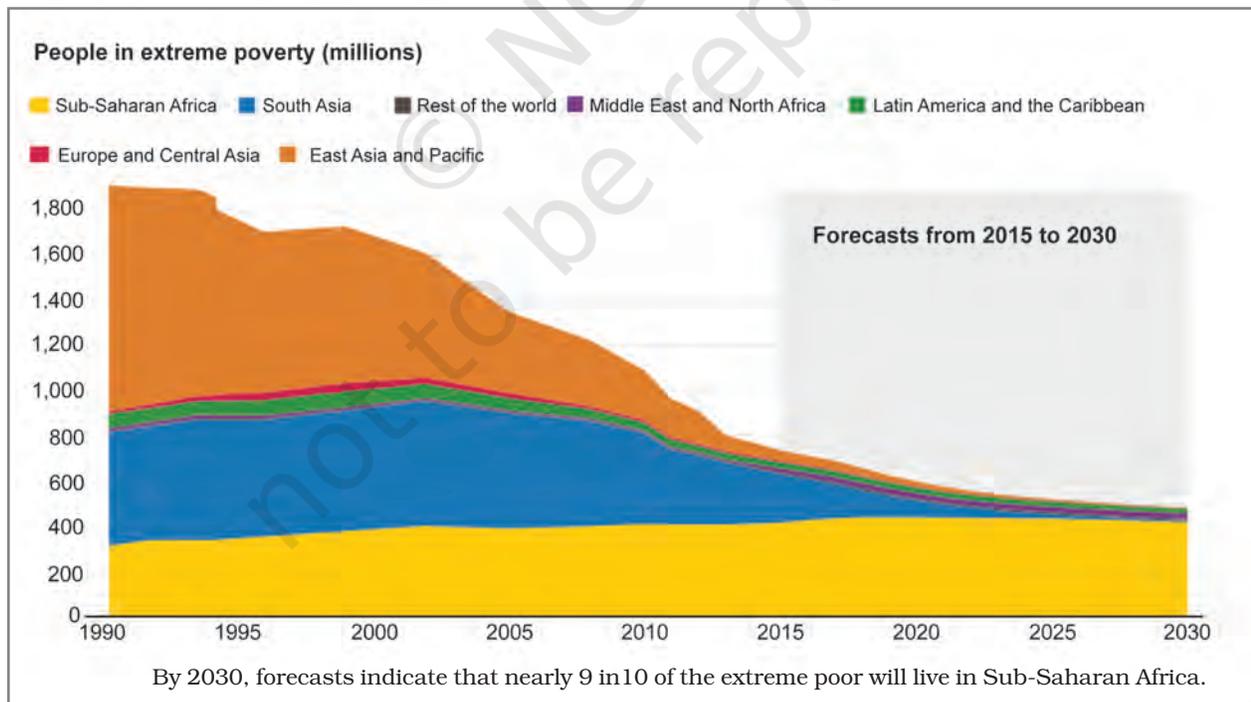


**Graph 3.3:** Share of people living on \$1.90 a day, 2005–2019

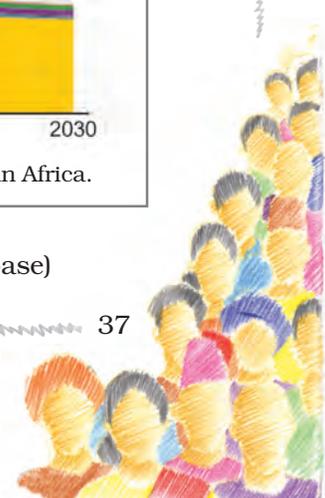


**Source:** Poverty and Equity Database; World Bank (<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=poverty-and-equity-database>)

**Graph 3.4:** Number of poor by region (\$ 1.90 per day) in millions



**Source:** World Bank PovcalNet and Poverty & Equity Data Portal (<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=poverty-and-equity-database>)



## Causes of Poverty

There were a number of causes for the widespread poverty in India. One historical reason is the low level of economic development under the British colonial administration. The policies of the colonial government ruined traditional handicrafts and discouraged development of industries like textiles. The low rate of growth persisted until the nineteen-eighties. This resulted in less job opportunities and low growth rate of incomes. This was accompanied by a high growth rate of population. The two combined to make the growth rate of per capita income very low. The failure at both the fronts: promotion of economic growth and population control perpetuated the cycle of poverty.

With the spread of irrigation and the Green revolution, many job opportunities were created in the agriculture sector. But the effects were limited to some parts of India. The industries, both in the public and the private sector, did provide some jobs. But these were not enough to absorb all the job seekers. Unable to find proper jobs in cities, many people started working as rickshaw pullers, vendors, construction workers, domestic servants etc. With irregular small incomes, these people could not afford expensive housing. They started living in slums on the outskirts of the cities and the problems of poverty, largely a rural phenomenon also became the feature of the urban sector.

Another feature of high poverty rates has been the huge income inequalities. One of the major reasons for this is the unequal distribution of land and other resources. Despite many policies, we have not been able to tackle the issue in a meaningful manner. Major policy initiatives like land reforms which aimed at redistribution of assets in rural areas have not been implemented properly and

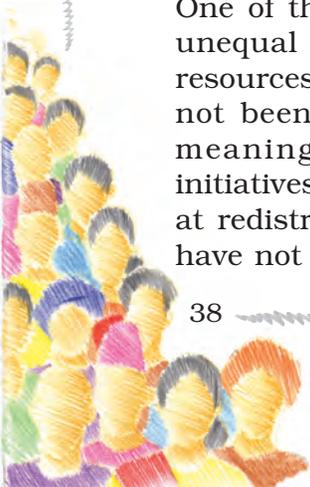
effectively by most of the state governments. Since lack of land resources has been one of the major causes of poverty in India, proper implementation of policy could have improved the life of millions of rural poor.

Many other socio-cultural and economic factors also are responsible for poverty. In order to fulfil social obligations and observe religious ceremonies, people in India, including the very poor, spend a lot of money. Small farmers need money to buy agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizer, pesticides etc. Since poor people hardly have any savings, they borrow. Unable to repay because of poverty, they become victims of indebtedness. So the high level of indebtedness is both the cause and effect of poverty.

## Anti-Poverty Measures

Removal of poverty has been one of the major objectives of Indian developmental strategy. The current anti-poverty strategy of the government is based broadly on two planks (1) promotion of economic growth (2) targeted anti-poverty programmes.

Over a period of thirty years lasting up to the early eighties, there were little per capita income growth and not much reduction in poverty. Official poverty estimates which were about 45 per cent in the early 1950s remained the same even in the early eighties. Since the eighties, India's economic growth has been one of the fastest in the world. The growth rate jumped from the average of about 3.5 per cent a year in the 1970s to about 6 per cent during the 1980s and 1990s. The higher growth rates have helped significantly in the reduction of poverty. Therefore, it is becoming clear that there is a strong link between economic growth and poverty reduction. Economic growth widens opportunities and provides the resources needed to invest in human development. This also encourages people



to send their children, including the girl child, to schools in the hope of getting better economic returns from investing in education. However, the poor may not be able to take direct advantage from the opportunities created by economic growth. Moreover, growth in the agriculture sector is much below expectations. This has a direct bearing on poverty as a large number of poor people live in villages and are dependent on agriculture.

In these circumstances, there is a clear need for targeted anti-poverty programmes. Although there are so many schemes which are formulated to affect poverty directly or indirectly, some of them are worth mentioning. *Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005* aims to provide 100 days of wage employment to every household to ensure livelihood security in rural areas. It also aimed at sustainable development to address the cause of draught, deforestation and soil erosion. One-third of the proposed jobs have been reserved for women. The scheme provided employment to 220 crores person days of employment to 4.78 crore households. The share of SC, ST, Women person days in the scheme are 23 per cent, 17 per cent and 53 per cent respectively. The average wage has increased from 65 in 2006-07 to 132 in 2013-14. Recently, in March 2018, the wage rate for unskilled manual workers has been revised, state wise, the range of wage rate for different states and union territories lies in between ₹ 281 per day (for the workers in Haryana) to ₹ 168 per day (for the workers of Bihar and Jharkhand).

*Prime Minister Rozgar Yozana (PMRY)* is another scheme which was started in 1993. The aim of the programme is to create self-employment opportunities

for educated unemployed youth in rural areas and small towns. They are helped in setting up small business and industries. *Rural Employment Generation Programme (REGP)* was launched in 1995. The aim of the programme is to create self-employment opportunities in rural areas and small towns. A target for creating 25 lakh new jobs has been set for the programme under the Tenth Five Year plan. *Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)* was launched in 1999. The programme aims at bringing the assisted poor families above the poverty line by organising them into self help groups through a mix of bank credit and government subsidy. Under the *Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yozana (PMGY)* launched in 2000, additional central assistance is given to states for basic services such as primary health, primary education, rural shelter, rural drinking water and rural electrification. Another important scheme is *Antyodaya Anna Yozana (AAY)* about which you will be reading more in the next chapter.

The results of these programmes have been mixed. One of the major reasons for less effectiveness is the lack of proper implementation and right targeting. Moreover, there has been a lot of overlapping of schemes. Despite good intentions, the benefits of these schemes are not fully reached to the deserving poor. Therefore, the major emphasis in recent years is on proper monitoring of all the poverty alleviation programmes.

### **The Challenges Ahead**

Poverty has certainly declined in India. But despite the progress, poverty reduction remains India's most compelling challenge. Wide disparities in poverty are visible between rural and urban areas and among different states.



Certain social and economic groups are more vulnerable to poverty. Poverty reduction is expected to make better progress in the next ten to fifteen years. This would be possible mainly due to higher economic growth, increasing stress on universal free elementary education, declining population growth, increasing empowerment of the women and the economically weaker sections of society.

The official definition of poverty, however, captures only a limited part of what poverty really means to people. It is about a “minimum” subsistence level of living rather than a “reasonable” level of living. Many scholars advocate that we must broaden the concept into *human poverty*. A large number of people may have been able to feed themselves. But

do they have education? Or shelter? Or health care? Or job security? Or self-confidence? Are they free from caste and gender discrimination? Is the practice of child labour still common? Worldwide experience shows that with development, the definition of what constitutes poverty also changes. Eradication of poverty is always a moving target. Hopefully we will be able to provide the minimum “necessary” in terms of only income to all people by the end of the next decade. But the target will move on for many of the bigger challenges that still remain: providing health care, education and job security for all, and achieving gender equality and dignity for the poor. These will be even bigger tasks.



### Summary

You have seen in this chapter that poverty has many dimensions. Normally, this is measured through the concept of “poverty line”. Through this concept we analysed main global and national trends in poverty. But in recent years, analysis of poverty is becoming rich through a variety of new concepts like social exclusion. Similarly, the challenge is becoming bigger as scholars are broadening the concept into *human poverty*.



### Exercises

1. Describe how the poverty line is estimated in India?
2. Do you think that present methodology of poverty estimation is appropriate?
3. Describe poverty trends in India since 1973?
4. Discuss the major reasons for poverty in India?
5. Identify the social and economic groups which are most vulnerable to poverty in India.
6. Give an account of interstate disparities of poverty in India.
7. Describe global poverty trends.
8. Describe current government strategy of poverty alleviation?
9. Answer the following questions briefly
  - (i) What do you understand by human poverty?
  - (ii) Who are the poorest of the poor?
  - (iii) What are the main features of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005?





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## Overview

- Food security means availability, accessibility and affordability of food to all people at all times. The poor households are more vulnerable to food insecurity whenever there is a problem of production or distribution of food crops. Food security depends on the Public Distribution System (PDS) and government vigilance and action at times, when this security is threatened.

### What is food security?

Food is as essential for living as air is for breathing. But food security means something more than getting two square meals. Food security has following dimensions

- availability of food* means food production within the country, food imports and the previous years stock stored in government granaries.
- accessibility* means food is within reach of every person.
- affordability* implies that an individual has enough money to buy sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet one's dietary needs.

Thus, food security is ensured in a country only if (1) enough food is available for all the persons (2) all persons have the capacity to buy food of acceptable quality and (3) there is no barrier on access to food.

### Why food security?

The poorest section of the society might be food insecure most of the times while persons above the poverty line might also be food insecure when the country faces

In the 1970s, food security was understood as the “availability at all times of adequate supply of basic foodstuffs” (UN, 1975). Amartya Sen added a new dimension to food security and emphasised the “access” to food through what he called ‘entitlements’ — a combination of what one can produce, exchange in the market alongwith state or other socially provided supplies. Accordingly, there has been a substantial shift in the understanding of food security. The 1995 World Food Summit declared, “Food security at the individual, household, regional, national and global levels exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 1996, p.3). The declaration further recognises that “poverty eradication is essential to improve access to food”.



a national disaster/calamity like earthquake, drought, flood, tsunami, widespread failure of crops causing famine, etc. **How is food security affected during a calamity?** Due to a natural calamity, say drought, total production of foodgrains decreases. It creates a shortage of food in the affected areas. Due to shortage of food, the prices goes up. At the high prices, some people cannot afford to buy food. If such calamity happens in a very wide spread area or is stretched over a longer time period, it may cause a situation of starvation. A massive starvation might take a turn of famine.

*A Famine is characterised by wide spread deaths due to starvation and*

epidemics caused by forced use of contaminated water or decaying food and loss of body resistance due to weakening from starvation.

The most devastating famine that occurred in India was the FAMINE OF BENGAL in 1943. This famine killed thirty lakh people in the province of Bengal.

**Do you know who were affected the most by the famine?** The agricultural labourers, fishermen, transport workers and other casual labourers were affected the most by dramatically increasing price of rice. They were the ones who died in this famine.



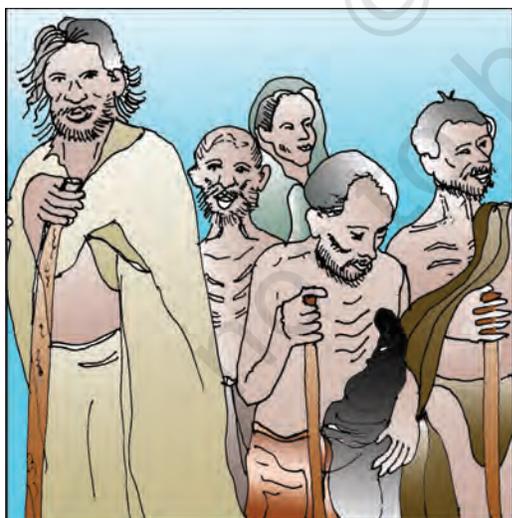
**Table 4.1:** Production of Rice in the Province of Bengal

Year	Production (Lakh tonnes)	Imports (Lakh tonnes)	Exports (Lakh tonnes)	Total Availability (Lakh tonnes)
1938	85	–	–	85
1939	79	04	–	83
1940	82	03	–	85
1941	68	02	–	70
1942	93	–	01	92
1943	76	03	–	79

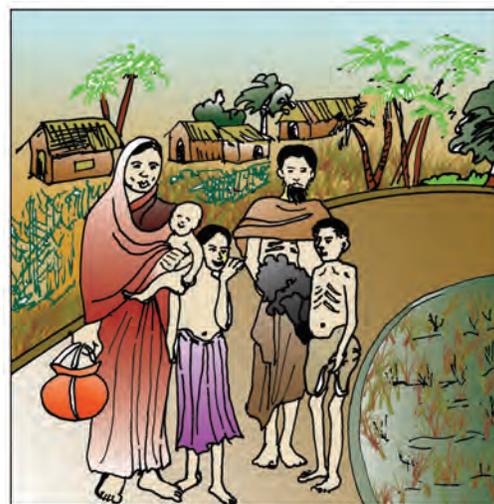
**Source:** Sen, A.K, 1981 Page 61

### Let's Discuss

1. Some people say that the Bengal famine happened because there was a shortage of rice. Study the table and find out whether you agree with the statement?
2. Which year shows a drastic decline in food availability?



**Picture 4.1** Starvation victims arriving at a relief centre, 1945.



**Picture 4.2** During the Bengal Famine of 1943, a family leaves its village in Chittagong district in Bengal.





### Suggested Activity

- What do you see in Picture 4.1?
- Which age group is seen in the first picture?
- Can you say that the family shown in the Picture 4.2 is a poor family? why?
- Can you imagine the source of livelihood of the people, (shown in two Pictures) before the occurrence of famine? (In the context of a village)
- Find out what type of help is given to the victims of a natural calamity at a relief camp.
- Have you ever helped such victims (in the form of money, food, clothes, medicines etc.)

**PROJECT WORK:** Gather more information about famines in India.

Nothing like Bengal famine has happened in India again. It is, however, disturbing to note that even today, famine like conditions exist in many parts of the country, leading to starvation deaths at times. Natural calamities and pandemics may also lead to food shortage. For example Covid-19 pandemic had an adverse impact upon the food security. Restriction on movement of people and goods and services impacted economic activity. Therefore food security is needed in a country to ensure food at all times, including calamities and pandemics

#### Who are food-insecure?

Although a large section of people suffer from food and nutrition insecurity in India, the worst affected groups are landless people with little or no land to depend upon, traditional artisans, providers of traditional services, petty self-employed workers and destitutes including beggars. In the urban areas, the food insecure families are those whose working members are generally employed in ill-paid occupations and casual labour market. These workers are largely

engaged in seasonal activities and are paid very low wages that just ensure bare survival.

#### Story of Ramu

Ramu works as a casual labourer in agriculture in Raipur village. His eldest son Somu who is 10 years old also works as a *pali* to look after the cattle of the Sarpanch of the village Satpal Singh. Somu is employed for the whole year by the Sarpanch and is paid a sum of Rs 1,000 for this work. Ramu has three more sons and two daughters but they are too young to work on the field. His wife Sunhari is also (part time) working as house cleaner for the livestock, removing and managing cow dung. She gets  $\frac{1}{2}$  litre milk and some cooked food along with vegetables for her daily work. Besides she also works in the field along with her husband in the busy season and supplements his earnings. Agriculture being a seasonal activity employs Ramu only during times of sowing, transplanting and harvesting. He remains unemployed for about 4 months during the period of plant consolidation and maturing in a year. He looks for work in other activities. Some times he gets employment in brick laying or in construction activities in the village. By all his efforts, Ramu is able to earn enough either in cash or kind for him to buy essentials for two square meals for his family. However, during the days when he is unable to get some work, he and his family really face difficulties and sometimes his small kids have to sleep without food. Milk and vegetables are not a regular part of meals in the family. Ramu is food insecure during 4 months when he remains unemployed because of the seasonal nature of agriculture work.





### Let's Discuss

- Why is agriculture a seasonal activity?
- Why is Ramu unemployed for about four months in a year?
- What does Ramu do when he is unemployed?
- Who are supplementing income in Ramu's family?
- Why does Ramu face difficulty when he is unable to have work?
- When is Ramu food insecure?

#### Story of Ahmad

Ahmad is a rickshaw puller in Bangalore. He has shifted from Jhumri Taliah along with his 3 brothers, 2 sisters and old parents. He stays in a *jhuggi*. The survival of all members of his family depends on his daily earnings from pulling rickshaw. However, he does not have a secured employment and his earnings fluctuate every day. During some days he gets enough earning for him to save some amount after buying all his day-to-day necessities. On other days, he barely earns enough to buy his daily necessities. However, fortunately, Ahmad has a yellow card, which is PDS Card for below poverty line people. With this card, Ahmad gets sufficient quantity of wheat, rice, sugar and kerosene oil for his daily use. He gets these essentials at half of the market price. He purchases his monthly stock during a particular day when the ration shop is opened for below poverty people. In this way, Ahmad is able to eke out his survival with less than sufficient earnings for his big family where he is the only earning member.



### Let's Discuss

- Does Ahmad have a regular income from rickshaw-pulling?
- How does the yellow card help Ahmad

run his family even with small earnings from rickshaw-pulling?

The social composition along with the inability to buy food also plays a role in food insecurity. The SCs, STs and some sections of the OBCs (lower castes among them) who have either poor land-base or very low land productivity are prone to food insecurity. The people affected by natural disasters, who have to migrate to other areas in search of work, are also among the most food insecure people. A high incidence of malnutrition prevails among women. This is a matter of serious concern as it puts even the unborn baby at the risk of malnutrition. A large proportion of pregnant and nursing mothers and children under the age of 5 years constitute an important segment of the food insecure population.

According to the National Health and Family Survey (NHFS) 1998–99, the number of such women and children is approximately 11 crore.



The food insecure people are disproportionately large in some regions of the country, such as economically backward states with high incidence of poverty, tribal and remote areas, regions more prone to natural disasters etc. In fact, the states of Uttar Pradesh (eastern and south-eastern parts), Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Chattisgarh, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra account for largest number of food insecure people in the country.

Hunger is another aspect indicating food insecurity. Hunger is not just an expression of poverty, it brings about poverty. The attainment of food security therefore involves eliminating current hunger and reducing the risks of future hunger. Hunger has chronic and seasonal dimensions. Chronic hunger is a consequence of diets persistently inadequate in terms of quantity and/or



quality. Poor people suffer from chronic hunger because of their very low income and in turn inability to buy food even for survival. Seasonal hunger is related to cycles of food growing and harvesting. This is prevalent in rural areas because of the seasonal nature of agricultural activities and in urban areas because of casual labourers, e.g., there is less work for casual construction labourers during the rainy season. This type of hunger exists when a person is unable to get work for the entire year.

**Table 4.2:** Percentage of Households with 'Hunger' in India

Year	Type of hunger		
	Seasonal	Chronic	Total
<i>Rural</i>			
1983	16.2	2.3	18.5
1993–94	4.2	0.9	5.1
1999–2000	2.6	0.7	3.3
<i>Urban</i>			
1983	5.6	0.8	6.4
1993–94	1.1	0.5	1.6
1999–2000	0.6	0.3	0.9

**Source:** Sagar (2004)

The percentage of seasonal, as well as, chronic hunger has declined in India as shown in the above table.

**India is aiming at Self-sufficiency in Foodgrains since Independence.**

After Independence, Indian policy-makers adopted all measures to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains. India adopted a new strategy in agriculture, which resulted in '**Green Revolution**', especially in the production of wheat and rice.

Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, officially recorded the impressive strides of Green Revolution in agriculture by releasing a special stamp entitled 'Wheat Revolution' in July 1968. The



**Picture 4.3** A farmer from Punjab standing in a field of one of the High Yielding Varieties of wheat on which the Green Revolution is based

success of wheat was later replicated in rice. The increase in foodgrains was, however, disproportionate. The highest rate of growth was achieved in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, which was 44.01 and 30.21 million tonnes in 2015–16. The total foodgrain production was 252.22 Million tonnes in 2015–16 and it has changed to 275.68 million tonnes in 2016–17.

Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh recorded a significant production in field of wheat which was 26.87 and 17.69 million tonnes in 2015–16, respectively.

West Bengal and UP, on the other hand, recorded significant production of rice 15.75 and 12.51 Million tonnes in 2015–16 respectively.

**Suggested Activity**

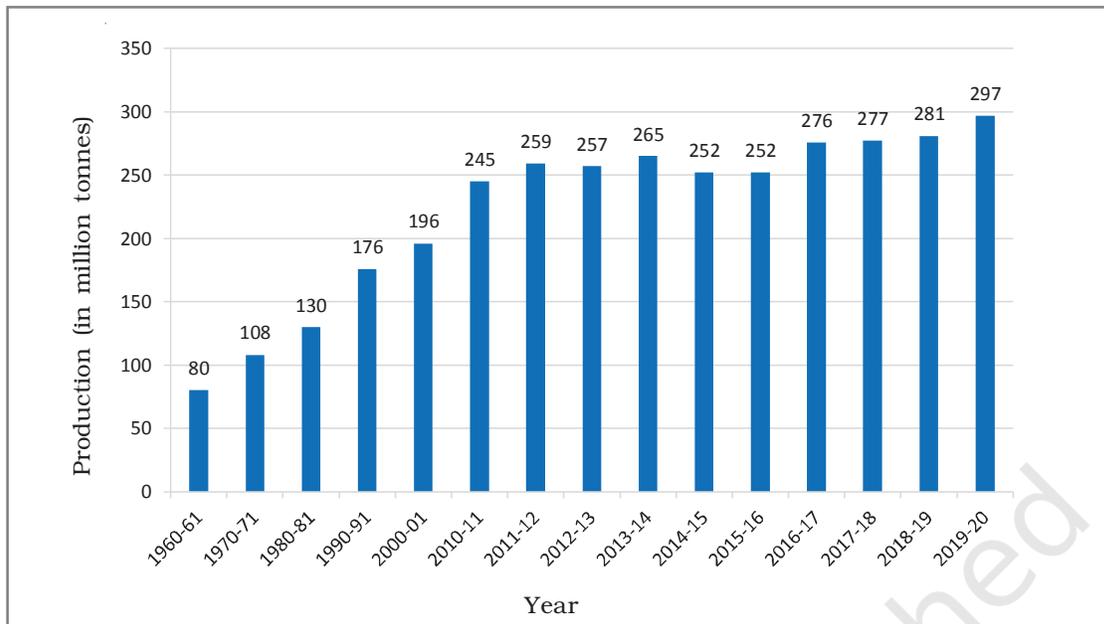
Visit some farms in a nearby village and collect the details of food crops cultivated by the farmers.

**Food Security in India**

Since the advent of the Green Revolution in the early-1970s, the country has avoided famine even during adverse weather conditions.

India has become self-sufficient in foodgrains during the last 30 years because of a variety of crops grown all over the country. The availability of foodgrains (even in adverse weather conditions or otherwise) at the country

**Graph 4.1:** Production of Foodgrains in India (Million Tonnes)



**Source:** Department of Agricultural, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2019-20

### Let's Discuss

Study Graph 4.1 and answer the following questions:

- In which year did our country cross the 200 Million tonne per year mark in foodgrain production?
- In which decade did India experience the highest decadal increase in foodgrain production?
- Is production increase consistent in India since 2000-01?

level has further been ensured with a carefully designed food security system by the government. This system has two components: (a) buffer stock, and (b) public distribution system.

#### What is Buffer stock?

Buffer Stock is the stock of foodgrains, namely wheat and rice, procured by the government through the **Food Corporation of India (FCI)**. The FCI purchases wheat and rice from the farmers in states where there is surplus production. The farmers are paid a pre-

announced price for their crops. This price is called **Minimum Support Price (MSP)**. The MSP is declared by the government every year before the sowing season to provide incentives to farmers for raising the production of these crops. The purchased foodgrains are stored in granaries. Do you know why this buffer stock is created by the government? This is done to distribute foodgrains in the deficit areas and among the poorer strata of the society at a price lower than the market price also known as **Issue Price**. This also helps resolve the problem of shortage of food during adverse weather conditions or during the periods of calamity.

#### What is the Public Distribution System?

The food procured by the FCI is distributed through government regulated ration shops among the poorer section of the society. This is called the Public Distribution System (PDS). Ration shops are now present in most localities,

villages, towns and cities. There are about 5.5 lakh ration shops all over the country. Ration shops also, known as **Fair Price Shops**, keep stock of foodgrains, sugar, and kerosene for cooking. These items are sold to people at a price lower than the market price. Any family with a ration card\* can buy a stipulated amount of these items (e.g. 35 kg of grains, 5 litres of kerosene, 5 kgs of sugar etc.) every month from the nearby ration shop.

\*There are three kinds of ration cards: (a) Antyodaya cards for the poorest of the poor; (b) BPL cards for those below poverty line; and (c) APL cards for all others.

### Suggested Activity

Visit your area's ration shop and get the following details

1. When does the ration shop open?
2. What are the items sold at the ration shop?
3. Compare the prices of rice and sugar from the ration shop with the prices at any other grocery shop? (for families below poverty line)
4. Find out:  
Do you have a ration card?  
What has your family recently bought with this card from the ration shop?



Picture 4.4

Are there any problems that they face?  
Why are ration shops necessary?

The introduction of **Rationing** in India dates back to the 1940s against the backdrop of the Bengal famine. The rationing system was revived in the wake of an acute food shortage during the 1960s, prior to the Green Revolution. In the wake of the high incidence of poverty levels, as reported by the NSSO in the mid-1970s, three important food intervention programmes were introduced: Public Distribution System (PDS) for food grains (in existence earlier but strengthened thereafter); Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) (introduced in 1975 on an experimental basis) and Food-for-Work\*\* (FFW) (introduced in 1977–78). Over the years, several new programmes have been launched and some have been restructured with the growing experience of administering the programmes. At present, there are several Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAPs), mostly in rural areas, which have an explicit food component also. While some of the programmes such as PDS, mid-day meals etc. are exclusively food security programmes, most of the PAPs also enhance food security. Employment programmes greatly contribute to food security by increasing the income of the poor.

### Suggested Activity

Gather detailed information about some of the programmes initiated by the government, which have food component.

Hint: Rural wage employment programme, Employment Guarantee Scheme, Sampurna Grameen Rojgar Yojana, Mid Day Meal, Integrated Child Development Services, etc.

Discuss with your teacher.



### **\*\*The National Food Security Act, 2013**

This Act provides for food and nutritional security life at affordable prices and enables people to live a life with dignity. Under this act, 75% of the rural population and 50% of the urban population have been categorised as eligible households for food security.



### **Current Status of Public the Distribution System**

Public Distribution System (PDS) is the most important step taken by the Government of India (GoI) towards ensuring food security. In the beginning,

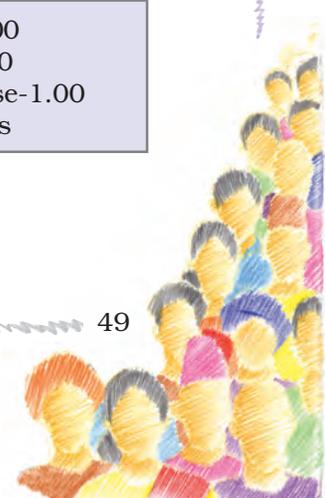
the coverage of PDS was universal with no discrimination between the poor and the non-poor. Over the years, the policy related to PDS has been revised to make it more efficient and targeted. In 1992, Revamped Public Distribution System (RPDS) was introduced in 1,700 blocks in the country. The target was to provide the benefits of PDS to remote and backward areas. From June 1997, in a renewed attempt, Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) was introduced to adopt the principle of targeting the 'poor in all areas'. It was for the first time that a differential price policy was adopted for poor and non-poor. Further, in 2000, two special schemes were launched viz., *Antyodaya Anna Yojana*\*\*\* (AAY) and *Annapurana Scheme* (APS) with special target groups

**Table 4.3:** Some Important Features of PDS

Name of scheme	Year of introduction	Coverage target group	Latest volume	Issue price (Rs per kg.)
PDS	Up to 1992	Universal	-	W-2.34 R-2.89
RPDS	1992	Backward blocks	20 kg of foodgrains	W-2.80 R-3.77
TPDS	1997	Poor and non-poor BPL APL	35 kg of foodgrains	BPL - W-2 R-3 APL-W-6.10 R-8.30
AAY	2002	Poorest of the poor	35 kg of foodgrains	W-2.00 R-3.00
APS	2000	Indigent senior citizens	10 kg of foodgrains	Free
National Food Security Act (NFSA)	2013	Priority households	5 Kg per person per month	W-2.00 R-3.00 Coarse-1.00 grains

**Note:** W - Wheat; R - Rice; BPL - Below poverty line; APL - Above poverty line

**Source:** Food Corporation of India, [fci.gov.in/sales.php-view-41,2019](http://fci.gov.in/sales.php-view-41,2019)  
(updated on 19 November, 2020)



of 'poorest of the poor' and 'indigent senior citizens', respectively. The functioning of these two schemes was linked with the existing network of the PDS.

Some important features of PDS are summarised in Table 4.3.

The PDS has proved to be the most effective instrument of government policy over the years in stabilising prices and making food available to consumers at affordable prices. It has been instrumental in averting widespread hunger and famine by supplying food from surplus regions of the country to the deficit ones. In addition, the prices have been under revision in favour of poor households in general. The system, including the minimum support price and procurement has contributed to an increase in foodgrain production and provided income security to farmers in certain regions.

However, the Public Distribution System has faced severe criticism on several grounds. Instances of hunger are prevalent despite overflowing granaries. FCI godowns are overflowing with grains, with some rotting away and some being eaten by rats. Graph 4.2 shows the

difference in foodgrain stocks in Central pool and its stocking norms.

### \*\*\*Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)

AAY was launched in December 2000. Under this scheme one crore of the poorest among the BPL families covered under the targeted public distribution system were identified. Poor families were identified by the respective state rural development departments through a Below Poverty Line (BPL) survey. Twenty-five kilograms of foodgrains were made available to each eligible family at a highly subsidised rate of ₹ 2 per kg for wheat and ₹ 3 per kg for rice. This quantity has been enhanced from 25 to 35 kg with effect from April 2002. The scheme has been further expanded twice by additional 50 lakh BPL families in June 2003 and in August 2004. With this increase, 2 crore families have been covered under the AAY.



**Graph 4.2:** Central Foodgrains (Wheat + Rice) Stock and Minimum Buffer Norm (Million Tonnes)



**Source:** Food Corporation and India ([dfpd.gov.in/foodgrain-stocking](http://dfpd.gov.in/foodgrain-stocking)), 2019

<sup>+</sup>Subsidy is a payment that a government makes to a producer to supplement the market price of a commodity. Subsidies can keep consumer prices low while maintaining a higher income for domestic producers.

### Let's Discuss

Study the Graph 4.2 and answer the following questions:

- In which recent year foodgrain stock with the government was maximum?
- What is the minimum buffer stock norm for the FCI?
- Why were the FCI granaries overflowing with foodgrains?

In 2014, the stock of wheat and rice with FCI was 65.3 million tonnes which was much more than the minimum buffer norms. However, these remained consistently higher than the buffer norms. The situation improved with the distribution of foodgrains under different schemes launched by the government. There is a general consensus that high level of buffer stocks of foodgrains is very undesirable and can be wasteful. The storage of massive food stocks has been responsible for high carrying costs, in addition to wastage and deterioration in grain quality. Freezing of MSP for a few years should be considered seriously.

The increased food grains procurement at enhanced MSP<sup>#</sup> is the result of the pressure exerted by leading foodgrain producing states, such as Punjab, Haryana and Andhra Pradesh. Moreover, as the procurement



**Picture 4.5** Farmers Carrying Bags of Grains to the Granaries.

is concentrated in a few prosperous regions (Punjab, Haryana, Western Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and to a lesser extent in West Bengal) and mainly of two crops—wheat and rice— increase in MSP has induced farmers, particularly in surplus states, to divert land from production of coarse grains, which is the staple food of the poor, to the production of rice and wheat. The intensive utilisation of water in the cultivation of rice has also led to environmental degradation and fall in the water level, threatening the sustainability of the agricultural development in these states.

<sup>#</sup> The rising Minimum Support Prices (MSP) have raised the maintenance cost of procuring foodgrains by the government. Rising transportation and storage costs of the FCI are other contributing factors in this increase.

As per the NSSO report No. 558 in rural India, the per person per month consumption of rice has declined from 6.38 Kg. in 2004-05 to 5.98 Kg in 2011-12. In urban India, the per person per month consumption of rice, too has declined from 4.71 Kg in 2004-05 to 4.49 Kg in 2011-12. Per Capita consumption of PDS rice has doubled in rural India and increased by 66% in urban India since 2004-05. The per Capita consumption of PDS wheat has doubled since 2004-05 in both rural and urban India.

PDS dealers are sometimes found resorting to malpractices like diverting the grains to open market to get better margin, selling poor quality grains at ration shops, irregular opening of the shops, etc. It is common to find that ration shops regularly have unsold stocks of poor quality grains left. This has proved to be a big problem. When ration shops are unable to sell, a massive stock of foodgrains piles up with the FCI. In recent years, there is another factor that has led to the decline of the PDS. Earlier every family, poor and non-poor had a ration card with a fixed quota of items such as rice, wheat, sugar etc. These were sold at the same low price to every family. The three types of cards and the range of prices that you see today did not exist. A large number of families could buy foodgrains from the ration shops subject to a fixed quota. These included low income families whose incomes were marginally higher than the below poverty line families. Now, with TPDS of three different prices, any family above the poverty line gets very little discount at the ration shop. The price for APL family

is almost as high as open market price, so there is little incentive for them to buy these items from the ration shop.

### **Role of cooperatives in food security**

The cooperatives are also playing an important role in food security in India especially in the southern and western parts of the country. The cooperative societies set up shops to sell low priced goods to poor people. For example, out of all fair price shops running in Tamil Nadu, around 94 per cent are being run by the cooperatives. In Delhi, Mother Dairy is making strides in provision of milk and vegetables to the consumers at controlled rate decided by Government of Delhi. Amul is another success story of cooperatives in milk and milk products from Gujarat. It has brought about the White Revolution in the country. These are a few examples of many more cooperatives running in different parts of the country ensuring food security of different sections of society.

Similarly, in Maharashtra, Academy of Development Science (ADS) has facilitated a network of NGOs for setting up grain banks in different regions. ADS organises training and capacity building programmes on food security for NGOs. Grain Banks are now slowly taking shape in different parts of Maharashtra. ADS efforts to set up Grain Banks, to facilitate replication through other NGOs and to influence the Government's policy on food security are thus paying rich dividends. The ADS Grain Bank programme is acknowledged as a successful and innovative food security intervention.





## Summary

Food security of a nation is ensured if all of its citizens have enough nutritious food available, all persons have the capacity to buy food of acceptable quality and there is no barrier on access to food. The people living below the poverty line might be food insecure all the time while better off people might also turn food insecure due to calamity or disaster. Although a large section of people suffer from food and nutrition insecurity in India, the worst affected groups are landless or land poor households in rural areas and people employed in ill paid occupations and casual labourers engaged in seasonal activities in the urban areas. The food insecure people are disproportionately large in some regions of the country, such as economically backward states with high incidence of poverty, tribal and remote areas, regions more prone to natural disasters etc. To ensure availability of food to all sections of the society the Indian government carefully designed food security system, which is composed of two components: (a) buffer stock and (b) public distribution system. In addition to PDS, various poverty alleviation programmes were also started which comprised a component of food security. Some of these programmes are: Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS); Food-for-Work (FFW); Mid-Day Meals; Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) etc. In addition to the role of the government in ensuring food security, there are various cooperatives and NGOs also working intensively towards this direction.



## Exercises

1. How is food security ensured in India?
2. Which are the people more prone to food insecurity?
3. Which states are more food insecure in India?
4. Do you believe that green revolution has made India self-sufficient in food grains? How?
5. A section of people in India are still without food. Explain?
6. What happens to the supply of food when there is a disaster or a calamity?
7. Differentiate between seasonal hunger and chronic hunger?
8. What has our government done to provide food security to the poor? Discuss any two schemes launched by the government?
9. Why buffer stock is created by the government?
10. Write notes on:
  - (a) Minimum support price
  - (b) Buffer stock
  - (c) Issue price
  - (d) Fair price shops
11. What are the problems of the functioning of ration shops?
12. Write a note on the role of cooperatives in providing food and related items.





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