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INTRODUCTION: TRACING CHANGES THROUGH A THOUSAND YEARS

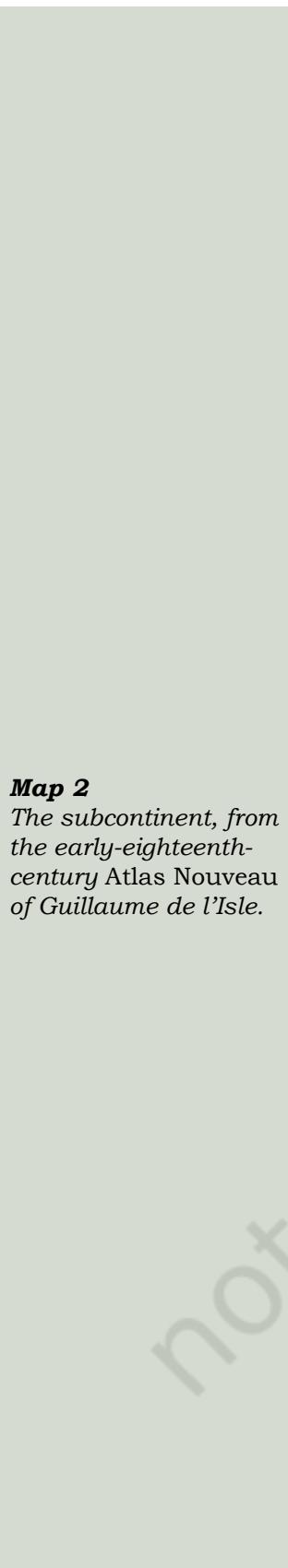


Map 1

A section of the world map drawn by the geographer al-Idrisi in the twelfth century showing the Indian subcontinent from land to sea.

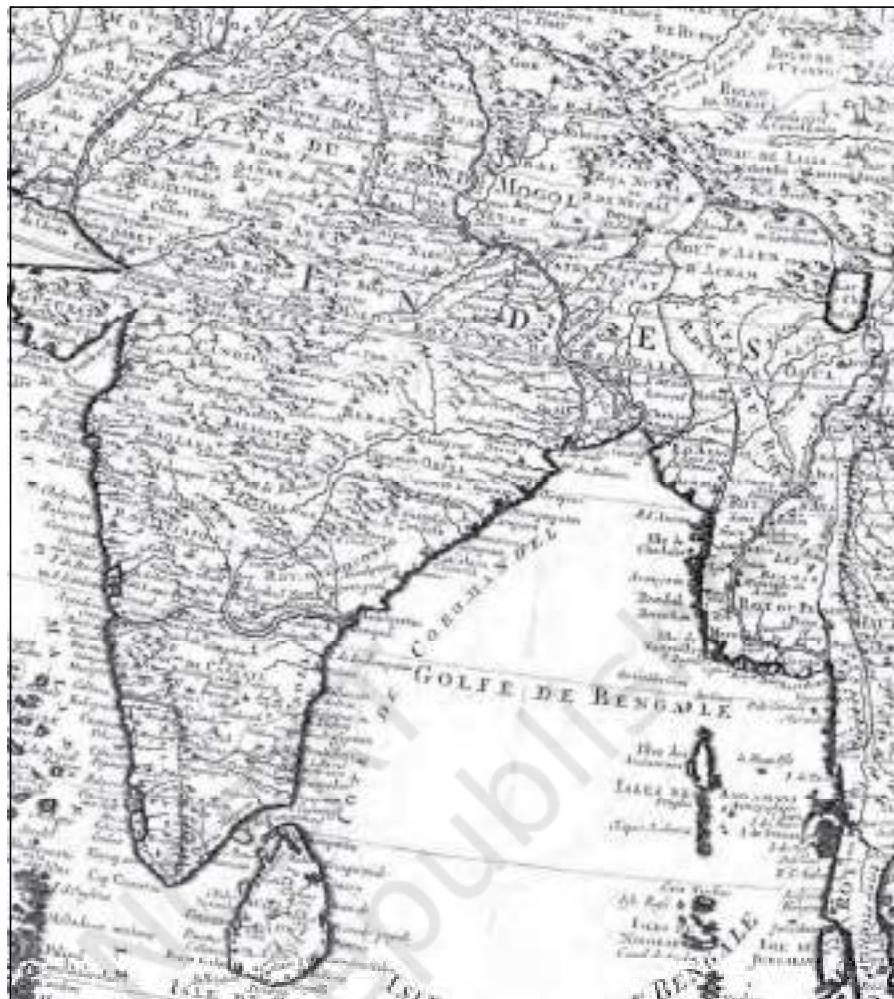
Take a look at Maps 1 and 2. Map 1 was made in 1154 CE by the Arab geographer Al-Idrisi. The section reproduced here is a detail of the Indian subcontinent from his larger map of the world. Map 2 was made in the 1720s by a French **cartographer**. The two maps are quite different even though they are of the same area. In al-Idrisi's map, south India is where we would expect to find north India and Sri Lanka is the island at the top. Place-names are marked in Arabic,

Cartographer
A person who makes maps.



Map 2

The subcontinent, from the early-eighteenth-century *Atlas Nouveau* of Guillaume de l'Isle.



and there are some well-known names like Kanauj in Uttar Pradesh (spelt in the map as Qanauj). Map 2 was made nearly 600 years after Map 1, during this period, information about the subcontinent had changed considerably. This map seems more familiar to us and the coastal areas in particular are surprisingly detailed. This map was used by European sailors and merchants on their voyages.



Look at the areas in the interior of the subcontinent on Map 2. Are they as detailed as those on the coast? Follow the course of the River Ganga and see how it is shown. Why do you think there is a difference in the level of detail and accuracy between the coastal and inland areas in this map?

Equally important is the fact that the science of cartography differed in the two periods. When historians read documents, maps and texts from the past, they have to be sensitive to the different historical backgrounds – the *contexts* – in which information about the past was produced.

New and Old Terminologies

If the context in which information is produced changes with time, what about language and meanings? Historical records exist in a variety of languages which have changed considerably over the years. Medieval Persian, for example, is different from modern Persian. The difference is not just with regard to grammar and vocabulary; the meanings of words also change over time.

Take the term “Hindustan”, for example. Today we understand it as “India”, the modern *nation-state*. When the term was used in the thirteenth century by Minhaj-i-Siraj, a chronicler who wrote in Persian, he meant the areas of Punjab, Haryana and the lands between the Ganga and Yamuna. He used the term in a political sense for lands that were a part of the dominions of the Delhi Sultan. The areas included in this term shifted with the extent of the Sultanate but the term never included south India. By contrast, in the early sixteenth century, Babur used Hindustan to describe the geography, the fauna and the culture of the inhabitants of the subcontinent. As we will see later in the chapter, this was somewhat similar to the way the fourteenth-century poet Amir Khusrau used the word “Hind”. While the idea of a geographical and cultural entity like “India” did exist, the term “Hindustan” did not carry the political and national meanings which we associate with it today.

Historians today have to be careful about the terms they use because they meant different things in the past. Take, for example, a simple term like “foreigner”. It is used today to mean someone who is not an Indian.

In the medieval period, a “foreigner” was any stranger who appeared say in a given village, someone who was not a part of that society or culture. (In Hindi the term *pardesi* might be used to describe such a person and in Persian, *ajnabi*.) A city-dweller, therefore, might have regarded a forest-dweller as a “foreigner”, but two peasants living in the same village were not foreigners to each other, even though they may have had different religious or caste backgrounds.

Historians and their Sources

Historians use different types of sources to learn about the past depending upon the period of their study and the nature of their investigation. Last year, for example, you read about rulers of the Gupta dynasty and Harshavardhana. In this book we will read about the following thousand years, from roughly 700 to 1750.

You will notice some continuity in the sources used by historians for the study of this period. They still rely on coins, inscriptions, architecture and textual records for information. But there is also considerable discontinuity. The number and variety of textual records increased dramatically during this period. They slowly displaced other types of available information. Through this period, paper gradually became cheaper and more

The value of paper

Compare the following:

(1) In the middle of the thirteenth century a scholar wanted to copy a book. But he did not have enough paper. So he washed the writing off a manuscript he did not want, dried the paper and used it.

(2) A century later, if you bought some food in the market you could be lucky and have the shopkeeper wrap it for you in some paper.



When was paper more expensive and easily available – in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century?

widely available. People used it to write holy texts, chronicles of rulers, letters and teachings of saints, petitions and judicial records, and for registers of accounts and taxes. Manuscripts were collected by wealthy people, rulers, monasteries and temples. They were placed in libraries and **archives**. These manuscripts and documents provide a lot of detailed information to historians but they are also difficult to use.

There was no printing press in those days so scribes copied manuscripts by hand. If you have ever copied a friend's homework you would know that this is not a simple exercise. Sometimes you cannot read your friend's handwriting and are forced to guess what is written. As a result there are small but significant differences in your copy of your friend's work. Manuscript copying is somewhat similar. As scribes copied manuscripts, they also introduced small changes – a word here, a sentence there. These small differences grew over centuries of copying until manuscripts of the

Archive

A place where documents and manuscripts are stored. Today all national and state governments have archives where they keep all their old official records and transactions.



Fig. 1

A painting of a scribe making a copy of a manuscript. This painting is only 10.5 cm by 7.1 cm in size. Because of its size it is called a miniature. Miniature paintings were sometimes used to illustrate the texts of manuscripts. They were so beautiful that later collectors often took the manuscripts apart and sold just the miniatures.

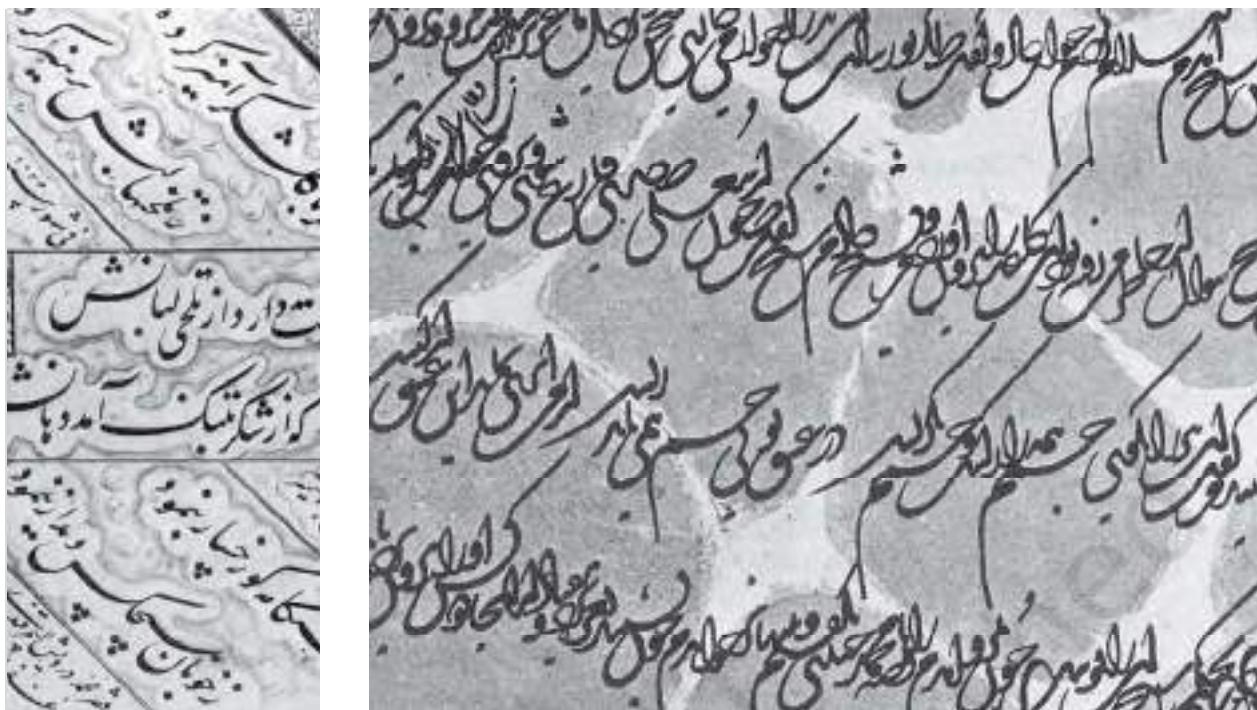


Fig. 2

Different kinds of handwriting could make the reading of Persian and Arabic difficult. The nastaliq style (on the left) is cursive and easy to read, the shikaste (on the right) is denser and more difficult.

same text became substantially different from one another. This is a serious problem because we rarely find the original manuscript of the author today. We are totally dependent upon the copies made by later scribes. As a result, historians have to read different manuscript versions of the same text to guess what the author had originally written.

On occasion authors revised their chronicles at different times. The fourteenth-century chronicler Ziyauddin Barani wrote his chronicle first in 1356 and another version two years later. The two differ from each other but historians did not know about the existence of the first version until the 1960s. It remained lost in large library collections.

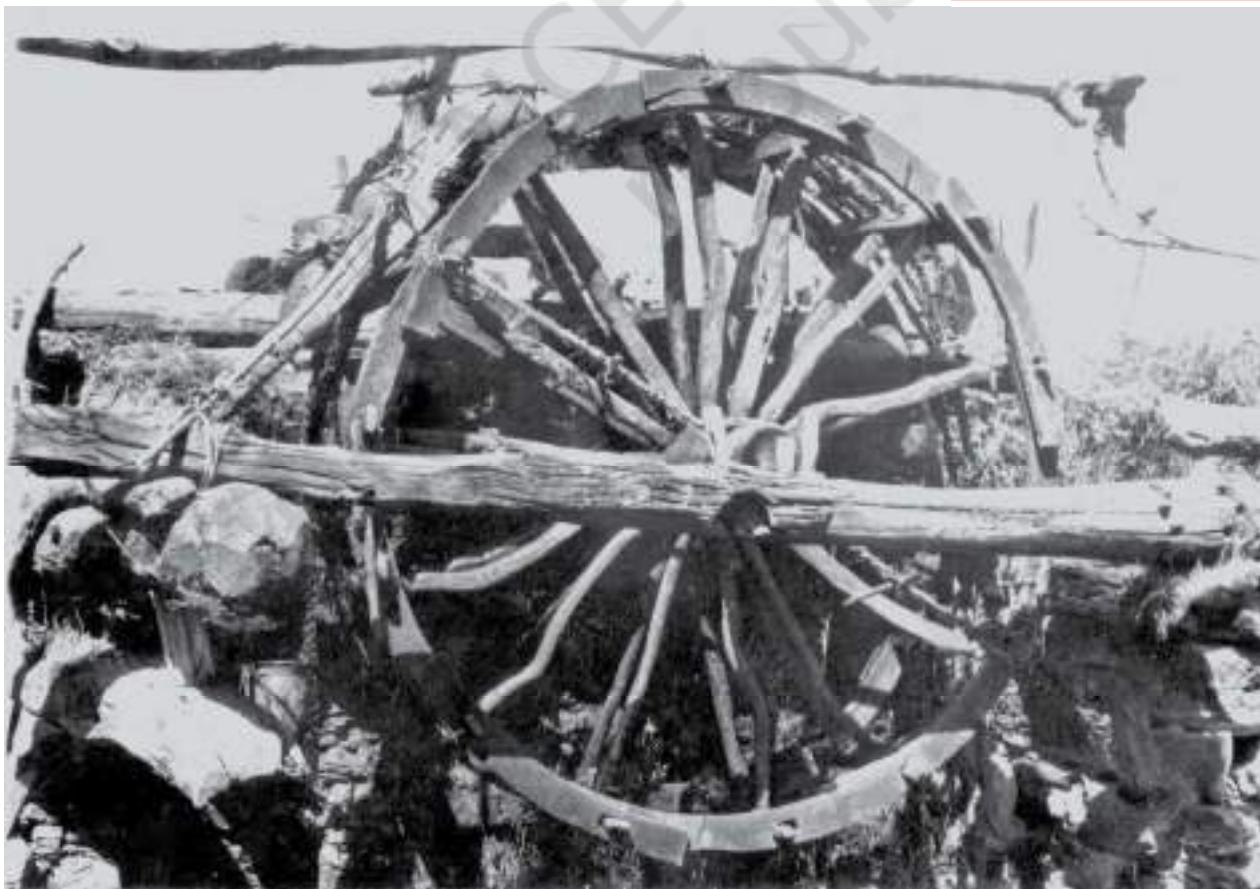
New Social and Political Groups

The study of the thousand years between 700 and 1750 is a huge challenge to historians largely because of the scale and variety of developments that occurred over the period. At different moments in this period, new technologies made their appearance – like the Persian

wheel in irrigation, the spinning wheel in weaving, and firearms in combat. New foods and beverages arrived in the subcontinent – potatoes, corn, chillies, tea and coffee. Remember that all these innovations – new technologies and crops – came along with people, who brought other ideas with them as well. As a result, this was a period of economic, political, social and cultural changes. You will learn about some of these changes in Chapter 5.

This was also a period of great mobility. Groups of people travelled long distances in search of opportunity. The subcontinent held immense wealth and the possibilities for people to carve a fortune. One group of people who became important in this period were the Rajputs, a name derived from “Rajaputra”, the son of a ruler. Between the eighth and fourteenth centuries, the term was applied more generally to a group of warriors who claimed Kshatriya caste status.

Fig. 3
The Persian wheel.



Habitat
Refers to the environment of a region and the social and economic lifestyle of its residents.



Of the technological, economic, social and cultural changes described in this section, which do you think were most significant in the town or village in which you live?

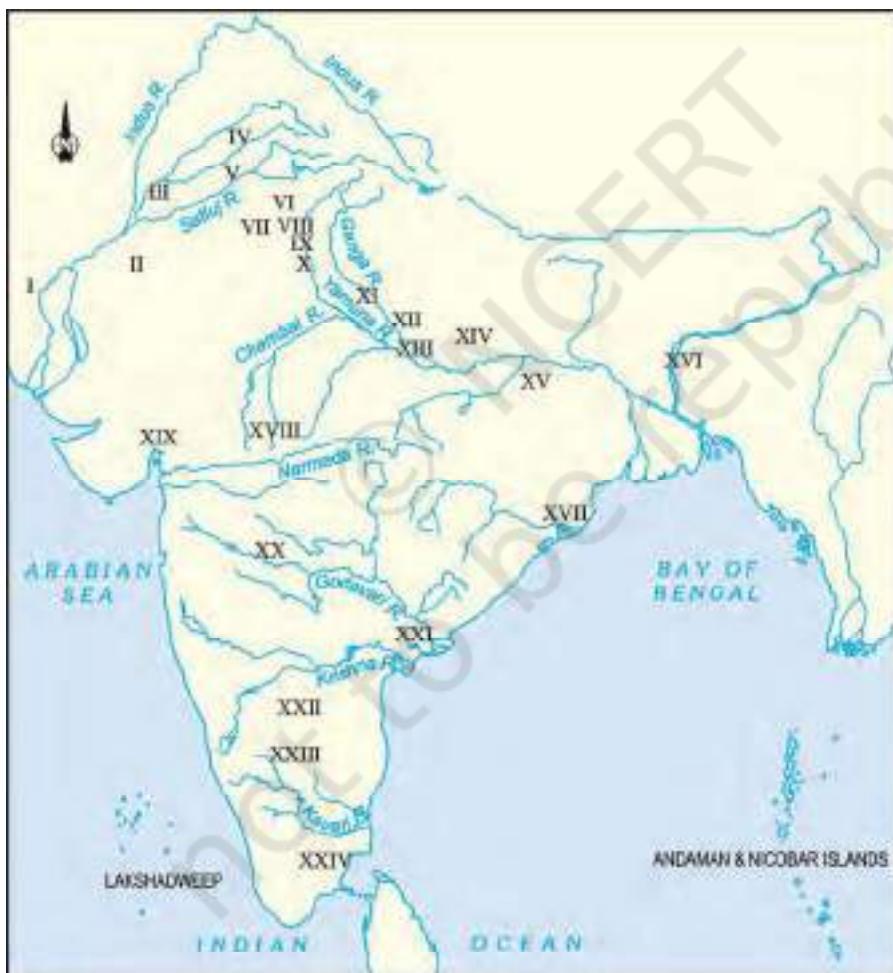
The term included not just rulers and chieftains but also soldiers and commanders who served in the armies of different monarchs all over the subcontinent. A chivalric code of conduct – extreme valour and a great sense of loyalty – were the qualities attributed to Rajputs by their poets and bards. Other groups of people such as the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats, Ahoms and Kayasthas (a caste of scribes and secretaries) also used the opportunities of the age to become politically important.

Throughout this period there was a gradual clearing of forests and the extension of agriculture, a change faster and more complete in some areas than in others. Changes in their **habitat** forced many forest-dwellers to migrate. Others started tilling the land and became peasants. These new peasant groups gradually began to be influenced by regional markets, chieftains, priests, monasteries and temples. They became a part of large, complex societies, and were required to pay taxes and offer goods and services to local lords. As a result, significant economic and social differences emerged amongst peasants. Some possessed more productive land, others also kept cattle, and some combined artisanal work with agricultural activity during the lean season. As society became more differentiated, people were grouped into *jatis* or sub-castes and ranked on the basis of their backgrounds and their occupations. Ranks were not fixed permanently, and varied according to the power, influence and resources controlled by members of the *jati*. The status of the same *jati* could vary from area to area.

Jatis framed their own rules and regulations to manage the conduct of their members. These regulations were enforced by an assembly of elders, described in some areas as the *jati panchayat*. But *jatis* were also required to follow the rules of their villages. Several villages were governed by a chieftain. Together they were only one small unit of a state.

Region and Empire

Large states like those of the Cholas (Chapter 2), Tughluqs (Chapter 3) or Mughals (Chapter 4) encompassed many regions. A Sanskrit *prashasti* (see Chapter 2 for an example of a *prashasti*) praising the Delhi Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287) explained that he was the ruler of a vast empire that stretched from Bengal (Gauda) in the east to Ghazni (Gajjana) in Afghanistan in the west and included all of south India (Dravida). People of different regions – Gauda, Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat – apparently fled before his armies. Historians



I	Sivistan	VII	Sarsuti	XIII	Kara	XIX	Gujarat
II	Uchch	VIII	Kuhran	XIV	Awadh	XX	Devagiri
III	Multan	IX	Hansi	XV	Bihar	XXI	Tilangana
IV	Kalmahr	X	Delhi	XVI	Lakhnauti	XXII	Taliunj
V	Labor	XI	Badayun	XVII	Jajesgar	XXIII	Dvarasenmudra
VI	Samana	XII	Qunnaj	XVIII	Malwa	XXIV	Ma'mur

Map 3

Provinces of the Delhi Sultanate during Muhammad Tughluq's reign according to the Egyptian source *Masalik al-Absar fi Mamalik al-Amsar of Shihabuddin Umari*.



Why do you think
rulers made such
claims?

regard these as exaggerated claims of conquests. At the same time, they try to understand why rulers kept claiming to have control over different parts of the subcontinent.

Language and region

In 1318, the poet Amir Khusrau noted that there was *a different language in every region of this land: Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Dvarsamudri (in southern Karnataka), Telangani (in Andhra Pradesh), Gujari (in Gujarat), Ma'bari (in Tamil Nadu), Gauri, (in Bengal) ... Awadhi (in eastern Uttar Pradesh) and Hindawi (in the area around Delhi).*

Amir Khusrau went on to explain that in contrast to these languages, there was Sanskrit which did not belong to any region. It was an old language and “*common people do not know it, only the Brahmanas do*”.

Make a list of the languages mentioned by Amir Khusrau. Prepare another list of the names of languages spoken today in the regions he mentioned. Underline the names that are similar and circle those that are different.



Did you notice that the names by which languages are known have changed over time?

By 700 many regions already possessed distinct geographical dimensions and their own language and cultural characteristics. You will learn more about these in Chapter 7. They were also associated with specific ruling dynasties. There was considerable conflict between these states. Occasionally dynasties like the Cholas, Khaljis, Tughluqs and Mughals were able to build an empire that was pan-regional – spanning diverse regions. Not all these empires were equally stable or successful.

When the Mughal Empire declined in the eighteenth century, it led to the re-emergence of regional states (Chapter 8). But years of imperial, pan-regional rule had altered the character of the regions. Across most of the subcontinent, the regions were left with the legacies of the big and small states that had ruled over them. This was apparent in the emergence of many distinct and shared traditions: in the realms of governance, the management of the economy, elite cultures and language. Through the thousand years between 700 and 1750, the character of the different regions did not grow in isolation. These regions felt the impact of larger pan-regional forces of integration without ever quite losing their distinctiveness.

Old and New Religions

The thousand years of history that we are exploring witnessed major developments in religious traditions. People's belief in the divine was sometimes deeply personal, but more usually it was collective. Collective belief in a supernatural agency – religion – was often closely connected with the social and economic organisation of local communities. As the social worlds of these groups altered, so too did their beliefs.

It was during this period that important changes occurred in what we call Hinduism today. These included the worship of new deities, the construction of temples by royalty and the growing importance of Brahmanas, the priests, as dominant groups in society.

Their knowledge of Sanskrit texts earned the Brahmanas a lot of respect in society. Their dominant position was consolidated by the support of their **patrons** – new rulers searching for prestige.

One of the major developments of this period was the emergence of the idea of bhakti – of a loving, personal deity that devotees could reach without the aid of priests or elaborate rituals. You will be learning about this, and other traditions, in Chapter 6.



Find out whether and for how long your state was a part of these pan-regional empires.



Do you remember what Amir Khusrau had to say regarding Sanskrit, knowledge and Brahmanas?

Patron

An influential, wealthy individual who supports another person – an artiste, a craftsman, a learned man, or a noble.

This was also the period when new religions appeared in the subcontinent. Merchants and migrants first brought the teachings of the holy *Quran* to India in the seventh century. Muslims regard the *Quran* as their holy book and accept the sovereignty of the one God, Allah, whose love, mercy and bounty embrace all those who believe in Him, without regard to social background.

Many rulers were patrons of Islam and the *ulama* – learned theologians and jurists. And like Hinduism, Islam was interpreted in a variety of ways by its followers. There were the Shia Muslims who believed that the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law, Ali, was the legitimate leader of the Muslim community, and the Sunni Muslims who accepted the authority of the early leaders (Khalifas) of the community, and the succeeding Khalifas. There were other important differences between the various schools of law (Hanafi and Shaf'i mainly in India), and in theology and mystic traditions.

Thinking about Time and Historical Periods

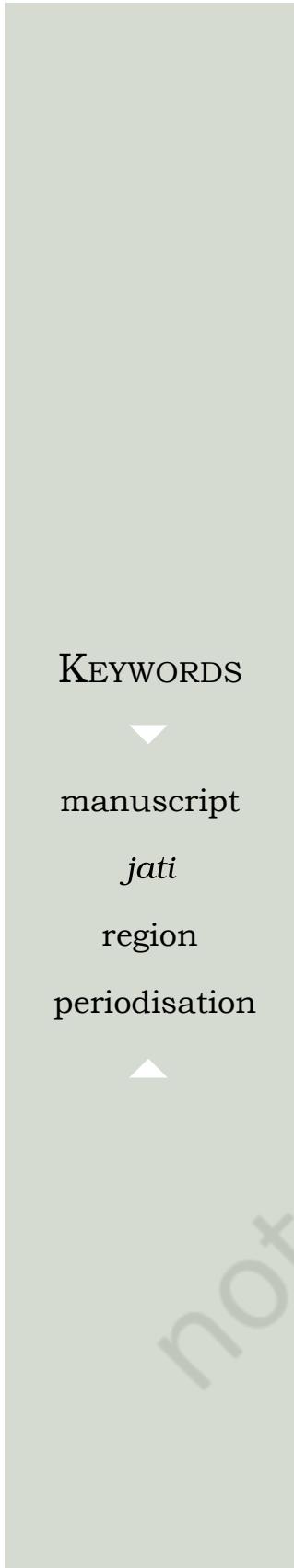
Historians do not see time just as a passing of hours, days or years – as a clock or a calendar. Time also reflects changes in social and economic organisation, in the persistence and transformation of ideas and beliefs. The study of time is made somewhat easier by dividing the past into large segments – periods – that possess shared characteristics.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, British historians divided the history of India into three periods: "Hindu", "Muslim" and "British". This division was based on the idea that the religion of rulers was the only important historical change, and that there were no other significant developments – in the economy, society or culture. Such a division also ignored the rich diversity of the subcontinent.

Few historians follow this periodisation today. Most look to economic and social factors to characterise the major elements of different moments of the past. The histories you read last year included a wide range of early societies – hunter-gatherers, early farmers, people living in towns and villages, and early empires and kingdoms. The histories you will be studying this year are often described as “medieval”. You will find out more about the spread of peasant societies, the rise of regional and imperial state formations – sometimes at the cost of pastoral and forest people – the development of Hinduism and Islam as major religions and the arrival of European trading companies.

These thousand years of Indian history witnessed considerable change. After all, the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were quite different from the eighth or the eleventh. Therefore, describing the entire period as one historical unit is not without its problems. Moreover, the “medieval” period is often contrasted with the “modern” period. “Modernity” carries with it a sense of material progress and intellectual advancement. This seems to suggest that the medieval period was lacking in any change whatsoever. But of course we know this was not the case.

During these thousand years, the societies of the subcontinent were transformed often and economies in several regions reached a level of prosperity that attracted the interest of European trading companies. As you read this book, look out for signs of change and the historical processes at work. Also, whenever you can, compare what you read in this book with what you read last year. Look out for changes and continuities wherever you can, and look at the world around you to see what else has changed or remained the same.



Imagine

You are a historian. Choose one of the themes mentioned in this chapter, such as economic, social or political history, and discuss why you think it would be interesting to find out the history of that theme.

Let's recall

1. Who was considered a “foreigner” in the past?
2. State whether true or false:
 - (a) We do not find inscriptions for the period after 700.
 - (b) The Marathas asserted their political importance during this period.
 - (c) Forest-dwellers were sometimes pushed out of their lands with the spread of agricultural settlements.
 - (d) Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban controlled Assam, Manipur and Kashmir.
3. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Archives are places where _____ are kept.
 - (b) _____ was a fourteenth-century chronicler.
 - (c) _____, _____, _____, _____ and _____ were some of the new crops introduced into the subcontinent during this period.
4. List some of the technological changes associated with this period.

- What were some of the major religious developments during this period?

Let's understand

- In what ways has the meaning of the term “Hindustan” changed over the centuries?
- How were the affairs of *jatis* regulated?
- What does the term pan-regional empire mean?

Let's discuss

- What are the difficulties historians face in using manuscripts?
- How do historians divide the past into periods? Do they face any problems in doing so?

Let's do

- Compare either Map 1 or Map 2 with the present-day map of the subcontinent, listing as many similarities and differences as you can find.
- Find out where records are kept in your village or city. Who writes these records? Is there an archive? Who manages it? What kinds of documents are stored there? Who are the people who use it?



2 KINGS AND KINGDOMS

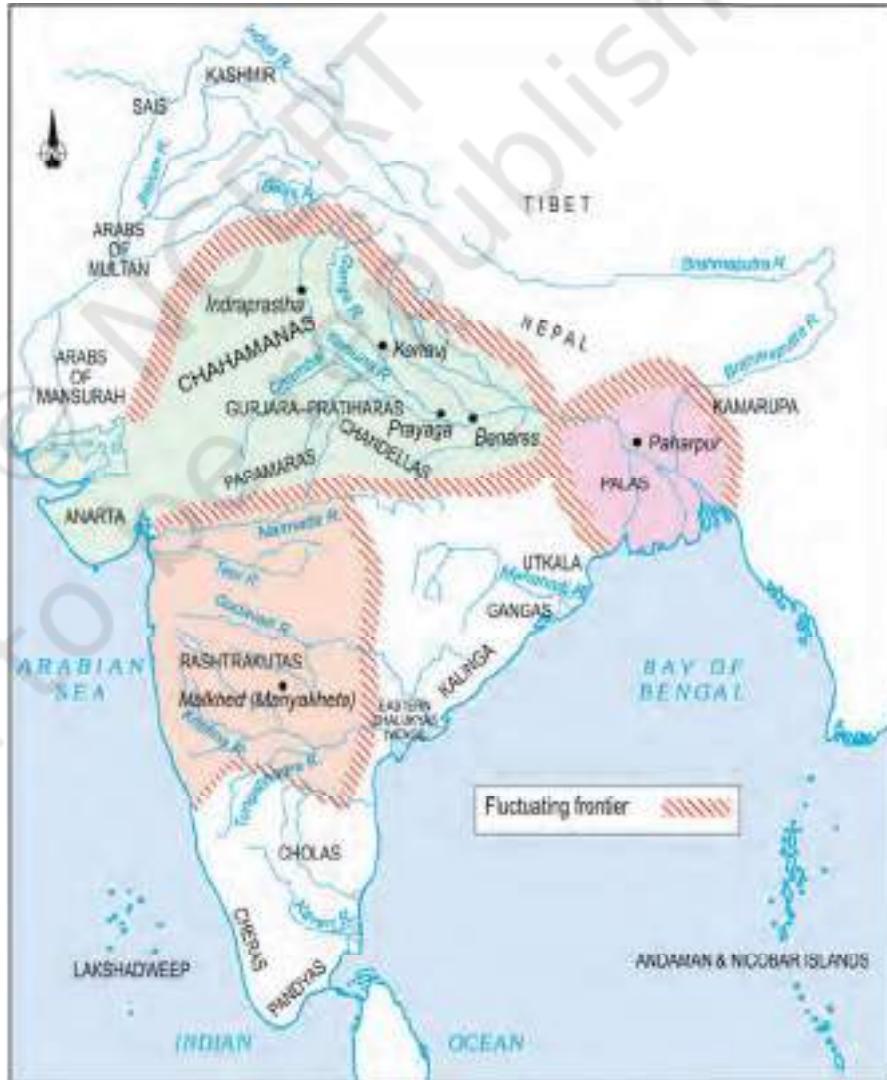


Map 1
Major kingdoms,
seventh-twelfth
centuries



Locate the Gurjara-Pratiharas, Rashtrakutas, Palas, Cholas and Chahamanas (Chauhans). Can you identify the present-day states over which they exercised control?

Many new dynasties emerged after the seventh century. Map 1 shows the major ruling dynasties in different parts of the subcontinent between the seventh and twelfth centuries.



The Emergence of New Dynasties

By the seventh century, there were big landlords or warrior chiefs in different regions of the subcontinent. Existing kings often acknowledged them as their subordinates or *samantas*. They were expected to bring gifts for their kings or overlords, be present at their courts and provide them with military support. As *samantas* gained power and wealth, they declared themselves to be *maha-samanta*, *maha-mandaleshvara* (the great lord of a “circle” or region) and so on. Sometimes they asserted their independence from their overlords.

One such instance was that of the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. Initially they were subordinate to the Chalukyas of Karnataka. In the mid-eighth century, Dantidurga, a Rashtrakuta chief, overthrew his Chalukya overlord and performed a ritual called *hiranya-garbha* (literally, the golden womb). When this ritual was performed with the help of Brahmanas, it was thought to lead to the “rebirth” of the sacrificer as a Kshatriya, even if he was not one by birth.

In other cases, men from enterprising families used their military skills to carve out kingdoms. For instance, the Kadamba Mayurasharman and the Gurjara-Pratihara Harichandra were Brahmanas who gave up their traditional professions and took to arms, successfully establishing kingdoms in Karnataka and Rajasthan respectively.

Administration in the Kingdoms

Many of these new kings adopted high-sounding titles such as *maharaja-adhiraja* (great king, overlord of kings), *tribhuwana-chakravartin* (lord of the three worlds) and so on. However, in spite of such claims,



Fig. 1
Wall relief from Cave 15, Ellora, showing Vishnu as Narasimha, the man-lion. It is a work of the Rashtrakuta period.



Do you think being born as a Kshatriya was important in order to become a ruler during this period?

they often shared power with their *samantas* as well as with associations of peasants, traders and Brahmanas.

In each of these states, resources were obtained from the producers – that is, peasants, cattle-keepers, artisans – who were often persuaded or compelled to surrender part of what they produced. Sometimes these were claimed as “rent” due to a lord who asserted that he owned the land. Revenue was also collected from traders.

Four hundred taxes!

The inscriptions of the Cholas who ruled in Tamil Nadu refer to more than 400 terms for different kinds of taxes. The most frequently mentioned tax is *vetti*, taken not in cash but in the form of forced labour, and *kadamai*, or land revenue. There were also taxes on thatching the house, the use of a ladder to climb palm trees, a cess on succession to family property, etc.



Are any such taxes collected today?



In what ways was this form of administration different from the present-day system?

These resources were used to finance the king's establishment, as well as for the construction of temples and forts. They were also used to fight wars, which were in turn expected to lead to the acquisition of wealth in the form of plunder, and access to land as well as trade routes.

The functionaries for collecting revenue were generally recruited from influential families, and positions were often hereditary. This was true about the army as well. In many cases, close relatives of the king held these positions.

Prashastis and Land Grants

Prashastis contain details that may not be literally true. But they tell us how rulers wanted to depict themselves – as valiant, victorious warriors, for example. These were composed by learned Brahmanas, who occasionally helped in the administration.

The “achievements” of Nagabhata

Many rulers described their achievements in *prashastis* (you read about the *prashasti* of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta last year).

One *prashasti*, written in Sanskrit and found in Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, describes the exploits of Nagabhata, a Pratihara king, as follows:

The kings of Andhra, Saindhava (Sind), Vidarbha (part of Maharashtra) and Kalinga (part of Orissa) fell before him even as he was a prince ...

He won a victory over Chakrayudha (the ruler of Kanauj) ...

He defeated the king of Vanga (part of Bengal), Anarta (part of Gujarat), Malava (part of Madhya Pradesh), Kirata (forest peoples), Turushka (Turks), Vatsa, Matsya (both kingdoms in north India) ...

Kings often rewarded Brahmanas by grants of land. These were recorded on copper plates, which were given to those who received the land.



Also, see if you can find some of the areas mentioned in the inscription on Map 1.

Other rulers made similar claims as well. Why do you think they made these claims?

Fig. 2

This is a set of copper plates recording a grant of land made by a ruler in the ninth century, written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil. The ring holding the plates together is secured with the royal seal, to indicate that this is an authentic document.

What was given with the land

This is a part of the Tamil section of a land grant given by the Cholas:

We have demarcated the boundaries of the land by making earthen embankments, as well as by planting thorny bushes. This is what the land contains: fruit-bearing trees, water, land, gardens and orchards, trees, wells, open spaces, pasture-land, a village, anthills, platforms, canals, ditches, rivers, silt-laden land, tanks, granaries, fish ponds, bee hives, and deep lakes.

He who receives the land can collect taxes from it. He can collect the taxes imposed by judicial officers as fines, the tax on betel-leaves, that on woven cloth, as well as on vehicles. He can build large rooms, with upper stories made of baked bricks, he can get large and small wells dug, he can plant trees and thorny bushes, if necessary, he can get canals constructed for irrigation. He should ensure that water is not wasted, and that embankments are built.

 *List all the possible sources of irrigation mentioned in the inscription, and discuss how these might have been used.*

Unusual for the twelfth century was a long Sanskrit poem containing the history of kings who ruled over Kashmir. It was composed by an author named Kalhana. He used a variety of sources, including inscriptions, documents, eyewitness accounts and earlier histories, to write his account. Unlike the writers of *prashastis*, he was often critical about rulers and their policies.

Warfare for Wealth

You may have noticed that each of these ruling dynasties was based in a specific region. At the same time, they tried to control other areas. One particularly

prized area was the city of Kanauj in the Ganga valley. For centuries, rulers belonging to the Gurjara-Pratihara, Rashtrakuta and Pala dynasties fought for control over Kanauj. Because there were three “parties” in this long-drawn conflict, historians often describe it as the “tripartite struggle”.

Rulers also tried to demonstrate their power and resources by building large temples. So, when they attacked one another’s kingdoms, they often chose to target temples, which were sometimes extremely rich.

One such ruler is Mahmud of Ghazni, Afghanistan. He raided the subcontinent 17 times (1000–1025) with a religious motive. His targets were wealthy temples, including that of Somnath, Gujarat. Much of the wealth Mahmud carried away was used to create a splendid capital city at Ghazni.

Other kings who engaged in warfare included the Chahamanas, later known as the Chauhans, who ruled over the region around Delhi and Ajmer. They attempted to expand their control to the west and the east, where they were opposed by the Chalukyas of Gujarat and the Gahadavalas of western Uttar Pradesh. The Chahamana ruler was Prithviraja III (1168–1192), who defeated a Turk ruler named Sultan Muhammad Ghori in 1191, but lost to him the very next year, in 1192.

A Closer Look: The Cholas

From Uraiur to Thanjavur

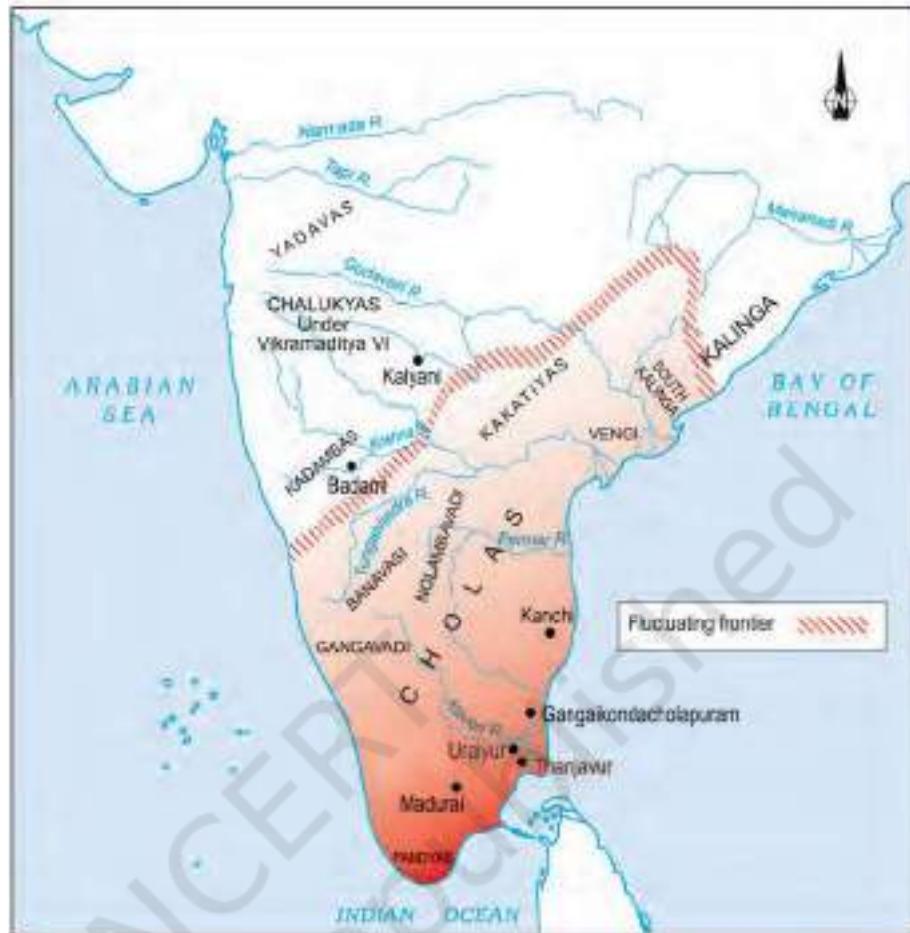
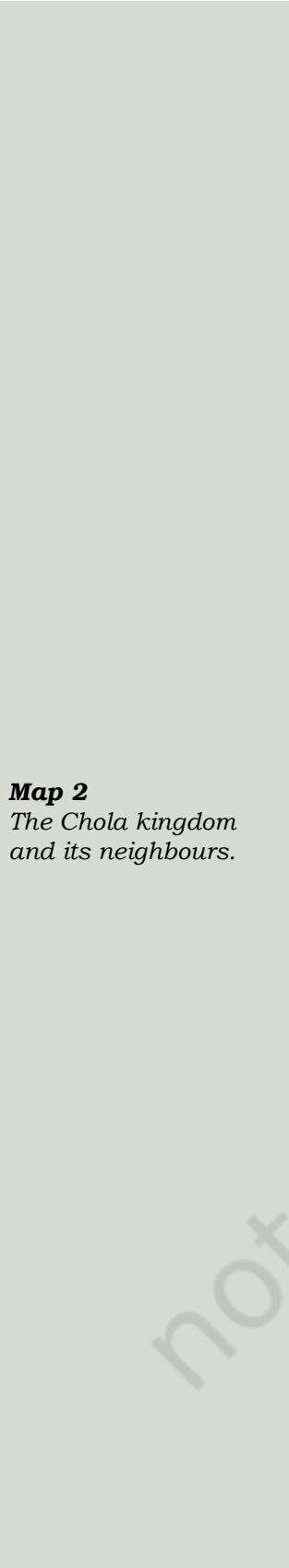
How did the Cholas rise to power? A minor chiefly family known as the Muttaraiyar held power in the Kaveri delta. They were subordinate to the Pallava kings of Kanchipuram. Vijayalaya, who belonged to the ancient chiefly family of the Cholas from Uraiur, captured the delta from the Muttaraiyar in the middle of the ninth century. He built the town of Thanjavur and a temple for goddess Nishumbhasudini there.



Look at Map 1 and suggest reasons why these rulers wanted to control Kanauj and the Ganga valley.



Look at Map 1 again and discuss why the Chahamanas may have wanted to expand their territories.



Map 2

The Chola kingdom and its neighbours.

The successors of Vijayalaya conquered neighbouring regions and the kingdom grew in size and power. The Pandyan and the Pallava territories to the south and north were made part of this kingdom. Rajaraja I, considered the most powerful Chola ruler, became king in 985 and expanded control over most of these areas. He also reorganised the administration of the empire. Rajaraja's son Rajendra I continued his policies and even invaded the Ganga valley, Sri Lanka and countries of Southeast Asia, developing a navy for these expeditions.

Splendid Temples and Bronze Sculpture

The big temples of Thanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram, built by Rajaraja and Rajendra, are architectural and sculptural marvels.



Fig. 3
The temple at Gangaikondacholapuram. Notice the way in which the roof tapers. Also look at the elaborate stone sculptures used to decorate the outer walls.

Chola temples often became the nuclei of settlements which grew around them. These were centres of craft production. Temples were also endowed with land by rulers as well as by others. The produce of this land went into maintaining all the specialists who worked at the temple and very often lived near it – priests, garland makers, cooks, sweepers, musicians, dancers, etc. In other words, temples were not only places of worship; they were the centres of economic, social and cultural life.

Amongst the crafts associated with temples, the making of bronze images was the most distinctive. Chola bronze images are considered amongst the finest in the world. While most images were of deities, sometimes images were made of devotees as well.

Agriculture and Irrigation

Many of the achievements of the Cholas were made possible through new developments in agriculture. Look at Map 2 again. Notice that the river Kaveri branches off into several small channels before emptying into the Bay of Bengal. These channels overflow frequently, depositing fertile soil on their banks. Water from the channels also provides the necessary moisture for agriculture, particularly the cultivation of rice.

Although agriculture had developed earlier in other parts of Tamil Nadu, it was only from the fifth or sixth century that this area was opened up for large-scale cultivation.

Forests had to be cleared in some regions; land had to be levelled in other areas. In the delta region, embankments had to be built to prevent flooding and canals had to be constructed to carry water to the fields. In many areas, two crops were grown in a year.

In many cases it was necessary to water crops artificially. A variety of methods were used for irrigation. In some areas wells were dug. In other places huge tanks were constructed to collect rainwater. Remember that irrigation works require planning – organising

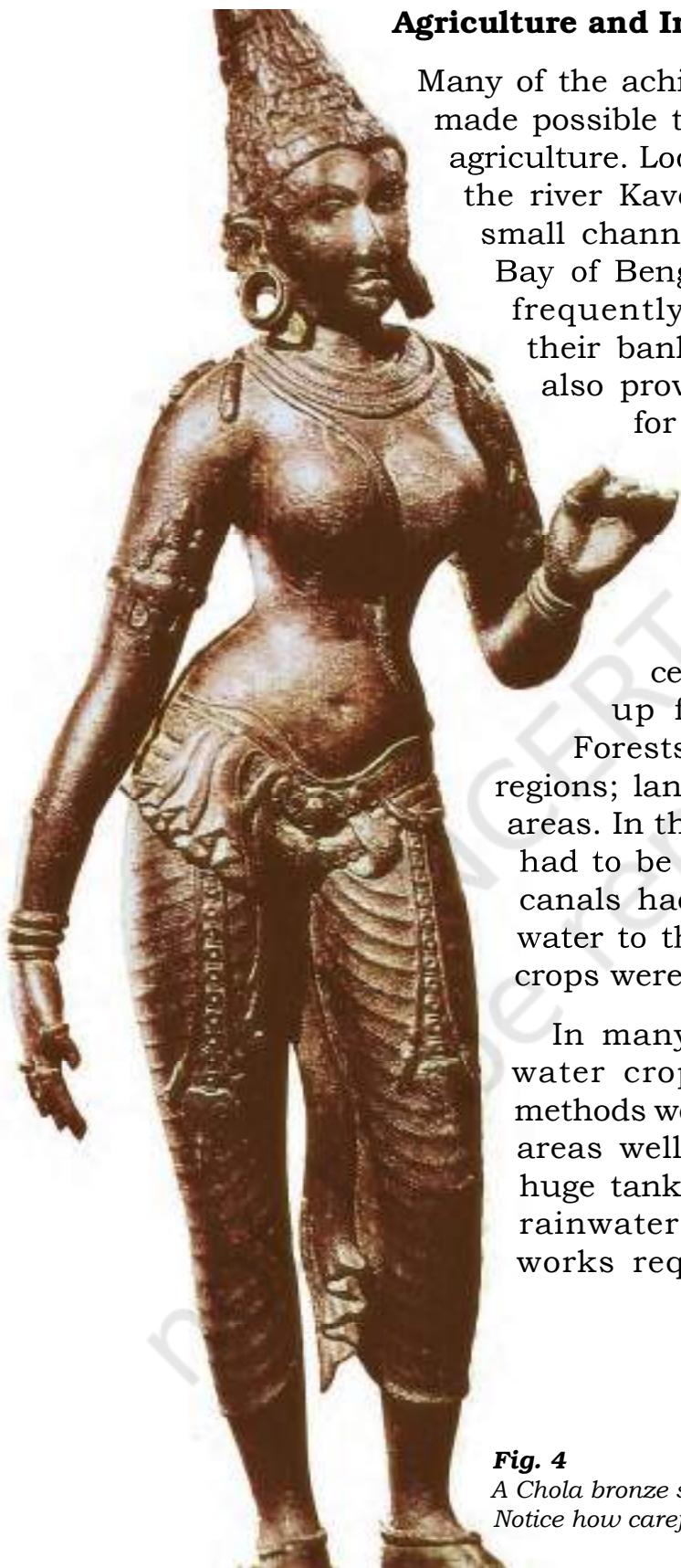


Fig. 4
A Chola bronze sculpture.
Notice how carefully it is decorated.



labour and resources, maintaining these works and deciding on how water is to be shared. Most of the new rulers, as well as people living in villages, took an active interest in these activities.

The Administration of the Empire

How was the administration organised? Settlements of peasants, known as *ur*, became prosperous with the spread of irrigation agriculture. Groups of such villages formed larger units called *nadu*. The village council and the *nadu* performed several administrative functions including dispensing justice and collecting taxes.

Rich peasants exercised considerable control over the affairs of the *nadu* under the supervision of the central Chola government. The Chola kings gave some rich landowners titles like *muwendavelan* (a *velan* or peasant serving three kings), *araiyar* (chief), etc., as markers of respect, and entrusted them with important offices of the state at the centre.

Fig. 5

A ninth-century sluice gate in Tamil Nadu. It regulated the outflow of water from a tank into the channels that irrigated the fields.

A sluice gate is traditionally a wood or metal barrier which is commonly used to control water levels and flow rates in rivers and canals.

Types of land

Chola inscriptions mention several categories of land:

vellanvagai

land of non-Brahmana peasant proprietors

brahmadeya

land gifted to Brahmanas

shalabhoga

land for the maintenance of a school

devadana, tirunamattukkani

land gifted to temples

pallichchhandam

land donated to Jaina institutions

We have seen that Brahmanas often received land grants or *brahmadeya*. As a result, a large number of Brahmana settlements emerged in the Kaveri valley as in other parts of south India.

Each *brahmadeya* was looked after by an assembly or *sabha* of prominent Brahmana landholders. These assemblies worked very efficiently. Their decisions were recorded in detail in inscriptions, often on the stone walls of temples. Associations of traders known as *nagarams* also occasionally performed administrative functions in towns.

Inscriptions from Uttaramerur in Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu, provide details of the way in which the *sabha* was organised. The *sabha* had separate committees to look after irrigation works, gardens, temples, etc. Names of those eligible to be members of these committees were written on small tickets of palm leaf; these tickets were put into an earthenware pot, from which a young boy was asked to take out the tickets, one by one for each committee.

Inscriptions and texts

Who could be a member of a sabha? The Uttaramerur inscription lays down:

All those who wish to become members of the sabha should be owners of land from which land revenue is collected.

They should have their own homes.

They should be between 35 and 70 years of age.

They should have knowledge of the Vedas.

They should be well-versed in administrative matters and honest.

If anyone has been a member of any committee in the last three years, he cannot become a member of another committee.

Anyone who has not submitted his accounts, and those of his relatives, cannot contest the elections.

While inscriptions tell us about kings and powerful men, here is an excerpt from the *Periyapuram*, a twelfth-century Tamil work, which informs us about the lives of ordinary men and women.

On the outskirts of Adanur was a small hamlet of Pulaiyas (a name used for a social group considered “outcastes” by Brahmanas and Vellalas), studded with small huts under old thatches and inhabited by agrarian labourers engaged in menial occupations. In the thresholds of the huts covered with strips of leather, little chickens moved about in groups; dark children who wore bracelets of black iron were prancing about, carrying little puppies ... In the shade of the marudu (arjuna) trees, a female labourer put her baby to sleep on a sheet of leather; there were mango trees from whose branches drums were hanging; and under the coconut palms, in little hollows on the ground, tiny-headed bitches lay after whelping. The red-crested cocks crowed before dawn calling the brawny Pulaiyar (plural) to their day’s work; and by day, under the shade of the kanji tree spread the voice of the wavy-haired Pulaiya women singing as they were husking paddy ...



Do you think women participated in these assemblies? In your view are lotteries useful in choosing members of committees?



Were there any Brahmanas in this hamlet? Describe all the activities that were taking place in the village. Why do you think temple inscriptions ignore these activities?



Imagine

You are present in an election for a *sabha*.
Describe what you see and hear.

Let's recall

1. Match the following:

Gurjara-Pratiharas	Western Deccan
Rashtrakutas	Bengal
Palas	Gujarat and Rajasthan
Cholas	Tamil Nadu

2. Who were the parties involved in the “tripartite struggle”?
3. What were the qualifications necessary to become a member of a committee of the *sabha* in the Chola empire?
4. What were the two major cities under the control of the Chahamanas?

Let's understand

5. How did the Rashtrakutas become powerful?
6. What did the new dynasties do to gain acceptance?

7. What kind of irrigation works were developed in the Tamil region?
8. What were the activities associated with Chola temples?

Let's discuss

9. Look at Map 1 once more and find out whether there were any kingdoms in the state in which you live.
10. Contrast the “elections” in Uttaramerur with present-day panchayat elections.

Let's do

11. Compare the temple shown in this chapter with any present-day temple in your neighbourhood, highlighting any similarities and differences that you notice.
12. Find out more about taxes that are collected at present. Are these in cash, kind, or labour services?

KEYWORDS

samanta

temple

nadu

sabha



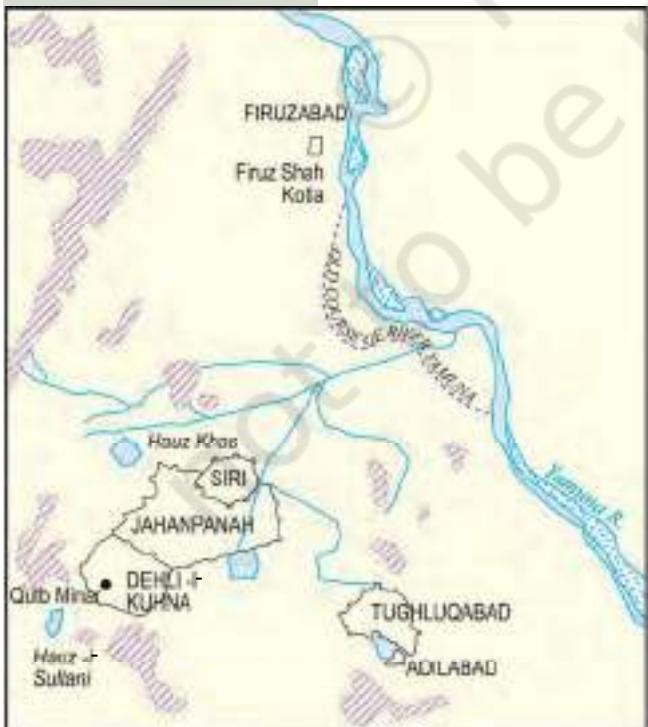
3

DELHI: 12th TO 15th CENTURY



Map 1

Selected Sultanate cities of Delhi,
thirteenth-fourteenth
centuries.



In Chapter 2 we saw that regions like the Kaveri delta became the centre of large kingdoms. Did you notice that there was no mention of a kingdom with Delhi as its capital? That was because Delhi became an important city only in the twelfth century.

Take a look at Table 1. Delhi first became the capital of a kingdom under the Tomara Rajputs, who were defeated in the middle of the twelfth century by the Chauhans (also referred to as Chahamanas) of Ajmer. It was under the Tomaras and Chauhans that Delhi became an important commercial centre. Many rich Jaina merchants lived in the city and constructed several temples. Coins minted here, called *dehliwal*, had a wide circulation.

The transformation of Delhi into a capital that controlled vast areas of the subcontinent started with the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Take a look at Table 1 again and identify the five dynasties that together made the Delhi Sultanate.

The Delhi Sultans built many cities in the area that we now know as Delhi. Look at Map 1 and locate Dehli-i Kuhna, Siri and Jahanpanah.

THE RULERS OF DELHI

Table 1

RAJPUT DYNASTIES

Tomaras

Ananga Pala 1130–1145

Chauhans

Prithviraj Chauhan 1175–1192

EARLY TURKISH RULERS

1206–1290

Qutbuddin Aybak 1206–1210

Shamsuddin Iltutmish 1210–1236

Raziyya 1236–1240

Ghiyasuddin Balban 1266–1287

KHALJI DYNASTY

1290–1320

Jalaluddin Khalji 1290–1296

Alauddin Khalji 1296–1316

TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

1320–1414

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq 1320–1324

Muhammad Tughluq 1324–1351

Firuz Shah Tughluq 1351–1388

SAYYID DYNASTY

1414–1451

Khizr Khan 1414–1421

LODI DYNASTY

1451–1526

Bahlul Lodi 1451–1489

Understanding Delhi under the Sultans

Histories are known as *tarikh* (singular) / *tawarikh* (plural), in Persian, the language of administration under the Delhi Sultans.



Do you think the circle of justice is an appropriate term to describe the relationship between the king and his subjects?

Birthright

Privileges claimed on account of birth. For example, people believed that nobles inherited their rights to govern, because they were born in certain families.

Gender distinctions

Social and biological differences between women and men. Usually, these differences are used to argue that men are superior to women.

The circle of justice

Fakhr-i Mudabbir wrote in the thirteenth century:

A king cannot survive without soldiers. And soldiers cannot live without salaries. Salaries come from the revenue collected from peasants. But peasants can pay revenue only when they are prosperous and happy. This happens when the king promotes justice and honest governance.

Keep the following additional details in mind:
(1) the authors of *tawarikh* lived in cities (mainly Delhi) and hardly ever in villages. (2) They often wrote their histories for Sultans in the hope of rich rewards. (3) These authors advised rulers on the need to preserve an “ideal” social order based on **birthright** and **gender distinctions**. Their ideas were not shared by everybody.

In 1236 Sultan Iltutmish’s daughter, Raziyqa, became Sultan. The chronicler of the age, Minhaj-us-Siraj, recognised that she was more able and qualified than all her brothers. But he was not comfortable at having a queen as ruler. Nor were the nobles happy at her attempts to rule independently. She was removed from the throne in 1240.

What Minhaj-us-Siraj thought about Raziyya: What other important female rulers of India did?

Minhaj-us-Siraj thought that the queen's rule went against the ideal social order created by God, in which women were supposed to be subordinate to men. He therefore asked: "In the register of God's creation, since her account did not fall under the column of men, how did she gain from all of her excellent qualities?"

On her inscriptions and coins Raziyya mentioned that she was the daughter of Sultan Iltutmish. This was in contrast to the queen Rudramadevi (1262–1289), of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal, part of modern Andhra Pradesh. Rudramadevi changed her name on her inscriptions and pretended she was a man. Another queen, Didda, ruled in Kashmir (980–1003). Her title is interesting: it comes from "didi" or "elder sister", an obviously affectionate term given to a loved ruler by her subjects.



Express Minhaj's ideas in your own words. Do you think Raziyya shared these ideas? Why do you think it was so difficult for a woman to be a ruler?

A Closer Look: Administration under the Khaljis and Tughluqs

The consolidation of a kingdom as vast as the Delhi Sultanate needed reliable governors and administrators. Rather than appointing aristocrats and landed chieftains as governors, the early Delhi Sultans, especially Iltutmish, favoured their special slaves purchased for military service, called *bandagan* in Persian. They were carefully trained to man some of the most important political offices in the kingdom. Since they were totally dependent upon their master, the Sultan could trust and rely upon them.

Slaves rather than sons

The Sultans were advised:

A slave, whom one has brought up and promoted, must be looked after for it needs a whole lifetime and good luck to find a worthy and experienced slave. Wise men have said that a worthy and experienced slave is better than a son ...

?

Can you think of any reason why a slave would be better than a son?

Client

Someone who is under the protection of another; a dependent or hanger-on.

The Khaljis and Tughluqs continued to use *bandagan* and also raised people of humble birth, who were often their **clients**, to high political positions. They were appointed as generals and governors. However, this also introduced an element of political instability.

Slaves and clients were loyal to their masters and patrons, but not to their heirs. Sultans had their own servants. As a result the accession of a new monarch often saw conflict between the old and the new nobility. The patronage of these humble people by the Delhi Sultans also shocked many elites and the authors of Persian *tawarikh* criticised the Delhi Sultans for appointing the “low and base-born” to high offices.

Officials of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq

Sultan Muhammad Tughluq appointed Aziz Khummar, a wine distiller, Firuz Hajjam, a barber, Manka Tabbakh, a cook, and two gardeners, Ladha and Pira, to high administrative posts. Ziyauddin Barani, a mid-fourteenth-century chronicler, reported their appointments as a sign of the Sultan’s loss of political judgement and his incapacity to rule.

?

Why do you think Barani criticised the Sultan?

Like the earlier Sultans, the Khalji and Tughluq monarchs appointed military commanders as governors of territories of varying sizes. These lands were called *iqta* and their holder was called *iqtadar* or *muqtis*. The duty of the *muqtis* was to lead military campaigns and maintain law and order in their *iqtas*. In exchange for their military services, the *muqtis* collected the revenues of their assignments as salary. They also paid their soldiers from these revenues. Control over *muqtis* was most effective if their office was not inheritable and if they were assigned *iqtas* for a short period of time before being shifted. These harsh conditions of service were rigorously imposed during the reigns of Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq. Accountants were appointed by the state to check the amount of revenue collected by the *muqtis*. Care was taken that the *muqtis* collected only the taxes prescribed by the state and that he kept the required number of soldiers.

As the Delhi Sultans brought the hinterland of the cities under their control, they forced the landed chieftains – the *samanta* aristocrats – and rich landlords to accept their authority. Under Alauddin Khalji the state brought the assessment and collection of land revenue under its own control. The rights of the local chieftains to levy taxes were cancelled and they were also forced to pay taxes. The Sultan's administrators measured the land and kept careful accounts. Some of the old chieftains and landlords served the Sultanate as revenue collectors and assessors. There were three types of taxes: (1) on cultivation called *kharaj* and amounting to about 50 per cent of the peasant's produce, (2) on cattle and (3) on houses.

It is important to remember that large parts of the subcontinent remained outside the control of the Delhi Sultans. It was difficult to control distant provinces like Bengal from Delhi and soon after annexing southern India, the entire region became independent. Even in the Gangetic plain, there

There were also other Taxes levied-

1. ***Khums***
2. ***Zakat***
3. ***Jizyah***

1. Khums was Consisted of one-fifth of war booty and one-fifth on mines and treasure trove.

2. Zakat was one of the religious duties enjoined upon all muslims under which they had to give 40th part of their annual savings to the needy and the travellers. It is often suggested that the practice of paying zakat was started by the Prophet himself and it had been made obligatory for all muslims, who had financial means, to do so. Thus essentially zakat was not a tax to be levied by the rulers.

However, during the sultanate period Firoz Shah Tughlaq collected zakat as a regular tax and kept a separate account

for it although there were instances of even influential people evading this tax. On imports and exports particularly the muslim traders were obliged to pay a two and half percent zakat (alms tax) both under the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals.

3. Jizyah was a tax paid by the non-Muslims who had been given the status of zimmis or protected people by the state. In the Sultanate period initially it was collected along with the land tax (kharaj). But Firuz Shah Tughlaq collected jizya as a separate tax.

Source:
U.N. Day, 1959, Administrative system of Delhi Sultanat, Kitab Mahal Publishers.

were forested areas that Sultanate forces could not penetrate. Local chieftains established their rule in these regions. Sometimes rulers like Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq could force their control in these areas but only for a short duration.

Chieftains and their fortifications

Ibn Battuta, a fourteenth-century traveller from Morocco, Africa, explained that chieftains sometimes

fortified themselves in mountains, in rocky, uneven and rugged places as well as in bamboo groves. In India the bamboo is not hollow; it is big. Its several parts are so intertwined that even fire cannot affect them, and they are on the whole very strong. The chieftains live in these forests which serve them as ramparts, inside which are their cattle and their crops. There is also water for them within, that is, rain water which collects there. Hence they cannot be subdued except by powerful armies, who entering these forests, cut down the bamboos with specially prepared instruments.

 *Describe the ways in which the chieftains arranged for their defence.*

The Mongols under Genghis Khan invaded Transoxiana in north-east Iran in 1219 and the Delhi Sultanate faced their onslaught soon after. Mongol attacks on the Delhi Sultanate increased during the reign of Alauddin Khalji and in the early years of Muhammad Tughluq's rule. This forced the two rulers to mobilise a large standing army in Delhi which posed a huge administrative challenge.

The Sultanate in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Take a look at Table 1 again. You will notice that after the Tughluqs, the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties ruled

from Delhi and Agra until 1526. By then, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Rajasthan and the entire south India had independent rulers who established flourishing states and prosperous capitals. This was also the period which saw the emergence of new ruling groups like the Afghans and the Rajputs.

Some of the states established in this period were small but powerful and extremely well administered. Sher Shah Sur (1540–1545) started his career as the manager of a small territory for his uncle in Bihar and eventually challenged and defeated the Mughal emperor Humayun (1530–1540, 1555–1556). Sher Shah captured Delhi and established his own dynasty. Although the Sur dynasty ruled for only fifteen years (1540–1555), it introduced an administration that borrowed elements from Alauddin Khalji and made them more efficient. Sher Shah's administration became the model followed by the great emperor Akbar (1556–1605) when he consolidated the Mughal Empire.

Imagine



You are a peasant in Alauddin Khalji's or Muhammad Tughluq's reign and you cannot pay the taxes demanded by the Sultan. What will you do?

Let's recall

1. Which ruler first established his or her capital at Delhi?
2. What was the language of administration under the Delhi Sultans?
3. In whose reign did the Sultanate reach its farthest extent?
4. From which country did Ibn Battuta travel to India?

KEYWORDS

iqta

tarikh

garrison

Mongols

gender

kharaj

Let's understand

5. According to the “circle of justice”, why was it important for military commanders to keep the interests of the peasantry in mind?
6. What is meant by the “internal” and “external” frontiers of the Sultanate?
7. What were the steps taken to ensure that *muqtis* performed their duties? Why do you think they may have wanted to defy the orders of the Sultans?

Let's discuss

8. Do you think the authors of *tawarikh* would provide information about the lives of ordinary men and women?
9. Razia Sultan was unique in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. Do you think women leaders are accepted more readily today?
10. Why were the Delhi Sultans interested in cutting down forests? Does deforestation occur for the same reasons today?

Let's do

11. Find out whether there are any buildings built by the Delhi Sultans in your area. Are there any other buildings in your area that were built between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries? Describe some of these buildings, and draw sketches of them.

4 THE MUGHALS (16th TO 17th CENTURY)



Ruling as large a territory as the Indian subcontinent with such a diversity of people and cultures was an extremely difficult task for any ruler to accomplish in the Middle Ages. Quite in contrast to their predecessors, the Mughals created an empire and accomplished what had hitherto seemed possible for only short periods of time. From the latter half of the sixteenth century, they expanded their kingdom from Agra and Delhi, until in the seventeenth century they controlled nearly all of the subcontinent. They imposed structures of administration and ideas of governance that outlasted their rule, leaving a political legacy that succeeding rulers of the subcontinent could not ignore. Today the Prime Minister of India addresses the nation on Independence Day from the ramparts of the Red Fort in Delhi, the residence of the Mughal emperors.

Fig. 1
The Red Fort.

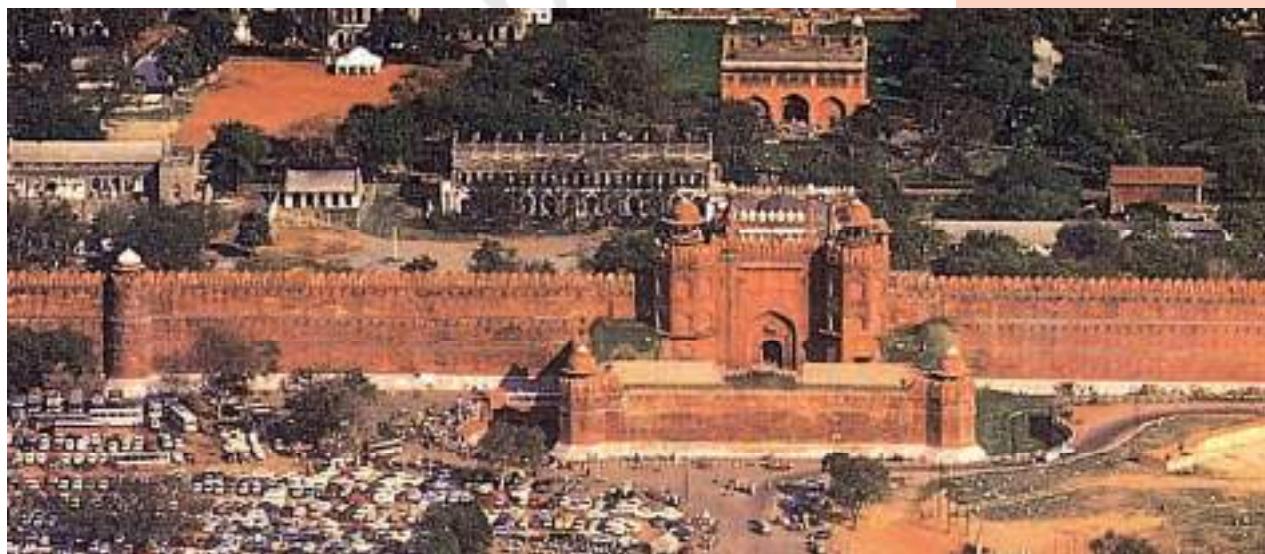




Fig. 2
Mughal army on campaign.

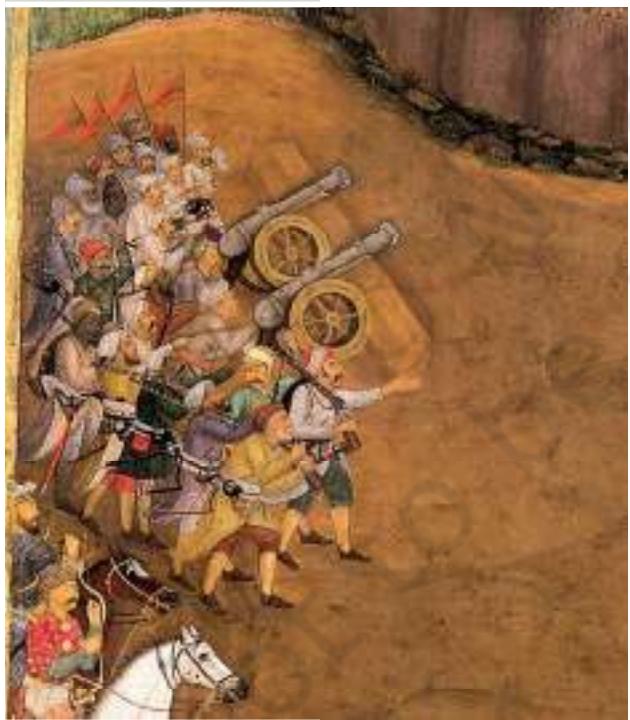


Fig. 3
Cannons were an important addition in sixteenth-century warfare. Babur used them effectively in the first battle of Panipat.

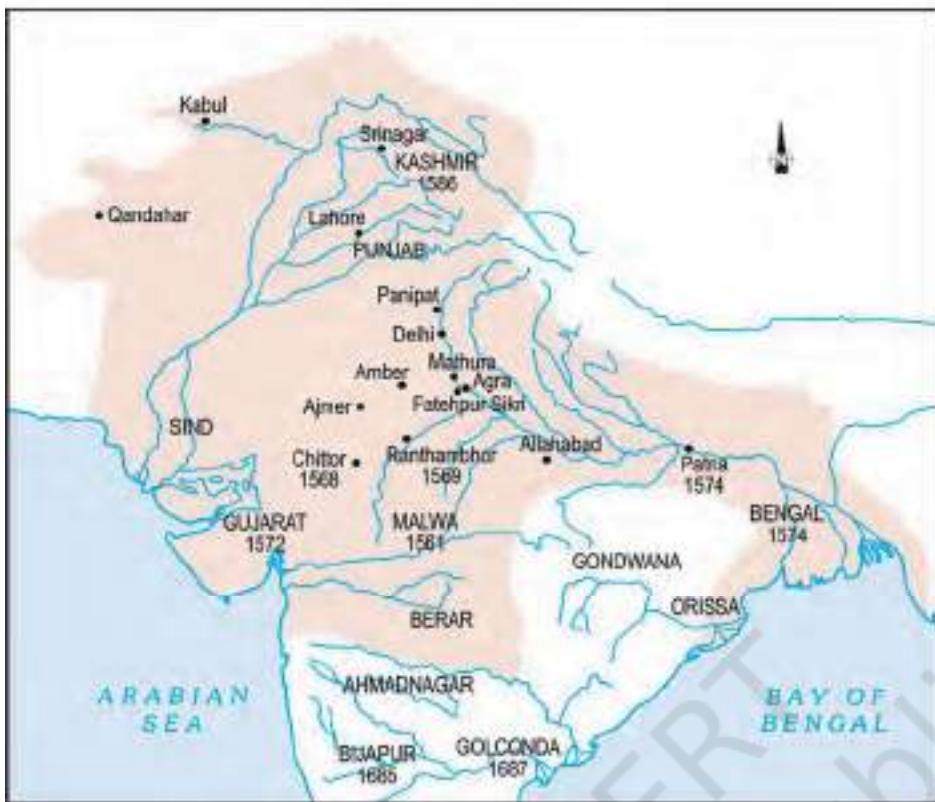
Who were the Mughals?

The Mughals were descendants of two great lineages of rulers. From their mother's side they were descendants of Genghis Khan (died 1227), the Mongol ruler who ruled over parts of China and Central Asia. From their father's side, they were the successors of Timur (died 1404), the ruler of Iran, Iraq and modern-day Turkey. However, the Mughals did not like to be called Mughal or Mongol. This was because Genghis Khan's memory was associated with the massacre of innumerable people. It was also linked with the Uzbegs, their Mongol competitors. On the other hand, the Mughals were proud of their Timurid ancestry, not least of all because their great ancestor had captured Delhi in 1398.

They celebrated their genealogy pictorially, each ruler getting a picture made of Timur and himself.

Mughal Military Campaigns

Babur, the first Mughal emperor (1526–1530), succeeded to the throne of Ferghana in 1494 when he was only 12 years old. He was forced to leave his ancestral throne due to the invasion of another Mongol group, the Uzbegs. After years of wandering, he seized Kabul in 1504. In 1526 he defeated the Sultan of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi, at Panipat and captured Delhi and Agra.



Map 1
Military campaigns under Akbar and Aurangzeb.

Mughal Traditions of Succession

The Mughals did not believe in the rule of primogeniture, where the eldest son inherited his father's estate. Instead they followed the Mughal and Timurid custom of coparcenary inheritance, or a division of the inheritance amongst all the sons. Which do you think is a fairer division of inheritance: primogeniture or coparcenary?

Mughal Relations with Other Rulers

The Mughal rulers campaigned constantly against rulers who refused to accept their authority. But as the Mughals became powerful many other rulers also joined them voluntarily. The Rajputs are a good example of this. Many of them married their daughters into Mughal families and received high positions. But many resisted as well.

Mughal marriages with the Rajputs

The mother of Jahangir was a Kachhwaha princess, daughter of the Rajput ruler of Amber (modern-day Jaipur). The mother of Shah Jahan was a Rathor princess, daughter of the Rajput ruler of Marwar (Jodhpur).

The Sisodiya Rajputs of Mewar refused to accept Mughal authority for a long time. Once defeated, however, they were honourably treated by the Mughals, given their lands (*watan*) back as assignments (*watan jagir*). The careful balance between defeating but not humiliating their opponents enabled the Mughals to extend their influence over many kings and chieftains. But it was difficult to keep this balance all the time.

Mansabdars and Jagirdars

As the empire expanded to encompass different regions, the Mughals recruited diverse bodies of people. From a small nucleus of Turkish nobles (Turans) they expanded to include Iranians, Indian Muslims, Afghans, Rajputs, Marathas and other groups. Those who joined Mughal service were enrolled as *mansabdars*.

The term *mansabdar* refers to an individual who holds a *mansab*, meaning a position or rank. It was a grading system used by the Mughals to fix (1) rank, (2) salary and (3) military responsibilities. Rank and salary were determined by a numerical value called *zat*. The higher the *zat*, the more prestigious was the noble's position in court and the larger his salary.

The *mansabdar*'s military responsibilities required him to maintain a specified number of *sawar* or cavalrymen. The *mansabdar* brought his cavalrymen for review, got them registered, their horses branded and then received money to pay them as salary.

Mansabdars received their salaries as revenue assignments called *jagirs* which were somewhat like *iqtas*. But unlike *muqtis*, most *mansabdars* did not actually reside in or administer their *jagirs*. They only had rights to the revenue of their assignments which was collected for them by their servants while the *mansabdars* themselves served in some other part of the country.

Zat ranking

Nobles with a *zat* of 5,000 were ranked higher than those of 1,000. In Akbar's reign there were 29 *mansabdars* with a rank of 5,000 *zat*; by Aurangzeb's reign the number of *mansabdars* had increased to 79. Would this have meant more expenditure for the state?

In Akbar's reign, these *jagirs* were carefully assessed so that their revenues were roughly equal to the salary of the *mansabdar*. By Aurangzeb's reign, this was no longer the case and the actual revenue collected was often less than the granted sum. There was also a huge increase in the number of *mansabdars*, which meant a long wait before they received a *jagir*. These and other factors created a shortage in the number of *jagirs*. As a result, many *jagirdars* tried to extract as much revenue as possible while they had a *jagir*. Aurangzeb was unable to control these developments in the last years of his reign and the peasantry therefore suffered tremendously.

Zabt and Zamindars

The main source of income available to Mughal rulers was tax on the produce of the peasantry. In most places, peasants paid taxes through the rural elites, that is, the headman or the local chieftain. The Mughals used one term – *zamindars* – to describe all intermediaries, whether they were local headmen of villages or powerful chieftains.

Akbar's revenue minister, Todar Mal, carried out a careful survey of crop yields, prices and areas cultivated for a 10-year period, 1570–1580. On the basis of this data, tax was fixed on each crop in cash. Each province was divided into revenue circles with its own schedule of revenue rates for individual crops. This revenue system was known as *zabt*. It was prevalent in those areas where Mughal administrators could survey the land and keep very careful accounts. This was not possible in provinces, such as Gujarat and Bengal.

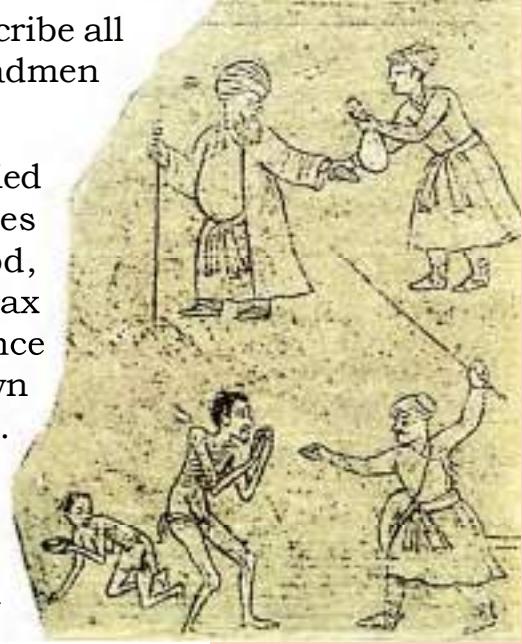


Fig. 4

A mansabdar on march with his sawars.

Fig. 5

Details from a miniature from Shah Jahan's reign depicting corruption in his father's administration:
(1) a corrupt officer receiving a bribe and
(2) a tax-collector punishing poor peasants.



In some areas, the zamindars exercised a great deal of power. The exploitation by Mughal administrators could drive them to rebellion. Sometimes zamindars and peasants of the same caste allied in rebelling against Mughal authority. These peasant revolts challenged the stability of the Mughal Empire from the end of the seventeenth century.

Akbar Nama and Ain-i Akbari

Akbar ordered one of his close friends and courtiers, Abul Fazl, to write a history of his reign. Abul Fazl wrote a three-volume history of Akbar's reign, titled *Akbar Nama*. The first volume dealt with Akbar's ancestors and the second volume recorded the events of Akbar's reign. The third volume is the *Ain-i Akbari*. It deals with Akbar's administration, household, army, the revenues and the geography of his empire. It also provides rich details about the traditions and culture of the people living in India. The most interesting aspect about the *Ain-i Akbari* is its rich statistical details about things as diverse as crops, yields, prices, wages and revenues.



Fig. 6
Akbar receiving the *Akbar Nama* from Abul Fazl.

Nur Jahan's influence in Jahangir's court



Fig. 7
Nur Jahan's farman.

Mehrunnisa married the Emperor Jahangir in 1611 and received the title Nur Jahan. She remained extremely loyal and supportive to the monarch. As a mark of honour, Jahangir struck silver coins bearing his own titles on one side and on the other the inscription "struck in the name of the Queen Begum, Nur Jahan".

The adjoining document is an order (*farman*) of Nur Jahan. The square seal states, "Command of her most Sublime and Elevated Majesty Nur Jahan Padshah Begum". The round seal states, "by the sun of Shah Jahangir she became as brilliant as the moon; may Nur Jahan Padshah be the lady of the age".

Sulh-i kul

Jahangir, Akbar's son, described his father's policy of *sulh-i kul* in the following words:

*As in the wide expanse of the divine compassion there is room for all classes and the followers of all creeds, so ... in his Imperial dominions, which on all sides were limited only by the sea, there was room for the professors of opposite religions, and for beliefs, good and bad, and the road to intolerance was closed. Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque and Christians and Jews in one church to pray. He consistently followed the principle of "universal peace" (*sulh-i kul*).*

The Mughal Empire in the Seventeenth Century and After

The administrative and military efficiency of the Mughal Empire led to great economic and commercial prosperity. International travellers described it as the fabled land of wealth. But these same visitors were also appalled at the state of poverty that existed side by side with the greatest opulence. The inequalities were glaring. Documents from the twentieth year of Shah Jahan's reign inform us that the highest-ranking *mansabdars* were only 445 in number out of a total of 8,000. This small number – a mere 5.6 per cent of the total number of *mansabdars* – received 61.5 per cent of the total estimated revenue of the empire as salaries for themselves and their troopers.

The Mughal emperors and their *mansabdars* spent a great deal of their income on salaries and goods. This expenditure benefited the artisans and peasantry who supplied them with goods and produce. But the scale of revenue collection left very little for investment in the hands of the primary producers – the peasant and the artisan. The poorest amongst them lived from hand to mouth and they could hardly consider investing in additional resources – tools and supplies –

to increase productivity. The wealthier peasantry and artisanal groups, the merchants and bankers profited in this economic world.

The enormous wealth and resources commanded by the Mughal elite made them an extremely powerful group of people in the late seventeenth century. As the authority of the Mughal emperor slowly declined, his servants emerged as powerful centres of power in the regions. They constituted new dynasties and held the command of provinces like Hyderabad and Awadh. Although they continued to recognise the Mughal emperor in Delhi as their master, by the eighteenth century the provinces of the empire had consolidated their independent political identities.



Imagine

You have inherited a kingdom. (Remember Babur and Akbar were about your age when they became rulers). How would you make your kingdom stable and prosperous?

Let's recall

1. Match the following:

<i>mansab</i>	Marwar
Mongol	Uzbeg
Sisodiya Rajput	Mewar
Rathor Rajput	rank
Nur Jahan	Jahangir

2. Fill in the blanks:

- (a) The five Deccan Sultanates were Berar, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, _____ and _____.

- (b) If *zat* determined a *mansabdar*'s rank and salary, *sawar* indicated his _____.
- (c) Abul Fazl, Akbar's friend and counsellor, helped him frame the idea of _____ so that he could govern a society composed of many religions, cultures and castes.
3. What were the central provinces under the control of the Mughals?
4. What was the relationship between the *mansabdar* and the *jagir*?

Let's understand

5. What was the role of the *zamindar* in Mughal administration?
6. How were the debates with religious scholars important in the formation of Akbar's ideas on governance?
7. Why did the Mughals emphasise their Timurid and not their Mongol descent?

Let's discuss

8. How important was the income from land revenue to the stability of the Mughal Empire?
9. Why was it important for the Mughals to recruit *mansabdars* from diverse backgrounds and not just Turanis and Iranis?

KEYWORDS

Mughal

mansab

jagir

zat

sawar

sulh-i kul

primogeniture

coparcenary

zabt

zamindar

10. Like the Mughal Empire, India today is also made up of many social and cultural units. Does this pose a challenge to national integration?
11. Peasants were vital for the economy of the Mughal Empire. Do you think that they are as important today? Has the gap in the income between the rich and the poor in India changed a great deal from the period of the Mughals?

Let's do

12. The Mughal Empire left its impact on the different regions of the subcontinent in a variety of ways. Find out if it had any impact in the city, village or region in which you live.

5

TRIBES, NOMADS AND SETTLED COMMUNITIES



Fig. 1
Tribal dance,
Santal painted scroll.

You saw in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 how kingdoms rose and fell. Even as this was happening, new arts, crafts and production activities flourished in towns and villages. Over the centuries important political, social and economic developments had taken place. But social change was not the same everywhere, because different kinds of societies evolved differently. It is important to understand how and why this happened.

In large parts of the subcontinent, society was already divided according to the rules of *varna*. These rules, as prescribed by the Brahmanas, were accepted by the rulers of large kingdoms. The difference between the high and low, and between the rich and poor, increased. Under the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals, this hierarchy between social classes grew further.

Beyond Big Cities: Tribal Societies

There were, however, other kinds of societies as well. Many societies in the subcontinent did not follow the social rules and rituals prescribed by the Brahmanas. Nor were they divided into numerous unequal classes. Such societies are often called tribes.





On a physical map of the subcontinent, identify the areas in which tribal people may have lived.

Members of each tribe were united by kinship bonds. Many tribes obtained their livelihood from agriculture. Others were hunter-gatherers or herders. Most often they combined these activities to make full use of the natural resources of the area in which they lived. Some tribes were nomadic and moved from one place to another. A tribal group controlled land and pastures jointly, and divided these amongst households according to its own rules.

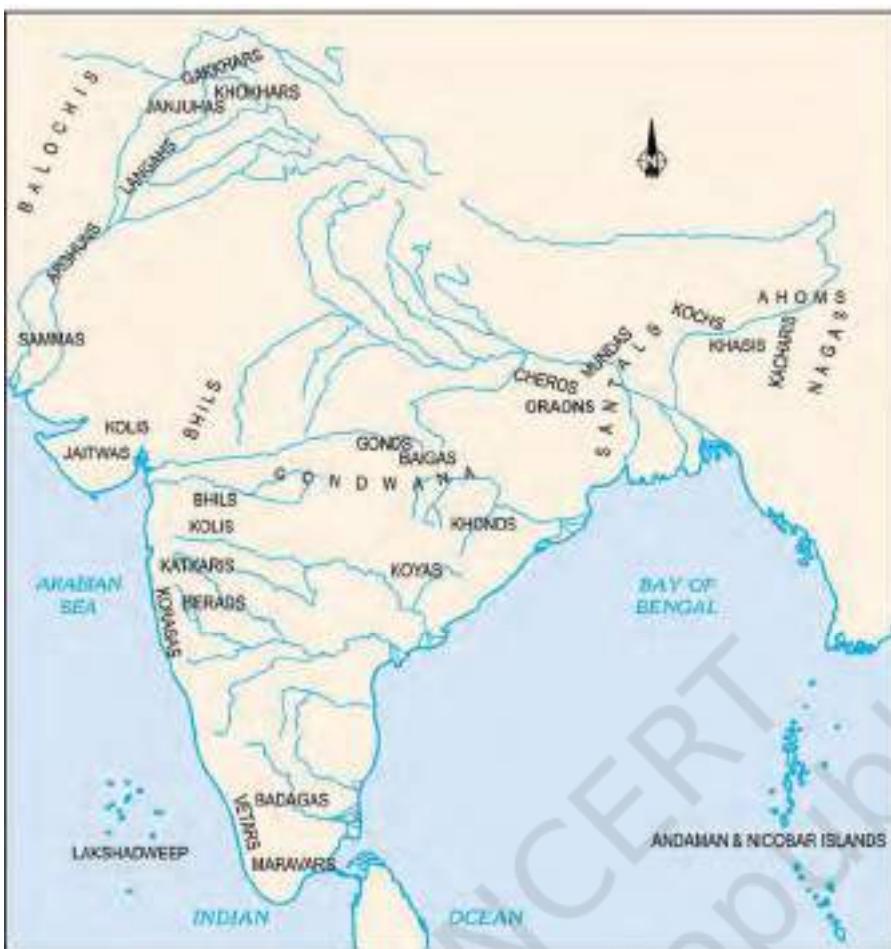
Many large tribes thrived in different parts of the subcontinent. They usually lived in forests, hills, deserts and places difficult to reach. Sometimes they clashed with the more powerful caste-based societies. In various ways, the tribes retained their freedom and preserved their separate culture.

But the caste-based and tribal societies also depended on each other for their diverse needs. This relationship, of conflict and dependence, gradually caused both societies to change.

Who were Tribal People?

Contemporary historians and travellers give very scanty information about tribes. A few exceptions apart, tribal people did not keep written records. But they preserved rich customs and oral traditions. These were passed down to each new generation. Present-day historians have started using such oral traditions to write tribal histories.

Tribal people were found in almost every region of the subcontinent. The area and influence of a tribe varied at different points of time. Some powerful tribes controlled large territories. In Punjab, the Khokhar tribe was very influential during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Later, the Gakkhars became more important. Their chief, Kamal Khan Gakkhar, was made a noble (*mansabdar*) by Emperor Akbar. In Multan and Sind, the Langahs and Arghuns dominated extensive regions before they were subdued by the Mughals. The Balochis were another large and powerful

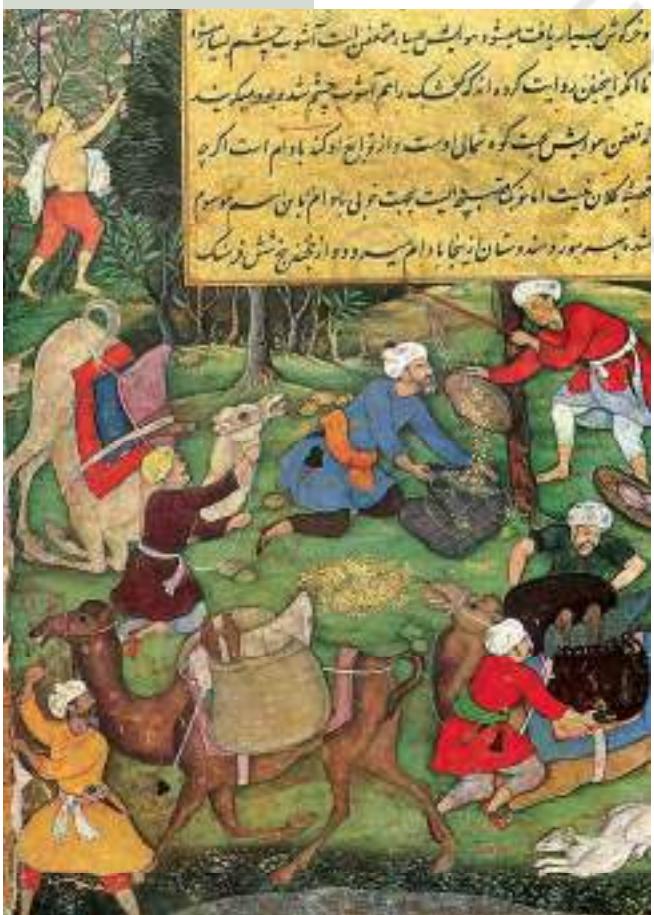
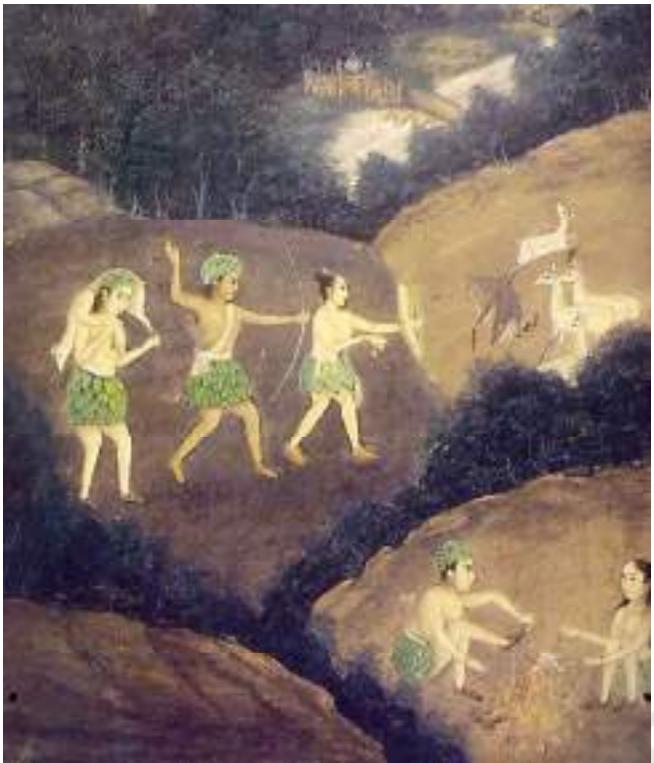


Map 1
Location of some
of the major Indian
tribes.

tribe in the north-west. They were divided into many smaller **clans** under different chiefs. In the western Himalaya lived the shepherd tribe of Gaddis. The distant north-eastern part of the subcontinent too was entirely dominated by tribes – the Nagas, Ahoms and many others.

In many areas of present-day Bihar and Jharkhand, Chero chiefdoms had emerged by the twelfth century. Raja Man Singh, Akbar's famous general, attacked and defeated the Cheros in 1591. A large amount of booty was taken from them, but they were not entirely subdued. Under Aurangzeb, Mughal forces captured many Chero fortresses and subjugated the tribe. The Mundas and Santals were among the other important tribes that lived in this region and also in Orissa and Bengal.

Clan
A clan is a group of families or households claiming descent from a common ancestor. Tribal organisation is often based on kinship or clan loyalties.



The Maharashtra highlands and Karnataka were home to Kolis, Berads and numerous others. Kolis also lived in many areas of Gujarat. Further south there were large tribal populations of Koragas, Vetars, Maravars and many others.

The large tribe of Bhils was spread across western and central India. By the late sixteenth century, many of them had become settled agriculturists and some even zamindars. Many Bhil clans, nevertheless, remained hunter-gatherers. The Gonds were found in great numbers across the present-day states of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

How Nomads and Mobile People Lived

Nomadic pastoralists moved over long distances with their animals. They lived on milk and other pastoral products. They also exchanged wool, ghee, etc., with settled agriculturists for grain, cloth, utensils and other products.

Fig. 2
Bhils hunting deer by night.

Fig. 3
A chain of mobile traders connected India to the outside world. Here you see nuts being gathered and loaded on the backs of camels. Central Asian traders brought such goods to India and the Banjaras and other traders carried these to local markets.

They bought and sold these goods as they moved from one place to another, transporting them on their animals.

The Banjaras were the most important trader-nomads. Their caravan was called *tanda*. Sultan Alauddin Khalji (Chapter 3) used the Banjaras to transport grain to the city markets. Emperor Jahangir wrote in his memoirs that the Banjaras carried grain on their bullocks from different areas and sold it in towns. They transported food grain for the Mughal army during military campaigns. With a large army there could be 100,000 bullocks carrying grain.

The Banjaras

Peter Mundy, an English trader who came to India during the early seventeenth century, has described the Banjaras:

In the morning we met a tanda of Banjaras with 14,000 oxen. They were all laden with grains such as wheat and rice ... These Banjaras carry their household – wives and children – along with them. One tanda consists of many families. Their way of life is similar to that of carriers who continuously travel from place to place. They own their oxen. They are sometimes hired by merchants, but most commonly they are themselves merchants. They buy grain where it is cheaply available and carry it to places where it is dearer. From there, they again reload their oxen with anything that can be profitably sold in other places ... In a tanda there may be as many as 6 or 7 hundred persons ... They do not travel more than 6 or 7 miles a day – that, too, in the cool weather. After unloading their oxen, they turn them free to graze as there is enough land here, and no one there to forbid them.

Find out how grain is transported from villages to cities at present. In what ways is this similar to or different from the ways in which the Banjaras functioned?

Nomads and itinerant groups

Nomads are wandering people. Many of them are pastoralists who roam from one pasture to another with their flocks and herds. Similarly, itinerant groups, such as craftspersons, pedlars and entertainers travel from place to place practising their different occupations. Both nomads and itinerant groups often visit the same places every year.

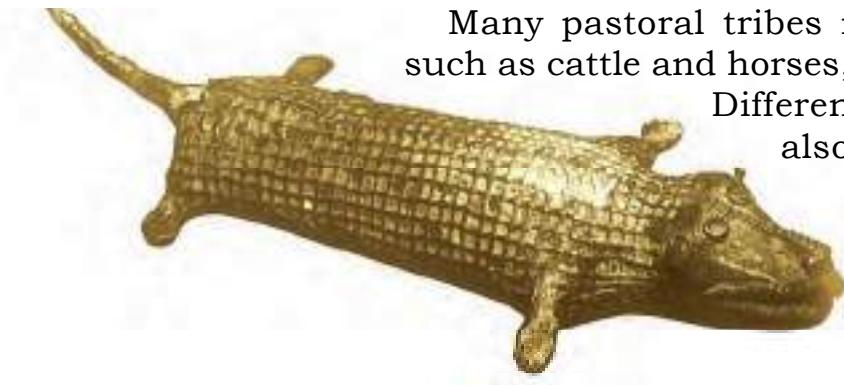


Fig. 4
*Bronze crocodile,
Kutiya Kond tribe,
Orissa.*

Many pastoral tribes reared and sold animals, such as cattle and horses, to the prosperous people.

Different castes of petty pedlars also travelled from village to village. They made and sold wares such as ropes, reeds, straw matting and coarse sacks. Sometimes mendicants acted as wandering merchants. There

were castes of entertainers who performed in different towns and villages for their livelihood.

Changing Society: New Castes and Hierarchies

As the economy and the needs of society grew, people with new skills were required. Smaller castes, or *jatis*, emerged within *varnas*. For example, new castes appeared amongst the Brahmanas. On the other hand, many tribes and social groups were taken into caste-based society and given the status of *jatis*. Specialised artisans – smiths, carpenters and masons – were also recognised as separate *jatis* by the Brahmanas. *Jatis*, rather than *varna*, became the basis for organising society.

Deliberations on *jati*

A twelfth-century inscription from Uyyakondan Udayiar, in Tiruchirapalli *taluka* (in present-day Tamil Nadu), describes the deliberations in a *sabha* (Chapter 2) of Brahmanas.

They deliberated on the status of a group known as *rathakaras* (literally, chariot makers). They laid down their occupations, which were to include architecture, building coaches and chariots, erecting gateways for temples with images in them, preparing wooden equipment used to perform sacrifices, building *mandapas*, making jewels for the king.

Among the Kshatriyas, new Rajput clans became powerful by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They belonged to different lineages, such as Hunas, Chandelas, Chalukyas and others. Some of these, too, had been tribes earlier. Many of these clans came to be regarded as Rajputs. They gradually replaced the older rulers, especially in agricultural areas. Here a developed society was emerging, and rulers used their wealth to create powerful states.

The rise of Rajput clans to the position of rulers set an example for the tribal people to follow. Gradually, with the support of the Brahmanas, many tribes became a part of the caste system. But only the leading tribal families could join the ruling class. A large majority joined the lower *jatis* of caste society. On the other hand, many dominant tribes of Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier had adopted Islam quite early. They continued to reject the caste system. The unequal social order, prescribed by orthodox Hinduism, was not widely accepted in these areas.

The emergence of states is closely related to social change amongst tribal people. Two examples of this important part of our history are described below.

A Closer Look

The Gonds

The Gonds lived in a vast forested region called Gondwana – or “country inhabited by Gonds”. They practised **shifting cultivation**. The large Gond tribe was further divided into many smaller clans. Each clan had its own raja or *rai*. About the time that the power of the Delhi Sultans was declining, a few large Gond kingdoms were beginning to dominate the smaller Gond chiefs. The *Akbar Nama*, a history of Akbar’s reign, mentions the Gond kingdom of Garha Katanga that had 70,000 villages.

The administrative system of these kingdoms was becoming centralised. The kingdom was divided into

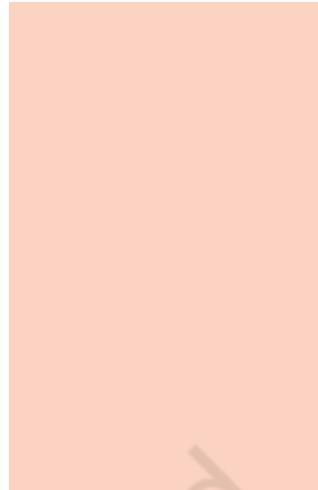


Fig. 5
A Gond woman.

Shifting cultivation
Trees and bushes in a forest area are first cut and burnt. The crop is sown in the ashes. When this land loses its fertility, another plot of land is cleared and planted in the same way.



Map 2
Gondwana.

Fig. 6
*A carved door.
Gond tribe, Bastar
area, Madhya
Pradesh.*

garhs. Each *garh* was controlled by a particular Gond clan. This was further divided into units of 84 villages called *chaurasi*. The *chaurasi* was subdivided into *barhots* which were made up of 12 villages each.

The emergence of large states changed the nature of Gond society. Their basically equal society gradually got divided into unequal social classes. Brahmanas received land grants from the Gond rajas and became more influential. The Gond chiefs now wished to be recognised as Rajputs. So, Aman Das, the Gond raja of Garha Katanga, assumed the title of Sangram Shah. His son, Dalpat, married princess Durgawati, the daughter of Salbahan, the Chandel Rajput raja of Mahoba.

Dalpat, however, died early. Rani Durgawati was very capable, and started ruling on behalf of her five-year-old son, Bir Narain. Under her, the kingdom became even more extensive. In 1565, the Mughal forces under Asaf Khan attacked Garha Katanga. A strong resistance was put up by Rani Durgawati. She was defeated and preferred to die rather than surrender. Her son, too, died fighting soon after.

Garha Katanga was a rich state. It earned much wealth by trapping and exporting wild elephants to other kingdoms. When the Mughals defeated



the Gonds, they captured a huge booty of precious coins and elephants. They annexed part of the kingdom and granted the rest to Chandra Shah, an uncle of Bir Narain. Despite the fall of Garha Katanga, the Gond kingdoms survived for some time. However, they became much weaker and later struggled unsuccessfully against the stronger Bundelas and Marathas.

The Ahoms

The Ahoms migrated to the Brahmaputra valley from present-day Myanmar in the thirteenth century. They created a new state by suppressing the older political system of the *bhuiyans* (landlords). During the sixteenth century, they annexed the kingdoms of the Chhutiyas (1523) and of Koch-Hajo (1581) and subjugated many other tribes. The Ahoms built a large state, and for this they used firearms as early as the 1530s. By the 1660s they could even make high-quality gunpowder and cannons.

However, the Ahoms faced many invasions from the south-west. In 1662, the Mughals under Mir Jumla attacked the Ahom kingdom. Despite their brave defence, the Ahoms were defeated. But direct Mughal control over the region could not last long.

The Ahom state depended upon forced labour. Those forced to work for the state were called *paiks*. A census of the population was taken. Each village had to send a number of *paiks* by rotation. People from heavily populated areas were shifted to less populated places. Ahom clans were thus broken up. By the first half of the seventeenth century the administration became quite centralised.

Lachit Barphukan and the defeat of the Mughals in Assam



Lachit Barphukan, the Ahom General defeated the army of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1671 in the Battle of Saraighat, near Guwahati. The Mughal army was consisted of 18,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry, 15,000 archers, 5000 gunners with over 1000 cannons and was led by Ram Singh of Amber. Lachit, with his war skills and excellent use of the terrain relentlessly fought to stop the expansion of the Mughal Empire. The battle was mostly a naval war on the river Brahmaputra. Now a memorial stands on the site of this famous battle.

Source: Janasanyog Assam, Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Government of Assam, Dispur, Guwahati.

Map 3

Tribes of eastern India.

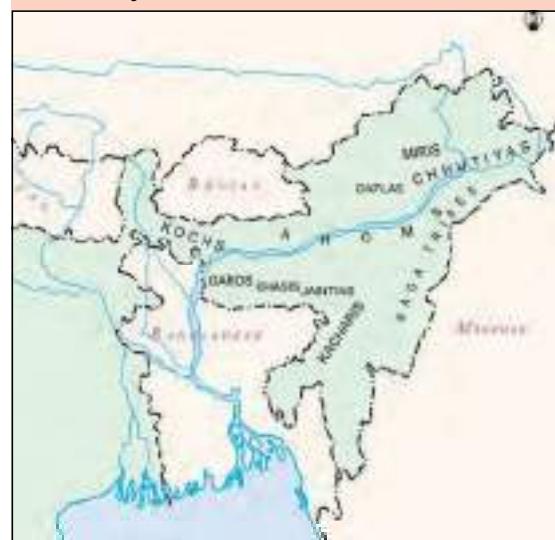




Fig. 7

Ear ornaments, Kobi Naga tribe, Manipur.



Discuss why the Mughals were interested in the land of the Gonds.



Why do you think the Mughals tried to conquer the land of the Ahoms?

Almost all adult males served in the army during war. At other times, they were engaged in building dams, irrigation systems and other public works. The Ahoms also introduced new methods of rice cultivation.

Ahom society was divided into clans or *khels*. There were very few castes of artisans, so artisans in the Ahom areas came from the adjoining kingdoms. A *khel* often controlled several villages. The peasant was given land by his village community. Even the king could not take it away without the community's consent.

Originally, the Ahoms worshipped their own tribal gods. During the first half of the seventeenth century, however, the influence of Brahmanas increased. Temples and Brahmanas were granted land by the king. In the reign of Sib Singh (1714–1744), Hinduism became the predominant religion. But the Ahom kings did not completely give up their traditional beliefs after adopting Hinduism.

Ahom society was very sophisticated. Poets and scholars were given land grants. Theatre was encouraged. Important works of Sanskrit were translated into the local language. Historical Chronicles, known as *buranjis*, were also written – first in the Ahom language and then in Assamese.

Conclusion

Considerable social change took place in the subcontinent during the period we have been examining. Varna-based society and tribal people constantly interacted with each other. This interaction caused both kinds of societies to adapt and change. There were many different tribes and they took up diverse livelihoods. Over a period of time, many of them merged with caste-based society. Others, however, rejected both the caste system and orthodox Hinduism. Some tribes established extensive states with well-organised systems of administration. They thus became politically powerful. This brought them into conflict with larger and more complex kingdoms and empires.



Imagine

You are a member of a nomadic community that shifts residence every three months. How would this change your life?

Let's recall

1. Match the following:

<i>garh</i>	<i>khel</i>
<i>tanda</i>	<i>chaurasi</i>
labourer	caravan
clan	<i>Garha Katanga</i>
Sib Singh	Ahom state
Durgawati	<i>paik</i>

2. Fill in the blanks:

- The new castes emerging within *varnas* were called _____.
- _____ were historical works written by the Ahoms.
- The _____ mentions that Garha Katanga had 70,000 villages.
- As tribal states became bigger and stronger, they gave land grants to _____ and _____.

3. State whether true or false:

- Tribal societies had rich oral traditions.
- There were no tribal communities in the north-western part of the subcontinent.
- The *chaurasi* in Gond states contained several cities.

KEYWORDS

varna
jati
tanda
garh
chaurasi
barhot
bhuiyans
paik
khel
buranji
census

- (d) The Bhils lived in the north-eastern part of the subcontinent.
4. What kinds of exchanges took place between nomadic pastoralists and settled agriculturists?

Let's understand

5. How was the administration of the Ahom state organised?
6. What changes took place in *varna*-based society?
7. How did tribal societies change after being organised into a state?

Let's discuss

8. Were the Banjaras important for the economy?
9. In what ways was the history of the Gonds different from that of the Ahoms? Were there any similarities?

Let's do

10. Plot the location of the tribes mentioned in this chapter on a map. For any two, discuss whether their mode of livelihood was suited to the geography and the environment of the area where they lived.
11. Find out about present-day government policies towards tribal populations and organise a discussion about these.
12. Find out more about present-day nomadic pastoral groups in the subcontinent. What animals do they keep? Which are the areas frequented by these groups?

6

DEVOTIONAL PATHS TO THE DIVINE



You may have seen people perform rituals of worship, or singing *bhajans*, *kirtans* or *qawwalis*, or even repeating the name of God in silence, and noticed that some of them are moved to tears. Such intense devotion or love of God is the legacy of various kinds of bhakti and Sufi movements that have evolved since the eighth century.

The Idea of a Supreme God

Before large kingdoms emerged, different groups of people worshipped their own gods and goddesses. As people were brought together through the growth of towns, trade and empires, new ideas began to develop. The idea that all living things pass through countless cycles of birth and rebirth performing good deeds and bad came to be widely accepted. Similarly, the idea that all human beings are not equal even at birth gained ground during this period. The belief that social privileges came from birth in a “noble” family or a “high” caste was the subject of many learned texts.

Many people were uneasy with such ideas and turned to the teachings of the Buddha or the Jainas according to which it was possible to overcome social differences and break the cycle of rebirth through personal effort. Others felt attracted to the idea of a Supreme God who could deliver humans from such bondage if approached with devotion (or *bhakti*). This idea, advocated in the *Bhagavadgita*, grew in popularity in the early centuries of the Common Era.

The beginning of Bhakti

Worship of certain deities, which became a central feature of later Hinduism, gained in importance. These deities included Shiva, Vishnu, and goddesses such as Durga. These deities were worshipped through Bhakti, an idea that became very popular at this time. Bhakti is generally understood as a person's devotion to his or her chosen deity. Anybody, whether rich or poor, belonging to the so-called 'high' or 'low' castes, man or woman, could follow the path of Bhakti. The idea of Bhakti is present in the Bhagavad Gita, a sacred book of the Hindus.



Fig. 1

A page from a south Indian manuscript of the Bhagavad Gita.



You can observe this process of local myths and legends receiving wider acceptance even today. Can you find some examples around you?

Shiva, Vishnu and Durga as supreme deities came to be worshipped through elaborate rituals. At the same time, gods and goddesses worshipped in different areas came to be identified with Shiva, Vishnu or Durga. In the

process, local myths and legends became a part of the Puranic stories, and methods of worship recommended in the Puranas were introduced into the local cults. Eventually the Puranas also laid down that it was possible for devotees to receive the grace of God regardless of their caste status. The idea of bhakti became so popular that even Buddhists and Jainas adopted these beliefs.

Bhakti in South India – Nayanars and Alvars

The seventh to ninth centuries saw the emergence of new religious movements, led by the Nayanars (saints devoted to Shiva) and Alvars (saints devoted to Vishnu) who came from all castes including those considered “untouchable” like the Pulaiyar and the Panars. They were sharply critical of the Buddhists and Jainas and preached ardent love of Shiva or Vishnu as the path to salvation. They drew upon the ideals of love and heroism as found in the Sangam literature (the earliest example of Tamil literature, composed during the early centuries of the Common Era) and blended them with the values of bhakti. The Nayanars and Alvars went from place to place composing exquisite poems in praise of the deities enshrined in the villages they visited, and set them to music.

Nayanars and Alvars

There were 63 Nayanars, who belonged to different social backgrounds, such as potters, “untouchable” workers, peasants, hunters, soldiers, Brahmanas and chiefs. The best known among them were Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Manikkavasagar. There are two sets of compilations of their songs – *Tevaram* and *Tiruvacakam*.

There were 12 Alvars, who came from equally divergent backgrounds, the best known being Periyalvar, his daughter Andal, Tondaradippodi Alvar and Nammalvar. Their songs were compiled in the *Divya Prabandham*.

Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the Chola and Pandya kings built elaborate temples around many of the shrines visited by the saint-poets, strengthening the links between the bhakti tradition and temple worship. This was also the time when their poems were compiled. Besides, **hagiographies** or religious biographies of the Alvars and Nayanars were also composed. Today we use these texts as sources for writing histories of the bhakti tradition.

The devotee and the Lord

This is a composition of Manikkavasagar:

*Into my vile body of flesh
You came, as though it were a temple of gold,
And soothed me wholly and saved me,
O Lord of Grace, O Gem most Pure,
Sorrow and birth and death and illusion
You took from me, and set me free.
O Bliss! O Light! I have taken refuge in You,
And never can I be parted from You.*



How does the poet describe his relationship with the deity?

Hagiography
Writing of saints' lives.

Fig. 2
A bronze image of Manikkavasagar.



Philosophy and Bhakti

Shankara, one of the most influential philosophers of India, was born in Kerala in the eighth century. He was an advocate of Advaita or the doctrine of the oneness of the individual soul and the Supreme God which is the Ultimate Reality. He taught that Brahman, the only or Ultimate Reality, was formless and without any attributes. He considered the world around us to be an illusion or *maya*, and preached renunciation of the world and adoption of the path of knowledge to understand the true nature of Brahman and attain salvation.

Ramanuja, born in Tamil Nadu in the eleventh century, was deeply influenced by the Alvars. According to him the best means of attaining salvation was through intense devotion to Vishnu. Vishnu in His grace helps the devotee to attain the bliss of union with Him. He propounded the doctrine of Vishishtadvaita or qualified oneness in that the soul even when united with the Supreme God remained distinct. Ramanuja's doctrine greatly inspired the new strand of bhakti which developed in north India subsequently.



Try and find out more about the ideas of Shankara or Ramanuja.

Basavanna's Virashaivism

We noted earlier the connection between the Tamil bhakti movement and temple worship. This in turn led to a reaction that is best represented in the Virashaiva movement initiated by Basavanna and his companions like Allama Prabhu and Akkamahadevi. This movement began in Karnataka in the mid-twelfth century. The Virashaivas argued strongly for the equality of all human beings and against Brahmanical ideas about caste and the treatment of women. They were also against all forms of ritual and idol worship.

Virashaiva vachanas

These are *vachanas* or sayings attributed to Basavanna:

*The rich,
Will make temples for Shiva.
What shall I,
A poor man,
Do?*

*My legs are pillars,
The body the shrine,
The head a cupola
Of gold.*

*Listen, O Lord of the meeting rivers,
Things standing shall fall,
But the moving ever shall stay.*



What is the temple that Basavanna is offering to God?

Bhakti Movement in the Decean

From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, Maharashtra saw a great number of saint-poets, whose songs in simple Marathi continue to inspire people. The most important among them were Dnyaneshwar (Gyaneshwar), Namdev, Eknath and Tukaram as well as women like Sakhubai and the family of Chokhamela, who belonged to the “untouchable” Mahar caste. This regional tradition of bhakti focused on the Vitthala (a form of Vishnu) temple in Pandharpur, as well as on the notion of a personal god residing in the hearts of all people.

These saint-poets rejected all forms of ritualism, outward display of piety and social differences based on birth. In fact, they even rejected the idea of renunciation and preferred to live with their families, earning their livelihood like any other person, while humbly serving fellow human beings in need. A new humanist idea emerged as they insisted that bhakti

The Vaishnava poet-saints of Maharashtra, such as Jnaneshwar, Namadeva, Eknath and Tukaram were devotees of lord Vitthala. Devotion around lord Vitthala gave rise to the Varkari sect which lay emphasis on an annual pilgrimage to Pandharpur. The cult of Vitthala emerged as a powerful mode of devotion and was very popular amongst the people.

lay in sharing others' pain. As the famous Gujarati saint Narsi Mehta said, "They are Vaishnavas who understand the pain of others."

Questioning the social order

This is an *abhang* (Marathi devotional hymn) of Sant Tukaram:

*He who identifies
with the battered and the beaten
Mark him as a saint
For God is with him*
*He holds
Every forsaken man
Close to his heart
He treats
A slave
As his own son*
*Says Tuka
I won't be tired
to repeat again
Such a man
Is God
In person.*

Here is an *abhang* composed by Chokhamela's son:

*You made us low caste,
Why don't you face that fact, Great Lord?
Our whole life – left-over food to eat.
You should be ashamed of this.*

*You have eaten in our home.
How can you deny it?
Chokha's (son) Karmamela asks
Why did you give me life?*

 Discuss the ideas about the social order expressed in these compositions.

Nathpanthis, Siddhas and Yogis

A number of religious groups that emerged during this period criticised the ritual and other aspects of conventional religion and the social order, using simple, logical arguments. Among them were the Nathpanthis, Siddhacharas and Yogis. They advocated renunciation of the world. To them the path to salvation lay in meditation on the formless Ultimate Reality and the realisation of oneness with it. To achieve this, they advocated intense training of the mind and body through practices like *yogasanas*, breathing exercises and meditation. These groups became particularly popular among “low” castes. Their criticism of conventional religion created the ground for devotional religion to become a popular force in northern India.

Islam and Sufism

The sants had much in common with the Sufis, so much so that it is believed that they adopted many ideas of each other. Sufis were Muslim mystics. They rejected outward religiosity and emphasised love and devotion to God and compassion towards all fellow human beings.

Islam propagated strict monotheism or submission to one God. In the eighth and ninth centuries, religious scholars developed different aspects of the Holy Law (Shariat) and theology of Islam. While the religion of Islam gradually became more complex, Sufis provided it with an additional dimension that favoured a more personal devotion to God. The Sufis often rejected the elaborate rituals and codes of behaviour demanded by Muslim religious scholars. They sought union with God much as a lover seeks his beloved with a disregard for

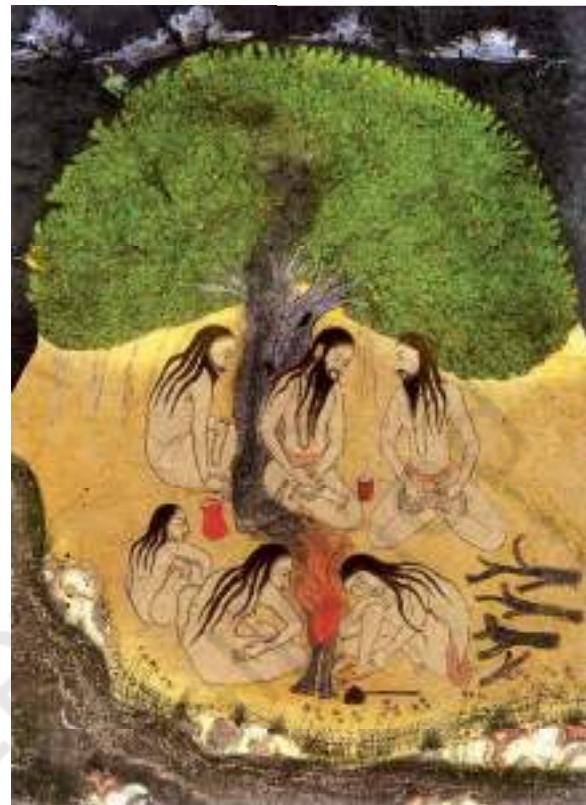


Fig. 3

A fireside gathering of ascetics.

the world. Like the saint-poets, the Sufis too composed poems expressing their feelings, and a rich literature in prose, including anecdotes and fables, developed around them. Among the great Sufis of Central Asia were Ghazzali, Rumi and Sadi. Like the Nathpanthis, Siddhas and Yogis, the Sufis too believed that the heart can be trained to look at the world in a different way. They developed elaborate methods of training using *zikr* (chanting of a name or sacred formula), contemplation, *sama* (singing), *raqs* (dancing), discussion of parables, breath control, etc., under the guidance of a master or *pir*. Thus emerged the *silsilas*, a spiritual genealogy of Sufi teachers, each following a slightly different method (*tariqa*) of instruction and ritual practice.

Fig. 4
Mystics in ecstasy.

In Kashmir, the Rishi order of Sufism flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries. This order was established by Sheikh Nuruddin Wali also known as Nund Rishi and had a deep impact on the life of the people in Kashmir. A number of shrines dedicated to Rishi saints can be found in many parts of Kashmir.



A large number of Sufis from Central Asia settled in Hindustan from the eleventh century onwards. This process was strengthened with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate (Chapter 3), when several major Sufi centres developed all over the subcontinent. The Chishti *silsila* was among the most influential orders. It had a long line of teachers like Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki of Delhi, Baba Farid of Punjab, Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi and Bandanawaz Gisudaraz of Gulbarga.

The Sufi masters held their assemblies in their *khanqahs* or **hospices**. Devotees of all descriptions including members of the royalty and nobility, and ordinary people flocked to these *khanqahs*. They discussed spiritual matters, sought the blessings of the saints in solving their worldly problems, or simply attended the music and dance sessions.

Often people attributed Sufi masters with miraculous powers that could relieve others of their illnesses and troubles. The tomb or *dargah* of a Sufi saint became a place of pilgrimage to which thousands of people of all faiths thronged.

Fig. 6
Devotees of all backgrounds visit Sufi shrines.



Fig. 5
A page from a manuscript of the Quran, Deccan, late fifteenth century.

Hospice
House of rest for travellers, especially one kept by a religious order.



Finding the Lord

Jalaluddin Rumi was a great thirteenth-century Sufi poet from Iran who wrote in Persian. Here is an excerpt from his work:

He was not on the Cross of the Christians. I went to the Hindu temples. In none of them was there any sign. He was not on the heights or in the lowlands ... I went to the Kaaba of Mecca. He was not there. I asked about him from Avicenna the philosopher. He was beyond the range of Avicenna ... I looked into my heart. In that, his place, I saw him. He was in no other place.

New Religious Developments in North India

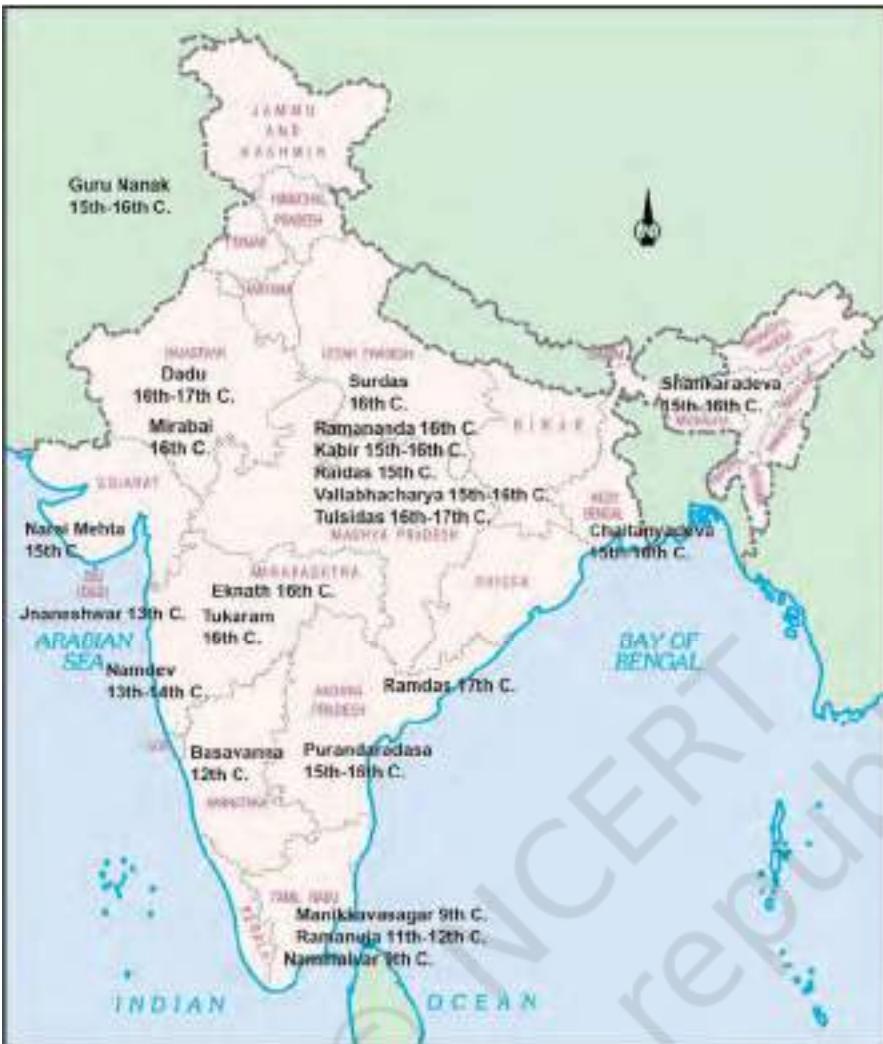
Fig. 7

Chaitanyadeva, a sixteenth-century bhakti saint from Bengal, preached selfless devotion to Krishna-Radha. In the picture you see a group of his followers engaged in ecstatic dancing and singing.

The period after the thirteenth century saw a new wave of the bhakti movement in North India. This was an age when Islam, Brahmanical Hinduism, Sufism, various strands of bhakti, and the Nathpanths, Siddhas and Yogis influenced one another. We saw that new kingdoms (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) were emerging, and people were taking up new professions and finding new roles for themselves. Such people, especially craftspersons, peasants, traders and labourers, thronged to listen to these new saints and spread their ideas.



Some of them like Kabir and Baba Guru Nanak rejected all orthodox religions. Others like Tulsidas and Surdas accepted existing beliefs and practices but wanted to make these accessible to all. Tulsidas conceived of God in the form of Rama. Tulsidas's composition, the *Ramcharitmanas*, written in Awadhi (a language used in eastern Uttar Pradesh), is important both as an



Map 1
Major bhakti saints
and the regions
associated with them.

The essence of Shankaradeva's devotion came to be known as Eka Sarana Nama Dharma (supreme surrender to the One). The teachings of Shankaradeva were based on the Bhagavad Gita and Bhagavata Purana. He also encouraged the establishment of satra or monasteries for transmission of knowledge. His major compositions included Kirtana-ghosha.

expression of his devotion and as a literary work. Surdas was an ardent devotee of Krishna. His compositions, compiled in the *Sursagara*, *Surasaravali* and *Sahitya Lahari*, express his devotion. Also contemporary was Shankaradeva of Assam (late fifteenth century) who emphasised devotion to Vishnu, and composed poems and plays in Assamese. He began the practice of setting up *namghars* or houses of recitation and prayer, a practice that continues to date.

This tradition also included saints like Dadu Dayal, Ravidas and Mirabai. Mirabai was a Rajput princess married into the royal family of Mewar in the sixteenth century. Mirabai became a disciple of Ravidas, a saint from a caste considered "untouchable". She was

An important contribution of Bhakti saints was towards the development of music. Jayadeva of Bengal composed the Gita Govinda in Sanskrit, each song composed in a particular raga and tala. A significant impact that these saints had on music was the use of bhajan, kirtan and abhang. These songs which emphasised on emotional experience had a tremendous appeal to the common people.

devoted to Krishna and composed innumerable *bhajans* expressing her intense devotion. Her songs also openly challenged the norms of the “upper” castes and became popular with the masses in Rajasthan and Gujarat.

A unique feature of most of the saints is that their works were composed in regional languages and could be sung. They became immensely popular and were handed down orally from generation to generation. Usually the poorest, most deprived communities and women transmitted these songs, often adding their own experiences. Thus the songs as we have them today are as much a creation of the saints as of generations of people who sang them. They have become a part of our living popular culture.



Beyond the Rana's palace

This is a song composed by Mirabai:

*Ranaji, I have left your norms of shame,
and false decorum of the princely life.
I have left your town.
And yet Rana why have you kept up
enmity against me?
Rana you gave me a cup of poison.
I drank it laughing.
Rana I will not be destroyed by you.
And yet Rana why have you kept up
enmity against me?*

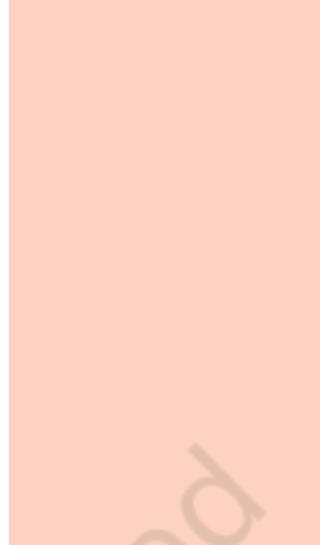


Why do you think Mirabai left the Rana's palace?

Fig. 8
Mirabai.

A Closer Look: Kabir

Kabir, who probably lived in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, was one of the most influential saints. He was brought up in a family of Muslim *julahas* or weavers settled in or near the city of Benares (Varanasi). We have little reliable information about his life. We get to know of his ideas from a vast collection of verses called *sakhis* and *pads* said to have been composed by him and sung by wandering *bhajan* singers. Some of these were later collected and preserved in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, *Panch Vani* and *Bijak*.



In search of the True Lord

Here is a composition of Kabir:

*O Allah-Ram present in all living beings
Have mercy on your servants, O Lord!*

*Why bump your head on the ground,
Why bathe your body in water?
You kill and you call yourself "humble"
But your vices you conceal.*

*Twenty-four times the Brahmana keeps
the ekadasi fast
While the Qazi observes the Ramzan
Tell me why does he set aside the eleven months
To seek spiritual fruit in the twelfth?*

*Hari dwells in the East, they say
And Allah resides in the West,
Search for him in your heart, in the heart
of your heart;
There he dwells, Rahim-Ram.*



In what ways are the ideas in this poem similar to or different from those of Basavanna and Jalaluddin Rumi?

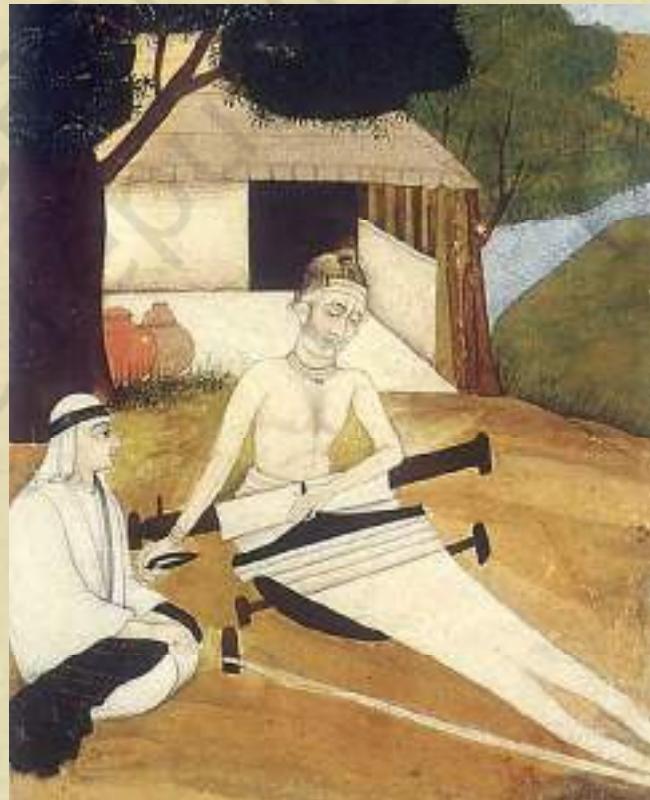


Fig. 9
Kabir working on a loom.

Kabir's teachings were based on a complete, indeed vehement, rejection of the major religious traditions. His teachings openly ridiculed all forms of external worship of both Brahmanical Hinduism and Islam, the pre-eminence of the priestly classes and the caste system. The language of his poetry was a form of spoken Hindi widely understood by ordinary people. He also sometimes used cryptic language, which is difficult to follow.

Kabir believed in a formless Supreme God and preached that the only path to salvation was through bhakti or devotion. Kabir drew his followers from among both Hindus and Muslims.

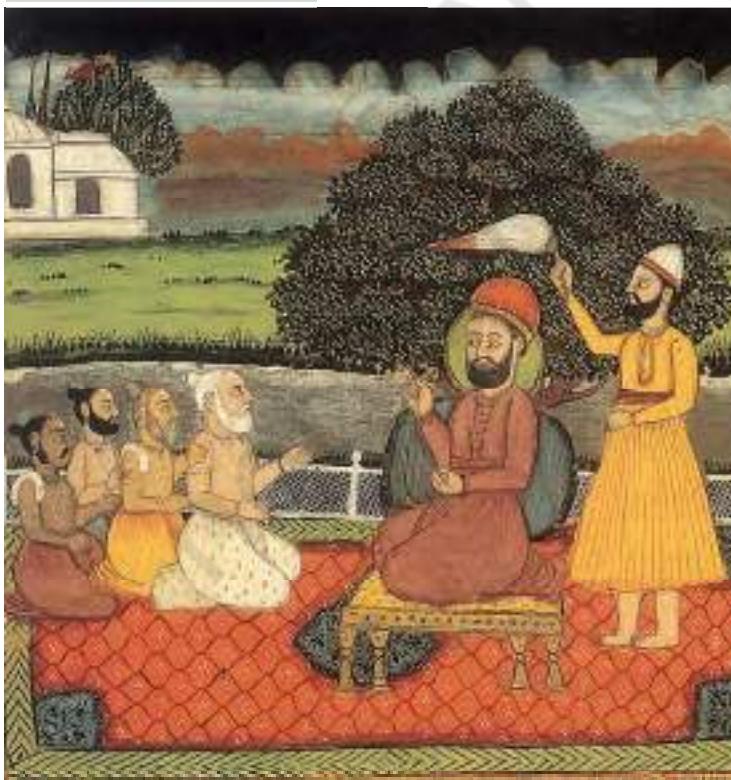
A Closer Look: Baba Guru Nanak

We know more about Baba Guru Nanak (1469-1539) than about Kabir. Born at Talwandi (Nankana Sahib in Pakistan), he travelled widely before establishing a centre at Kartarpur (Dera Baba Nanak on the river Ravi). A regular worship that consisted of the singing of his own hymns was established there for his followers.

Irrespective of their former creed, caste or gender, his followers ate together in the common kitchen (*langar*). The sacred space thus created by Baba Guru Nanak was known as *dharmasal*. It is now known as Gurdwara.

Before his death in 1539, Baba Guru Nanak appointed one of his followers as his successor. His name was Lehna but he came to be known as Guru Angad, signifying that he was a part of Baba Guru Nanak himself. Guru Angad compiled the compositions of Baba Guru Nanak, to which he added his own in

Fig. 10
Baba Guru Nanak as a young man, in discussion with holy men.



a new script known as Gurmukhi. The three successors of Guru Angad also wrote under the name of “Nanak” and all of their compositions were compiled by Guru Arjan in 1604. To this compilation were added the writings of other figures like Shaikh Farid, Sant Kabir, Bhagat Namdev and Guru Tegh Bahadur. In 1706, this compilation was authenticated by Guru Tegh Bahadur’s son and successor, Guru Gobind Singh. It is now known as *Guru Granth Sahib*, the holy scripture of the Sikhs.

The number of Baba Guru Nanak’s followers increased through the sixteenth century under his successors. They belonged to a number of castes but traders, agriculturists, artisans and craftsmen predominated. This may have something to do with Baba Guru Nanak’s insistence that his followers must be householders and should adopt productive and useful occupations. They were also expected to contribute to the general funds of the community of followers.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the town of Ramdaspur (Amritsar) had developed around the central Gurdwara called Harmandar Sahib (Golden Temple). It was virtually self-governing and modern historians refer to the early-seventeenth-century Sikh community as ‘a state within the state’. The Mughal emperor Jahangir looked upon them as a potential threat and he ordered the execution of Guru Arjan in 1606. The Sikh movement began to get politicised in the seventeenth century, a development which culminated in the institution of the *Khalsa* by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699. The community of the Sikhs, called the *Khalsa Panth*, became a political entity.

The changing historical situation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries influenced the development of the Sikh movement. The ideas



Fig. 11
An early manuscript
of the Guru Granth
Sahib.

of Baba Guru Nanak had a huge impact on this development from the very beginning. He emphasised the importance of the worship of one God. He insisted that caste, creed or gender was irrelevant for attaining liberation. His idea of liberation was not that of a state of inert bliss but rather the pursuit of active life with a strong sense of social commitment. He himself used the terms *nam*, *dan* and *isnan* for the essence of his teaching, which actually meant right worship, welfare of others and purity of conduct. His teachings are now remembered as *nam-japna*, *kirt-karna* and *vand-chhakna*, which also underline the importance of right belief and worship, honest living, and helping others. Thus, Baba Guru Nanak's idea of equality had social and political implications. This might partly explain the difference between the history of the followers of Baba Guru Nanak and the history of the followers of the other religious figures of the medieval centuries, like Kabir, Ravidas and Dadu, whose ideas were very similar to those of Baba Guru Nanak.



Imagine

You are attending a meeting where a saint is discussing the caste system. Relate the conversation.

Let's recall

1. Match the following:

The Buddha	<i>namghar</i>
Shankaradeva	worship of Vishnu
Nizamuddin Auliya	questioned social differences
Nayanars	Sufi saint
Alvars	worship of Shiva

2. Fill in the blanks:

- (a) Shankara was an advocate of _____.
- (b) Ramanuja was influenced by the _____.
- (c) _____, _____ and _____ were advocates of Virashaivism.
- (d) _____ was an important centre of the Bhakti tradition in Maharashtra.

3. Describe the beliefs and practices of the Nathpanthis, Siddhas and Yogis.

4. What were the major ideas expressed by Kabir? How did he express these?

Let's understand

5. What were the major beliefs and practices of the Sufis?
6. Why do you think many teachers rejected prevalent religious beliefs and practices?
7. What were the major teachings of Baba Guru Nanak?

Let's discuss

8. For either the Virashaivas or the *sants* of Maharashtra, discuss their attitude towards caste.
9. Why do you think ordinary people preserved the memory of Mirabai?

KEYWORDS

Virashaivism

bhakti

Sufi

khanqah

Let's do

10. Find out whether in your neighbourhood there are any *dargahs*, *gurudwaras* or temples associated with saints of the bhakti tradition in your neighbourhood. Visit any one of these and describe what you see and hear.
11. For any of the saint-poets whose compositions have been included in this chapter, find out more about their works, noting down other poems. Find out whether these are sung, how they are sung, and what the poets wrote about.
12. There are several saint-poets whose names have been mentioned but their works have not been included in the chapter. Find out more about the language in which they composed, whether their compositions were sung, and what their compositions were about.

7 THE MAKING OF REGIONAL CULTURES



One of the commonest ways of describing people is in terms of the language they speak. When we refer to a person as a Tamil or an Oriya, this usually means that he or she speaks Tamil or Oriya and lives in Tamil Nadu or Orissa. We also tend to associate each region with distinctive kinds of food, clothes, poetry, dance, music and painting. Sometimes we take these identities for granted and assume that they have existed from time immemorial. However, the frontiers separating regions have evolved over time (and in fact are still changing). Also, what we understand as regional cultures today are often the product of complex processes of intermixing of local traditions with ideas from other parts of the subcontinent. As we will see, some traditions appear specific to some regions, others seem to be similar across regions, and yet others derive from older practices in a particular area, but take a new form in other regions.

The Cheras and the Development of Malayalam

Let us begin by looking at an example of the connection between language and region. The Chera kingdom of Mahodayapuram was established in the ninth century in the south-western part of the peninsula, part of the present-day Kerala. It is likely that Malayalam was spoken in this area. The rulers introduced the Malayalam language and script in their inscriptions. In fact, this is one of the earliest examples of the use of a regional language in official records in the subcontinent.



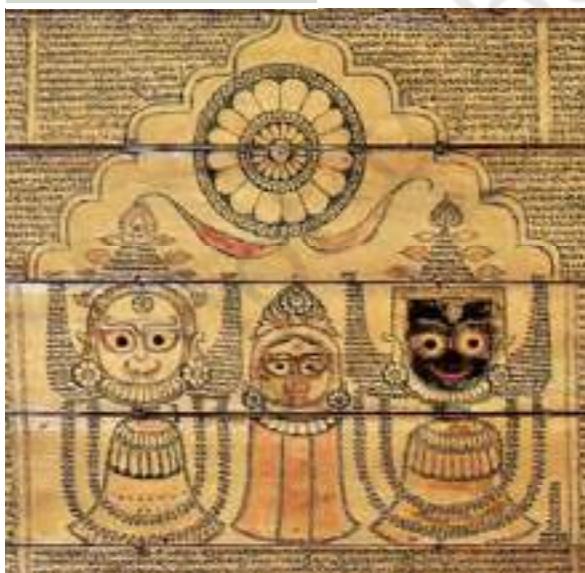
Find out how many states have been created in the last 10 years. Is each of these states a region?

Fig. 1
An early Kerala inscription, composed in Malayalam.



Find out when the language(s) you speak at home were first used for writing.

Fig. 2
The icons of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannatha, palm-leaf manuscript, Orissa.



At the same time, the Cheras also drew upon Sanskritic traditions. The temple theatre of Kerala, which is traced to this period, borrowed stories from the Sanskrit epics. The first literary works in Malayalam, dated to about the twelfth century, are directly indebted to Sanskrit. Interestingly enough, a fourteenth-century text, the *Lilatilakam*, dealing with grammar and poetics, was composed in Manipravalam – literally, “diamonds and corals” referring to the two languages, Sanskrit and the regional language.

Rulers and Religious Traditions: The Jagannatha Cult

In other regions, regional cultures grew around religious traditions. The best example of this process is the cult of Jagannatha (literally, lord of the world, a name for Vishnu) at Puri, Orissa. To date, the local tribal people make the wooden image of the deity, which suggests that the deity was originally a local god, who was later identified with Vishnu.

In the twelfth century, one of the most important rulers of the Ganga dynasty, Anantavarman, decided to erect a temple for Purushottama Jagannatha at Puri. Subsequently, in 1230, king Anangabhima III dedicated his kingdom to the deity and proclaimed himself as the “deputy” of the god.

As the temple gained in importance as a centre of pilgrimage, its authority in social and political matters also increased. All those who conquered Orissa, such as the Mughals, the Marathas and the English East India Company, attempted to gain control over the temple. They felt that this would make their rule acceptable to the local people.

The Rajputs and Traditions of Heroism

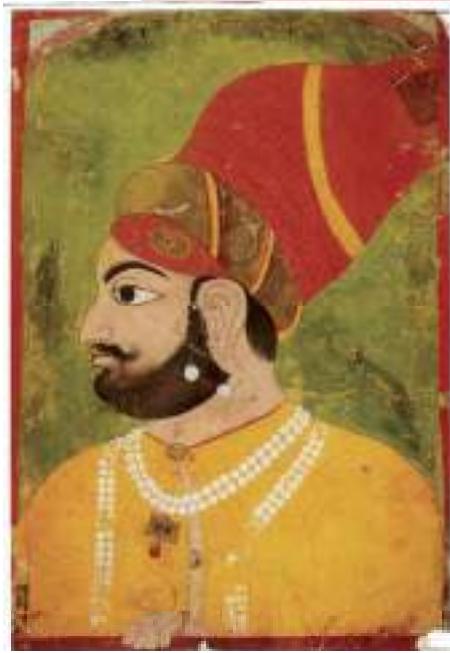
In the nineteenth century, the region that constitutes most of present-day Rajasthan, was called Rajputana by the British. While this may suggest that this was an area that was inhabited only or mainly by Rajputs, this is only partly true. There were (and are) several groups who identify themselves as Rajputs in many areas of northern and central India. And of course, there are several peoples other than Rajputs who live in Rajasthan. However, the Rajputs are often recognised as contributing to the distinctive culture of Rajasthan.

These cultural traditions were closely linked with the ideals and aspirations of rulers. From about the eighth century, most of the present-day state of Rajasthan was ruled by various Rajput families. Prithviraj (Chapter 2) was one such ruler. These rulers cherished the ideal of the hero who fought valiantly, often choosing death on the battlefield rather than face defeat. Stories about Rajput heroes were recorded in poems and songs, which were recited by specially trained minstrels.



Fig. 3
Jagannatha temple, Puri.

Fig. 4
Prince Raj Singh of Bikaner.



These preserved the memories of heroes and were expected to inspire others to follow their example. Ordinary people were also attracted by these stories – which often depicted dramatic situations, and a range of strong emotions – loyalty, friendship, love, valour, anger, etc.

Did women find a place within these stories? Sometimes women are depicted as following their heroic husbands in both life and death – there are stories about the practice of *sati* or the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. So those who followed the heroic ideal often had to pay for it with their lives.

Map 1
Regions discussed in this chapter.



Beyond Regional Frontiers: The Story of Kathak

If heroic traditions can be found in different regions in different forms, the same is true of dance. Let us look at the history of one dance form, Kathak, now associated with several parts of north India. The term *kathak* is derived from *katha*, a word used in Sanskrit and other languages for story. The *kathaks* were originally a caste of story-tellers in temples of north India, who embellished their performances with gestures and songs. Kathak began evolving into a distinct mode of dance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the spread of the bhakti movement. The legends of Radha-Krishna were enacted in folk plays called *rasa lila*, which combined folk dance with the basic gestures of the *kathak* story-tellers.

Under the Mughal emperors and their nobles, Kathak was performed in the court, where it acquired its present features and developed into a form of dance with a distinctive style. Subsequently, it developed in two traditions or *gharanas*: one in the courts of Rajasthan (Jaipur) and the other in Lucknow. Under the patronage of Wajid Ali Shah, the last Nawab of Awadh, it grew into a major art form. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, it was firmly entrenched as a dance form not only in these two regions, but in the adjoining areas of present-day Punjab, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir,



Find out whether there are traditions of heroes/heroinies in your town or village. What are the qualities associated with them? In what ways are these similar to or different from the heroic ideals of the Rajputs?

Fig. 5
*Dance class,
Lakshmana temple,
Khajuraho.*

CLASSICAL
Historically, the term refers to the great works of art and literature, which had been produced in ancient Greece during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. This was also the period when Greece witnessed the rise of Athens to a pre-eminent position that culminated in the spectacular conquests of Alexander in the near and Middle East up to the frontiers of India.

Source-
Dictionary of History for Schools (Trilingual), 2017, NCERT

Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Emphasis was laid on intricate and rapid footwork, elaborate costumes, as well as on the enactment of stories.

Kathak, like several other cultural practices, was viewed with disfavour by most British administrators in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, it survived and continued to be performed by courtesans, and was recognised as one of the six “classical” forms of dance in the country after independence.

“Classical” dances

The question of defining any art form as “classical” is often quite complicated. Do we define something as classical if it deals with a religious theme? Or do we consider it classical because it appears to require a great deal of skill acquired through long years of training? Or is it classical because it is performed according to rules that are laid down, and variations are not encouraged? These are questions we need to think about. It is worth remembering that many dance forms that are classified as “folk” also share several of the characteristics considered typical of “classical” forms. So, while the use of the term “classical” may suggest that these forms are superior, this need not always be literally true.

Other dance forms that are recognised as classical at present are:

Bharatanatyam
(Tamil Nadu)

Kathakali (Kerala)

Odissi (Odisha)

Kuchipudi (Andhra Pradesh)

Manipuri (Manipur)



Fig. 6
Kathak dancers, a court painting.

Find out more about any one of these dance forms.

Painting for Patrons: The Tradition of Miniatures

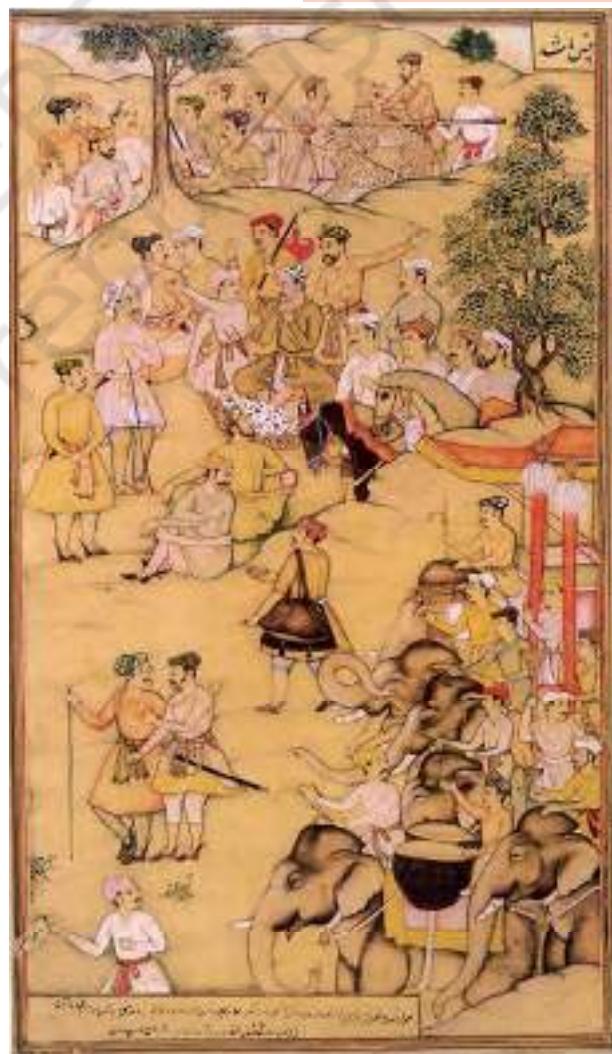
Another tradition that developed in different ways was that of miniature painting. Miniatures (as their very name suggests) are small-sized paintings, generally done in water colour on cloth or paper. The earliest miniatures were on palm leaves or wood. Some of the most beautiful of these, found in western India, were used to illustrate Jaina texts. The Mughal emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan patronised highly skilled painters who primarily illustrated manuscripts containing historical accounts and poetry. These were generally painted in brilliant colours and portrayed court scenes, scenes of battle or hunting, and other aspects of social life. They were often exchanged as gifts and were viewed only by an exclusive few – the emperor and his close associates.

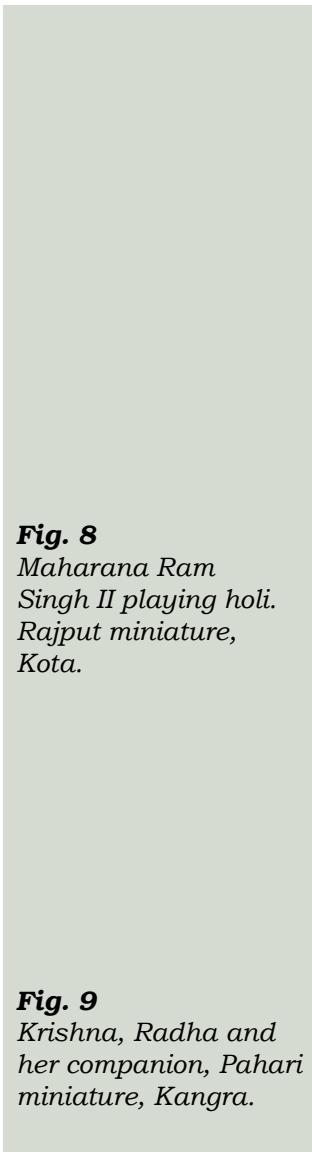
With the decline of the Mughal Empire, many painters moved out to the courts of the emerging regional states (see also Chapter 8). As a result Mughal artistic tastes influenced the regional courts of the Deccan and the Rajput courts of Rajasthan. At the same time, they retained and developed their distinctive characteristics. Portraits of rulers and court scenes came to be painted, following the Mughal example. Besides, themes from mythology and poetry were depicted at centres such as Mewar, Jodhpur, Bundi, Kota and Kishangarh.

Another region that attracted miniature paintings was the Himalayan foothills around the modern-day state of Himachal Pradesh. By the late seventeenth



Fig. 7
Akbar resting during a hunt, Mughal miniature.





century, this region had developed a bold and intense style of miniature painting called Basohli. The most popular text to be painted here was Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari*. Nadir Shah's invasion and the conquest of Delhi in 1739 resulted in the migration of Mughal artists to the hills to escape the uncertainties of the plains. Here they found ready patrons which led to the founding of the Kangra school of painting. By the mid-eighteenth century the Kangra artists developed a style which breathed a new spirit into miniature painting. The source of inspiration was the Vaishnavite traditions. Soft colours including cool blues and greens, and a lyrical treatment of themes distinguished Kangra painting.

Remember that ordinary women and men painted as well — on pots, walls, floors, cloth — works of art that have

occasionally survived, unlike the miniatures that were carefully preserved in palaces for centuries.

A Closer Look: Bengal

The Growth of a Regional Language

As we saw at the outset, we often tend to identify regions in terms of the language spoken by the people. So, we assume that people in Bengal always spoke Bengali. However, what is interesting is that while Bengali is now recognised as a language derived from Sanskrit, early Sanskrit texts (mid-first millennium BCE) suggest that the people of Bengal did not speak Sanskritic languages. How, then, did the new language emerge?

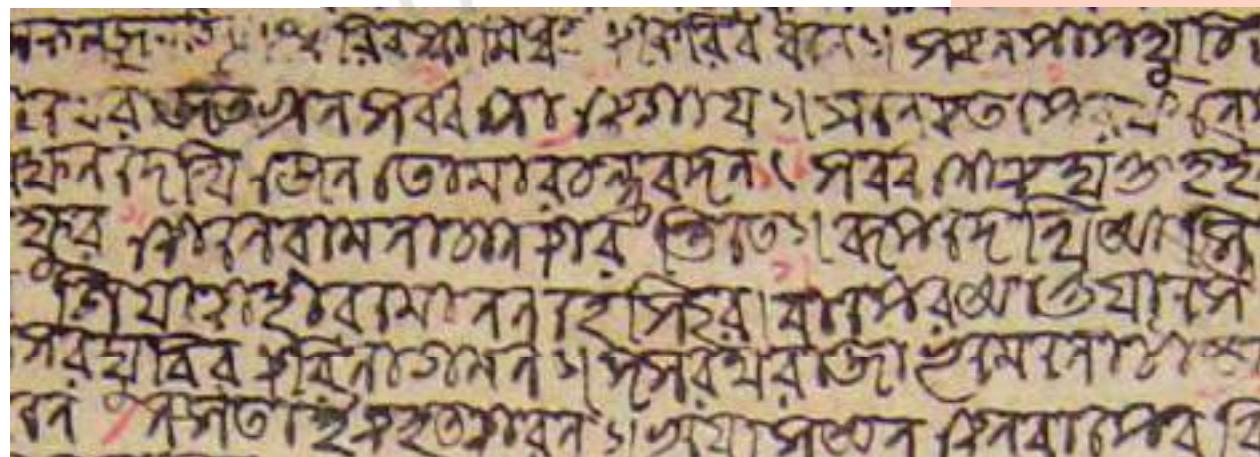
From the fourth-third centuries BCE, commercial ties began to develop between Bengal and Magadha (south Bihar), which may have led to the growing influence of Sanskrit. During the fourth century, the Gupta rulers established political control over north Bengal and began to settle Brahmanas in this area. Thus, the linguistic and cultural influence from the mid-Ganga valley became stronger. In the seventh century, the Chinese traveller Xuan Zang observed that languages related to Sanskrit were in use all over Bengal.

From the eighth century, Bengal became the centre of a regional kingdom under the Palas (Chapter 2). Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Bengal was ruled by Sultans who were independent of the rulers in Delhi (Chapter 3). In 1586, when Akbar



Fig. 10

A page from a palm-leaf manuscript of the earliest Bengali Ramayana.



conquered Bengal, it formed the nucleus of the Bengal *suba*. While Persian was the language of administration, Bengali developed as a regional language.

In fact, by the fifteenth century the Bengali group of dialects came to be united by a common literary language based on the spoken language of the western part of the region, now known as West Bengal. Thus, although Bengali is derived from Sanskrit, it passed through several stages of evolution. Also, a wide range of non-Sanskrit words, derived from a variety of sources including tribal languages, Persian, and European languages, have become a part of modern Bengali.

Early Bengali literature may be divided into two categories – one indebted to Sanskrit and the other independent of it. The first includes translations of the Sanskrit epics, the *Mangalakavyas* (literally auspicious poems, dealing with local deities) and *bhakti* literature, such as the biographies of Chaitanyaadeva, the leader of the Vaishnava *bhakti* movement (Chapter 6).

The second includes *Nath* literature, such as the songs of Maynamati and Gopichandra, stories concerning the worship of Dharma Thakur, and fairy tales, folk tales and ballads.

Maynamati, Gopichandra and Dharma Thakur

The *Naths* were ascetics who engaged in a variety of yogic practices.

This particular song, which was often enacted, described how Maynamati, a queen, encouraged her son Gopichandra to adopt the path of asceticism in the face of a variety of obstacles.

Dharma Thakur is a popular regional deity, often worshipped in the form of a stone or a piece of wood.

The texts belonging to the first category are easier to date, as several manuscripts have been found indicating that they were composed between the

late fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. Those belonging to the second category circulated orally and cannot be precisely dated. They were particularly popular in eastern Bengal, where the influence of Brahmanas was relatively weak.

Pirs and Temples

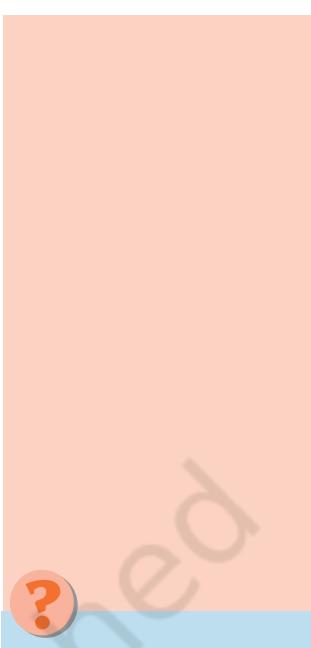
From the sixteenth century, people began to migrate in large numbers from the less fertile western Bengal to the forested and marshy areas of south-eastern Bengal. As they moved eastwards, they cleared forests and brought the land under rice cultivation. Gradually, local communities of fisherfolk and shifting cultivators, often tribals, merged with the new communities of peasants.

This coincided with the establishment of Mughal control over Bengal with their capital in the heart of the eastern delta at Dhaka. Officials and functionaries received land and often set up mosques that served as centres for religious transformation in these areas.

The early settlers sought some order and assurance in the unstable conditions of the new settlements. These were provided by community leaders, who also functioned as teachers and adjudicators and were sometimes ascribed with supernatural powers. People referred to them with affection and respect as *pirs*.

This term included saints or Sufis and other religious personalities, daring colonisers and deified soldiers, various Hindu and Buddhist deities and even **animistic** spirits. The cult of *pirs* became very popular and their shrines can be found everywhere in Bengal.

Bengal also witnessed a temple-building spree from the late fifteenth century, which culminated in the nineteenth century. We have seen (Chapter 2) that temples and other religious structures were often built by individuals or groups who were becoming powerful – to both demonstrate their power and proclaim their piety. Many of the modest brick



Why do you think the second category of texts was not written down?

Pir

A Persian word meaning a spiritual guide.

Animism

Attribution of living soul to plants, inanimate objects, and natural phenomena.



Compare the temple shown here with that in Chapter 2.

Fig. 11 (left)
A double-roofed
thatched hut.

Fig. 12 (right)
A four-roofed temple
with a tower.

and terracotta temples in Bengal were built with the support of several “low” social groups, such as the Kolu (oil pressers) and the Kansari (bell metal workers). The coming of the European trading companies created new economic opportunities; many families belonging to these social groups availed of these. As their social and economic position improved, they proclaimed their status through the construction of temples. When local deities, once worshipped in thatched huts in villages, gained the recognition of the Brahmanas, their images began to be housed in temples. The temples began to copy the double-roofed (*dochala*) or four-roofed (*chauchala*) structure of the thatched huts. This led to the evolution of the typical Bengali style in temple architecture.

In the comparatively more complex four-roofed structure, four triangular roofs placed on the four walls move up to converge on a curved line or a point. Temples were usually built on a square platform. The interior was relatively plain, but the outer walls of many temples were decorated with paintings, ornamental tiles or terracotta tablets. In some temples, particularly in Vishnupur in the Bankura district of West Bengal, such decorations reached a high degree of excellence.





Fig. 13

Krishna with gopis, terracotta plaque from the Shyamaraya temple, Vishnupur.

Fish as Food

Traditional food habits are generally based on locally available items of food. Bengal is a riverine plain which produces plenty of rice and fish. Understandably, these two items figure prominently in the menu of even poor Bengalis. Fishing has always been an important occupation and Bengali literature contains several references to fish. What is more, terracotta plaques on the walls of temples and *viharas* (Buddhist monasteries) depict scenes of fish being dressed and taken to the market in baskets.

Brahmanas were not allowed to eat non-vegetarian food, but the popularity of fish in the local diet made the Brahmanical authorities relax this prohibition for the Bengal Brahmanas. The *Brihaddharma Purana*, a thirteenth-century Sanskrit text from Bengal, permitted the local Brahmanas to eat certain varieties of fish.

Fig. 14

Fish being dressed for domestic consumption, terracotta plaque from the Vishalakshi temple, Arambagh.





You are a Rajput prince. How would you like your story to be told?

Let's recall

1. Match the following:

Anantavarman	Kerala
Jagannatha	Bengal
Mahodayapuram	Orissa
<i>Lilatilakam</i>	Kangra
Mangalakavya	Puri
Miniature	Kerala

2. What is Manipravalam? Name a book written in that language.
3. Who were the major patrons of Kathak?
4. What are the important architectural features of the temples of Bengal?

Let's discuss

5. Why did minstrels proclaim the achievements of heroes?
6. Why do we know much more about the cultural practices of rulers than about those of ordinary people?
7. Why did conquerors try to control the temple of Jagannatha at Puri?
8. Why were temples built in Bengal?

Let's do

9. Describe the most important features of the culture of your region, focusing on buildings, performing arts and painting.
10. Do you use different languages for (a) speaking, (b) reading, (c) writing? Find out about one major composition in language that you use and discuss why you find it interesting.
11. Choose one state each from north, west, south, east and central India. For each of these, prepare a list of foods that are commonly consumed, highlighting any differences and similarities that you notice.
12. Choose another set of five states from each of these regions and prepare a list of clothes that are generally worn by women and men in each. Discuss your findings.

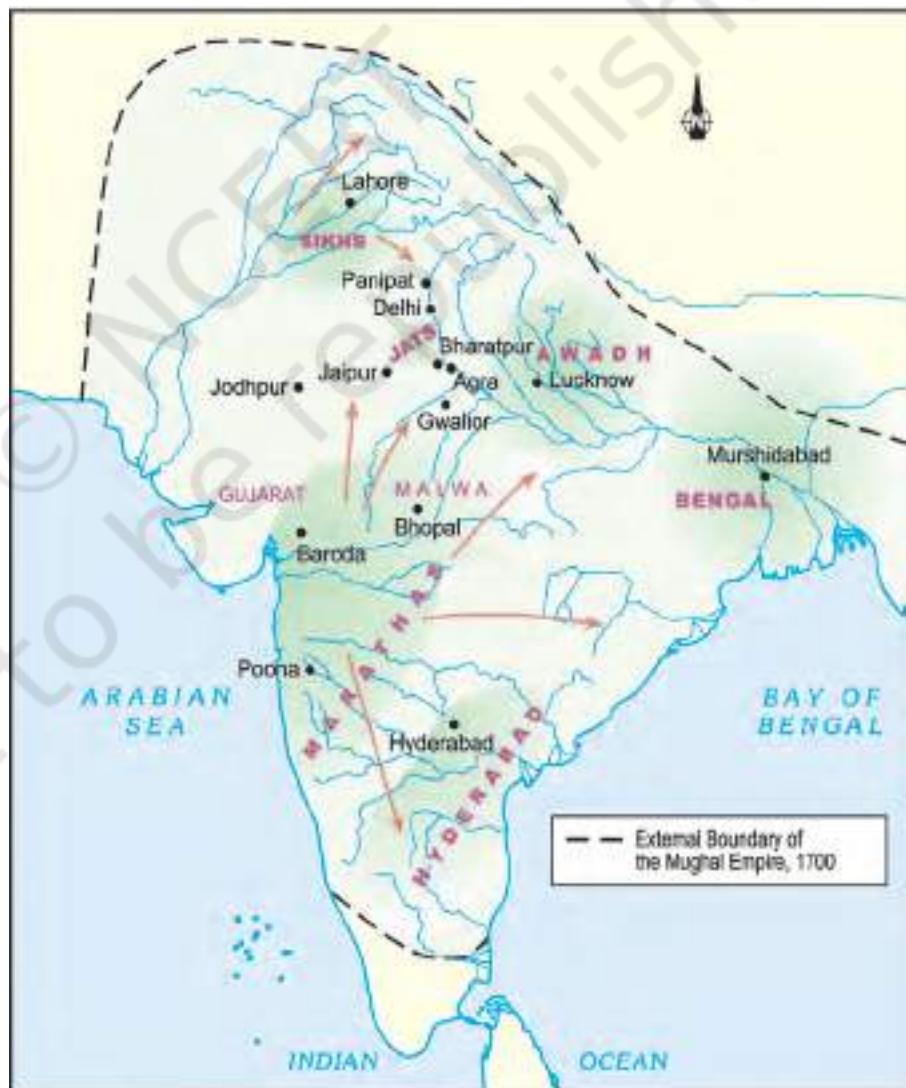


Map 1

State formations in the eighteenth century.

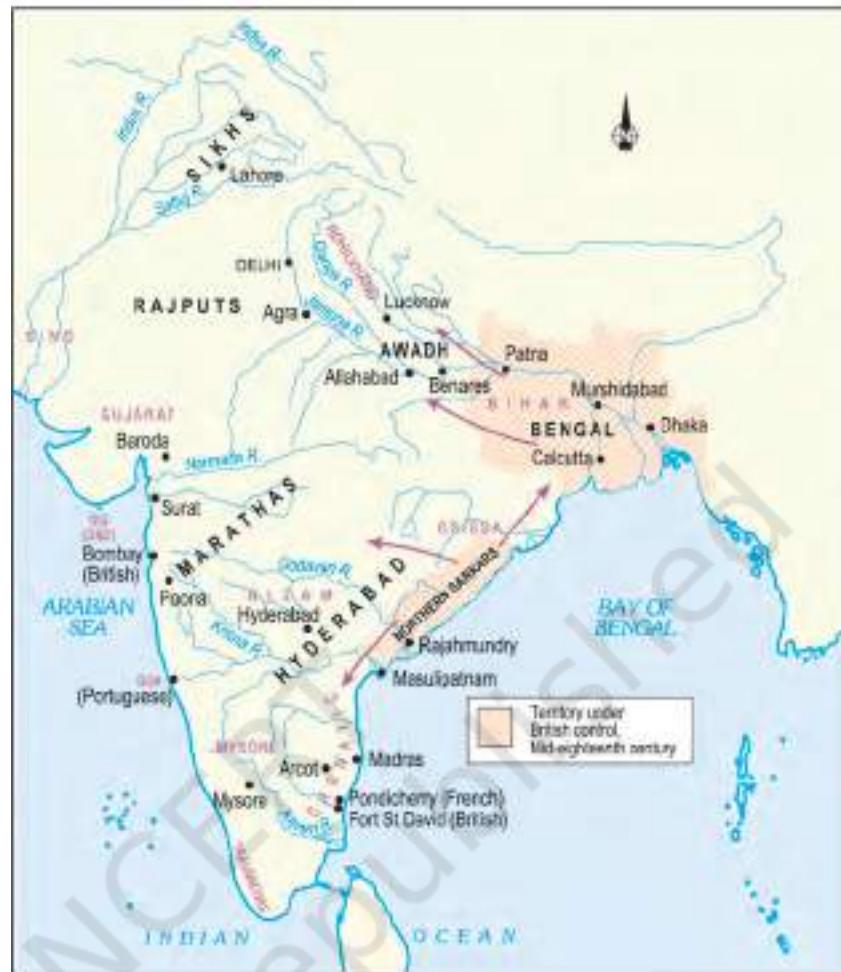
8 EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL FORMATIONS

If you look at Maps 1 and 2 closely, you will see something significant happening in the subcontinent during the first half of the eighteenth century. Notice how the boundaries of the Mughal Empire were reshaped by the emergence of a number of independent



kingdoms. By 1765, notice how another power, the British, had successfully grabbed major chunks of territory in eastern India. What these maps tell us is that political conditions in eighteenth-century India changed quite dramatically and within a relatively short span of time.

In this chapter, we will read about the emergence of new political groups in the subcontinent during the first half of the eighteenth century – roughly from 1707, when Aurangzeb died, till the third battle of Panipat in 1761.



Map 2
British territories in the mid-eighteenth century.

The Crisis of the Empire and the Later Mughals

In Chapter 4, you saw how the Mughal Empire reached the height of its success and started facing a variety of crises towards the closing years of the seventeenth century. These were caused by a number of factors. Emperor Aurangzeb had depleted the military and financial resources of his empire by fighting a long war in the Deccan.

Under his successors, the efficiency of the imperial administration broke down. It became increasingly difficult for the later Mughal emperors to keep a check on their powerful *mansabdars*. Nobles appointed as governors (*subadars*) often controlled the offices



See Chapter 4, Table 1. Which group of people challenged Mughal authority for the longest time in Aurangzeb's reign?

of revenue and military administration (*diwani* and *faujdari*) as well. This gave them extraordinary political, economic and military powers over vast regions of the Mughal Empire. As the governors consolidated their control over the provinces, the periodic remission of revenue to the capital declined.

Peasant and zamindari rebellions in many parts of northern and western India added to these problems. These revolts were sometimes caused by the pressures of mounting taxes. At other times they were attempts by powerful chieftains to consolidate their own positions. Mughal authority had been challenged by rebellious groups in the past as well. But these groups were now able to seize the economic resources of the region to consolidate their positions. The Mughal emperors after Aurangzeb were unable to arrest the gradual shifting of political and economic authority into the hands of provincial governors, local chieftains and other groups.

Rich harvests and empty coffers

The following is a contemporary writer's account of the financial bankruptcy of the empire:

The great lords are helpless and impoverished. Their peasants raise two crops a year, but their lords see nothing of either, and their agents on the spot are virtual prisoners in the peasants' hands, like a peasant kept in his creditor's house until he can pay his debt. So complete is the collapse of all order and administration that though the peasant reaps a harvest of gold, his lord does not see so much as a wisp of straw. How then can the lord keep the armed force he should? How can he pay the soldiers who should go before him when he goes out, or the horsemen who should ride behind him?

In the midst of this economic and political crisis, the ruler of Iran, Nadir Shah, sacked and plundered the city of Delhi in 1739 and took away immense amounts of wealth. This invasion was followed by a series of plundering raids by the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali, who invaded north India five times between 1748 and 1761.

Nadir Shah attacks Delhi

The devastation of Delhi after Nadir Shah's invasion was described by contemporary observers. One described the wealth looted from the Mughal treasury as follows:

sixty lakhs of rupees and some thousand gold coins, nearly one crore worth of gold-ware, nearly fifty crores worth of jewels, most of them unrivalled in the world, and the above included the Peacock throne.

Another account described the invasion's impact upon Delhi:

(those) ... who had been masters were now in dire straits; and those who had been revered couldn't even (get water to) quench their thirst. The recluses were pulled out of their corners. The wealthy were turned into beggars. Those who once set the style in clothes now went naked; and those who owned property were now homeless ... The New City (Shahjahanabad) was turned into rubble. (Nadir Shah) then attacked the Old quarters of the city and destroyed a whole world that existed there ...



Fig. 1
A 1779 portrait of Nadir Shah.

Already under severe pressure from all sides, the empire was further weakened by competition amongst different groups of nobles. They were divided into two major groups or factions, the Iranis and Turanis (nobles of Turkish descent). For a long time, the later Mughal emperors were puppets in the hands of either



Fig. 2

Farrukh Siyar receiving a noble in court.

Many Rajput rulers had accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals but Mewar was the only Rajput state which defied Mughal authority. Rana Pratap ascended the throne at Mewar in 1572, with Udaipur and large part of Mewar under his control. A series of envoys were sent to the Rana to persuade him to accept Mughal suzerainty, but he stood his ground.

one or the other of these two powerful groups. The worst possible humiliation came when two Mughal emperors, Farrukh Siyar (1713–1719) and Alamgir II (1754–1759) were assassinated, and two others, Ahmad Shah (1748–1754) and Shah Alam II (1759–1816) were blinded by their nobles.

With the decline in the authority of the Mughal emperors, the governors of large provinces, *subadars*, and the great zamindars consolidated their authority in different parts of the subcontinent, such as Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad.

The Rajputs

Many Rajput kings, particularly those belonging to Amber and Jodhpur, had served under the Mughals with distinction. In exchange, they were permitted to enjoy considerable autonomy in their *watan jagirs*. In the eighteenth century, these rulers now attempted to extend their control over adjacent regions. Ajit Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur, was also involved in the factional politics at the Mughal court.

These influential Rajput families claimed the *subadari* of the rich provinces of Gujarat and Malwa. Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur held the governorship of Gujarat and Sawai Raja Jai Singh of Amber was the governor of Malwa. These offices were renewed by Emperor Jahandar Shah in 1713. They also tried to extend their territories by seizing portions of imperial territories neighbouring their *watans*. Nagaur was conquered and annexed to the house of Jodhpur, while Amber seized large portions of Bundi. Sawai Raja Jai Singh founded his new capital at Jaipur and was given the *subadari* of Agra in 1722. Maratha campaigns into Rajasthan from the 1740s put severe pressure on these principalities and checked their further expansion.

Many Rajput chieftains built a number of forts on hill tops which became the centres of power. With extensive fortifications, these majestic structures housed urban centres, palaces, temples, trading centres, water harvesting structures and other buildings. The Chittorgarh fort contained many water bodies varying from talabs (ponds) to kundis (wells), baolis (stepwells), etc.



Fig. 3
Chittorgarh Fort, Rajasthan

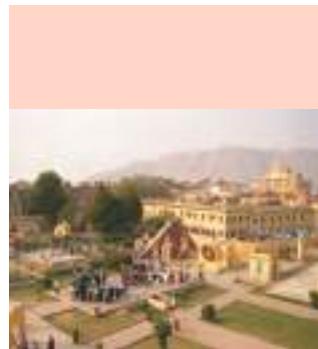


Fig. 4
Jantar Mantar in
Jaipur

Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur

A description of Raja Jai Singh in a Persian account of 1732:

Raja Jai Singh was at the height of his power. He was the governor of Agra for 12 years and of Malwa for 5 or 6 years. He possessed a large army, artillery and great wealth. His sway extended from Delhi to the banks of the Narmada.



Fig. 5 Mehrangarh Fort, Jodhpur

Sawai Jai Singh, the ruler of Amber constructed five astronomical observatories, one each in Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura and Varanasi. Commonly known as Jantar Mantar, these observatories had various instruments to study heavenly bodies.

Seizing Independence



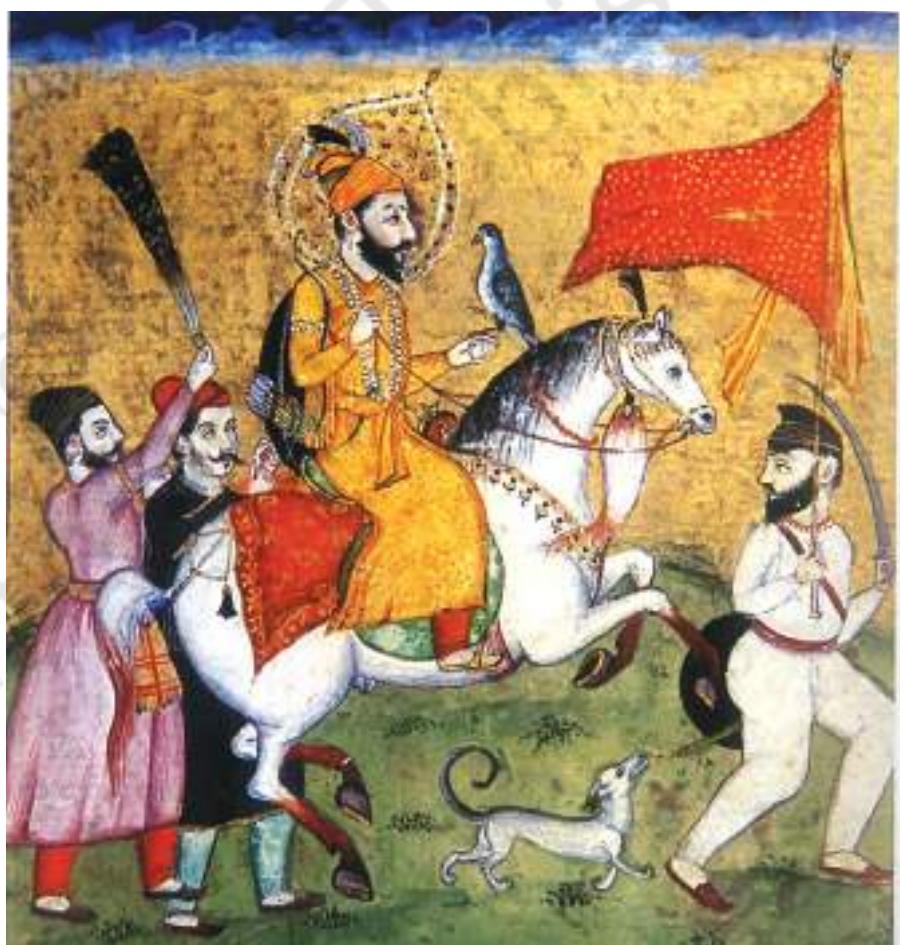
What is the *Khalsa*? Do you recall reading about it in Chapter 6?

The Sikhs

The organisation of the Sikhs into a political community during the seventeenth century (see Chapter 6) helped in regional state-building in the Punjab. Several battles were fought by Guru Gobind Singh against the Rajput and Mughal rulers, both before and after the institution of the *Khalsa* in 1699. After his death in 1708, the *Khalsa* rose in revolt against the Mughal authority under Banda Bahadur's leadership, declared their sovereign rule by striking coins in the name of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, and established their own administration between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. Banda Bahadur was captured in 1715 and executed in 1716.



Fig. 6
Sword of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.



century, the Sikhs organised themselves into a number of bands called *jathas*, and later on *misls*. Their combined forces were known as the grand army (*dal khalsa*). The entire body used to meet at Amritsar at the time of Baisakhi and Diwali to take collective decisions known as “resolutions of the Guru (*gurmatas*)”. A system called *rakhi* was introduced, offering protection to cultivators on the payment of a tax of 20 per cent of the produce.

Guru Gobind Singh had inspired the *Khalsa* with the belief that their destiny was to rule (*raj karega khalsa*). Their well-knit organisation enabled them to put up a successful resistance to the Mughal governors first and then to Ahmad Shah Abdali who had seized the rich province of the Punjab and the Sarkar of Sirhind from the Mughals. The *Khalsa* declared their sovereign rule by striking their own coin again in 1765. Significantly, this coin bore the same inscription as the one on the orders issued by the *Khalsa* in the time of Banda Bahadur.

The Sikh territories in the late eighteenth century extended from the Indus to the Jamuna but they were divided under different rulers. One of them, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, reunited these groups and established his capital at Lahore in 1799.

The Marathas

The Maratha kingdom was established by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj (1630). The Maratha kingdom was another powerful regional kingdom to arise out of a sustained opposition to Mughal rule. Shivaji (1630–1680) carved out a stable kingdom with the support of powerful warrior families (*deshmukhs*). Groups of highly mobile, peasant-pastoralists (*kunbis*) provided the backbone of the Maratha army. Shivaji used these forces to challenge the Mughals in the peninsula. After Shivaji's death, effective power in the Maratha state was wielded by a family of Chitpavan Brahmanas who served Shivaji's successors as Peshwa (or principal minister). Poona became the capital of the Maratha kingdom.



Fig. 7
Portrait of Shivaji

Towards the end of the 17th century, a powerful state started emerging in the Deccan under the leadership of Shivaji which finally led to the establishment of the Maratha state. Shivaji was born to Shahji and Jija Bai at Shivneri in 1630. Under the guidance of his mother and his guardian Dada Konddev, Shivaji embarked on a career of conquest at a young age. The occupation of Javli made him the undisputed leader of the Mawala highlands which paved the way for further expansion. His exploits against the forces of Bijapur and the Mughals made him a legendary figure. He often resorted to guerrilla warfare against his opponents. By introducing an efficient administrative system supported by a revenue collection method based on chauth and sardeshmukhi, he laid the foundations of a strong Maratha state.

Chhatrapati Shivaji
Maharaj (1630-
1680)
Chhatrapati
Sambhaji (1681-
1689)
Chhatrapati
Rajaram (1689-
1700)
Maharani Tarabai
(1700-1761)
Shahu Maharaj
(Son of Sambhaji)
(1682-1749)

Source:
R. C. MAJUMDAR,
2007. The Mughal
Empire, Mumbai.

Baji Rao I, also known as Baji Rao Ballal was the son of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. He was a great Maratha general who is credited to have expanded the Maratha kingdom beyond the Vindhyas and is known for his military campaigns against Malwa, Bundelkhand, Gujarat and the Portuguese.

Chauth
25 per cent of the land revenue claimed by zamindars. In the Deccan, this was collected by the Marathas.

Under the Peshwas, the Marathas developed a very successful military organisation. Their success lay in bypassing the fortified areas of the Mughals, by raiding cities and by engaging Mughal armies in areas where their supply lines and reinforcements could be easily disturbed.

Between 1720 and 1761, the Maratha empire expanded. It gradually chipped away at the authority of the Mughal Empire. Malwa and Gujarat were seized from the Mughals by the 1720s. By the 1730s, the Maratha king was recognised as the overlord of the entire Deccan peninsula. He possessed the right to levy **chauth** and **sardeshmukhi** in the entire region.

After raiding Delhi in 1737, the frontiers of Maratha domination expanded rapidly: into Rajasthan and the Punjab in the north; into Bengal and Orissa in the east; and into Karnataka and the Tamil and Telugu countries in the South (see Map 1). These were not formally included in the Maratha empire, but were made to pay tribute as a way of accepting Maratha sovereignty. Expansion brought enormous resources, but it came at a price. These military campaigns also made other rulers hostile towards the Marathas. As a result, they were not inclined to support the Marathas during the third battle of Panipat in 1761.

Alongside endless military campaigns, the Marathas developed an effective administrative system as well. Once conquest had been completed and Maratha rule was secure, revenue demands were gradually introduced taking local conditions into account. Agriculture was encouraged and trade revived. This allowed Maratha chiefs (*sardars*) like Sindhia of Gwalior, Gaekwad of Baroda and Bhonsle of Nagpur the resources to raise powerful armies. Maratha campaigns into Malwa in the 1720s did not challenge the growth and prosperity of the cities in the region. Ujjain expanded under Sindhia's patronage and Indore under Holkar's. By all accounts, these cities were large and prosperous and functioned as important commercial and cultural centres. New trade routes emerged within the areas controlled by the Marathas. The silk produced in the Chanderi region now found a new outlet in Poona, the Maratha capital. Burhanpur which had earlier

participated in the trade between Agra and Surat now expanded its hinterland to include Poona and Nagpur in the South and Lucknow and Allahabad in the East.

The Jats

Like the other states, the Jats consolidated their power during the late seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries. Under their leader, Churaman, they acquired control over territories situated to the west of the city of Delhi, and by the 1680s, they had begun dominating the region between the two imperial cities of Delhi and Agra. For a while, they became the virtual custodians of the city of Agra.

The Jats were prosperous agriculturists, and towns like Panipat and Ballabghar became important trading centres in the areas dominated by them. Under Suraj Mal the kingdom of Bharatpur emerged as a strong state. When Nadir Shah sacked Delhi in 1739, many of the city's notables took refuge there. His son Jawahir Shah had 30,000 troops of his own and hired another 20,000 Maratha and 15,000 Sikh troops to fight the Mughals.

While the Bharatpur fort was built in a fairly traditional style, at Dig the Jats built an elaborate garden palace combining styles seen at Amber and Agra. Its buildings were modelled on architectural forms first associated with royalty under Shah Jahan.



Sardeshmukhi

9–10 per cent of the land revenue paid to the head revenue collector in the Deccan.

The power of the Jats reached its zenith under Suraj Mal who consolidated the Jat state at Bharatpur (in present day Rajasthan) during 1756–1763. The areas under the political control of Suraj Mal broadly included parts of modern eastern Rajasthan, southern Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. Suraj Mal built a number of forts and palaces and the famous Lohagarh fort in Bharatpur is regarded as one of the strongest forts built in this region.

Fig. 8

Eighteenth-century palace complex at Dig. Note the "Bangla dome" on the assembly hall on the roof of the building.

Imagine



You are a ruler of an eighteenth-century kingdom. Tell us about the steps you would take to make your position strong in your province, and what opposition or problems you might face while doing so.

Let's recall

KEYWORDS

▼
subadari
dal khalsa
misl
faujdari
ijaradari
chauth
sardeshmukhi

1. State whether true or false:

- (a) Nadir Shah invaded Bengal.
- (b) Sawai Raja Jai Singh was the ruler of Indore.
- (c) Guru Gobind Singh was the tenth Guru of the Sikhs.
- (d) Poona became the capital of the Marathas in the eighteenth century.

Let's discuss

2. How were the Sikhs organised in the eighteenth century?
3. Why did the Marathas want to expand beyond the Deccan?
4. Do you think merchants and bankers today have the kind of influence they had in the eighteenth century?
5. Did any of the kingdoms mentioned in this chapter develop in your state? If so, in what ways do you think life in the state would have been different in the eighteenth century from what it is in the twenty-first century?

Let's do

6. Collect popular tales about-rulers from any one of the following groups of people: the Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs or Marathas.

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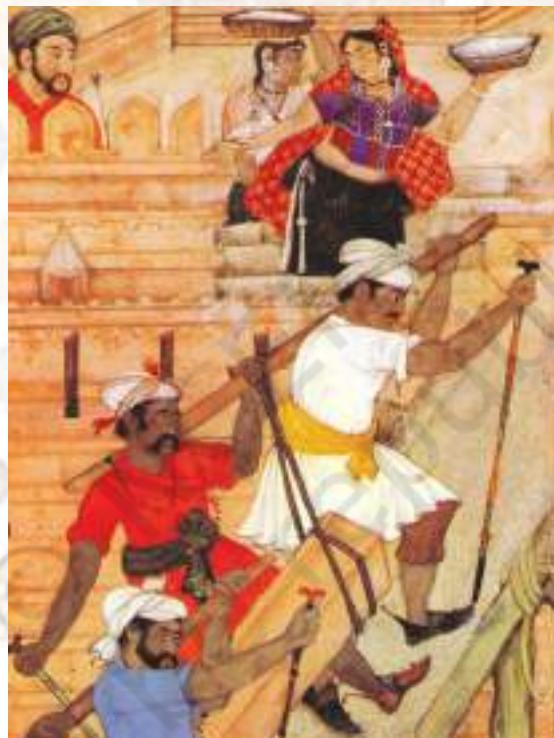
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FOREWORD

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).

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Each of these themes will also allow you to have a closer look at the historians' craft. To retrieve the past, historians have to find sources that make the past accessible. But sources do not just reveal the past; historians have to grapple with sources, interpret them, and make them speak. This is what makes history exciting. The same sources can tell us new things if we ask new questions, and engage with them in new ways. So we need to see how historians read sources, and how they discover new things in old sources.

But historians do not only re-examine old records. They discover new ones. Sometimes these could be chance discoveries. Archaeologists may unexpectedly come across seals and mounds that provide clues to the existence of a site of an ancient civilisation. Rummaging through the dusty records of a district collectorate a

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In fact when historians begin to ask new questions, explore new themes, they have to often search for new types of sources. If we wish to know about revolutionaries and rebels, official sources can reveal only a partial picture, one that will be shaped by official censure and prejudice. We need to look for other sources – diaries of rebels, their personal letters, their writings and pronouncements. And these are not always easy to come by. If we have to understand experiences of people, then oral sources might reveal more than written sources.

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This is Part II, of *Themes in Indian History*. Part III will follow.

NEELADRI BHATTACHARYA
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Finally, we look forward to feedback from the users of the book, which will help us improve it in subsequent editions.

The review committee members for the rationalisation of the content of this textbook are Umesh Ashok Kadam, centre for Historical studies, JNU, New Delhi; Svaril Kumar Singh, PGT History, Kendriya Vidyalaya; Krishna Ranjan, PGT History, Kedriya Vidalaya; Archana Verma, Dept. of History Hindu College, University of Delhi; Shruti Mishra, PGT History, HoD, History, Delhi Public School; Gouri Srivastava, Head, DESS; Pratyusa Khandal, DESS, NCERT; Mily Roy Anand, Seema S. Ojha, Sharad K. Pandey, DESS, NCERT.

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CONTENTS



PART II

THEME FIVE

- THROUGH THE EYES OF TRAVELLERS **115**
Perceptions of Society
(c. tenth to seventeenth century)

THEME SIX

- BHAKTI-SUFI TRADITIONS **140**
Changes in Religious Beliefs
and Devotional Texts
(c. eighth to eighteenth century)

THEME SEVEN

- AN IMPERIAL CAPITAL: VIJAYANAGARA **170**
(c. fourteenth to sixteenth century)

THEME EIGHT

- PEASANTS, ZAMINDARS AND THE STATE **196**
Agrarian Society and the Mughal Empire
(c. sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)

PART III*

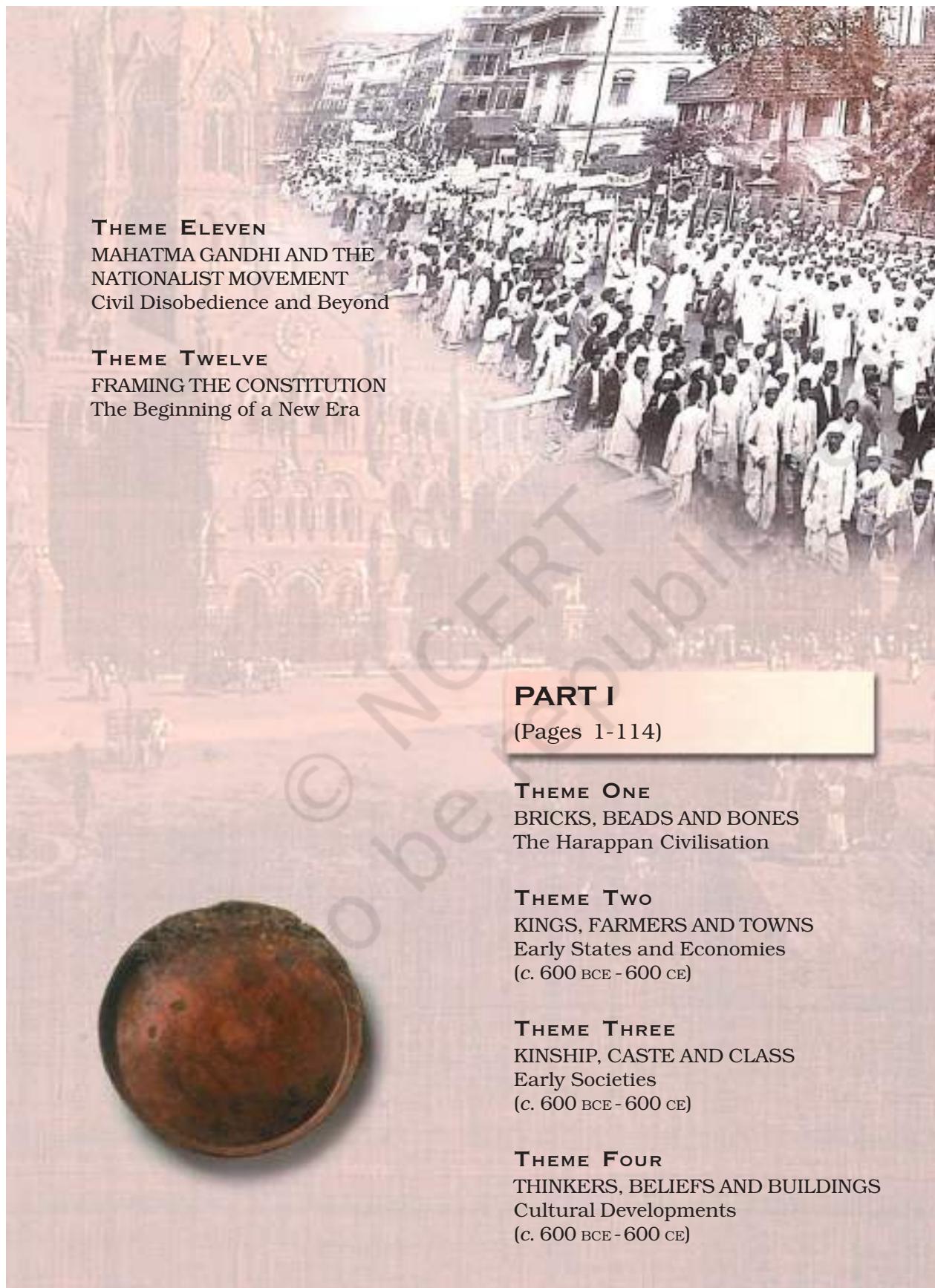
THEME NINE

- COLONIALISM AND THE COUNTRYSIDE
Exploring Official Archives

THEME TEN

- REBELS AND THE RAJ
1857 Revolt and Its Representations

* Part III will follow



THEME ELEVEN

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
Civil Disobedience and Beyond

THEME TWELVE

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION
The Beginning of a New Era

PART I

(Pages 1-114)

THEME ONE

BRICKS, BEADS AND BONES
The Harappan Civilisation

THEME TWO

KINGS, FARMERS AND TOWNS
Early States and Economies
(c. 600 BCE - 600 CE)

THEME THREE

KINSHIP, CASTE AND CLASS
Early Societies
(c. 600 BCE - 600 CE)

THEME FOUR

THINKERS, BELIEFS AND BUILDINGS
Cultural Developments
(c. 600 BCE - 600 CE)

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

This is Part II of *Themes in Indian History*. Part III will follow.

- Each chapter is divided into numbered sections and subsections to facilitate learning.
- You will also find other material enclosed in boxes.

These contain:

Short meanings

Additional information

More elaborate definitions

These are meant to assist and enrich the learning process, but are **not intended for evaluation**.

- Each chapter ends with a set of **timelines**. This is to be treated as background information, and **not for evaluation**.
- There are **figures**, **maps** and **sources** numbered sequentially through each chapter.
 - (a) **Figures** include illustrations of artefacts such as tools, pottery, seals, coins, ornaments etc. as well as of inscriptions, sculptures, paintings, buildings, archaeological sites, plans and photographs of people and places; visual material that historians use as sources.
 - (b) Some chapters have **maps**.

Sources

(c) **Sources** are enclosed within separate boxes: these contain excerpts from a wide variety of texts and inscriptions. Both visual and textual sources will help you acquire a feel for the clues that historians use. You will also see how historians analyse these clues. **The final examination can include excerpts from and/or illustrations of identical/similar material, providing you with an opportunity to handle these.**

- There are two categories of **intext questions**:

(a) those within a yellow box, which may be used for practice for **evaluation**.

(b) those with the caption  **Discuss...** which are **not for evaluation**

- There are **four types** of assignments at the end of each chapter:

These include:



short questions



short essays



map work



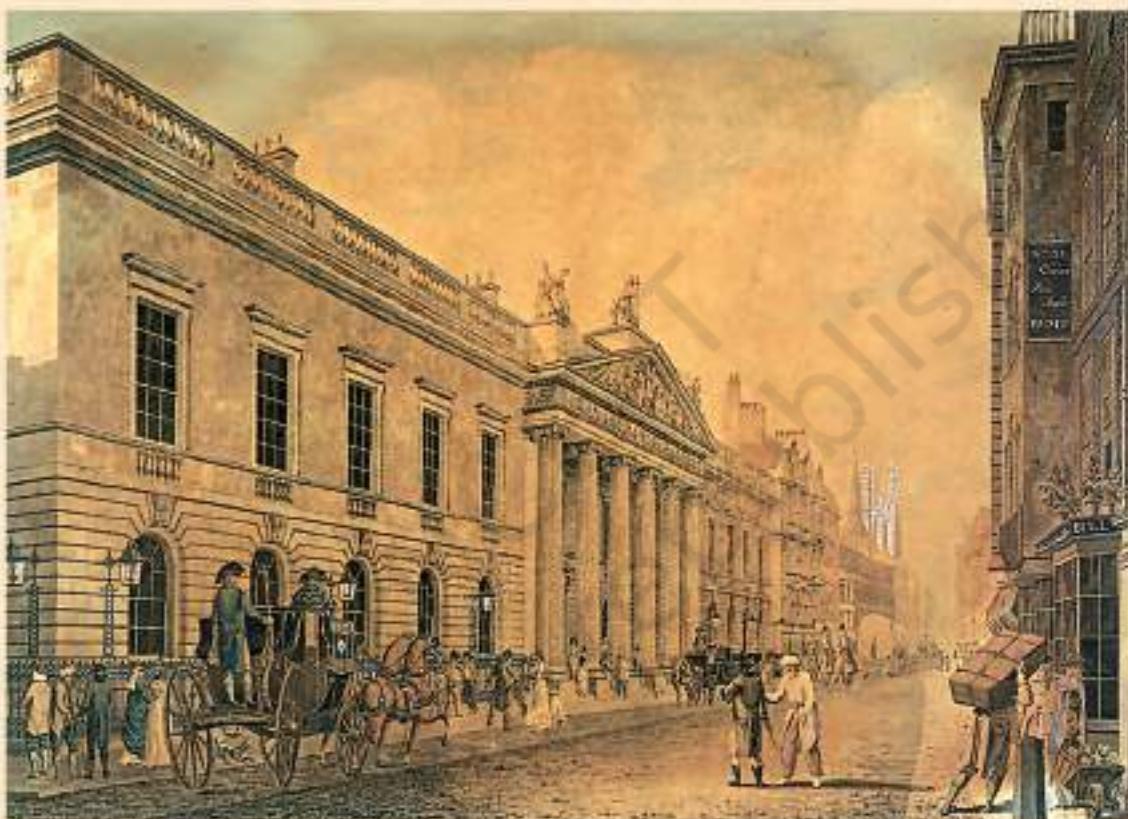
projects

These are meant to provide practice for the final assessment and evaluation.

Hope you enjoy using this book.

Textbook in History for Class XII

**THEMES IN
INDIAN HISTORY
PART III**



राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

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This is the last part of *Themes in Indian History*.

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CONTENTS

Foreword	<i>iii</i>
Rationalisation of Content in the Textbooks	<i>v</i>
Defining the Focus of Study	<i>vii</i>
How to Use This Book	<i>xiii</i>

PART III

THEME NINE COLONIALISM AND THE COUNTRYSIDE Exploring Official Archives	227
THEME TEN REBELS AND THE RAJ The Revolt of 1857 and Its Representations	258
THEME ELEVEN MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT Civil Disobedience and Beyond	286
THEME TWELVE FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION The Beginning of a New Era	316



PART I (Pages 1- 114)

THEME ONE

BRICKS, BEADS AND BONES
The Harappan Civilisation



THEME TWO

KINGS, FARMERS AND TOWNS
Early States and Economies
(c. 600 BCE - 600 CE)

THEME THREE

KINSHIP, CASTE AND CLASS
Early Societies
(c. 600 BCE - 600 CE)

THEME FOUR

THINKERS, BELIEFS AND BUILDINGS
Cultural Developments
(c. 600 BCE - 600 CE)

PART II (Pages 115 - 226)

THEME FIVE

THROUGH THE EYES OF TRAVELLERS
Perceptions of Society
(c. tenth to seventeenth century)

THEME SIX

BHAKTI-SUFI TRADITIONS
Changes in Religious Beliefs
and Devotional Texts
(c. eighth to eighteenth century)

THEME SEVEN

AN IMPERIAL CAPITAL: VIJAYANAGARA
(c. fourteenth to sixteenth century)

THEME EIGHT

PEASANTS, ZAMINDARS AND THE STATE
Agrarian Society and the Mughal Empire
(c. sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

This is the last part of *Themes in Indian History*.

- Each chapter is divided into numbered sections and subsections to facilitate learning.
- You will also find other material enclosed in boxes.

These contain:

Short meanings

Additional information

More elaborate definitions

These are meant to assist and enrich the learning process, but are **not intended for evaluation**.

- Each chapter ends with a set of **timelines**. This is to be treated as background information, and **not for evaluation**.
- There are **figures**, **maps** and **sources** numbered sequentially through each chapter.
 - (a) **Figures** include illustrations of artefacts such as tools, pottery, seals, coins, ornaments etc. as well as of inscriptions, sculptures, paintings, buildings, archaeological sites, plans and photographs of people and places; visual material that historians use as sources.
 - (b) Some chapters have **maps**.

Sources

(c) **Sources** are enclosed within separate boxes: these contain excerpts from a wide variety of texts and inscriptions. Both visual and textual sources will help you acquire a feel for the clues that historians use. You will also see how historians analyse these clues. **The final examination can include excerpts from and/or illustrations of identical/similar material, providing you with an opportunity to handle these.**

- There are *two* categories of **intext questions**:

(a) those within a yellow box, which may be used for practice for **evaluation**.

(b) those with the caption  **Discuss...** which are **not for evaluation**

- There are **four types** of assignments at the end of each chapter:
These include:



short questions



short essays



map work



projects

These are meant to provide practice for the final assessment and evaluation.

Hope you enjoy using this book.



12094CH05

THEME
FIVETHROUGH THE EYES OF TRAVELLERS
PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIETY
(C. TENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

Women and men have travelled in search of work, to escape from natural disasters, as traders, merchants, soldiers, priests, pilgrims, or driven by a sense of adventure. Those who visit or come to stay in a new land invariably encounter a world that is different: in terms of the landscape or physical environment as well as customs, languages, beliefs and practices of people. Many of them try to adapt to these differences; others, somewhat exceptional, note them carefully in accounts, generally recording what they find unusual or remarkable. Unfortunately, we have practically no accounts of travel left by women, though we know that they travelled.

The accounts that survive are often varied in terms of their subject matter. Some deal with affairs of the court, while others are mainly focused on religious issues, or architectural features and monuments. For example, one of the most important descriptions of the city of Vijayanagara (Chapter 7) in the fifteenth century comes from Abdur Razzaq Samarqandi, a diplomat who came visiting from Herat.

In a few cases, travellers did not go to distant lands. For example, in the Mughal Empire (Chapters 8 and 9), administrators sometimes travelled within the empire and recorded their observations. Some of them were interested in looking at popular customs and the folklore and traditions of their own land.

In this chapter we shall see how our knowledge of the past can be enriched through a consideration of descriptions of social life provided by travellers who visited the subcontinent, focusing on the accounts of three men: Al-Biruni who came from Uzbekistan (eleventh century), Ibn Battuta who came from Morocco, in northwestern Africa (fourteenth century) and the Frenchman François Bernier (seventeenth century).



Fig. 5.1a
Paan leaves



Fig. 5.1b
A coconut
The coconut and the *paan* were things that struck many travellers as unusual.

Source 1

Al-Biruni's objectives

Al-Biruni described his work as:
a help to those who want to discuss religious questions with them (the Hindus), and as a repertory of information to those who want to associate with them.

➲ Read the excerpt from Al-Biruni (Source 5) and discuss whether his work met these objectives.

As these authors came from vastly different social and cultural environments, they were often more attentive to everyday activities and practices which were taken for granted by indigenous writers, for whom these were routine matters, not worthy of being recorded. It is this difference in perspective that makes the accounts of travellers interesting. Who did these travellers write for? As we will see, the answers vary from one instance to the next.

1. AL-BIRUNI AND THE *KITAB-UL-HIND*

1.1 From Khwarizm to the Punjab

Al-Biruni was born in 973, in Khwarizm in present-day Uzbekistan. Khwarizm was an important centre of learning, and Al-Biruni received the best education available at the time. He was well versed in several languages: Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew and Sanskrit. Although he did not know Greek, he was familiar with the works of Plato and other Greek philosophers, having read them in Arabic translations. In 1017, when Sultan Mahmud invaded Khwarizm, he took several scholars and poets back to his capital, Ghazni; Al-Biruni was one of them. He arrived in Ghazni as a hostage, but gradually developed a liking for the city, where he spent the rest of his life until his death at the age of 70.

It was in Ghazni that Al-Biruni developed an interest in India. This was not unusual. Sanskrit works on astronomy, mathematics and medicine had been translated into Arabic from the eighth century onwards. When the Punjab became a part of the Ghaznavid empire, contacts with the local population helped create an environment of mutual trust and understanding. Al-Biruni spent years in the company of Brahmana priests and scholars, learning Sanskrit, and studying religious and philosophical texts. While his itinerary is not clear, it is likely that he travelled widely in the Punjab and parts of northern India.

Travel literature was already an accepted part of Arabic literature by the time he wrote. This literature dealt with lands as far apart as the Sahara desert in the west to the River Volga in the north. So, while

Translating texts, sharing ideas

Al-Biruni's expertise in several languages allowed him to compare languages and translate texts. He translated several Sanskrit works, including Patanjali's work on grammar, into Arabic. For his Brahmana friends, he translated the works of Euclid (a Greek mathematician) into Sanskrit.

few people in India would have read Al-Biruni before 1500, many others outside India may have done so.

1.2 The *Kitab-ul-Hind*

Al-Biruni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*, written in Arabic, is simple and lucid. It is a voluminous text, divided into 80 chapters on subjects such as religion and philosophy, festivals, astronomy, alchemy, manners and customs, social life, weights and measures, iconography, laws and metrology.

Generally (though not always), Al-Biruni adopted a distinctive structure in each chapter, beginning with a question, following this up with a description based on Sanskritic traditions, and concluding with a comparison with other cultures. Some present-day scholars have argued that this almost geometric structure, remarkable for its precision and predictability, owed much to his mathematical orientation.

Al-Biruni, who wrote in Arabic, probably intended his work for peoples living along the frontiers of the subcontinent. He was familiar with translations and adaptations of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit texts into Arabic – these ranged from fables to works on astronomy and medicine. However, he was also critical about the ways in which these texts were written, and clearly wanted to improve on them.

Metrology is the science of measurement.

Hindu

The term "Hindu" was derived from an Old Persian word, used c. sixth-fifth centuries BCE, to refer to the region east of the river Sindhu (Indus). The Arabs continued the Persian usage and called this region "al-Hind" and its people "Hindi". Later the Turks referred to the people east of the Indus as "Hindu", their land as "Hindustan", and their language as "Hindavi". None of these expressions indicated the religious identity of the people. It was much later that the term developed religious connotations.

➲ Discuss...

If Al-Biruni lived in the twenty-first century, which are the areas of the world where he could have been easily understood, if he still knew the same languages?



Fig. 5.2

An illustration from a thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript showing the Athenian statesman and poet Solon, who lived in the sixth century BCE, addressing his students. Notice the clothes they are shown in.

➲ Are these clothes Greek or Arabian?

Source 2

The bird leaves its nest

This is an excerpt from the *Rihla*:

My departure from Tangier, my birthplace, took place on Thursday ... I set out alone, having neither fellow-traveller ... nor caravan whose party I might join, but swayed by an overmastering impulse within me and a desire long-cherished in my bosom to visit these illustrious sanctuaries. So I braced my resolution to quit all my dear ones, female and male, and forsook my home as birds forsake their nests ... My age at that time was twenty-two years.

Ibn Battuta returned home in 1354, about 30 years after he had set out.

*Fig. 5.3
Robbers attacking travellers, a sixteenth-century Mughal painting*

➲ How can you distinguish the travellers from the robbers?

**2. IBN BATTUTA'S RIHLA****2.1 An early globe-trotter**

Ibn Battuta's book of travels, called *Rihla*, written in Arabic, provides extremely rich and interesting details about the social and cultural life in the subcontinent in the fourteenth century. This Moroccan traveller was born in Tangier into one of the most respectable and educated families known for their expertise in Islamic religious law or *shari'a*. True to the tradition of his family, Ibn Battuta received literary and scholastic education when he was quite young.

Unlike most other members of his class, Ibn Battuta considered experience gained through travels to be a more important source of knowledge than books. He just loved travelling, and went to far-off places, exploring new worlds and peoples. Before he set off for India in 1332-33, he had made pilgrimage trips to Mecca, and had already travelled extensively in Syria, Iraq, Persia, Yemen, Oman and a few trading ports on the coast of East Africa.

Travelling overland through Central Asia, Ibn Battuta reached Sind in 1333. He had heard about Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the Sultan of Delhi, and lured by his reputation as a generous patron of arts and letters, set off for Delhi, passing through Multan and Uch. The Sultan was impressed by his scholarship, and appointed him the *qazi* or judge of Delhi. He remained in that position for several years, until he fell out of favour and was thrown into prison. Once the misunderstanding between him and the Sultan was cleared, he was restored to imperial service, and was ordered in 1342 to proceed to China as the Sultan's envoy to the Mongol ruler.

With the new assignment, Ibn Battuta proceeded to the Malabar coast through central India. From Malabar he went to the Maldives, where he stayed for eighteen months as the *qazi*, but eventually decided to proceed to Sri Lanka. He then went back once more to the Malabar coast and the Maldives, and before resuming his mission to China, visited Bengal and Assam as well. He took a ship to Sumatra, and from there another ship for the Chinese port town of



Zaytun (now known as Quanzhou). He travelled extensively in China, going as far as Beijing, but did not stay for long, deciding to return home in 1347. His account is often compared with that of Marco Polo, who visited China (and also India) from his home base in Venice in the late thirteenth century.

Ibn Battuta meticulously recorded his observations about new cultures, peoples, beliefs, values, etc. We need to bear in mind that this globe-trotter was travelling in the fourteenth century, when it was much more arduous and hazardous to travel than it is today. According to Ibn Battuta, it took forty days to travel from Multan to Delhi and about fifty days from Sind to Delhi. The distance from Daulatabad to Delhi was covered in forty days, while that from Gwalior to Delhi took ten days.

*Fig. 5.4
A boat carrying passengers,
a terracotta sculpture from
a temple in Bengal
(c. seventeenth-eighteenth centuries)*

➲ Why do you think some of the passengers are carrying arms?

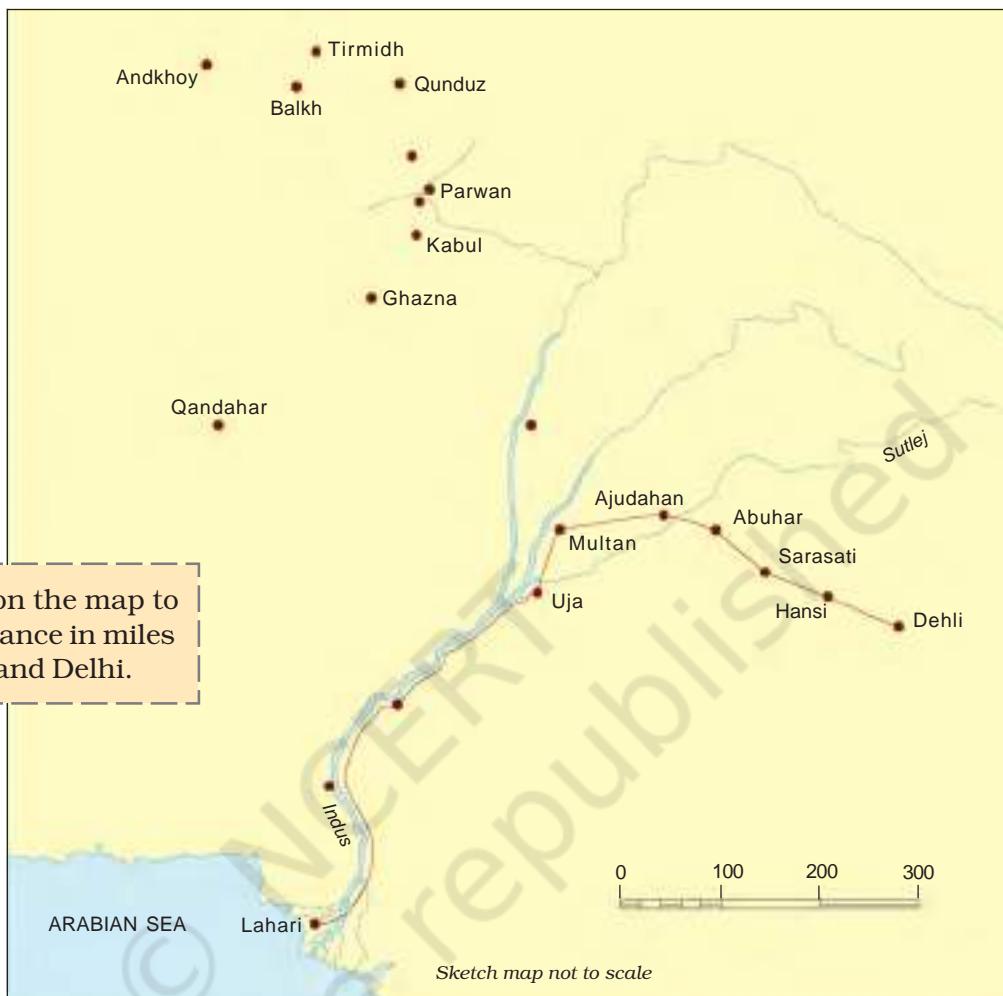
The lonely traveller

Robbers were not the only hazard on long journeys: the traveller could feel homesick, or fall ill. Here is an excerpt from the *Rihla*:

I was attacked by the fever, and I actually tied myself on the saddle with a turban-cloth in case I should fall off by reason of my weakness ... So at last we reached the town of Tunis, and the townsfolk came out to welcome the *shaikh* ... and ... the son of the *qazi* ... On all sides they came forward with greetings and questions to one another, but not a soul said a word of greeting to me, since there was none of them I knew. I felt so sad at heart on account of my loneliness that I could not restrain the tears that started to my eyes, and wept bitterly. But one of the pilgrims, realising the cause of my distress, came up to me with a greeting ...

Map 1
Places visited by Ibn Battuta in Afghanistan, Sind and Punjab.
 Many of the place-names have been spelt as Ibn Battuta would have known them.

- ➲ Use the scale on the map to calculate the distance in miles between Multan and Delhi.



Travelling was also more insecure: Ibn Battuta was attacked by bands of robbers several times. In fact he preferred travelling in a caravan along with companions, but this did not deter highway robbers. While travelling from Multan to Delhi, for instance, his caravan was attacked and many of his fellow travellers lost their lives; those travellers who survived, including Ibn Battuta, were severely wounded.

2.2 The “enjoyment of curiosities”

As we have seen, Ibn Battuta was an inveterate traveller who spent several years travelling through north Africa, West Asia and parts of Central Asia (he may even have visited Russia), the Indian subcontinent and China, before returning to his native land, Morocco. When he returned, the local ruler issued instructions that his stories be recorded.

Source 3

Education and entertainment

This is what Ibn Juzayy, who was deputed to write what Ibn Battuta dictated, said in his introduction:

A gracious direction was transmitted (by the ruler) that he (Ibn Battuta) should dictate an account of the cities which he had seen in his travel, and of the interesting events which had clung to his memory, and that he should speak of those whom he had met of the rulers of countries, of their distinguished men of learning, and their pious saints. Accordingly, he dictated upon these subjects a narrative which gave entertainment to the mind and delight to the ears and eyes, with a variety of curious particulars by the exposition of which he gave edification and of marvellous things, by referring to which he aroused interest.

In the footsteps of Ibn Battuta

In the centuries between 1400 and 1800 visitors to India wrote a number of travelogues in Persian. At the same time, Indian visitors to Central Asia, Iran and the Ottoman empire also sometimes wrote about their experiences. These writers followed in the footsteps of Al-Biruni and Ibn Battuta, and had sometimes read these earlier authors.

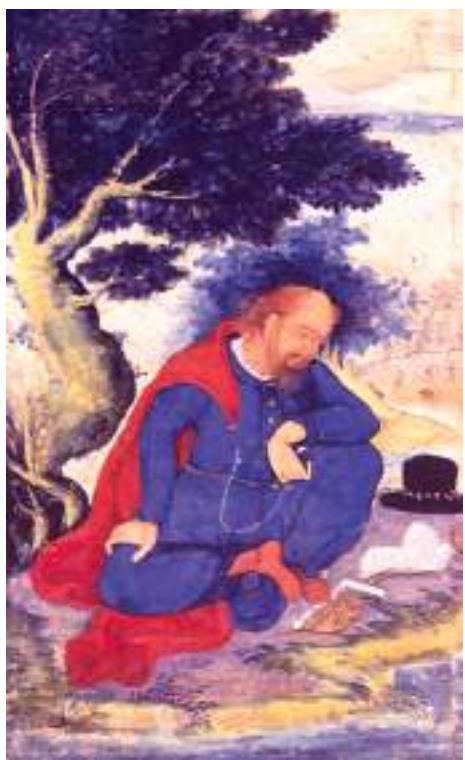
Among the best known of these writers were Abdur Razzaq Samarcandi, who visited south India in the 1440s, Mahmud Wali Balkhi, who travelled very widely in the 1620s, and Shaikh Ali Hazin, who came to north India in the 1740s. Some of these authors were fascinated by India, and one of them – Mahmud Balkhi – even became a sort of *sanyasi* for a time. Others such as Hazin were disappointed and even disgusted with India, where they expected to receive a red carpet treatment. Most of them saw India as a land of wonders.

Discuss...

Compare the objectives of Al-Biruni and Ibn Battuta in writing their accounts.



Fig. 5.5
An eighteenth-century painting depicting travellers gathered around a campfire



*Fig. 5.6
A seventeenth-century painting depicting Bernier in European clothes*



3. FRANÇOIS BERNIER A DOCTOR WITH A DIFFERENCE

Once the Portuguese arrived in India in about 1500, a number of them wrote detailed accounts regarding Indian social customs and religious practices. A few of them, such as the Jesuit Roberto Nobili, even translated Indian texts into European languages.

Among the best known of the Portuguese writers is Duarte Barbosa, who wrote a detailed account of trade and society in south India. Later, after 1600, we find growing numbers of Dutch, English and French travellers coming to India. One of the most famous was the French jeweller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who travelled to India at least six times. He was particularly fascinated with the trading conditions in India, and compared India to Iran and the Ottoman empire. Some of these travellers, like the Italian doctor Manucci, never returned to Europe, and settled down in India.

François Bernier, a Frenchman, was a doctor, political philosopher and historian. Like many others, he came to the Mughal Empire in search of opportunities. He was in India for twelve years, from 1656 to 1668, and was closely associated with the Mughal court, as a physician to Prince Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shah Jahan, and later as an intellectual and scientist, with Danishmand Khan, an Armenian noble at the Mughal court.

3.1 Comparing “East” and “West”

Bernier travelled to several parts of the country, and wrote accounts of what he saw, frequently comparing what he saw in India with the situation in Europe. He dedicated his major writing to Louis XIV, the king of France, and many of his other works were written in the form of letters to influential officials and ministers. In virtually every instance Bernier described what he saw in India as a bleak situation in comparison to developments in Europe. As we will see, this assessment was not always accurate. However, when his works were published, Bernier's writings became extremely popular.

*Fig. 5.7
A painting depicting Tavernier in Indian clothes*

Source 4

Travelling with the Mughal army

Bernier often travelled with the army. This is an excerpt from his description of the army's march to Kashmir:

I am expected to keep two good Turkoman horses, and I also take with me a powerful Persian camel and driver, a groom for my horses, a cook and a servant to go before my horse with a flask of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country. I am also provided with every useful article, such as a tent of moderate size, a carpet, a portable bed made of four very strong but light canes, a pillow, a mattress, round leather table-cloths used at meals, some few napkins of dyed cloth, three small bags with culinary utensils which are all placed in a large bag, and this bag is again carried in a very capacious and strong double sack or net made of leather thongs. This double sack likewise contains the provisions, linen and wearing apparel, both of master and servants. I have taken care to lay in a stock of excellent rice for five or six days' consumption, of sweet biscuits flavoured with anise (a herb), of limes and sugar. Nor have I forgotten a linen bag with its small iron hook for the purpose of suspending and draining *dahi* or curds; nothing being considered so refreshing in this country as lemonade and *dahi*.

➲ What are the things from Bernier's list that you would take on a journey today?

Bernier's works were published in France in 1670-71 and translated into English, Dutch, German and Italian within the next five years. Between 1670 and 1725 his account was reprinted eight times in French, and by 1684 it had been reprinted three times in English. This was in marked contrast to the accounts in Arabic and Persian, which circulated as manuscripts and were generally not published before 1800.

The creation and circulation of ideas about India

The writings of European travellers helped produce an image of India for Europeans through the printing and circulation of their books. Later, after 1750, when Indians like Shaikh Itisamuddin and Mirza Abu Talib visited Europe and confronted this image that Europeans had of their society, they tried to influence it by producing their own version of matters.

➲ Discuss...

There is a very rich travel literature in Indian languages. Find out about travel writers in the language you use at home. Read one such account and describe the areas visited by the traveller, what s/he saw, and why s/he wrote the account.

A language with an enormous range

Al-Biruni described Sanskrit as follows:

If you want to conquer this difficulty (i.e. to learn Sanskrit), you will not find it easy, because the language is of an enormous range, both in words and inflections, something like the Arabic, calling one and the same thing by various names, both original and derivative, and using one and the same word for a variety of subjects, which, in order to be properly understood, must be distinguished from each other by various qualifying epithets.

God knows best!

Travellers did not always believe what they were told. When faced with the story of a wooden idol that supposedly lasted for 216,432 years, Al-Biruni asks:

How, then, could wood have lasted such a length of time, and particularly in a place where the air and the soil are rather wet? God knows best!

4. MAKING SENSE OF AN ALIEN WORLD AL-BIRUNI AND THE SANSKRITIC TRADITION

4.1 Overcoming barriers to understanding

As we have seen, travellers often compared what they saw in the subcontinent with practices with which they were familiar. Each traveller adopted distinct strategies to understand what they observed. Al-Biruni, for instance, was aware of the problems inherent in the task he had set himself. He discussed several “barriers” that he felt obstructed understanding. The first amongst these was language. According to him, Sanskrit was so different from Arabic and Persian that ideas and concepts could not be easily translated from one language into another.

The second barrier he identified was the difference in religious beliefs and practices. The self-absorption and consequent insularity of the local population according to him, constituted the third barrier. What is interesting is that even though he was aware of these problems, Al-Biruni depended almost exclusively on the works of Brahmanas, often citing passages from the Vedas, the Puranas, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the works of Patanjali, the *Manusmriti*, etc., to provide an understanding of Indian society.

4.2 Al-Biruni's description of the caste system

Al-Biruni tried to explain the caste system by looking for parallels in other societies. He noted that in ancient Persia, four social categories were recognised: those of knights and princes; monks, fire-priests and lawyers; physicians, astronomers and other scientists; and finally, peasants and artisans. In other words, he attempted to suggest that social divisions were not unique to India. At the same time he pointed out that within Islam all men were considered equal, differing only in their observance of piety.

In spite of his acceptance of the Brahmanical description of the caste system, Al-Biruni disapproved of the notion of pollution. He remarked that everything which falls into a state of impurity strives and succeeds in regaining its original condition of purity. The sun cleanses the air, and the salt in the sea prevents the water from becoming polluted. If it

were not so, insisted Al-Biruni, life on earth would have been impossible. The conception of social pollution, intrinsic to the caste system, was according to him, contrary to the laws of nature.

Source 5

The system of varnas

This is Al-Biruni's account of the system of varnas:

The highest caste are the Brahmana, of whom the books of the Hindus tell us that they were created from the head of Brahman. And as the Brahman is only another name for the force called *nature*, and the head is the highest part of the ... body, the Brahmana are the choice part of the whole genus. Therefore the Hindus consider them as the very best of mankind.

The next caste are the Kshatriya, who were created, as they say, from the shoulders and hands of Brahman. Their degree is not much below that of the Brahmana.

After them follow the Vaishya, who were created from the thigh of Brahman.

The Shudra, who were created from his feet . . .

Between the latter two classes there is no very great distance. Much, however, as these classes differ from each other, they live together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings.

➲ Compare what Al-Biruni wrote with Source 6, Chapter 3. Do you notice any similarities and differences? Do you think Al-Biruni depended only on Sanskrit texts for his information and understanding of Indian society?

As we have seen, Al-Biruni's description of the caste system was deeply influenced by his study of normative Sanskrit texts which laid down the rules governing the system from the point of view of the Brahmanas. However, in real life the system was not quite as rigid. For instance, the categories defined as *antyaja* (literally, born outside the system) were often expected to provide inexpensive labour to both peasants and zamindars (see also Chapter 8). In other words, while they were often subjected to social oppression, they were included within economic networks.

➲ Discuss...

How important is knowledge of the language of the area for a traveller from a different region?

5. IBN BATTUTA AND THE EXCITEMENT OF THE UNFAMILIAR

By the time Ibn Battuta arrived in Delhi in the fourteenth century, the subcontinent was part of a global network of communication that stretched from China in the east to north-west Africa and Europe in the west. As we have seen, Ibn Battuta himself travelled extensively through these lands, visiting sacred shrines, spending time with learned men and rulers, often officiating as *qazi*, and enjoying the cosmopolitan culture of urban centres where people who spoke Arabic, Persian, Turkish and other languages, shared ideas, information and anecdotes. These included stories about men noted for their piety, kings who could be both cruel and generous, and about the lives of ordinary men and women; anything that was unfamiliar was particularly highlighted in order to ensure that the listener or the reader was suitably impressed by accounts of distant yet accessible worlds.

5.1 The coconut and the *paan*

Some of the best examples of Ibn Battuta's strategies of representation are evident in the ways in which he described the coconut and the *paan*, two kinds of plant produce that were completely unfamiliar to his audience.

Source 6

Nuts like a man's head

The following is how Ibn Battuta described the coconut:

These trees are among the most peculiar trees in kind and most astonishing in habit. They look exactly like date-palms, without any difference between them except that the one produces nuts as its fruits and the other produces dates. The nut of a coconut tree resembles a man's head, for in it are what look like two eyes and a mouth, and the inside of it when it is green looks like the brain, and attached to it is a fibre which looks like hair. They make from this cords with which they sew up ships instead of (using) iron nails, and they (also) make from it cables for vessels.

➲ What are the comparisons that Ibn Battuta makes to give his readers an idea about what coconuts looked like? Do you think these are appropriate? How does he convey a sense that this fruit is unusual? How accurate is his description?

Source 7

The *paan*

Read Ibn Battuta's description of the *paan*:

The betel is a tree which is cultivated in the same manner as the grape-vine; ... The betel has no fruit and is grown only for the sake of its leaves ... The manner of its use is that before eating it one takes areca nut; this is like a nutmeg but is broken up until it is reduced to small pellets, and one places these in his mouth and chews them. Then he takes the leaves of betel, puts a little chalk on them, and masticates them along with the betel.

➲ Why do you think this attracted Ibn Battuta's attention? Is there anything you would like to add to this description?

5.2 Ibn Battuta and Indian cities

Ibn Battuta found cities in the subcontinent full of exciting opportunities for those who had the necessary drive, resources and skills. They were densely populated and prosperous, except for the occasional disruptions caused by wars and invasions. It appears from Ibn Battuta's account that most cities had crowded streets and bright and colourful markets that were stacked with a wide variety of goods. Ibn Battuta described Delhi as a vast city, with a great population, the largest in India. Daulatabad (in Maharashtra) was no less, and easily rivalled Delhi in size.

Source 8

➲ What were the architectural features that Ibn Battuta noted?
Compare this description with the illustrations of the city shown in Figs. 5.8 and 5.9.

Dehli

Here is an excerpt from Ibn Battuta's account of Delhi, often spelt as Dehli in texts of the period:

The city of Dehli covers a wide area and has a large population ... The rampart round the city is without parallel. The breadth of its wall is eleven cubits; and inside it are houses for the night sentry and gate-keepers. Inside the ramparts, there are store-houses for storing edibles, magazines, ammunition, ballistas and siege machines. The grains that are stored (in these ramparts) can last for a long time, without rotting ... In the interior of the rampart, horsemen as well as infantrymen move from one end of the city to another. The rampart is pierced through by windows which open on the side of the city, and it is through these windows that light enters inside. The lower part of the rampart is built of stone; the upper part of bricks. It has many towers close to one another. There are twenty eight gates of this city which are called *darwaza*, and of these, the Budaun *darwaza* is the greatest; inside the Mandwi *darwaza* there is a grain market; adjacent to the Gul *darwaza* there is an orchard ... It (the city of Dehli) has a fine cemetery in which graves have domes over them, and those that do not have a dome, have an arch, for sure. In the cemetery they sow flowers such as tuberose, jasmine, wild rose, etc.; and flowers blossom there in all seasons.



Fig. 5.8 (top)
An arch in Tughlakabad, Delhi

Fig. 5.9 (left)
Part of the fortification wall of the settlement



*Fig. 5.10
Ikat weaving patterns such as this were adopted and modified at several coastal production centres in the subcontinent and in Southeast Asia.*

➲ Why do you think Ibn Battuta highlighted these activities in his description?

The bazaars were not only places of economic transactions, but also the hub of social and cultural activities. Most bazaars had a mosque and a temple, and in some of them at least, spaces were marked for public performances by dancers, musicians and singers.

While Ibn Battuta was not particularly concerned with explaining the prosperity of towns, historians have used his account to suggest that towns derived a significant portion of their wealth through the appropriation of surplus from villages. Ibn Battuta found Indian agriculture very productive because of the fertility of the soil, which allowed farmers to cultivate two crops a year. He also noted that the subcontinent was well integrated with inter-Asian networks of trade and commerce, with Indian manufactures being in great demand in both West Asia and Southeast Asia, fetching huge profits for artisans and merchants. Indian textiles, particularly cotton cloth, fine muslins, silks, brocade and satin, were in great demand. Ibn Battuta informs us that certain varieties of fine muslin were so expensive that they could be worn only by the nobles and the very rich.

Source 9

Music in the market

Read Ibn Battuta's description of Daulatabad:

In Daulatabad there is a market place for male and female singers, which is known as Tarababad. It is one of the greatest and most beautiful bazaars. It has numerous shops and every shop has a door which leads into the house of the owner ... The shops are decorated with carpets and at the centre of a shop there is a swing on which sits the female singer. She is decked with all kinds of finery and her female attendants swing her. In the middle of the market place there stands a large cupola, which is carpeted and decorated and in which the chief of the musicians takes his place every Thursday after the dawn prayers, accompanied by his servants and slaves. The female singers come in successive crowds, sing before him and dance until dusk after which he withdraws. In this bazaar there are mosques for offering prayers ... One of the Hindu rulers ... alighted at the cupola every time he passed by this market place, and the female singers would sing before him. Even some Muslim rulers did the same.

5.3 A unique system of communication

The state evidently took special measures to encourage merchants. Almost all trade routes were well supplied with inns and guest houses. Ibn Battuta was also amazed by the efficiency of the postal system which allowed merchants to not only send information and remit credit across long distances, but also to dispatch goods required at short notice. The postal system was so efficient that while it took fifty days to reach Delhi from Sind, the news reports of spies would reach the Sultan through the postal system in just five days.

Source 10

On horse and on foot

This is how Ibn Battuta describes the postal system:

In India the postal system is of two kinds. The horse-post, called *ulug*, is run by royal horses stationed at a distance of every four miles. The foot-post has three stations per mile; it is called *dawa*, that is one-third of a mile ... Now, at every third of a mile there is a well-populated village, outside which are three pavilions in which sit men with girded loins ready to start. Each of them carries a rod, two cubits in length, with copper bells at the top. When the courier starts from the city he holds the letter in one hand and the rod with its bells on the other; and he runs as fast as he can. When the men in the pavilion hear the ringing of the bell they get ready. As soon as the courier reaches them, one of them takes the letter from his hand and runs at top speed shaking the rod all the while until he reaches the next *dawa*. And the same process continues till the letter reaches its destination. This foot-post is quicker than the horse-post; and often it is used to transport the fruits of Khurasan which are much desired in India.

➲ Do you think the foot-post system could have operated throughout the subcontinent?

➲ Discuss...

How did Ibn Battuta handle the problem of describing things or situations to people who had not seen or experienced them?

A strange nation?

The travelogue of Abdur Razzaq written in the 1440s is an interesting mixture of emotions and perceptions. On the one hand, he did not appreciate what he saw in the port of Calicut (present-day Kozhikode) in Kerala, which was populated by "a people the likes of whom I had never imagined", describing them as "a strange nation".

Later in his visit to India, he arrived in Mangalore, and crossed the Western Ghats. Here he saw a temple that filled him with admiration:

Within three leagues (about nine miles of Mangalore, I saw an idol-house the likes of which is not to be found in all the world. It was a square, approximately ten yards a side, five yards in height, all covered with cast bronze, with four porticos. In the entrance portico was a statue in the likeness of a human being, full stature, made of gold. It had two red rubies for eyes, so cunningly made that you would say it could see. What craft and artisanship!

6. BERNIER AND THE “DEGENERATE” EAST

If Ibn Battuta chose to describe everything that impressed and excited him because of its novelty, François Bernier belonged to a different intellectual tradition. He was far more preoccupied with comparing and contrasting what he saw in India with the situation in Europe in general and France in particular, focusing on situations which he considered depressing. His idea seems to have been to influence policy-makers and the intelligentsia to ensure that they made what he considered to be the “right” decisions.

Bernier’s *Travels in the Mughal Empire* is marked by detailed observations, critical insights and reflection. His account contains discussions trying to place the history of the Mughals within some sort of a universal framework. He constantly compared Mughal India with contemporary Europe, generally emphasising the superiority of the latter. His representation of India works on the model of binary opposition, where India is presented as the inverse of Europe. He also ordered the perceived differences hierarchically, so that India appeared to be inferior to the Western world.

6.1 The question of landownership

According to Bernier, one of the fundamental differences between Mughal India and Europe was the lack of private property in land in the former. He was a firm believer in the virtues of private property, and saw crown ownership of land as being harmful for both the state and its people. He thought that in the Mughal Empire the emperor owned all the land and distributed it among his nobles, and that this had disastrous consequences for the economy and society. This perception was not unique to Bernier, but is found in most travellers’ accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Owing to crown ownership of land, argued Bernier, landholders could not pass on their land to their children. So they were averse to any long-term investment in the sustenance and expansion of production. The absence of private property in land had, therefore, prevented the emergence of the class of “improving” landlords (as in Western Europe) with

Widespread poverty

Pelsaert, a Dutch traveller, visited the subcontinent during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Like Bernier, he was shocked to see the widespread poverty, “poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe”. Holding the state responsible, he says: “So much is wrung from the peasants that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs.”

a concern to maintain or improve the land. It had led to the uniform ruination of agriculture, excessive oppression of the peasantry and a continuous decline in the living standards of all sections of society, except the ruling aristocracy.

Source 11

The poor peasant

An excerpt from Bernier's description of the peasantry in the countryside:

Of the vast tracts of country constituting the empire of Hindustan, many are little more than sand, or barren mountains, badly cultivated, and thinly populated. Even a considerable portion of the good land remains un-tilled for want of labourers; many of whom perish in consequence of the bad treatment they experience from Governors. The poor people, when they become incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are also made to lose their children, who are carried away as slaves. Thus, it happens that the peasantry, driven to despair by so excessive a tyranny, abandon the country.

In this instance, Bernier was participating in contemporary debates in Europe concerning the nature of state and society, and intended that his description of Mughal India would serve as a warning to those who did not recognise the "merits" of private property.

➲ What, according to Bernier, were the problems faced by peasants in the subcontinent? Do you think his description would have served to strengthen his case?

As an extension of this, Bernier described Indian society as consisting of undifferentiated masses of impoverished people, subjugated by a small minority of a very rich and powerful ruling class. Between the poorest of the poor and the richest of the rich, there was no social group or class worth the name. Bernier confidently asserted: "There is no middle state in India."

*Fig. 5.11
Drawings such as this nineteenth-century example often reinforced the notion of an unchanging rural society.*



Source 12

A warning for Europe

Bernier warned that if European kings followed the Mughal model:

Their kingdoms would be very far from being well-cultivated and peopled, so well built, so rich, so polite and flourishing as we see them. Our kings are otherwise rich and powerful; and we must avow that they are much better and more royally served. They would soon be kings of deserts and solitudes, of beggars and barbarians, such as those are whom I have been representing (the Mughals) ... We should find the great Cities and the great Burroughs (boroughs) rendered uninhabitable because of ill air, and to fall to ruine (ruin) without any bodies (anybody) taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandon'd, and the fields overspread with bushes, or fill'd with pestilential marshes (marshes), as hath been already intimated.

➲ How does Bernier depict a scenario of doom? Once you have read Chapters 8 and 9, return to this description and analyse it again.

This, then, is how Bernier saw the Mughal Empire – its king was the king of “beggars and barbarians”; its cities and towns were ruined and contaminated with “ill air”; and its fields, “overspread with bushes” and full of “pestilential marshes”. And, all this was because of one reason: crown ownership of land.

Curiously, none of the Mughal official documents suggest that the state was the sole owner of land. For instance, Abu'l Fazl, the sixteenth-century official chronicler of Akbar's reign, describes the land revenue as “remunerations of sovereignty”, a claim made by the ruler on his subjects for the protection he provided rather than as rent on land that he owned. It is possible that European travellers regarded such claims as rent because land revenue demands were often very high. However, this was actually not a rent or even a land tax, but a tax on the crop (for more details, see Chapter 8).

Bernier's descriptions influenced Western theorists from the eighteenth century onwards. The French philosopher Montesquieu, for instance, used this account to develop the idea of oriental despotism, according to which rulers in Asia (the Orient or the East) enjoyed absolute authority over their subjects, who were kept in conditions of subjugation and poverty, arguing that all land belonged to the king and that private property was non-existent. According to this view, everybody, except the emperor and his nobles, barely managed to survive.

This idea was further developed as the concept of the Asiatic mode of production by Karl Marx in the nineteenth century. He argued that in India (and other Asian countries), before colonialism, surplus was appropriated by the state. This led to the emergence of a society that was composed of a large number of autonomous and (internally) egalitarian village communities. The imperial court presided over these village communities, respecting their autonomy as long as the flow of surplus was unimpeded. This was regarded as a stagnant system.

However, as we will see (Chapter 8), this picture of rural society was far from true. In fact, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rural society was characterised by considerable social and economic differentiation. At one end of the spectrum were the big zamindars, who enjoyed superior rights in land and, at the other, the “untouchable” landless

labourers. In between was the big peasant, who used hired labour and engaged in commodity production, and the smaller peasant who could barely produce for his subsistence.

6.2 A more complex social reality

While Bernier's preoccupation with projecting the Mughal state as tyrannical is obvious, his descriptions occasionally hint at a more complex social reality. For instance, he felt that artisans had no incentive to improve the quality of their manufactures, since profits were appropriated by the state. Manufactures were, consequently, everywhere in decline. At the same time, he conceded that vast quantities of the world's precious metals flowed into India, as manufactures were exported in exchange for gold and silver. He also noticed the existence of a prosperous merchant community, engaged in long-distance exchange.

Source 13

A different socio-economic scenario

Read this excerpt from Bernier's description of both agriculture and craft production:

It is important to observe, that of this vast tract of country, a large portion is extremely fertile; the large kingdom of Bengale (Bengal), for instance, surpassing Egypt itself, not only in the production of rice, corn, and other necessaries of life, but of innumerable articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt; such as silks, cotton, and indigo. There are also many parts of the Indies, where the population is sufficiently abundant, and the land pretty well tilled; and where the artisan, although naturally indolent, is yet compelled by necessity or otherwise to employ himself in manufacturing carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloths, and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the country or exported abroad.

It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in Hindustan.

➲ In what ways is the description in this excerpt different from that in Source 11?



*Fig. 5.12
A gold spoon studded with emeralds and rubies, an example of the dexterity of Mughal artisans*

Source 14

The imperial *karkhanas*

Bernier is perhaps the only historian who provides a detailed account of the working of the imperial *karkhanas* or workshops:

Large halls are seen at many places, called *karkhanas* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall, embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another, you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoe-makers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and fine muslins ...

The artisans come every morning to their *karkhanas* where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet regular manner, their time glides away; no one aspiring for any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born.

➲ How does Bernier convey a sense that although there was a great deal of activity, there was little progress?

In fact, during the seventeenth century about 15 per cent of the population lived in towns. This was, on average, higher than the proportion of urban population in Western Europe in the same period. In spite of this Bernier described Mughal cities as “camp towns”, by which he meant towns that owed their existence, and depended for their survival, on the imperial camp. He believed that these came into existence when the imperial court moved in and rapidly declined when it moved out. He suggested that they did not have viable social and economic foundations but were dependent on imperial patronage.

As in the case of the question of landownership, Bernier was drawing an oversimplified picture. There were all kinds of towns: manufacturing towns, trading towns, port-towns, sacred centres, pilgrimage towns, etc. Their existence is an index of the prosperity of merchant communities and professional classes.

Merchants often had strong community or kin ties, and were organised into their own caste-cum-occupational bodies. In western India these groups were called *mahajans*, and their chief, the *sheth*. In urban centres such as Ahmedabad the *mahajans* were collectively represented by the chief of the merchant community who was called the *nagarsheth*.

Other urban groups included professional classes such as physicians (*hakim* or *vaid*), teachers (*pundit* or *mulla*), lawyers (*wakil*), painters, architects, musicians, calligraphers, etc. While some depended on imperial patronage, many made their living by serving other patrons, while still others served ordinary people in crowded markets or bazaars.

➲ Discuss...

Why do you think scholars like Bernier chose to compare India with Europe?

7. WOMEN

SLAVES, SATI AND LABOURERS

Travellers who left written accounts were generally men who were interested in and sometimes intrigued by the condition of women in the subcontinent. Sometimes they took social inequities for granted as a "natural" state of affairs. For instance, slaves were openly sold in markets, like any other commodity, and were regularly exchanged as gifts. When Ibn Battuta reached Sind he purchased "horses, camels and slaves" as gifts for Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. When he reached Multan, he presented the governor with, "a slave and horse together with raisins and almonds". Muhammad bin Tughlaq, informs Ibn Battuta, was so happy with the sermon of a preacher named Nasiruddin that he gave him "a hundred thousand *tankas* (coins) and two hundred slaves".

It appears from Ibn Battuta's account that there was considerable differentiation among slaves. Some female slaves in the service of the Sultan were experts in music and dance, and Ibn Battuta enjoyed their performance at the wedding of the Sultan's sister. Female slaves were also employed by the Sultan to keep a watch on his nobles.

Slaves were generally used for domestic labour, and Ibn Battuta found their services particularly indispensable for carrying women and men on palanquins or *dola*. The price of slaves, particularly female slaves required for domestic labour, was very low, and most families who could afford to do so kept at least one or two of them.

Contemporary European travellers and writers often highlighted the treatment of women as a crucial marker of difference between Western and Eastern societies. Not surprisingly, Bernier chose the practice of sati for detailed description. He noted that while some women seemed to embrace death cheerfully, others were forced to die.

Source 15

Slave women

Ibn Battuta informs us:

It is the habit of the emperor ... to keep with every noble, great or small, one of his slaves who spies on the nobles. He also appoints female scavengers who enter the houses unannounced; and to them the slave girls communicate all the information they possess.

Most female slaves were captured in raids and expeditions.

Source 16

The child sati

This is perhaps one of the most poignant descriptions by Bernier:

At Lahore I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than twelve years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit: the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the Brahmanas, assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet, lest she should run away, and in that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings and to prevent their bursting forth into clamorous and unavailing rage ...

➲ Discuss...

Why do you think the lives of ordinary women workers did not attract the attention of travellers such as Ibn Battuta and Bernier?

However, women's lives revolved around much else besides the practice of sati. Their labour was crucial in both agricultural and non-agricultural production. Women from merchant families participated in commercial activities, sometimes even taking mercantile disputes to the court of law. It therefore seems unlikely that women were confined to the private spaces of their homes.

You may have noticed that travellers' accounts provide us with a tantalising glimpse of the lives of men and women during these centuries. However, their observations were often shaped by the contexts from which they came. At the same time, there were many aspects of social life that these travellers did not notice.

Also relatively unknown are the experiences and observations of men (and possibly women) from the subcontinent who crossed seas and mountains and ventured into lands beyond the subcontinent. What did they see and hear? How were their relations with peoples of distant lands shaped? What were the languages they used? These and other questions will hopefully be systematically addressed by historians in the years to come.

Fig. 5.13
A sculpted panel from Mathura depicting travellers

➲ What are the various modes of transport that are shown?



TIMELINE SOME TRAVELLERS WHO LEFT ACCOUNTS

Tenth-eleventh centuries

973-1048	Muhammad ibn Ahmad Abu Raihan al-Biruni (from Uzbekistan)
----------	--

Thirteenth century

1254-1323	Marco Polo (from Italy)
-----------	-------------------------

Fourteenth century

1304-77	Ibn Battuta (from Morocco)
---------	----------------------------

Fifteenth century

1413-82	Abd al-Razzaq Kamal al-Din ibn Ishaq al-Samarqandi (from Samarqand)
---------	--

1466-72 (years spent in India)	Afanasii Nikitich Nikitin (fifteenth century, from Russia)
-----------------------------------	---

Sixteenth century

1518 (visit to India)	Duarte Barbosa, d. 1521 (from Portugal)
--------------------------	---

1562 (year of death)	Seydi Ali Reis (from Turkey)
-------------------------	------------------------------

1536-1600	Antonio Monserrate (from Spain)
-----------	---------------------------------

Seventeenth century

1626-31 (years spent in India)	Mahmud Wali Balkhi (from Balkh)
-----------------------------------	---------------------------------

1600-67	Peter Mundy (from England)
---------	----------------------------

1605-89	Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (from France)
---------	---------------------------------------

1620-88	François Bernier (from France)
---------	--------------------------------

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, the dates mentioned are those of the lifespan of the traveller.



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

1. Write a note on the *Kitab-ul-Hind*.
2. Compare and contrast the perspectives from which Ibn Battuta and Bernier wrote their accounts of their travels in India.
3. Discuss the picture of urban centres that emerges from Bernier's account.
4. Analyse the evidence for slavery provided by Ibn Battuta.
5. What were the elements of the practice of sati that drew the attention of Bernier?



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (ABOUT 250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. Discuss Al-Biruni's understanding of the caste system.
7. Do you think Ibn Battuta's account is useful in arriving at an understanding of life in contemporary urban centres? Give reasons for your answer.
8. Discuss the extent to which Bernier's account enables historians to reconstruct contemporary rural society.
9. Read this excerpt from Bernier:

Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instruction from a master. Sometimes they imitate so perfectly articles of European manufacture that the difference between the original and copy can hardly be discerned. Among other things, the Indians make excellent muskets, and fowling-pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of those articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith. I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings.

List the crafts mentioned in the passage. Compare these with the descriptions of artisanal activity in the chapter.



MAP WORK

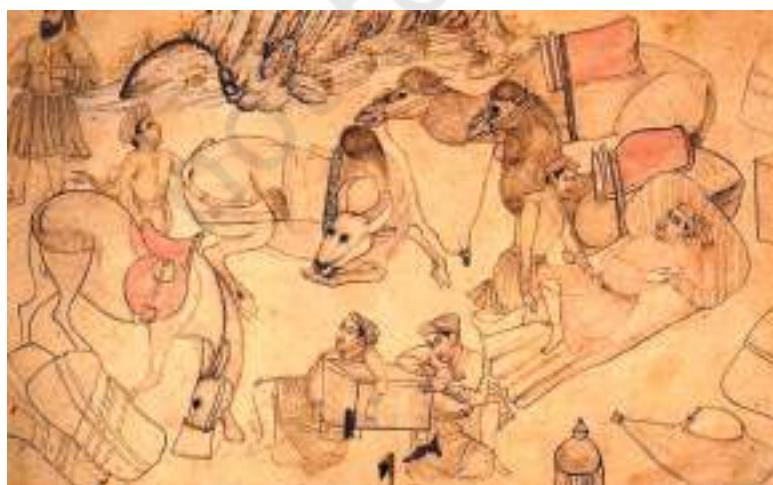
- On an outline map of the world mark the countries visited by Ibn Battuta. What are the seas that he may have crossed?



PROJECTS (CHOOSE ONE)

- Interview any one of your older relatives (mother/father/grandparents/uncles/aunts) who has travelled outside your town or village. Find out (a) where they went, (b) how they travelled, (c) how long did it take, (d) why did they travel (e) and did they face any difficulties. List as many similarities and differences that they may have noticed between their place of residence and the place they visited, focusing on language, clothes, food, customs, buildings, roads, the lives of men and women. Write a report on your findings.
- For any one of the travellers mentioned in the chapter, find out more about his life and writings. Prepare a report on his travels, noting in particular how he described society, and comparing these descriptions with the excerpts included in the chapter.

*Fig. 5.14
A painting depicting travellers at rest*



If you would like to know more, read:

Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. 2006. *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Catherine Asher and Cynthia Talbot. 2006. *India Before Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

François Bernier. nd. *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668*. Low Price Publications, New Delhi.

H.A.R. Gibb (ed.). 1993. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi.

Mushirul Hasan (ed.). 2005. *Westward Bound: Travels of Mirza Abu Talib*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

H.K. Kaul (ed.). 1997. *Travellers' India – an Anthology*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. 1993. *Travels in India*. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi.



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**THEME
SIX**

BHAKTI-SUFI TRADITIONS

CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND DEVOTIONAL TEXTS

(C. EIGHTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)



We saw in Chapter 4 that by the mid-first millennium CE the landscape of the subcontinent was dotted with a variety of religious structures – stupas, monasteries, temples. If these typified certain religious beliefs and practices, others have been reconstructed from textual traditions, including the Puranas, many of which received their present shape around the same time, and yet others remain only faintly visible in textual and visual records.

New textual sources available from this period include compositions attributed to poet-saints, most of whom expressed themselves orally in regional languages used by ordinary people. These compositions, which were often set to music, were compiled by disciples or devotees, generally after the death of the poet-saint. What is more, these traditions were fluid – generations of devotees tended to elaborate on the original message, and occasionally modified or even abandoned some of the ideas that appeared problematic or irrelevant in different political, social or cultural contexts. Using these sources thus poses a challenge to historians.

Historians also draw on hagiographies or biographies of saints written by their followers (or members of their religious sect). These may not be literally accurate, but allow a glimpse into the ways in which devotees perceived the lives of these path-breaking women and men.

As we will see, these sources provide us with insights into a scenario characterised by dynamism and diversity. Let us look at some elements of these more closely.

Fig. 6.1

A twelfth-century bronze sculpture of Manikkavachakar, a devotee of Shiva who composed beautiful devotional songs in Tamil

1. A MOSAIC OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Perhaps the most striking feature of this phase is the increasing visibility of a wide range of gods and goddesses in sculpture as well as in texts. At one level, this indicates the continued and even extended worship of the major deities – Vishnu, Shiva and the goddess – each of whom was visualised in a variety of forms.

1.1 The integration of cults

Historians who have tried to understand these developments suggest that there were at least two processes at work. One was a process of disseminating Brahmanical ideas. This is exemplified by the composition, compilation and preservation of Puranic texts in simple Sanskrit verse, explicitly meant to be accessible to women and Shudras, who were generally excluded from Vedic learning. At the same time, there was a second process at work – that of the Brahmanas accepting and reworking the beliefs and practices of these and other social categories. In fact, many beliefs and practices were shaped through a continuous dialogue between what sociologists have described as “great” Sanskritic Puranic traditions and “little” traditions throughout the land.

One of the most striking examples of this process is evident at Puri, Orissa, where the principal deity was identified, by the twelfth century, as Jagannatha (literally, the lord of the world), a form of Vishnu.

“Great” and “little” traditions

The terms great and little traditions were coined by a sociologist named Robert Redfield in the twentieth century to describe the cultural practices of peasant societies. He found that peasants observed rituals and customs that emanated from dominant social categories, including priests and rulers. These he classified as part of a great tradition. At the same time, peasants also followed local practices that did not necessarily correspond with those of the great tradition. These he included within the category of little tradition. He also noticed that both great and little traditions changed over time, through a process of interaction.

While scholars accept the significance of these categories and processes, they are often uncomfortable with the hierarchy suggested by the terms great and little. The use of quotation marks for “great” and “little” is one way of indicating this.



*Fig. 6.2
Jagannatha (extreme right) with his sister Subhadra (centre) and his brother Balarama (left)*

If you compare Fig. 6.2 with Fig. 4.26 (Chapter 4) you will notice that the deity is represented in a very different way. In this instance, a local deity, whose image was and continues to be made of wood by local tribal specialists, was recognised as a form of Vishnu. At the same time, Vishnu was visualised in a way that was very different from that in other parts of the country.

Such instances of integration are evident amongst goddess cults as well. Worship of the goddess, often simply in the form of a stone smeared with ochre, was evidently widespread. These local deities were often incorporated within the Puranic framework by providing them with an identity as a wife of the principal male deities – sometimes they were equated with Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, in other instances, with Parvati, the wife of Shiva.

1.2 Difference and conflict

Often associated with the goddess were forms of worship that were classified as Tantric. Tantric practices were widespread in several parts of the subcontinent – they were open to women and men, and practitioners often ignored differences of caste and class within the ritual context. Many of these ideas influenced Shaivism as well as Buddhism, especially in the eastern, northern and southern parts of the subcontinent.

All of these somewhat divergent and even disparate beliefs and practices would come to be classified as Hindu over the course of the next millennium. The divergence is perhaps most stark if we compare Vedic and Puranic traditions. The principal deities of the Vedic pantheon, Agni, Indra and Soma, become marginal figures, rarely visible in textual or visual representations. And while we can catch a glimpse of Vishnu, Shiva and the goddess in Vedic mantras, these have little in common with the elaborate Puranic mythologies. However, in spite of these obvious discrepancies, the Vedas continued to be revered as authoritative.

Not surprisingly, there were sometimes conflicts as well – those who valued the Vedic tradition often condemned practices that went beyond the closely regulated contact with the divine through the performance of sacrifices or precisely chanted mantras. On the other hand those engaged in Tantric practices

*Fig. 6.3
Sculpture of a Buddhist goddess, Marichi (c. tenth century, Bihar), an example of the process of integration of different religious beliefs and practices*



frequently ignored the authority of the Vedas. Also, devotees often tended to project their chosen deity, either Vishnu or Shiva, as supreme. Relations with other traditions, such as Buddhism or Jainism, were also often fraught with tension if not open conflict.

The traditions of devotion or bhakti need to be located within this context. Devotional worship had a long history of almost a thousand years before the period we are considering. During this time, expressions of devotion ranged from the routine worship of deities within temples to ecstatic adoration where devotees attained a trance-like state. The singing and chanting of devotional compositions was often a part of such modes of worship. This was particularly true of the Vaishnava and Shaiva sects.

2. POEMS OF PRAYER

EARLY TRADITIONS OF BHAKTI

In the course of the evolution of these forms of worship, in many instances, poet-saints emerged as leaders around whom there developed a community of devotees. Further, while Brahmanas remained important intermediaries between gods and devotees in several forms of bhakti, these traditions also accommodated and acknowledged women and the “lower castes”, categories considered ineligible for liberation within the orthodox Brahmanical framework. What also characterised traditions of bhakti was a remarkable diversity.

At a different level, historians of religion often classify bhakti traditions into two broad categories: *saguna* (with attributes) and *nirguna* (without attributes). The former included traditions that focused on the worship of specific deities such as Shiva, Vishnu and his avatars (incarnations) and forms of the goddess or Devi, all often conceptualised in anthropomorphic forms. *Nirguna* bhakti on the other hand was worship of an abstract form of god.

2.1 The Alvars and Nayanars of Tamil Nadu

Some of the earliest bhakti movements (c. sixth century) were led by the Alvars (literally, those who are “immersed” in devotion to Vishnu) and Nayanars (literally, leaders who were devotees of Shiva). They travelled from place to place singing hymns in Tamil in praise of their gods.

Discuss...

Find out about gods and goddesses worshipped in your town or village, noting their names and the ways in which they are depicted. Describe the rituals that are performed.

Source 1

The chaturvedin (Brahmana versed in the four Vedas) and the “outcaste”

This is an excerpt from a composition of an Alvar named Tondaradippodi, who was a Brahmana:

You (Vishnu) manifestly like those “servants” who express their love for your feet, though they may be born outcastes, more than the *Chaturvedins* who are strangers and without allegiance to your service.

➲ Do you think Tondaradippodi was opposed to the caste system?

Source 2

Shastras or devotion?

This is a verse composed by Appar, a Nayanar saint:

O rogues who quote the law books,
Of what use are your *gotra* and *kula*?

Just bow to Marperu’s lord
(Shiva who resides in Marperu, in Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu) as your sole refuge.

➲ Are there any similarities or differences in the attitudes of Tondaradippodi and Appar towards Brahmanas?

During their travels the Alvars and Nayanars identified certain shrines as abodes of their chosen deities. Very often large temples were later built at these sacred places. These developed as centres of pilgrimage. Singing compositions of these poet-saints became part of temple rituals in these shrines, as did worship of the saints’ images.

2.2 Attitudes towards caste

Some historians suggest that the Alvars and Nayanars initiated a movement of protest against the caste system and the dominance of Brahmanas or at least attempted to reform the system. To some extent this is corroborated by the fact that bhaktas hailed from diverse social backgrounds ranging from Brahmanas to artisans and cultivators and even from castes considered “untouchable”.

The importance of the traditions of the Alvars and Nayanars was sometimes indicated by the claim that their compositions were as important as the Vedas. For instance, one of the major anthologies of compositions by the Alvars, the *Nalayira Divyaprabandham*, was frequently described as the Tamil Veda, thus claiming that the text was as significant as the four Vedas in Sanskrit that were cherished by the Brahmanas.

2.3 Women devotees

Perhaps one of the most striking features of these traditions was the presence of women. For instance, the compositions of Andal, a woman Alvar, were widely sung (and continue to be sung to date). Andal saw herself as the beloved of Vishnu; her verses express her love for the deity. Another woman, Karaikkal Ammaiyan, a devotee of Shiva, adopted the path of extreme asceticism in order to attain

Compilations of devotional literature

By the tenth century the compositions of the 12 Alvars were compiled in an anthology known as the *Nalayira Divyaprabandham* (“Four Thousand Sacred Compositions”).

The poems of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar form the *Tevaram*, a collection that was compiled and classified in the tenth century on the basis of the music of the songs.

her goal. Her compositions were preserved within the Nayanar tradition. These women renounced their social obligations, but did not join an alternative order or become nuns. Their very existence and their compositions posed a challenge to patriarchal norms.

Source 3

A demon?

This is an excerpt from a poem by Karaikkal Ammaiyan in which she describes herself:

The female *Pey* (demoness)
 with . . . bulging veins,
 protruding eyes, white teeth and shrunken stomach,
 red haired and jutting teeth
 lengthy shins extending till the ankles,
 shouts and wails
 while wandering in the forest.
 This is the forest of Alankatu,
 which is the home of our father (Shiva)
 who dances . . . with his matted hair
 thrown in all eight directions, and with cool limbs.

➲ List the ways in which Karaikkal Ammaiyan depicts herself as presenting a contrast to traditional notions of feminine beauty.



Fig. 6.4
 A twelfth-century bronze image of Karaikkal Ammaiyan

2.4 Relations with the state

We saw in Chapter 2 that there were several important chiefdoms in the Tamil region in the early first millennium CE. From the second half of the first millennium there is evidence for states, including those of the Pallavas and Pandyas (c. sixth to ninth centuries CE). While Buddhism and Jainism had been prevalent in this region for several centuries, drawing support from merchant and artisan communities, these religious traditions received occasional royal patronage.

Interestingly, one of the major themes in Tamil bhakti hymns is the poets' opposition to Buddhism and Jainism. This is particularly marked in the

compositions of the Nayanars. Historians have attempted to explain this hostility by suggesting that it was due to competition between members of other religious traditions for royal patronage. What is evident is that the powerful Chola rulers (ninth to thirteenth centuries) supported Brahmanical and bhakti traditions, making land grants and constructing temples for Vishnu and Shiva.

In fact, some of the most magnificent Shiva temples, including those at Chidambaram, Thanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram, were constructed under the patronage of Chola rulers. This was also the period when some of the most spectacular representations of Shiva in bronze sculpture were produced. Clearly, the visions of the Nayanars inspired artists.

Both Nayanars and Alvars were revered by the Vellala peasants. Not surprisingly, rulers tried to win their support as well. The Chola kings, for instance, often attempted to claim divine support and proclaim their own power and status by building splendid temples that were adorned with stone and metal sculpture to recreate the visions of these popular saints who sang in the language of the people.

These kings also introduced the singing of Tamil Shaiva hymns in the temples under royal patronage, taking the initiative to collect and organise them into a text (*Tevaram*). Further, inscriptional evidence from around 945 suggests that the Chola ruler Parantaka I had consecrated metal images of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar in a Shiva temple. These were carried in processions during the festivals of these saints.



*Fig. 6.5
An image of Shiva as Nataraja*

➲ Discuss...

Why do you think kings were interested in proclaiming their connections with bhaktas?

3. THE VIRASHAIVA TRADITION IN KARNATAKA

The twelfth century witnessed the emergence of a new movement in Karnataka, led by a Brahmana named Basavanna (1106-68) who was a minister in the court of a Kalachuri ruler. His followers were known as Virashaivas (heroes of Shiva) or Lingayats (wearers of the *linga*).

Lingayats continue to be an important community in the region to date. They worship Shiva in his manifestation as a *linga*, and men usually wear a small *linga* in a silver case on a loop strung over the left shoulder. Those who are revered include the *jangama* or wandering monks. Lingayats believe that on death the devotee will be united with Shiva and will not return to this world. Therefore they do not practise funerary rites such as cremation, prescribed in the Dharmashastras. Instead, they ceremonially bury their dead.

The Lingayats challenged the idea of caste and the “pollution” attributed to certain groups by Brahmanas. They also questioned the theory of rebirth. These won them followers amongst those who were marginalised within the Brahmanical social order. The Lingayats also encouraged certain practices disapproved in the Dharmashastras, such as post-puberty marriage and the remarriage of widows. Our understanding of the Virashaiva tradition is derived from *vachanas* (literally, sayings) composed in Kannada by women and men who joined the movement.

Source 4

Rituals and the real world

Here is a *vachana* composed by Basavanna:

When they see a serpent carved in stone they pour milk on it.

If a real serpent comes they say: “Kill. Kill.”

To the servant of the god who could eat if served they say: “Go away! Go away!”

But to the image of the god which cannot eat they offer dishes of food.

➲ Describe Basavanna’s attitude towards rituals. How does he attempt to convince the listener?

New religious developments

This period also witnessed two major developments. On the one hand, many ideas of the Tamil bhaktas (especially the Vaishnavas) were incorporated within the Sanskritic tradition, culminating in the composition of one of the best-known Puranas, the *Bhagavata Purana*. Second, we find the development of traditions of bhakti in Maharashtra in the thirteenth century.

4. RELIGIOUS FERMENT IN NORTH INDIA

During the same period, in north India deities such as Vishnu and Shiva were worshipped in temples, often built with the support of rulers. However, historians have not found evidence of anything resembling the compositions of the Alvars and Nayanars till the fourteenth century. How do we account for this difference?

Some historians point out that in north India this was the period when several Rajput states emerged. In most of these states Brahmanas occupied positions of importance, performing a range of secular and ritual functions. There seems to have been little or no attempt to challenge their position directly.

At the same time other religious leaders, who did not function within the orthodox Brahmanical framework, were gaining ground. These included the Nathas, Jogis and Siddhas. Many of them came from artisanal groups, including weavers, who were becoming increasingly important with the development of organised craft production. Demand for such production grew with the emergence of new urban centres, and long-distance trade with Central Asia and West Asia.

Many of these new religious leaders questioned the authority of the Vedas, and expressed themselves in languages spoken by ordinary people, which developed over centuries into the ones used today. However, in spite of their popularity these religious leaders were not in a position to win the support of the ruling elites.

A new element in this situation was the coming of the Turks which culminated in the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate (thirteenth century). This undermined the power of many of the Rajput states and the Brahmanas who were associated with these kingdoms. This was accompanied by marked changes in the realm of culture and religion. The coming of the sufis (Section 6) was a significant part of these developments.



*Fig. 6.6
Fragment of a page from the Qur'an, belonging to a manuscript dating to the eighth or ninth century*

5. NEW STRANDS IN THE FABRIC ISLAMIC TRADITIONS

Just as the regions within the subcontinent were not isolated from one another, so too, contact with lands beyond the seas and mountains had existed for millennia. Arab merchants, for instance, frequented ports along the western coast in the first millennium CE, while Central Asian people settled in the north-western parts of the subcontinent during the same period. From the seventh century, with the advent of Islam, these regions became part of what is often termed the Islamic world.

5.1 Faiths of rulers and subjects

One axis of understanding the significance of these connections that is frequently adopted is to focus on the religions of ruling elites. In 711 an Arab general named Muhammad Qasim conquered Sind, which became part of the Caliph's domain. Later (c. thirteenth century) the Turks and Afghans established the Delhi Sultanate. This was followed by the formation of Sultanates in the Deccan and other parts of the subcontinent; Islam was an acknowledged religion of rulers in several areas. This continued with the establishment of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century as well as in many of the regional states that emerged in the eighteenth century.

Theoretically, Muslim rulers were to be guided by the *ulama*, who were expected to ensure that they ruled according to the *shari'a*. Clearly, the situation was complicated in the subcontinent, where there were populations that did not subscribe to Islam.

It is in this context that the category of the *zimmi*, meaning protected (derived from the Arabic word *zimma*, protection) developed for people who followed revealed scriptures, such as the Jews and Christians, and lived under Muslim rulership. They paid a tax called *jizya* and gained the right to be protected by Muslims. In India this status was extended to Hindus as well. As you will see (Chapter 9), rulers such as the Mughals came to regard themselves as emperors of not just Muslims but of all peoples.

In effect, rulers often adopted a fairly flexible policy towards their subjects. For instance, several rulers gave land endowments and granted tax exemptions to Hindu, Jaina, Zoroastrian, Christian and Jewish religious institutions and also expressed respect and

Ulama (plural of *alim*, or one who knows) are scholars of Islamic studies. As preservers of this tradition they perform various religious, juridical and teaching functions.

Shari'a

The *shari'a* is the law governing the Muslim community. It is based on the Qur'an and the *hadis*, traditions of the Prophet including a record of his remembered words and deeds.

With the expansion of Islamic rule outside Arabia, in areas where customs and traditions were different, *qiyas* (reasoning by analogy) and *ijma* (consensus of the community) were recognised as two other sources of legislation. Thus, the *shari'a* evolved from the Qur'an, *hadis*, *qiyas* and *ijma*.

devotion towards non-Muslim religious leaders. These grants were made by several Mughal rulers, including Akbar and Aurangzeb.

Source 5

A church in Khambat

This is an excerpt from a *farman* (imperial order) issued by Akbar in 1598:

Whereas it reached our eminent and holy notice that the *padris* (fathers) of the Holy Society of Jesus wish to build a house of prayer (church) in the city of Kambayat (Khambat, in Gujarat); therefore an exalted mandate ... is being issued, ... that the dignitaries of the city of Kambayat should in no case stand in their way but should allow them to build a church so that they may engage themselves in their own worship. It is necessary that the order of the Emperor should be obeyed in every way.

➲ Who were the people from whom Akbar anticipated opposition to his order?

Fig. 6.7
A Mughal painting depicting Emperor Jahangir with a Jogi



Source 6

Reverence for the Jogi

Here is an excerpt from a letter written by Aurangzeb to a Jogi in 1661-62:

The possessor of the sublime station, Shiv Murat, Guru Anand Nath Jio!

May your Reverence remain in peace and happiness ever under the protection of Sri Shiv Jio!

... A piece of cloth for the cloak and a sum of twenty five rupees which have been sent as an offering will reach (Your Reverence) ... Your Reverence may write to us whenever there is any service which can be rendered by us.

➲ Identify the deity worshipped by the Jogi. Describe the attitude of the emperor towards the Jogi.

5.2 The popular practice of Islam

The developments that followed the coming of Islam were not confined to ruling elites; in fact they permeated far and wide, through the subcontinent, amongst different social strata – peasants, artisans, warriors, merchants, to name a few. All those who adopted Islam accepted, in principle, the five “pillars” of the faith: that there is one God, Allah, and Prophet Muhammad is his messenger (*shahada*); offering prayers five times a day (*namaz/salat*); giving alms (*zakat*); fasting during the month of Ramzan (*sawm*); and performing the pilgrimage to Mecca (*haji*).

However, these universal features were often overlaid with diversities in practice derived from sectarian affiliations (Sunni, Shi'a), and the influence of local customary practices of converts from different social milieus. For example, the Khojahs, a branch of the Ismailis (a Shi'a sect), developed new modes of communication, disseminating ideas derived from the Qur'an through indigenous literary genres. These included the *ginan* (derived from the Sanskrit *jnana*, meaning “knowledge”), devotional poems in Punjabi, Multani, Sindhi, Kachchi, Hindi and Gujarati, sung in special *ragas* during daily prayer meetings.

Elsewhere, Arab Muslim traders who settled along the Malabar coast (Kerala) adopted the local language, Malayalam. They also adopted local customs such as matriliney (Chapter 3) and matrilocal residence.

The complex blend of a universal faith with local traditions is perhaps best exemplified in the architecture of mosques. Some architectural features

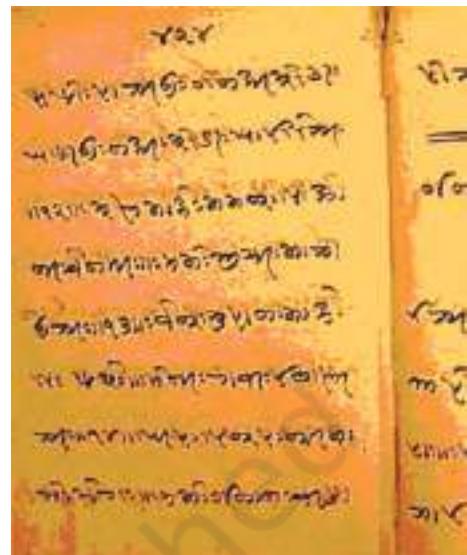


Fig. 6.8

A Khojaki manuscript

The *ginan* were transmitted orally before being recorded in the Khojaki script that was derived from the local *landa* (“clipped” mercantile script) used by the linguistically diverse community of Khojahs in the Punjab, Sind and Gujarat.

Matrilocal residence is a practice where women after marriage remain in their natal home with their children and the husbands may come to stay with them.



Fig. 6.9

A mosque in Kerala,
c. thirteenth century

Note the *shikara*-like roof.



*Fig. 6.10
Atiya mosque, Mymensingh district,
Bangladesh, built with brick, 1609*



*Fig. 6.11
The Shah Hamadan mosque in Srinagar, on the banks of the Jhelum, is often regarded as the “jewel in the crown” of all the existing mosques of Kashmir. Built in 1395, it is one of the best examples of Kashmiri wooden architecture. Notice the spire and the beautifully carved eaves. It is decorated with papier mache.*

of mosques are universal – such as their orientation towards Mecca, evident in the placement of the *mihrab* (prayer niche) and the *minbar* (pulpit). However, there are several features that show variations – such as roofs and building materials (see Figs. 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11).

5.3 Names for communities

We often take the terms Hindu and Muslim for granted, as labels for religious communities. Yet, these terms did not gain currency for a very long time. Historians who have studied Sanskrit texts and inscriptions dating between the eighth and fourteenth centuries point out that the term *musalman* or Muslim was virtually never used. Instead, people were occasionally identified in terms of the region from which they came. So, the Turkish rulers were designated as Turushka, Tajika were people from Tajikistan and Parashika were people from Persia. Sometimes, terms used for other peoples were applied to the new migrants. For instance, the Turks and Afghans were referred to as Shakas (Chapters 2 and 3) and Yavanas (a term used for Greeks).

A more general term for these migrant communities was *mlechchha*, indicating that they did not observe the norms of caste society and spoke languages that were not derived from Sanskrit. Such terms sometimes had a derogatory connotation, but they rarely denoted a distinct religious community of Muslims in opposition to Hindus. And as we saw (Chapter 5), the term “Hindu” was used in a variety of ways, not necessarily restricted to a religious connotation.

➲ Discuss...

Find out more about the architecture of mosques in your village or town. What are the materials used to build mosques? Are these locally available? Are there any distinctive architectural features?

6. THE GROWTH OF SUFISM

In the early centuries of Islam a group of religious-minded people called sufis turned to asceticism and mysticism in protest against the growing materialism of the Caliphate as a religious and political institution. They were critical of the dogmatic definitions and scholastic methods of interpreting the Qur'an and *sunna* (traditions of the Prophet) adopted by theologians. Instead, they laid emphasis on seeking salvation through intense devotion and love for God by following His commands, and by following the example of the Prophet Muhammad whom they regarded as a perfect human being. The sufis thus sought an interpretation of the Qur'an on the basis of their personal experience.

6.1 Khanqahs and silsilas

By the eleventh century Sufism evolved into a well-developed movement with a body of literature on Quranic studies and sufi practices. Institutionally, the sufis began to organise communities around the hospice or *khanqah* (Persian) controlled by a teaching master known as *shaikh* (in Arabic), *pir* or *mursid* (in Persian). He enrolled disciples (*murids*) and appointed a successor (*khalifa*). He established rules for spiritual conduct and interaction between inmates as well as between laypersons and the master.

Sufi *silsilas* began to crystallise in different parts of the Islamic world around the twelfth century. The word *silsila* literally means a chain, signifying a continuous link between master and disciple, stretching as an unbroken spiritual genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad. It was through this channel that spiritual power and blessings were transmitted to devotees. Special rituals of initiation were developed in which initiates took an oath of allegiance, wore a patched garment, and shaved their hair.

When the *shaikh* died, his tomb-shrine (*dargah*, a Persian term meaning court) became the centre of devotion for his followers. This encouraged the practice of pilgrimage or *ziyarat* to his grave, particularly on his death anniversary or *urs* (or marriage, signifying the union of his soul with God). This was because people believed that in death saints were united with God, and were thus closer to Him than when living. People sought their blessings to attain material and spiritual benefits. Thus evolved the cult of the *shaikh* revered as *wali*.

Sufism and tasawwuf

Sufism is an English word coined in the nineteenth century. The word used for Sufism in Islamic texts is *tasawwuf*. Historians have understood this term in several ways. According to some scholars, it is derived from *suf*, meaning wool, referring to the coarse woollen clothes worn by sufis. Others derive it from *safa*, meaning purity. It may also have been derived from *suffa*, the platform outside the Prophet's mosque, where a group of close followers assembled to learn about the faith.

Names of silsilas

Most sufi lineages were named after a founding figure. For example, the Qadiri order was named after Shaikh Abd'ul Qadir Jilani. However, some like the Chishti order, were named after their place of origin, in this case the town of Chisht in central Afghanistan.

Wali (plural *auliya*) or friend of God was a sufi who claimed proximity to Allah, acquiring His Grace (*barakat*) to perform miracles (*karamat*).

Discuss...

Are there any *khanqahs* or *dargahs* in your town or village? Find out when these were built, and what are the activities associated with them. Are there other places where religious men and women meet or live?

6.2 Outside the *khanqah*

Some mystics initiated movements based on a radical interpretation of sufi ideals. Many scorned the *khanqah* and took to mendicancy and observed celibacy. They ignored rituals and observed extreme forms of asceticism. They were known by different names – Qalandars, Madaris, Malangs, Haidaris, etc. Because of their deliberate defiance of the *shari'a* they were often referred to as *be-shari'a*, in contrast to the *ba-shari'a* sufis who complied with it.

7. THE CHISHTIS IN THE SUBCONTINENT

Of the groups of sufis who migrated to India in the late twelfth century, the Chishtis were the most influential. This was because they adapted successfully to the local environment and adopted several features of Indian devotional traditions.

7.1 Life in the Chishti *khanqah*

The *khanqah* was the centre of social life. We know about Shaikh Nizamuddin's hospice (c. fourteenth century) on the banks of the river Yamuna in Ghiyaspur, on the outskirts of what was then the city of Delhi. It comprised several small rooms and a big hall (*jama'at khana*) where the inmates and visitors lived and prayed. The inmates included family members of the Shaikh, his attendants and disciples. The Shaikh lived in a small room on the roof of the hall where he met visitors in the morning and evening. A veranda surrounded the courtyard, and a boundary wall ran around the complex. On one occasion, fearing a Mongol invasion, people from the neighbouring areas flocked into the *khanqah* to seek refuge.

MAJOR TEACHERS OF THE CHISHTI SILSILA

SUFI TEACHERS	YEAR OF DEATH	LOCATION OF DARGAH
Shaikh Muinuddin Sijzi	1235	Ajmer (Rajasthan)
Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki	1235	Delhi
Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar	1265	Ajodhan (Pakistan)
Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya	1325	Delhi
Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i Dehli	1356	Delhi

There was an open kitchen (*langar*), run on *futuh* (unasked-for charity). From morning till late night people from all walks of life – soldiers, slaves, singers, merchants, poets, travellers, rich and poor, Hindu *jogis* (yogi) and *qalandars* – came seeking discipleship, amulets for healing, and the intercession of the Shaikh in various matters. Other visitors included poets such as Amir Hasan Sijzi and Amir Khusrau and the court historian Ziyauddin Barani, all of whom wrote about the Shaikh. Practices that were adopted, including bowing before the Shaikh, offering water to visitors, shaving the heads of initiates, and yogic exercises, represented attempts to assimilate local traditions.

Shaikh Nizamuddin appointed several spiritual successors and deputed them to set up hospices in various parts of the subcontinent. As a result the teachings, practices and organisation of the Chishtis as well as the fame of the Shaikh spread rapidly. This in turn drew pilgrims to his shrine, and also to the shrines of his spiritual ancestors.

7.2 Chishti devotionalism: *ziyarat* and *qawwali*

Pilgrimage, called *ziyarat*, to tombs of sufi saints is prevalent all over the Muslim world. This practice is an occasion for seeking the sufi's spiritual grace (*barakat*). For more than seven centuries people of various creeds, classes and social backgrounds have expressed their devotion at the *dargahs* of the five great Chishti saints (see chart on p.154). Amongst these, the most revered shrine is that of Khwaja Muinuddin, popularly known as "Gharib Nawaz" (comforter of the poor).

The earliest textual references to Khwaja Muinuddin's *dargah* date to the fourteenth century. It was evidently popular because of the austerity and piety of its Shaikh, the greatness of his spiritual successors, and the patronage of royal visitors. Muhammad bin Tughlaq (ruled, 1324-51) was the

Fig. 6.12
A seventeenth-century painting of
Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and
his disciple Amir Khusrau

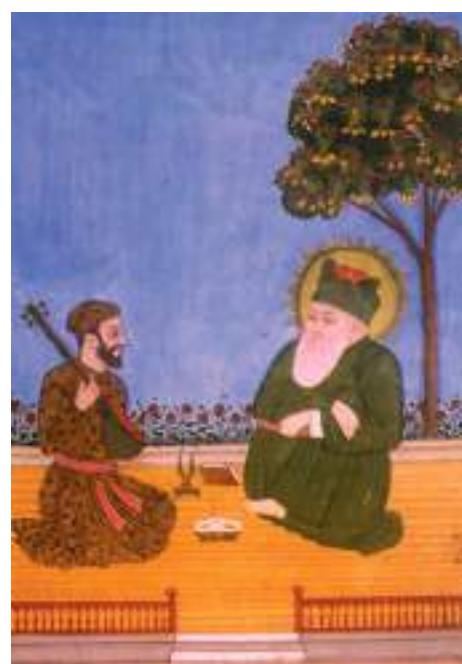
- ➲ Describe how the artist differentiates between the Shaikh and his disciple.

The story of Data Ganj Bakhsh

In 1039 Abu'l Hasan al Hujwiri, a native of Hujwir near Ghazni in Afghanistan, was forced to cross the Indus as a captive of the invading Turkish army. He settled in Lahore and wrote a book in Persian called the *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* (Unveiling of the Veiled) to explain the meaning of *tasawwuf*, and those who practised it, that is, the sufi.

Hujwiri died in 1073 and was buried in Lahore. The grandson of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni constructed a tomb over his grave, and this tomb-shrine became a site of pilgrimage for his devotees, especially on his death anniversary.

Even today Hujwiri is revered as Data Ganj Bakhsh or "Giver who bestows treasures" and his mausoleum is called Data Darbar or "Court of the Giver".



first Sultan to visit the shrine, but the earliest construction to house the tomb was funded in the late fifteenth century by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji of Malwa. Since the shrine was located on the trade route linking Delhi and Gujarat, it attracted a lot of travellers.

By the sixteenth century the shrine had become very popular; in fact it was the spirited singing of pilgrims bound for Ajmer that inspired Akbar to visit the tomb. He went there fourteen times, sometimes two or three times a year, to seek blessings for new conquests, fulfilment of vows, and the birth of sons. He maintained this tradition until 1580. Each of these visits was celebrated by generous gifts, which were recorded in imperial documents. For example, in 1568 he offered a huge cauldron (*degh*) to facilitate cooking for pilgrims. He also had a mosque constructed within the compound of the *dargah*.

*Fig. 6.13
Shaikhs greeting the Mughal emperor Jahangir on his pilgrimage to Ajmer, painting by an artist named Manohar, c. 1615*

➲ Find his signature on the painting.



Source 7

The pilgrimage of the Mughal princess Jahanara, 1643

The following is an excerpt from Jahanara's biography of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti, titled *Munis al Arwah* (The Confidant of Spirits):

After praising the one God ... this lowly *faqira* (humble soul) Jahanara ... went from the capital Agra in the company of my great father (Emperor Shah Jahan) towards the pure region of incomparable Ajmer ... I was committed to this idea, that every day in every station I would perform two cycles of optional prayer ...

For several days ... I did not sleep on a leopard skin at night, I did not extend my feet in the direction of the blessed sanctuary of the revered saving master, and I did not turn my back towards him. I passed the days beneath the trees.

On Thursday, the fourth of the blessed month of Ramzan, I attained the happiness of pilgrimage to the illuminated and the perfumed tomb ... With an hour of daylight remaining, I went to the holy sanctuary and rubbed my pale face with the dust of that threshold. From the doorway to the blessed tomb I went barefoot, kissing the ground. Having entered the dome, I went around the light-filled tomb of my master seven times ... Finally, with my own hand I put the finest quality of *itar* on the perfumed tomb of the revered one, and having taken off the rose scarf that I had on my head, I placed it on the top of the blessed tomb ...

➲ What are the gestures that Jahanara records to indicate her devotion to the Shaikh? How does she suggest that the *dargah* was a special place?

Also part of *ziyarat* is the use of music and dance including mystical chants performed by specially trained musicians or *qawwals* to evoke divine ecstasy. The sufis remember God either by reciting the *zikr* (the Divine Names) or evoking His Presence through *sama'* (literally, "audition") or performance of mystical music. *Sama'* was integral to the Chishtis, and exemplified interaction with indigenous devotional traditions.

The lamp of the entire land

Each sufi shrine was associated with distinctive features. This is what an eighteenth-century visitor from the Deccan, Dargah Quli Khan, wrote about the shrine of Nasiruddin Chiragh-i Dehli in his *Muraqqa-i Dehli* (Album of Delhi):

The Shaikh (in the grave) is not the lamp of Delhi but of the entire country. People turn up there in crowds, particularly on Sunday. In the month of Diwali the entire population of Delhi visits it and stays in tents around the spring tank for days. They take baths to obtain cures from chronic diseases. Muslims and Hindus pay visits in the same spirit. From morning till evening people come and also make themselves busy in merrymaking in the shade of the trees.

Amir Khusrau and the qaul

Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), the great poet, musician and disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, gave a unique form to the Chishti *sama'* by introducing the *qaul* (Arabic word meaning "saying"), a hymn sung at the opening or closing of *qawwali*. This was followed by sufi poetry in Persian, Hindavi or Urdu, and sometimes using words from all of these languages. *Qawwals* (those who sing these songs) at the shrine of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya always start their recital with the *qaul*. Today *qawwali* is performed in shrines all over the subcontinent.



Fig. 6.14
Qawwali at the dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya

➲ In what ways are the ideas and modes of expression used in this song similar to or different from those used by Jahanara to describe her *ziyarat* (Source 7)?

7.3 Languages and communication

It was not just in *sama'* that the Chishtis adopted local languages. In Delhi, those associated with the Chishti *silsila* conversed in Hindavi, the language of the people. Other sufis such as Baba Farid composed verses in the local language, which were incorporated in the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Yet others composed long poems or *masnavis* to express ideas of divine love using human love as an allegory. For example, the *prem-akhyan* (love story) *Padmavat* composed by Malik Muhammad Jayasi revolved around the romance of Padmini and Ratansen, the king of Chittor. Their trials were symbolic of the soul's journey to the divine. Such poetic compositions were often recited in hospices, usually during *sama'*.

A different genre of sufi poetry was composed in and around the town of Bijapur, Karnataka. These were short poems in Dakhani (a variant of Urdu) attributed to Chishti sufis who lived in this region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These poems were probably sung by women while performing household chores like grinding grain and spinning. Other compositions were in the form of *lurinama* or lullabies and *shadinama* or wedding songs. It is likely that the sufis of this region were inspired by the pre-existing bhakti tradition of the Kannada *vachanas* of the Lingayats and the Marathi *abhangs* of the *sants* of Pandharpur. It is through this medium that Islam gradually gained a place in the villages of the Deccan.

Source 8

Charkhanama

A song set to the rhythm of the spinning wheel:

As you take the cotton, you do *zikr-i jali*
As you separate the cotton you should do *zikr-i qalbi*
And as you spool the thread you should do *zikr-i aini*
Zikr should be uttered from the stomach through the chest,
And threaded through the throat.
The threads of breath should be counted one by one,
oh sister.
Up to twenty four thousand.
Do this day and night,
And offer this to your *pir* as a gift.

7.4 Sufis and the state

A major feature of the Chishti tradition was austerity, including maintaining a distance from worldly power. However, this was by no means a situation of absolute isolation from political power. The sufis accepted unsolicited grants and donations from the political elites. The Sultans in turn set up charitable trusts (*auqaf*) as endowments for hospices and granted tax-free land (*inam*).

The Chishtis accepted donations in cash and kind. Rather than accumulate donations, they preferred to use these fully on immediate requirements such as food, clothes, living quarters and ritual necessities (such as *sama'*). All this enhanced the moral authority of the *shaikhs*, which in turn attracted people from all walks of life. Further, their piety and scholarship, and people's belief in their miraculous powers made sufis popular among the masses, whose support kings wished to secure.

Kings did not simply need to demonstrate their association with sufis; they also required legitimization from them. When the Turks set up the Delhi Sultanate, they resisted the insistence of the *ulama* on imposing *shari'a* as state law because they anticipated opposition from their subjects, the majority of whom were non-Muslims. The Sultans then sought out the sufis – who derived their authority directly from God – and did not depend on jurists to interpret the *shari'a*.

Besides, it was believed that the *auliya* could intercede with God in order to improve the material and spiritual conditions of ordinary human beings. This explains why kings often wanted their tombs to be in the vicinity of sufi shrines and hospices.

However, there were instances of conflict between the Sultans and the sufis. To assert their authority, both expected that certain rituals be performed such as prostration and kissing of the feet. Occasionally the sufi *shaikh* was addressed with high-sounding titles. For example, the disciples of Nizamuddin Auliya addressed him as *sultan-ul-mashaikh* (literally, Sultan amongst *shaikhs*).

Sufis and the state

Other sufis such as the Suhrawardi under the Delhi Sultans and the Naqshbandi under the Mughals were also associated with the state. However, the modes of their association were not the same as those of the Chishtis. In some cases, sufis accepted courtly offices.

Source 9

Discuss...

What are the potential sources of conflict in the relationship between religious and political leaders?

What aspects of the relationship between the sufis and the state do you think are best illustrated in this account? What does the account tell us about the modes of communication between the Shaikh and his disciples?

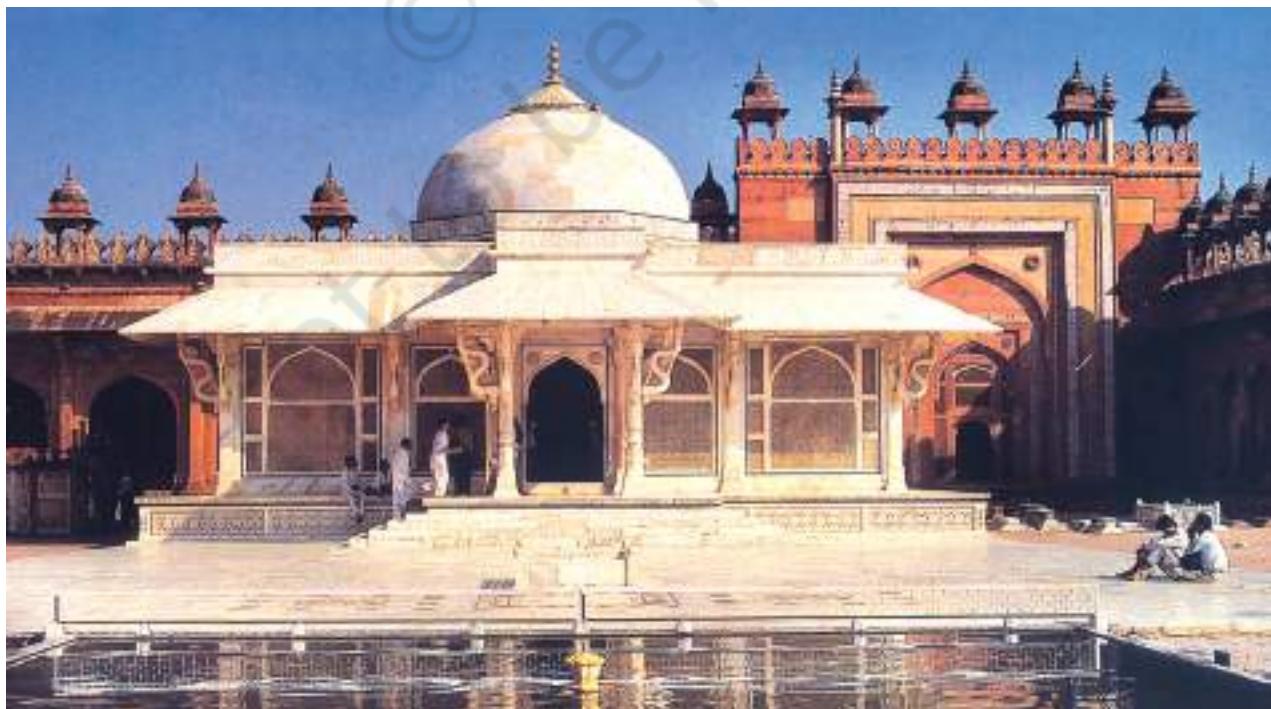
*Fig. 6.15
The dargah of Shaikh Salim Chishti (a direct descendant of Baba Farid) constructed in Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's capital, symbolised the bond between the Chishtis and the Mughal state.*

Declining a royal gift

This excerpt from a sufi text describes the proceedings at Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's hospice in 1313:

I (the author, Amir Hasan Sijzi) had the good fortune of kissing his (Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's) feet ... At this time a local ruler had sent him the deed of ownership to two gardens and much land, along with the provisions and tools for their maintenance. The ruler had also made it clear that he was relinquishing all his rights to both the gardens and land. The master ... had not accepted that gift. Instead, he had lamented: "What have I to do with gardens and fields and lands? ... None of ... our spiritual masters had engaged in such activity."

Then he told an appropriate story: "... Sultan Ghiyasuddin, who at that time was still known as Ulugh Khan, came to visit Shaikh Fariduddin (and) offered some money and ownership deeds for four villages to the Shaikh, the money being for the benefit of the dervishes (sufis), and the land for his use. Smiling, Shaikh al Islam (Fariduddin) said: 'Give me the money. I will dispense it to the dervishes. But as for those land deeds, keep them. There are many who long for them. Give them away to such persons.'



8. NEW DEVOTIONAL PATHS

DIALOGUE AND DISSENT IN NORTHERN INDIA

Many poet-saints engaged in explicit and implicit dialogue with these new social situations, ideas and institutions. Let us now see how this dialogue found expression. We focus here on three of the most influential figures of the time.

8.1 Weaving a divine fabric: Kabir

Kabir (c. fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) is perhaps one of the most outstanding examples of a poet-saint who emerged within this context. Historians have painstakingly tried to reconstruct his life and times through a study of compositions attributed to him as well as later hagiographies. Such exercises have proved to be challenging on a number of counts.

Verses ascribed to Kabir have been compiled in three distinct but overlapping traditions. The *Kabir Bijak* is preserved by the Kabirpanth (the path or sect of Kabir) in Varanasi and elsewhere in Uttar Pradesh; the *Kabir Granthavali* is associated with the Dadupanth in Rajasthan, and many of his compositions are found in the *Adi Granth Sahib* (see Section 8.2). All these manuscript compilations were made long after the death of Kabir. By the nineteenth century, anthologies of verses attributed to him circulated in print in regions as far apart as Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Kabir's poems have survived in several languages and dialects; and some are composed in the special language of *nirguna* poets, the *sant bhasha*. Others, known as *ulatbansi* (upside-down sayings), are written in a form in which everyday meanings are inverted. These hint at the difficulties of capturing the nature of the Ultimate Reality in words: expressions such as "the lotus which blooms without flower" or the "fire raging in the ocean" convey a sense of Kabir's mystical experiences.

Also striking is the range of traditions Kabir drew on to describe the Ultimate Reality. These include Islam: he described the Ultimate Reality as Allah, Khuda, Hazrat and Pir. He also used terms drawn from Vedantic traditions, *alakh* (the unseen), *nirakar* (formless), Brahman, Atman, etc. Other terms with mystical connotations such as *shabda* (sound) or *shunya* (emptiness) were drawn from yogic traditions.

Source 10

The One Lord

Here is a composition attributed to Kabir:

Tell me, brother, how can there be

No one lord of the world but two?

Who led you so astray?

God is called by many names:

Names like Allah, Ram, Karim, Keshav, Hari, and Hazrat.

Gold may be shaped into rings and bangles.

Isn't it gold all the same?

Distinctions are only words we invent ...

Kabir says they are both mistaken.

Neither can find the only Ram. One kills the goat, the other cows.

They waste their lives in disputation.

➲ What is Kabir's argument against the distinction made between gods of different communities?

Diverse and sometimes conflicting ideas are expressed in these poems. Some poems draw on Islamic ideas and use monotheism and iconoclasm to attack Hindu polytheism and idol worship; others use the sufi concept of *zikr* and *ishq* (love) to express the Hindu practice of *nam-simaran* (remembrance of God's name).

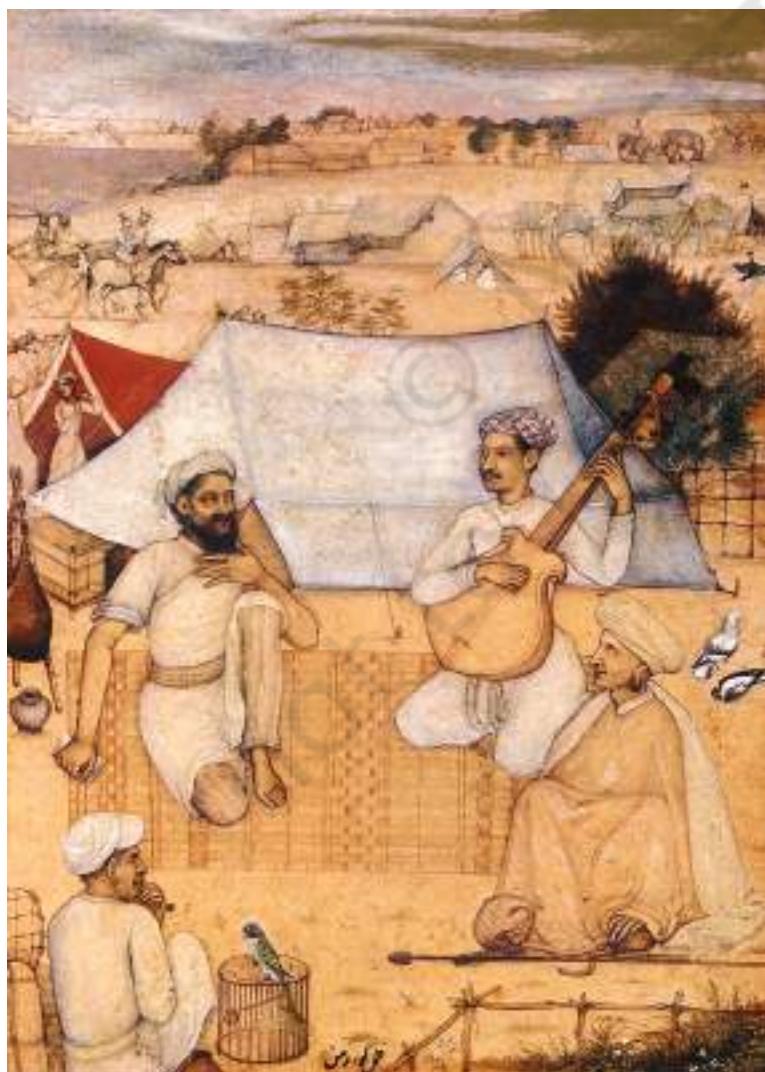
Were all these composed by Kabir? We may never be able to tell with certainty, although scholars have tried to analyse the language, style and content to establish which verses could be Kabir's. What this rich corpus of verses also signifies is that Kabir was and is to the present a source of inspiration for those who questioned entrenched religious and social institutions, ideas and practices in their search for the Divine.

Just as Kabir's ideas probably crystallised through dialogue and debate (explicit or implicit) with the traditions of sufis and yogis in the region of Awadh (part of present-day Uttar Pradesh), his legacy was claimed by several groups, who remembered him and continue to do so.

This is most evident in later debates about whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim by birth, debates that are reflected in hagiographies. Many of these were composed from the seventeenth century onwards, about 200 years after Kabir's lifetime.

Hagiographies within the Vaishnava tradition attempted to suggest that he was born a Hindu, Kabirdas (Kabir itself is an Arabic word meaning "great"), but was raised by a poor Muslim family belonging to the community of weavers or *julahas*, who were relatively recent converts to Islam. They also suggested that he was initiated into bhakti by a guru, perhaps Ramananda.

*Fig. 6.16
Roadside musicians, a seventeenth-century Mughal painting
It is likely that the compositions of the sants were sung by such musicians.*



However, the verses attributed to Kabir use the words *guru* and *satguru*, but do not mention the name of any specific preceptor. Historians have pointed out that it is very difficult to establish that Ramananda and Kabir were contemporaries, without assigning improbably long lives to either or both. So, while traditions linking the two cannot be accepted at face value, they show how important the legacy of Kabir was for later generations.

8.2 Baba Guru Nanak and the Sacred Word

Baba Guru Nanak (1469-1539) was born in a Hindu merchant family in a village called Nankana Sahib near the river Ravi in the predominantly Muslim Punjab. He trained to be an accountant and studied Persian. He was married at a young age but he spent most of his time among sufis and bhaktas. He also travelled widely.

The message of Baba Guru Nanak is spelt out in his hymns and teachings. These suggest that he advocated a form of *nirguna* bhakti. He firmly repudiated the external practices of the religions he saw around him. He rejected sacrifices, ritual baths, image worship, austerities and the scriptures of both Hindus and Muslims. For Baba Guru Nanak, the Absolute or “*rab*” had no gender or form. He proposed a simple way to connect to the Divine by remembering and repeating the Divine Name, expressing his ideas through hymns called “*shabad*” in Punjabi, the language of the region. Baba Guru Nanak would sing these compositions in various *ragas* while his attendant Mardana played the *rabab*.

Baba Guru Nanak organised his followers into a community. He set up rules for congregational worship (*sangat*) involving collective recitation. He appointed one of his disciples, Angad, to succeed him as the preceptor (*guru*), and this practice was followed for nearly 200 years.

It appears that Baba Guru Nanak did not wish to establish a new religion, but after his death his followers consolidated their own practices and distinguished themselves from both Hindus and Muslims. The fifth preceptor, Guru Arjan, compiled Baba Guru Nanak’s hymns along with those of his four successors and other religious poets like Baba Farid, Ravidas (also known as Raidas) and Kabir in the *Adi Granth Sahib*. These hymns, called “*gurbani*”, are composed in various

languages. In the late seventeenth century the tenth preceptor, Guru Gobind Singh, included the compositions of the ninth guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur, and this scripture was called the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Guru Gobind Singh also laid the foundation of the Khalsa Panth (army of the pure) and defined its five symbols: uncut hair, a dagger, a pair of shorts, a comb and a steel bangle. Under him the community got consolidated as a socio-religious and military force.

8.3 Mirabai, the devotee princess

Mirabai (c. fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) is perhaps the best-known woman poet within the bhakti tradition. Biographies have been reconstructed primarily from the *bhajans* attributed to her, which were transmitted orally for centuries. According to these, she was a Rajput princess from Merta in Marwar who was married against her wishes to a prince of the Sisodia clan of Mewar, Rajasthan. She defied her husband and did not submit to the traditional role of wife and mother, instead recognising Krishna, the *avatar* of Vishnu, as her lover. Her in-laws tried to poison her, but she escaped from the palace to live as a wandering saint composing songs that are characterised by intense expressions of emotion.

*Fig. 6.17
A fifteenth-century stone sculpture (Tamil Nadu) depicting Krishna playing the flute, a form of the deity worshipped by Mirabai*



Source 11

Love for the Lord

This is part of a song attributed to Mirabai:

I will build a funeral pyre of sandalwood and aloe;
Light it by your own hand
When I am burned away to cinders;
Smear this ash upon your limbs.
... let flame be lost in flame.

In another verse, she sings:

What can Mewar's ruler do to me?
If God is angry, all is lost,
But what can the Rana do?

➲ What does this indicate about Mirabai's attitude towards the king?

According to some traditions, her preceptor was Raidas, a leather worker. This would indicate her defiance of the norms of caste society. After rejecting the comforts of her husband's palace, she is supposed to have donned the white robes of a widow or the saffron robe of the renouncer.

Although Mirabai did not attract a sect or group of followers, she has been recognised as a source of inspiration for centuries. Her songs continue to be sung by women and men, especially those who are poor and considered "low caste" in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

● Discuss...

Why do you think the traditions of Kabir, Baba Guru Nanak and Mirabai remain significant in the twenty-first century?

9. RECONSTRUCTING HISTORIES OF RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

We have seen that historians draw on a variety of sources to reconstruct histories of religious traditions – these include sculpture, architecture, stories about religious preceptors, compositions attributed to women and men engaged in the quest of understanding the nature of the Divine.

As we have seen in Chapters 1 and 4, sculpture and architecture can only be understood if we have a grasp of the context – the ideas, beliefs and practices of those who produced and used these images and buildings. What about textual traditions regarding religious beliefs? If you return to the sources in this chapter, you will notice that they include a wide variety, written in several different languages and styles. They range from the apparently simple, direct language of the *vachanas* of Basavanna to the ornate Persian of the *farman* of the Mughal emperors. Understanding each type of text requires different skills: apart from a familiarity with several languages, the historian has to be aware of the subtle variations in style that characterise each genre.

Shankaradeva

In the late fifteenth century, Shankaradeva emerged as one of the leading proponents of Vaishnavism in Assam. His teachings, often known as the Bhagavati dharma because they were based on the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Bhagavata Purana*, focused on absolute surrender to the supreme deity, in this case Vishnu. He emphasised the need for *naam kirtan*, recitation of the names of the lord in *sat sanga* or congregations of pious devotees. He also encouraged the establishment of *satra* or monasteries for the transmission of spiritual knowledge, and *naam ghar* or prayer halls. Many of these institutions and practices continue to flourish in the region. His major compositions include the *Kirtana-ghosha*.

Varieties of sources used to reconstruct the history of sufi traditions

A wide range of texts were produced in and around sufi *khanqahs*. These included:

1. Treatises or manuals dealing with sufi thought and practices – The *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* of Ali bin Usman Hujwiri (died c. 1071) is an example of this genre. It enables historians to see how traditions outside the subcontinent influenced sufi thought in India.

2. *Malfuzat* (literally, “uttered”; conversations of sufi saints) – An early text on *malfuzat* is the *Fawa'id-al-Fu'ad*, a collection of conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, compiled by Amir Hasan Sijzi Dehlavi, a noted Persian poet. Source 9 contains an excerpt from this text. *Malfuzats* were compiled by different sufi *silsilas* with the permission of the *shaikhs*; these had obvious didactic purposes. Several examples have been found from different parts of the subcontinent, including the Deccan. They were compiled over several centuries.

3. *Maktubat* (literally, “written” collections of letters); letters written by sufi masters, addressed to their disciples and associates – While these tell us about the *shaikh's* experience of religious truth that he wanted to share with others, they also reflect the life conditions of the recipients and are responses to their aspirations and difficulties, both spiritual and mundane. The letters, known as *Maktubat-i Imam Rabbani*, of the noted seventeenth-century Naqshbandi Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624), whose ideology is often contrasted with the liberal and non-sectarian views of Akbar, are amongst those most frequently discussed by scholars.

4. *Tazkiras* (literally, “to mention and memorialise”; biographical accounts of saints) – The fourteenth-century *Siyar-ul-Auliya* of Mir Khwurd Kirmani was the first sufi *tazkira* written in India. It dealt principally with the Chishti saints. The most famous *tazkira* is the *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* of Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi (d. 1642). The authors of the *tazkiras* often sought to establish the precedence of their own orders and glorify their spiritual genealogies. Many details are often implausible, full of elements of the fantastic. Still they are of great value for historians and help them to understand more fully the nature of the tradition.

Remember that each of the traditions we have been considering in this chapter generated a wide range of textual and oral modes of communication, some of which have been preserved, many of which have been modified in the process of transmission, and others are probably lost forever.

Virtually all these religious traditions continue to flourish to date. This continuity has certain advantages for historians as it allows them to compare contemporary practices with those described in textual traditions or shown in old paintings and to trace changes. At the same time, because these traditions are part of peoples' lived beliefs and practices, there is often a lack of acceptance of the possibility that these may have changed over time. The challenge for historians is to undertake such investigations with sensitivity, while at the same time recognising that religious traditions, like other traditions, are dynamic and change over time.

TIMELINE SOME MAJOR RELIGIOUS TEACHERS IN THE SUBCONTINENT

c. 500-800 CE	Appar, Sambandar, Sundaramurti in Tamil Nadu
c. 800-900	Nammalvar, Manikkavachakar, Andal, Tondaradippodi in Tamil Nadu
c. 1000-1100	Al Hujwiri, Data Ganj Bakhsh in the Punjab; Ramanujacharya in Tamil Nadu
c. 1100-1200	Basavanna in Karnataka
c. 1200-1300	Jnanadeva, Muktabai in Maharashtra; Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti in Rajasthan; Bahauddin Zakariyya and Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar in the Punjab; Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi
c. 1300-1400	Lal Ded in Kashmir; Lal Shahbaz Qalandar in Sind; Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi; Ramananda in Uttar Pradesh; Chokhamela in Maharashtra; Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri in Bihar
c. 1400-1500	Kabir, Raidas, Surdas in Uttar Pradesh; Baba Guru Nanak in the Punjab; Vallabhacharya in Gujarat; Abdullah Shattari in Gwalior; Muhammad Shah Alam in Gujarat; Mir Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz in Gulbarga, Shankaradeva in Assam; Tukaram in Maharashtra
c. 1500-1600	Sri Chaitanya in Bengal; Mirabai in Rajasthan; Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, Malik Muhammad Jaisi, Tulsidas in Uttar Pradesh
c. 1600-1700	Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in Haryana; Miyan Mir in the Punjab

Note: These time frames indicate the approximate period during which these teachers lived.



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

1. Explain with examples what historians mean by the integration of cults.
2. To what extent do you think the architecture of mosques in the subcontinent reflects a combination of universal ideals and local traditions?
3. What were the similarities and differences between the *be-shari'a* and *ba-shari'a* sufi traditions?
4. Discuss the ways in which the Alvars, Nayanars and Virashaivas expressed critiques of the caste system.
5. Describe the major teachings of either Kabir or Baba Guru Nanak, and the ways in which these have been transmitted.



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (ABOUT 250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. Discuss the major beliefs and practices that characterised Sufism.
7. Examine how and why rulers tried to establish connections with the traditions of the Nayanars and the sufis.
8. Analyse, with illustrations, why bhakti and sufi thinkers adopted a variety of languages in which to express their opinions.
9. Read any five of the sources included in this chapter and discuss the social and religious ideas that are expressed in them.



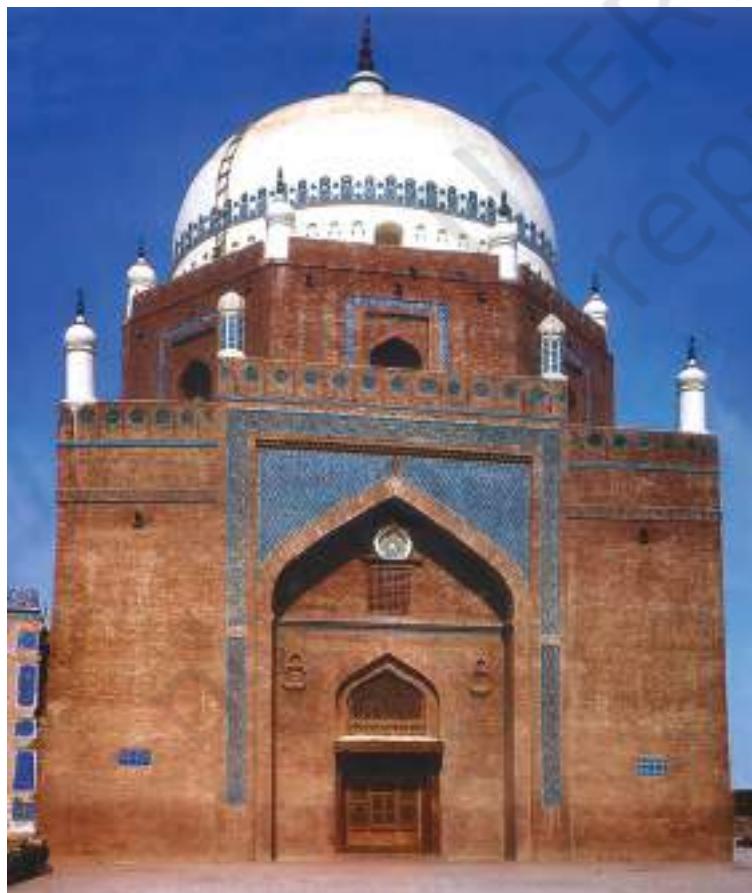
MAP WORK

10. On an outline map of India, plot three major sufi shrines, and three places associated with temples (one each of a form of Vishnu, Shiva and the goddess).



PROJECTS (CHOOSE ONE)

11. Choose any two of the religious teachers/thinkers/saints mentioned in this chapter, and find out more about their lives and teachings. Prepare a report about the area and the times in which they lived, their major ideas, how we know about them, and why you think they are important.
12. Find out more about practices of pilgrimage associated with the shrines mentioned in this chapter. Are these pilgrimages still undertaken? When are these shrines visited? Who visits these shrines? Why do they do so? What are the activities associated with these pilgrimages?



*Fig. 6.18
The dargah of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya,
Multan (Pakistan)*



If you would like to know more, read:

Richard M. Eaton (ed). 2003.
India's Islamic Traditions.
Oxford University Press,
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Three Bhakti Voices
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University of North Carolina
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Art and Poetry in South India.
Cambridge University Press,
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Oxford University Press,
New Delhi.



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THEME SEVEN

AN IMPERIAL CAPITAL VIJAYANAGARA (C. FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURY)



Fig. 7.1

A part of the stone wall that was built around the city of Vijayanagara

Vijayanagara or “city of victory” was the name of both a city and an empire. The empire was founded in the fourteenth century. In its heyday it stretched from the river Krishna in the north to the extreme south of the peninsula. In 1565 the city was sacked and subsequently deserted. Although it fell into ruin in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, it lived on in the memories of people living in the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab. They remembered it as Hampi, a name derived from that of the local mother goddess, Pampadevi. These oral traditions combined with archaeological finds, monuments and inscriptions and other records helped scholars to rediscover the Vijayanagara Empire.

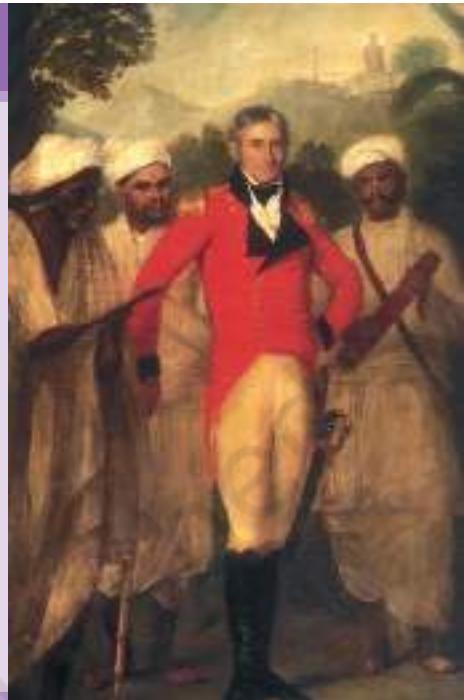
1. THE DISCOVERY OF HAMPI

The ruins at Hampi were brought to light in 1800 by an engineer and antiquarian named Colonel Colin Mackenzie. An employee of the English East India Company, he prepared the first survey map of the site. Much of the initial information he received was based on the memories of priests of the Virupaksha temple and the shrine of Pampadevi. Subsequently, from 1856, photographers began to record the monuments which enabled scholars to study them. As early as 1836 epigraphists began collecting several dozen inscriptions found at this and other temples at Hampi. In an effort to reconstruct the history of the city and the empire, historians collated information from these sources with accounts of foreign travellers and other literature written in Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Sanskrit.

Source 1

Colin Mackenzie

Born in 1754, Colin Mackenzie became famous as an engineer, surveyor and cartographer. In 1815 he was appointed the first Surveyor General of India, a post he held till his death in 1821. He embarked on collecting local histories and surveying historic sites in order to better understand India's past and make governance of the colony easier. He says that "it struggled long under the miseries of bad management ... before the South came under the benign influence of the British government". By studying Vijayanagara, Mackenzie believed that the East India Company could gain "much useful information on many of these institutions, laws and customs whose influence still prevails among the various Tribes of Natives forming the general mass of the population to this day".



*Fig. 7.2
Mackenzie and his assistants*

This is a copy by an unknown artist of an oil painting by the portrait painter Thomas Hickey. It dates to c.1825 and belongs to the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain and Ireland. On Mackenzie's left is his peon Kistnaji holding a telescope, on his right are Brahmana assistants – a Jaina pandit (right) and behind him the Telugu Brahmana Cauvellery Ventak Letchmiah.

2. RAYAS, NAYAKAS AND SULTANS

According to tradition and epigraphic evidence two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, founded the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336. This empire included within its fluctuating frontiers peoples who spoke different languages and followed different religious traditions.

On their northern frontier, the Vijayanagara kings competed with contemporary rulers – including the Sultans of the Deccan and the Gajapati rulers of Orissa – for control of the fertile river valleys and the resources generated by lucrative overseas trade. At the same time, interaction between these states led to sharing of ideas, especially in the field of architecture. The rulers of Vijayanagara borrowed concepts and building techniques which they then developed further.

Karnataka samrajyamu

While historians use the term Vijayanagara Empire, contemporaries described it as the *karnataka samrajyamu*.

➲ How has the artist portrayed Mackenzie and his indigenous informers? What ideas about him and his informants are sought to be impressed upon the viewers?

Fig. 7.3

The gopuram or gateway of the Brihadishwara temple at Thanjavur



Elephants, horses and men

Gajapati literally means lord of elephants. This was the name of a ruling lineage that was very powerful in Orissa in the fifteenth century. In the popular traditions of Vijayanagara the Deccan Sultans are termed as *ashvapati* or lord of horses and the *rayas* are called *narapati* or lord of men.

Some of the areas that were incorporated within the empire had witnessed the development of powerful states such as those of the Cholas in Tamil Nadu and the Hoysalas in Karnataka. Ruling elites in these areas had extended patronage to elaborate temples such as the Brihadishwara temple at Thanjavur and the Chennakeshava temple at Belur. The rulers of Vijayanagara, who called themselves *rayas*, built on these traditions and carried them, as we will see, literally to new heights.

2.1 Kings and traders

As warfare during these times depended upon effective cavalry, the import of horses from Arabia and Central Asia was very important for rival kingdoms. This trade was initially controlled by Arab traders. Local communities of merchants known as *kudirai chettis* or horse merchants also participated in these exchanges. From 1498 other actors appeared on the scene. These were the Portuguese, who arrived on the west coast of the subcontinent and attempted to establish trading and military stations. Their superior military technology, especially the use of muskets, enabled them to become important players in the tangled politics of the period.

In fact, Vijayanagara was also noted for its markets dealing in spices, textiles and precious stones. Trade was often regarded as a status symbol for such cities, which boasted of a wealthy population that demanded high-value exotic goods, especially precious stones and jewellery. The revenue derived

from trade in turn contributed significantly to the prosperity of the state.

2.2 The apogee and decline of the empire

Within the polity, claimants to power included members of the ruling lineage as well as military commanders. The first dynasty, known as the Sangama dynasty, exercised control till 1485. They were supplanted by the Saluvas, military commanders, who remained in power till 1503 when they were replaced by the Tuluvas. Krishnadeva Raya belonged to the Tuluva dynasty.

Krishnadeva Raya's rule was characterised by expansion and consolidation. This was the time when the land between the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers (the Raichur doab) was acquired (1512), the rulers of Orissa were subdued (1514) and severe defeats were inflicted on the Sultan of Bijapur (1520). Although the kingdom remained in a constant state of military preparedness, it flourished under conditions of unparalleled peace and prosperity. Krishnadeva Raya is credited with building some fine temples and adding impressive *gopurams* to many important south Indian temples. He also founded a suburban township near Vijayanagara called Nagalapuram after his mother. Some of the most detailed descriptions of Vijayanagara come from his time or just after.

Strain began to show within the imperial structure following Krishnadeva Raya's death in 1529. His successors were troubled by rebellious *nayakas* or military chiefs. By 1542 control at the centre had shifted to another ruling lineage, that of the Aravidu, which remained in power till the end of the seventeenth century. During this period, as indeed earlier, the military ambitions of the rulers of Vijayanagara as well as those of the Deccan Sultanates resulted in shifting alignments. Eventually this led to an alliance of the Sultanates against Vijayanagara. In 1565 Rama Raya, the chief minister of Vijayanagara, led the army into battle at Rakshasi-Tangadi (also known as Talikota), where his forces were routed by the combined armies of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda. The victorious armies sacked the city of Vijayanagara. The city was totally abandoned within a few years. Now the focus of the empire shifted to the east where the Aravidu

Source 2

Kings and traders

Krishnadeva Raya (ruled 1509-29), the most famous ruler of Vijayanagara, composed a work on statecraft in Telugu known as the *Amuktamalyada*. About traders he wrote:

A king should improve the harbours of his country and so encourage its commerce that horses, elephants, precious gems, sandalwood, pearls and other articles are freely imported ... He should arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country on account of storms, illness and exhaustion are looked after in a suitable manner ... Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses be attached to yourself by providing them with daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies.

➲ Why do you think the king was interested in encouraging trade? Which groups of people would have benefited from these transactions?

*Map 1
South India,
c. fourteenth-eighteenth century*



➲ Identify the present-day states that formed part of the empire.

Yavana is a Sanskrit word used for the Greeks and other peoples who entered the subcontinent from the north west.

dynasty ruled from Penukonda and later from Chandragiri (near Tirupati).

Although the armies of the Sultans were responsible for the destruction of the city of Vijayanagara, relations between the Sultans and the *rayas* were not always or inevitably hostile, in spite of religious differences. Krishnadeva Raya, for example, supported some claimants to power in the Sultanates and took pride in the title “establisher of the Yavana kingdom”. Similarly, the Sultan of Bijapur intervened to resolve succession disputes in Vijayanagara following the death of Krishnadeva Raya. In fact the Vijayanagara kings were keen to ensure the stability of the Sultanates and vice versa. It was the adventurous policy of Rama Raya who tried to play off one Sultan against another that led the Sultans to combine together and decisively defeat him.

2.3 The *rayas* and the *nayakas*

Among those who exercised power in the empire were military chiefs who usually controlled forts and had armed supporters. These chiefs often moved from one area to another, and in many cases were accompanied by peasants looking for fertile land on which to settle. These chiefs were known as *nayakas* and they usually spoke Telugu or Kannada. Many *nayakas* submitted to the authority of the kings of Vijayanagara but they often rebelled and had to be subdued by military action.

The *amara-nayaka* system was a major political innovation of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is likely that many features of this system were derived from the *iqta* system of the Delhi Sultanate.

The *amara-nayakas* were military commanders who were given territories to govern by the *raya*. They collected taxes and other dues from peasants, craftspersons and traders in the area. They retained part of the revenue for personal use and for maintaining a stipulated contingent of horses and elephants. These contingents provided the Vijayanagara kings with an effective fighting force with which they brought the entire southern peninsula under their control. Some of the revenue was also used for the maintenance of temples and irrigation works.

The *amara-nayakas* sent tribute to the king annually and personally appeared in the royal court with gifts to express their loyalty. Kings occasionally asserted their control over them by transferring them from one place to another. However, during the course of the seventeenth century, many of these *nayakas* established independent kingdoms. This hastened the collapse of the central imperial structure.

Amara is believed to be derived from the Sanskrit word *samara*, meaning battle or war. It also resembles the Persian term *amir*, meaning a high noble.

➲ Discuss...

Locate Chandragiri, Madurai, Ikkeri, Thanjavur and Mysore, all centres of *nayaka* power, on Map 1. Discuss the ways in which rivers and hills may have facilitated or hindered communication with Vijayanagara in each case.

3. VIJAYANAGARA

THE CAPITAL AND ITS ENVIRONS

Like most capitals, Vijayanagara, was characterised by a distinctive physical layout and building style.

*Fig. 7.4
Plan of Vijayanagara*

➲ Identify three major zones on the plan. Look at the central part. Can you see channels connecting up with the river? See how many fortification walls you can trace. Was the sacred centre fortified?

Finding out about the city

A large number of inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara and their *nayakas* recording donations to temples as well as describing important events have been recovered. Several travellers visited the city and wrote about it. Notable among their accounts are those of an Italian trader named Nicolo de Conti, an ambassador named Abdur Razzaq sent by the ruler of Persia, a merchant named Afanasii Nikitin from Russia, all of whom visited the city in the fifteenth century, and those of Duarte Barbosa, Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz from Portugal, who came in the sixteenth century.

➲ Would you find these features in a city today? Why do you think the gardens and water bodies were selected for special mention by Paes?



Source 3

A sprawling city

This is an excerpt from Domingo Paes's description of Vijayanagara:

The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it, in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes; and the king has close to his palace a palm-grove and other rich fruit-bearing trees.

3.1 Water resources

The most striking feature about the location of Vijayanagara is the natural basin formed by the river Tungabhadra which flows in a north-easterly direction. The surrounding landscape is characterised by stunning granite hills that seem to form a girdle around the city. A number of streams flow down to the river from these rocky outcrops.

In almost all cases embankments were built along these streams to create reservoirs of varying sizes. As this is one of the most arid zones of the peninsula, elaborate arrangements had to be made to store rainwater and conduct it to the city. The most important such tank was built in the early years of the fifteenth century and is now called Kamalapuram tank. Water from this tank not only irrigated fields nearby but was also conducted through a channel to the "royal centre".

One of the most prominent waterworks to be seen among the ruins is the Hiriya canal. This canal drew water from a dam across the Tungabhadra and irrigated the cultivated valley that separated the "sacred centre" from the "urban core". This was apparently built by kings of the Sangama dynasty.

3.2 Fortifications and roads

Before we examine the different parts of the city in detail let us look at what enclosed them all – the great fortress walls. Abdur Razzaq, an ambassador sent by the ruler of Persia to Calicut (present-day Kozhikode) in the fifteenth century, was greatly impressed by the fortifications, and mentioned seven lines of forts. These encircled not only the city but also its agricultural hinterland and forests. The outermost wall linked the hills surrounding the city. The massive masonry construction was slightly tapered. No mortar or cementing agent was employed anywhere in the construction. The stone blocks were wedge shaped, which held them in place, and the inner portion of the walls was of earth packed with rubble. Square or rectangular bastions projected outwards.

What was most significant about this fortification is that it enclosed agricultural tracts. Abdur Razzaq noted that "between the first, second and the third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses". And Paes observed: "From this first circuit until you

Source 4

How tanks were built

About a tank constructed by Krishnadeva Raya, Paes wrote:

The king made a tank ... at the mouth of two hills so that all the water which comes from either one side or the other collects there; and, besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues (approximately 15 kilometres) by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice-fields. In order to make this tank the said king broke down a hill ... In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men, looking like ants ...

*Fig. 7.5
An aqueduct leading into the royal centre*





*Fig. 7.6
A gateway in the fortification wall*

● Describe the similarities and differences between these two entrances. Why do you think the rulers of Vijayanagara adopted elements of Indo-Islamic architecture?

*Fig. 7.7
A gopuram*



enter the city there is a great distance, in which are fields in which they sow rice and have many gardens and much water, in which water comes from two lakes.” These statements have been corroborated by present-day archaeologists, who have also found evidence of an agricultural tract between the sacred centre and the urban core. This tract was serviced by an elaborate canal system drawing water from the Tungabhadra.

Why do you think agricultural tracts were incorporated within the fortified area? Often, the objective of medieval sieges was to starve the defenders into submission. These sieges could last for several months and sometimes even years. Normally rulers tried to be prepared for such situations by building large granaries within fortified areas. The rulers of Vijayanagara adopted a more expensive and elaborate strategy of protecting the agricultural belt itself.

A second line of fortification went round the inner core of the urban complex, and a third line surrounded the royal centre, within which each set of major buildings was surrounded by its own high walls.

The fort was entered through well-guarded gates, which linked the city to the major roads. Gateways were distinctive architectural features that often defined the structures to which they regulated access. The arch on the gateway leading into the fortified settlement as well as the dome over the gate (Fig. 7.6) are regarded as typical features of the architecture introduced by the Turkish Sultans. Art historians refer to this style as Indo-Islamic, as it grew continually through interaction with local building practices in different regions.

Archaeologists have studied roads within the city and those leading out from it. These have been identified by tracing paths through gateways, as well as by finds of pavements. Roads generally wound around through the valleys, avoiding rocky terrain. Some of the most important roads extended from temple gateways, and were lined by bazaars.

3.3 The urban core

Moving along the roads leading into the urban core, there is relatively little archaeological evidence of the houses of ordinary people. Archaeologists have

found fine Chinese porcelain in some areas, including in the north-eastern corner of the urban core and suggest that these areas may have been occupied by rich traders. This was also the Muslim residential quarter. Tombs and mosques located here have distinctive functions, yet their architecture resembles that of the *mandapas* found in the temples of Hampi.

This is how the sixteenth-century Portuguese traveller Barbosa described the houses of ordinary people, which have not survived: "The other houses of the people are thatched, but nonetheless well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open places."

Field surveys indicate that the entire area was dotted with numerous shrines and small temples, pointing to the prevalence of a variety of cults, perhaps supported by different communities. The surveys also indicate that wells, rainwater tanks as well as temple tanks may have served as sources of water to the ordinary town dwellers.



4. THE ROYAL CENTRE

The royal centre was located in the south-western part of the settlement. Although designated as a royal centre, it included over 60 temples. Clearly, the patronage of temples and cults was important for rulers who were trying to establish and legitimise their authority through association with the divinities housed in the shrines.

About thirty building complexes have been identified as palaces. These are relatively large structures that do not seem to have been associated



Fig. 7.8
Part of an excavated pavement



Fig. 7.9
Shards of Chinese porcelain

➲ What kinds of vessels do you think these shards were originally parts of?

Fig. 7.10
A mosque in Vijayanagara

➲ Does the mosque have the typical features of Indo-Islamic architecture?

➲ Discuss...
Compare the layout of Vijayanagara with that of your town or village.

A House of Victory?

This is what Paes had to say about the audience hall and the *mahanavami dibba*, which together he called the “House of Victory”:

These buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculpted ... On the upper platform ... in this House of Victory the king has a room made of cloth ... where the idol has a shrine ... and in the other in the middle is placed a dais on which stands a throne of state, (the crown and the royal anklet) ...



Fig. 7.11
The mahanavami dibba

with ritual functions. One difference between these structures and temples is that the latter were constructed entirely of masonry, while the superstructure of the secular buildings was made of perishable materials.

4.1 The *mahanavami dibba*

Some of the more distinctive structures in the area have been assigned names based on the form of the buildings as well as their functions. The “king’s palace” is the largest of the enclosures but has not yielded definitive evidence of being a royal residence. It has two of the most impressive platforms, usually called the “audience hall” and the “*mahanavami dibba*”. The entire complex is surrounded by high double walls with a street running between them. The audience hall is a high platform with slots for wooden pillars at close and regular intervals. It had a staircase going up to the second floor, which rested on these pillars. The pillars being closely spaced, would have left little free space and thus it is not clear what the hall was used for.

Located on one of the highest points in the city, the “*mahanavami dibba*” is a massive platform rising from a base of about 11,000 sq. ft to a height of 40 ft. There is evidence that it supported a wooden structure. The base of the platform is covered with relief carvings (Fig. 7.12).

Rituals associated with the structure probably coincided with Mahanavami (literally, the great ninth day) of the ten-day Hindu festival during the autumn months of September and October, known variously as Dusehra (northern India), Durga Puja (in Bengal)

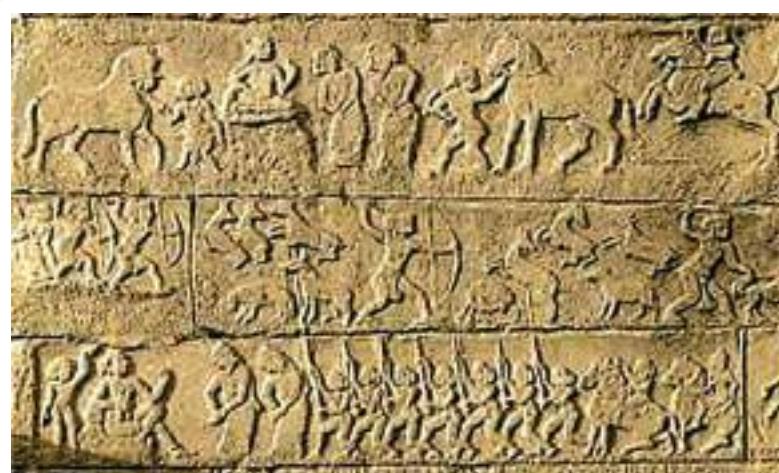
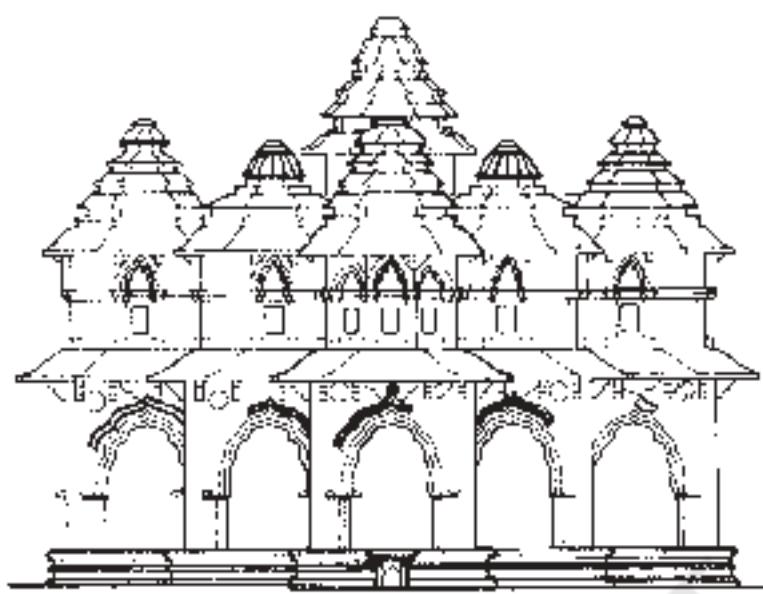


Fig. 7.12
Carvings on the mahanavami dibba

➲ Can you identify the themes of the carvings?



and Navaratri or Mahanavami (in peninsular India). The Vijayanagara kings displayed their prestige, power and suzerainty on this occasion.

The ceremonies performed on the occasion included worship of the image, worship of the state horse, and the sacrifice of buffaloes and other animals. Dances, wrestling matches, and processions of caparisoned horses, elephants and chariots and soldiers, as well as ritual presentations before the king and his guests by the chief *nayakas* and subordinate kings marked the occasion. These ceremonies were imbued with deep symbolic meanings. On the last day of the festival the king inspected his army and the armies of the *nayakas* in a grand ceremony in an open field. On this occasion the *nayakas* brought rich gifts for the king as well as the stipulated tribute.

Was the “*mahanavami dibba*” that stands today the centre of this elaborate ritual? Scholars have pointed out that the space surrounding the structure does not seem to have been adequate for elaborate processions of armed men, women, and large numbers of animals. Like some of the other structures in the royal centre, it remains an enigma.

4.2 Other buildings in the royal centre

One of the most beautiful buildings in the royal centre is the Lotus Mahal, so named by British travellers in the nineteenth century. While the name is certainly romantic, historians are not quite sure

Fig. 7.13

An elevation drawing of the Lotus Mahal

An elevation is a vertical view of any object or structure. It gives you an idea of features that cannot be seen in a photograph. Notice the arches. These were probably inspired by Indo-Islamic techniques.

Compare Figs. 7.13 and 7.15, and make a list of the features that are common to both, as well as those that can be seen in only one. Also compare the arch in Fig. 7.14 with the arch in Fig. 7.6. The Lotus Mahal had nine towers – a high central one, and eight along the sides. How many can you see in the photograph and how many in the elevation? If you had to rename the Lotus Mahal, what would you call it?



Fig. 7.14

Detail of an arch of the Lotus Mahal

*Fig. 7.15
A photograph of the Lotus Mahal*



Compare Figs. 7.16 a and 7.16 b with Fig. 7.17, making a list of features visible in each one.

Do you think these were actually elephant stables?

what the building was used for. One suggestion, found in a map drawn by Mackenzie, is that it may have been a council chamber, a place where the king met his advisers.

While most temples were located in the sacred centre, there were several in the royal centre as well.



Fig. 7.16 a Elevation of the “elephant stables”



Fig. 7.16 b Plan of the “elephant stables”. A plan gives a horizontal view of a structure.



Fig. 7.17 “Elephant stables” located close to the Lotus Mahal



Fig. 7.18
Sculpture from the Hazara Rama temple

➲ Can you identify scenes of dancing?
Why do you think elephants and horses
were depicted on the panels?

One of the most spectacular of these is one known as the Hazara Rama temple. This was probably meant to be used only by the king and his family. The images in the central shrine are missing; however, sculpted panels on the walls survive. These include scenes from the *Ramayana* sculpted on the inner walls of the shrine.

While many of the structures at Vijayanagara were destroyed when the city was sacked, traditions of building palatial structures were continued by the *nayakas*. Many of these buildings have survived.

➲ Discuss...

Why did the *nayakas* continue with the building traditions of the rulers of Vijayanagara?



Fig. 7.19
Interior of the audience hall
at Madurai
Note the arches.

5. THE SACRED CENTRE

5.1 Choosing a capital

We now move to the rocky northern end of the city on the banks of the Tungabhadra. According to local tradition, these hills sheltered the monkey kingdom of Vali and Sugriva mentioned in the *Ramayana*. Other traditions suggest that Pampadevi, the local mother goddess, did penance in these hills in order to marry Virupaksha, the guardian deity of the kingdom, also recognised as a form of Shiva. To this day this marriage is celebrated annually in the Virupaksha temple. Among these hills are found Jaina temples of the pre-Vijayanagara period as well. In other words, this area was associated with several sacred traditions.

Temple building in the region had a long history, going back to dynasties such as the Pallavas, Chalukyas, Hoysalas and Cholas. Rulers very often encouraged temple building as a means of associating themselves with the divine – often, the deity was explicitly or implicitly identified with the king. Temples also functioned as centres of learning. Besides, rulers and others often granted land and other resources for the maintenance of temples. Consequently, temples developed as significant religious, social, cultural and economic centres. From the point of view of the rulers, constructing, repairing and maintaining temples were important means of winning support and recognition for their power, wealth and piety.

It is likely that the very choice of the site of Vijayanagara was inspired by the existence of the shrines of Virupaksha and Pampadevi. In fact the Vijayanagara kings claimed to rule on behalf of the god Virupaksha. All royal orders were signed “Shri Virupaksha”, usually in the Kannada script. Rulers also indicated their close links with the gods by using the title “Hindu Suratrana”. This was a Sanskritisation of the Arabic term Sultan, meaning king, so it literally meant Hindu Sultan.

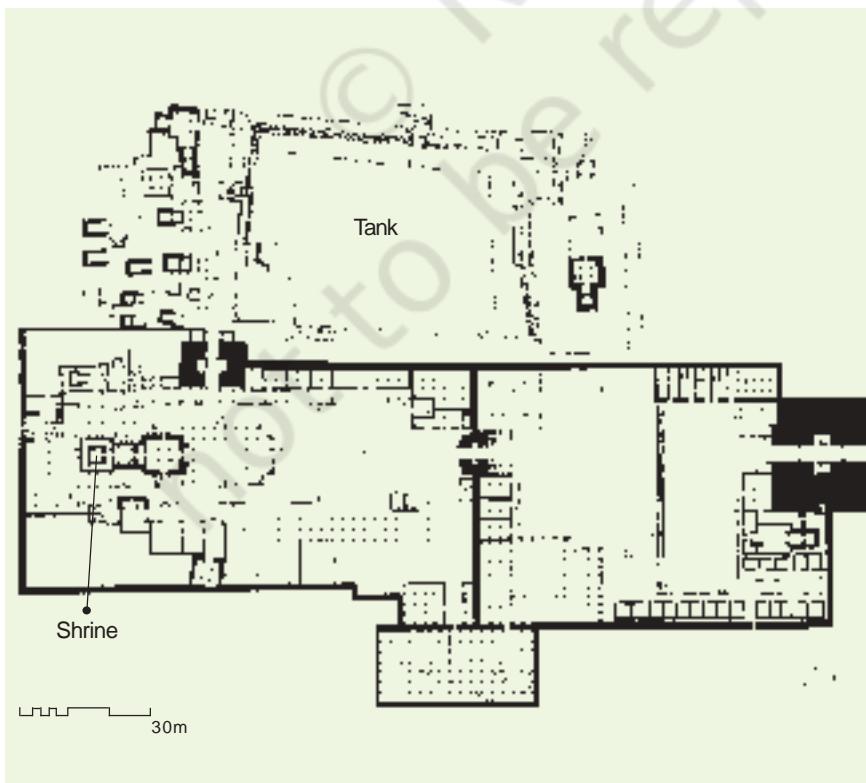
Even as they drew on earlier traditions, the rulers of Vijayanagara innovated and developed these. Royal portrait sculpture was now displayed in temples, and the king’s visits to temples were treated as important state occasions on which he was accompanied by the important *nayakas* of the empire.



*Fig. 7.20
An aerial view of the
Virupaksha temple*

5.2. Gopurams and mandapas

In terms of temple architecture, by this period certain new features were in evidence. These included structures of immense scale that must have been a mark of imperial authority, best exemplified by the raya gopurams (Fig. 7.7) or royal gateways that often dwarfed the towers on the central shrines, and signalled the presence of the temple from a great



*Fig. 7.21
A plan of the Virupaksha
temple*
Most of the square
structures are shrines.
The two major gateways
are shaded in black.
Each tiny dot represents
a pillar. Rows of pillars
arranged in lines
within a square or
rectangular frame appear
to demarcate major halls,
pavilions and corridors.

➲ Using the scale in the plan, measure the distance from the main *gopuram* to the central shrine. What would have been the easiest access from the tank to the shrine?

Fig. 7.22
A kalyana mandapa, meant to
celebrate divine weddings



Fig. 7.23
A line drawing of a sculpted pillar

➲ Describe what you see on the pillar.



distance. They were also probably meant as reminders of the power of kings, able to command the resources, techniques and skills needed to construct these towering gateways. Other distinctive features include *mandapas* or pavilions and long, pillared corridors that often ran around the shrines within the temple complex. Let us look at two temples more closely – the Virupaksha temple and the Vitthala temple.

The Virupaksha temple was built over centuries. While inscriptions suggest that the earliest shrine dated to the ninth-tenth centuries, it was substantially enlarged with the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire. The hall in front of the main shrine was built by Krishnadeva Raya to mark his accession. This was decorated with delicately carved pillars. He is also credited with

the construction of the eastern *gopuram*. These additions meant that the central shrine came to occupy a relatively small part of the complex.

The halls in the temple were used for a variety of purposes. Some were spaces in which the images of gods were placed to witness special programmes of music, dance, drama, etc. Others were used to celebrate the marriages of deities, and yet others were meant for the deities to swing in. Special images, distinct from those kept in the small central shrine, were used on these occasions.



*Fig. 7.24
The chariot of the Vitthala temple*

➲ Do you think chariots would have actually been built like this?

*Fig. 7.25
Swing pavilion from Gingee*

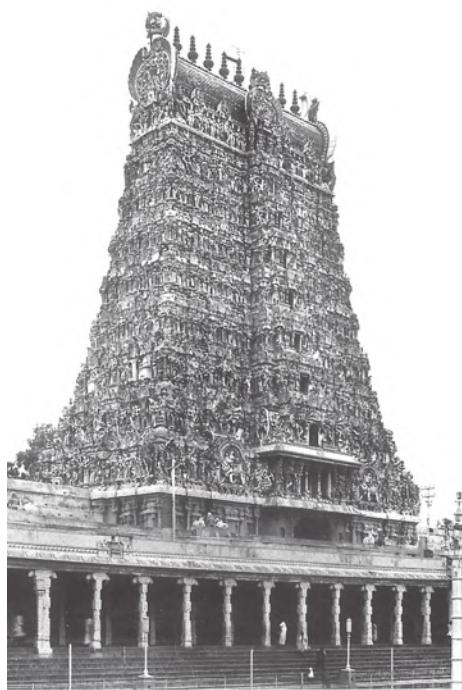


Fig. 7.26
A gopuram built by the nayakas
of Madurai

Another shrine, the Vitthala temple, is also interesting. Here, the principal deity was Vitthala, a form of Vishnu generally worshipped in Maharashtra. The introduction of the worship of the deity in Karnataka is another indication of the ways in which the rulers of Vijayanagara drew on different traditions to create an imperial culture. As in the case of other temples, this temple too has several halls and a unique shrine designed as a chariot (Fig. 7.24).

A characteristic feature of the temple complexes is the chariot streets that extended from the temple *gopuram* in a straight line. These streets were paved with stone slabs and lined with pillared pavilions in which merchants set up their shops.

Just as the *nayakas* continued with and elaborated on traditions of fortification, so they did with traditions of temple building. In fact, some of the most spectacular *gopurams* were also built by the local *nayakas*.

→ Discuss...

How and why did the rulers of Vijayanagara adopt and adapt earlier traditions of ritual architecture?

6. PLOTTING PALACES, TEMPLES AND BAZAARS

We have been examining a wealth of information on Vijayanagara – photographs, plans, elevations of structures and sculpture. How was all of this produced? After the initial surveys by Mackenzie, information was pieced together from travellers' accounts and inscriptions. Through the twentieth century, the site was preserved by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Karnataka Department of Archaeology and Museums. In 1976, Hampi was recognised as a site of national importance. Then, in the early 1980s, an important project was launched to document the material remains at Vijayanagara in detail, through extensive and intensive surveys, using a variety of recording techniques. Over nearly twenty years, dozens of

scholars from all over the world worked to compile and preserve this information.

Let us look at just one part of this enormous exercise – mapping – in more detail. The first step was to divide the entire area into a set of 25 squares, each designated by a letter of the alphabet. Then, each of the small squares was subdivided into a set of even smaller squares. But this was not all: each of these smaller squares was further subdivided into yet smaller units.

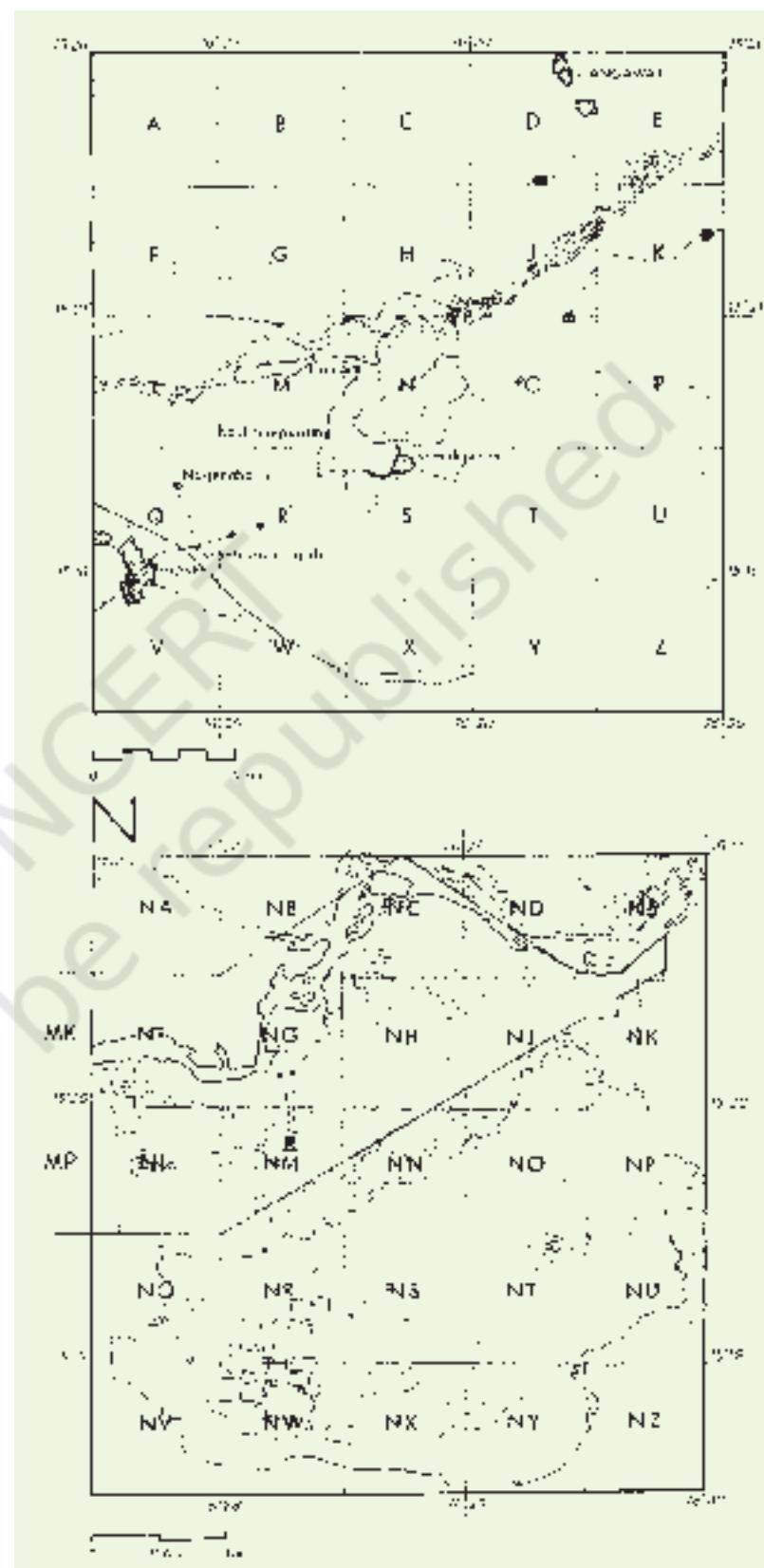
As you can see, these detailed surveys have been extremely painstaking, and have recovered and documented traces of thousands of structures – from tiny shrines and residences to elaborate temples. They have also led to the recovery of traces of roads, paths, bazaars, etc.

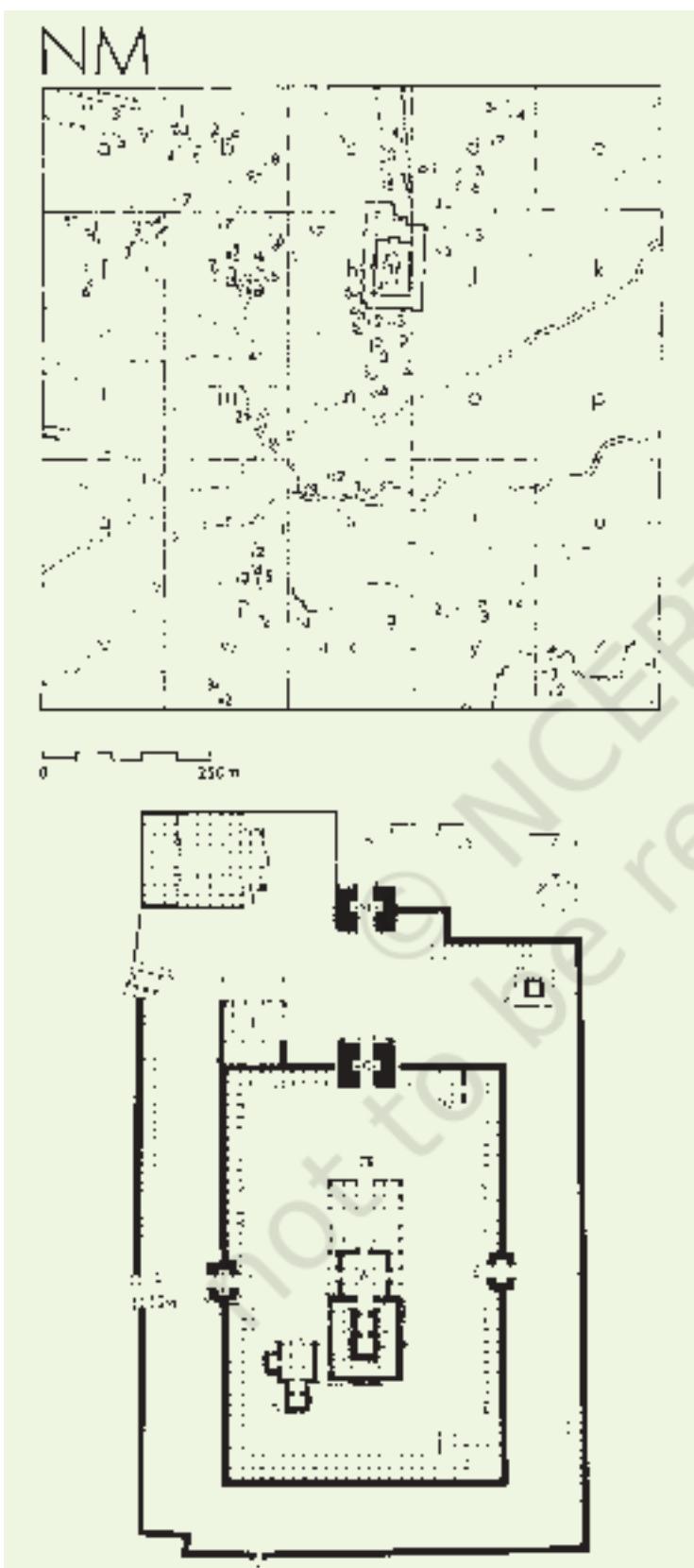
*Fig. 7.27
A detailed map of the site
(top right)*

➲ Which is the letter of the alphabet that was not used? Using the scale in the map, measure the length of any one of the small squares.

*Fig. 7.28
Square N of Fig. 7.27 (right)*

➲ What is the scale used on this map?





*Fig. 7.29
Square NM of Fig. 7.28*

➲ Identify a temple.

Look for walls, a central shrine, and traces of paths leading to the temple. Name the squares on the map which contain the plan of the temple.

The latter have been located through finds of pillar bases and platforms – all that remain of thriving markets.

It is worth remembering something that John M. Fritz, George Michell and M.S. Nagaraja Rao, who worked for years at the site, wrote: “In our study of these monuments of Vijayanagara we have to imagine a whole series of vanished wooden elements – columns, brackets, beams, ceilings, overhanging eaves, and towers – decorated with plaster and painted, perhaps brightly.”

Although wooden structures are lost, and only stone structures survive, the descriptions left by travellers allow us to reconstruct some aspects of the vibrant life of the times.

*Fig. 7.30
Plan of the temple in Fig 7.29*

➲ Identify the *gopuram*, halls, colonnades and central shrine. Which areas would you pass through to reach the central shrine from the outer entrance?

Source 5

The bazaar

Paes gives a vivid description of the bazaar:

Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street ... In this street live many merchants, and there you will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls, and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags, and also many citrons, and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street.

More generally, he described the city as being “the best-provided city in the world” with the markets “stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, India corn and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses and horse-gram” all of which were cheaply and abundantly available. According to Fernao Nuniz, the Vijayanagara markets were “overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes and oranges, limes, pomegranates, jackfruit and mangoes and all very cheap”. Meat too was sold in abundance in the marketplaces. Nuniz describes “mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail and all kinds of birds, sparrows, rats and cats and lizards” as being sold in the market of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara).

7. QUESTIONS IN SEARCH OF ANSWERS

Buildings that survive tell us about the way spaces were organised and used, how they were built, with what materials and techniques. For example, we can assess the defence requirements and military preparedness of a city by studying its fortifications. Buildings also tell us about the spread of ideas and cultural influences if we compare them with buildings in other places. They convey ideas which the builders or their patrons wished to project. They are often suffused with symbols which are a product of their cultural context. These we can understand when we combine information from other sources like literature, inscriptions and popular traditions.

Krishnadeva Raya

To recapitulate about some of the problems of perspective, look at this beautiful statue of Krishnadeva Raya placed on the *gopuram* of the temple at Chidambaram, Tamil Nadu. This is obviously the way in which the ruler wanted to project himself.

And this is how Paes describes the king:

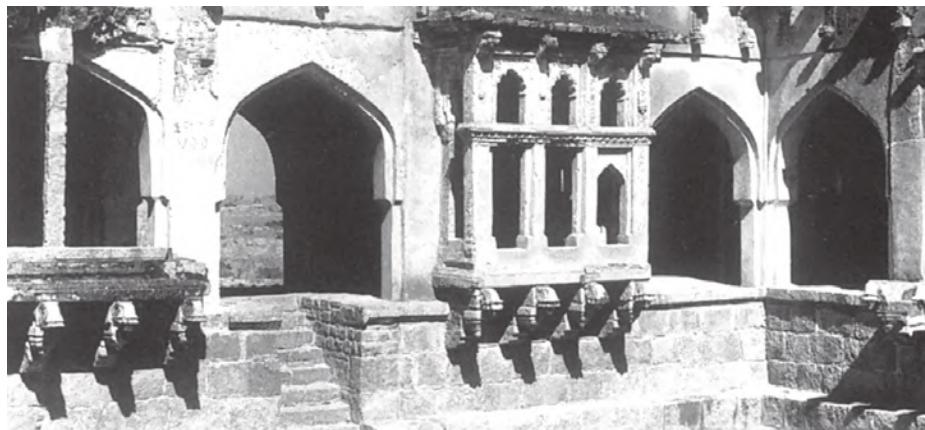
Of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of smallpox.

Fig. 7.31



Investigations of architectural features do not tell us what ordinary men, women and children, comprising the vast majority of the people who lived in the city and its outskirts, thought about these impressive buildings. Would they have had access to any of the areas within the royal centre or the sacred centre? Would they hurry past the sculpture, or would they pause to see, reflect and try and understand its complicated symbolism? And what did the people who worked on these colossal construction projects think of the enterprises to which they had contributed their labour?

While rulers took all important decisions about the buildings to be constructed, the site, the material to be used and the style to be followed, who possessed the specialised knowledge required for such enormous enterprises? Who drew up the plans for the buildings? Where did the masons, stonecutters, sculptors who did the actual building come from? Were they captured during war from neighbouring regions? What kind of wages did they get? Who supervised the building activity? How was building material transported and where did it come from? These are some of the questions that we cannot answer by merely looking at the buildings or their remains. Continuing research using other sources might provide some further clues.



*Fig. 7.32
Part of a structure known
as the queen's bath*

TIMELINE 1 MAJOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

c. 1200-1300	Establishment of the Delhi Sultanate (1206)
c. 1300-1400	Establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire (1336?); establishment of the Bahmani kingdom (1347); Sultanates in Jaunpur, Kashmir and Madura
c. 1400-1500	Establishment of the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa (1435); Establishment of the Sultanates of Gujarat and Malwa; Emergence of the Sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Berar (1490)
c. 1500-1600	Conquest of Goa by the Portuguese (1510); Collapse of the Bahmani kingdom, emergence of the Sultanate of Golconda (1518); Establishment of the Mughal empire by Babur (1526)

Note: Question mark indicates uncertain date.

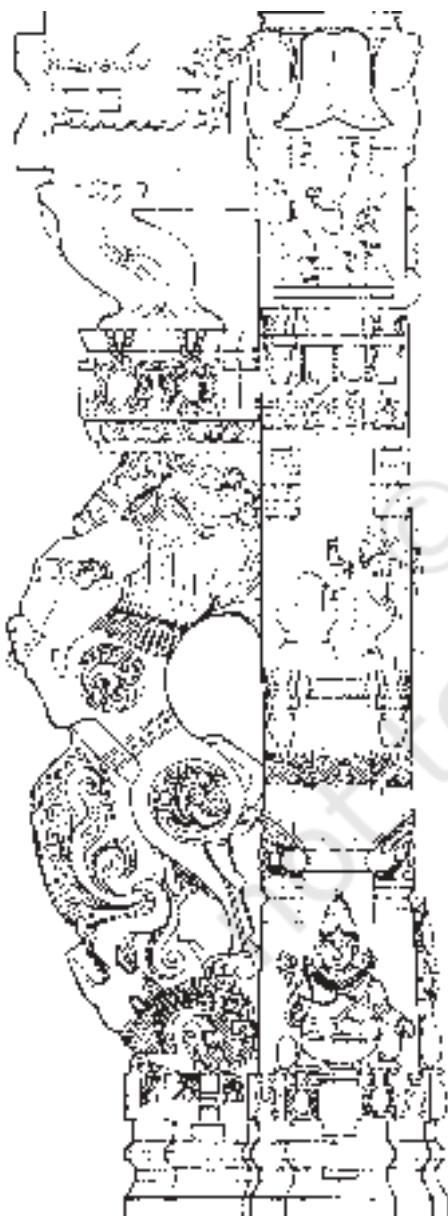
TIMELINE 2 LANDMARKS IN THE DISCOVERY AND CONSERVATION OF VIJAYANAGARA

1800	Colin Mackenzie visits Vijayanagara
1856	Alexander Greenlaw takes the first detailed photographs of archaeological remains at Hampi
1876	J.F. Fleet begins documenting the inscriptions on the temple walls at the site
1902	Conservation begins under John Marshall
1986	Hampi declared a World Heritage site by UNESCO



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

Fig. 7.33



1. What have been the methods used to study the ruins of Hampi over the last two centuries? In what way do you think they would have complemented the information provided by the priests of the Virupaksha temple?
2. How were the water requirements of Vijayanagara met?
3. What do you think were the advantages and disadvantages of enclosing agricultural land within the fortified area of the city?
4. What do you think was the significance of the rituals associated with the *mahanavami dibba*?
5. Fig. 7.33 is an illustration of another pillar from the Virupaksha temple. Do you notice any floral motifs? What are the animals shown? Why do you think they are depicted? Describe the human figures shown.



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (ABOUT 250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. Discuss whether the term “royal centre” is an appropriate description for the part of the city for which it is used.
7. What does the architecture of buildings like the Lotus Mahal and elephant stables tell us about the rulers who commissioned them?
8. What are the architectural traditions that inspired the architects of Vijayanagara? How did they transform these traditions?
9. What impression of the lives of the ordinary people of Vijayanagara can you cull from the various descriptions in the chapter?



MAP WORK

- On an outline map of the world, mark approximately Italy, Portugal, Iran and Russia. Trace the routes the travellers mentioned on p.176 would have taken to reach Vijayanagara.



PROJECT (CHOOSE ONE)

- Find out more about any one of the major cities which flourished in the subcontinent during c. fourteenth-seventeenth centuries. Describe the architecture of the city. Are there any features to suggest that these were political centres? Are there buildings that were ritually significant? Is there an area for commercial activities? What are the features that distinguish the urban layout from that of surrounding areas?
- Visit a religious building in your neighbourhood. Describe, with sketches, its roof, pillars and arches if any, corridors, passages, halls, entrance, water supply, etc. Compare these features with those of the Virupaksha temple. Describe what each part of the building is used for. Find out about its history.



If you would like to know more, read:

Vasundhara Filliozat. 2006 (rpt). *Vijayanagara*. National Book Trust, New Delhi.

George Michell. 1995. *Architecture and Art of Southern India*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. 1955. *A History of South India*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Burton Stein. 1989. *Vijayanagara (The New Cambridge History of India Vol. 1, Part 2)*. Foundation Books, New Delhi.



For more information, you could visit:

http://www.museum.upenn.edu/new/research/Exp_Rese_Disc/Asia/vrp/HTML/Vijay_Hist.shtml



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THEME EIGHT

PEASANTS, ZAMINDARS AND THE STATE

AGRARIAN SOCIETY AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (C. SIXTEENTH-SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES)



Fig. 8.1
A rural scene
Detail from a seventeenth-century
Mughal painting

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about 85 per cent of the population of India lived in its villages. Both peasants and landed elites were involved in agricultural production and claimed rights to a share of the produce. This created relationships of cooperation, competition and conflict among them. The sum of these *agrarian* relationships made up rural society.

At the same time agencies from outside also entered into the rural world. Most important among these was the Mughal state, which derived the bulk of its income from agricultural production. Agents of the state – revenue assessors, collectors, record keepers – sought to control rural society so as to ensure that cultivation took place and the state got its regular share of taxes from the produce. Since many crops were grown for sale, trade, money and markets entered the villages and linked the agricultural areas with the towns.

1. PEASANTS AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The basic unit of agricultural society was the village, inhabited by peasants who performed the manifold seasonal tasks that made up agricultural production throughout the year – tilling the soil, sowing seeds, harvesting the crop when it was ripe. Further, they contributed their labour to the production of agro-based goods such as sugar and oil.

But rural India was not characterised by settled peasant production alone. Several kinds of areas such as large tracts of dry land or hilly regions were not cultivable in the same way as the more fertile

expanses of land. In addition, forest areas made up a substantial proportion of territory. We need to keep this varied topography in mind when discussing agrarian society.

1.1 Looking for sources

Our understanding of the workings of rural society does not come from those who worked the land, as peasants did not write about themselves. Our major source for the agrarian history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are chronicles and documents from the Mughal court (see also Chapter 9).

One of the most important chronicles was the *Ain-i Akbari* (in short the *Ain*, see also Section 8) authored by Akbar's court historian Abu'l Fazl. This text meticulously recorded the arrangements made by the state to ensure cultivation, to enable the collection of revenue by the agencies of the state and to regulate the relationship between the state and rural magnates, the zamindars.

The central purpose of the *Ain* was to present a vision of Akbar's empire where social harmony was provided by a strong ruling class. Any revolt or assertion of autonomous power against the Mughal state was, in the eyes of the author of the *Ain*, predestined to fail. In other words, whatever we learn from the *Ain* about peasants remains a view from the top.

Fortunately, however, the account of the *Ain* can be supplemented by descriptions contained in sources emanating from regions away from the Mughal capital. These include detailed revenue records from Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Further, the extensive records of the East India Company (see also Chapter 10) provide us with useful descriptions of agrarian relations in eastern India. All these sources record instances of conflicts between peasants, zamindars and the state. In the process they give us an insight into peasants' perception of and their expectations of fairness from the state.

1.2 Peasants and their lands

The term which Indo-Persian sources of the Mughal period most frequently used to denote a peasant was *raiyat* (plural, *riaya*) or *muzarian*. In addition, we also encounter the terms *kisan* or *asami*. Sources of the seventeenth century refer to two kinds of peasants – *khud-kashta* and *pahi-kashta*. The former

Source 1

Peasants on the move

This was a feature of agrarian society which struck a keen observer like Babur, the first Mughal emperor, forcefully enough for him to write about it in the *Babur Nama*, his memoirs:

In Hindustan hamlets and villages, towns indeed, are depopulated and set up in a moment! If the people of a large town, one inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day and a half. On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on a place to settle, they need not dig water courses because their crops are all rain-grown, and as the population of Hindustan is unlimited it swarms in. They make a tank or a well; they need not build houses or set up walls ... *khas*-grass abounds, wood is unlimited, huts are made, and straightaway there is a village or a town!

➲ Describe the aspects of agricultural life that struck Babur as particular to regions in northern India.

were residents of the village in which they held their lands. The latter were non-resident cultivators who belonged to some other village, but cultivated lands elsewhere on a contractual basis. People became *pahi-kashta* either out of choice – for example, when terms of revenue in a distant village were more favourable – or out of compulsion – for example, forced by economic distress after a famine.

Seldom did the average peasant of north India possess more than a pair of bullocks and two ploughs; most possessed even less. In Gujarat peasants possessing about six acres of land were considered to be affluent; in Bengal, on the other hand, five acres was the upper limit of an average peasant farm; 10 acres would make one a rich *asami*. Cultivation was based on the principle of individual ownership. Peasant lands were bought and sold in the same way as the lands of other property owners.

This nineteenth-century description of peasant holdings in the Delhi-Agra region would apply equally to the seventeenth century:

The cultivating peasants (*asamis*), who plough up the fields, mark the limits of each field, for identification and demarcation, with borders of (raised) earth, brick and thorn so that *thousands of such fields* may be counted in a village.

1.3 Irrigation and technology

The abundance of land, available labour and the mobility of peasants were three factors that accounted for the constant expansion of agriculture. Since the primary purpose of agriculture is to feed people, basic staples such as rice, wheat or millets were the most frequently cultivated crops. Areas which received 40 inches or more of rainfall a year were generally rice-producing zones, followed by wheat and millets, corresponding to a descending scale of precipitation.

Monsoons remained the backbone of Indian agriculture, as they are even today. But there were crops which required additional water. Artificial systems of irrigation had to be devised for this.

Source 2

Irrigating trees and fields

This is an excerpt from the *Babur Nama* that describes the irrigation devices the emperor observed in northern India:

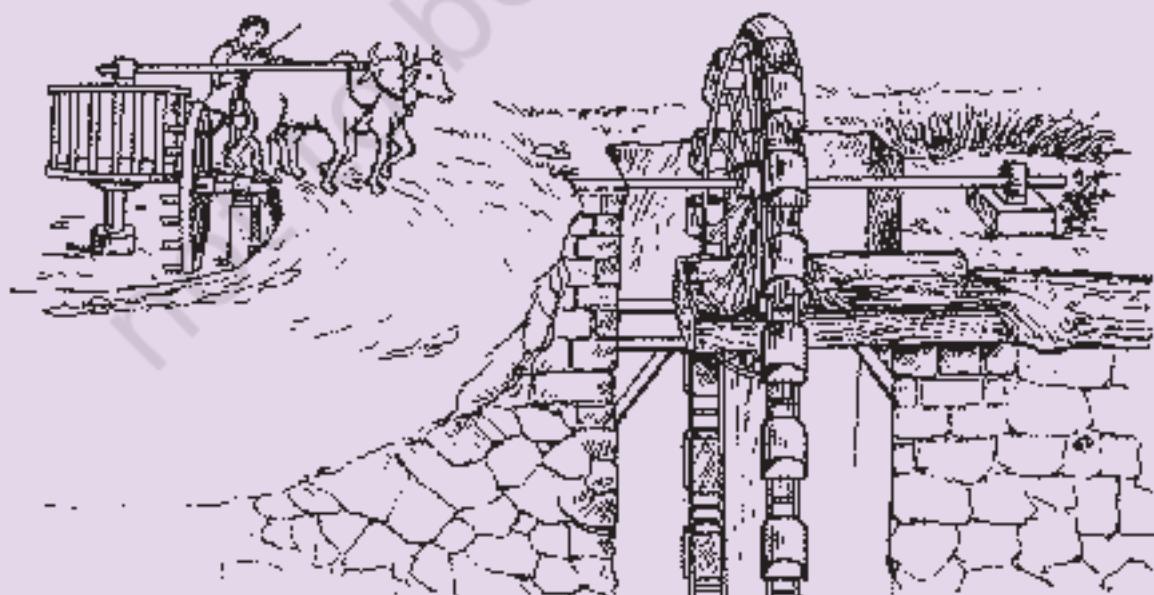
The greater part of Hindustan country is situated on level land. Many though its towns and cultivated lands are, it nowhere has running waters ... For ... water is not at all a necessity in cultivating crops and orchards. Autumn crops grow by the downpour of the rains themselves; and strange it is that spring crops grow even when no rains fall. (However) to young trees water is made to flow by means of buckets or wheels ...

In Lahore, Dipalpur (both in present-day Pakistan) and those other parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of rope long enough to suit the depths of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the wheel-well. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on an upright axle. The last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second (wheel), and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere.

In Agra, Chandwar, Bayana (all in present-day Uttar Pradesh) and those parts again, people water with a bucket ... At the well-edge they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over a roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket.

➲ Compare the irrigation devices observed by Babur with what you have learnt about irrigation in Vijayanagara (Chapter 7). What kind of resources would each of these systems require? Which systems could ensure the participation of peasants in improving agricultural technology?

*Fig. 8.2
A reconstructed Persian wheel, described here*



The spread of tobacco

This plant, which arrived first in the Deccan, spread to northern India in the early years of the seventeenth century. The *Ain* does not mention tobacco in the lists of crops in northern India. Akbar and his nobles came across tobacco for the first time in 1604. At this time smoking tobacco (in *hookahs* or *chillums*) seems to have caught on in a big way. Jahangir was so concerned about its addiction that he banned it. This was totally ineffective because by the end of the seventeenth century, tobacco had become a major article of consumption, cultivation and trade all over India.

Agricultural prosperity and population growth

One important outcome of such varied and flexible forms of agricultural production was a slow demographic growth. Despite periodic disruptions caused by famines and epidemics, India's population increased, according to calculations by economic historians, by about 50 million people between 1600 and 1800, which is an increase of about 33 per cent over 200 years.

Irrigation projects received state support as well. For example, in northern India the state undertook digging of new canals (*nahr, nala*) and also repaired old ones like the *shahnahr* in the Punjab during Shah Jahan's reign.

Though agriculture was labour intensive, peasants did use technologies that often harnessed cattle energy. One example was the wooden plough, which was light and easily assembled with an iron tip or coulter. It therefore did not make deep furrows, which preserved the moisture better during the intensely hot months. A drill, pulled by a pair of giant oxen, was used to plant seeds, but broadcasting of seed was the most prevalent method. Hoeing and weeding were done simultaneously using a narrow iron blade with a small wooden handle.

1.4 An abundance of crops

Agriculture was organised around two major seasonal cycles, the *kharif* (autumn) and the *rabi* (spring). This would mean that most regions, except those terrains that were the most arid or inhospitable, produced a minimum of two crops a year (*do-fasla*), whereas some, where rainfall or irrigation assured a continuous supply of water, even gave three crops. This ensured an enormous variety of produce. For instance, we are told in the *Ain* that the Mughal provinces of Agra produced 39 varieties of crops and Delhi produced 43 over the two seasons. Bengal produced 50 varieties of rice alone.

However, the focus on the cultivation of basic staples did not mean that agriculture in medieval India was only for subsistence. We often come across the term *jins-i kamil* (literally, perfect crops) in our sources. The Mughal state also encouraged peasants to cultivate such crops as they brought in more revenue. Crops such as cotton and sugarcane were *jins-i kamil* par excellence. Cotton was grown over a great swathe of territory spread over central India and the Deccan plateau, whereas Bengal was famous for its sugar. Such cash crops would also include various sorts of oilseeds (for example, mustard) and lentils. This shows how subsistence and commercial production were closely intertwined in an average peasant's holding.

During the seventeenth century several new crops from different parts of the world reached the Indian

subcontinent. Maize (*makka*), for example, was introduced into India via Africa and Spain and by the seventeenth century it was being listed as one of the major crops of western India. Vegetables like tomatoes, potatoes and chillies were introduced from the New World at this time, as were fruits like the pineapple and the papaya.

2. THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The above account makes it clear that agricultural production involved the intensive participation and initiative of the peasantry. How did this affect the structure of agrarian relations in Mughal society? To find out, let us look at the social groups involved in agricultural expansion, and at their relationships and conflicts.

We have seen that peasants held their lands in individual ownership. At the same time they belonged to a collective village community as far as many aspects of their social existence were concerned. There were three constituents of this community – the cultivators, the panchayat, and the village headman (*muqaddam* or *mandal*).

2.1 Caste and the rural milieu

Deep inequities on the basis of caste and other caste-like distinctions meant that the cultivators were a highly heterogeneous group. Among those who tilled the land, there was a sizeable number who worked as menials or agricultural labourers (*majur*).

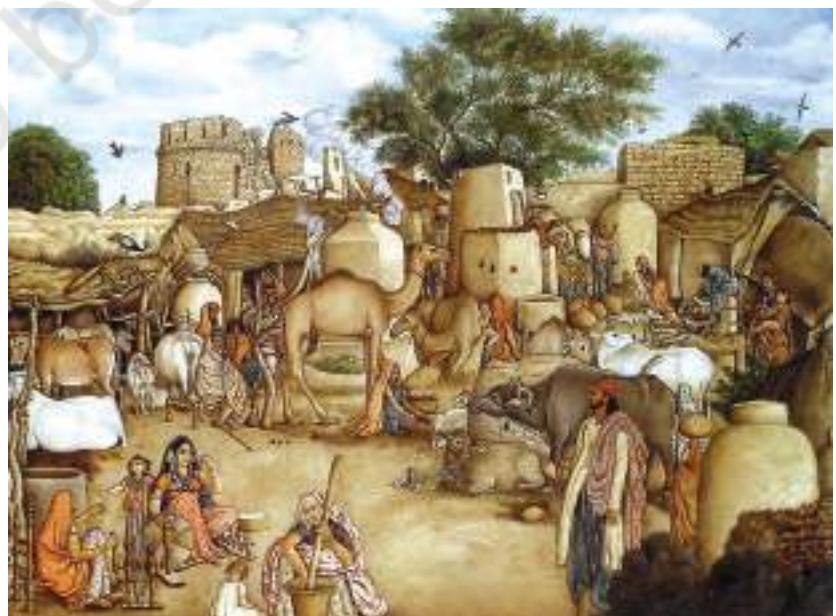
Despite the abundance of cultivable land, certain caste groups were assigned menial tasks and thus relegated to poverty. Though there was no census at that time, the little data that we have suggest that such groups comprised a large section of the village population, had the least resources and were constrained by their position in the caste hierarchy, much like the Dalits of modern India. Such distinctions had begun permeating into other

Discuss...

Identify the technologies and agricultural practices described in this section that appear similar to or different from those described in Chapter 2.

*Fig. 8.3
An early nineteenth-century painting depicting a village in the Punjab*

Describe what women and men are shown doing in the illustration as well as the architecture of the village.



communities too. In Muslim communities menials like the *halalkhoran* (scavengers) were housed outside the boundaries of the village; similarly the *mallahzadas* (literally, sons of boatmen) in Bihar were comparable to slaves.

There was a direct correlation between caste, poverty and social status at the lower strata of society. Such correlations were not so marked at intermediate levels. In a manual from seventeenth-century Marwar, Rajputs are mentioned as peasants, sharing the same space with Jats, who were accorded a lower status in the caste hierarchy. The Gauravas, who cultivated land around Vrindavan (Uttar Pradesh), sought Rajput status in the seventeenth century. Castes such as the Ahirs, Gujars and Malis rose in the hierarchy because of the profitability of cattle rearing and horticulture. In the eastern regions, intermediate pastoral and fishing castes like the Sadgops and Kaivartas acquired the status of peasants.

2.2 Panchayats and headmen

The village panchayat was an assembly of elders, usually important people of the village with hereditary rights over their property. In mixed-caste villages, the panchayat was usually a heterogeneous body. An oligarchy, the panchayat represented various castes and communities in the village, though the village menial-cum-agricultural worker was unlikely to be represented there. The decisions made by these panchayats were binding on the members.

The panchayat was headed by a headman known as *muqaddam* or *mandal*. Some sources suggest that the headman was chosen through the consensus of the village elders, and that this choice had to be ratified by the zamindar. Headmen held office as long as they enjoyed the confidence of the village elders, failing which they could be dismissed by them. The chief function of the headman was to supervise the preparation of village accounts, assisted by the accountant or *patwari* of the panchayat.

The panchayat derived its funds from contributions made by individuals to a common financial pool. These funds were used for defraying the costs of entertaining revenue officials who visited the village from time to time. Expenses for community welfare activities such as tiding over

Corrupt mandals

The *mandals* often misused their positions. They were principally accused of defrauding village accounts in connivance with the *patwari*, and for underassessing the revenue they owed from their own lands in order to pass the additional burden on to the smaller cultivator.

natural calamities (like floods), were also met from these funds. Often these funds were also deployed in construction of a bund or digging a canal which peasants usually could not afford to do on their own.

One important function of the *panchayat* was to ensure that caste boundaries among the various communities inhabiting the village were upheld. In eastern India all marriages were held in the presence of the *mandal*. In other words one of the duties of the village headman was to oversee the conduct of the members of the village community "chiefly to prevent any offence against their caste".

Panchayats also had the authority to levy fines and inflict more serious forms of punishment like expulsion from the community. The latter was a drastic step and was in most cases meted out for a limited period. It meant that a person forced to leave the village became an outcaste and lost his right to practise his profession. Such a measure was intended as a deterrent to violation of caste norms.

In addition to the village panchayat each caste or jati in the village had its own jati panchayat. These panchayats wielded considerable power in rural society. In Rajasthan jati panchayats arbitrated civil disputes between members of different castes. They mediated in contested claims on land, decided whether marriages were performed according to the norms laid down by a particular caste group, determined who had ritual precedence in village functions, and so on. In most cases, except in matters of criminal justice, the state respected the decisions of jati panchayats.

Archival records from western India – notably Rajasthan and Maharashtra – contain petitions presented to the panchayat complaining about extortionate taxation or the demand for unpaid labour (*begar*) imposed by the "superior" castes or officials of the state. These petitions were usually made by villagers, from the lowest rungs of rural society. Often petitions were made collectively as

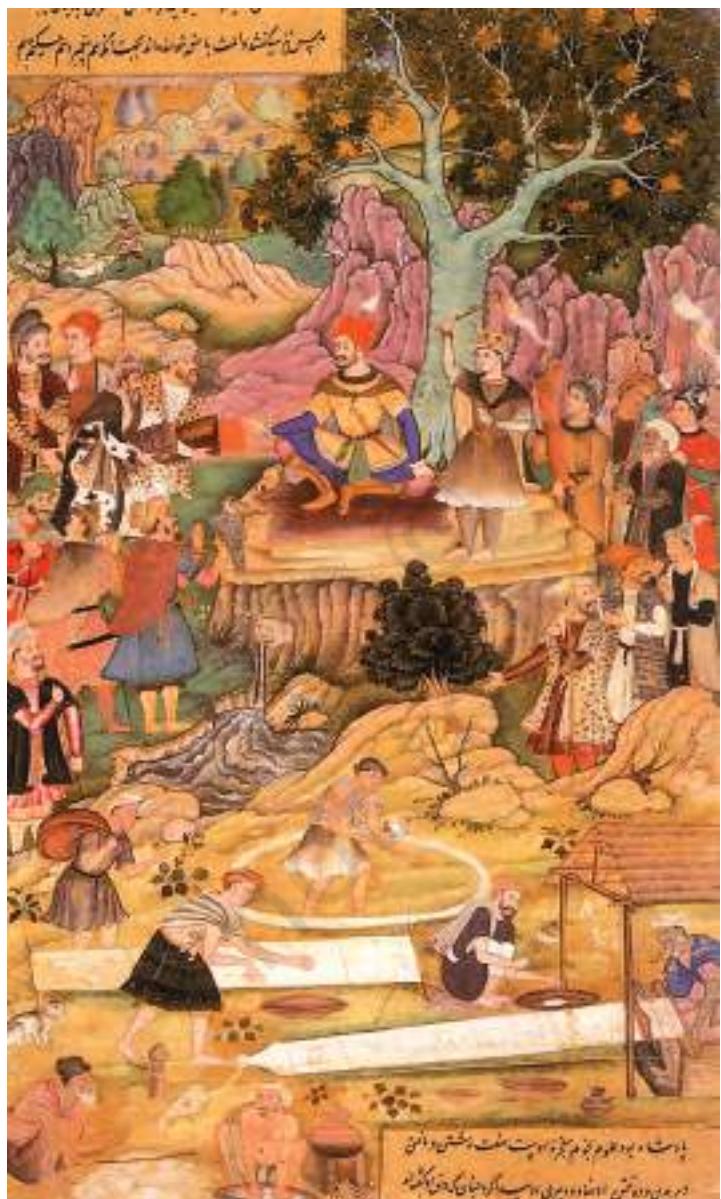


Fig. 8.4
An early nineteenth-century
painting depicting a meeting of
village elders and tax collectors

➲ How has the artist differentiated between the village elders and the tax collectors?

Fig. 8.5
A seventeenth-century painting depicting textile production

➲ Describe the activities that are shown in the illustration.



well, by a caste group or a community protesting against what they considered were morally illegitimate demands on the part of elite groups. These included excessive tax demands which, especially in times of drought or other disasters, endangered the peasants' subsistence. In the eyes of the petitioners the right to the basic minimum for survival was sanctioned by custom. They regarded the village panchayat as the court of appeal that would ensure that the state carried out its moral obligations and guaranteed justice.

The decision of the panchayat in conflicts between "lower-caste" peasants and state officials or the local zamindar could vary from case to case. In cases of excessive revenue demands, the panchayat often suggested compromise. In cases where reconciliation failed, peasants took recourse to more drastic forms of resistance, such as deserting the village. The relatively easy availability of uncultivated land and the competition over labour resources made this an effective weapon in the hands of cultivators.

2.3 Village artisans

Another interesting aspect of the village was the elaborate relationship of exchange between different producers. Marathi documents and village surveys made in the early years of British rule have revealed the existence of substantial numbers of artisans, sometimes as high as 25 per cent of the total households in the villages.

At times, however, the distinction between artisans and peasants in village society was a fluid one, as many groups performed the tasks of both. Cultivators and their families would also participate in craft production – such as dyeing, textile printing, baking and firing of pottery, making and repairing

agricultural implements. Phases in the agricultural calendar when there was a relative lull in activity, as between sowing and weeding or between weeding and harvesting, were a time when cultivators could engage in artisanal production.

Village artisans – potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, even goldsmiths – provided specialised services in return for which they were compensated by villagers by a variety of means. The most common way of doing so was by giving them a share of the harvest, or an allotment of land, perhaps cultivable wastes, which was likely to be decided by the panchayat. In Maharashtra such lands became the artisans' *miras* or *watan* – their hereditary holding.

Another variant of this was a system where artisans and individual peasant households entered into a mutually negotiated system of remuneration, most of the time goods for services. For example, eighteenth-century records tell us of zamindars in Bengal who remunerated blacksmiths, carpenters, even goldsmiths for their work by paying them “a small daily allowance and diet money”. This later came to be described as the *jajmani* system, though the term was not in vogue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such evidence is interesting because it indicates the intricate ways in which exchange networks operated at the micro-level of the village. Cash remuneration was not entirely unknown either.

2.4 A “little republic”?

How does one understand the significance of the village community? Some British officials in the nineteenth century saw the village as a “little republic” made up of fraternal partners sharing resources and labour in a collective. However, this was not a sign of rural egalitarianism. There was individual ownership of assets and deep inequities based on caste and gender distinctions. A group of powerful individuals decided the affairs of the village, exploited the weaker sections and had the authority to dispense justice.

More importantly, a cash nexus had already developed through trade between villages and towns. In the Mughal heartland too, revenue was assessed and collected in cash. Artisans producing for the export market (for example, weavers) received their

Money in the village

The seventeenth-century French traveller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier found it remarkable that in “India a village must be very small indeed if it has not a money-changer called a Shroff. (They) act as bankers to make remittances of money (and who) enhance the rupee as they please for paisa and the paisa for these (cowrie) shells”.

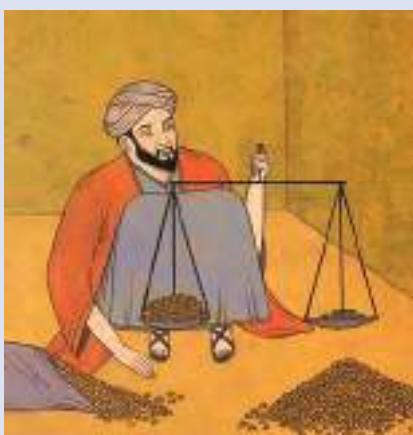


Fig. 8.6
A shroff at work



Fig. 8.7
A woman spinning thread

advances or wages in cash, as did producers of commercial products like cotton, silk or indigo.

Discuss...

In what ways do you think the panchayats described in this section were similar to or different from present-day gram panchayats?

3. WOMEN IN AGRARIAN SOCIETY

As you may have observed in many different societies, the production process often involves men and women performing certain specified roles. In the contexts that we are exploring, women and men had to work shoulder to shoulder in the fields. Men tilled and ploughed, while women sowed, weeded, threshed and winnowed the harvest. With the growth of nucleated villages and expansion in individuated peasant farming, which characterised medieval Indian agriculture, the basis of production was the labour and resources of the entire household. Naturally, a gendered segregation between the home (for women) and the world (for men) was not possible in this context. Nonetheless biases related to women's biological functions did continue. Menstruating women, for instance, were not allowed to touch the plough or the potter's wheel in western India, or enter the groves where betel-leaves (*paan*) were grown in Bengal.

Artisanal tasks such as spinning yarn, sifting and kneading clay for pottery, and embroidery were among the many aspects of production dependent on female labour. The more commercialised the product, the greater the demand on women's labour to produce it. In fact, peasant and artisan women worked not only in the fields, but even went to the houses of their employers or to the markets if necessary.

Women were considered an important resource in agrarian society also because they were child bearers in a society dependent on labour. At the same time, high mortality rates among women – owing to malnutrition, frequent pregnancies, death during childbirth – often meant a shortage of wives. This led to the emergence of social customs in peasant and artisan communities that were distinct from

those prevalent among elite groups. Marriages in many rural communities required the payment of bride-price rather than dowry to the bride's family. Remarriage was considered legitimate both among divorced and widowed women.

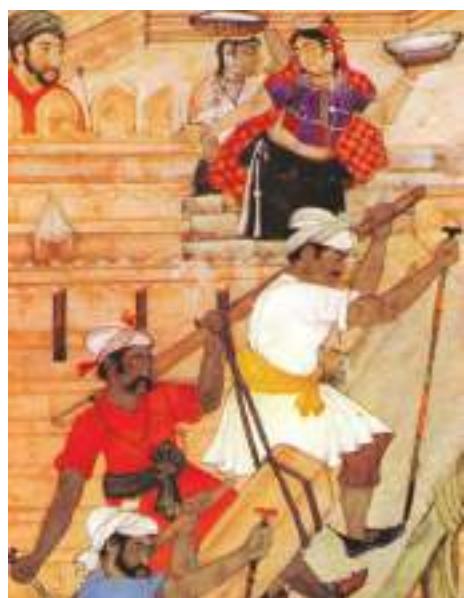
The importance attached to women as a reproductive force also meant that the fear of losing control over them was great. According to established social norms, the household was headed by a male. Thus women were kept under strict control by the male members of the family and the community. They could inflict draconian punishments if they suspected infidelity on the part of women.

Documents from Western India – Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra – record petitions sent by women to the village panchayat, seeking redress and justice. Wives protested against the infidelity of their husbands or the neglect of the wife and children by the male head of the household, the *grihasthi*. While male infidelity was not always punished, the state and "superior" caste groups did intervene when it came to ensuring that the family was adequately provided for. In most cases when women petitioned to the panchayat, their names were excluded from the record: the petitioner was referred to as the mother, sister or wife of the male head of the household.

Amongst the landed gentry, women had the right to inherit property. Instances from the Punjab show that women, including widows, actively participated in the rural land market as sellers of property inherited by them. Hindu and Muslim women inherited zamindaris which they were free to sell or mortgage. Women zamindars were known in eighteenth-century Bengal. In fact, one of the biggest and most famous of the eighteenth-century zamindaris, that of Rajshahi, had a woman at the helm.



*Fig. 8.8 a
The construction of Fatehpur Sikri –
women crushing stones*



*Fig. 8.8 b
Women carrying loads
Migrant women from neighbouring
villages often worked at such
construction sites.*

Discuss...

Are there any differences in the access men and women have to agricultural land in your state?

4. FORESTS AND TRIBES

4.1 Beyond settled villages

There was more to rural India than sedentary agriculture. Apart from the intensively cultivated provinces in northern and north-western India, huge swathes of forests – dense forest (*jangal*) or scrubland (*kharbandi*) – existed all over eastern India, central India, northern India (including the Terai on the Indo-Nepal border), Jharkhand, and in peninsular India down the Western Ghats and the Deccan plateau. Though it is nearly impossible to set an all-India average of the forest cover for this period, informed conjectures based on contemporary sources suggest an average of 40 per cent.

Forest dwellers were termed *jangli* in contemporary texts. Being *jangli*, however, did

not mean an absence of “civilisation”, as popular usage of the term today seems to connote. Rather, the term described those whose livelihood came from the gathering of forest produce, hunting and shifting agriculture. These activities were largely season specific. Among the Bhils, for example, spring was reserved for collecting forest produce, summer for fishing, the monsoon months for cultivation, and autumn and winter for hunting. Such a sequence presumed and perpetuated mobility, which was a distinctive feature of tribes inhabiting these forests.

For the state, the forest was a subversive place – a place of refuge (*mawas*) for troublemakers. Once again, we turn to Babur who says that jungles provided a good defence “behind which the people of the pargana become stubbornly rebellious and pay no taxes”.

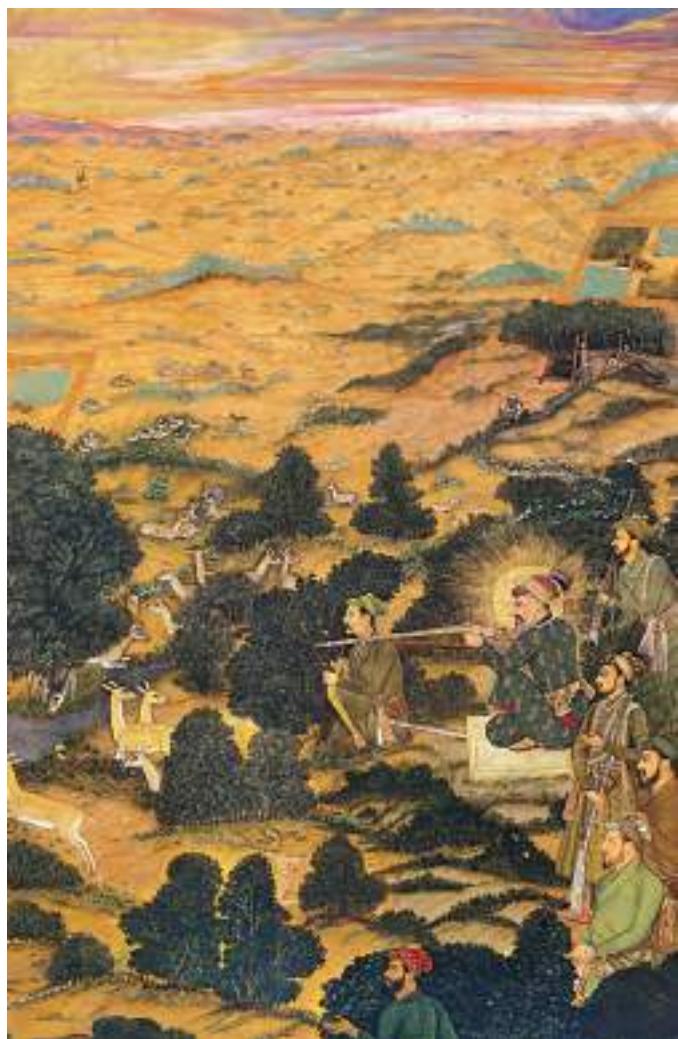
4.2 Inroads into forests

External forces entered the forest in different ways. For instance, the state required elephants for the army. So the *peshkash* levied from forest people often included a supply of elephants.

Fig. 8.9

Painting of Shah Jahan hunting nilgais (from the Badshah Nama)

➲ Describe what you see in this painting. What is the symbolic element that helps establish the connection between the hunt and ideal justice?



In the Mughal political ideology, the hunt symbolised the overwhelming concern of the state to relate to all its subjects, rich and poor. Regular hunting expeditions, so court historians tell us, enabled the emperor to travel across the extensive territories of his empire and personally attend to the grievances of its inhabitants. The hunt was a subject frequently painted by court artists. The painter resorted to the device of inserting a small scene somewhere in the picture that functioned as a symbol of a harmonious reign.

Pargana was an administrative subdivision of a Mughal province.

Source 3

Clearance of forests for agricultural settlements

This is an excerpt from a sixteenth-century Bengali poem, *Chandimangala*, composed by Mukundaram Chakrabarti. The hero of the poem, Kalaketu, set up a kingdom by clearing forests:

Hearing the news, outsiders came from various lands.
 Kalaketu then bought and distributed among them
 Heavy knives, axes, battle-axes and pikes.
 From the north came the Das (people)
 One hundred of them advanced.
 They were struck with wonder on seeing Kalaketu
 Who distributed betel-nut to each of them.
 From the south came the harvesters
 Five hundred of them under one organiser.
 From the west came Zafar Mian,
 Together with twenty-two thousand men.
 Sulaimani beads in their hands
 They chanted the names of their *pir* and *paighambar* (Prophet).
 Having cleared the forest
 They established markets.
 Hundreds and hundreds of foreigners
 Ate and entered the forest.
 Hearing the sound of the axe,
 Tigers became apprehensive and ran away, roaring.

Peshkash was a form of tribute collected by the Mughal state.

➲ What forms of intrusion into the forest does the text evoke? Compare its message with that of the miniature painting in Fig. 8.9. Who are the people identified as “foreigners” from the perspective of the forest dwellers?

Source 4

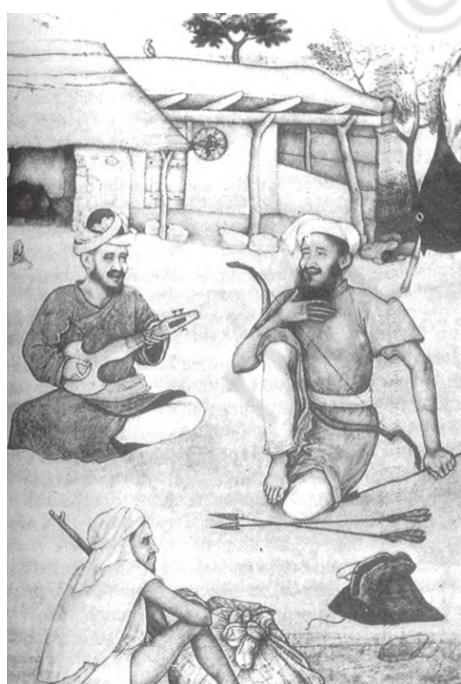
Trade between the hill tribes and the plains, c. 1595

This is how Abu'l Fazl describes the transactions between the hill tribes and the plains in the *suba* of Awadh (part of present-day Uttar Pradesh):

From the northern mountains quantities of goods are carried on the backs of men, of stout ponies and of goats, such as gold, copper, lead, musk, tails of the *kutas* cow (the yak), honey, *chuk* (an acid composed of orange juice and lemon boiled together), pomegranate seed, ginger, long pepper, *majith* (a plant producing a red dye) root, borax, zedoary (a root resembling turmeric), wax, woollen stuffs, wooden ware, hawks, falcons, black falcons, merlins (a kind of bird), and other articles. In exchange they carry back white and coloured cloths, amber, salt, asafoetida, ornaments, glass and earthen ware.

- ➲ What are the modes of transport described in this passage? Why do you think they were used? Explain what each of the articles brought from the plains to the hills may have been used for.

Fig. 8.10
A peasant and a hunter listening to a sufi singer



The spread of commercial agriculture was an important external factor that impinged on the lives of those who lived in the forests. Forest products – like honey, beeswax and gum lac – were in great demand. Some, such as gum lac, became major items of overseas export from India in the seventeenth century. Elephants were also captured and sold. Trade involved an exchange of commodities through barter as well. Some tribes, like the Lohannis in the Punjab, were engaged in overland trade, between India and Afghanistan, and in the town-country trade in the Punjab itself.

Social factors too wrought changes in the lives of forest dwellers. Like the “big men” of the village community, tribes also had their chieftains. Many tribal chiefs had become zamindars, some even became kings. For this they required to build up an army. They recruited people from their lineage groups or demanded that their fraternity provide military service. Tribes in the Sind region had armies comprising 6,000 cavalry and 7,000 infantry. In Assam, the Ahom kings had their *paiks*, people who were obliged to render military service in exchange for land. The capture of wild elephants was declared a royal monopoly by the Ahom kings.

Though the transition from a tribal to a monarchical system had started much earlier, the process seems to have become fully developed only by the sixteenth century. This can be seen from the *Ain's* observations on the existence of tribal kingdoms in the north-east. War was a common occurrence. For instance, the Koch kings fought and subjugated a number of neighbouring tribes in a long sequence of wars through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

New cultural influences also began to penetrate into forested zones. Some historians have indeed suggested that sufi saints (*pirs*) played a major role in the slow acceptance of Islam among agricultural communities emerging in newly colonised places (see also Chapter 6).

5. THE ZAMINDARS

Our story of agrarian relations in Mughal India will not be complete without referring to a class of people in the countryside that lived off agriculture but did not participate directly in the processes of agricultural production. These were the zamindars who were landed proprietors who also enjoyed certain social and economic privileges by virtue of their superior status in rural society. Caste was one factor that accounted for the elevated status of zamindars; another factor was that they performed certain services (*khidmat*) for the state.

The zamindars held extensive personal lands termed *milkiyat*, meaning property. *Milkiyat* lands were cultivated for the private use of zamindars, often with the help of hired or servile labour. The zamindars could sell, bequeath or mortgage these lands at will.

Zamindars also derived their power from the fact that they could often collect revenue on behalf of the state, a service for which they were compensated financially. Control over military resources was another source of power. Most zamindars had fortresses (*qilachas*) as well as an armed contingent comprising units of cavalry, artillery and infantry.

Thus if we visualise social relations in the Mughal countryside as a pyramid, zamindars clearly constituted its very narrow apex. Abu'l Fazl's account indicates that an "upper-caste", Brahmana-Rajput

➲ Discuss...

Find out which areas are currently identified as forest zones in your state. Is life in these areas changing today? Are the factors responsible for these changes different from or identical to those mentioned in this section?

combine had already established firm control over rural society. It also reflects a fairly large representation from the so-called intermediate castes, as we saw earlier, as well as a liberal sprinkling of Muslim zamindaris.

Contemporary documents give an impression that conquest may have been the source of the origin of some zamindaris. The dispossession of weaker people by a powerful military chieftain was quite often a way of expanding a zamindari. It is, however, unlikely that the state would have allowed such a show of aggression by a zamindar unless he had been confirmed by an imperial order (*sanad*).

More important were the slow processes of zamindari consolidation, which are also documented in sources. These involved colonisation of new lands, by transfer of rights, by order of the state and by purchase. These were the processes which perhaps permitted people belonging to the relatively “lower” castes to enter the rank of zamindars as zamindaris were bought and sold quite briskly in this period.

A combination of factors also allowed the consolidation of clan- or lineage-based zamindaris. For example, the Rajputs and Jats adopted these strategies to consolidate their control over vast swathes of territory in northern India. Likewise, peasant-pastoralists (like the Sadgops) carved out powerful zamindaris in areas of central and southwestern Bengal.

Zamindars spearheaded the colonisation of agricultural land, and helped in settling cultivators by providing them with the means of cultivation, including cash loans. The buying and selling of zamindaris accelerated the process of monetisation in the countryside. In addition, zamindars sold the produce from their *milkiyat* lands. There is evidence to show that zamindars often established markets (*haats*) to which peasants also came to sell their produce.

Although there can be little doubt that zamindars were an exploitative class, their relationship with the peasantry had an element of reciprocity, paternalism and patronage. Two aspects reinforce this view. First, the bhakti saints, who eloquently condemned caste-based and other forms of oppression (see also Chapter 6), did not portray the zamindars (or, interestingly, the moneylender) as exploiters or oppressors of the peasantry. Usually it was the

A parallel army!

According to the *Ain*, the combined military strength of the zamindars in Mughal India was 384,558 cavalry, 4,277,057 infantry, 1,863 elephants, 4,260 cannons, and 4,500 boats.

revenue official of the state who was the object of their ire. Second, in a large number of agrarian uprisings which erupted in north India in the seventeenth century, zamindars often received the support of the peasantry in their struggle against the state.

6. LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

Revenue from the land was the economic mainstay of the Mughal Empire. It was therefore vital for the state to create an administrative apparatus to ensure control over agricultural production, and to fix and collect revenue from across the length and breadth of the rapidly expanding empire. This apparatus included the office (*daftar*) of the *diwan* who was responsible for supervising the fiscal system of the empire. Thus revenue officials and record keepers penetrated the agricultural domain and became a decisive agent in shaping agrarian relations.

The Mughal state tried to first acquire specific information about the extent of the agricultural lands in the empire and what these lands produced before fixing the burden of taxes on people. The land revenue arrangements consisted of two stages – first, assessment and then actual collection. The *jama* was the amount assessed, as opposed to *hasil*, the amount collected. In his list of duties of the *amil-guzar* or revenue collector, Akbar decreed that while he should strive to make cultivators pay in cash, the option of payment in kind was also to be kept open. While fixing revenue, the attempt of the state was to maximise its claims. The scope of actually realising these claims was, however, sometimes thwarted by local conditions.

Both cultivated and cultivable lands were measured in each province. The *Ain* compiled the aggregates of such lands during Akbar's rule. Efforts to measure lands continued under subsequent emperors. For instance, in 1665, Aurangzeb expressly instructed his revenue officials to prepare annual records of the number of cultivators in each village (Source 7). Yet not all areas were measured successfully. As we have seen, forests covered huge areas of the subcontinent and thus remained unmeasured.

➲ Discuss...

The zamindari system was abolished in India after Independence. Read through this section and identify reasons why this was done.

Amin was an official responsible for ensuring that imperial regulations were carried out in the provinces.

➲ What principles did the Mughal state follow while classifying lands in its territories? How was revenue assessed?

Source 5

Classification of lands under Akbar

The following is a listing of criteria of classification excerpted from the *Ain*:

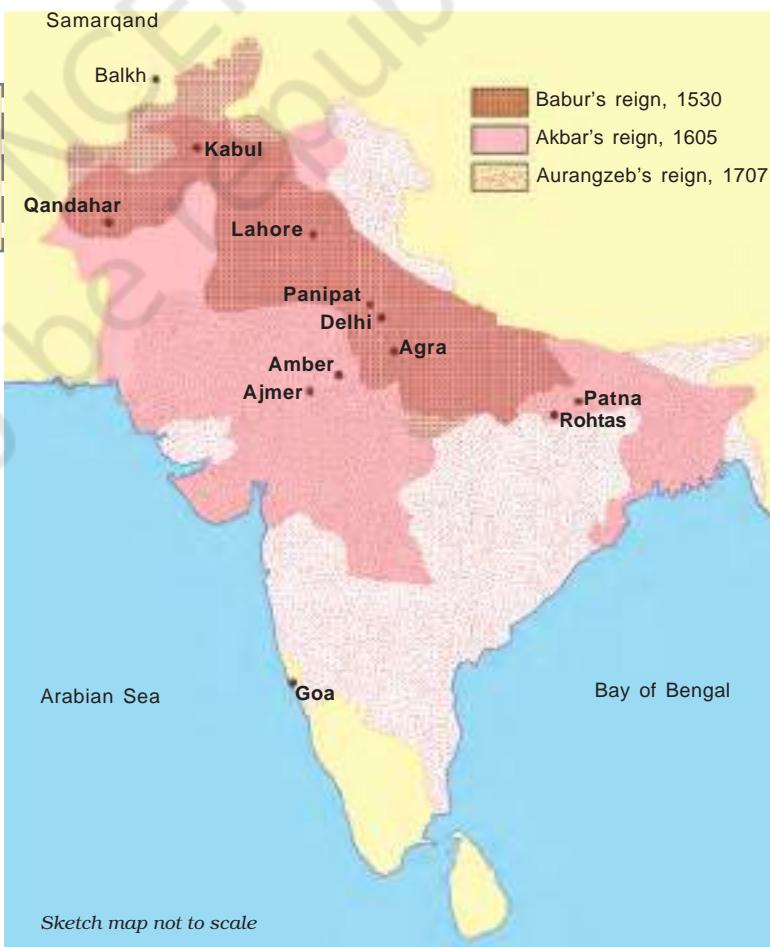
The Emperor Akbar in his profound sagacity classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each. *Polaj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Parauti* is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chachar* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Banjar* is land uncultivated for five years and more. Of the first two kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling, and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and the third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the Royal dues.

Map 1
The expansion of the Mughal Empire

➲ What impact do you think the expansion of the empire would have had on land revenue collection?

The mansabdari system

The Mughal administrative system had at its apex a military-cum-bureaucratic apparatus (*mansabdari*) which was responsible for looking after the civil and military affairs of the state. Some *mansabdars* were paid in cash (*naqdi*), while the majority of them were paid through assignments of revenue (*jagirs*) in different regions of the empire. They were transferred periodically. See also Chapter 9.



Source 6

Cash or kind?

The *Ain* on land revenue collection:

Let him (the *amil-guzar*) not make it a practice of taking only in cash but also in kind. The latter is effected in several ways. First, *kankut*: in the Hindi language *kan* signifies grain, and *kut*, estimates ... If any doubts arise, the crops should be cut and estimated in three lots, the good, the middling, and the inferior, and the hesitation removed. Often, too, the land taken by appraisement, gives a sufficiently accurate return. Secondly, *batai*, also called *bhaoli*, the crops are reaped and stacked and divided by agreement in the presence of the parties. But in this case several intelligent inspectors are required; otherwise, the evil-minded and false are given to deception. Thirdly, *khet-batai*, when they divide the fields after they are sown. Fourthly, *lang batai*, after cutting the grain, they form it in heaps and divide it among themselves, and each takes his share home and turns it to profit.

➲ What difference would each of the systems of assessment and collection of revenue have made to the cultivator?

Source 7

The *jama*

This is an excerpt from Aurangzeb's order to his revenue official, 1665:

He should direct the *amins* of the *parganas* that they should discover the actual conditions of cultivation (*maujudat*), village by village, peasant-wise (*asamiwar*), and after minute scrutiny, assess the *jama*, keeping in view the financial interests (*kifayat*) of the government, and the welfare of the peasantry.

➲ Why do you think the emperor insisted on a detailed survey?

➲ Discuss...

Would you consider the land revenue system of the Mughals as a flexible one?

7. THE FLOW OF SILVER

The Mughal Empire was among the large territorial empires in Asia that had managed to consolidate power and resources during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These empires were the Ming (China), Safavid (Iran) and Ottoman (Turkey). The political stability achieved by all these empires helped create vibrant networks of overland trade from China to the Mediterranean Sea. Voyages of discovery and the opening up of the New World resulted in a massive expansion of Asia's (particularly India's) trade with Europe. This resulted in a greater geographical diversity of India's overseas trade as well as an



Fig. 8.11
A silver rupya issued by Akbar (obverse and reverse)



*Fig. 8.12
A silver rupya issued by Aurangzeb*

expansion in the commodity composition of this trade. An expanding trade brought in huge amounts of silver bullion into Asia to pay for goods procured from India, and a large part of that bullion gravitated towards India. This was good for India as it did not have natural resources of silver. As a result, the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was also marked by a remarkable stability in the availability of metal currency, particularly the silver *rupya* in India. This facilitated an unprecedented expansion of minting of coins and the circulation of money in the economy as well as the ability of the Mughal state to extract taxes and revenue in cash.

The testimony of an Italian traveller, Giovanni Careri, who passed through India c. 1690, provides a graphic account about the way silver travelled across the globe to reach India. It also gives us an idea of the phenomenal amounts of cash and commodity transactions in seventeenth-century India.

*Fig. 8.13
An example of textiles produced in the subcontinent to meet the demands of European markets*



Discuss...

Find out whether there are any taxes on agricultural production at present in your state. Explain the similarities and differences between Mughal fiscal policies and those adopted by present-day state governments.

Source 8

How silver came to India

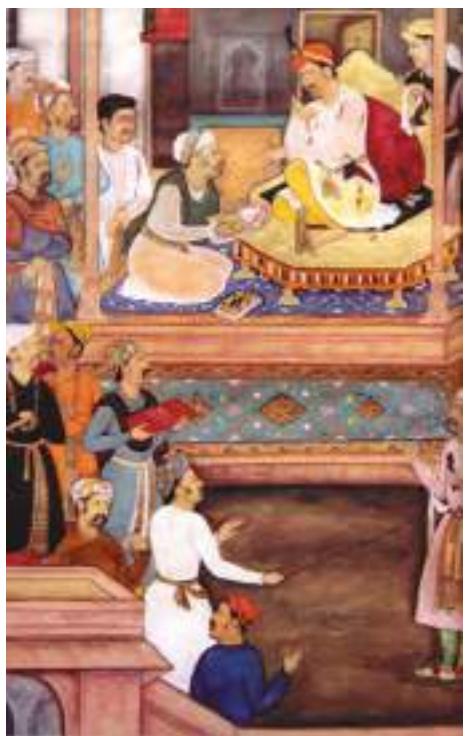
This excerpt from Giovanni Careri's account (based on Bernier's account) gives an idea of the enormous amount of wealth that found its way into the Mughal Empire:

That the Reader may form some idea of the Wealth of this (Mughal) Empire, he is to observe that all the Gold and Silver, which circulates throughout the World at last Centres here. It is well known that as much of it comes out of America, after running through several Kingdoms of Europe, goes partly into Turky (Turkey), for several sorts of Commodities; and part into Persia, by the way of Smirna for Silk. Now the Turks not being able to abstain from Coffee, which comes from Hyeman (Oman), and Arabia ... nor Persia, Arabia, and the Turks themselves to go without the commodities of India, send vast quantities of Mony (money) to Moka (Mocha) on the Red Sea, near Babel Mandel; to Bassora (Basra) at the bottom of the Persian Gulgh (Gulf); ... which is afterwards sent over in Ships to Indostan (Hindustan). Besides the Indian, Dutch, English, and Portuguese Ships, that every Year carry the Commodities of Indostan, to Pegu, Tanasserri (parts of Myanmar), Siam (Thailand), Ceylon (Sri Lanka) ... the Maldives Islands, Mozambique and other Places, must of necessity convey much Gold and Silver thither, from those Countries. All that the Dutch fetch from the Mines in Japan, sooner or later, goes to Indostan; and the goods carry'd hence into Europe, whether to France, England, or Portugal, are all purchas'd for ready Mony, which remains there.

8. THE AIN-I AKBARI OF ABU'L FAZL ALLAMI

The *Ain-i Akbari* was the culmination of a large historical, administrative project of classification undertaken by Abu'l Fazl at the order of Emperor Akbar. It was completed in 1598, the forty-second regnal year of the emperor, after having gone through five revisions. The *Ain* was part of a larger project of history writing commissioned by Akbar. This history, known as the *Akbar Nama*, comprised three books. The first two provided a historical narrative. We will look at these parts more closely in Chapter 9. The *Ain-i Akbari*, the third book, was organised as a compendium of imperial regulations and a gazetteer of the empire.

The *Ain* gives detailed accounts of the organisation of the court, administration and army, the sources of revenue and the physical layout of the provinces of Akbar's empire and the literary, cultural and religious traditions of the people. Along with a description of the various departments of Akbar's government and elaborate descriptions of the



*Fig. 8.14
Abu'l Fazl presenting the manuscript of the completed Akbar Nama to his patron*

various provinces (*subas*) of the empire, the *Ain* gives us intricate quantitative information of those provinces.

Collecting and compiling this information systematically was an important imperial exercise. It informed the emperor about the varied and diverse customs and practices prevailing across his extensive territories. The *Ain* is therefore a mine of information for us about the Mughal Empire during Akbar's reign. It is important, however, to keep in mind that this is a view of the regions from the centre, a view of society from its apex.

The *Ain* is made up of five books (*daftars*), of which the first three books describe the administration. The first book, called *manzil-abadi*, concerns the imperial household and its maintenance. The second book, *sipah-abadi*, covers the military and civil administration and the establishment of servants. This book includes notices and short biographical sketches of imperial officials (*mansabdars*), learned men, poets and artists.

The third book, *mulk-abadi*, is the one which deals with the fiscal side of the empire and provides rich quantitative information on revenue rates, followed by the "Account of the Twelve Provinces". This section has detailed statistical information, which includes the geographic, topographic and economic profile of all *subas* and their administrative and fiscal divisions (*sarkars*, *parganas* and *mahals*), total measured area, and assessed revenue (*jama*).

After setting out details at the *suba* level, the *Ain* goes on to give a detailed picture of the *sarkars* below the *suba*. This it does in the form of tables, which have eight columns giving the following information: (1) *parganat/mahal*; (2) *qila* (forts); (3) *arazi* and *zamin-i painmuda* (measured area); (4) *naqdi*, revenue assessed in cash; (5) *suyurghal*, grants of revenue in charity; (6) *zamindars*; columns 7 and 8 contain details of the castes of these zamindars, and their troops including their horsemen (*sawar*), foot-soldiers (*piyada*) and elephants (*fil*). The *mulk-abadi* gives a fascinating, detailed and highly complex view of agrarian society in northern India. The fourth and fifth books (*daftars*) deal with the religious, literary and cultural traditions of the people of India and also contain a collection of Akbar's "auspicious sayings".

Source 9

"Moistening the rose garden of fortune"

In this extract Abu'l Fazl gives a vivid account of how and from whom he collected his information:

... to Abu'l Fazl, son of Mubarak ... this sublime mandate was given. "Write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events and of our dominion-conquering victories ... Assuredly, I spent much labour and research in collecting the records and narratives of His Majesty's actions and I was a long time interrogating the servants of the State and the old members of the illustrious family. I examined both prudent, truth-speaking old men and active-minded, right-actioned young ones and reduced their statements to writing. The Royal commands were issued to the provinces, that those who from old service remembered, with certainty or with adminicle of doubt, the events of the past, should copy out the notes and memoranda and transit them to the court. (Then) a second command shone forth from the holy Presence-chamber; to wit – that the materials which had been collected should be ... recited in the royal hearing, and whatever might have to be written down afterwards, should be introduced into the noble volume as a supplement, and that such details as on account of the minuteness of the inquiries and the *minutiae* of affairs, (which) could not then be brought to an end, should be inserted afterwards at my leisure.

Being relieved by this royal order – the interpreter of the Divine ordinance – from the secret anxiety of my heart, I proceeded to reduce into writing the rough draughts (drafts) which were void of the grace of arrangement and style. I obtained the chronicle of events beginning at the Nineteenth Year of the Divine Era, when the Record Office was established by the enlightened intellect of His Majesty, and from its rich pages, I gathered the accounts of many events. Great pains too, were taken to procure the originals or copies of most of the orders which had been issued to the provinces from the Accession up to the present-day ... I also took much trouble to incorporate many of the reports which ministers and high officials had submitted, about the affairs of the empire and the events of foreign countries. And my labour-loving soul was satiated by the apparatus of inquiry and research. I also exerted myself energetically to collect the rough notes and memoranda of sagacious and well-informed men. By these means, I constructed a reservoir for irrigating and moistening the rose garden of fortune (the *Akbar Nama*).

- ➲ List all the sources that Abu'l Fazl used to compile his work. Which of these sources would have been most useful for arriving at an understanding of agrarian relations?
- To what extent do you think his work would have been influenced by his relationship with Akbar?

Translating the *Ain*

Given the importance of the *Ain*, it has been translated for use by a number of scholars. Henry Blochmann edited it and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (present-day Kolkata), published it in its *Bibliotheca Indica* series. The book has also been translated into English in three volumes. The standard translation of Volume 1 is that of Henry Blochmann (Calcutta 1873). The other two volumes were translated by H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta 1891 and 1894).

Although the *Ain* was officially sponsored to record detailed information to facilitate Emperor Akbar govern his empire, it was much more than a reproduction of official papers. That the manuscript was revised five times by the author would suggest a high degree of caution on the part of Abu'l Fazl and a search for authenticity. For instance, oral testimonies were cross-checked and verified before being incorporated as "facts" in the chronicle. In the quantitative sections, all numeric data were reproduced in words so as to minimise the chances of subsequent transcriptional errors.

Historians who have carefully studied the *Ain* point out that it is not without its problems. Numerous errors in totalling have been detected. These are ascribed to simple slips of arithmetic or of transcription by Abu'l Fazl's assistants. These are generally minor and do not detract from the overall quantitative veracity of the manuals.

Another limitation of the *Ain* is the somewhat skewed nature of the quantitative data. Data were not collected uniformly from all provinces. For instance, while for many *subas* detailed information was compiled about the caste composition of the zamindars, such information is not available for Bengal and Orissa. Further, while the fiscal data from the *subas* is remarkable for its richness, some equally vital parameters such as prices and wages from these same areas are not as well documented. The detailed list of prices and wages that the *Ain* does provide is mainly derived from data pertaining to areas in or around the imperial capital of Agra, and is therefore of limited relevance for the rest of the country.

These limitations notwithstanding, the *Ain* remains an extraordinary document of its times. By providing fascinating glimpses into the structure and organisation of the Mughal Empire and by giving us quantitative information about its products and people, Abu'l Fazl achieved a major breakthrough in the tradition of medieval chroniclers who wrote mostly about remarkable political events – wars, conquests, political machinations, and dynastic turmoil. Information about the country, its people

and its products was mentioned only incidentally and as embellishments to the essentially political thrust of the narrative.

The *Ain* completely departed from this tradition as it recorded information about the *empire* and the *people* of India, and thus constitutes a benchmark for studying India at the turn of the seventeenth century. The value of the *Ain's* quantitative evidence is uncontested where the study of agrarian relations is concerned. But it is the information it contains on people, their professions and trades and on the imperial establishment and the grandees of the empire which enables historians to reconstruct the social fabric of India at that time.

TIMELINE LANDMARKS IN THE HISTORY OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

1526	Babur defeats Ibrahim Lodi, the Delhi Sultan, at Panipat, becomes the first Mughal emperor
1530-40	First phase of Humayun's reign
1540-55	Humayun defeated by Sher Shah, in exile at the Safavid court
1555-56	Humayun regains lost territories
1556-1605	Reign of Akbar
1605-27	Reign of Jahangir
1628-58	Reign of Shah Jahan
1658-1707	Reign of Aurangzeb
1739	Nadir Shah invades India and sacks Delhi
1761	Ahmad Shah Abdali defeats the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat
1765	The <i>diwani</i> of Bengal transferred to the East India Company
1857	Last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah II, deposed by the British and exiled to Rangoon (present day Yangon, Myanmar)



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

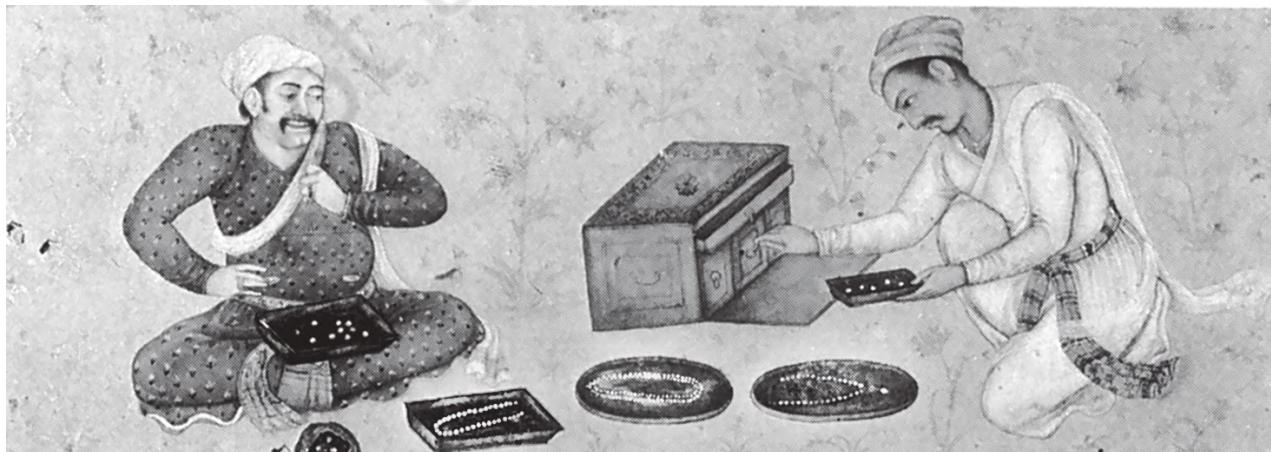
1. What are the problems in using the *Ain* as a source for reconstructing agrarian history? How do historians deal with this situation?
2. To what extent is it possible to characterise agricultural production in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries as subsistence agriculture? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Describe the role played by women in agricultural production.
4. Discuss, with examples, the significance of monetary transactions during the period under consideration.
5. Examine the evidence that suggests that land revenue was important for the Mughal fiscal system.



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (ABOUT 250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. To what extent do you think caste was a factor in influencing social and economic relations in agrarian society?
7. How were the lives of forest dwellers transformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?
8. Examine the role played by zamindars in Mughal India.
9. Discuss the ways in which panchayats and village headmen regulated rural society.

*Fig. 8.15
A seventeenth-century painting depicting jewellers*





MAP WORK

- On an outline map of the world, mark the areas which had economic links with the Mughal Empire, and trace out possible routes of communication.



PROJECT (CHOOSE ONE)

- Visit a neighbouring village. Find out how many people live there, which crops are grown, which animals are raised, which artisanal groups reside there, whether women own land, how the local panchayat functions. Compare this information with what you have learnt about the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, noting similarities and differences. Explain both the changes and the continuities that you find.
- Select a small section of the *Ain* (10-12 pages, available online at the website indicated below). Read it carefully and prepare a report on how it can be used by a historian.

Fig. 8.16
A painting depicting a woman selling sweets



If you would like to know more, read:

Sumit Guha. 1999.
Environment and Ethnicity in India.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Irfan Habib. 1999.
The Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707 (Second edition).
Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

W.H. Moreland. 1983 (rpt).
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Oriental, New Delhi.

Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds). 2004.
The Cambridge Economic History of India. Vol. 1.
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Dietmar Rothermund. 1993.
An Economic History of India – from Pre-colonial Times to 1991.
Routledge, London.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.). 1994.
Money and the Market in India, 1100-1700.
Oxford University Press, New Delhi.



For more information,
you could visit:
<http://persian.packhum.org/persianindex.jsp?serv=pf&file=00702053&ct=0>

Credits for Illustrations

Theme 5

- Fig. 5.1: Ritu Topa.
Fig. 5.2: Henri Stierlin, *The Cultural History of the Arabs*, Aurum Press, London, 1981.
Fig. 5.4, 5.13: FICCI, *Footprints of Enterprise: Indian Business Through the Ages*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.
Fig. 5.5: Calcutta Art Gallery, printed in E.B. Havell, *The Art Heritage of India*, D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1964.
Fig. 5.6, 5.7, 5.12: Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, 1971.
Fig. 5.8, 5.9: Sunil Kumar.
Fig. 5.10: Rosemary Crill, *Indian Ikat Textiles*, Weatherhill, London, 1998.
Fig. 5.11, 5.14: C.A. Bayly (ed). *An Illustrated History of Modern India, 1600-1947*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1991.

Theme 6

- Fig. 6.1: Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, Weatherhill, New York, 1993.
Fig. 6.3, 6.17: Jim Masselos, Jackie Menzies and Pratapaditya Pal, *Dancing to the Flute: Music and Dance in Indian Art*, The Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 1997.
Fig. 6.4, 6.5: Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970.
Fig. 6.6: Henri Stierlin, *The Cultural History of the Arabs*, Aurum Press, London, 1981.
Fig. 6.8: http://www.us.iis.ac.uk/view_article.asp/ContentID=104228
Fig. 6.9: <http://www.thekkepuram.ourfamily.com/miskal.htm>
Fig. 6.10: http://a-bangladesh.com/banglapedia/Images/A_0350A.JPG
Fig. 6.11: foziaqazi@kashmirvision.com
Fig. 6.12: Stuart Cary Welch, *Indian Art and Culture 1300-1900*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985.
Fig. 6.13: Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, 1971.
Fig. 6.15: CCRT.
Fig. 6.16: C. A. Bayly (ed). *An Illustrated History of Modern India, 1600-1947*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1991.
Fig. 6.18: Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Islamic Architecture in Pakistan*, National Hijra Council, Islamabad, 1990.

Theme 7

- Fig. 7.1, 7.11, 7.12, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 7.18: Vasundhara Filliozat and George Michell (eds), *The Splendours of Vijayanagara*, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1981.
Fig. 7.2: C.A. Bayly (ed). *An Illustrated History of Modern India, 1600-1947*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1991.

- Fig. 7.3: Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, Weatherhill, New York, 1993.
- Fig. 7.4, 7.6, 7.7, 7.20, 7.23, 7.26, 7.27, 7.32: George Michell, *Architecture and Art of South India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.
- Fig. 7.5, 7.8, 7.9, 7.21 http://www.museum.upenn.edu/new/research/Exp_Rese_Disc/Asia/vrp/HTML/Vijay_Hist.shtml
- Fig 7.10: Catherine B. Asher and Cynthia Talbot. *India Before Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006.
- Fig. 7.17, 7.22, 7.24, 7.28, 7.29, 7.30, 7.31, 7.33: George Michell and M.B.Wagoner, *Vijayanagara: Architectural Inventory of the Sacred Centre*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.
- Fig. 7.25: CCRT.

Theme 8

- Fig. 8.1, 8.9: Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World*, Sackler Gallery, New York, 1997.
- Fig. 8.3: India Office Library, printed in C.A. Bailey (ed). *An Illustrated History of Modern India, 1600-1947*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1991.
- Fig. 8.4: Harvard University Art Museum, printed in Stuart Cary Welch, *Indian Art and Culture 1300-1900*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985.
- Fig. 8.6, 8.11, 8.12, 8.14: C.A. Bayly (ed). *An Illustrated History of Modern India, 1600-1947*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1991.
- Fig. 8.13, 8.15: Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, 1971.

Notes

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THEME NINE

COLONIALISM AND THE COUNTRYSIDE

EXPLORING OFFICIAL ARCHIVES

In this chapter you will see what colonial rule meant to those who lived in the countryside. You will meet the zamindars of Bengal, travel to the Rajmahal hills where the Paharias and the Santhals lived, and then move west to the Deccan. You will look at the way the English East India Company (E.I.C.) established its raj in the countryside, implemented its revenue policies, what these policies meant to different sections of people, and how they changed everyday lives.

Laws introduced by the state have consequences for people: they determine to an extent who grows richer and who poorer, who acquires new land and who loses the land they have lived on, where peasants go when they need money. As you will see, however, people were not only subject to the working of laws, they also resisted the law by acting according to what they believed to be just. In doing so people defined the way in which laws operated, thereby modifying their consequences.

You will also come to know about the sources that tell us about these histories, and the problems historians face in interpreting them. You will read about revenue records and surveys, journals and accounts left by surveyors and travellers, and reports produced by enquiry commissions.



Fig. 9.1

Cotton being carried from the village to the mandi,
Illustrated London News, 20 April 1861

1. BENGAL AND THE ZAMINDARS

As you know, colonial rule was first established in Bengal. It is here that the earliest attempts were made to reorder rural society and establish a new regime of land rights and a new revenue system. Let us see what happened in Bengal in the early years of Company (E.I.C.) rule.

1.1 An auction in Burdwan

In 1797 there was an auction in Burdwan (present-day Bardhaman). It was a big public event. A number of *mahals* (estates) held by the Raja of Burdwan were being sold. The Permanent Settlement had come into operation in 1793. The East India Company had fixed the revenue that each zamindar had to pay. The estates of those who failed to pay were to be auctioned to recover the revenue. Since the raja had accumulated huge arrears, his estates had been put up for auction.

Numerous purchasers came to the auction and the estates were sold to the highest bidder. But the Collector soon discovered a strange twist to the tale. Many of the purchasers turned out to be servants and agents of the raja who had bought the lands on behalf of their master. Over 95 per cent of the sale at the auction was fictitious. The raja's estates had been publicly sold, but he remained in control of his zamindari.

Why had the raja failed to pay the revenue? Who were the purchasers at the auction? What does the story tell us about what was happening in the rural areas of eastern India at that time?

1.2 The problem of unpaid revenue

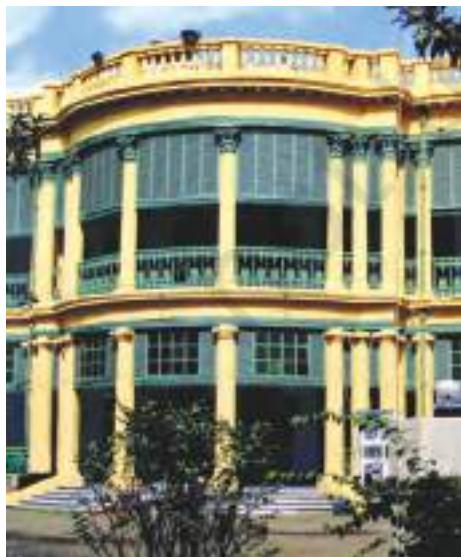
The estates of the Burdwan raj were not the only ones sold during the closing years of the eighteenth century. Over 75 per cent of the zamindaris changed hands after the Permanent Settlement.

In introducing the Permanent Settlement, British officials hoped to resolve the problems they had been facing since the conquest of Bengal. By the 1770s, the rural economy in Bengal was in crisis, with recurrent famines and declining agricultural output. Officials felt that agriculture, trade and the revenue resources of the state could all be developed by encouraging investment in agriculture. This could be done by securing rights of property and permanently fixing the rates of

Raja (literally king) was a term that was often used to designate powerful zamindars.

Fig. 9.2

Burdwan raja's City Palace on Diamond Harbour Road, Calcutta
By the late nineteenth century many rich zamindars of Bengal had city palaces with ballrooms, large grounds, entrance porches supported by Corinthian columns like these.



revenue demand. If the revenue demand of the state was permanently fixed, then the Company could look forward to a regular flow of revenue, while entrepreneurs could feel sure of earning a profit from their investment, since the state would not siphon it off by increasing its claim. The process, officials hoped, would lead to the emergence of a class of yeomen farmers and rich landowners who would have the capital and enterprise to improve agriculture. Nurtured by the British, this class would also be loyal to the Company.

The problem, however, lay in identifying individuals who could both improve agriculture and contract to pay the fixed revenue to the state. After a prolonged debate amongst Company officials, the Permanent Settlement was made with the rajas and *taluqdars* of Bengal. They were now classified as zamindars, and they had to pay the revenue demand that was fixed in perpetuity. In terms of this definition, the zamindar was not a landowner in the village, but a revenue Collector of the state.

Zamindars had several (sometimes as many as 400) villages under them. In Company calculations the villages within one zamindari formed one revenue estate. The Company fixed the total demand over the entire estate whose revenue the zamindar contracted to pay. The zamindar collected rent from the different villages, paid the revenue to the Company, and retained the difference as his income. He was expected to pay the Company regularly, failing which his estate could be auctioned.

1.3 Why zamindars defaulted on payments

Company officials felt that a fixed revenue demand would give zamindars a sense of security and, assured of returns on their investment, encourage them to improve their estates. In the early decades after the Permanent Settlement, however, zamindars regularly failed to pay the revenue demand and unpaid balances accumulated.

The reasons for this failure were various. First: the initial demands were very high. This was because it was felt that if the demand was fixed for all time to come, the Company would never be able to claim a share of increased income from land when prices rose and cultivation expanded. To minimise this anticipated loss, the Company pegged the revenue



*Fig. 9.3
Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805),
painted by Thomas Gainsborough,
1785*

He was the commander of the British forces during the American War of Independence and the Governor General of Bengal when the Permanent Settlement was introduced there in 1793.

Taluqdar literally means “one who holds a *taluq*” or a connection. *Taluq* came to refer to a territorial unit.

demand high, arguing that the burden on zamindars would gradually decline as agricultural production expanded and prices rose.

Second: this high demand was imposed in the 1790s, a time when the prices of agricultural produce were depressed, making it difficult for the *ryots* to pay their dues to the zamindar. If the zamindar could not collect the rent, how could he pay the Company? Third: the revenue was invariable, regardless of the harvest, and had to be paid punctually. In fact, according to the Sunset Law, if payment did not come in by sunset of the specified date, the zamindari was liable to be auctioned. Fourth: the Permanent Settlement initially limited the power of the zamindar to collect rent from the *ryot* and manage his zamindari.

The Company had recognised the zamindars as important, but it wanted to control and regulate them, subdue their authority and restrict their autonomy. The zamindars' troops were disbanded, customs duties abolished, and their "cutcheries" (courts) brought under the supervision of a Collector appointed by the Company. Zamindars lost their power to organise local justice and the local police. Over time the collectorate emerged as an alternative centre of authority, severely restricting what the zamindar could do. In one case, when a raja failed to pay the revenue, a Company official was speedily dispatched to his zamindari with explicit instructions "to take charge of the District and to use the most effectual means to destroy all the influence and the authority of the raja and his officers".

At the time of rent collection, an officer of the zamindar, usually the *amlah*, came around to the village. But rent collection was a perennial problem. Sometimes bad harvests and low prices made payment of dues difficult for the *ryots*. At other times *ryots* deliberately delayed payment. Rich *ryots* and village headmen – *jotedars* and *mandals* – were only too happy to see the zamindar in trouble. The zamindar could therefore not easily assert his power over them. Zamindars could prosecute defaulters, but the judicial process was long drawn. In Burdwan alone there were over 30,000 pending suits for arrears of rent payment in 1798.

Ryot is the way the term *raiayat*, used to designate peasants (Chapter 8), was spelt in British records. *Ryots* in Bengal did not always cultivate the land directly, but leased it out to under-*ryots*.

1.4 The rise of the *jotedars*

While many zamindars were facing a crisis at the end of the eighteenth century, a group of rich peasants were consolidating their position in the villages. In Francis Buchanan's survey of the Dinajpur district in North Bengal we have a vivid description of this class of rich peasants known as *jotedars*. By the early nineteenth century, *jotedars* had acquired vast areas of land – sometimes as much as several thousand acres. They controlled local trade as well as moneylending, exercising immense power over the poorer cultivators of the region. A large part of their land was cultivated through sharecroppers (*adhiyars* or *bargadars*) who brought their own ploughs, laboured in the field, and handed over half the produce to the *jotedars* after the harvest.

Within the villages, the power of *jotedars* was more effective than that of zamindars. Unlike zamindars who often lived in urban areas, *jotedars* were located in the villages and exercised direct control over a considerable section of poor villagers. They fiercely resisted efforts by zamindars to increase the *jama* of the village, prevented zamindari officials from executing their duties, mobilised *ryots* who were dependent on them, and deliberately delayed payments of revenue to the zamindar. In fact, when the estates of the zamindars were auctioned for failure to make revenue payment, *jotedars* were often amongst the purchasers.

The *jotedars* were most powerful in North Bengal, although rich peasants and village headmen were emerging as commanding figures in the countryside in other parts of Bengal as well. In some places they were called *haoladars*, elsewhere they were known as *gantidars* or *mandals*. Their rise inevitably weakened zamindari authority.

*Fig. 9.4
Bengal village scene, painted by George Chinnery, 1820*

Chinnery stayed in India for 23 years (1802-25), painting portraits, landscapes and scenes of the everyday life of the common people. *Jotedars* and moneylenders in rural Bengal lived in houses like the one you see on the right.



Source 1

The jotedars of Dinajpur

Buchanan described the ways in which the *jotedars* of Dinajpur in North Bengal resisted being disciplined by the zamindar and undermined his power:

Landlords do not like this class of men, but it is evident that they are absolutely necessary, unless the landlords themselves would advance money to their necessitous tenantry ...

The *jotedars* who cultivate large portions of lands are very refractory, and know that the zamindars have no power over them. They pay only a few rupees on account of their revenue and then fall in balance almost every *kist* (instalment), they hold more lands than they are entitled to by their *pottahs* (deeds of contract). Should the zamindar's officers, in consequence, summon them to the *cutcherry*, and detain them for one or two hours with a view to reprimand them, they immediately go and complain at the Fouzdarri Thanna (police station) for imprisonment and at the munsiff's (a judicial officer at the lower court) *cutcherry* for being dishonoured and whilst the causes continue unsettled, they instigate the petty *ryots* not to pay their revenue consequently ...

➲ Describe the ways in which the *jotedars* resisted the authority of the zamindars.

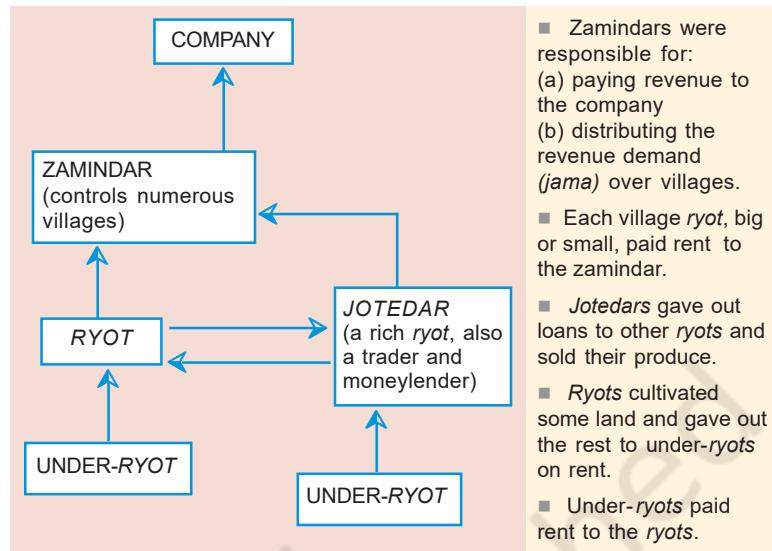


Fig. 9.5
Power in rural Bengal

➲ Read the text accompanying Fig. 9.5 carefully and insert the following terms in appropriate places along the arrows: rent, revenue, interest, loan, produce

1.5 The zamindars resist

The authority of the zamindars in rural areas, however, did not collapse. Faced with an exorbitantly high revenue demand and possible auction of their estates, they devised ways of surviving the pressures. New contexts produced new strategies.

Fictitious sale was one such strategy. It involved a series of manoeuvres. The Raja of Burdwan, for instance, first transferred some of his zamindari to his mother, since the Company had decreed that the property of women would not be taken over. Then, as a second move, his agents manipulated the auctions. The revenue demand of the Company was deliberately withheld, and unpaid balances were allowed to accumulate. When a part of the estate was auctioned, the zamindar's men bought the property, outbidding other purchasers. Subsequently they refused to pay up the purchase money, so that the estate had to be resold. Once again it was bought by the zamindar's agents, once again the purchase money was not paid, and once again there was an auction. This process was repeated endlessly, exhausting the state, and the other bidders at the auction. At last the estate was sold at a low price back to the zamindar. The

zamindar never paid the full revenue demand; the Company rarely recovered the unpaid balances that had piled up.

Such transactions happened on a grand scale. Between 1793 and 1801 four big zamindaris of Bengal, including Burdwan, made *benami* purchases that collectively yielded as much as Rs 30 lakh. Of the total sales at the auctions, over 15 per cent were fictitious.

There were other ways in which zamindars circumvented displacement. When people from outside the zamindari bought an estate at an auction, they could not always take possession. At times their agents would be attacked by *lathyals* of the former zamindar. Sometimes even the *ryots* resisted the entry of outsiders. They felt bound to their own zamindar through a sense of loyalty and perceived him as a figure of authority and themselves as his *proja* (subjects). The sale of the zamindari disturbed their sense of identity, their pride. The zamindars therefore were not easily displaced.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the depression in prices was over. Thus those who had survived the troubles of the 1790s consolidated their power. Rules of revenue payment were also made somewhat flexible. As a result, the zamindar's power over the villages was strengthened. It was only during the Great Depression of the 1930s that they finally collapsed and the *jotedars* consolidated their power in the countryside.

1.6 The Fifth Report

Many of the changes we are discussing were documented in detail in a report that was submitted to the British Parliament in 1813. It was the fifth of a series of reports on the administration and activities of the East India Company in India. Often referred to as the Fifth Report, it ran into 1002 pages, of which over 800 pages were appendices that reproduced petitions of zamindars and *ryots*, reports of collectors from different districts, statistical tables on revenue returns, and notes on the revenue and judicial administration of Bengal and Madras (present-day Tamil Nadu) written by officials.

From the time the Company established its rule in Bengal in the mid-1760s, its activities were closely watched and debated in England. There were many



Fig. 9.6

Maharaja Mehtab Chand (1820-79)

When the Permanent Settlement was imposed, Tejchand was the Raja of Burdwan. Subsequently under Mehtab Chand the estate prospered. Mehtab Chand helped the British during the Santhal rebellion and the 1857 revolt.

Benami, literally anonymous, is a term used in Hindi and several other Indian languages for transactions made in the name of a fictitious or relatively insignificant person, whereas the real beneficiary remains unnamed.

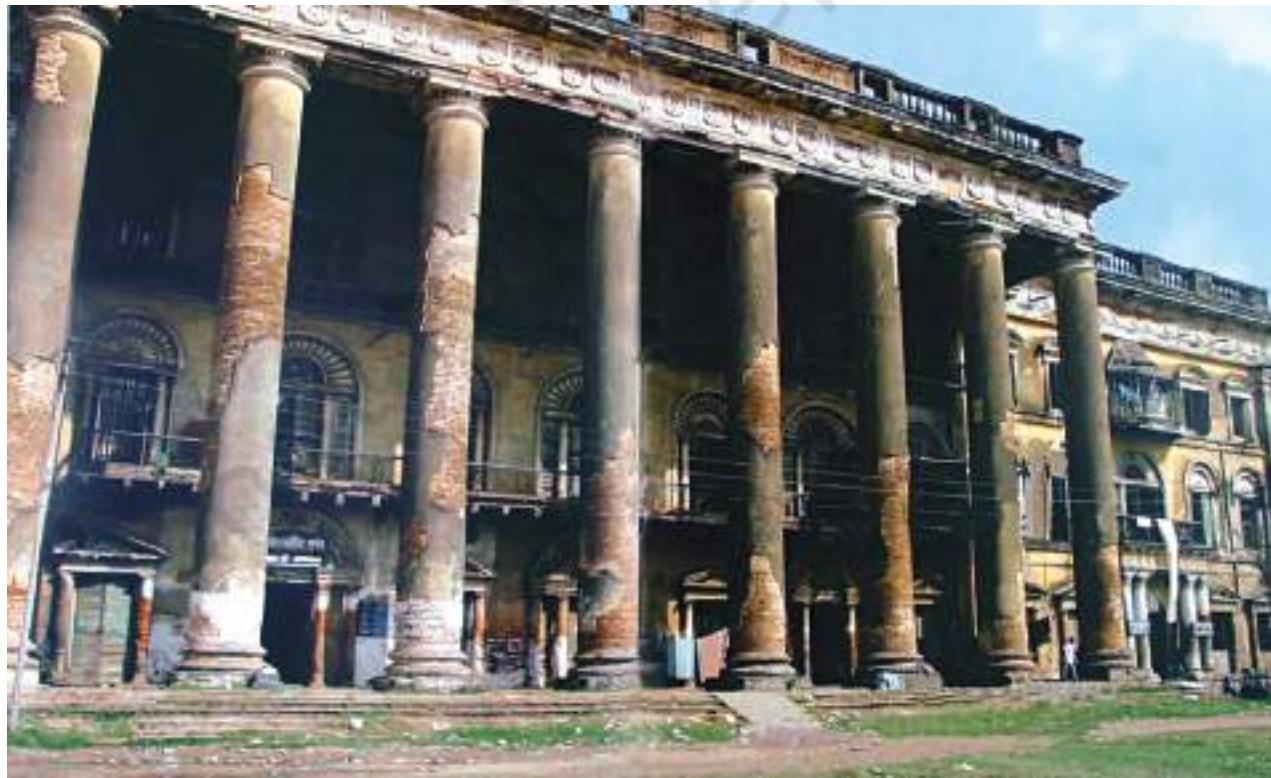
Lathyal, literally one who wields the *lathi* or stick, functioned as a strongman of the zamindar.

groups in Britain who were opposed to the monopoly that the East India Company had over trade with India and China. These groups wanted a revocation of the Royal Charter that gave the Company this monopoly. An increasing number of private traders wanted a share in the India trade, and the industrialists of Britain were keen to open up the Indian market for British manufactures. Many political groups argued that the conquest of Bengal was benefiting only the East India Company but not the British nation as a whole. Information about Company misrule and maladministration was hotly debated in Britain and incidents of the greed and corruption of Company officials were widely publicised in the press. The British Parliament passed a series of Acts in the late eighteenth century to regulate and control Company rule in India. It forced the Company to produce regular reports on the administration of India and appointed committees to enquire into the affairs of the Company. The Fifth Report was one such report produced by a Select Committee. It became the basis of intense parliamentary debates on the nature of the East India Company's rule in India.

Fig. 9.7

Andul Raj Palace

The ruins of palaces are a visible sign of the end of an era. Satyajit Ray's famous film *Jalshaghar*, on the decline of the aristocratic zamindari style of living, was shot in Andul Raj Palace.



For over a century and a half, the Fifth Report has shaped our conception of what happened in rural Bengal in the late eighteenth century. The evidence contained in the Fifth Report is invaluable. But official reports like this have to be read carefully. We need to know who wrote the reports and why they were written. In fact, recent researches show that the arguments and evidence offered by the Fifth Report cannot be accepted uncritically.

Researchers have carefully examined the archives of various Bengal zamindars and the local records of the districts to write about the history of colonial rule in rural Bengal. They indicate that, intent on criticising the maladministration of the company, the Fifth Report exaggerated the collapse of traditional zamindari power, as also overestimated the scale on which zamindars were losing their land. As we have seen, even when zamindaris were auctioned, zamindars were not always displaced, given the ingenious methods they used to retain their zamindaris.

Source 2

From the Fifth Report

Referring to the condition of zamindars and the auction of lands, the Fifth Report stated:

The revenue was not realised with punctuality, and lands to a considerable extent were periodically exposed to sale by auction. In the native year 1203, corresponding with 1796-97, the land advertised for sale comprehended a *jumma* or assessment of *sicca* rupees 28,70,061, the extent of land actually sold bore a *jumma* or assessment of 14,18,756, and the amount of purchase money *sicca* rupees 17,90,416. In 1204, corresponding with 1797-98, the land advertised was for *sicca* rupees 26,66,191, the quantity sold was for *sicca* rupees 22,74,076, and the purchase money *sicca* rupees 21,47,580. Among the defaulters were some of the oldest families of the country. Such were the rajahs of Nuddea, Rajeshaye, Bishenpore (all districts of Bengal), ... and others, the dismemberment of whose estates at the end of each succeeding year, threatened them with poverty and ruin, and in some instances presented difficulties to the revenue officers, in their efforts to preserve undiminished the amount of public assessment.

➲ From the tone in which evidence is recorded, what do you think is the attitude of the report to the facts narrated? What is the Report trying to say through the figures? Can you think of any problem in making long-term generalisations from these figures of two years?

➲ Discuss...

Compare the account of the zamindars you have just read with that in Chapter 8.

2. THE HOE AND THE PLOUGH

Let us now shift our focus from the wetlands of Bengal to drier zones, from a region of settled cultivation to one where shifting agriculture was practised. You will see the changes that came about when the frontiers of the peasant economy expanded outwards, swallowing up pastures and forests in the Rajmahal hills. You will also see how these changes created a variety of conflicts within the region.

2.1 In the hills of Rajmahal

In the early nineteenth century, Buchanan travelled through the Rajmahal hills. From his description, the hills appeared impenetrable, a zone where few travellers ventured, an area that signified danger. Wherever he went, people were hostile, apprehensive of officials and unwilling to talk to them. In many instances they deserted their villages and absconded.

Who were these hill folk? Why were they so apprehensive of Buchanan's visit? Buchanan's journal gives us tantalising glimpses of these hill folk in the early nineteenth century. His journal was written as a diary of places he visited, people he encountered, and practices he saw. It raises questions in our mind, but does not always help us answer them. It tells us about a moment in time, but not about the longer history of people and places. For that historians have to turn to other records.

If we look at late-eighteenth-century revenue records, we learn that these hill folk were known as Paharias. They lived around the Rajmahal hills, subsisting on forest produce and practising shifting cultivation. They cleared patches of forest by cutting bushes and burning the undergrowth. On these patches, enriched by the potash from the ash, the Paharias grew a variety of pulses and millets for consumption. They scratched the ground lightly with hoes, cultivated the cleared land for a few years, then left it fallow so that it could recover its fertility, and moved to a new area.

From the forests they collected *mahua* (a flower) for food, silk cocoons and resin for sale, and wood for charcoal production. The undergrowth that spread like a mat below the trees and the patches of grass that covered the lands left fallow provided pasture for cattle.

Who was Buchanan?

Francis Buchanan was a physician who came to India and served in the Bengal Medical Service (from 1794 to 1815). For a few years he was surgeon to the Governor-General of India, Lord Wellesley. During his stay in Calcutta (present-day Kolkata), he organised a zoo that became the Calcutta Alipore Zoo; he was also in charge of the Botanical Gardens for a short period. On the request of the Government of Bengal, he undertook detailed surveys of the areas under the jurisdiction of the British East India Company. In 1815 he fell ill and returned to England. Upon his mother's death, he inherited her property and assumed her family name Hamilton. So he is often called Buchanan-Hamilton.



Fig. 9.8

A view of a hill village in Rajmahal, painted by William Hodges, 1782

William Hodges was a British artist who accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage to the Pacific (1772-75), and then came to India. In 1781 he became a friend of Augustus Cleveland, the Collector of Bhagalpur. On the invitation of Cleveland, Hodges accompanied him to the Jangal Mahals in 1782, and painted a set of aquatints. Like many other British painters of the time, Hodges searched for the picturesque. Artists in search of the picturesque were inspired by the ideals of Romanticism, a tradition of thought that celebrated nature and admired its magnificence and power. Romantics felt that to commune with nature the artist had to represent nature as an idyll, uncorrupted by modern civilisation, discover unknown landscapes, and appreciate the sublime play of light and shade. It is in search of this unknown that Hodges went to the Rajmahal hills. He found flat landscapes monotonous, and discovered beauty in roughness, irregularity and variety. A landscape that colonial officials found dangerous and wild, peopled by turbulent tribes, appears in the paintings of Hodges as exotic and idyllic.

➲ Look at the painting and identify the ways in which it represents the traditions of the picturesque.

The life of the Paharias – as hunters, shifting cultivators, food gatherers, charcoal producers, silkworm rearers – was thus intimately connected to the forest. They lived in hutments within tamarind groves, and rested in the shade of mango trees. They considered the entire region as their land, the basis

Aquatint is a picture produced by cutting into a copper sheet with acid and then printing it.



Fig. 9.9

A view of Jangal territory, painted by William Hodges

Here you can see the forested low hills and the rocky upper ranges, nowhere actually above 2,000 feet. By centring the hills and viewing them from below, Hodges emphasises their inaccessibility.

➲ Look at Figs. 9.8 and 9.9. Describe how the pictures represent the relationship between tribal people and nature.

of their identity as well as survival; and they resisted the intrusion of outsiders. Their chiefs maintained the unity of the group, settled disputes, and led the tribe in battles with other tribes and plainspeople.

With their base in the hills, the Paharias regularly raided the plains where settled agriculturists lived. These raids were necessary for survival, particularly in years of scarcity; they were a way of asserting power over settled communities; and they were a means of negotiating political relations with outsiders. The zamindars on the plains had to often purchase peace by paying a regular tribute to the hill chiefs. Traders similarly gave a small amount to the hill folk for permission to use the passes controlled by them. Once the toll was paid, the Paharia chiefs protected the traders, ensuring that their goods were not plundered by anyone.

This negotiated peace was somewhat fragile. It broke down in the last decades of the eighteenth century when the frontiers of settled agriculture were being aggressively extended in eastern India. The British encouraged forest clearance, and zamindars and *jotedars* turned uncultivated lands into rice fields. To the British, extension of settled agriculture was necessary to enlarge the sources of land revenue, produce crops for export, and establish the basis of a settled, ordered society. They also associated forests with wildness, and saw forest people as savage, unruly, primitive, and difficult to govern. So they felt that forests had to be cleared,

settled agriculture established, and forest people tamed, civilised and persuaded to give up hunting and take to plough agriculture.

As settled agriculture expanded, the area under forests and pastures contracted. This sharpened the conflict between hill folk and settled cultivators. The former began to raid settled villages with increasing regularity, carrying away food grains and cattle. Exasperated colonial officials tried desperately to control and subdue the Paharias. But they found the task difficult.

In the 1770s the British embarked on a brutal policy of extermination, hunting the Paharias down and killing them. Then, by the 1780s, Augustus Cleveland, the Collector of Bhagalpur, proposed a policy of pacification. Paharia chiefs were given an annual allowance and made responsible for the proper conduct of their men. They were expected to maintain order in their localities and discipline their own people. Many Paharia chiefs refused the allowances. Those who accepted, most often lost authority within the community. Being in the pay of the colonial government, they came to be perceived as subordinate employees or stipendiary chiefs.

As the pacification campaigns continued, the Paharias withdrew deep into the mountains, insulating themselves from hostile forces, and carrying on a war with outsiders. So when Buchanan travelled through the region in the winter of 1810-11 the Paharias naturally viewed him with suspicion and distrust. The experience of pacification campaigns and memories of brutal repression shaped their perception of British infiltration into the area. Every white man appeared to represent a power that was destroying their way of life and means of survival, snatching away their control over their forests and lands.

By this time in fact there were newer intimations of danger. Santhals were pouring into the area, clearing forests, cutting down timber, ploughing land and growing rice and cotton. As the lower hills were taken over by Santhal settlers, the Paharias receded deeper into the Rajmahal hills. If Paharia life was symbolised by the hoe, which they used for shifting cultivation, the settlers came to represent the power of the plough. The battle between the hoe and the plough was a long one.

2.2 The Santhals: Pioneer settlers

At the end of 1810, Buchanan crossed Ganjuria Pahar, which was part of the Rajmahal ranges, passed through the rocky country beyond, and reached a village. It was an old village but the land around had been recently cleared to extend cultivation. Looking at the landscape, Buchanan found evidence of the region having been transformed through “proper application of human labour”. He wrote: “Ganjuriya is just sufficiently cultivated to show what a glorious country this might be made. I think its beauty and riches might be made equal to almost any in the universe.” The soil here was rocky but “uncommonly fine”, and nowhere had Buchanan seen finer tobacco and mustard. On enquiry he discovered that the frontiers of cultivation here had been extended by the Santhals. They had moved into this area around 1800, displaced the hill folk who lived on these lower slopes, cleared the forests and settled the land.

How did the Santhals reach the Rajmahal hills? The Santhals had begun to come into Bengal around the 1780s. Zamindars hired them to reclaim land and expand cultivation, and British officials invited them to settle in the Jangal Mahals. Having failed to subdue the Paharias and transform them into settled agriculturists, the British turned to the Santhals. The Paharias refused to cut forests, resisted touching the plough, and continued to be

*Fig. 9.10
Hill village in Santhal country,
Illustrated London News,
23 February 1856*

This village in the lower Rajmahal hills was sketched by Walter Sherwill in the early 1850s. The village appears to be peaceful, calm and idyllic. Life seems unaffected by the outside world.

Contrast this image of the Santhal village with Fig. 9.12.



turbulent. The Santhals, by contrast, appeared to be ideal settlers, clearing forests and ploughing the land with vigour.

The Santhals were given land and persuaded to settle in the foothills of Rajmahal. By 1832 a large area of land was demarcated as Damin-i-Koh. This was declared to be the land of the Santhals. They were to live within it, practise plough agriculture, and become settled peasants. The land grant to the Santhals stipulated that at least one-tenth of the area was to be cleared and cultivated within the first ten years. The territory was surveyed and mapped. Enclosed with boundary pillars, it was separated from both the world of the settled agriculturists of the plains and the Paharias of the hills.

After the demarcation of Damin-i-Koh, Santhal settlements expanded rapidly. From 40 Santhal villages in the area in 1838, as many as 1,473 villages had come up by 1851. Over the same period, the Santhal population increased from a mere 3,000 to over 82,000. As cultivation expanded, an increased volume of revenue flowed into the Company's coffers.

Santhal myths and songs of the nineteenth century refer very frequently to a long history of travel: they represent the Santhal past as one of continuous mobility, a tireless search for a place to settle. Here in the Damin-i-Koh their journey seemed to have come to an end.

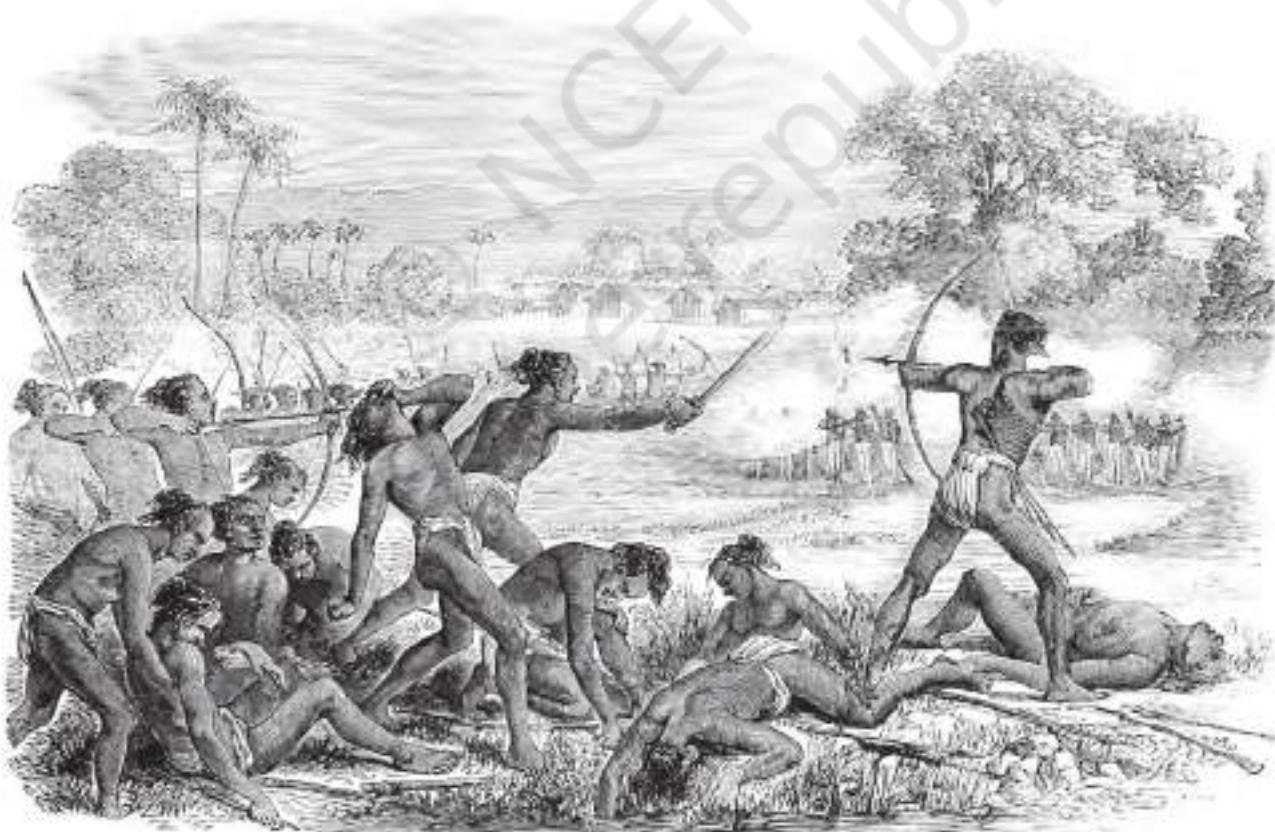
When the Santhals settled on the peripheries of the Rajmahal hills, the Paharias resisted but were ultimately forced to withdraw deeper into the hills. Restricted from moving down to the lower hills and valleys, they were confined to the dry interior and to the more barren and rocky upper hills. This severely affected their lives, impoverishing them in the long term. Shifting agriculture depended on the ability to move to newer and newer land and utilisation of the natural fertility of the soil. When the most fertile soils became inaccessible to them, being part of the Damin, the Paharias could not effectively sustain their mode of cultivation. When the forests of the region were cleared for cultivation the hunters amongst them also faced problems. The Santhals, by contrast, gave up their earlier life of mobility and settled down, cultivating a range of commercial crops for the market, and dealing with traders and moneylenders.



*Fig. 9.11
Sidhu Manjhi, the leader of the Santhal rebellion*

The Santhals, however, soon found that the land they had brought under cultivation was slipping away from their hands. The state was levying heavy taxes on the land that the Santhals had cleared, moneylenders (*dikus*) were charging them high rates of interest and taking over the land when debts remained unpaid, and zamindars were asserting control over the Damin area.

By the 1850s, the Santhals felt that the time had come to rebel against zamindars, moneylenders and the colonial state, in order to create an ideal world for themselves where they would rule. It was after the Santhal Revolt (1855-56) that the Santhal Pargana was created, carving out 5,500 square miles from the districts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum. The colonial state hoped that by creating a new territory for the Santhals and imposing some special laws within it, the Santhals could be conciliated.



*Fig. 9.12
Santhals fight the sepoys of the British Raj, Illustrated London News, 23 February 1856
The rebellion changed the British perception of the Santhals. Villages that had earlier seemed calm and peaceful (Fig. 9.10) now appeared to have become places of violent and savage deeds.*



➲ Imagine you are a reader of the *Illustrated London News* in England. How will you react to the images depicted in Figs. 9.12, 9.13 and 9.14? What image of the Santhals would these pictures create in your mind?

Fig. 9.13

Burning of Santhal villages, Illustrated London News, 23 February 1856

After the rebellion was crushed, the region was searched, suspects were picked up, and villages set on fire. Images of the burning villages were shown to the public in England – once again as a demonstration of the might of the British and their ability to crush rebellion and impose colonial order.



Fig. 9.14

Santhal prisoners being taken away, Illustrated London News, 1856

Notice how images like this one seek to convey political messages. At the centre you can see British officials triumphantly riding on an elephant. One officer on a horse is smoking a hookah: a picture that emphasises that the time of trouble was over, the rebellion had been crushed. The rebels are now in chains, being taken away to jail escorted and surrounded by soldiers of the Company.

Source 3

Buchanan on the Santhals

Buchanan wrote:

They are very clever in clearing new lands, but live meanly. Their huts have no fence, and the walls are made of small sticks placed upright, close together and plastered within with clay. They are small and slovenly, and too flat-roofed, with very little arch.

Source 4

The rocks near Kaduya

Buchanan's journal is packed with observations like the following:

About a mile farther on, (I) came to a low ledge of rocks without any evident strata; it is a small grained granite with reddish feldspar, with quartz and black mica ... More than half a mile from thence, I came to another rock not stratified, and consisting of very fine-grained granite with yellowish feldspar, whitish quartz and black mica.

2.3 The accounts of Buchanan

We have been drawing on Buchanan's account, but while reading his reports we should not forget that he was an employee of the British East India Company. His journeys were not simply inspired by the love of landscape and the desire to discover the unknown. He marched everywhere with a large army of people – draughtsmen, surveyors, palanquin bearers, coolies. The costs of the travels were borne by the East India Company since it needed the information that Buchanan was expected to collect. Buchanan had specific instructions about what he had to look for and what he had to record. When he arrived at a village with his army of people, he was immediately perceived as an agent of the *sarkar*.

As the Company consolidated its power and expanded its commerce, it looked for natural resources it could control and exploit. It surveyed landscapes and revenue sources, organised voyages of discovery, and sent its geologists and geographers, its botanists and medical men to collect information. Buchanan, undoubtedly an extraordinary observer, was one such individual. Everywhere Buchanan went, he obsessively observed the stones and rocks and the different strata and layers of soil. He searched for minerals and stones that were commercially valuable, he recorded all signs of iron ore and mica, granite and saltpetre. He carefully observed local practices of salt-making and iron-ore-mining.

When Buchanan wrote about a landscape, he most often described not just what he saw, what the landscape was like, but also how it could be transformed and made more productive – what crops could be cultivated, which trees cut down, and which ones grown. And we must remember that his vision and his priorities were different from those of the local inhabitants: his assessment of what was necessary was shaped by the commercial concerns of the Company and modern Western notions of what constituted progress. He was inevitably critical of the lifestyles of forest dwellers and felt that forests had to be turned into agricultural lands.

Source 5

On clearance and settled cultivation

Passing through one village in the lower Rajmahal hills, Buchanan wrote:

The view of the country is exceedingly fine, the cultivation, especially the narrow valleys of rice winding in all directions, the cleared lands with scattered trees, and the rocky hills are in perfection; all that is wanted is some appearance of progress in the area and a vastly extended and improved cultivation, of which the country is highly susceptible. Plantations of Asan and Palas, for Tessar (Tassar silk worms) and Lac, should occupy the place of woods to as great an extent as the demand will admit; the remainder might be all cleared, and the greater part cultivated, while what is not fit for the purpose, might rear Plamira (palmyra) and Mowa (*mahua*).

Discuss...

What does Buchanan's description tell us about his ideas of development?

Illustrate your argument by quoting from the excerpts.

If you were a Paharia forest dweller how would you have reacted to these ideas?

3. A REVOLT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

THE BOMBAY DECCAN

You have read about how the lives of peasants and zamindars of colonial Bengal and the Paharias and Santhals of the Rajmahal hills were changing. Now let us move across to western India, and to a later period, and explore what was happening in the countryside in the Bombay Deccan.

One way of exploring such changes is by focusing on a peasant revolt. In such climactic times rebels express their anger and fury; they rise against what they perceive to be injustice and the causes of their suffering. If we try to understand the premises of their resentment, and peel the layers of their anger, we get a glimpse of their life and experience that is otherwise hidden from us. Revolts also produce records that historians can look at. Alarmed by the actions of rebels and keen on restoring order, state authorities do not simply repress a rebellion. They try and understand it, enquire into its causes so that policies can be formulated and peace established. These enquiries produce evidence that historians can explore.

Through the nineteenth century, peasants in various parts of India rose in revolt against

Source 6

On that day in Supa

On 16 May 1875, the District Magistrate of Poona wrote to the Police Commissioner:

On arrival at Supa on Saturday 15 May I learnt of the disturbance.

One house of a moneylender was burnt down; about a dozen were forcibly broken into and completely gutted of their content. Account papers, bonds, grains, country cloth were burnt in the street where heaps of ashes are still to be seen.

The chief constable apprehended 50 persons. Stolen property worth Rs 2000 was recovered. The estimated loss is over Rs 25,000. Moneylenders claim it is over 1 lakh.

DECCAN RIOTS COMMISSION

A *sahukar* was someone who acted as both a moneylender and a trader.

➲ The words and terms used by a writer often tell us something about his or her prejudices. Read Source 7 carefully and pick out the terms that indicate any prejudices of the writer. Discuss how a *ryot* of the area would have described the same situation.

moneylenders and grain dealers. One such revolt occurred in 1875 in the Deccan.

3.1 Account books are burnt

The movement began at Supa, a large village in Poona (present-day Pune) district. It was a market centre where many shopkeepers and moneylenders lived. On 12 May 1875, *ryots* from surrounding rural areas gathered and attacked the shopkeepers, demanding their *bahi khatas* (account books) and debt bonds. They burnt the *khatas*, looted grain shops, and in some cases set fire to the houses of *sahukars*.

From Poona the revolt spread to Ahmednagar. Then over the next two months it spread even further, over an area of 6,500 square km. More than thirty villages were affected. Everywhere the pattern was the same: *sahukars* were attacked, account books burnt and debt bonds destroyed. Terrified of peasant attacks, the *sahukars* fled the villages, very often leaving their property and belongings behind.

As the revolt spread, British officials saw the spectre of 1857 (see Chapter 11). Police posts were established in villages to frighten rebellious peasants into submission. Troops were quickly called in; 951 people were arrested, and many convicted. But it took several months to bring the countryside under control.

Source 7

A newspaper report

The following report, titled ‘The ryot and the moneylender’, appeared in the *Native Opinion* (6 June 1876), and was quoted in *Report of the Native Newspapers of Bombay*:

They (the *ryots*) first place spies on the boundaries of their villages to see if any Government officers come, and to give timely intimation of their arrival to the offenders. They then assemble in a body and go to the houses of their creditors, and demand from them a surrender of their bonds and other documents, and threaten them in case of refusal with assault and plunder. If any Government officer happens to approach the villages where the above is taking place, the spies give intimation to the offenders and the latter disperse in time.

Why the burning of bonds and deeds? Why this revolt? What does it tell us about the Deccan countryside and about agrarian changes under colonial rule? Let us look at this longer history of changes over the nineteenth century.

3.2 A new revenue system

As British rule expanded from Bengal to other parts of India, new systems of revenue were imposed. The Permanent Settlement was rarely extended to any region beyond Bengal.

Why was this so? One reason was that after 1810, agricultural prices rose, increasing the value of harvest produce, and enlarging the income of the Bengal zamindars. Since the revenue demand was fixed under the Permanent Settlement, the colonial state could not claim any share of this enhanced income. Keen on expanding its financial resources, the colonial government had to think of ways to maximise its land revenue. So in territories annexed in the nineteenth century, temporary revenue settlements were made.

There were other reasons too. When officials devise policies, their thinking is deeply shaped by economic theories they are familiar with. By the 1820s, the economist David Ricardo was a celebrated figure in England. Colonial officials had learnt Ricardian ideas during their college years. In Maharashtra when British officials set about formulating the terms of the early settlement in the 1820s, they operated with some of these ideas.

According to Ricardian ideas, a landowner should have a claim only to the “average rent” that prevailed at a given time. When the land yielded more than this “average rent”, the landowner had a surplus that the state needed to tax. If tax was not levied, cultivators were likely to turn into rentiers, and their surplus income was unlikely to be productively invested in the improvement of the land. Many British officials in India thought that the history of Bengal confirmed Ricardo’s theory. There the zamindars seemed to have turned into rentiers, leasing out land and living on the rental incomes. It was therefore necessary, the British officials now felt, to have a different system.

The revenue system that was introduced in the Bombay Deccan came to be known as the *ryotwari*

Rentier is a term used to designate people who live on rental income from property.

settlement. Unlike the Bengal system, the revenue was directly settled with the *ryot*. The average income from different types of soil was estimated, the revenue-paying capacity of the *ryot* was assessed and a proportion of it fixed as the share of the state. The lands were resurveyed every 30 years and the revenue rates increased. Therefore the revenue demand was no longer permanent.

3.3 Revenue demand and peasant debt

The first revenue settlement in the Bombay Deccan was made in the 1820s. The revenue that was demanded was so high that in many places peasants deserted their villages and migrated to new regions. In areas of poor soil and fluctuating rainfall the problem was particularly acute. When rains failed and harvests were poor, peasants found it impossible to pay the revenue. However, the collectors in charge of revenue collection were keen on demonstrating their efficiency and pleasing their superiors. So they went about extracting payment with utmost severity. When someone failed to pay, his crops were seized and a fine was imposed on the whole village.

By the 1830s the problem became more severe. Prices of agricultural products fell sharply after 1832 and did not recover for over a decade and a half. This meant a further decline in peasants' income. At the same time the countryside was devastated by a famine that struck in the years 1832-34. One-third of the cattle of the Deccan were killed, and half the human population died. Those who survived had no agricultural stocks to see them through the crisis. Unpaid balances of revenue mounted.

How did cultivators live through such years? How did they pay the revenue, procure their consumption needs, purchase their ploughs and cattle, or get their children married?

Inevitably, they borrowed. Revenue could rarely be paid without a loan from a moneylender. But once a loan was taken, the *ryot* found it difficult to pay it back. As debt mounted, and loans remained unpaid, peasants' dependence on moneylenders increased. They now needed loans even to buy their everyday needs and meet their production expenditure. By the 1840s, officials were finding evidence of alarming levels of peasant indebtedness everywhere.

By the mid-1840s there were signs of an economic recovery of sorts. Many British officials had begun to realise that the settlements of the 1820s had been harsh. The revenue demanded was exorbitant, the system rigid, and the peasant economy on the verge of collapse. So the revenue demand was moderated to encourage peasants to expand cultivation. After 1845 agricultural prices recovered steadily. Cultivators were now extending their acreage, moving into new areas, and transforming pastureland into cultivated fields. But to expand cultivation peasants needed more ploughs and cattle. They needed money to buy seeds and land. For all this they had to turn once again to moneylenders for loans.

3.4 Then came the cotton boom

Before the 1860s, three-fourths of raw cotton imports into Britain came from America. British cotton manufacturers had for long been worried about this dependence on American supplies. What would happen if this source was cut off? Troubled by this question, they eagerly looked for alternative sources of supply.

In 1857 the Cotton Supply Association was founded in Britain, and in 1859 the Manchester Cotton Company was formed. Their objective was "to encourage cotton production in every part of the world

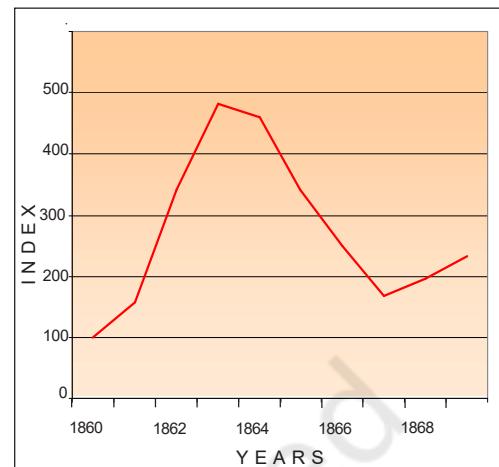


Fig. 9.15
The cotton boom

The line in the graph indicates the rise and fall in cotton prices.

Fig. 9.16
Carts transporting cotton halting under a banyan tree,
Illustrated London News,
13 December 1862



suited for its growth". India was seen as a country that could supply cotton to Lancashire if the American supply dried up. It possessed suitable soil, a climate favourable to cotton cultivation, and cheap labour.

When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, a wave of panic spread through cotton circles in Britain. Raw cotton imports from America fell to less than three per cent of the normal: from over 2,000,000 bales (of 400 lbs each) in 1861 to 55,000 bales in 1862. Frantic messages were sent to India and elsewhere to increase cotton exports to Britain. In Bombay, cotton merchants visited the cotton districts to assess supplies and encourage cultivation. As cotton prices soared (see Fig. 10.15), export merchants in Bombay were keen to secure as much cotton as possible to meet the British demand. So they gave advances to urban *sahukars* who in turn extended credit to those rural moneylenders who promised to secure the produce. When there is a boom in the market credit flows easily, for those who give out loans feel secure about recovering their money.

➲ The three panels in Fig. 9.17 depict different modes of transporting cotton. Notice the bullocks collapsing under the weight of the cotton, the boulders on the road, and the huge pile of bales on the boat. What is the artist suggesting through these images?



Fig. 9.17

Transporting cotton before the railway era, Illustrated London News, 20 April 1861

When cotton supplies from America were cut off during the Civil War, Britain hoped that India would supply all the cotton that British industries needed. It began assessing the supply, examining the quality of cotton and studying the methods of production and marketing. This interest was reflected in the pages of the *Illustrated London News*.

These developments had a profound impact on the Deccan countryside. The *ryots* in the Deccan villages suddenly found access to seemingly limitless credit. They were being given Rs 100 as advance for every acre they planted with cotton. *Sahukars* were more than willing to extend long-term loans.

While the American crisis continued, cotton production in the Bombay Deccan expanded. Between 1860 and 1864 cotton acreage doubled. By 1862 over 90 per cent of cotton imports into Britain were coming from India.

But these boom years did not bring prosperity to all cotton producers. Some rich peasants did gain, but for the large majority, cotton expansion meant heavier debt.

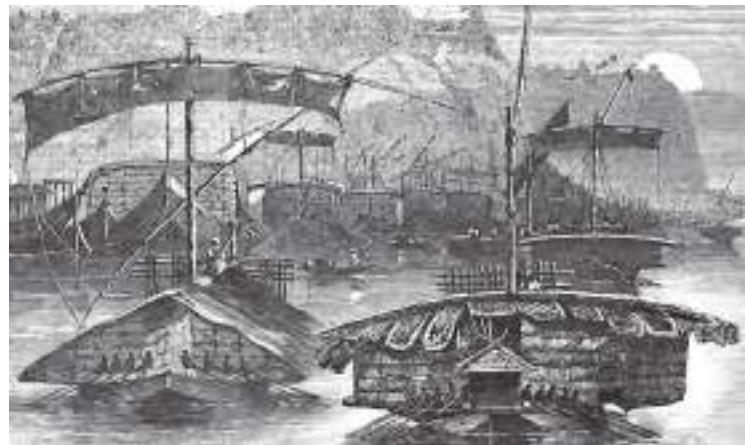


Fig. 9.18
A fleet of boats carrying cotton bales down the Ganges from Mirzapur,
Illustrated London News,
13 December 1862
Before the railway age, the town of
Mirzapur was a collection centre
for cotton from the Deccan.



Fig. 9.19
Cotton bales lying at the Bombay terminus of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway ready for
shipment to England, Illustrated London News, 23 August 1862
Once the railways came up cotton supplies were not carried only on carts and boats. River traffic
declined over time. But older modes of transport were not fully displaced. The loaded bullock cart
in the foreground on the right is waiting to carry cotton bales from the railway station to the port.

Source 8

A ryot petitions

This is an example of a petition from a ryot of the village of Mirajgaon, Taluka Karjat, to the Collector, Ahmednagar, Deccan Riots Commission:

The sowkars (*sahukars*) ... have of late begun to oppress us. As we cannot earn enough to defray our household expenses, we are actually forced to beg of them to provide us with money, clothes and grain, which we obtain from them not without great difficulty, nor without their compelling us to enter into hard conditions in the bond. Moreover the necessary clothes and grain are not sold to us at cash rates. The prices asked from us are generally twenty-five or fifty per cent more than demanded from customers making ready money payments ... The produce of our fields is also taken by the sowkars, who at the time of removing it assure us that it will be credited to our account, but they do not actually make any mention of it in the accounts. They also refuse to pass us any receipts for the produce so removed by them.

3.5 Credit dries up

While the boom lasted, cotton merchants in India had visions of capturing the world market in raw cotton, permanently displacing America. The editor of the *Bombay Gazette* had asked in 1861, "What can prevent India from supplanting the Slave States (of U.S.A.) as the feeder of Lancashire?" By 1865 these dreams were over. As the Civil War ended, cotton production in America revived and Indian cotton exports to Britain steadily declined.

Export merchants and *sahukars* in Maharashtra were no longer keen on extending long-term credit. They could see the demand for Indian cotton fall and cotton prices slide downwards. So they decided to close down their operations, restrict their advances to peasants, and demand repayment of outstanding debts.

While credit dried up, the revenue demand increased. The first revenue settlement, as we have seen, was in the 1820s and 1830s. Now it was time for the next. And in the new settlement, the demand was increased dramatically: from 50 to 100 per cent. How could *ryots* pay this inflated demand at a time when prices were falling and cotton fields disappearing? Yet again they had to turn to the moneylender. But the moneylender now refused loans. He no longer had confidence in the *ryots'* capacity to repay.

3.6 The experience of injustice

The refusal of moneylenders to extend loans enraged the *ryots*. What infuriated them was not simply that they had got deeper and deeper into debt, or that they were utterly dependent on the moneylender for survival, but that moneylenders were being insensitive to their plight. The moneylenders were violating the customary norms of the countryside.

Moneylending was certainly widespread before colonial rule and moneylenders were often powerful

- ➲ Explain the complaints that the *ryot* is making in the petition. Why was the harvest taken by the moneylenders not credited to the peasants' account? Why were peasants not given any receipts? If you were a moneylender what reasons would you give for these practices?

figures. A variety of customary norms regulated the relationship between the moneylender and the *ryot*. One general norm was that the interest charged could not be more than the principal. This was meant to limit the moneylender's exactions and defined what could be counted as "fair interest". Under colonial rule this norm broke down. In one of the many cases investigated by the Deccan Riots Commission, the moneylender had charged over Rs 2,000 as interest on a loan of Rs 100. In petition after petition, *ryots* complained of the injustice of such exactions and the violation of custom.

Source 9

Deeds of hire

When debts mounted the peasant was unable to pay back the loan to the moneylender. He had no option but to give over all his possessions – land, carts, and animals – to the moneylender. But without animals he could not continue to cultivate. So he took land on rent and animals on hire. He now had to pay for the animals which had originally belonged to him. He had to sign a deed of hire stating very clearly that these animals and carts did not belong to him. In cases of conflict, these deeds could be enforced through the court.

The following is the text of a deed that a peasant signed in November 1873, from the records of the Deccan Riots Commission:

I have sold to you, on account of the debt due to you, my two carriages having iron axles, with their appurtenances and four bullocks ... I have taken from you on hire under (this) deed the very same two carriages and four bullocks. I shall pay every month the hire thereof at Rupees four a month, and obtain a receipt in your own handwriting. In the absence of a receipt I shall not contend that the hire had been paid.

- ➲ List all the commitments that the peasant is making in this deed. What does such a deed of hire tell us about the relationship between the peasant and the moneylender? How would it change the relationship between the peasant and the bullocks he previously owned?

The *ryots* came to see the moneylender as devious and deceitful. They complained of moneylenders manipulating laws and forging accounts. In 1859 the British passed a Limitation Law that stated that the loan bonds signed between moneylenders and *ryots* would have validity for only three years. This law was meant to check the accumulation of interest over time. The moneylender, however, turned

the law around, forcing the *ryot* to sign a new bond every three years. When a new bond was signed, the unpaid balance – that is, the original loan and the accumulated interest – was entered as the principal on which a new set of interest charges was calculated. In petitions that the Deccan Riots Commission collected, *ryots* described how this process worked (see Source 10) and how moneylenders used a variety of other means to short-change the *ryot*: they refused to give receipts when loans were repaid, entered fictitious figures in bonds, acquired the peasants' harvest at low prices, and ultimately took over peasants' property.

Deeds and bonds appeared as symbols of the new oppressive system. In the past such deeds had been rare. The British, however, were suspicious of transactions based on informal understanding, as was common in the past. The terms of transactions, they believed, had to be clearly, unambiguously and categorically stated in contracts, deeds and bonds, and regulated by law. Unless the deed or contract was legally enforceable, it had no value.

Over time, peasants came to associate the misery of their lives with the new regime of bonds and deeds. They were made to sign and put thumb impressions on documents, but they did not know what they were actually signing. They had no idea of the clauses that moneylenders inserted in the bonds. They feared the written word. But they had no choice because to survive they needed loans, and moneylenders were unwilling to give loans without legal bonds.

Source 10

How debts mounted

In a petition to the Deccan Riots Commission a *ryot* explained how the system of loans worked:

A *sowkar* lends his debtor Rs 100 on bond at Rs 3-2 annas per cent per mensem. The latter agrees to pay the amount within eight days from the passing of the bond. Three years after the stipulated time for repaying the amount, the *sowkar* takes from his debtor another bond for the principal and interest together at the same rate of interest, and allows him 125 days' time to liquidate the debt. After the lapse of 3 years and 15 days a third bond is passed by the debtor ... (this process is repeated) at the end of 12 years ... his interest on Rs 1000 amounts to Rs 2028 -10 annas -3 paise.

➲ Calculate the rate of interest that the *ryot* was paying over the years.

4. THE DECCAN RIOTS COMMISSION

When the revolt spread in the Deccan, the Government of Bombay was initially unwilling to see it as anything serious. But the Government of India, worried by the memory of 1857, pressurised the Government of Bombay to set up a commission of enquiry to investigate into the causes of the riots. The commission produced a report that was presented to the British Parliament in 1878.

This report, referred to as the Deccan Riots Report, provides historians with a range of sources for the study of the riot. The commission held enquiries in the districts where the riots spread, recorded statements of *ryots*, *sahukars* and eyewitnesses, compiled statistical data on revenue rates, prices and interest rates in different regions, and collated the reports sent by district collectors.

In looking at such sources we have to again remember that they are official sources and reflect official concerns and interpretations of events. The Deccan Riots Commission, for instance, was specifically asked to judge whether the level of government revenue demand was the cause of the revolt. And after presenting all the evidence, the commission reported that the government demand was not the cause of peasant anger. It was the moneylenders who were to blame. This argument is found very frequently in colonial records. This shows that there was a persistent reluctance on the part of the colonial government to admit that popular discontent was ever on account of government action.

Official reports, thus, are invaluable sources for the reconstruction of history. But they have to be always read with care and juxtaposed with evidence culled from newspapers, unofficial accounts, legal records and, where possible, oral sources.

➲ Discuss...

Check what rates of interest are charged in the region where you live at present. Find out whether these rates have changed over the last 50 years. Is there a variation in the rates paid by different groups of people? What are the reasons for the differences?

TIMELINE

1765	English East India Company acquires Diwani of Bengal
1773	Regulating Act passed by the British Parliament to regulate the activities of the East India Company
1793	Permanent Settlement in Bengal
1800s	Santhals begin to come to the Rajmahal hills and settle there
1818	First revenue settlement in the Bombay Deccan
1820s	Agricultural prices begin to fall
1840s-50s	A slow process of agrarian expansion in the Bombay Deccan
1855-56	Santhal rebellion
1861	Cotton boom begins
1875	Ryots in Deccan villages rebel



Fig. 9.20
A rural scene, painted by William Prinsep, 1820



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

1. Why was the *jotedar* a powerful figure in many areas of rural Bengal?
2. How did zamindars manage to retain control over their zamindaris?
3. How did the Paharias respond to the coming of outsiders?
4. Why did the Santhals rebel against British rule?
5. What explains the anger of the Deccan *ryots* against the moneylenders?



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. Why were many zamindaris auctioned after the Permanent Settlement?
7. In what way was the livelihood of the Paharias different from that of the Santhals?
8. How did the American Civil War affect the lives of *ryots* in India?
9. What are the problems of using official sources in writing about the history of peasants?



MAP WORK

10. On an outline map of the subcontinent, mark out the areas described in this chapter. Find out whether there were other areas where the Permanent Settlement and the *ryotwari* system were prevalent and plot these on the map as well.



PROJECTS (CHOOSE ONE)

11. Francis Buchanan published reports on several districts of eastern India. Read one report and collate the information available about rural society, focusing on the themes discussed in this chapter. Highlight the ways in which historians can use such texts.
12. In the region where you live, talk to the older people within a rural community and visit the fields they now cultivate. Find out what they produce, how they earn their livelihoods, what their parents did, what their sons and daughters do now, and how their lives have changed over the last 75 years. Write a report based on your findings.



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THEME TEN

REBELS AND THE RAJ

THE REVOLT OF 1857 AND ITS REPRESENTATIONS

Late in the afternoon of 10 May 1857, the sepoys in the cantonment of Meerut broke out in mutiny. It began in the lines of the native infantry, spread very swiftly to the cavalry and then to the city. The ordinary people of the town and surrounding villages joined the sepoys. The sepoys captured the bell of arms where the arms and ammunition were kept and proceeded to attack white people, and to ransack and burn their bungalows and property. Government buildings – the record office, jail, court, post office, treasury, etc. – were destroyed and plundered. The telegraph line to Delhi was cut. As darkness descended, a group of sepoys rode off towards Delhi.



Fig. 10.1
Portrait of Bahadur Shah

The sepoys arrived at the gates of the Red Fort early in the morning on 11 May. It was the month of Ramzan, the Muslim holy month of prayer and fasting. The old Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, had just finished his prayers and meal before the sun rose and the fast began. He heard the commotion at the gates. The sepoys who had gathered under his window told him: "We have come from Meerut after killing all the Englishmen there, because they asked us to bite bullets that were coated with the fat of cows and pigs with our teeth. This has corrupted the faith of Hindus and Muslims alike." Another group of sepoys also entered Delhi, and the ordinary people of the city joined them. Europeans were killed in large numbers; the rich of Delhi were attacked and looted. It was clear that Delhi had gone out of British control. Some sepoys rode into the Red Fort, without observing the elaborate court etiquette expected of them. They demanded that the emperor give them his blessings. Surrounded by the sepoys, Bahadur Shah had no other option but to comply. The revolt thus acquired a kind of legitimacy because it could now be carried on in the name of the Mughal emperor.

Through 12 and 13 May, North India remained quiet. Once word spread that Delhi had fallen to the rebels and Bahadur Shah had blessed the rebellion, events moved swiftly. Cantonment after cantonment in the Gangetic valley and some to the west of Delhi rose in mutiny.

1. PATTERN OF THE UPRISING

If one were to place the dates of these mutinies in chronological order, it would appear that as the news of the mutiny in one town travelled to the next the sepoys there took up arms. The sequence of events in every cantonment followed a similar pattern.

1.1 How the mutinies began

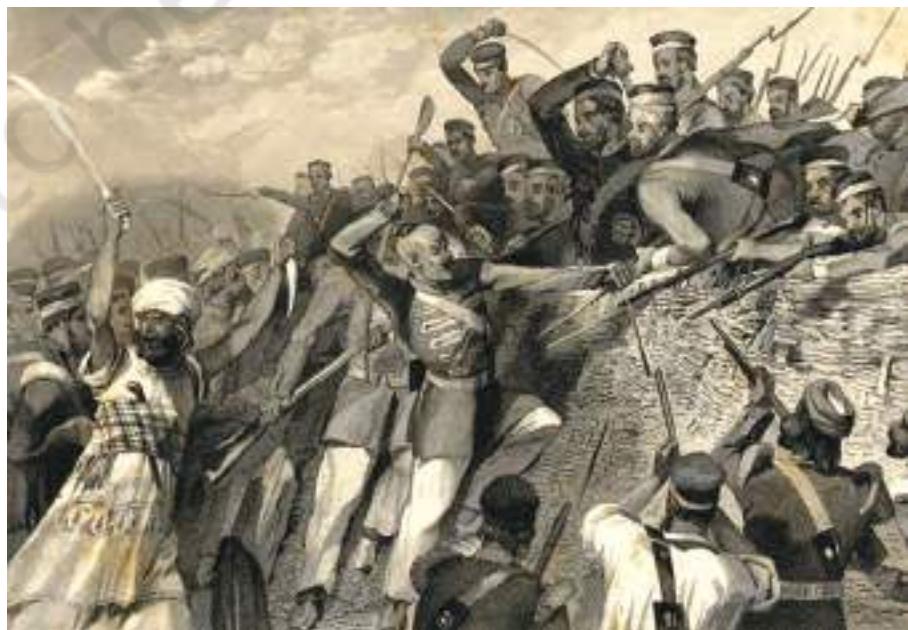
The sepoys began their action with a signal: in many places it was the firing of the evening gun or the sounding of the bugle. They first seized the bell of arms and plundered the treasury. They then attacked government buildings – the jail, treasury, telegraph office, record room, bungalows – burning all records. Everything and everybody connected with the white man became a target. Proclamations in Hindi, Urdu and Persian were put up in the cities calling upon the population, both Hindus and Muslims, to unite, rise and exterminate the *firangi*.

When ordinary people began joining the revolt, the targets of attack widened. In major towns like Lucknow, Kanpur and Bareilly, money-lenders and the rich also became the objects of rebel wrath. Peasants not only saw them as oppressors but also as allies of the British. In most places their houses were looted and destroyed. The mutiny in the sepoy ranks quickly became a rebellion. There was a general defiance of all kinds of authority and hierarchy.

Bell of arms is a storeroom in which weapons are kept.

Firangi, a term of Persian origin, possibly derived from Frank (from which France gets its name), is used in Urdu and Hindi, often in a derogatory sense, to designate foreigners.

Fig. 10.2
Ordinary people join the sepoys in attacking the British in Lucknow.



In the months of May and June, the British had no answer to the actions of the rebels. Individual Britons tried to save their own lives and the lives of their families. British rule, as one British officer noted, “collapsed like a house made of cards”.

Source 1

Ordinary life in extraordinary times

What happened in the cities during the months of the revolt? How did people live through those months of tumult? How was normal life affected? Reports from different cities tell us about the breakdown in routine activities. Read these reports from the *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, 14 June 1857:

The same thing is true for vegetables and *saag* (spinach). People have been found to complain that even *kaddu* (pumpkin) and *baingan* (brinjal) cannot be found in the bazaars. Potatoes and *arvi* (yam) when available are of stale and rotten variety, stored from before by farsighted *kunjras* (vegetable growers). From the gardens inside the city some produce does reach a few places but the poor and the middle class can only lick their lips and watch them (as they are earmarked for the select).

... There is something else that needs attention which is causing a lot of damage to the people which is that the water-carriers have stopped filling water. Poor *Shurfas* (gentility) are seen carrying water in pails on their shoulders and only then the necessary household tasks such as cooking, etc. can take place. The *halalkhors* (righteous) have become *haramkhors* (corrupt), many *mohallas* have not been able to earn for several days and if this situation continues then decay, death and disease will combine together to spoil the city's air and an epidemic will spread all over the city and even to areas adjacent and around.

➲ Read the two reports and the descriptions of what was happening in Delhi provided in the chapter. Remember that newspaper reports often express the prejudices of the reporter. How did *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* view the actions of the people?

1.2 Lines of communication

The reason for the similarity in the pattern of the revolt in different places lay partly in its planning and coordination. It is clear that there was communication between the sepoy lines of various cantonments. After the 7th Awadh Irregular Cavalry had refused to accept the new cartridges in early May, they wrote to the 48th Native Infantry that “they had acted for the faith and awaited the 48th’s orders”. Sepoys or their emissaries moved from one station to another. People were thus planning and talking about the rebellion.

Source 2

Sisten and the *tahsildar*

In the context of the communication of the message of revolt and mutiny, the experience of François Sisten, a native Christian police inspector in Sitapur, is telling. He had gone to Saharanpur to pay his respects to the magistrate. Sisten was dressed in Indian clothes and sitting cross-legged. A Muslim *tahsildar* from Bijnor entered the room; upon learning that Sisten was from Awadh, he enquired, "What news from Awadh? How does the work progress, brother?" Playing safe, Sisten replied, "If we have work in Awadh, your highness will know it." The *tahsildar* said, "Depend upon it, we will succeed this time. The direction of the business is in able hands." The *tahsildar* was later identified as the principal rebel leader of Bijnor.

• What does this conversation suggest about the ways in which plans were communicated and discussed by the rebels? Why did the *tahsildar* regard Sisten as a potential rebel?

The pattern of the mutinies and the pieces of evidence that suggest some sort of planning and coordination raise certain crucial questions. How were the plans made? Who were the planners? It is difficult on the basis of the available documents to provide direct answers to such questions. But one incident provides clues as to how the mutinies came to be so organised. Captain Hearsey of the Awadh Military Police had been given protection by his Indian subordinates during the mutiny. The 41st Native Infantry, which was stationed in the same place, insisted that since they had killed all their white officers, the Military Police should also kill Hearsey or deliver him as prisoner to the 41st. The Military Police refused to do either, and it was decided that the matter would be settled by a panchayat composed of native officers drawn from each regiment. Charles Ball, who wrote one of the earliest histories of the uprising, noted that panchayats were a nightly occurrence in the Kanpur sepoy lines. What this suggests is that some of the decisions were taken collectively. Given the fact that the sepoys lived in lines and shared a common lifestyle and that many of them came from the same caste, it is not difficult to imagine them sitting together to decide their own future. The sepoys were the makers of their own rebellion.

Mutiny – a collective disobedience of rules and regulations within the armed forces

Revolt – a rebellion of people against established authority and power. The terms 'revolt' and 'rebellion' can be used synonymously.

In the context of the revolt of 1857 the term revolt refers primarily to the uprising of the civilian population (peasants, zamindars, rajas, *jagirdars*) while the mutiny was of the sepoys.



*Fig. 10.3
Rani Lakshmi Bai, a popular image*



*Fig. 10.4
Nana Sahib*
At the end of 1858, when the rebellion collapsed, Nana Sahib escaped to Nepal. The story of his escape added to the legend of Nana Sahib's courage and valour.

1.3 Leaders and followers

To fight the British, leadership and organisation were required. For these the rebels sometimes turned to those who had been leaders before the British conquest. One of the first acts of the sepoys of Meerut, as we saw, was to rush to Delhi and appeal to the old Mughal emperor to accept the leadership of the revolt. This acceptance of leadership took its time in coming. Bahadur Shah's first reaction was one of horror and rejection. It was only when some sepoys had moved into the Mughal court within the Red Fort, in defiance of normal court etiquette, that the old emperor, realising he had very few options, agreed to be the nominal leader of the rebellion.

Elsewhere, similar scenes were enacted though on a minor scale. In Kanpur, the sepoys and the people of the town gave Nana Sahib, the successor to Peshwa Baji Rao II, no choice save to join the revolt as their leader. In Jhansi, the rani was forced by the popular pressure around her to assume the leadership of the uprising. So was Kunwar Singh, a local zamindar in Arrah in Bihar. In Awadh, where the displacement of the popular Nawab Wajid Ali Shah and the annexation of the state were still very fresh in the memory of the people, the populace in Lucknow celebrated the fall of British rule by hailing Birjis Qadr, the young son of the Nawab, as their leader.

Not everywhere were the leaders people of the court – ranis, rajas, nawabs and *taluqdars*. Often the message of rebellion was carried by ordinary men and women and in places by religious men too. From Meerut, there were reports that a fakir had appeared riding on an elephant and that the sepoys were visiting him frequently. In Lucknow, after the annexation of Awadh, there were many religious leaders and self-styled prophets who preached the destruction of British rule.

Elsewhere, local leaders emerged, urging peasants, zamindars and tribals to revolt. Shah Mal mobilised the villagers of pargana Barout in Uttar Pradesh; Gonoo, a tribal cultivator of Singhbhum in Chotanagpur, became a rebel leader of the Kol tribals of the region.

Two rebels of 1857

Shah Mal

Shah Mal lived in a large village in pargana Barout in Uttar Pradesh. He belonged to a clan of Jat cultivators whose kinship ties extended over *chaurasee des* (eighty-four villages). The lands in the region were irrigated and fertile, with rich dark loam soil. Many of the villagers were prosperous and saw the British land revenue system as oppressive: the revenue demand was high and its collection inflexible. Consequently cultivators were losing land to outsiders, to traders and moneylenders who were coming into the area.

Shah Mal mobilised the headmen and cultivators of *chaurasee des*, moving at night from village to village, urging people to rebel against the British. As in many other places, the revolt against the British turned into a general rebellion against all signs of oppression and injustice. Cultivators left their fields and plundered the houses of moneylenders and traders. Displaced proprietors took possession of the lands they had lost. Shah Mal's men attacked government buildings, destroyed the bridge over the river, and dug up metalled roads – partly to prevent government forces from coming into the area, and partly because bridges and roads were seen as symbols of British rule. They sent supplies to the sepoys who had mutinied in Delhi and stopped all official communication between British headquarters and Meerut. Locally acknowledged as the Raja, Shah Mal took over the bungalow of an English officer, turned it into a "hall of justice", settling disputes and dispensing judgments. He also set up an amazingly effective network of intelligence. For a period the people of the area felt that *firangi raj* was over, and their *raj* had come.

Shah Mal was killed in battle in July 1857.

Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah

Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah was one of the many *maulvis* who played an important part in the revolt of 1857. Educated in Hyderabad, he became a preacher when young. In 1856, he was seen moving from village to village preaching *jehad* (religious war) against the British and urging people to rebel. He moved in a palanquin, with drumbeaters in front and followers at the rear. He was therefore popularly called Danka Shah – the *maulvi* with the drum (*danka*). British officials panicked as thousands began following the *maulvi* and many Muslims began seeing him as an inspired prophet. When he reached Lucknow in 1856, he was stopped by the police from preaching in the city. Subsequently, in 1857, he was jailed in Faizabad. When released, he was elected by the mutinous 22nd Native Infantry as their leader. He fought in the famous Battle of Chinhat in which the British forces under Henry Lawrence were defeated. He came to be known for his courage and power. Many people in fact believed that he was invincible, had magical powers, and could not be killed by the British. It was this belief that partly formed the basis of his authority.



*Fig. 10.5
Henry Hardinge, by Francis Grant,
1849*

As Governor General, Hardinge attempted to modernise the equipment of the army. The Enfield rifles that were introduced initially used the greased cartridges the sepoys rebelled against.

1.4 Rumours and prophecies

Rumours and prophecies played a part in moving people to action. As we saw, the sepoys who had arrived in Delhi from Meerut had told Bahadur Shah about bullets coated with the fat of cows and pigs and that biting those bullets would corrupt their caste and religion. They were referring to the cartridges of the Enfield rifles which had just been given to them. The British tried to explain to the sepoys that this was not the case but the rumour that the new cartridges were greased with the fat of cows and pigs spread like wildfire across the sepoy lines of North India.

This is one rumour whose origin can be traced. Captain Wright, commandant of the Rifle Instruction Depot, reported that in the third week of January 1857 a “low-caste” *khalasi* who worked in the magazine in Dum Dum had asked a Brahmin sepoy for a drink of water from his *lota*. The sepoy had refused saying that the “lower caste’s” touch would defile the *lota*. The *khalasi* had reportedly retorted, “You will soon lose your caste, as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of cows and pigs.” We do not know the veracity of the report, but once this rumour started no amount of assurances from British officers could stop its circulation and the fear it spread among the sepoys.

This was not the only rumour that was circulating in North India at the beginning of 1857. There was the rumour that the British government had hatched a gigantic conspiracy to destroy the caste and religion of Hindus and Muslims. To this end, the rumours said, the British had mixed the bone dust of cows and pigs into the flour that was sold in the market. In towns and cantonments, sepoys and the common people refused to touch the *atta*. There was fear and suspicion that the British wanted to convert Indians to Christianity. Panic spread fast. British officers tried to allay their fears, but in vain. These fears stirred men to action. The response to the call for action was reinforced by the prophecy that British rule would come to an end on the centenary of the Battle of Plassey, on 23 June 1857.

Rumours were not the only thing circulating at the time. Reports came from various parts of North India that chapattis were being distributed from village to village. A person would come at night and

give a chapatti to the watchman of the village and ask him to make five more and distribute to the next village, and so on. The meaning and purpose of the distribution of the chapattis was not clear and is not clear even today. But there is no doubt that people read it as an omen of an upheaval.

1.5 Why did people believe in the rumours?

We cannot understand the power of rumours and prophecies in history by checking whether they are factually correct or not. We need to see what they reflect about the minds of people who believed them – their fears and apprehensions, their faiths and convictions. Rumours circulate only when they resonate with the deeper fears and suspicions of people.

The rumours in 1857 begin to make sense when seen in the context of the policies the British pursued from the late 1820s. As you know, from that time, under the leadership of Governor General Lord William Bentinck, the British adopted policies aimed at “reforming” Indian society by introducing Western education, Western ideas and Western institutions. With the cooperation of sections of Indian society they set up English-medium schools, colleges and universities which taught Western sciences and the liberal arts. The British established laws to abolish customs like sati (1829) and to permit the remarriage of Hindu widows.

On a variety of pleas, like misgovernment and the refusal to recognise adoption, the British annexed not only Awadh, but many other kingdoms and principalities like Jhansi and Satara. Once these territories were annexed, the British introduced their own system of administration, their own laws and their own methods of land settlement and land revenue collection. The cumulative impact of all this on the people of North India was profound.

It seemed to the people that all that they cherished and held sacred – from kings and socio-religious customs to patterns of landholding and revenue payment – was being destroyed and replaced by a system that was more impersonal, alien and oppressive. This perception was aggravated by the activities of Christian missionaries. In such a situation of uncertainty, rumours spread with remarkable swiftness.

To explore the basis of the revolt of 1857 in some detail, let us look at Awadh – one of the major centres where the drama of 1857 unfolded.

Discuss...

Read the section once more and explain the similarities and differences you notice in the ways in which leaders emerged during the revolt. For any two leaders, discuss why ordinary people were drawn to them.

2. AWADH IN REVOLT

2.1 “A cherry that will drop into our mouth one day”

In 1851 Governor General Lord Dalhousie described the kingdom of Awadh as “a cherry that will drop into our mouth one day”. Five years later, in 1856, the kingdom was formally annexed to the British Empire.

The conquest happened in stages. The Subsidiary Alliance had been imposed on Awadh in 1801. By the terms of this alliance the Nawab had to disband his military force, allow the British to position their troops within the kingdom, and act in accordance with the advice of the British Resident who was now to be attached to the court. Deprived of his armed forces, the Nawab became increasingly dependent on the British to maintain law and order within the kingdom. He could no longer assert control over the rebellious chiefs and *taluqdars*.

In the meantime the British became increasingly interested in acquiring the territory of Awadh. They felt that the soil there was good for producing indigo and cotton, and the region was ideally located to be developed into the principal market of Upper India. By the early 1850s, moreover, all the major areas of India had been conquered: the Maratha lands, the Doab, the Carnatic, the Punjab and Bengal. The takeover of Awadh in 1856 was expected to complete a process of territorial annexation that had begun with the conquest of Bengal almost a century earlier.

2.2 “The life was gone out of the body”

Lord Dalhousie's annexations created disaffection in all the areas and principalities that were annexed but nowhere more so than in the kingdom of Awadh in the heart of North India. Here, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was dethroned and exiled to Calcutta on the plea that the region was being misgoverned. The British government also wrongly assumed that Wajid Ali Shah was an unpopular ruler. On the contrary, he was widely loved, and when he left his beloved Lucknow, there were many who followed him all the way to Kanpur singing songs of lament.

The widespread sense of grief and loss at the Nawab's exile was recorded by many contemporary observers. One of them wrote: “The life was gone out of the body, and the body of this town had been left lifeless ... there was no street or market and house

Resident was the designation of a representative of the Governor General who lived in a state which was not under direct British rule.

Subsidiary Alliance

Subsidiary Alliance was a system devised by Lord Wellesley in 1798. All those who entered into such an alliance with the British had to accept certain terms and conditions:

(a) The British would be responsible for protecting their ally from external and internal threats to their power.

(b) In the territory of the ally, a British armed contingent would be stationed.

(c) The ally would have to provide the resources for maintaining this contingent.

(d) The ally could enter into agreements with other rulers or engage in warfare only with the permission of the British.



*Map 1
Territories under British control in 1857*

Source 3

The Nawab has left

Another song mourned the plight of the ruler who had to leave his motherland:

Noble and peasant all wept together
and all the world wept and wailed
Alas! The chief has bidden adieu to
his country and gone abroad.

➲ Read the entire section and discuss why people mourned the departure of Wajid Ali Shah.

which did not wail out the cry of agony in separation of Jan-i-Alam.” One folk song bemoaned that “the honourable English came and took the country” (*Angrez Bahadur ain, mulk lai linho*).

This emotional upheaval was aggravated by immediate material losses. The removal of the Nawab led to the dissolution of the court and its culture. Thus a whole range of people – musicians, dancers, poets, artisans, cooks, retainers, administrative officials and so on – lost their livelihood.

2.3 Firangi raj and the end of a world

A chain of grievances in Awadh linked prince, *taluqdar*, peasant and sepoy. In different ways they came to identify *firangi raj* with the end of their world – the breakdown of things they valued, respected and held dear. A whole complex of emotions



Fig. 10.6
A zamindar from Awadh, 1880

and issues, traditions and loyalties worked themselves out in the revolt of 1857. In Awadh, more than anywhere else, the revolt became an expression of popular resistance to an alien order.

The annexation displaced not just the Nawab. It also dispossessed the *taluqdars* of the region. The countryside of Awadh was dotted with the estates and forts of *taluqdars* who for many generations had controlled land and power in the countryside. Before the coming of the British, *taluqdars* maintained armed retainers, built forts, and enjoyed a degree of autonomy, as long as they accepted the suzerainty of the Nawab and paid the revenue of their *taluqs*. Some of the bigger *taluqdars* had as many as 12,000 foot-soldiers and even the smaller ones had about 200. The British were unwilling to tolerate the power of the *taluqdars*. Immediately after the annexation, the *taluqdars* were disarmed and their forts destroyed.

The British land revenue policy further undermined the position and authority of the *taluqdars*. After annexation, the first British revenue settlement, known as the Summary Settlement of 1856, was based on the assumption that the *taluqdars* were interlopers with no permanent stakes in land: they had established their hold over land through force and fraud. The Summary Settlement proceeded to remove the *taluqdars* wherever possible. Figures show that in pre-British times, *taluqdars* had held 67 per cent of the total number of villages in Awadh; by the Summary Settlement this number had come down to 38 per cent. The *taluqdars* of southern Awadh were the hardest hit and some lost more than half of the total number of villages they had previously held.

British land revenue officers believed that by removing *taluqdars* they would be able to settle the land with the actual owners of the soil and thus reduce the level of exploitation of peasants while increasing revenue returns for the state. But this did not happen in practice: revenue flows for the state increased but the burden of demand on the peasants did not decline. Officials soon found that large areas of Awadh were actually heavily overassessed: the increase of revenue demand in some places was from 30 to 70 per cent. Thus neither *taluqdars* nor peasants had any reasons to be happy with the annexation.

The dispossession of *taluqdars* meant the breakdown of an entire social order. The ties of loyalty and patronage that had bound the peasant to the *taluqdar* were disrupted. In pre-British times, the *taluqdars* were oppressors but many of them also appeared to be generous father figures: they exacted a variety of dues from the peasant but were often considerate in times of need. Now, under the British, the peasant was directly exposed to overassessment of revenue and inflexible methods of collection. There was no longer any guarantee that in times of hardship or crop failure the revenue demand of the state would be reduced or collection postponed; or that in times of festivities the peasant would get the loan and support that the *taluqdar* had earlier provided.

In areas like Awadh where resistance during 1857 was intense and long lasting, the fighting was carried out by *taluqdars* and their peasants. Many of these *taluqdars* were loyal to the Nawab of Awadh, and they joined Begum Hazrat Mahal (the wife of the Nawab) in Lucknow to fight the British; some even remained with her in defeat.

The grievances of the peasants were carried over into the sepoy lines since a vast majority of the sepoys were recruited from the villages of Awadh. For decades the sepoys had complained of low levels of pay and the difficulty of getting leave. By the 1850s there were other reasons for their discontent.

The relationship of the sepoys with their superior white officers underwent a significant change in the years preceding the uprising of 1857. In the 1820s, white officers made it a point to maintain friendly relations with the sepoys. They would take part in their leisure activities – they wrestled with them, fenced with them and went out hawking with them. Many of them were fluent in Hindustani and were familiar with the customs and culture of the country. These officers were disciplinarian and father figure rolled into one.

In the 1840s, this began to change. The officers developed a sense of superiority and started treating the sepoys as their racial inferiors, riding roughshod over their sensibilities. Abuse and physical violence became common and thus the distance between sepoys and officers grew. Trust was replaced by suspicion. The episode of the greased cartridges was a classic example of this.

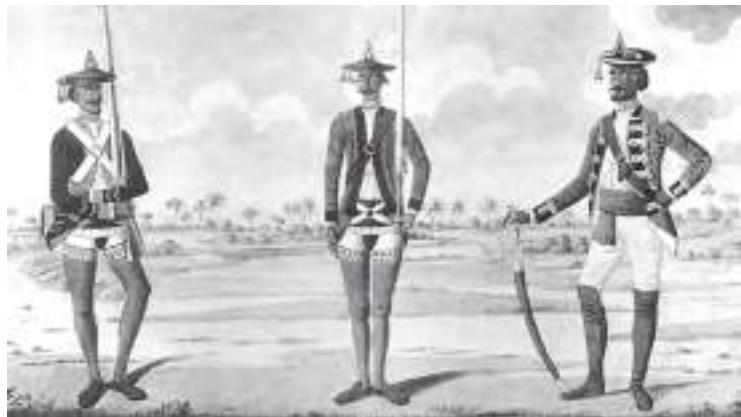
Source 4

What *taluqdars* thought

The attitude of the *taluqdars* was best expressed by Hanwant Singh, the Raja of Kalakankar, near Rae Bareli. During the mutiny, Hanwant Singh had given shelter to a British officer, and conveyed him to safety. While taking leave of the officer, Hanwant Singh told him:

Sahib, your countrymen came into this country and drove out our King. You sent your officers round the districts to examine the titles to the estates. At one blow you took from me lands which from time immemorial had been in my family. I submitted. Suddenly misfortune fell upon you. The people of the land rose against you. You came to me whom you had despoiled. I have saved you. But now – now I march at the head of my retainers to Lucknow to try and drive you from the country.

➲ What does this excerpt tell you about the attitude of the *taluqdars*? Who did Hanwant Singh mean by the people of the land? What reason does Hanwant Singh give for the anger of the people?



*Fig. 10.7
Bengal sepoys in European-style uniform*

Discuss...

Find out whether people in your state participated in the revolt of 1857. If they did, find out why they did so. If they did not, try and explain this.

It is also important to remember that close links existed between the sepoys and the rural world of North India. The large majority of the sepoys of the Bengal Army were recruited from the villages of Awadh and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Many of them were Brahmins or from the “upper” castes. Awadh was, in fact, called the “nursery of the Bengal Army”. The changes that the families of the sepoys saw around them and

the threats they perceived were quickly transmitted to the sepoy lines. In turn, the fears of the sepoys about the new cartridge, their grievances about leave, their grouse about the increasing misbehaviour and racial abuse on the part of their white officers were communicated back to the villages. This link between the sepoys and the rural world had important implications in the course of the uprising. When the sepoys defied their superior officers and took up arms they were joined very swiftly by their brethren in the villages. Everywhere, peasants poured into towns and joined the soldiers and the ordinary people of the towns in collective acts of rebellion.

3. WHAT THE REBELS WANTED

As victors, the British recorded their own trials and tribulations as well as their heroism. They dismissed the rebels as a bunch of ungrateful and barbaric people. The repression of the rebels also meant silencing of their voice. Few rebels had the opportunity of recording their version of events. Moreover, most of them were sepoys and ordinary people who were not literate. Thus, other than a few proclamations and *ishtahars* (notifications) issued by rebel leaders to propagate their ideas and persuade people to join the revolt, we do not have much that throws light on the perspective of the rebels. Attempts to reconstruct what happened in 1857 are thus heavily and inevitably dependent on what the British wrote. While these sources reveal the minds of officials, they tell us very little about what the rebels wanted.

3.1 The vision of unity

The rebel proclamations in 1857 repeatedly appealed to all sections of the population, irrespective of their caste and creed. Many of the proclamations were issued by Muslim princes or in their names but even these took care to address the sentiments of Hindus. The rebellion was seen as a war in which both Hindus and Muslims had equally to lose or gain. The *ishtahars* harked back to the pre-British Hindu-Muslim past and glorified the coexistence of different communities under the Mughal Empire. The proclamation that was issued under the name of Bahadur Shah appealed to the people to join the fight under the standards of both Muhammad and Mahavir. It was remarkable that during the uprising religious divisions between Hindus and Muslim were hardly noticeable despite British attempts to create such divisions. In Bareilly in western Uttar Pradesh, in December 1857, the British spent Rs 50,000 to incite the Hindu population against the Muslims. The attempt failed.

Source 5

The Azamgarh Proclamation, 25 August 1857

This is one of the main sources of our knowledge about what the rebels wanted:

It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and the oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is therefore the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially those who have any sort of connection with the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public.

Several of the Hindoo and Mussalman Chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade, and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the West. Therefore for the information of the public, the present *Ishtahar*, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation and it is the imperative duty of all to take into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, the writings of miracle workers, and the calculation of the astrologers, pundits, ... all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi, or imperial government, by their individual exertion in

contd

Source 5 (*contd*)

promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent for their folly,

Section I – Regarding Zemindars. It is evident, that the British Government in making zemindary settlements have imposed exorbitant *Jumas* (revenue demand) and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates for public auction for arrears of rent, in so much, in the institution of a suit by a common Ryot, a maid servant, or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned into court, arrested, put in goal and disgraced. In litigation regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps, and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, ... are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with the subscription for schools, hospitals, roads, etc. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi Government; but on the contrary the *Jumas* will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary

Section II – Regarding Merchants. It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British Government have monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people, Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed, with postages, tolls and subscriptions for schools, etc. Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi Government is established all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water will be opened to the native merchants of India, It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi Government with his men and money,

Section III – Regarding Public Servants. It is not a secret thing, that under the British Government, natives employed in the civil and military services have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence; and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen, Therefore, all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi Government, and obtain salaries of 200 and 300 rupees a month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in the future,

Section IV – Regarding Artisans. It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, etc., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisan has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi Government the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the service of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore these artisans ought to renounce the English services,

Section V – Regarding Pundits, Fakirs and Other Learned Persons. The pundits and fakirs being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammadan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war.... .

➲ What are the issues against British rule highlighted in this proclamation?
Read the section on each social group carefully. Notice the language in which the proclamation is formulated and the variety of sentiments it appeals to.

Source 6

What the sepoys thought

This is one of the *arzis* (petition or application) of rebel sepoys that have survived:

A century ago the British arrived in Hindostan and gradually entertained troops in their service, and became masters of every state. Our forefathers have always served them, and we also entered their service ... By the mercy of God and with our assistance the British also conquered every place they liked, in which thousands of us, Hindostani men were sacrificed, but we never made any excuses or pretences nor revolted ...

But in the year eighteen fifty seven the British issued an order that new cartridges and muskets which had arrived from England were to be issued; in the former of which the fats of cows and pigs were mixed; and also that *attah* of wheat mixed with powdered bones was to be eaten; and even distributed them in every Regiment of infantry, cavalry and artillery ...

They gave these cartridges to the *sowars* (mounted soldiers) of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and ordered them to bite them; the troopers objected to it, and said that they would never bite them, for if they did, their religion and faith would be destroyed ... upon this the British officers paraded the men of the 3 Regiments and having prepared 1,400 English soldiers, and other Battalions of European troops and Horse Artillery, surrounded them, and placing six guns before each of the infantry regiments, loaded the guns with grape and made 84 new troopers prisoners, and put them in jail with irons on them ... The reason that the *sowars* of the Cantonment were put into jail was that we should be frightened into biting the new cartridges. On this account we and all our country-men having united together, have fought the British for the preservation of our faith ... we have been compelled to make war for two years and the Rajahs and Chiefs who are with us in faith and religion, are still so, and have undergone all sorts of trouble; we have fought for two years in order that our faith and religion may not be polluted. If the religion of a Hindoo or Mussalman is lost, what remains in the world?

➲ Compare the reasons for the mutiny as stated in the *arzi* with those mentioned by the *taluqdar* (Source 3).

3.2 Against the symbols of oppression

The proclamations completely rejected everything associated with British rule or *firangi raj* as they called it. They condemned the British for the annexations they had carried out and the treaties they had broken. The British, the rebel leaders said, could not be trusted.

What enraged the people was how British land revenue settlements had dispossessed landholders, both big and small, and foreign commerce had driven artisans and weavers to ruin. Every aspect of British rule was attacked and the *firangi* accused of destroying a way of life that was familiar and cherished. The rebels wanted to restore that world.

The proclamations expressed the widespread fear that the British were bent on destroying the caste and religions of Hindus and Muslims and converting them to Christianity – a fear that led people to believe many of the rumours that circulated at the time. People were urged to come together and fight to save their livelihood, their faith, their honour, their identity – a fight which was for the “greater public good”.

As noted earlier, in many places the rebellion against the British widened into an attack on all those who were seen as allies of the British or local oppressors. Often the rebels deliberately sought to humiliate the elites of a city. In the villages they burnt account books and ransacked moneylenders’ houses. This reflected an attempt to overturn traditional hierarchies, rebel against *all* oppressors. It presents a glimpse of an alternative vision, perhaps of a more egalitarian society. Such visions were not articulated in the proclamations which sought to unify all social groups in the fight against *firangi raj*.

3.3 The search for alternative power

Once British rule had collapsed, the rebels in places like Delhi, Lucknow and Kanpur tried to establish some kind of structure of authority and administration. This was, of course, short-lived but the attempts show that the rebel leadership wanted to restore the pre-British world of the eighteenth century. The leaders went back to the culture of the court. Appointments were made to various posts, arrangements made for the collection of land revenue and the payment of troops, orders issued to stop loot and plunder. Side by side plans were made to fight battles against the British. Chains of command were laid down in the army. In all this the rebels harked back to the eighteenth-century Mughal world – a world that became a symbol of all that had been lost.

The administrative structures established by the rebels were primarily aimed at meeting the demands of war. However, in most cases these structures could not survive the British onslaught. But in Awadh, where resistance to the British lasted longest, plans of counter-attack were being drawn up by the Lucknow court and hierarchies of command were in place as late as the last months of 1857 and the early part of 1858.

Discuss...

What do you think are the major problems faced by historians in reconstructing the point of view of the rebels?

4. REPRESSION

It is clear from all accounts that we have of 1857 that the British did not have an easy time in putting down the rebellion.

Before sending out troops to reconquer North India, the British passed a series of laws to help them quell the insurgency. By a number of Acts, passed in May and June 1857, not only was the whole of North India put under martial law but military officers and even ordinary Britons were given the power to try and punish Indians suspected of rebellion. In other words, the ordinary processes of law and trial were suspended and it was put out that rebellion would have only one punishment – death.

Armed with these newly enacted special laws and the reinforcements brought in from Britain, the British began the task of suppressing the revolt. They, like the rebels, recognised the symbolic value of Delhi. The British thus mounted a two-pronged attack. One force moved from Calcutta into North India and the other from the Punjab – which was largely peaceful – to reconquer Delhi. British

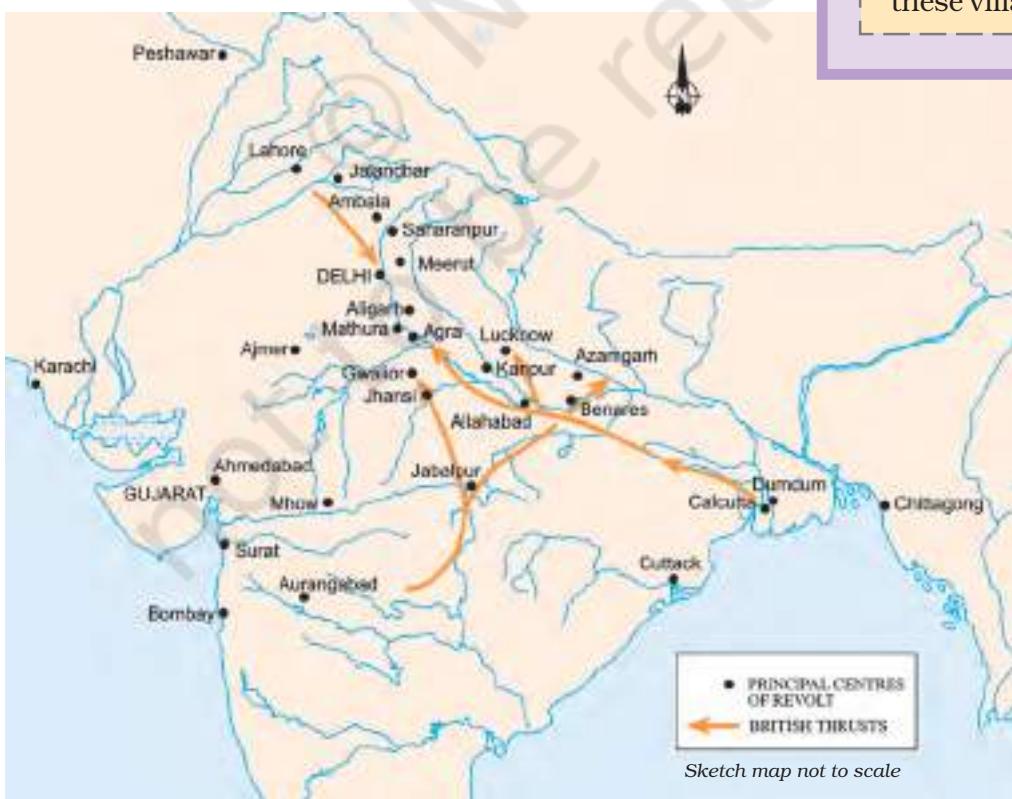
Source 7

Villagers as rebels

An officer reporting from rural Awadh (spelt as Oude in the following account) noted:

The Oude people are gradually pressing down on the line of communication from the North ... the Oude people are villagers ... these villagers are nearly intangible to Europeans melting away before them and collecting again. The Civil Authorities report these villagers to amount to a very large number of men, with a number of guns.

➲ What, according to this account, were the problems faced by the British in dealing with these villagers?



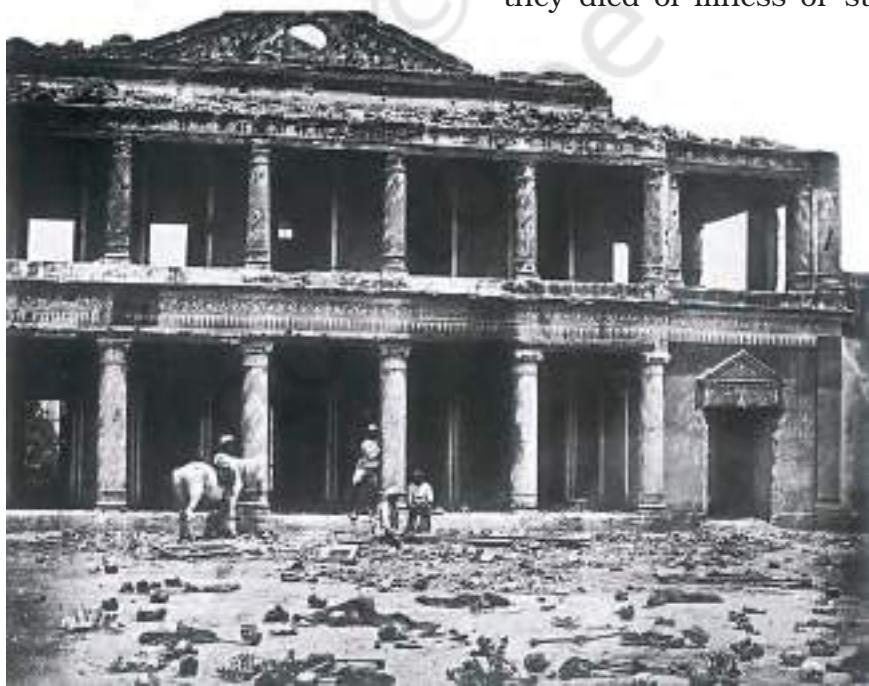


*Fig. 10.8
A mosque on the Delhi Ridge,
photograph by Felice Beato, 1857-58*
After 1857, British photographers recorded innumerable images of desolation and ruin.

attempts to recover Delhi began in earnest in early June 1857 but it was only in late September that the city was finally captured. The fighting and losses on both sides were heavy. One reason for this was the fact that rebels from all over North India had come to Delhi to defend the capital.

In the Gangetic plain too the progress of British reconquest was slow. The forces had to reconquer the area village by village. The countryside and the people around were entirely hostile. As soon as they began their counter-insurgency operations, the British realised that they were not dealing with a mere mutiny but an uprising that had huge popular support. In Awadh, for example, a British official called Forsyth estimated that three-fourths of the adult male population was in rebellion. The area was brought under control only in March 1858 after protracted fighting.

The British used military power on a gigantic scale. But this was not the only instrument they used. In large parts of present-day Uttar Pradesh, where big landholders and peasants had offered united resistance, the British tried to break up the unity by promising to give back to the big landholders their estates. Rebel landholders were dispossessed and the loyal rewarded. Many landholders died fighting the British or they escaped into Nepal where they died of illness or starvation.



*Fig. 10.9
Secundrah Bagh, Lucknow,
photograph by Felice Beato,
1858*

Here we see four solitary figures within a desolate place that was once the pleasure garden built by Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. British forces led by Campbell killed over 2000 rebel sepoys who held the place in 1857. The skeletons strewn on the ground are meant to be a cold warning of the futility of rebellion.

5. IMAGES OF THE REVOLT

How do we know about the revolt, about the activities of the rebels and the measures of repression that we have been discussing?

As we have seen, we have very few records on the rebels' point of view. There are a few rebel proclamations and notifications, as also some letters that rebel leaders wrote. But historians till now have continued to discuss rebel actions primarily through accounts written by the British.

Official accounts, of course, abound: colonial administrators and military men left their versions in letters and diaries, autobiographies and official histories. We can also gauge the official mindset and the changing British attitudes through the innumerable memos and notes, assessments of situations, and reports that were produced. Many of these have now been collected in a set of volumes on mutiny records. These tell us about the fears and anxieties of officials and their perception of the rebels. The stories of the revolt that were published in British newspapers and magazines narrated in gory detail the violence of the mutineers – and these stories inflamed public feelings and provoked demands of retribution and revenge.

One important record of the mutiny is the pictorial images produced by the British and Indians: paintings, pencil drawings, etchings, posters, cartoons, bazaar prints. Let us look at some of them and see what they tell us.

5.1 Celebrating the saviours

British pictures offer a variety of images that were meant to provoke a range of different emotions and reactions. Some of them commemorate the British heroes who saved the English and repressed the rebels. "Relief of Lucknow", painted by Thomas Jones Barker in 1859, is an example of this type. When the rebel forces besieged Lucknow, Henry Lawrence, the Commissioner of Lucknow, collected the Christian population and took refuge in the heavily fortified Residency. Lawrence was killed but the Residency continued to be defended under the command of Colonel Inglis. On 25 September James Outram and Henry Havelock arrived, cut through the rebel forces, and reinforced the British garrisons. Twenty days later Colin Campbell, who



*Fig. 10.10
"Relief of Lucknow", painted by
Thomas Jones Barker, 1859*

was appointed as the new Commander of British forces in India, came with his forces and rescued the besieged British garrison. In British accounts the siege of Lucknow became a story of survival, heroic resistance and the ultimate triumph of British power.

Barker's painting celebrates the moment of Campbell's entry. At the centre of the canvas are the British heroes – Campbell, Outram and Havelock. The gestures of the hands of those around lead the spectator's eyes towards the centre. The heroes stand on a ground that is well lit, with shadows in the foreground and the damaged Residency in the background. The dead and injured in the foreground are testimony to the suffering during the siege, while the triumphant figures of horses in the middle ground emphasise the fact that British power and control had been re-established. To the British public such paintings were reassuring. They created a sense that the time of trouble was past and the rebellion was over; the British were the victors.

5.2 English women and the honour of Britain

Newspaper reports have a power over public imagination; they shape feelings and attitudes to events. Inflamed particularly by tales of violence

against women and children, there were public demands in Britain for revenge and retribution. The British government was asked to protect the honour of innocent women and ensure the safety of helpless children. Artists expressed as well as shaped these sentiments through their visual representations of trauma and suffering.

"In Memoriam" (Fig. 10.11) was painted by Joseph Noel Paton two years after the mutiny. You can see English women and children huddled in a circle, looking helpless and innocent, seemingly waiting for the inevitable – dishonour, violence and death. "In Memoriam" does not show gory violence; it only suggests it. It stirs up the spectator's imagination, and seeks to provoke anger and fury. It represents the rebels as violent and brutish, even though they remain invisible in the picture. In the background you can see the British rescue forces arriving as saviours.



Fig. 10.11
"In Memoriam",
by Joseph Noel Paton, 1859

*Fig. 10.12
Miss Wheeler defending herself against sepoys in Kanpur*



*Fig. 10.13
Justice, Punch, 12 September 1857*
The caption at the bottom reads
“The news of the terrible massacre at Cawnpore (Kanpur) produced an outburst of fiery indignation and wild desire for revenge throughout the whole of England.”

In another set of sketches and paintings we see women in a different light. They appear heroic, defending themselves against the attack of rebels. Miss Wheeler in Figure 10.12 stands firmly at the centre, defending her honour, single-handedly killing the attacking rebels. As in all such British representations, the rebels are demonised. Here, four burly males with swords and guns are shown attacking a woman. The woman's struggle to save her honour and her life, in fact, is represented as having a deeper religious connotation: it is a battle to save the honour of Christianity. The book lying on the floor is the Bible.

5.3 Vengeance and retribution

As waves of anger and shock spread in Britain, demands for retribution grew louder. Visual representations and news about the revolt created a milieu in which violent repression and vengeance were seen as both necessary and just. It was as if justice demanded that the challenge to British honour and power be met ruthlessly. Threatened by the rebellion, the British felt that they had to demonstrate their invincibility. In one such image (Fig. 10.13) we see an allegorical female figure of justice with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other. Her posture is aggressive; her face expresses rage and the desire for revenge. She is trampling sepoys under her feet while a mass of Indian women with children cower with fear.

There were innumerable other pictures and cartoons in the British press that sanctioned brutal repression and violent reprisal.



Fig. 10.14

The caption at the bottom reads "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger", Punch, 1857.

➲ What idea is the picture projecting? What is being expressed through the images of the lion and the tiger? What do the figures of the woman and the child depict?

5.4 The performance of terror

The urge for vengeance and retribution was expressed in the brutal way in which the rebels were executed. They were blown from guns, or hanged from the gallows. Images of these executions were widely circulated through popular journals.

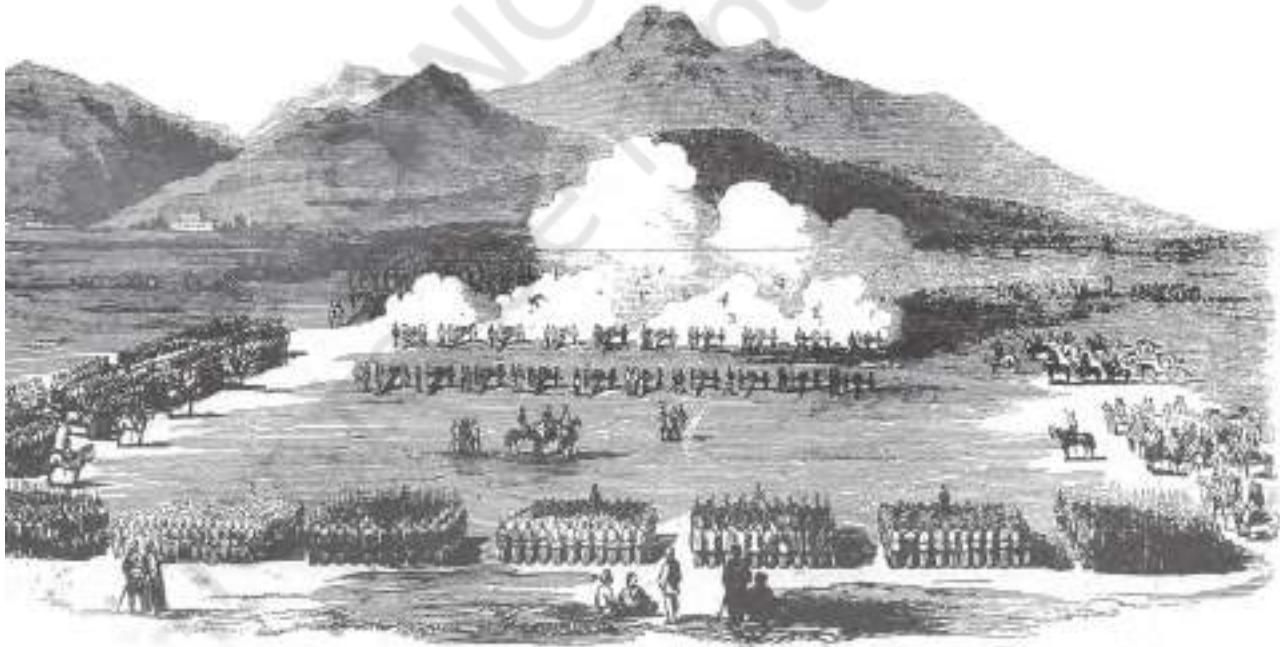


Fig. 10.15

Execution of mutineers in Peshawar: Blowing from the guns,
Illustrated London News, 3 October 1857

The scene of execution here appears to be a stage where a drama is being performed – an enactment of brutal power. Mounted soldiers and sepoys in uniform dominate the scene. They have to watch the execution of their fellow sepoys, and experience the chilling consequences of rebellion.

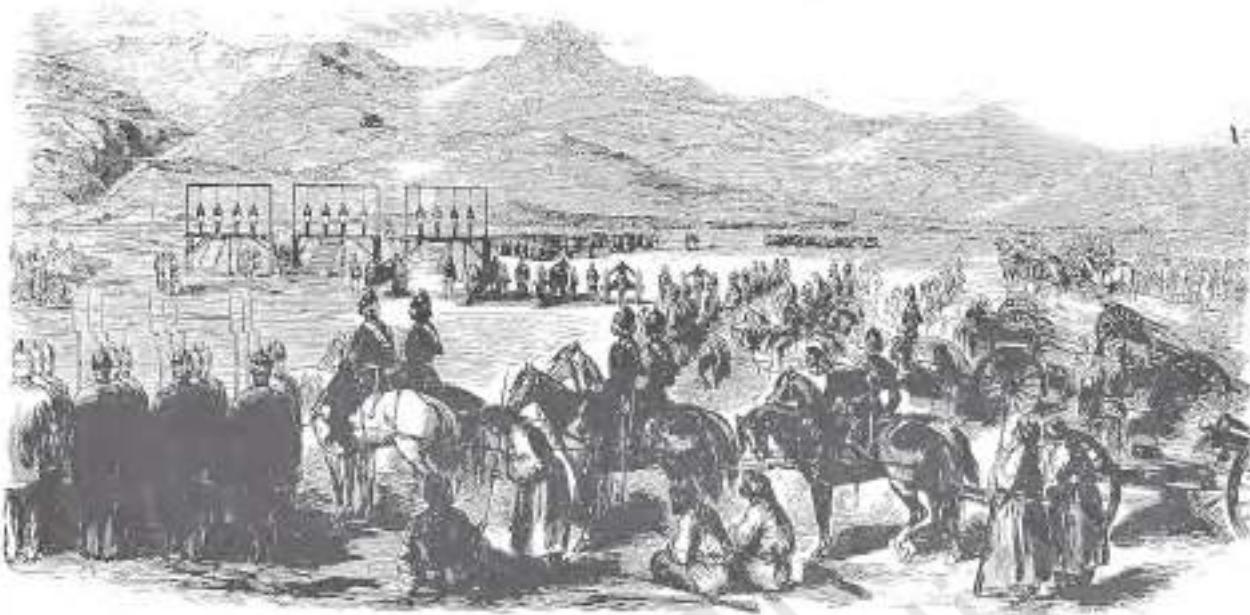


Fig. 10.16

Execution of mutinous sepoys in Peshawar, Illustrated London News, 3 October 1857

In this scene of execution 12 rebels hang in a row, with cannons all around them.

What you see is not routine punishment: it is the performance of terror. For it to instil fear among people, punishment could not be discreetly meted out in enclosed spaces. It had to be theatrically performed in the open.



5.5 No time for clemency

At a time when the clamour was for vengeance, pleas for moderation were ridiculed. When Governor General Canning declared that a gesture of leniency and a show of mercy would help in winning back the loyalty of the sepoys, he was mocked in the British press.

In one of the cartoons published in the pages of *Punch*, a British journal of comic satire, Canning is shown as a looming father figure, with his protective hand over the head of a sepoy who still holds an unsheathed sword in one hand and a dagger in the other, both dripping with blood (Fig. 10.17) – an imagery that recurs in a number of British pictures of the time.

Fig. 10.17

"The Clemency of Canning", Punch, 24 October 1857

The caption at the bottom of the cartoon reads: "Governor General: 'Well, then they shan't blow him from nasty guns; but he must promise to be a good little sepoy'."

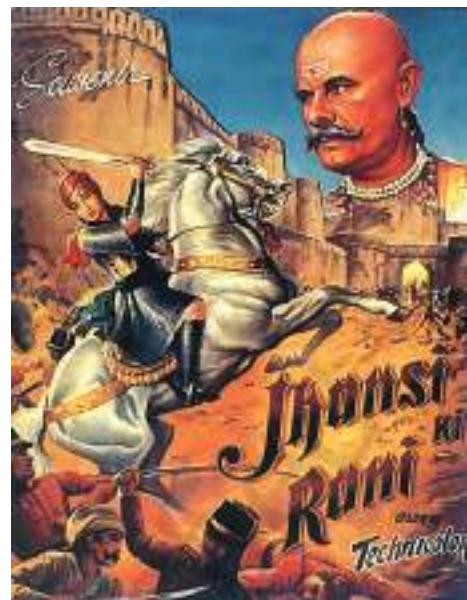
5.6 Nationalist imageries

The national movement in the twentieth century drew its inspiration from the events of 1857. A whole world of nationalist imagination was woven around the revolt. It was celebrated as the First War of Independence in which all sections of the people of India came together to fight against imperial rule.

Art and literature, as much as the writing of history, have helped in keeping alive the memory of 1857. The leaders of the revolt were presented as heroic figures leading the country into battle, rousing the people to righteous indignation against oppressive imperial rule. Heroic poems were written about the valour of the queen who, with a sword in one hand and the reins of her horse in the other, fought for the freedom of her motherland. Rani of Jhansi was represented as a masculine figure chasing the enemy, slaying British soldiers and valiantly fighting till her last. Children in many parts of India grow up reading the lines of Subhadra Kumari Chauhan: "Khoob lari mardani woh to Jhansi wali rani thi" (Like a man she fought, she was the Rani of Jhansi). In popular prints Rani Lakshmi Bai is usually portrayed in battle armour, with a sword in hand and riding a horse – a symbol of the determination to resist injustice and alien rule.

The images indicate how the painters who produced them perceived those events, what they felt, and what they sought to convey. Through the paintings and cartoons we know about the public that looked at the paintings, appreciated or criticised the images, and bought copies and reproductions to put up in their homes.

These images did not only reflect the emotions and feelings of the times in which they were produced. They also shaped sensibilities. Fed by the images that circulated in Britain, the public sanctioned the most brutal forms of repression of the rebels. On the other hand, nationalist imageries of the revolt helped shape the nationalist imagination.



*Fig. 10.18
Films and posters have helped create the image of Rani Lakshmi Bai as a masculine warrior*

➲ Discuss...

Examine the elements in each of the visuals in this section and discuss how they allow you to identify the perspective of the artist.

TIMELINE

1801	Subsidiary Alliance introduced by Wellesley in Awadh
1856	Nawab Wajid Ali Shah deposed; Awadh annexed
1856-57	Summary revenue settlements introduced in Awadh by the British
1857	
10 May	Mutiny starts in Meerut
11-12 May	Delhi garrisons revolt; Bahadur Shah accepts nominal leadership
20-27 May	Sepoys mutiny in Aligarh, Etawah, Mainpuri, Etah
30 May	Rising in Lucknow
May-June	Mutiny turns into a general revolt of the people
30 June	British suffer defeat in the battle of Chinhat
25 Sept	British forces under Havelock and Outram enter the Residency in Lucknow
July	Shah Mal killed in battle
1858	
June	Rani Jhansi killed in battle



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

Fig. 10.19
Faces of rebels



1. Why did the mutinous sepoys in many places turn to erstwhile rulers to provide leadership to the revolt?
2. Discuss the evidence that indicates planning and coordination on the part of the rebels.
3. Discuss the extent to which religious beliefs shaped the events of 1857.
4. What were the measures taken to ensure unity among the rebels?
5. What steps did the British take to quell the uprising?



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. Why was the revolt particularly widespread in Awadh? What prompted the peasants, *taluqdars* and zamindars to join the revolt?
7. What did the rebels want? To what extent did the vision of different social groups differ?
8. What do visual representations tell us about the revolt of 1857? How do historians analyse these representations?
9. Examine any two sources presented in the chapter, choosing one visual and one text, and discuss how these represent the point of view of the victor and the vanquished.



MAP WORK

10. On an outline map of India, mark Calcutta (Kolkata), Bombay (Mumbai) and Madras (Chennai), three major centres of British power in 1857. Refer to Maps 1 and 2 and plot the areas where the revolt was most widespread. How close or far were these areas from the colonial cities?



PROJECTS (CHOOSE ONE)

11. Read a biography of any one of the leaders of the revolt of 1857. Check the sources used by the biographer. Do these include government reports, newspaper accounts, stories in regional languages, visual material, anything else? Do all the sources say the same thing, or are there differences? Prepare a report on your findings.
12. See a film made on the revolt of 1857 and write about the way it represents the revolt. How does it depict the British, the rebels, and those who remained loyal to the British? What does it say about peasants, city dwellers, tribals, zamindars and *taluqdars*? What kind of a response does the film seek to evoke?



If you would like to know more, read:

Gautam Bhadra. 1987.
'Four Rebels of Eighteen-Fifty-Seven', *Subaltern Studies*, IV.
Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Rudrangshu Mukherjee. 1984.
Awadh in Revolt, 1857-58.
Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Tapti Roy. 2006.
Raj of the Rani.
Penguin, New Delhi.

Eric Stokes. 1980.
Peasants and the Raj.
Oxford University Press, Delhi.

You could visit:

<http://books.google.com>
(for accounts of 1857 by British officials)
www.copsey-family.org/allenc/lakshmibai/links.html
(for letters of Rani Lakshmibai)





THEME ELEVEN

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND BEYOND

In the history of nationalism a single individual is often identified with the making of a nation. Thus, for example, we associate Garibaldi with the making of Italy, George Washington with the American War of Independence, and Ho Chi Minh with the struggle to free Vietnam from colonial rule. In the same manner, Mahatma Gandhi has been regarded as the 'Father' of the Indian nation.

In so far as Gandhiji was the most influential and revered of all the leaders who participated in the freedom struggle, that characterisation is not misplaced. However, like Washington or Ho Chi-Minh, Mahatma Gandhi's political career was shaped and constrained by the society in which he lived. For individuals, even great ones, are made by history even as they make history.

This chapter analyses Gandhiji's activities in India during the crucial period 1915-1948. It explores his interactions with different sections of the Indian society and the popular struggles that he inspired and led. It introduces the student to the different kinds of sources that historians use in reconstructing the career of a leader and of the social movements that he was associated with.



Fig. 11.1

People gather on the banks of the Sabarmati River to hear Mahatma Gandhi speak before starting out on the Salt March in 1930

1. A LEADER ANNOUNCES HIMSELF

In January 1915, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi returned to his homeland after two decades of residence abroad. These years had been spent for the most part in South Africa, where he went as a lawyer, and in time became a leader of the Indian community in that territory. As the historian Chandran Devanesan has remarked, South Africa was “the making of the Mahatma”. It was in South Africa that Mahatma Gandhi first forged the distinctive techniques of non-violent protest known as satyagraha, first promoted harmony between religions, and first alerted upper-caste Indians to their discriminatory treatment of low castes and women.

The India that Mahatma Gandhi came back to in 1915 was rather different from the one that he had left in 1893. Although still a colony of the British, it was far more active in a political sense. The Indian National Congress now had branches in most major cities and towns. Through the Swadeshi movement of 1905-07 it had greatly broadened its appeal among the middle classes. That movement had thrown up some towering leaders – among them Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra, Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal, and Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab. The three were known as “Lal, Bal and Pal”, the alliteration conveying the all-India character of their struggle, since their native provinces were very distant from one another. Where these leaders advocated militant opposition to colonial rule, there was a group of “Moderates” who preferred a more gradual and persuasive approach. Among these Moderates was Gandhiji’s acknowledged political mentor, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, as well as Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who, like Gandhiji, was a lawyer of Gujarati extraction trained in London.

On Gokhale’s advice, Gandhiji spent a year travelling around British India, getting to know the land and its peoples. His first major public appearance was at the opening of the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in February 1916. Among the invitees to

*Fig. 11.2
Mahatma Gandhi in Johannesburg,
South Africa, February 1908*



this event were the princes and philanthropists whose donations had contributed to the founding of the BHU. Also present were important leaders of the Congress, such as Annie Besant. Compared to these dignitaries, Gandhiji was relatively unknown. He had been invited on account of his work in South Africa, rather than his status within India.

When his turn came to speak, Gandhiji charged the Indian elite with a lack of concern for the labouring poor. The opening of the BHU, he said, was "certainly a most gorgeous show". But he worried about the contrast between the "richly bedecked noblemen" present and "millions of the poor" Indians who were absent. Gandhiji told the privileged invitees that "there is no salvation for India unless you strip yourself of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India". "There can be no spirit of self-government about us," he went on, "if we take away or allow others to take away from the peasants almost the whole of the results of their labour. Our salvation can only come through the farmer. Neither the lawyers, nor the doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it."

The opening of the BHU was an occasion for celebration, marking as it did the opening of a nationalist university, sustained by Indian money and Indian initiative. But rather than adopt a tone of self-congratulation, Gandhiji chose instead to remind those present of the peasants and workers who constituted a majority of the Indian population, yet were unrepresented in the audience.

Gandhiji's speech at Banaras in February 1916 was, at one level, merely a statement of fact – namely, that Indian nationalism was an elite phenomenon, a creation of lawyers and doctors and landlords. But, at another level, it was also a statement of intent – the first public announcement of Gandhiji's own desire to make Indian nationalism more properly

*Fig. 11.3
Mahatma Gandhi in Karachi,
March 1916*



representative of the Indian people as a whole. In the last month of that year, Gandhiji was presented with an opportunity to put his precepts into practice. At the annual Congress, held in Lucknow in December 1916, he was approached by a peasant from Champaran in Bihar, who told him about the harsh treatment of peasants by British indigo planters.

2. THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF NON-COOPERATION

Mahatma Gandhi was to spend much of 1917 in Champaran, seeking to obtain for the peasants security of tenure as well as the freedom to cultivate the crops of their choice. The following year, 1918, Gandhiji was involved in two campaigns in his home state of Gujarat. First, he intervened in a labour dispute in Ahmedabad, demanding better working conditions for the textile mill workers. Then he joined peasants in Kheda in asking the state for the remission of taxes following the failure of their harvest.

These initiatives in Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda marked Gandhiji out as a nationalist with a deep sympathy for the poor. At the same time, these were all localised struggles. Then, in 1919, the colonial rulers delivered into Gandhiji's lap an issue from which he could construct a much wider movement. During the Great War of 1914-18, the British had instituted censorship of the press and permitted detention without trial. Now, on the recommendation of a committee chaired by Sir Sidney Rowlatt, these tough measures were continued. In response, Gandhiji called for a countrywide campaign against the "Rowlatt Act". In towns across North and West India, life came to a standstill, as shops shut down and schools closed in response to the *bandh* call. The protests were particularly intense in the Punjab, where many men had served on the British side in the War – expecting to be rewarded for their service. Instead they were given the Rowlatt Act. Gandhiji was detained while proceeding to the Punjab, even as prominent local Congressmen were arrested. The situation in the province grew progressively more tense, reaching a bloody climax in Amritsar in April 1919, when a British Brigadier ordered his troops to open fire on a nationalist meeting. More

➲ Discuss...

Find out more about the national movement in India before 1915 and see whether Mahatma Gandhi's comments are justified.

than four hundred people were killed in what is known as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

It was the Rowlatt satyagraha that made Gandhiji a truly *national* leader. Emboldened by its success, Gandhiji called for a campaign of “non-cooperation” with British rule. Indians who wished colonialism to end were asked to stop attending schools, colleges and law courts, and not pay taxes. In sum, they were asked to adhere to a “renunciation of (all) voluntary association with the (British) Government”. If non-cooperation was effectively carried out, said Gandhiji, India would win swaraj within a year. To further broaden the struggle he had joined hands with the Khilafat Movement that sought to restore the Caliphate, a symbol of Pan-Islamism which had recently been abolished by the Turkish ruler Kemal Attaturk.

2.1 Knitting a popular movement

Gandhiji hoped that by coupling non-cooperation with Khilafat, India’s two major religious communities, Hindus and Muslims, could collectively bring an end to colonial rule. These movements certainly unleashed a surge of popular action that was altogether unprecedented in colonial India.

Students stopped going to schools and colleges run by the government. Lawyers refused to attend court. The working class went on strike in many towns and cities: according to official figures, there were 396 strikes in 1921, involving 600,000 workers and a loss of seven million workdays. The countryside was seething with discontent too. Hill tribes in northern Andhra violated the forest laws. Farmers in Awadh did not pay taxes. Peasants in Kumaun refused to carry loads for colonial officials. These protest movements were sometimes carried out in defiance of the local nationalist leadership. Peasants, workers, and others interpreted and acted upon the call to “non-cooperate” with colonial rule in ways that best suited their interests, rather than conform to the dictates laid down from above.

“Non-cooperation,” wrote Mahatma Gandhi’s American biographer Louis Fischer, “became the name of an epoch in the life of India and of Gandhiji. Non-cooperation was negative enough to be peaceful but positive enough to be effective. It entailed denial, renunciation, and self-discipline. It was training for

What was the Khilafat Movement?

The Khilafat Movement, (1919-1920) was a movement of Indian Muslims, led by Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, that demanded the following: The Turkish Sultan or Khalifa must retain control over the Muslim sacred places in the erstwhile Ottoman empire; the jazirat-ul-Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine) must remain under Muslim sovereignty; and the Khalifa must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith. The Congress supported the movement and Mahatma Gandhi sought to conjoin it to the Non-cooperation Movement.

self-rule." As a consequence of the Non-Cooperation Movement the British Raj was shaken to its foundations for the first time since the Revolt of 1857. Then, in February 1922, a group of peasants attacked and torched a police station in the hamlet of Chauri Chaura, in the United Provinces (now, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand). Several constables perished in the conflagration. This act of violence prompted Gandhiji to call off the movement altogether. "No provocation," he insisted, "can possibly justify (the) brutal murder of men who had been rendered defenceless and who had virtually thrown themselves on the mercy of the mob."

During the Non-Cooperation Movement thousands of Indians were put in jail. Gandhiji himself was arrested in March 1922, and charged with sedition. The judge who presided over his trial, Justice C.N. Broomfield, made a remarkable speech while pronouncing his sentence. "It would be impossible to ignore the fact," remarked the judge, "that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that, in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of even saintly life." Since Gandhiji had violated the law it was obligatory for the Bench to sentence him to six years' imprisonment, but, said Judge Broomfield, "If the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I".

2.2 A people's leader

By 1922, Gandhiji had transformed Indian nationalism, thereby redeeming the promise he made in his BHU speech of February 1916. It was no longer a movement of professionals and intellectuals; now, hundreds of thousands of peasants, workers and artisans also participated in it. Many of them venerated Gandhiji, referring to him as their



*Fig. 11.4
Non-cooperation Movement,
July 1922
Foreign cloth being collected to
be burnt in bonfires.*

“Mahatma”. They appreciated the fact that he dressed like them, lived like them, and spoke their language. Unlike other leaders he did not stand apart from the common folk, but empathised and even identified with them.

This identification was strikingly reflected in his dress: while other nationalist leaders dressed formally, wearing a Western suit or an Indian *bandgala*, Gandhiji went among the people in a simple *dhoti* or loincloth. Meanwhile, he spent part of each day working on the *charkha* (spinning wheel), and encouraged other nationalists to do likewise. The act of spinning allowed Gandhiji to break the boundaries that prevailed within the traditional caste system, between mental labour and manual labour.

In a fascinating study, the historian Shahid Amin has traced the image of Mahatma Gandhi among the peasants of eastern Uttar Pradesh, as conveyed by reports and rumours in the local press. When he travelled through the region in February 1921, Gandhiji was received by adoring crowds everywhere.

*Fig. 11.5
Mahatma Gandhi with the charkha has become the most abiding image of Indian nationalism.*

In 1921, during a tour of South India, Gandhiji shaved his head and began wearing a loincloth in order to identify with the poor. His new appearance also came to symbolise asceticism and abstinence – qualities he celebrated in opposition to the consumerist culture of the modern world.

Source 1

Charkha

Mahatma Gandhi was profoundly critical of the modern age in which machines enslaved humans and displaced labour. He saw the *charkha* as a symbol of a human society that would not glorify machines and technology. The spinning wheel, moreover, could provide the poor with supplementary income and make them self-reliant.



Fig. 11.5

What I object to, is the craze for machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on “saving labour”, till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all; I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of few, but in the hands of all.

YOUNG INDIA, 13 NOVEMBER 1924

Khaddar does not seek to destroy all machinery but it does regulate its use and check its weedy growth. It uses machinery for the service of the poorest in their own cottages. The wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery.

YOUNG INDIA, 17 MARCH 1927

This is how a Hindi newspaper in Gorakhpur reported the atmosphere during his speeches:

At Bhatni Gandhiji addressed the local public and then the train started for Gorakhpur. There were not less than 15,000 to 20,000 people at Nunkhar, Deoria, Gauri Bazar, Chauri Chaura and Kusmhi (stations) ... Mahatmaji was very pleased to witness the scene at Kusmhi, as despite the fact that the station is in the middle of a jungle there were not less than 10,000 people here. Some, overcome with their love, were seen to be crying. At Deoria people wanted to give *bhent* (donations) to Gandhiji, but he asked them to give these at Gorakhpur. But at Chauri Chaura one Marwari gentleman managed to hand over something to him. Then there was no stopping. A sheet was spread and currency notes and coins started raining. It was a sight ... Outside the Gorakhpur station the Mahatma was stood on a high carriage and people had a good darshan of him for a couple of minutes.

Wherever Gandhiji went, rumours spread of his miraculous powers. In some places it was said that he had been sent by the King to redress the grievances of the farmers, and that he had the power to overrule all local officials. In other places it was claimed that Gandhiji's power was superior to that of the English monarch, and that with his arrival the colonial rulers would flee the district. There were also stories reporting dire consequences for those who opposed him; rumours spread of how villagers who criticised Gandhiji found their houses mysteriously falling apart or their crops failing.

Known variously as "Gandhi baba", "Gandhi Maharaj", or simply as "Mahatma", Gandhiji appeared to the Indian peasant as a saviour, who would rescue them from high taxes and oppressive officials and restore dignity and autonomy to their lives. Gandhiji's appeal among the poor, and peasants in particular, was enhanced by his ascetic lifestyle, and by his shrewd use of symbols such as the *dhoti* and the *charkha*. Mahatma Gandhi was by caste a merchant, and by profession a lawyer; but his simple lifestyle and love of working with his hands allowed him to empathise more fully with the labouring poor and for them, in turn, to empathise with him. Where most

Source 2

The miraculous and the unbelievable

Local newspapers in the United Provinces recorded many of the rumours that circulated at that time. There were rumours that every person who wanted to test the power of the Mahatma had been surprised:

1. Sikandar Sahu from a village in Basti said on 15 February that he would believe in the Mahatmaji when the *karah* (boiling pan) full of sugar cane juice in his *karkhana* (where gur was produced) split into two. Immediately the *karah* actually split into two from the middle.

2. A cultivator in Azamgarh said that he would believe in the Mahatmaji's authenticity if sesamum sprouted on his field planted with wheat. Next day all the wheat in that field became sesamum.

contd

Source 2 (contd)

There were rumours that those who opposed Mahatma Gandhi invariably met with some tragedy.

1. A gentleman from Gorakhpur city questioned the need to ply the *charkha*. His house caught fire.

2. In April 1921 some people were gambling in a village of Uttar Pradesh. Someone told them to stop. Only one from amongst the group refused to stop and abused Gandhiji. The next day his goat was bitten by four of his own dogs.

3. In a village in Gorakhpur, the peasants resolved to give up drinking liquor. One person did not keep his promise. As soon as he started for the liquor shop brickbats started to rain in his path. When he spoke the name of Gandhiji the brickbats stopped flying.

FROM SHAHID AMIN, "GANDHI AS MAHATMA", *SUBALTERN STUDIES III*, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, DELHI.

➲ You have read about rumours in Chapter 10 and seen that the circulation of rumours tells us about the structure of the belief of a time: they tell us about the mind of the people who believe in the rumours and the circumstances that make this belief possible. What do you think these rumours about Gandhiji reflect?

other politicians talked down to them, Gandhiji appeared not just to look like them, but to understand them and relate to their lives.

While Mahatma Gandhi's mass appeal was undoubtedly genuine – and in the context of Indian politics, without precedent – it must also be stressed that his success in broadening the basis of nationalism was based on careful organisation. New branches of the Congress were set up in various parts of India. A series of "Praja Mandals" were established to promote the nationalist creed in the princely states. Gandhiji encouraged the communication of the nationalist message in the mother tongue, rather than in the language of the rulers, English. Thus the provincial committees of the Congress were based on linguistic regions, rather than on the artificial boundaries of British India. In these different ways nationalism was taken to the farthest corners of the country and embraced by social groups previously untouched by it.

By now, among the supporters of the Congress were some very prosperous businessmen and industrialists. Indian entrepreneurs were quick to recognise that, in a free India, the favours enjoyed by their British competitors would come to an end. Some of these entrepreneurs, such as G.D. Birla, supported the national movement openly; others did so tacitly. Thus, among Gandhiji's admirers were both poor peasants and rich industrialists, although the reasons why peasants followed Gandhiji were somewhat different from, and perhaps opposed to, the reasons of the industrialists.

While Mahatma Gandhi's own role was vital, the growth of what we might call "Gandhian nationalism" also depended to a very substantial extent on his followers. Between 1917 and 1922, a group of highly talented Indians attached themselves to Gandhiji. They included Mahadev Desai, Vallabh Bhai Patel, J.B. Kripalani, Subhas Chandra Bose, Abul Kalam Azad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Govind Ballabh Pant and C. Rajagopalachari. Notably, these close associates of Gandhiji came from different regions as well as different religious traditions. In turn, they inspired countless other Indians to join the Congress and work for it.

Mahatma Gandhi was released from prison in February 1924, and now chose to devote his attention to the promotion of home-spun cloth (*khadi*), and

the abolition of untouchability. For, Gandhiji was as much a social reformer as he was a politician. He believed that in order to be worthy of freedom, Indians had to get rid of social evils such as child marriage and untouchability. Indians of one faith had also to cultivate a genuine tolerance for Indians of another – hence his emphasis on Hindu-Muslim harmony. Meanwhile, on the economic front Indians had to learn to become self-reliant – hence his stress on the significance of wearing *khadi* rather than mill-made cloth imported from overseas.

3. THE SALT SATYAGRAHA

A CASE STUDY

For several years after the Non-cooperation Movement ended, Mahatma Gandhi focused on his social reform work. In 1928, however, he began to think of re-entering politics. That year there was an all-India campaign in opposition to the all-White Simon Commission, sent from England to enquire into conditions in the colony. Gandhiji did not himself participate in this movement, although he gave it his blessings, as he also did to a peasant satyagraha in Bardoli in the same year.

In the end of December 1929, the Congress held its annual session in the city of Lahore. The meeting was significant for two things: the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as President, signifying the passing of the baton of leadership to the younger generation; and the proclamation of commitment to "Purna Swaraj", or complete independence. Now the pace of politics picked up once more. On 26 January 1930, "Independence Day" was observed, with the national flag being hoisted in different venues, and patriotic songs being sung. Gandhiji himself issued precise instructions as to how the day should be observed. "It would be good," he said, "if the declaration [of Independence] is made by whole villages, whole cities even ... It would be well if all the meetings were held at the identical minute in all the places."

Gandhiji suggested that the time of the meeting be advertised in the traditional way, by the beating of drums. The celebrations would begin with the hoisting of the national flag. The rest of the day would be spent "in doing some constructive work, whether it is spinning, or service of 'untouchables', or reunion of Hindus and Mussalmans, or prohibition work, or even all these

Discuss...

What was Non-cooperation?

Find out about the variety of ways in which different social groups participated in the movement.

together, which is not impossible". Participants would take a pledge affirming that it was "the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil", and that "if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it".

3.1 Dandi

Soon after the observance of this "Independence Day", Mahatma Gandhi announced that he would lead a march to break one of the most widely disliked laws in British India, which gave the state a monopoly in the manufacture and sale of salt. His picking on the salt monopoly was another illustration of Gandhiji's tactical wisdom. For in every Indian household, salt was indispensable; yet people were forbidden from making salt even for domestic use, compelling them to buy it from shops at a high price. The state monopoly over salt was deeply unpopular; by making it his target, Gandhiji hoped to mobilise a wider discontent against British rule.

*Fig. 11.6
On the Dandi March,
March 1930*



Where most Indians understood the significance of Gandhiji's challenge, the British Raj apparently did not. Although Gandhiji had given advance notice of his "Salt March" to the Viceroy Lord Irwin, Irwin failed to grasp the significance of the action. On 12 March 1930, Gandhiji began walking from his ashram at Sabarmati towards the ocean. He reached his destination three weeks later, making a fistful of salt as he did and thereby making himself a criminal in the eyes of the law. Meanwhile, parallel salt marches were being conducted in other parts of the country.

Source 3

Why the Salt Satyagraha?

Why was salt the symbol of protest? This is what Mahatma Gandhi wrote:

The volume of information being gained daily shows how wickedly the salt tax has been designed. In order to prevent the use of salt that has not paid the tax which is at times even fourteen times its value, the Government destroys the salt it cannot sell profitably. Thus it taxes the nation's vital necessity; it prevents the public from manufacturing it and destroys what nature manufactures without effort. No adjective is strong enough for characterising this wicked dog-in-the-manger policy. From various sources I hear tales of such wanton destruction of the nation's property in all parts of India. Maunds if not tons of salt are said to be destroyed on the Konkan coast. The same tale comes from Dandi. Wherever there is likelihood of natural salt being taken away by the people living in the neighbourhood of such areas for their personal use, salt officers are posted for the sole purpose of carrying on destruction. Thus valuable national property is destroyed at national expense and salt taken out of the mouths of the people.

The salt monopoly is thus a fourfold curse. It deprives the people of a valuable easy village industry, involves wanton destruction of property that nature produces in abundance, the destruction itself means more national expenditure, and fourthly, to crown this folly, an unheard-of tax of more than 1,000 per cent is exacted from a starving people.

This tax has remained so long because of the apathy of the general public. Now that it is sufficiently roused, the tax has to go. How soon it will be abolished depends upon the strength the people.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI (CWMG), VOL. 49

➲ Why was salt destroyed by the colonial government? Why did Mahatma Gandhi consider the salt tax more oppressive than other taxes?



*Fig. 11.7
Satyagrahis picking up natural salt at the end of the Dandi March, 6 April 1930*

Source 4

“Tomorrow we shall break the salt tax law”

On 5 April 1930, Mahatma Gandhi spoke at Dandi:

When I left Sabarmati with my companions for this seaside hamlet of Dandi, I was not certain in my mind that we would be allowed to reach this place. Even while I was at Sabarmati there was a rumour that I might be arrested. I had thought that the Government might perhaps let my party come as far as Dandi, but not me certainly. If someone says that this betrays imperfect faith on my part, I shall not deny the charge. That I have reached here is in no small measure due to the power of peace and non-violence: that power is universally felt. The Government may, if it wishes, congratulate itself on acting as it has done, for it could have arrested every one of us. In saying that it did not have the courage to arrest this army of peace, we praise it. It felt ashamed to arrest such an army. He is a civilised man who feels ashamed to do anything which his neighbours would disapprove. The Government deserves to be congratulated on not arresting us, even if it desisted only from fear of world opinion.

Tomorrow we shall break the salt tax law. Whether the Government will tolerate that is a different question. It may not tolerate it, but it deserves congratulations on the patience and forbearance it has displayed in regard to this party. ...

What if I and all the eminent leaders in Gujarat and in the rest of the country are arrested? This movement is based on the faith that when a whole nation is roused and on the march no leader is necessary.

CWMG, VOL. 49

➲ What does the speech tell us about how Gandhiji saw the colonial state?

As with Non-cooperation, apart from the officially sanctioned nationalist campaign, there were numerous other streams of protest. Across large parts of India, peasants breached the hated colonial forest laws that kept them and their cattle out of the woods in which they had once roamed freely. In some towns, factory workers went on strike while lawyers boycotted British courts and students refused to attend government-run educational institutions. As in 1920-22, now too Gandhiji's call had encouraged Indians of all classes to manifest their own discontent with colonial rule. The rulers responded by detaining the dissenters. In the wake of the Salt March, nearly 60,000 Indians were arrested, among them, of course, Gandhiji himself.

The progress of Gandhiji's march to the seashore can be traced from the secret reports filed by the police officials deputed to monitor his movements. These reproduce the speeches he gave at the villages en route, in which he called upon local officials to renounce government employment and join the freedom struggle. In one village,

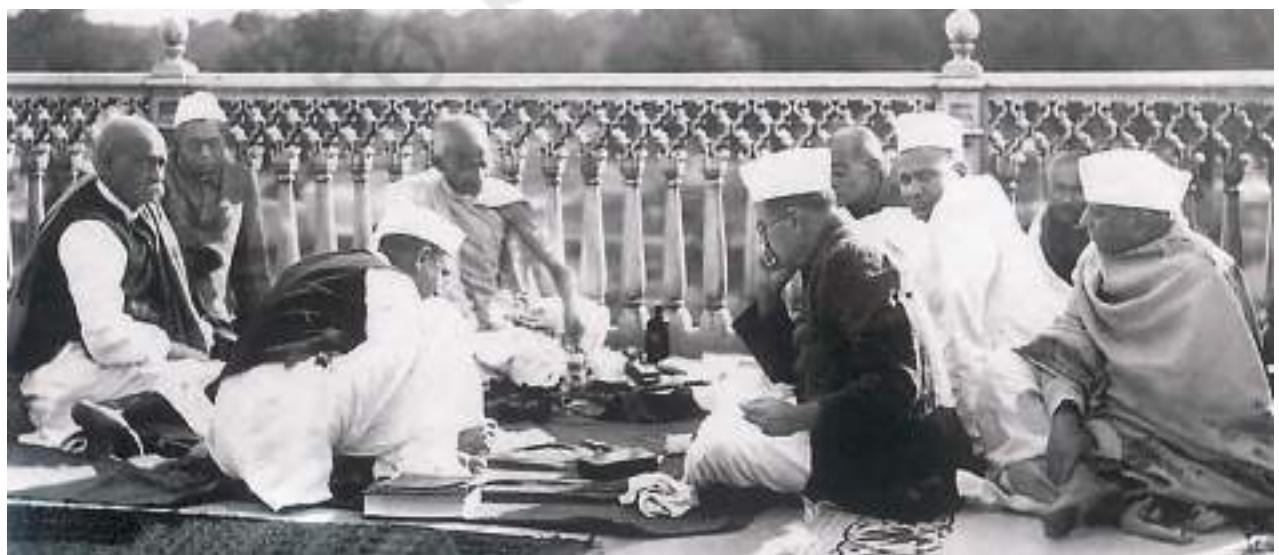
Wasna, Gandhiji told the upper castes that "if you are out for Swaraj you must serve untouchables. You won't get Swaraj merely by the repeal of the salt taxes or other taxes. For Swaraj you must make amends for the wrongs which you did to the untouchables. For Swaraj, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Sikhs will have to unite. These are the steps towards Swaraj." The police spies reported that Gandhiji's meetings were very well attended, by villagers of all castes, and by women as well as men. They observed that thousands of volunteers were flocking to the nationalist cause. Among them were many officials, who had resigned from their posts with the colonial government. Writing to the government, the District Superintendent of Police remarked, "Mr Gandhi appeared calm and collected. He is gathering more strength as he proceeds."

The progress of the Salt March can also be traced from another source: the American newsmagazine, *Time*. This, to begin with, scorned at Gandhiji's looks, writing with disdain of his "spindly frame" and his "spidery loins". Thus in its first report on the march, *Time* was deeply sceptical of the Salt March reaching its destination. It claimed that Gandhiji "sank to the ground" at the end of the second day's walking; the magazine did not believe that "the emaciated saint would be physically able to go much further". But within a week it had changed its mind. The massive popular following that the march had garnered, wrote *Time*, had made the British rulers "desperately anxious". Gandhiji himself they now

Fig. 11.8

After Mahatma Gandhi's release from prison in January 1931, Congress leaders met at Allahabad to plan the future course of action.

You can see (from right to left) Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamnalal Bajaj, Subhas Chandra Bose, Gandhiji, Mahadev Desai (in front), Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel.



The problem with separate electorates

At the Round Table Conference Mahatma Gandhi stated his arguments against separate electorates for the Depressed Classes:

Separate electorates to the "Untouchables" will ensure them bondage in perpetuity ... Do you want the "Untouchables" to remain "Untouchables" for ever? Well, the separate electorates would perpetuate the stigma. What is needed is destruction of "Untouchability", and when you have done it, the bar-sinister, which has been imposed by an insolent "superior" class upon an "inferior" class will be destroyed. When you have destroyed the bar-sinister to whom will you give the separate electorates?

saluted as a "Saint" and "Statesman", who was using "Christian acts as a weapon against men with Christian beliefs".

3.2 Dialogues

The Salt March was notable for at least three reasons. First, it was this event that first brought Mahatma Gandhi to world attention. The march was widely covered by the European and American press. Second, it was the first nationalist activity in which women participated in large numbers. The socialist activist Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay had persuaded Gandhiji not to restrict the protests to men alone. Kamaladevi was herself one of numerous women who courted arrest by breaking the salt or liquor laws. Third, and perhaps most significant, it was the Salt March which forced upon the British the realisation that their Raj would not last forever, and that they would have to devolve some power to the Indians.

To that end, the British government convened a series of "Round Table Conferences" in London. The first meeting was held in November 1930, but without the pre-eminent political leader in India, thus rendering it an exercise in futility. Gandhiji was released from jail in January 1931 and the following month had several long meetings with the Viceroy. These culminated in what was called the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact", by the terms of which civil disobedience would be called off, all prisoners released, and salt manufacture allowed along the coast. The pact was criticised by radical nationalists, for Gandhiji was unable to obtain from the Viceroy a commitment to political independence for Indians; he could obtain merely an assurance of talks towards that possible end.

A second Round Table Conference was held in London in the latter part of 1931. Here, Gandhiji represented the Congress. However, his claims that his party represented all of India came under challenge from three parties: from the Muslim League, which claimed to stand for the interests of the Muslim minority; from the Princes, who claimed that the Congress had no stake in their territories; and from the brilliant lawyer and thinker B.R. Ambedkar, who argued that Gandhiji and the Congress did not really represent the lowest castes.

The Conference in London was inconclusive, so Gandhiji returned to India and resumed civil disobedience. The new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, was deeply unsympathetic to the Indian leader. In a private

Source 6

Ambedkar on separate electorates

In response to Mahatma Gandhi's opposition to the demand for separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, Ambedkar wrote:

Here is a class which is undoubtedly not in a position to sustain itself in the struggle for existence. The religion, to which they are tied, instead of providing them an honourable place, brands them as lepers, not fit for ordinary intercourse. Economically, it is a class entirely dependent upon the high-caste Hindus for earning its daily bread with no independent way of living open to it. Nor are all ways closed by reason of the social prejudices of the Hindus but there is a definite attempt all through our Hindu Society to bolt every possible door so as not to allow the Depressed Classes any opportunity to rise in the scale of life.

In these circumstances, it would be granted by all fair-minded persons that as the only path for a community so handicapped to succeed in the struggle for life against organised tyranny, some share of political power in order that it may protect itself is a paramount necessity ...

FROM DR BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR,
“WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI
HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES”,
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES, VOL. 9, P. 312



Fig. 11.9

At the Second Round Table Conference, London, November 1931
Mahatma Gandhi opposed the demand for separate electorates for “lower castes”. He believed that this would prevent their integration into mainstream society and permanently segregate them from other caste Hindus.

letter to his sister, Willingdon wrote: “It’s a beautiful world if it wasn’t for Gandhi ... At the bottom of every move he makes which he always says is inspired by God, one discovers the political manouevre. I see the American Press is saying what a wonderful man he is ... But the fact is that we live in the midst of very unpractical, mystical, and superstitious folk who look upon Gandhi as something holy, ...”

In 1935, however, a new Government of India Act promised some form of representative government. Two years later, in an election held on the basis of a restricted franchise, the Congress won a comprehensive victory. Now eight out of 11 provinces had a Congress “Prime Minister”, working under the supervision of a British Governor.

In September 1939, two years after the Congress ministries assumed office, the Second World War broke out. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had both been strongly critical of Hitler and the Nazis. Accordingly, they promised Congress support to the war effort if the British, in return, promised to grant India independence once hostilities ended.

Fig. 11.10

Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad on their way to a meeting with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, 13 October 1939

In the meeting the nature of India's involvement in the War was discussed. When negotiations with the Viceroy broke down, the Congress ministries resigned.



Fig. 11.11

Mahatma Gandhi with Stafford Cripps, March 1942



The offer was refused. In protest, the Congress ministries resigned in October 1939. Through 1940 and 1941, the Congress organised a series of individual satyagrahas to pressure the rulers to promise freedom once the war had ended.

Meanwhile, in March 1940, the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding a measure of autonomy for the Muslim-majority areas of the subcontinent. The political landscape was now becoming complicated: it was no longer Indians versus the British; rather, it had become a three-way struggle between the Congress, the Muslim League, and the British. At this time Britain had an all-party government, whose Labour members were sympathetic to Indian aspirations, but whose Conservative Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, was a diehard imperialist who insisted that he had not been appointed the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. In the spring of 1942, Churchill was persuaded to send one of his ministers, Sir Stafford Cripps, to India to try and forge a compromise with Gandhiji and the Congress. Talks broke down, however, after the Congress insisted that if it was to help the British defend India from the Axis powers, then the Viceroy had first to appoint an Indian as the Defence Member of his Executive Council.

➲ Discuss...

Read Sources 5 and 6. Write an imaginary dialogue between Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi on the issue of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes.

4. QUIT INDIA

After the failure of the Cripps Mission, Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch his third major movement against British rule. This was the “Quit India” campaign, which began in August 1942. Although Gandhiji was jailed at once, younger activists organised strikes and acts of sabotage all over the country. Particularly active in the underground resistance were socialist members of the Congress, such as Jayaprakash Narayan. In several districts, such as Satara in the west and Medinipur in the east, “independent” governments were proclaimed. The British responded with much force, yet it took more than a year to suppress the rebellion.

“Quit India” was genuinely a *mass* movement, bringing into its ambit hundreds of thousands of ordinary Indians. It especially energised the young who, in very large numbers, left their colleges to go to jail. However, while the Congress leaders languished in jail, Jinnah and his colleagues in the Muslim League worked patiently at expanding their influence. It was in these years that the League began to make a mark in the Punjab and Sind, provinces where it had previously had scarcely any presence.

In June 1944, with the end of the war in sight, Gandhiji was released from prison. Later that year

Satara, 1943

From the late nineteenth century, a non-Brahman movement, which opposed the caste system and landlordism, had developed in Maharashtra. This movement established links with the national movement by the 1930s.

In 1943, some of the younger leaders in the Satara district of Maharashtra set up a parallel government (*prati sarkar*), with volunteer corps (*seba dals*) and village units (*tufan dals*). They ran people's courts and organised constructive work. Dominated by *kunbi* peasants and supported by dalits, the Satara *prati sarkar* functioned till the elections of 1946, despite government repression and, in the later stages, Congress disapproval.



*Fig. 11.12
Women's procession in
Bombay during the
Quit India Movement*

he held a series of meetings with Jinnah, seeking to bridge the gap between the Congress and the League. In 1945, a Labour government came to power in Britain and committed itself to granting independence to India. Meanwhile, back in India, the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, brought the Congress and the League together for a series of talks.

Early in 1946 fresh elections were held to the provincial legislatures. The Congress swept the “General” category, but in the seats specifically reserved for Muslims the League won an overwhelming majority. The political polarisation was complete. A Cabinet Mission sent in the summer of 1946 failed to get the Congress and the League to agree on a federal system that would keep India together while allowing the provinces a degree of autonomy. After the talks broke down, Jinnah called for a “Direct Action Day” to press the League’s demand for Pakistan. On the designated day, 16 August 1946, bloody riots broke out in Calcutta. The violence spread to rural Bengal, then to Bihar, and then across the country to the United Provinces and the Punjab. In some places, Muslims were the main sufferers, in other places, Hindus.

In February 1947, Wavell was replaced as Viceroy by Lord Mountbatten. Mountbatten called one last round of talks, but when these too

proved inconclusive he announced that British India would be freed, but also divided. The formal transfer of power was fixed for 15 August. When that day came, it was celebrated with gusto in different parts of India. In Delhi, there was “prolonged applause” when the President of the Constituent Assembly began the meeting by invoking the Father of the Nation – Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Outside the Assembly, the crowds shouted “Mahatma Gandhi ki jai”.

*Fig. 11.13
Mahatma Gandhi conferring with Jawaharlal Nehru (on his right) and Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel (on his left). Nehru and Patel represented two distinct political tendencies within the Congress – the socialist and the conservative. Mahatma Gandhi had to often mediate between these groups.*



5. THE LAST HEROIC DAYS

As it happened, Mahatma Gandhi was not present at the festivities in the capital on 15 August 1947. He was in Calcutta, but he did not attend any function or hoist a flag there either. Gandhiji marked the day with a 24-hour fast. The freedom he had struggled so long for had come at an unacceptable price, with a nation divided and Hindus and Muslims at each other's throats.

Through September and October, writes his biographer D.G. Tendulkar, Gandhiji "went round hospitals and refugee camps giving consolation to distressed people". He "appealed to the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims to forget the past and not to dwell on their sufferings but to extend the right hand of fellowship to each other, and to determine to live in peace ..."

At the initiative of Gandhiji and Nehru, the Congress now passed a resolution on "the rights of minorities". The party had never accepted the "two-nation theory": forced against its will to accept Partition, it still believed that "India is a land of many religions and many races, and must remain so". Whatever be the situation in Pakistan, India would be "a democratic secular State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong". The Congress wished to "assure the minorities in India that it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizen rights against aggression".

Many scholars have written of the months after Independence as being Gandhiji's "finest hour". After working to bring peace to Bengal, Gandhiji now shifted to Delhi, from where he hoped to move on to the riot-torn districts of Punjab. While in the capital, his meetings were disrupted by refugees who objected to readings from the Koran, or shouted slogans asking why he did not speak of the sufferings of those Hindus and Sikhs still living in Pakistan. In fact, as D.G. Tendulkar writes, Gandhiji "was equally concerned with the sufferings of the minority community in Pakistan. He would have liked to be able to go to their succour. But with

*Fig. 11.14
On the way to a riot-torn village, 1947*





Fig. 11.15

The death of the Mahatma, a popular print

In popular representations, Mahatma Gandhi was deified, and shown as the unifying force within the national movement. Here you can see Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel, representing two strands within the Congress, standing on two sides of Gandhiji's pyre. Blessing them both from a heavenly realm, is Mahatma Gandhi, at the centre.

what face could he now go there, when he could not guarantee full redress to the Muslims in Delhi?"

There was an attempt on Gandhiji's life on 20 January 1948, but he carried on undaunted. On 26 January, he spoke at his prayer meeting of how that day had been celebrated in the past as Independence Day. Now freedom had come, but its first few months had been deeply disillusioning. However, he trusted that "the worst is over", that Indians would henceforth work collectively for the "equality of all classes and creeds, never the domination and superiority of the major community over a minor, however insignificant it may be in numbers or influence". He also permitted himself the hope "that though geographically and politically India is divided into two, at heart we shall ever be friends and brothers helping and respecting one another and be one for the outside world".

Gandhiji had fought a lifelong battle for a free and united India; and yet, when the country was divided, he urged that the two parts respect and befriend one another.

Other Indians were less forgiving. At his daily prayer meeting on the evening of 30 January, Gandhiji was shot dead by a young man. The assassin, who surrendered afterwards, was Nathuram Godse.

Gandhiji's death led to an extraordinary outpouring of grief, with rich tributes being paid to him from across the political spectrum in India, and moving appreciations coming from such international figures as George Orwell and Albert Einstein. *Time* magazine, which had once mocked Gandhiji's physical size and seemingly non-rational ideas, now compared his martyrdom to that of Abraham Lincoln: it was a bigoted American who had killed Lincoln for believing that human beings were equal regardless of their race or skin colour; and it was a bigoted Hindu who had killed Gandhiji for believing that friendship was possible, indeed necessary, between Indians of different faiths. In this respect, as *Time* wrote, "The world knew that it had, in a sense too deep, too simple for the world to understand, connived at his (Gandhiji's) death as it had connived at Lincoln's."

6. KNOWING GANDHI

There are many different kinds of sources from which we can reconstruct the political career of Gandhiji and the history of the nationalist movement.

6.1 Public voice and private scripts

One important source is the writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi and his contemporaries, including both his associates and his political adversaries. Within these writings we need to distinguish between those that were meant for the public and those that were not. Speeches, for instance, allow us to hear the public voice of an individual, while private letters give us a glimpse of his or her private thoughts. In letters we see people expressing their anger and pain, their dismay and anxiety, their hopes and frustrations in ways in which they may not express themselves in public statements. But we must remember that this private-public distinction often breaks down. Many letters are written to individuals, and are therefore personal, but they are also meant for the public. The language of the letters is often shaped by the awareness that they may one day be published. Conversely, the fear that a letter may get into print often prevents people from expressing their opinion freely in personal letters. Mahatma Gandhi regularly published in his journal, *Harijan*, letters that others wrote to him. Nehru edited a collection of letters written to him during the national movement and published *A Bunch of Old Letters*.

Source 7

One event through letters

In the 1920s, Jawaharlal Nehru was increasingly influenced by socialism, and he returned from Europe in 1928 deeply impressed with the Soviet Union. As he began working closely with the socialists (Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Dev, N.G. Ranga and others), a rift developed between the socialists and the conservatives within the Congress. After becoming the Congress President in 1936, Nehru spoke passionately against fascism, and upheld the demands of workers and peasants.

Worried by Nehru's socialist rhetoric, the conservatives, led by Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel, threatened to resign from the Working Committee, and some prominent industrialists in Bombay issued a statement attacking Nehru. Both Prasad and Nehru turned to Mahatma Gandhi and met him at his ashram at Wardha. The latter acted as the mediator, as he often did, restraining Nehru's radicalism and persuading Prasad and others to see the significance of Nehru's leadership.

In *A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1958, Nehru reprinted many of the letters that were exchanged at the time.

Read the extracts in the following pages.

Source 7 (contd)

From A Bunch of Old Letters

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Wardha, July 1, 1936

Since we parted yesterday we have had a long conversation with Mahatmaji and a prolonged consultation among ourselves. We understand that you have felt much hurt by the course of action taken by us and particularly the tone of our letter has caused you much pain. It was never our intention either to embarrass you or to hurt you and if you had suggested or indicated that it hurt you we would have without the least hesitation amended or altered the letter. But we have decided to withdraw it and our resignation on a reconsideration of the whole situation.

We have felt that in all your utterances as published in the Press you have been speaking not so much on the general Congress programme as on a topic which has not been accepted by the Congress and in doing so you have been acting more as the mouthpiece of the minority of our colleagues on the Working Committee as also on the Congress than the mouthpiece of the majority which we expected you as Congress President to do.

There is regular continuous campaign against us treating us as persons whose time is over, who represent and stand for ideas that are worn out and that have no present value, who are only obstructing the progress of the country and who deserve to be cast out of the positions which they undeservedly hold ... we have felt that a great injustice has been and is being done to us by others, and we are not receiving the protection we are entitled from you as our colleague and as our President ...

*Yours sincerely
Rajendra Prasad*

My Dear Bapu,

Allahabad, July 5, 1936

I arrived here last night. Ever since I left Wardha I have been feeling weak in body and troubled in mind.

... Since my return from Europe, I found that meetings of the Working Committee exhaust me greatly; they have a devitalising effect on me and I have almost the feeling of being older in years after every fresh experience ...

I am grateful to you for all the trouble you took in smoothing over matters and in helping to avoid a crisis.

I read again Rajendra Babu's letter to me (the second one) and his formidable indictment of me ...

For however tenderly the fact may be stated, it amounts to this that I am an intolerable nuisance and the very qualities I possess – a measure of ability, energy, earnestness, some personality which has a vague appeal – become dangerous for they are harnessed to the wrong chariot (socialism). The conclusion from all this is obvious.

I have written at length, both in my book and subsequently, about my present ideas. There is no lack of material for me to be judged. Those views are not casual. They are part of me, and though I might change them or vary them in future, so long as I hold them I must give expression to them. Because I attached importance to a larger unity I tried to express them in the mildest way possible and more as an invitation to thought than as fixed conclusions. I saw no conflict in this approach and in anything that the Congress was doing. So far as the elections were concerned I felt that my approach was a definite asset to us as it enthused the masses. But my approach, mild and vague as it was, is considered dangerous and harmful by my colleagues. I was even told that my laying stress always on the poverty and unemployment in India was unwise, or at any rate the way I did it was wrong ...

You told me that you intended issuing some kind of a statement. I shall welcome this for I believe in every viewpoint being placed before the country.

*Yours affectionately
Jawaharlal*

Source 7 (contd)

Segaon, July 15, 1936

Dear Jawaharlal,

Your letter is touching. You feel the most injured party. The fact is that your colleagues have lacked your courage and frankness. The result has been disastrous. I have always pleaded with them to speak to you freely and fearlessly. But having lacked the courage, whenever they have spoken they have done it clumsily and you have felt irritated. I tell you they have dreaded you, because of your irritability and impatience with them. They have chafed under your rebukes and magisterial manner and above all your arrogance of what has appeared to them your infallibility and superior knowledge. They feel you have treated them with scant courtesy and never defended them from socialist ridicule and even misrepresentation.

I have looked at the whole affair as a tragic-comedy. I would therefore like you to look at the whole thing in a lighter vein.

I suggested your name for the crown of thorns (Presidency of the Congress). Keep it on, though the head be bruised. Resume your humour at the committee meetings. That is your most usual role, not that of care-worn, irritable man ready to burst on the slightest occasion.

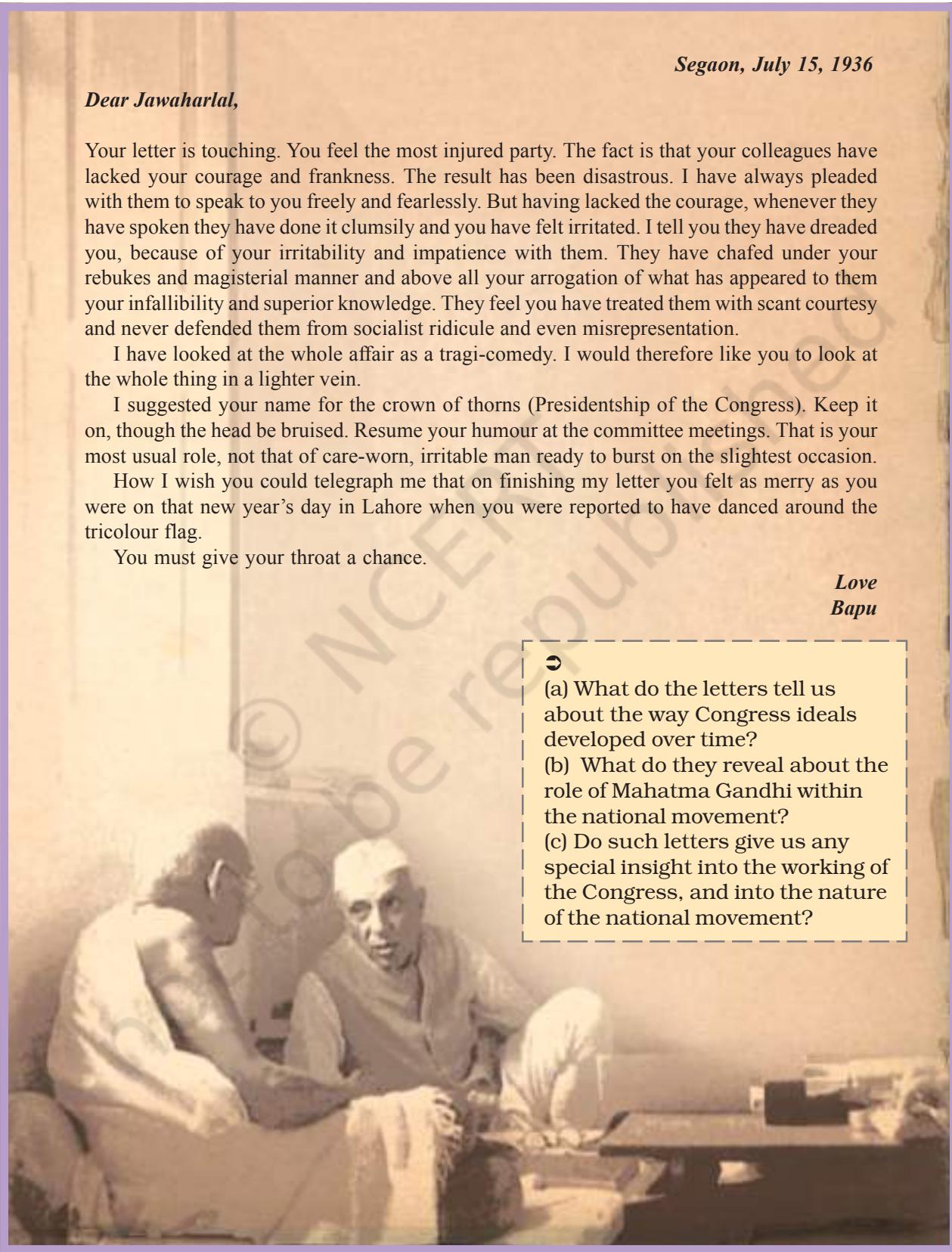
How I wish you could telegraph me that on finishing my letter you felt as merry as you were on that new year's day in Lahore when you were reported to have danced around the tricolour flag.

You must give your throat a chance.

*Love
Bapu*



- (a) What do the letters tell us about the way Congress ideals developed over time?
- (b) What do they reveal about the role of Mahatma Gandhi within the national movement?
- (c) Do such letters give us any special insight into the working of the Congress, and into the nature of the national movement?



6.2 Framing a picture

Autobiographies similarly give us an account of the past that is often rich in human detail. But here again we have to be careful of the way we read and interpret autobiographies. We need to remember that they are retrospective accounts written very often from memory. They tell us what the author could recollect, what he or she saw as important, or was keen on recounting, or how a person wanted his or her life to be viewed by others. Writing an autobiography is a way of framing a picture of yourself. So in reading these accounts we have to try and see what the author does not tell us; we need to understand the reasons for that silence – those wilful or unwitting acts of forgetting.

6.3 Through police eyes

Another vital source is government records, for the colonial rulers kept close tabs on those they regarded as critical of the government. The letters and reports written by policemen and other officials were secret at the time; but now can be accessed in archives.

Let us look at one such source: the fortnightly reports that were prepared by the Home Department from the early twentieth century. These reports were based on police information from the localities, but often expressed what the higher officials saw, or wanted to believe. While noticing the possibility of sedition and rebellion, they liked to assure themselves that these fears were unwarranted.

If you see the Fortnightly Reports for the period of the Salt March you will notice that the Home Department was unwilling to accept that Mahatma Gandhi's actions had evoked any enthusiastic response from the masses. The march was seen as a drama, an antic, a desperate effort to mobilise people who were unwilling to rise against the British and were busy with their daily schedules, happy under the Raj.

*Fig. 11.16
Police clash with Congress
volunteers in Bombay during the
Civil Disobedience Movement.*

➲ Can you see any conflict between this image and what was reported in the Fortnightly Reports of the police?



Source 8

Fortnightly Reports of the Home Department (Confidential)

FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1930

The rapid political developments in Gujarat are being closely watched here. To what extent and in what directions they will affect political condition in this province, it is difficult to surmise at present. The peasantry is for the moment engaged in harvesting a good rabi; students are pre-occupied with their impending examinations.

Central Provinces and Berar

The arrest of Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel caused little excitement, except in Congress circles, but a meeting organised by the Nagpur Nagar Congress Committee to congratulate Gandhi on the start of his march was attended by a crowd of over 3000 people at Nagpur.

Bengal

The outstanding event of the past fortnight has been the start of Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience. Mr. J.M. Sengupta has formed an All-Bengal Civil Disobedience Council, and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has formed an All Bengal Council of Disobedience. But beyond forming councils no active steps have yet been taken in the matter of civil disobedience in Bengal.

The reports from the districts show that the meetings that have been held excite little or no interest and leave no profound impression on the general population. It is noticeable, however, that ladies are attending these meetings in increasing numbers.

Bihar and Orissa

There is still little to report regarding Congress activity. There is a good deal of talk about a campaign to withhold payment of the chaukidari tax, but no area has yet been selected for experiment. The arrest of Gandhi is being

foretold freely but it seems quite possible that nonfulfilment of the forecast is upsetting plans.

Madras

The opening of Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign has completely overshadowed all other issues. General opinion inclines to regard his march as theatrical and his programme as impracticable, but as he is held in such personal reverence by the Hindu public generally, the possibility of arrest which he seems deliberately to be courting and its effect on the political situation are viewed with considerable misgiving.

The 12th of March was celebrated as the day of inaugurating the civil disobedience campaign. In Bombay the celebrations took the form of saluting the national flag in the morning.

Bombay

Press *Kesari* indulged in offensive language and in its usual attitude of blowing hot and cold wrote: "If the Government wants to test the power of Satyagraha, both its action and inaction will cause injury to it. If it arrests Gandhi it will incur the discontent of the nation; if it does not do that, the movement of civil disobedience will go on spreading. We therefore say that if the Government punishes Mr. Gandhi the nation will have won a victory, and if it lets him alone it will have won a still greater victory."

On the other hand the moderate paper *Vividh Vritt* pointed out the futility of the movement and opined that it could not achieve the end in view. It, however, reminded the government that repression would defeat its purpose.

contd

Source 8 (*contd*)

FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MARCH 1930

Bengal

Interest has continued to centre round Gandhi's march to the sea and the arrangements which he is making to initiate a campaign of civil disobedience. The extremist papers report his doings and speeches at great length and make a great display of the various meetings that are being held throughout Bengal and the resolutions passed thereat. But there is little enthusiasm for the form of civil disobedience favoured by Gandhi ...

Generally people are waiting to see what happens to Gandhi and the probability is that if any action is taken against him, a spark will be set to much inflammable material in Bengal. But the prospect of any serious conflagration is at present slight.

Central Provinces and Berar

In Nagpur these meetings were well attended and most of the schools and colleges were deserted on the 12th March to mark the inauguration of Gandhi's march.

The boycott of liquor shops and the infringement of forest laws appear to be the most probable line of attack.

Punjab

It seems not improbable that organised attempts will be made to break the Salt Law in the Jhelum district; that the agitation relating to the non-payment of the water-tax in Multan will be revived; and that some movement in connection with the National Flag will be started probably at Gujranwala.

United Provinces

Political activity has undoubtedly intensified during the last fortnight. The Congress party feels that it must do something spectacular to sustain public interest. Enrolment of volunteers, propaganda in villages, preparations for breaking

the salt laws on receipt of Mr. Gandhi's orders are reported from a number of districts.

FOR THE FIRST HALF OF APRIL 1930

United Provinces

Events have moved rapidly during the fortnight. Apart from political meetings, processions and the enrolment of volunteers, the Salt Act has been openly defied at Agra, Cawnpore, Benaras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Meerut, Rae Bareli, Farukhabad, Etawah, Ballia and Mainpuri.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested at Cheoki railway station early on the morning of April 14 as he was proceeding to the Central Provinces to attend a meeting of Youth League. He was at once taken direct to Naini Central Jail, where he was tried and sentenced to six months simple imprisonment.

Bihar and Orissa

There have been, or are now materialising, spectacular, but small-scale, attempts at illicit salt manufacture in a few places ...

Central Provinces

In Jubbalpore Seth Govinddass has attempted to manufacture chemical salt at a cost many times in excess of the market price of clean salt.

Madras

Considerable opposition was shown at Vizagapatam to the Police when they attempted to seize salt made by boiling sea water, but elsewhere resistance to the seizure of illicit salt has been half hearted.

Bengal

In the mufassal efforts have been made to manufacture illicit salt, the main operation areas being the districts of 24-Parganas and Midnapore.

Very little salt has actually been manufactured and most of it has been confiscated and the utensils in which it was manufactured destroyed.

➲ Read the Fortnightly Reports carefully. Remember they are extracts from confidential reports of the colonial Home Department. These reports did not always accept what the police reported from different localities.

- (1) How do you think the nature of the source affects what is being said in these reports? Write a short note illustrating your argument with quotations from the above text.
- (2) Why do you think the Home Department was continuously reporting on what people thought about the possibility of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest? Reread what Gandhiji said about the question of arrests in his speech on 5 April 1930 at Dandi.
- (3) Why do you think Mahatma Gandhi was not arrested?
- (4) Why do you think the Home Department continued to say that the march was not evoking any response?

6.4 From newspapers

One more important source is contemporary newspapers, published in English as well as in the different Indian languages, which tracked Mahatma Gandhi's movements and reported on his activities, and also represented what ordinary Indians thought of him. Newspaper accounts, however, should not be seen as unprejudiced. They were published by people who had their own political opinions and world views. These ideas shaped what was published and the way events were reported. The accounts that were published in a London newspaper would be different from the report in an Indian nationalist paper.

We need to look at these reports but should be careful while interpreting them. Every statement made in these cannot be accepted literally as representing what was happening on the ground. They often reflect the fears and anxieties of officials who were unable to control a movement and were anxious about its spread. They did not know whether to arrest Mahatma Gandhi or what an arrest would mean. The more the colonial state kept a watch on the public and its activities, the more it worried about the basis of its rule.

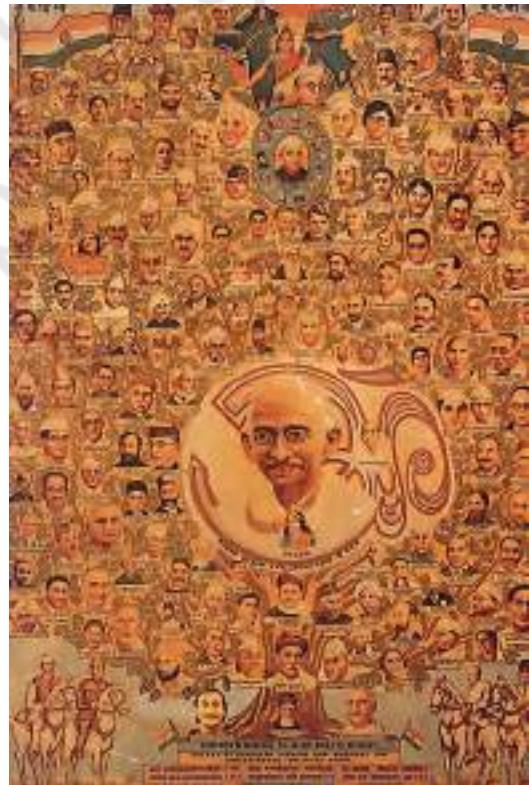


Fig. 11.17

Pictures like this reveal how Mahatma Gandhi was perceived by people and represented in popular prints

Within the tree of nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi appears as the looming central figure surrounded by small images of other leaders and sages.

TIMELINE

1915	Mahatma Gandhi returns from South Africa
1917	Champaran movement
1918	Peasant movements in Kheda (Gujarat), and workers' movement in Ahmedabad
1919	Rowlatt Satyagraha (March-April)
1919	Jallianwala Bagh massacre (April)
1921	Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements
1928	Peasant movement in Bardoli
1929	"Purna Swaraj" accepted as Congress goal at the Lahore Congress (December)
1930	Civil Disobedience Movement begins; Dandi March (March-April)
1931	Gandhi-Irwin Pact (March); Second Round Table Conference (December)
1935	Government of India Act promises some form of representative government
1939	Congress ministries resign
1942	Quit India Movement begins (August)
1946	Mahatma Gandhi visits Noakhali and other riot-torn areas to stop communal violence



ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

1. How did Mahatma Gandhi seek to identify with the common people?
2. How was Mahatma Gandhi perceived by the peasants?
3. Why did the salt laws become an important issue of struggle?
4. Why are newspapers an important source for the study of the national movement?
5. Why was the *charkha* chosen as a symbol of nationalism?



WRITE A SHORT ESSAY (250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:

6. How was non-cooperation a form of protest?
7. Why were the dialogues at the Round Table Conference inconclusive?
8. In what way did Mahatma Gandhi transform the nature of the national movement?
9. What do private letters and autobiographies tell us about an individual? How are these sources different from official accounts?



MAP WORK

10. Find out about the route of the Dandi March. On a map of Gujarat plot the line of the march and mark the major towns and villages that it passed along the route.



PROJECT (CHOOSE ONE)

11. Read any two autobiographies of nationalist leaders. Look at the different ways in which the authors represent their own life and times, and interpret the national movement. See how their views differ. Write an account based on your studies.
12. Choose any event that took place during the national movement. Try and read the letters and speeches of the leaders of the time. Some of these are now published. He could be a local leader from the region where you live. Try and see how the local leaders viewed the activities of the national leadership at the top. Write about the movement based on your reading.



If you would like to know more, read:

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay. 2004. *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. Orient Longman, New Delhi.

Sarvepalli Gopal. 1975. *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography, Volume I, 1889-1947*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

David Hardiman. 2003. *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*. Permanent Black, New Delhi.

Gyanendra Pandey. 1978. *The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh, 1926-34*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Sumit Sarkar. 1983. *Modern India, 1885-1947*. Macmillan, New Delhi.



You could visit:

[http://www.gandhiserve.org/
cwmg/cwmg.html](http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/cwmg.html)

(for Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi)



THEME TWELVE

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA

The Indian Constitution, which came into effect on 26 January 1950, has the dubious distinction of being the longest in the world. But its length and complexity are perhaps understandable when one considers the country's size and diversity. At Independence, India was not merely large and diverse, but also deeply divided. A Constitution designed to keep the country together, and to take it forward, had necessarily to be an elaborate, carefully-worked-out, and painstakingly drafted document. For one thing, it sought to heal wounds of the past and the present, to make Indians of different classes, castes and communities come together in a shared political experiment. For another, it sought to nurture democratic institutions in what had long been a culture of hierarchy and deference.

The Constitution of India was framed between December 1946 and November 1949. During this time its drafts were discussed clause by clause in the Constituent Assembly of India. In all, the Assembly



*Fig. 12.1
The Constitution was signed in December 1949 after three years of debate.*

held eleven sessions, with sittings spread over 165 days. In between the sessions, the work of revising and refining the drafts was carried out by various committees and sub-committees.

From your political science textbooks you know what the Constitution of India is, and you have seen how it has worked over the decades since Independence. This chapter will introduce you to the history that lies behind the Constitution, and the intense debates that were part of its making. If we try and hear the voices within the Constituent Assembly, we get an idea of the process through which the Constitution was framed and the vision of the new nation formulated.

1. A TUMULTUOUS TIME

The years immediately preceding the making of the Constitution had been exceptionally tumultuous: a time of great hope, but also of abject disappointment. On 15 August 1947, India had been made free, but it had also been divided. Fresh in popular memory were the Quit India struggle of 1942 – perhaps the most widespread popular movement against the British Raj – as well as the bid by Subhas Chandra Bose to win freedom through armed struggle with foreign aid. An even more recent upsurge had also evoked much popular sympathy – this was the rising of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay and other cities in the spring of 1946. Through the late 1940s there were periodic, if scattered, mass protests of workers and peasants in different parts of the country.

One striking feature of these popular upsurges was the degree of Hindu-Muslim unity they manifested. In contrast, the two leading Indian political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, had repeatedly failed to arrive at a settlement that would bring about religious reconciliation and social harmony. The Great Calcutta Killings of August 1946 began a year of almost continuous rioting across northern and eastern India (see Chapter 11). The violence culminated in the massacres that accompanied the transfer of populations when the Partition of India was announced.

On Independence Day, 15 August 1947, there was an outburst of joy and hope, unforgettable for those who lived through that time. But innumerable Muslims in India, and Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan, were now faced with a cruel choice – the threat of



*Fig. 12.2
Images of desolation and destruction continued to haunt members of the Constituent Assembly.*

Fig. 12.3

Jawaharlal Nehru speaking in the Constituent Assembly at midnight on 14 August 1947

It was on this day that Nehru gave his famous speech that began with the following lines: "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."



sudden death or the squeezing of opportunities on the one side, and a forcible tearing away from their age-old roots on the other. Millions of refugees were on the move, Muslims into East and West Pakistan, Hindus and Sikhs into West Bengal and the eastern half of the Punjab. Many perished before they reached their destination.

Another, and scarcely less serious, problem faced by the new nation was that of the princely states. During the period of the Raj, approximately one-third of the area of the subcontinent was under the control of nawabs and maharajas who owed allegiance to the British Crown, but were otherwise left mostly free to rule – or misrule – their territory as they wished. When the British left India, the constitutional status of these princes remained ambiguous. As one contemporary observer remarked, some maharajas now began "to luxuriate in wild dreams of independent power in an India of many partitions".

This was the background in which the Constituent Assembly met. How could the debates within the Assembly remain insulated from what was happening outside?

1.1 The making of the Constituent Assembly

The members of the Constituent Assembly were not elected on the basis of universal franchise. In the winter of 1945-46 provincial elections were held in India. The Provincial Legislatures then chose the representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly that came into being was dominated by one party: the Congress. The

Congress swept the general seats in the provincial elections, and the Muslim League captured most of the reserved Muslim seats. But the League chose to boycott the Constituent Assembly, pressing its demand for Pakistan with a separate constitution. The Socialists too were initially unwilling to join, for they believed the Constituent Assembly was a creation of the British, and therefore incapable of being truly autonomous. In effect, therefore, 82 per cent of the members of the Constituent Assembly were also members of the Congress.

The Congress however was not a party with one voice. Its members differed in their opinion on critical issues. Some members were inspired by socialism while others were defenders of landlordism. Some were close to communal parties while others were assertively secular. Through the national movement Congress members had learnt to debate their ideas in public and negotiate their differences. Within the Constituent Assembly too, Congress members did not sit quiet.

The discussions within the Constituent Assembly were also influenced by the opinions expressed by the public. As the deliberations continued, the arguments were reported in newspapers, and the proposals were publicly debated. Criticisms and

*Fig. 12.4
The Constituent Assembly in session
Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel is seen sitting second from right.*



Important Committees of the Constituent Assembly and Presidents	
Name of Important Committee	Name of Presidents
1. Rules of Procedure Committee	Rajendra Prasad
2. Union Power Committee	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Union Constitution Committee	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
4. Provincial Constitution Committee	Vallabhbhai Patel
5. Steering Committee	Rajendra Prasad
6. Drafting Committee	Bhimrao Ambedkar
7. Flag Committee	J. B. Kripalani
8. States Committee	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
9. Advisory Committee	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
10. Supreme Court Committee	S. Varadachariar
11. Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee	J. B. Kripalani
12. Minorities Sub-Committee	H. C. Mookerjee,
13. Constitution Review Commission	M. N. Venkatachaliah

counter-criticisms in the press in turn shaped the nature of the consensus that was ultimately reached on specific issues. In order to create a sense of collective participation the public was also asked to send in their views on what needed to be done. Many of the linguistic minorities wanted the protection of their mother tongue, religious minorities asked for special safeguards, while dalits demanded an end to all caste oppression and reservation of seats in government bodies. Important issues of cultural rights and social justice raised in these public discussions were debated on the floor of the Assembly.

1.2 The dominant voices

The Constituent Assembly had 300 members. Of these, six members played particularly important roles. Three were representatives of the Congress, namely, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad. It was Nehru who moved the crucial “Objectives Resolution”, as well as the resolution proposing that the National Flag of India be a “horizontal tricolour of saffron, white and dark green in equal proportion”, with a wheel in navy blue at the centre. Patel, on the other hand, worked mostly behind the scenes, playing a key role in the drafting of several reports, and working to reconcile opposing points of view. Rajendra Prasad’s role was as President of the Assembly, where he had to steer the discussion along constructive lines while making sure all members had a chance to speak.

Besides this Congress trio, a very important member of the Assembly was the lawyer and economist B.R. Ambedkar. During the period of British rule, Ambedkar had been a political opponent of the Congress; but, on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, he was asked at Independence to join the Union Cabinet as law minister. In this capacity, he served as Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. Serving with him were two other lawyers, K.M. Munshi from Gujarat and Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar from Madras, both of whom gave crucial inputs in the drafting of the Constitution.

These six members were given vital assistance by two civil servants. One was B. N. Rau, Constitutional Advisor to the Government of India, who prepared a series of background papers based on a close study of the political systems obtaining in other countries.

The other was the Chief Draughtsman, S. N. Mukherjee, who had the ability to put complex proposals in clear legal language.

Ambedkar himself had the responsibility of guiding the Draft Constitution through the Assembly. This took three years in all, with the printed record of the discussions taking up eleven bulky volumes. But while the process was long it was also extremely interesting. The members of the Constituent Assembly were eloquent in expressing their sometimes very divergent points of view. In their presentations we can discern many conflicting ideas of India – of what language Indians should speak, of what political and economic systems the nation should follow, of what moral values its citizens should uphold or disavow.

➲ Discuss...

Look again at Chapter 11. Discuss how the political situation of the time may have shaped the nature of the debates within the Constituent Assembly.

Fig. 12.5

B. R. Ambedkar presiding over a discussion of the Hindu Code Bill



2. THE VISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

On 13 December 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru introduced the “Objectives Resolution” in the Constituent Assembly. It was a momentous resolution that outlined the defining ideals of the Constitution of Independent India, and provided the framework within which the work of constitution-making was to proceed. It proclaimed India to be an “Independent Sovereign Republic”, guaranteed its citizens justice, equality and freedom, and assured that “adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and Depressed and Other Backward Classes ... ” After outlining these objectives, Nehru placed the Indian experiment in a broad historical perspective. As he spoke, he said, his mind went back to the historic efforts in the past to produce such documents of rights.

Source 1

“We are not going just to copy”

This is what Jawaharlal Nehru said in his famous speech of 13 December 1946:



My mind goes back to the various Constituent Assemblies that have gone before and of what took place at the making of the great American nation when the fathers of that nation met and fashioned out a Constitution which has stood the test of so many years, more than a century and a half, and of the great nation which has resulted, which has been built up on the basis of that Constitution. My mind goes back to that mighty revolution which took place also over 150 years ago and to that Constituent Assembly that met in that gracious and lovely city of Paris which has fought so many battles for freedom, to the difficulties that that Constituent Assembly had and to how the King and other authorities came in its way, and still it continued. The House will remember that when these difficulties came and even the room for a meeting was denied to the then Constituent Assembly, they betook themselves to an open tennis court and met there and took the oath, which is called the Oath of the Tennis Court, that they continued meeting in spite of Kings, in spite of the others, and did not disperse till they had finished the task they had undertaken. Well, I trust that it is in that solemn spirit that we too are meeting here and that we, too, whether we meet in this chamber or other chambers, or in the fields or in the market-place, will go on meeting and continue our work till we have finished it.

contd

Source 1 (contd)

Then my mind goes back to a more recent revolution which gave rise to a new type of State, the revolution that took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world, not only a mighty country but for us in India, a neighbouring country.

So our mind goes back to these great examples and we seek to learn from their success and to avoid their failures. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid failures because some measure of failure is inherent in human effort. Nevertheless, we shall advance, I am certain, in spite of obstructions and difficulties, and achieve and realise the dream that we have dreamt so long ...

We say that it is our firm and solemn resolve to have an independent sovereign republic. India is bound to be sovereign, it is bound to be independent and it is bound to be a republic ... Now, some friends have raised the question: "Why have you not put in the word 'democratic' here??" Well, I told them that it is conceivable, of course, that a republic may not be democratic but the whole of our past is witness to this fact that we stand for democratic institutions. Obviously we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than a democracy. What form of democracy, what shape it might take is another matter. The democracies of the present day, many of them in Europe and elsewhere, have played a great part in the world's progress. Yet it may be doubtful if those democracies may not have to change their shape somewhat before long if they have to remain completely democratic. We are not going just to copy, I hope, a certain democratic procedure or an institution of a so-called democratic country. We may improve upon it. In any event whatever system of government we may establish here must fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them. We stand for democracy. It will be for this House to determine what shape to give to that democracy, the fullest democracy, I hope. The House will notice that in this Resolution, although we have not used the word "democratic" because we thought it is obvious that the word "republic" contains that word and we did not want to use unnecessary words and redundant words, but we have done something much more than using the word. We have given the content of democracy in this Resolution and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so, of economic democracy in this Resolution. Others might take objection to this Resolution on the ground that we have not said that it should be a Socialist State. Well, I stand for Socialism and, I hope, India will stand for Socialism and that India will go towards the constitution of a Socialist State and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES (CAD), VOL.I



Oath of the Tennis Court

➲ What explanation does Jawaharlal Nehru give for not using the term “democratic” in the Objectives Resolution in Source 1?

Nehru's speech (Source 1) merits careful scrutiny. What exactly was being stated here? What did Nehru's seemingly nostalgic return to the past reflect? What was he saying about the origin of the ideas embodied in the vision of the Constitution? In returning to the past and referring to the American and French Revolutions, Nehru was locating the history of constitution-making in India within a longer history of struggle for liberty and freedom. The momentous nature of the Indian project was emphasised by linking it to revolutionary moments in the past. But Nehru was not suggesting that those events were to provide any blueprint for the present; or that the ideas of those revolutions could be mechanically borrowed and applied in India. He did not define the specific form of democracy, and suggested that this had to be decided through deliberations. And he stressed that the ideals and provisions of the constitution introduced in India could not be just derived from elsewhere. “We are not going just to copy”, he said. The system of government established in India, he declared, had to “fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them”. It was necessary to learn from the people of the West, from their achievements and failures, but the Western nations too had to learn from experiments elsewhere, they too had to change their own notions of democracy. The objective of the Indian Constitution would be to fuse the liberal ideas of democracy with the socialist idea of economic justice, and re-adapt and re-work all these ideas within the Indian context. Nehru's plea was for creative thinking about what was appropriate for India.

2.1 The will of the people

A Communist member, Somnath Lahiri saw the dark hand of British imperialism hanging over the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. He thus urged the members, and Indians in general, to fully free themselves from the influences of imperial rule. In the winter of 1946-47, as the Assembly deliberated, the British were still in India. An interim administration headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was in place, but it could only operate under the directions of the Viceroy and the British Government in London. Lahiri exhorted his colleagues to realise that the Constituent Assembly was British-made and was “working the British plans as the British should like it to be worked out”.



Fig. 12.6

Members of the Interim Government

Front row (left to right): Baldev Singh, John Mathai, C Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan, Vallabhbhai Patel, I.I. Chundrigar, Asaf Ali, C.H. Bhabha.

Back row (left to right): Jagjivan Ram, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Rajendra Prasad, Abdur Nishtar

Source 2

“That is very good, Sir – bold words, noble words”

Somnath Lahiri said:

Well, Sir, I must congratulate Pandit Nehru for the fine expression he gave to the spirit of the Indian people when he said that no imposition from the British will be accepted by the Indian people. Imposition would be resented and objected to, he said, and he added that if need be we will walk the valley of struggle. That is very good, Sir – bold words, noble words.

But the point is to see when and how are you going to apply that challenge. Well, Sir, the point is that the imposition is here right now. Not only has the British Plan made any future Constitution ... dependent on a treaty satisfactory to the Britisher but it suggests that for every little difference you will have to run to the Federal Court or dance attendance there in England; or to call on the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee or someone else. Not only is it a fact that this Constituent Assembly, whatever plans we may be hatching, we are under the shadow of British guns, British Army, their economic and financial stranglehold – which means that the final power is still in the British hands and the question of power has not yet been finally decided, which means the future is not yet completely in our hands. Not only that, but the statements made by Attlee and others recently have made it clear that if need be, they will even threaten you with division entirely. This means, Sir, there is no freedom in this country. As Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel put it some days ago, we have freedom only to fight among ourselves. That is the only freedom we have got ... Therefore, our humble suggestion is that it is not a question of getting something by working out this Plan but to declare independence here and now and call upon the Interim Government, call upon the people of India, to stop fratricidal warfare and look out against its enemy, which still has the whip hand, the British Imperialism – and go together to fight it and then resolve our claims afterwards when we will be free.

CAD, VOL.I

➲ Why does the speaker in Source 2 think that the Constituent Assembly was under the shadow of British guns?

Nehru admitted that most nationalist leaders had wanted a different kind of Constituent Assembly. It was also true, in a sense, that the British Government had a “hand in its birth”, and it had attached certain conditions within which the Assembly had to function. “But,” emphasised Nehru, “you must not ignore the source from which this Assembly derives its strength.”

Nehru added:

Governments do not come into being by State Papers. Governments are, in fact the expression of the will of the people. We have met here today because of the strength of the people behind us and we shall go as far as the people – not of any party or group but the people as a whole – shall wish us to go. We should, therefore, always keep in mind the passions that lie in the hearts of the masses of the Indian people and try to fulfil them.

The Constituent Assembly was expected to express the aspirations of those who had participated in the movement for independence. Democracy, equality and justice were ideals that had become intimately associated with social struggles in India since the nineteenth century. When the social reformers in the nineteenth century opposed child marriage and demanded that widows be allowed to remarry, they were pleading for social justice. When Swami Vivekananda campaigned for a reform of Hinduism, he wanted religions to become more just. When Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra pointed to the suffering of the depressed castes, or Communists and Socialists organised workers and peasants, they were demanding economic and social justice. The national movement against a government that was seen as oppressive and illegitimate was inevitably a struggle for democracy and justice, for citizens’ rights and equality.

In fact, as the demand for representation grew, the British had been forced to introduce a series of constitutional reforms. A number of Acts were passed (1909, 1919 and 1935), gradually enlarging the space for Indian participation in provincial governments. The executive was made partly responsible to the provincial legislature in 1919, and almost entirely so under the Government of India Act of 1935. When elections were held in 1937, under the 1935 Act, the Congress came to power in eight out of the 11 provinces.

Fig. 12.7
Edwin Montague (left) was the author of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 which allowed some form of representation in provincial legislative assemblies.



Yet we should not see an unbroken continuity between the earlier constitutional developments and what happened in the three years from 1946. While the earlier constitutional experiments were in response to the growing demand for a representative government, the Acts (1909, 1919 and 1935) were not directly debated and formulated by Indians. They were enacted by the colonial government. The electorate that elected the provincial bodies had expanded over the years, but even in 1935 it remained limited to no more than 10 to 15 per cent of the adult population: there was no universal adult franchise. The legislatures elected under the 1935 Act operated within the framework of colonial rule, and were responsible to the Governor appointed by the British. The vision that Nehru was trying to outline on 13 December 1946 was of the Constitution of an independent, sovereign Republic of India.

3. DEFINING RIGHTS

How were the rights of individual citizens to be defined? Were the oppressed groups to have any special rights? What rights would minorities have? Who, in fact, could be defined as a minority? As the debate on the floor of the Constituent Assembly unfolded, it was clear that there were no collectively shared answers to any of these questions. The answers were evolved through the clash of opinions and the drama of individual encounters. In his inaugural speech, Nehru had invoked the "will of the people" and declared that the makers of the Constitution had to fulfil "the passions that lie in the hearts of the masses". This was no easy task. With the anticipation of Independence, different groups expressed their will in different ways, and made different demands. These would have to be debated and conflicting ideas would have to be reconciled, before a consensus could be forged.

3.1 The problem with separate electorates

On 27 August 1947, B. Pocker Bahadur from Madras made a powerful plea for continuing separate electorates. Minorities exist in all lands, argued Bahadur; they could not be wished away, they could not be "erased out of existence". The need was to create a political framework in which minorities could live in harmony with others, and the differences between communities could be minimised. This was possible only if minorities were well represented within the political system, their voices heard,

● Discuss...

What were the ideas outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech on the Objectives Resolution?



*Fig. 12.8
In the winter of 1946 Indian leaders went to London for what turned out to be a fruitless round of talks with British Prime Minister Attlee. (Left to right: Liaquat Ali, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Baldev Singh and Pethick Lawrence)*

and their views taken into account. Only separate electorates would ensure that Muslims had a meaningful voice in the governance of the country. The needs of Muslims, Bahadur felt, could not be properly understood by non-Muslims; nor could a true representative of Muslims be chosen by people who did not belong to that community.

This demand for separate electorates provoked anger and dismay amongst most nationalists. In the passionate debate that followed, a range of arguments were offered against the demand. Most nationalists saw separate electorates as a measure deliberately introduced by the British to divide the people. "The English played their game under the cover of safeguards," R.V. Dhulekar told Bahadur. "With the help of it they allured you (the minorities) to a long lull. Give it up now ... Now there is no one to misguide you."

Partition had made nationalists fervently opposed to the idea of separate electorates. They were haunted by the fear of continued civil war, riots and violence. Separate electorates was a "poison that has entered the body politic of our country", declared Sardar Patel. It was a demand that had turned one community against another, divided the nation, caused bloodshed, and led to the tragic partition of the country. "Do you want peace in this land? If so do away with it (separate electorates)," urged Patel.

Source 3

"The British element is gone, but they have left the mischief behind"

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said:

It is no use saying that we ask for separate electorates, because it is good for us. We have heard it long enough. We have heard it for years, and as a result of this agitation we are now a separate nation ... Can you show me one free country where there are separate electorates? If so, I shall be prepared to accept it. But in this unfortunate country if this separate electorate is going to be persisted in, even after the division of the country, woe betide the country; it is not worth living in. Therefore, I say, it is not for my good alone, it is for your own good that I say it, forget the past. One day, we may be united ... The British element is gone, but they have left the mischief behind. We do not want to perpetuate that mischief. (Hear, hear). When the British introduced this element they had not expected that they will have to go so soon. They wanted it for their easy administration. That is all right. But they have left the legacy behind. Are we to get out of it or not?

CAD, vol.V

Countering the demand for separate electorates, Govind Ballabh Pant declared that it was not only harmful for the nation but also for the minorities. He agreed with Bahadur that the success of a democracy was to be judged by the confidence it generated amongst different sections of people. He agreed too that every citizen in a free state should be treated in a manner that satisfied “not only his material wants but also his spiritual sense of self-respect”, and that the majority community had an obligation to try and understand the problems of minorities, and empathise with their aspirations. Yet Pant opposed the idea of separate electorates. It was a suicidal demand, he argued, that would permanently isolate the minorities, make them vulnerable, and deprive them of any effective say within the government.

Source 4

“I believe separate electorates will be suicidal to the minorities”

During the debate on 27 August 1947, Govind Ballabh Pant said:

I believe separate electorates will be suicidal to the minorities and will do them tremendous harm. If they are isolated for ever, they can never convert themselves into a majority and the feeling of frustration will cripple them even from the very beginning. What is it that you desire and what is our ultimate objective? Do the minorities always want to remain as minorities or do they ever expect to form an integral part of a great nation and as such to guide and control its destinies? If they do, can they ever achieve that aspiration and that ideal if they are isolated from the rest of the community? I think it would be extremely dangerous for them if they were segregated from the rest of the community and kept aloof in an air-tight compartment where they would have to rely on others even for the air they breath ... The minorities if they are returned by separate electorates can never have any effective voice.

CAD, VOL.II

➲ Read Sources 3 and 4. What are the different arguments being put forward against separate electorates?

Behind all these arguments was the concern with the making of a unified nation state. In order to build political unity and forge a nation, every individual had to be moulded into a citizen of the State, each

Source 5

“There cannot be any divided loyalty”

Govind Ballabh Pant argued that in order to become loyal citizens people had to stop focusing only on the community and the self:

For the success of democracy one must train himself in the art of self-discipline. In democracies one should care less for himself and more for others. There cannot be any divided loyalty. All loyalties must exclusively be centred round the State. If in a democracy, you create rival loyalties, or you create a system in which any individual or group, instead of suppressing his extravagance, cares nought for larger or other interests, then democracy is doomed.

CAD, VOL.II

➲ How does G.B. Pant define the attributes of a loyal citizen?

group had to be assimilated within the nation. The Constitution would grant to citizens rights, but citizens had to offer their loyalty to the State. Communities could be recognised as cultural entities and assured cultural rights. Politically, however, members of all communities had to act as equal members of one State, or else there would be divided loyalties. “There is the unwholesome and to some extent degrading habit of thinking always in terms of communities and never in terms of citizens,” said Pant. And he added: “Let us remember that it is the citizen that must count. It is the citizen that forms the base as well as the summit of the social pyramid.” Even as the importance of community rights was being recognised, there was a lurking fear among many nationalists that this may lead to divided loyalties, and make it difficult to forge a strong nation and a strong State.

Not all Muslims supported the demand for separate electorates. Begum Aizaas Rasul, for instance, felt that separate electorates were self-destructive since they isolated the minorities from the majority. By 1949, most Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly were agreed that separate electorates were against the interests of the minorities. Instead Muslims needed to take an active part in the democratic process to ensure that they had a decisive voice in the political system.

3.2 “We will need much more than this Resolution”

While welcoming the Objectives Resolution, N.G. Ranga, a socialist who had been a leader of the peasant movement, urged that the term minorities be interpreted in economic terms. The real minorities for Ranga were the poor and the downtrodden. He welcomed the legal rights the Constitution was granting to each individual but pointed to its limits. In his opinion it was meaningless for the poor people in the villages to know that they now had the fundamental right to live, and to have full employment, or that they could have their meetings, their conferences, their associations and various other civil liberties. It was essential to create conditions where these constitutionally enshrined rights could be effectively enjoyed. For this they needed protection. “They need props. They need a ladder,” said Ranga.

Source 6

"The real minorities are the masses of this country"

Welcoming the Objectives Resolution introduced by Jawaharlal Nehru, N.G. Ranga said:

Sir, there is a lot of talk about minorities. Who are the real minorities? Not the Hindus in the so-called Pakistan provinces, not the Sikhs, not even the Muslims. No, the real minorities are the masses of this country. These people are so depressed and oppressed and suppressed till now that they are not able to take advantage of the ordinary civil rights. What is the position? You go to the tribal areas. According to law, their own traditional law, their tribal law, their lands cannot be alienated. Yet our merchants go there, and in the so-called free market they are able to snatch their lands. Thus, even though the law goes against this snatching away of their lands, still the merchants are able to turn the tribal people into veritable slaves by various kinds of bonds, and make them hereditary bond-slaves. Let us go to the ordinary villagers. There goes the money-lender with his money and he is able to get the villagers in his pocket. There is the landlord himself, the zamindar, and the *malguzar* and there are the various other people who are able to exploit these poor villagers. There is no elementary education even among these people. These are the real minorities that need protection and assurances of protection. In order to give them the necessary protection, we will need much more than this Resolution ...

CAD, VOL.II

➲ How is the notion of minority defined by Ranga?

Ranga also drew attention to the gulf that separated the broad masses of Indians and those claiming to speak on their behalf in the Constituent Assembly:

Whom are we supposed to represent? The ordinary masses of our country. And yet most of us do not belong to the masses themselves. We are of them, we wish to stand for them, but the masses themselves are not able to come up to the Constituent Assembly. It may take some time; in the meanwhile, we are here as their trustees, as their champions, and we are trying our best to speak for them.

List of women members of the constituent assembly		
Name of the Member	Date of Signing Register	Constituency
1. Ammu Swaminathan	9 Dec. 1946	Madras/ General
2. Annie Mascarene	29 Dec. 1948	Travancore and Cochin Union
3. Begum Aizaz Rasul	14 Dec. 1947	United Provinces/ Muslim
4. Dakshayani Velayudan	9 Dec. 1946	Madras/ General
5. G. Durgabai	9 Dec. 1946	Madras/ General
6. Hansa Mehta	9 Dec. 1946	Bombay/ General
7. Kamla Chaudhri	9 Dec. 1946	United Provinces/ General
8. Leela Ray	9 Dec. 1946	West Bengal/ General
9. Malati Chowdhury	9 Dec. 1946	Orissa/ General
10. Purnima Banerji	9 Dec. 1946	United Provinces/ General
11. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur	21 Dec. 1946	Central Provinces and Berar/ General
12. Renuka Ray	14 July 1947	West Bangal/ General
13. Sarojini Naidu	9 Dec. 1946	Bihar/ General
14. Sucheta Kripalani	9 Dec. 1946	United Provinces/ General
15. Vijayalakshmi Pandit	17 Dec. 1946	United Provinces/ General

One of the groups mentioned by Ranga, the tribals, had among its representatives to the Assembly the gifted orator Jaipal Singh. In welcoming the Objectives Resolution, Singh said:

... as an Adibasi, I am not expected to understand the legal intricacies of the Resolution. But my common sense tells me that every one of us should march in that road to freedom and fight together. Sir, if there is any group of Indian people that has been shabbily treated it is my people. They have been disgracefully treated, neglected for the last 6,000 years. ... The whole history of my people is one of continuous exploitation and dispossession by the non-aboriginals of India punctuated by rebellions and disorder, and yet I take Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at his word. I take you all at your word that now we are going to start a new chapter, a new chapter of independent India where there is equality of opportunity, where no one would be neglected.

Singh spoke eloquently on the need to protect the tribes, and ensure conditions that could help them come up to the level of the general population. Tribes were not a numerical minority, he argued, but they needed protection. They had been dispossessed of the land they had settled, deprived of their forests and pastures, and forced to move in search of new homes. Perceiving them as primitive and backward, the rest of society had turned away from them, spurned them. He made a moving plea for breaking the emotional and physical distance that separated the tribals from the rest of society: "Our point is that you have got to mix with us. We are willing to mix with you ... ". Singh was not asking for separate electorates, but he felt that reservation of seats in the legislature was essential to allow tribals to represent themselves. It would be a way, he said, of compelling others to hear the voice of tribals, and come near them.

3.3 "We were suppressed for thousands of years"
 How were the rights of the Depressed Castes to be defined by the Constitution? During the national movement Ambedkar had demanded separate electorates for the Depressed Castes, and Mahatma Gandhi had opposed it, arguing that this would

permanently segregate them from the rest of society. How could the Constituent Assembly resolve this opposition? What kinds of protection were the Depressed Castes to be provided?

Some members of the Depressed Castes emphasised that the problem of the “Untouchables” could not be resolved through protection and safeguards alone. Their disabilities were caused by the social norms and the moral values of caste society. Society had used their services and labour but kept them at a social distance, refusing to mix with them or dine with them or allow them entry into temples. “We have been suffering, but we are prepared to suffer no more,” said J. Nagappa from Madras. “We have realised our responsibilities. We know how to assert ourselves.”

Nagappa pointed out that numerically the Depressed Castes were not a minority: they formed between 20 and 25 per cent of the total population. Their suffering was due to their systematic marginalisation, not their numerical insignificance. They had no access to education, no share in the administration. Addressing the assembly, K.J. Khanderkar of the Central Provinces said:

We were suppressed for thousands of years. ... suppressed... to such an extent that neither our minds nor our bodies and now even our hearts work, nor are we able to march forward. This is the position.

After the Partition violence, Ambedkar too no longer argued for separate electorates. The Constituent Assembly finally recommended that untouchability be abolished, Hindu temples be thrown open to all castes, and seats in legislatures and jobs in government offices be reserved for the lowest castes. Many recognised that this could not solve all problems: social discrimination could not be erased only through constitutional legislation, there had to be a change in the attitudes within society. But the measures were welcomed by the democratic public.

➲ Discuss...

What were the different arguments that Jaipal Singh put forward in demanding protective measures for the tribals?

Source 7

“We want removal of our social disabilities”

Dakshayani Velayudhan from Madras, argued:

What we want is not all kinds of safeguards. It is the moral safeguard which gives protection to the underdogs of this country ... I refuse to believe that seventy million Harijans are to be considered as a minority ... what we want is the ... immediate removal of our social disabilities.’

CAD, VOL.I

Source 8

We have never asked for privileges

Hansa Mehta of Bombay demanded justice for women, not reserved seats, or separate electorates.

We have never asked for privileges. What we have asked for is social justice, economic justice, and political justice. We have asked for that equality which alone can be the basis of mutual respect and understanding, without which real cooperation is not possible between man and woman.

4. THE POWERS OF THE STATE

One of the topics most vigorously debated in the Constituent Assembly was the respective rights of the Central Government and the states. Among those arguing for a strong Centre was Jawaharlal Nehru. As he put it in a letter to the President of the Constituent Assembly, “Now that partition is a settled fact, ... it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of coordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere”.

The Draft Constitution provided for three lists of subjects: Union, State, and Concurrent. The subjects in the first list were to be the preserve of the Central Government, while those in the second list were vested with the states. As for the third list, here Centre and state shared responsibility. However, many more items were placed under exclusive Union control than in other federations, and more placed on the Concurrent list too than desired by the provinces. The Union also had control of minerals and key industries. Besides, Article 356 gave the Centre the powers to take over a state administration on the recommendation of the Governor.

The Constitution also mandated for a complex system of fiscal federalism. In the case of some taxes (for instance, customs duties and Company taxes) the Centre retained all the proceeds; in other cases (such as income tax and excise duties) it shared them with the states; in still other cases (for instance, estate duties) it assigned them wholly to the states. The states, meanwhile, could levy and collect certain taxes on their own: these included land and property taxes, sales tax, and the hugely profitable tax on bottled liquor.

4.1 “The centre is likely to break”

The rights of the states were most eloquently defended by K. Santhanam from Madras. A reallocation of powers was necessary, he felt, to strengthen not only the states but also the Centre. “There is almost an obsession that by adding all kinds of powers to the Centre we can make it strong.” This was a misconception, said Santhanam. If the Centre was overburdened with responsibilities, it could not function effectively. By relieving it of some of its functions, and transferring them to the states, the Centre could, in fact, be made stronger.

As for the states, Santhanam felt that the proposed allocation of powers would cripple them. The fiscal provisions would impoverish the provinces since most taxes, except land revenue, had been made the preserve of the Centre. Without finances how could the states undertake any project of development? "I do not want any constitution in which the Unit has to come to the Centre and say 'I cannot educate my people. I cannot give sanitation, give me a dole for the improvement of roads, of industries.' Let us rather wipe out the federal system and let us have Unitary system." Santhanam predicted a dark future if the proposed distribution of powers was adopted without further scrutiny. In a few years, he said, all the provinces would rise in "revolt against the Centre".

Many others from the provinces echoed the same fears. They fought hard for fewer items to be put on the Concurrent and Union lists. A member from Orissa warned that "the Centre is likely to break" since powers had been excessively centralised under the Constitution.

4.2 "What we want today is a strong Government"

The argument for greater power to the provinces provoked a strong reaction in the Assembly. The need for a strong centre had been underlined on numerous occasions since the Constituent Assembly had begun its sessions. Ambedkar had declared that he wanted "a strong and united Centre (hear, hear) much stronger than the Centre we had created under the Government of India Act of 1935". Reminding the members of the riots and violence that was ripping the nation apart, many members had repeatedly stated that the powers of the Centre had to be greatly strengthened to enable it to stop the communal frenzy. Reacting to the demands for giving power to the provinces, Gopalaswami Ayyangar declared that "the Centre should be made as strong as possible". One member from the United Provinces, Balakrishna Sharma, reasoned at length that only a strong centre could plan for the well-being of the country, mobilise the available economic resources, establish a proper administration, and defend the country against foreign aggression.

Before Partition the Congress had agreed to grant considerable autonomy to the provinces. This had been part of an effort to assure the Muslim League that within the provinces where the Muslim League came

Source 9

Who is a better patriot?

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar from Mysore said during the debate on 21 August 1947:

Let us not lay the flattering unction to our soul that we are better patriots if we propose a strong Centre and that those who advocate a more vigorous examination of these resources are people with not enough of national spirit or patriotism.

➲ Discuss...

What different arguments were put forward by those advocating a strong Centre?

to power the Centre would not interfere. After Partition most nationalists changed their position because they felt that the earlier political pressures for a decentralised structure were no longer there.

There was already a unitary system in place, imposed by the colonial government. The violence of the times gave a further push to centralisation, now seen as necessary both to forestall chaos and to plan for the country's economic development. The Constitution thus showed a distinct bias towards the rights of the Union of India over those of its constituent states.

5. THE LANGUAGE OF THE NATION

How could the nation be forged when people in different regions spoke different languages, each associated with its own cultural heritage? How could people listen to each other, or connect with each other, if they did not know each other's language? Within the Constituent Assembly, the language issue was debated over many months, and often generated intense arguments.

By the 1930s, the Congress had accepted that Hindustani ought to be the national language. Mahatma Gandhi felt that everyone should speak in a language that common people could easily understand. Hindustani – a blend of Hindi and Urdu – was a popular language of a large section of the people of India, and it was a composite language enriched by the interaction of diverse cultures. Over the years it had incorporated words and terms from very many different sources, and was therefore understood by people from various regions. This multi-cultural language, Mahatma Gandhi thought, would be the ideal language of communication between diverse communities: it could unify Hindus and Muslims, and people of the north and the south.

From the end of the nineteenth century, however, Hindustani as a language had been gradually changing. As communal conflicts deepened, Hindi and Urdu also started growing apart. On the one hand, there was a move to Sanskritise Hindi, purging it of all words of Persian and Arabic origin. On the other hand, Urdu was being increasingly Persianised. As a consequence, language became associated with the politics of religious identities. Mahatma Gandhi, however, retained his faith in the composite character of Hindustani.

Source 10

What should the qualities of a national language be ?

A few months before his death Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his views on the language question:

This Hindustani should be neither Sanskritised Hindi nor Persianised Urdu but a happy combination of both. It should also freely admit words wherever necessary from the different regional languages and also assimilate words from foreign languages, provided that they can mix well and easily with our national language. Thus our national language must develop into a rich and powerful instrument capable of expressing the whole gamut of human thought and feelings. To confine oneself to Hindi or Urdu would be a crime against intelligence and the spirit of patriotism.

HARIJANSEVAK, 12 OCTOBER 1947

5.1 A plea for Hindi

In one of the earliest sessions of the Constituent Assembly, R. V. Dhulekar, a Congressman from the United Provinces, made an aggressive plea that Hindi be used as the language of constitution-making. When told that not everyone in the Assembly knew the language, Dhulekar retorted: "People who are present in this House to fashion a constitution for India and do not know Hindustani are not worthy to be members of this Assembly. They better leave." As the House broke up in commotion over these remarks, Dhulekar proceeded with his speech in Hindi. On this occasion peace in the House was restored through Jawaharlal Nehru's intervention, but the language issue continued to disrupt proceedings and agitate members over the subsequent three years.

Almost three years later, on 13 September 1949, Dhulekar's speech on the language of the nation once again sparked off a huge storm. By now the Language Committee of the Constituent Assembly had produced its report and had thought of a compromise formula to resolve the deadlock between those who advocated Hindi as the national language and those who opposed it. It had decided, but not yet formally declared, that Hindi in the Devanagari script would be the official language, but the transition to Hindi would be gradual. For the first fifteen years, English would continue to be used for all official purposes. Each province was to be allowed to choose one of the regional languages for official work within the province. By referring to Hindi as the official rather than the national language, the Language Committee of the Constituent Assembly hoped to placate ruffled emotions and arrive at a solution that would be acceptable to all.

Dhulekar was not one who liked such an attitude of reconciliation. He wanted Hindi to be declared not an Official Language, but a National Language. He attacked those who protested that Hindi was being forced on the nation, and mocked at those who said, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, that Hindustani rather than Hindi ought to be the national language.

Sir, nobody can be more happy than myself that Hindi has become the official language of the country ... Some say that it is a concession to Hindi language. I say "no". It is a consummation of a historic process.

What particularly perturbed many members was the tone in which Dhulekar was arguing his case. Several times during his speech, the President of the Assembly interrupted Dhulekar and told him: “I do not think you are advancing your case by speaking like this.” But Dhulekar continued nonetheless.

5.2 The fear of domination

A day after Dhulekar spoke, Shrimati G. Durgabai from Madras explained her worries about the way the discussion was developing:

Mr President, the question of national language for India which was an almost agreed proposition until recently has suddenly become a highly controversial issue. Whether rightly or wrongly, the people of non-Hindi-speaking areas have been made to feel that this fight, or this attitude on behalf of the Hindi-speaking areas, is a fight for effectively preventing the natural influence of other powerful languages of India on the composite culture of this nation.

Durgabai informed the House that the opposition in the south against Hindi was very strong: “The opponents feel perhaps justly that this propaganda for Hindi cuts at the very root of the provincial languages ...” Yet, she along with many others had obeyed the call of Mahatma Gandhi and carried on Hindi propaganda in the south, braved resistance, started schools and conducted classes in Hindi. “Now what is the result of it all?” asked Durgabai. “I am shocked to see this agitation against the enthusiasm with which we took to Hindi in the early years of the century.” She had accepted Hindustani as the language of the people, but now that language was being changed, words from Urdu and other regional languages were being taken out. Any move that eroded the inclusive and composite character of Hindustani, she felt, was bound to create anxieties and fears amongst different language groups.

As the discussion became acrimonious, many members appealed for a spirit of accommodation. A member from Bombay, Shri Shankarrao Deo stated that as a Congressman and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi he had accepted Hindustani as a language of the nation, but he warned: “if you want my whole-hearted support (for Hindi) you must not do now anything which may raise my suspicions and which

will strengthen my fears.” T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar from Madras emphasised that whatever was done had to be done with caution; the cause of Hindi would not be helped if it was pushed too aggressively. The fears of the people, even if they were unjustified, had to be allayed, or else “there will be bitter feelings left behind”. “When we want to live together and form a united nation,” he said, “there should be mutual adjustment and no question of forcing things on people ...”

The Constitution of India thus emerged through a process of intense debate and discussion. Many of its provisions were arrived at through a process of give-and-take, by forging a middle ground between two opposed positions.

However, on one central feature of the Constitution there was substantial agreement. This was on the granting of the vote to every adult Indian. This was an unprecedented act of faith, for in other democracies the vote had been granted slowly, and in stages. In countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, only men of property were first granted the vote; then, men with education were also allowed into the charmed circle. After a long and bitter struggle, men of working-class or peasant background were also given the right to vote. An even longer struggle was required to grant this right to women.

A second important feature of the Constitution was its emphasis on secularism. There was no ringing pronouncement of secularism in the Preamble, but operationally, its key features as understood in Indian contexts were spelled out in an exemplary manner. This was done through the carefully drafted series of Fundamental Rights to “freedom of religion” (Articles 25-28), “cultural and educational rights” (Articles 29, 30), and “rights to equality” (Articles 14, 16, 17). All religions were guaranteed equal treatment by the State and given the right to maintain charitable institutions. The State also sought to distance itself from religious communities, banning

compulsory religious instructions in State-run schools and colleges, and declaring religious discrimination in employment to be illegal. However, a certain legal space was created for social reform within communities, a space that was used to ban untouchability and introduce changes in personal and family laws. In the Indian variant of political secularism, then, there has been no absolute separation of State from religion, but a kind of judicious distance between the two.

The Constituent Assembly debates help us understand the many conflicting voices that had to be negotiated in framing the Constitution, and the many demands that were articulated. They tell us about the ideals that were invoked and the principles that the makers of the Constitution operated with. But in reading these debates we need to be aware that the ideals invoked were very often re-worked according to what seemed appropriate within a context. At times the members of the Assembly also changed their ideas as the debate unfolded over three years. Hearing others argue, some members rethought their positions, opening their minds to contrary views, while others changed their views in reaction to the events around.



*Fig. 12. 9
B. R. Ambedkar and Rajendra
Prasad greeting each other at the
time of the handing over of the
Constitution*

TIMELINE

1945

26 July	Labour Government comes into power in Britain
December-January	General Elections in India

1946

16 May	Cabinet Mission announces its constitutional scheme
16 June	Muslim League accepts Cabinet Mission's constitutional scheme
16 June	Cabinet Mission presents scheme for the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre
16 August	Muslim League announces Direct Action Day
2 September	Congress forms Interim Government with Nehru as the Vice-President
13 October	Muslim League decides to join the Interim Government
3-6 December	British Prime Minister, Attlee, meets some Indian leaders; talks fail
9 December	Constituent Assembly begins its sessions

1947

29 January	Muslim League demands dissolution of Constituent Assembly
16 July	Last meeting of the Interim Government
11 August	Jinnah elected President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan
14 August	Pakistan Independence; celebrations in Karachi
14-15 August	At midnight India celebrates Independence

1949

December	Constitution is signed
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ANSWER IN 100-150 WORDS

- What were the ideals expressed in the Objectives Resolution?
- How was the term minority defined by different groups?
- What were the arguments in favour of greater power to the provinces?
- Why did Mahatma Gandhi think Hindustani should be the national language?



If you would like to know more, read:

Granville Austin. 1972.
The Indian Constitution: The Cornerstone of a Nation.
Oxford University Press,
New Delhi.

Rajeev Bhargava. 2000.
“Democratic Vision of a New Republic” in F. R. Frankel et al. eds, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*.
Oxford University Press,
New Delhi.

Sumit Sarkar. 1983.
“Indian Democracy: The Historical Inheritance” in Atul Kohli ed., *The Success of India’s Democracy*.
Cambridge University Press,
Cambridge.

Sumit Sarkar. 1983.
Modern India: 1885-1947.
Macmillan, New Delhi.

You could visit:

parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm
(for a digitalised version of the Constituent Assembly Debates)



**WRITE A SHORT ESSAY
(250-300 WORDS) ON THE FOLLOWING:**

5. What historical forces shaped the vision of the Constitution?
6. Discuss the different arguments made in favour of protection of the oppressed groups.
7. What connection did some of the members of the Constituent Assembly make between the political situation of the time and the need for a strong Centre?
8. How did the Constituent Assembly seek to resolve the language controversy?



MAP WORK

9. On a present-day political map of India, indicate the different languages spoken in each state and mark out the one that is designated as the language for official communication. Compare the present map with a map of the early 1950s. What differences do you notice? Do the differences say something about the relationship between language and the organisation of the states?



PROJECT (CHOOSE ONE)

10. Choose any one important constitutional change that has happened in recent years. Find out why the change was made, what different arguments were put forward for the change, and the historical background to the change. If you can, try and look at the Constitutional Assembly Debates (<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/debates.htm>) to see how the issue was discussed at that time. Write about your findings.
11. Compare the Constitution of America, France or South Africa with the Indian Constitution, focusing on any two of the following themes: secularism, minority rights, realtions between the Centre and the states. Find out how these differences and similarities are linked to the histories of the regions.

CREDITS FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

Institutions

- Alkazi Foundation for the Arts, New Delhi
(Figs. 10.6; 10.8)
- Collection Jyotindra and Juta Jain, CIVIC Archives,
New Delhi (Fig. 11.15)
- Photo Division, Government of India, New Delhi
(Figs. 12.3; 12.4; 12.5; 12.9)
- Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
(Fig. 12.6)
- The Osian's Archive and Library Collection, Mumbai
(Figs. 10.9; 10.18; 11.17)
- Victoria Memorial Museum and Library, Kolkata
(Figs. 9.6, 9.7)

Journals

- Punch* (Figs. 10.13; 10.14; 10.17)
- The Illustrated London News* (Figs. 9.1; 9.10;
9.11; 9.12; 9.13; 9.14; 9.16; 9.17; 9.18;
9.19; 10.15; 10.16)

Books

- Bayly, C.A., *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947*
(Figs. 9.4; 10.10; 10.11)
- Ruhe, Peter, *Gandhi* (Figs. 11.7; 11.11; 11.12)
- Singh, Khushwant, *Train to Pakistan* (Figs. 12.1;
12.4; 12.12; 12.13; 12.15)

Note

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Chapter 1

The End of Bipolarity

OVERVIEW

The Berlin Wall, which had been built at the height of the Cold War and was its greatest symbol, was toppled by the people in 1989. This dramatic event was followed by an equally dramatic and historic chain of events that led to the collapse of the 'second world' and the end of the Cold War. Germany, divided after the Second World War, was unified. One after another, the eight East European countries that were part of the Soviet bloc replaced their communist governments in response to mass demonstrations. The Soviet Union stood by as the Cold War began to end, not by military means but as a result of mass actions by ordinary men and women. Eventually the Soviet Union itself disintegrated. In this chapter, we discuss the meaning, the causes and the consequences of the disintegration of the 'second world'. We also discuss what happened to that part of the world after the collapse of communist regimes and how India relates to these countries now.



The Berlin Wall symbolised the division between the capitalist and the communist world. Built in 1961

to separate East Berlin from West Berlin, this more than 150 kilometre long wall stood for 28 years and was finally broken by the people on 9 November 1989. This marked the unification of the two parts of Germany and the beginning of the end of the communist bloc. The pictures here depict:

1. People making a tiny hole in the wall
 2. A section of the wall opened to allow free movement
 3. The Berlin Wall as it stood before 1989
- Credit: 1. and 2. Frederik Ramm, www.remote.org/frederik/culture/berlin
3. www.cs.utah.edu



LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION



Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) Founder of the Bolshevik Communist party; leader of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the founder-head of the USSR during the most difficult period following the revolution (1917-1924); a practitioner of Marxism and a source of inspiration for communists all over the world.

WHAT WAS THE SOVIET SYSTEM?

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) came into being after the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917. The revolution was inspired by the ideals of socialism, as opposed to capitalism, and the need for an egalitarian society. This was perhaps the biggest attempt in human history to abolish the institution of private property and consciously design a society based on principles of equality. In doing so, the makers of the Soviet system gave primacy to the state and the institution of the party. The Soviet political system centred around the communist party, and no other political party or opposition was allowed. The economy was planned and controlled by the state.

After the Second World War, the east European countries that the Soviet army had liberated from the fascist forces came under the control of the USSR. The political and the economic systems of all these countries were modelled after the USSR. This group of countries was called the Second World or the 'socialist bloc'. The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance, held them together. The USSR was the leader of the bloc.

The Soviet Union became a great power after the Second World War. The Soviet economy was then more developed than the rest of the world except for the US. It had a complex communications network, vast energy resources including oil, iron and steel,

machinery production, and a transport sector that connected its remotest areas with efficiency. It had a domestic consumer industry that produced everything from pins to cars, though their quality did not match that of the Western capitalist countries. The Soviet state ensured a minimum standard of living for all citizens, and the government subsidised basic necessities including health, education, childcare and other welfare schemes. State ownership was the dominant form of ownership: land and productive assets were owned and controlled by the Soviet state.

The Soviet system, however, became very bureaucratic and authoritarian, making life very difficult for its citizens. Lack of democracy and the absence of freedom of speech stifled people who often expressed their dissent in jokes and cartoons. Most of the institutions of the Soviet state needed reform: the one-party system represented by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had tight control over all institutions and was unaccountable to the people. The party refused to recognise the urge of people in the fifteen different republics that formed the Soviet Union to manage their own affairs including their cultural affairs. Although, on paper, Russia was only one of the fifteen republics that together constituted the USSR, in reality Russia dominated everything, and people from other regions felt neglected and often suppressed.

In the arms race, the Soviet Union managed to match the US from time to time, but at great cost. The Soviet Union lagged behind the West in technology, infrastructure (e.g., transport, power), and most importantly, in fulfilling the political or economic aspirations of citizens. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 weakened the system even further. Though wages continued to grow, productivity and technology fell considerably behind that of the West. This led to shortages in all consumer goods. Food imports increased every year. The Soviet economy was faltering in the late 1970s and became stagnant.

GORBACHEV AND THE DISINTEGRATION

Mikhail Gorbachev, who had become General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985, sought to reform this system. Reforms were necessary to keep the USSR abreast of the information and technological revolutions taking place in the West. However, Gorbachev's decision to normalise relations with the West and democratise and reform the Soviet Union had some other effects that neither he nor anyone else intended or anticipated. The people in the East European countries which were part of the Soviet bloc started to protest against their own governments and Soviet control. Unlike in the past, the Soviet Union, under

Gorbachev, did not intervene when the disturbances occurred, and the communist regimes collapsed one after another.

These developments were accompanied by a rapidly escalating crisis within the USSR that hastened its disintegration. Gorbachev initiated the policies of economic and political reform and democratisation within the country. The reforms were opposed by leaders within the Communist Party.

A coup took place in 1991 that was encouraged by Communist Party hardliners. The people had tasted freedom by then and did not want the old-style rule of the Communist Party. Boris Yeltsin emerged as a national hero in opposing this coup. The Russian Republic, where Yeltsin won a popular election, began to shake off centralised control. Power began to shift from the Soviet centre to the republics, especially in the more Europeanised part of the Soviet Union, which saw themselves as sovereign states. The Central Asian republics did not ask for independence and wanted to remain with the Soviet Federation. In December 1991, under the leadership of Yeltsin, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, three major republics of the USSR, declared that the Soviet Union was disbanded. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was banned. Capitalism and democracy were adopted as the bases for the post-Soviet republics.



LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION



Joseph Stalin
(1879-1953)
Successor to Lenin and led the Soviet Union during its consolidation (1924-53); began rapid industrialisation and forcible collectivisation of agriculture; credited with Soviet victory in the Second World War; held responsible for the Great Terror of the 1930s, authoritarian functioning and elimination of rivals within the party.



LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION



Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971)
Leader of the Soviet Union (1953-64); denounced Stalin's leadership style and introduced some reforms in 1956; suggested "peaceful coexistence" with the West; involved in suppressing popular rebellion in Hungary and in the Cuban missile crisis.



I am amazed! How could so many sensitive people all over the world admire a system like this?

A Communist Party bureaucrat drives down from Moscow to a collective farm to register a potato harvest.

"Comrade farmer, how has the harvest been this year?" the official asks.

"Oh, by the grace of God, we had mountains of potatoes," answers the farmer.

"But there is no God," counters the official.

"Huh", says the farmer, "And there are no mountains of potatoes either."

The declaration on the disintegration of the USSR and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) came as a surprise to the other republics, especially to the Central Asian ones. The exclusion of these republics was an issue that was quickly solved by making them founding members of the CIS. Russia was now accepted as the successor state of the Soviet Union. It inherited the Soviet seat in the UN Security Council. Russia accepted all the international treaties and commitments of the Soviet Union. It took over as the only nuclear state of the post-Soviet space and carried out some nuclear disarmament measures with the US. The old Soviet Union was thus dead and buried.

there may be more general lessons to be drawn from this very important case.

There is no doubt that the internal weaknesses of Soviet political and economic institutions, which failed to meet the aspirations of the people, were responsible for the collapse of the system. Economic stagnation for many years led to severe consumer shortages and a large section of Soviet society began to doubt and question the system and to do so openly.

Why did the system become so weak and why did the economy stagnate? The answer is partially clear. The Soviet economy used much of its resources in maintaining a nuclear and military arsenal and the development of its satellite states in Eastern Europe and within the Soviet system (the five Central Asian Republics in particular). This led to a huge economic burden that the system could not cope with. At the same time, ordinary citizens became more knowledgeable about the economic advance of the West. They could see the disparities between their system and the systems of the West. After years of being told that the Soviet

WHY DID THE SOVIET UNION DISINTEGRATE?

How did the second most powerful country in the world suddenly disintegrate? This is a question worth asking not just to understand the Soviet Union and the end of communism but also because it is not the first and may not be the last political system to collapse. While there are unique features of the Soviet collapse,

system was better than Western capitalism, the reality of its backwardness came as a political and psychological shock.

The Soviet Union had become stagnant in an administrative and political sense as well. The Communist Party that had ruled the Soviet Union for over 70 years was not accountable to the people. Ordinary people were alienated by slow and stifling administration, rampant corruption, the inability of the system to correct mistakes it had made, the unwillingness to allow more openness in government, and the centralisation of authority in a vast land. Worse still, the party bureaucrats gained more privileges than ordinary citizens. People did not identify with the system and with the rulers, and the government increasingly lost popular backing.

Gorbachev's reforms promised to deal with these problems. Gorbachev promised to reform the economy, catch up with the West, and loosen the administrative system. You may wonder why the Soviet Union collapsed in spite of Gorbachev's accurate diagnosis of the problem and his attempt to implement reforms. Here is where the answers become more controversial, and we have to depend on future historians to guide us better.

The most basic answer seems to be that when Gorbachev carried out his reforms and loosened the system, he set in motion forces and expectations that few could have predicted and became virtually

impossible to control. There were sections of Soviet society which felt that Gorbachev should have moved much faster and were disappointed and impatient with his methods. They did not benefit in the way they had hoped, or they benefited too slowly. Others, especially members of the Communist Party and those who were served by the system, took exactly the opposite view. They felt that their power and privileges were eroding and Gorbachev was moving too quickly. In this 'tug of war', Gorbachev lost support on all sides and divided public opinion. Even those who were with him became disillusioned as they felt that he did not adequately defend his own policies.

All this might not have led to the collapse of the Soviet Union but for another development that surprised most observers and indeed many insiders. The rise of nationalism and the desire for sovereignty within various republics including Russia and the Baltic Republics (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), Ukraine, Georgia, and others proved to be the final and most immediate cause for the disintegration of the USSR. Here again there are differing views.

One view is that nationalist urges and feelings were very much at work throughout the history of the Soviet Union and that whether or not the reforms had occurred there would have been an internal struggle within the Soviet Union. This is a 'what-if' of history, but surely it is not an unreasonable



LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION



Leonid Brezhnev
(1906-82)
Leader of the
Soviet Union (1964-
82); proposed
Asian Collective
Security system;
associated with
the détente phase
in relations with
the US; involved
in suppressing a
popular rebellion
in Czechoslovakia
and in invading
Afghanistan.



LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION



Mikhail Gorbachev
 (Born 1931)
 Last leader of the Soviet Union (1985-91); introduced economic and political reform policies of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness); stopped the arms race with the US; withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan and eastern Europe; helped in the unification of Germany; ended the Cold War; blamed for the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

view given the size and diversity of the Soviet Union and its growing internal problems. Others think that Gorbachev's reforms speeded up and increased nationalist dissatisfaction to the point that the government and rulers could not control it.

Ironically, during the Cold War many thought that nationalist unrest would be strongest in the Central Asian republics given their ethnic and religious differences with the rest of the Soviet Union and their economic backwardness. However, as things turned out,



TIMELINE OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION

1985 March: Mikhail Gorbachev elected as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; appoints Boris Yeltsin as the head of the Communist Party in Moscow; initiates a series of reforms in the Soviet Union

1988 June: Independence movement begins in Lithuania; later spreads to Estonia and Latvia

1989 October: Soviet Union declares that the Warsaw Pact members are free to decide their own futures; Berlin Wall falls in November

1990 February: Gorbachev strips the Soviet Communist Party of its 72-year-long monopoly on power by calling on the Soviet parliament (Duma) to permit multi-party politics

1990 March: Lithuania becomes the first of the 15 Soviet republics to declare its independence

1990 June: Russian parliament declares its independence from the Soviet Union

1991 June: Yeltsin, no longer in the Communist Party, becomes the President of Russia

1991 August: The Communist Party hardliners stage an abortive coup against Gorbachev

1991 September: Three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania become UN members (later join NATO in March 2004)

1991 December: Russia, Belarus and Ukraine decide to annul the 1922 Treaty on the Creation of the USSR and establish the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan join the CIS (Georgia joins later in 1993); Russia takes over the USSR seat in the United Nations

1991 December 25: Gorbachev resigns as the President of the Soviet Union; the end of the Soviet Union

nationalist dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union was strongest in the more "European" and prosperous part – in Russia and the Baltic areas as well as Ukraine and Georgia. Ordinary people here felt alienated from the Central Asians and from each other and concluded also that they were paying too high an economic price to keep the more backward areas within the Soviet Union.

CONSEQUENCES OF DISINTEGRATION

The collapse of the second world of the Soviet Union and the socialist systems in eastern Europe had profound consequences for world politics. Let us note here three broad kinds of enduring changes that resulted from it. Each of these had a number of effects that we cannot list here.

First of all, it meant the end of Cold War confrontations. The ideological dispute over whether the socialist system would beat the capitalist system was not an issue any more. Since this dispute had engaged the military of the two blocs, had triggered a massive arms race and accumulation of nuclear weapons, and had led to the existence of military blocs, the end of the confrontation demanded an end to this arms race and a possible new peace.

Second, power relations in world politics changed and, therefore, the relative influence of ideas and institutions also

changed. The end of the Cold War left open only two possibilities: either the remaining superpower would dominate and create a unipolar system, or different countries or groups of countries could become important players in the international system, thereby bringing in a multipolar system where no one power could dominate. As it turned out, the US became the sole superpower. Backed by the power and prestige of the US, the capitalist economy was now the dominant economic system internationally. Institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund became powerful advisors to all these countries since they gave them loans for their transitions to capitalism. Politically, the notion of liberal democracy emerged as the best way to organise political life.

Third, the end of the Soviet bloc meant the emergence of many new countries. All these countries had their own independent aspirations and choices. Some of them, especially the Baltic and east European states, wanted to join the European Union and become part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The Central Asian countries wanted to take advantage of their geographical location and continue their close ties with Russia and also to establish ties with the West, the US, China and others. Thus, the international system saw many new players emerge, each with its own identity, interests, and economic and political difficulties. It is to these issues that we now turn.



LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION



Boris Yeltsin
(1931-2007)
The first elected President of Russia (1991-1999); rose to power in the Communist Party and was made the Mayor of Moscow by Gorbachev; later joined the critics of Gorbachev and left the Communist Party; led the protests against the Soviet regime in 1991; played a key role in dissolving the Soviet Union; blamed for hardships suffered by Russians in their transition from communism to capitalism.



I heard someone say "The end of the Soviet Union does not mean the end of socialism." Is that possible?

SHOCK THERAPY IN POST-COMMUNIST REGIMES

The collapse of communism was followed in most of these countries by a painful process of transition from an authoritarian socialist system to a democratic capitalist system. The model of transition in Russia, Central Asia and east Europe that was influenced by the World Bank and the IMF came to be known as 'shock therapy'. Shock therapy varied in intensity and speed amongst the former second world countries, but its direction and features were quite similar.

Each of these countries was required to make a total shift to a capitalist economy, which meant rooting out completely any structures evolved during the Soviet period. Above all, it meant that private ownership was to be the dominant pattern of ownership of property. Privatisation of state assets and corporate ownership patterns were to be immediately brought in. Collective farms were to be replaced by private farming and capitalism in agriculture. This transition ruled out any alternate or 'third way', other than state-controlled socialism or capitalism.

MAP OF CENTRAL, EASTERN EUROPE AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES



Locate the Central Asian Republics on the map.

Source: https://www.unicef.org/hac2012/images/HAC2012_CEE-CIS_map_REVISED.gif

Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Shock therapy also involved a drastic change in the external orientation of these economies. Development was now envisaged through more trade, and thus a sudden and complete switch to free trade was considered essential. The free trade regime and foreign direct investment (FDI) were to be the main engines of change. This also involved openness to foreign investment, financial opening up or deregulation, and currency convertibility.

Finally, the transition also involved a break up of the existing trade alliances among the countries of the Soviet bloc. Each state from this bloc was now linked directly to the West and not to each other in the region. These states were thus to be gradually absorbed into the Western economic system. The Western capitalist states now became the leaders and thus guided and controlled the development of the region through various agencies and organisations.

CONSEQUENCES OF SHOCK THERAPY

The shock therapy administered in the 1990s did not lead the people into the promised utopia of mass consumption. Generally, it brought ruin to the economies and disaster upon the people of the entire region. In Russia, the large state-controlled industrial complex almost collapsed, as about 90 per cent of its industries

were put up for sale to private individuals and companies. Since the restructuring was carried out through market forces and not by government-directed industrial policies, it led to the virtual disappearance of entire industries. This was called 'the largest garage sale in history', as valuable industries were undervalued and sold at throwaway prices. Though all citizens were given vouchers to participate in the sales, most citizens sold their vouchers in the black market because they needed the money.

The value of the ruble, the Russian currency, declined dramatically. The rate of inflation was so high that people lost all their savings. The collective farm system disintegrated leaving people without food security, and Russia started to import food. The real GDP of Russia in 1999 was below what it was in 1989. The old trading structure broke down with no alternative in its place.

The old system of social welfare was systematically destroyed. The withdrawal of government subsidies pushed large sections of the people into poverty. The middle classes were pushed to the periphery of society, and the academic and intellectual manpower disintegrated or migrated. A mafia emerged in most of these countries and started controlling many economic activities. Privatisation led to new disparities. Post-Soviet states, especially Russia, were divided



I can see the shock.
But where is the therapy? Why do we talk in such euphemisms?



As a result of 'shock therapy' about half of Russia's 1,500 banks and other financial institutions went bankrupt. This image is that of Inkombank, Russia's second largest bank, that went bankrupt in 1998. As a result, the money of 10,000 corporate and private shareholders was lost, along with the money kept in the bank by customers.



What is the difference between nationalism and secessionism? If you succeed, you are celebrated as a nationalist hero, and if you fail you are condemned for crimes of secessionism.

between rich and poor regions. Unlike the earlier system, there was now great economic inequality between people.

The construction of democratic institutions was not given the same attention and priority as the demands of economic transformation. The constitutions of all these countries were drafted in a hurry and most, including Russia, had a strong executive president with the widest possible powers that rendered elected parliaments relatively weak. In Central Asia, the presidents had great powers, and several of them became very authoritarian. For example, the presidents of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan appointed themselves to power first for ten years and then extended it for another ten years. They allowed no dissent or opposition. A judicial culture and independence of the judiciary was yet to be established in most of these countries.

Most of these economies, especially Russia, started reviving in 2000, ten years after their independence. The reason for the revival for most of their economies was the export of natural resources like oil, natural gas and minerals. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Russia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are major oil and gas producers. Other countries have gained because of the oil pipelines that cross their territories for which they get rent. Some amount of manufacturing has restarted.

TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS

Most of the former Soviet Republics are prone to conflicts, and many have had civil wars and insurrections. Complicating the picture is the growing involvement of outside powers.

In Russia, two republics, Chechnya and Dagestan, have had violent secessionist movements. Moscow's method of dealing with the Chechen rebels and indiscriminate military bombings have led to many human rights violations but failed to deter the aspirations for independence.

In Central Asia, Tajikistan witnessed a civil war that went on for ten years till 2001. The region as a whole has many sectarian conflicts. In Azerbaijan's province of Nagorno-Karabakh, some local Armenians want to secede and join Armenia. In Georgia, the demand for independence has come from two provinces, resulting in a civil war. There are movements against the existing regimes in Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan and Georgia. Countries and provinces are fighting over river waters. All this has led to instability, making life difficult for the ordinary citizen.

The Central Asian Republics are areas with vast hydrocarbon resources, which have brought them economic benefit. Central Asia has also become a zone of competition between outside powers and oil companies. The region is next to Russia, China, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, and

close to West Asia. After 11 September 2001, the US wanted military bases in the region and paid the governments of all Central Asian states to hire bases and to allow airplanes to fly over their territory during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, Russia perceives these states as its 'Near Abroad' and believes that they should be under Russian influence. China has interests here because of the oil resources, and the Chinese have begun to settle around the borders and conduct trade.

In eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia split peacefully into two, with the Czechs and the Slovaks forming independent countries. But the most severe conflict took place in the Balkan republics of Yugoslavia. After 1991, it broke apart with several provinces like Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina declaring independence. Ethnic Serbs opposed this, and a massacre of non-Serb Bosnians followed. The NATO intervention and the bombing of Yugoslavia followed the inter-ethnic civil war.

INDIA AND POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

India has maintained good relations with all the post-communist countries. But the strongest relations are still those between Russia and India. India's relations with Russia are an important aspect of India's foreign policy. Indo-Russian relations are

embedded in a history of trust and common interests and are matched by popular perceptions. Indian heroes from Raj Kapoor to Amitabh Bachchan are household names in Russia and many post-Soviet countries. One can hear Hindi film songs all over the region, and India is part of the popular memory.

Russia and India share a vision of a multipolar world order. What they mean by a multipolar world

Make a list of the similarities between India and the USSR in their political and economic ideologies.



BOLLYWOOD STIRS UZBEK PASSIONS

Seven years after the Soviet Union collapsed, the Uzbek passion for Indian films continues. Within months of the release of the latest film in India, pirate copies were already on sale in the Uzbek capital, Tashkent.

Mohammed Sharif Pat runs a shop selling Indian films near one of Tashkent's biggest markets. He is an Afghan who brings videos from the Pakistani frontier town Peshawar. "There are many people who love Indian films here. I'd say at least 70% of the people in Tashkent buy them. We sell about 100 videos a day. I've just had to put in an order for a thousand more," he says. "The Uzbeks are Central Asians, they are part of Asia. They have a common culture. That's why they like Indian films."

Despite the shared history, for many Indians living in Uzbekistan, the passion the Uzbeks have for their films and film stars has come as a bit of a surprise. "Wherever we go and meet local dignitaries - even ministers or cabinet ministers - during our conversation it is always mentioned," says Ashok Shamer from the Indian embassy in Tashkent. "This shows that Indian films, culture, songs and especially Raj Kapoor have been household names here. Most of them can sing some Hindi songs, they may not know the meaning but their pronunciation is correct and they know the music," he says. "I have found out that almost all my neighbours can sing and play Hindi songs. This was really a big surprise to me when I came to Uzbekistan."

A report by the BBC's Central Asia Correspondent Louise Hidalgo



FLASHBACK: INDIA AND THE USSR

During the Cold War era, India and the USSR enjoyed a special relationship which led critics to say that India was part of the Soviet camp. It was a multi-dimensional relationship:

Economic: The Soviet Union assisted India's public sector companies at a time when such assistance was difficult to get. It gave aid and technical assistance for steel plants like Bhilai, Bokaro, Visakhapatnam, and machinery plants like Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., etc. The Soviet Union accepted Indian currency for trade when India was short of foreign exchange.

Political: The Soviet Union supported India's positions on the Kashmir issue in the UN. It also supported India during its major conflicts, especially during the war with Pakistan in 1971. India too supported Soviet foreign policy in some crucial but indirect ways.

Military: India received most of its military hardware from the Soviet Union at a time when few other countries were willing to part with military technologies. The Soviet Union entered into various agreements allowing India to jointly produce military equipment.

Culture: Hindi films and Indian culture were popular in the Soviet Union. A large number of Indian writers and artists visited the USSR.

order is the co-existence of several powers in the international system, collective security (in which an attack on any country is regarded as a threat to all countries and requires a collective response), greater regionalism, negotiated settlements of international conflicts, an independent foreign policy for all countries, and decision making through bodies like the UN that should be strengthened, democratised, and empowered. More than 80 bilateral agreements have been signed between India and Russia as part of the Indo-Russian Strategic Agreement of 2001.

India stands to benefit from its relationship with Russia on issues like Kashmir, energy supplies, sharing information on international terrorism,

LET'S DO IT TOGETHER

STEPS

- Select any five Cold War allies each of the Soviet Union and the US.
- Divide the class accordingly (10 groups). Allot a country to each group. Assign the group to collect information on the political, social and economic profile of these countries during the Cold War days.
- They should also prepare a profile of that country after the collapse of communism and say what difference, if any, the disintegration of the second world made to that country.
- Each group is to present its findings to the entire class. Ensure that students talk about how people of these countries felt about themselves as citizens.

Ideas for the Teacher

- You could link the students' findings to the working of the democratic system and communist system and highlight the pros and cons of both these systems.
- You could encourage the students to discuss if there is an alternative to both communism and capitalism.

access to Central Asia, and balancing its relations with China. Russia stands to benefit from this relationship because India is the second largest arms market for Russia. The Indian military gets most of its hardware from Russia. Since India is an oil-importing nation, Russia is important to India and has repeatedly come to the assistance of India during its oil crises. India is seeking to increase its energy

imports from Russia and the republics of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Cooperation with these republics includes partnership and investment in oilfields. Russia is important for India's nuclear energy plans and assisted India's space industry by giving, for example, the cryogenic rocket when India needed it. Russia and India have collaborated on various scientific projects.

1. Which among the following statements that describe the nature of Soviet economy is wrong?
 - a. Socialism was the dominant ideology
 - b. State ownership/control existed over the factors of production
 - c. People enjoyed economic freedom
 - d. Every aspect of the economy was planned and controlled by the State
2. Arrange the following in chronological order:
 - a. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
 - b. Fall of the Berlin Wall
 - c. Disintegration of the Soviet Union
 - d. Russian Revolution
3. Which among the following is NOT an outcome of the disintegration of the USSR?
 - a. End of the ideological war between the US and USSR
 - b. Birth of CIS
 - c. Change in the balance of power in the world order
 - d. Crises in the Middle East
4. Match the following:

i. Mikhail Gorbachev	a. Successor of USSR
ii. Shock Therapy	b. Military pact
iii. Russia	c. Introduced reforms
iv. Boris Yeltsin	d. Economic model
v. Warsaw	e. President of Russia

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5. Fill in the blanks.
- The Soviet political system was based on _____ ideology.
 - _____ was the military alliance started by the USSR.
 - _____ party dominated the Soviet Union's political system.
 - _____ initiated the reforms in the USSR in 1985.
 - The fall of the _____ symbolised the end of the Cold War.
6. Mention any three features that distinguish the Soviet economy from that of a capitalist country like the US.
7. What were the factors that forced Gorbachev to initiate the reforms in the USSR?
8. What were the major consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union for countries like India?
9. What was Shock Therapy? Was this the best way to make a transition from communism to capitalism?
10. Write an essay for or against the following proposition: "With the disintegration of the second world, India should change its foreign policy and focus more on friendship with the US rather than with traditional friends like Russia".



Chapter 2

Contemporary Centres of Power

OVERVIEW

After the end of the bipolar structure of world politics in the early 1990s, it became clear that alternative centres of political and economic power could limit America's dominance. Thus, in Europe, the European Union (EU) and, in Asia, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), have emerged as forces to reckon with. While evolving regional solutions to their historical enmities and weaknesses, both the EU and the ASEAN have developed alternative institutions and conventions that build a more peaceful and cooperative regional order and have transformed the countries in the region into prosperous economies. The economic rise of China has made a dramatic impact on world politics. In this chapter, we take a look at some of these emerging alternative centres of power and assess their possible role in the future.



The two images here represent two phases of the history of China. The red poster – "The Socialist Road is the Broadest of All" – represents the ideology that guided China during its early phase after the Revolution. The photograph below is that of the city of Shanghai, the symbol of China's new economic power.

EUROPEAN UNION

As the Second World War came to an end, many of Europe's leaders grappled with the 'Question of Europe'. Should Europe be allowed to revert to its old rivalries or be reconstructed on principles and institutions that would contribute to a positive conception of international relations? The Second World War shattered many of the assumptions and structures on which the European states had based their relations. In 1945, the European states confronted the ruin of their economies and the destruction of the assumptions and structures on which Europe had been founded.

European integration after 1945 was aided by the Cold War. America extended massive financial help for reviving Europe's economy under what was called the 'Marshall Plan'. The US also created a new collective security structure under NATO. Under the Marshall Plan, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation

(OEEC) was established in 1948 to channel aid to the west European states. It became a forum where the western European states began to cooperate on trade and economic issues. The Council of Europe, established in 1949, was another step forward in political cooperation. The process of economic integration of European capitalist countries proceeded step by step (see Timeline of European Integration) leading to the formation of the European Economic Community in 1957. This process acquired a political dimension with the creation of the European Parliament. The collapse of the Soviet bloc put Europe on a fast track and resulted in the establishment of the European Union in 1992. The foundation was thus laid for a common foreign and security policy, cooperation on justice and home affairs, and the creation of a single currency.

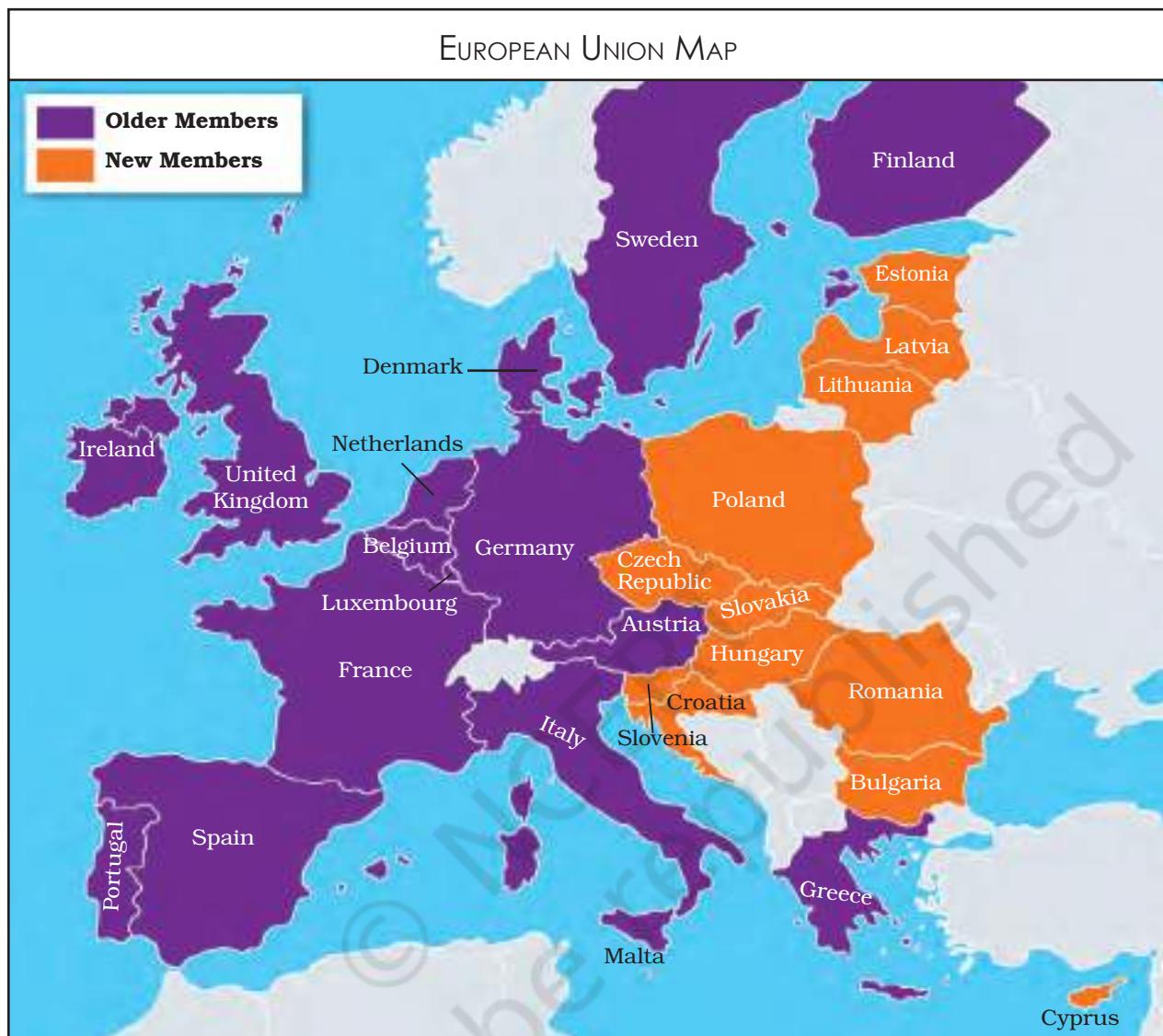
The European Union has evolved over time from an economic union to an increasingly political one. The EU has started to act more as a nation state. While the attempts to have a Constitution for the EU have failed, it has its own flag, anthem, founding date, and currency. It also has some form of a common foreign and security policy in its dealings with other nations. The European Union has tried to expand areas of cooperation while acquiring new



The European Union Flag

The circle of gold stars stands for solidarity and harmony between the peoples of Europe. It has twelve stars, as the number twelve is traditionally the symbol of perfection, completeness and unity.

Source: http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/emblem/index_en.htm



members, especially from the erstwhile Soviet bloc. The process has not proved easy, for people in many countries are not very enthusiastic in giving the EU powers that were exercised by the government of their country. There are also reservations about including some new countries within the EU.

The EU has economic, political and diplomatic, and military influence. The European

Union's GDP is projected to be approximately \$19.35 trillion in the year 2024. Its currency, the euro, can pose a threat to the dominance of the US dollar. Its share of world trade is much larger than that of the United States allowing it to be more assertive in trade disputes with the US and China. Its economic power gives it influence over its closest neighbours as well as in Asia and Africa. It also functions as an important bloc in international



Oh, now I know what a Schengen visa means! Under the Schengen agreement, you have to get a visa from just one of the EU countries and that allows you entry in most of the other European Union countries.



TIMELINE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

- 1951 April:** Six west European countries, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg sign the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).
- 1957 March 25:** These six countries sign the Treaties of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom).
- 1973 January:** Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the European Economic Community (EEC).
- 1979 June:** First direct elections to the European Parliament
- 1981 January:** Greece joins the EEC.
- 1985 June:** The Schengen Agreement abolishes border controls among the EEC members.
- 1986 January:** Spain and Portugal join the EEC.
- 1990 October:** Unification of Germany.
- 1992 February 7:** The Treaty of Maastricht was signed establishing the European Union (EU).
- 1993 January:** European Economic Community (EEC) was renamed the European Community (EC).
- 1995 January:** Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU.
- 2002 January:** Euro, the new currency, was introduced in the 12 EU members.
- 2004 May:** Ten new members, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia join the EU.
- 2007 January:** Bulgaria and Romania join the EU. Slovenia adopts the Euro.
- 2009 December:** The Lisbon Treaty came into force.
- 2012 :** The EU is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 2013:** Croatia becomes the 28th member of the EU.
- 2016:** Referendum in Britain, 51.9 per cent voters decide that Britain exit (Brexit) from the EU.

economic organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

The EU also has political and diplomatic influence. One member

of the EU, France, holds permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The EU includes several non-permanent members of the UNSC. This has enabled the EU to influence some US policies such as the current US position on Iran's nuclear programme. Its use of diplomacy, economic investments, and negotiations rather than coercion and military force has been effective as in the case of its dialogue with China on human rights and environmental degradation.

Militarily, the EU's combined armed forces are the second largest in the world. Its total spending on defence is second after the US. One EU member state, France, also has nuclear arsenals of approximately 335 nuclear warheads. It is also the world's second most important source of space and communications technology.

As a supranational organisation, the EU is able to intervene in economic, political and social areas. But in many areas its member states have their own foreign relations and defence policies that are often at odds with each other. Thus, Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair was America's partner in the Iraq invasion, and many of the EU's newer members made up the US-led 'coalition of the willing' whereas Germany and France opposed American policy. There is also a deep-seated 'Euro-skepticism' in some parts



© Ares, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

The cartoon appeared in 2003 when the European Union's initiative to draft a common constitution failed. Why does the cartoonist use the image of the ship *Titanic* to represent EU?

of Europe about the EU's integrationist agenda. Thus, for example, Britain's former prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, kept the UK out of the European Market. Denmark and Sweden have resisted the Maastricht Treaty and the adoption of the euro, the common European currency. This limits the ability of the EU to act in matters of foreign relations and defence.

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

Take a look at the political map of the world. Which countries would you say fall in the southeastern

region of Asia? Before and during the Second World War, this region of Asia suffered the economic and political consequences of repeated colonialisms, both European and Japanese. At the end of the war, it confronted problems of nation-building, the ravages of poverty and economic backwardness and the pressure to align with one great power or another during the Cold War. This was a recipe for conflict, which the countries of Southeast Asia could ill afford. Efforts at Asian and Third World unity, such as the Bandung Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement, were ineffective in establishing the conventions for informal cooperation and interaction. Hence, the Southeast



Imagine what would happen if they have a European Union football team!



Source: http://www.unicef.org/eapro/EAP_map_final.gif

Note: Maps on this site do not reflect a position by UNICEF on the legal status of any country or territory or the delimitation of any frontiers.

LET'S DO IT
Locate the ASEAN members on the map. Find the location of the ASEAN Secretariat.

Asian alternative by establishing the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

ASEAN was established in 1967 by five countries of this region — Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand — by signing the Bangkok Declaration. The objectives of ASEAN were primarily to accelerate economic growth and through that 'social progress and cultural development'. A secondary objective was to promote regional peace and stability based on the rule of law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. Over the years, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar (Burma) and

Cambodia joined ASEAN taking its strength to ten.

Unlike the EU there is little desire in ASEAN for supranational structures and institutions. ASEAN countries have celebrated what has become known as the 'ASEAN Way', a form of interaction that is informal, non-confrontational and cooperative. The respect for national sovereignty is critical to the functioning of ASEAN.

With some of the fastest growing economies in the world, ASEAN broadened its objectives beyond the economic and social spheres. In 2003, ASEAN moved along the path of the EU by agreeing to establish an ASEAN Community comprising three pillars, namely, the ASEAN Security Community, the ASEAN Economic Community and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community.



The ASEAN Flag

In the ASEAN logo, the ten stalks of paddy (rice) represent the ten Southeast Asian countries bound together in friendship and solidarity. The circle symbolises the unity of ASEAN.

Source : www.aseansec.org

The ASEAN security community was based on the conviction that outstanding territorial disputes should not escalate into armed confrontation. By 2003, ASEAN had several agreements in place by which member states promised to uphold peace, neutrality, cooperation, non-interference, and respect for national differences and sovereign rights. The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which was established in 1994, is the organisation that carries out coordination of security and foreign policy.

ASEAN was and still remains principally an economic association. While the ASEAN region as a whole is a much smaller economy compared to the US, the EU, and Japan, its economy is growing much faster than all these. This accounts for the growth in its influence both in the region and beyond. The objectives of the ASEAN Economic Community are to create a common market and production base within ASEAN states and to aid social and economic development in the region. The Economic Community would also like to improve the existing ASEAN Dispute Settlement Mechanism to resolve economic disputes. ASEAN has focused on creating a Free Trade Area (FTA) for investment, labour, and services. The US and China have already moved fast to negotiate FTAs with ASEAN.

ASEAN is rapidly growing into a very important regional

organisation. Its Vision 2020 has defined an outward-looking role for ASEAN in the international community. This builds on the existing ASEAN policy to encourage negotiation over conflicts in the region. Thus, ASEAN has mediated the end of the Cambodian conflict, the East Timor crisis, and meets annually to discuss East Asian cooperation.

The current economic strength of ASEAN, especially its economic relevance as a trading and investment partner to the growing Asian economies such as India and China, makes this an attractive proposition. During the Cold War years Indian foreign policy did not pay adequate attention to ASEAN. But in recent years, India has tried to make amends. It signed trade agreements with three ASEAN members, Malaysia, Singapore and



Isn't India a part of Southeast Asia? The north-eastern states are so close to the ASEAN countries.

Who are the members of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)?



Keshav, The Hindu

India's 'Look East' Policy since the early 1990s and 'Act East' Policy since 2014 have led to greater economic interaction with the East Asian nations (ASEAN, China, Japan and South Korea).



Why did ASEAN succeed whereas SAARC did not?

Thailand. The ASEAN-India FTA came into effect in 2010. ASEAN's strength, however, lies in its policies of interaction and consultation with member states, with dialogue partners, and with other non-regional organisations. It is the only regional association in Asia that provides a political forum where Asian countries and the major powers can discuss political and security concerns.



Leaders release postal stamps to commemorate silver jubilee of India and ASEAN partnership in New Delhi on 25 January 2018

THE RISE OF THE CHINESE ECONOMY

Let us now turn to the third major alternative centre of power and our immediate neighbour, China. The cartoon on the following page sums up the current mood all over the world about the rise of China as an economic power. China's economic success since 1978 has been linked to its rise as a great power. China has been the fastest growing economy since the reforms first began there. It is projected to overtake the US as the world's largest economy by 2040. Its economic integration into the region makes it the driver of East Asian growth, thereby giving it enormous influence in

regional affairs. The strength of its economy, together with other factors such as population, land mass, resources, regional location and political influence, adds to its power in significant ways.

After the inception of the People's Republic of China in 1949, following the communist revolution under the leadership of Mao, its economy was based on the Soviet model. The economically backward communist China chose to sever its links with the capitalist world. It had little choice but to fall back on its own resources and, for a brief period, on Soviet aid and advice. The model was to create a state-owned heavy industries sector from the capital accumulated from agriculture. As it was short of foreign exchange that it needed in order to buy technology and goods on the world market, China decided to substitute imports by domestic goods.

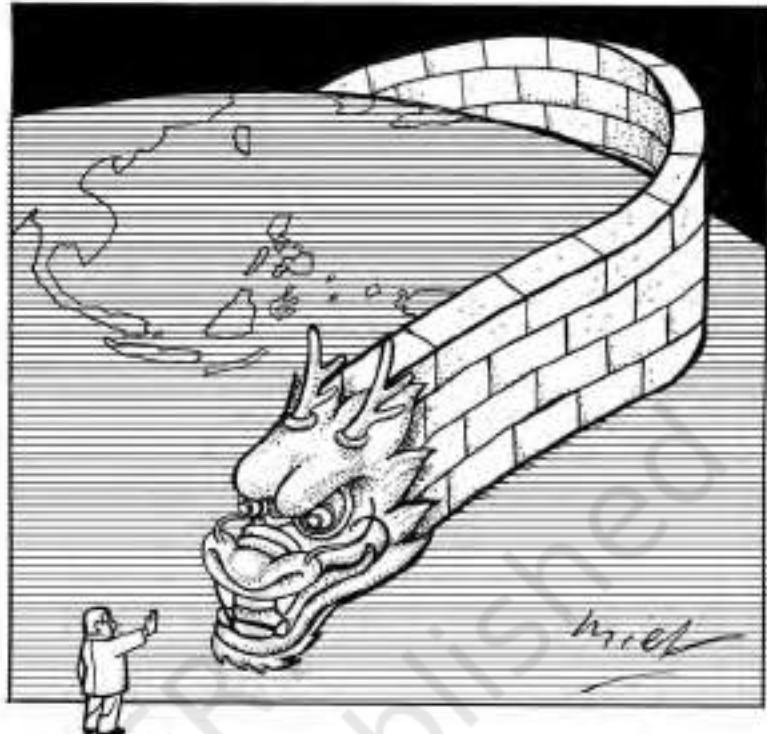
This model allowed China to use its resources to establish the foundations of an industrial economy on a scale that did not exist before. Employment and social welfare was assured to all citizens, and China moved ahead of most developing countries in educating its citizens and ensuring better health for them. The economy also grew at a respectable rate of 5-6 per cent. But an annual growth of 2-3 per cent in population meant that economic growth was insufficient to meet the needs of a growing population. Agricultural production was not sufficient to

generate a surplus for industry. In Chapter 1, we discussed the crisis of the state controlled economy in the USSR. A similar crisis was to face China too: its industrial production was not growing fast enough, international trade was minimal and per capita income was very low.

The Chinese leadership took major policy decisions in the 1970s. China ended its political and economic isolation with the establishment of relations with the United States in 1972. Premier Zhou Enlai proposed the 'four modernisations' (agriculture, industry, science and technology and military) in 1973. By 1978, the then leader Deng Xiaoping announced the 'open door' policy and economic reforms in China. The policy was to generate higher productivity by investments of capital and technology from abroad.

China followed its own path in introducing a market economy. The Chinese did not go for 'shock therapy' but opened their economy step by step. The privatisation of agriculture in 1982 was followed by the privatisation of industry in 1998. Trade barriers were eliminated only in Special Economic Zones (SEZs) where foreign investors could set up enterprises. In China, the state played and continues to play a central role in setting up a market economy.

The new economic policies helped the Chinese economy to break from stagnation.



© Deng Coy Miel, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

The Great Wall and Dragon are two symbols most commonly associated with China. This cartoon uses both these to depict China's economic rise. Who do you think is the little man in this cartoon? Can he stop the dragon?

Privatisation of agriculture led to a remarkable rise in agricultural production and rural incomes. High personal savings in the rural economy lead to an exponential growth in rural industry. The Chinese economy, including both industry and agriculture, grew at a faster rate. The new trading laws and the creation of Special Economic Zones led to a phenomenal rise in foreign trade. China has become the most important destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) anywhere in the world. It has large foreign exchange reserves that now allow it to make big investment in other countries. China's accession to the



A total of 6 SEZs in China and more than 200 approved SEZs in India! Is this good for India?

© Mike Lane, Cagle Cartoons Inc.



China then and now

© Ares, Cagle Cartoons Inc.



Chinese bicycle

Like the opening images for this chapter, the first cartoon comments on the change in China's orientation. The second cartoon uses the symbol of the bicycle — China is the largest user of bicycles in the world — to comment on a duality in today's China. What is this duality? Can we call this a contradiction?

WTO in 2001 has been a further step in its opening to the outside world. The country plans to deepen its integration into the world economy and shape the future world economic order.

While the Chinese economy has improved dramatically, not everyone in China has received the benefits of the reforms. Unemployment has risen in China with nearly 100 million people looking for jobs. Female employment and conditions of work are as bad as in Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Environmental degradation and corruption have increased besides a rise in economic inequality between rural and urban residents and coastal and inland provinces.

However, regionally and globally, China has become an economic power to reckon with. The integration of China's economy and the inter-dependencies that this has created has enabled China to have considerable influence with its trade partners. Hence, its outstanding issues with Japan, the US, ASEAN, and Russia have been tempered by economic considerations. It hopes to resolve its differences with Taiwan, which it regards as a renegade province, by integrating it closely into its economy. Fears of China's rise have also been mitigated by its contributions to the stability of the ASEAN economies after the 1997 financial crisis. Its more outward looking investment and aid

policies in Latin America and Africa are increasingly projecting it as a global player on the side of developing economies.

INDIA – CHINA RELATIONS

India and China were great powers in Asia before the advent of Western imperialism. China had considerable influence and control on the periphery of its borders based on its unique tributary system. At different times in China's long history of dynastic rule, Mongolia, Korea, parts of Indo-China, and Tibet accepted China's authority. Various kingdoms and empires in India also extended their influence beyond their borders. In both cases this influence was political, economic and cultural. However, the regions where India and China exercised influence rarely ever overlapped. Thus, there was limited political and cultural interaction between the two. The result was that neither country was very familiar with the other. In the twentieth century, when both nations confronted each other, they had some difficulty evolving a foreign policy to deal with each other.

After India regained its independence from Britain, and China expelled the foreign powers, there was hope that both would come together to shape the future of the developing world and of Asia particularly. For a brief while, the slogan of 'Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai'

was popular. However, Chinese aggression on the Indian border has marred that hope. Soon after independence, both states were involved in differences arising from the Chinese takeover of Tibet in 1950 and the final settlement of the Sino-Indian border. China and India were involved in a border conflict in 1962 over competing territorial claims principally in Arunachal Pradesh and in the Aksai Chin region of Ladakh.

The conflict of 1962, in which India suffered military reverses, had long-term implications for India–China relations. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were downgraded until 1976. Thereafter, relations between the two countries began to improve slowly. After the change in China's political leadership from the mid to late 1970s, China's policy became more pragmatic and less ideological. So it was prepared to put off the settlement of contentious issues while improving relations with India. A series of talks to resolve the border issue were also initiated in 1981.

Since the end of the Cold War, there have been significant changes in India–China relations. Their relations now have a strategic as well as an economic dimension. Both view themselves as rising powers in global politics, and both would like to play

Chinese President Xi Jinping paid a visit to India in 2019. Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China in 2018. Find out about the agreements signed during their visits.

LET'S DO IT TOGETHER

STEPS

- Divide the classroom into three groups.
- Assign each group one organisation to work on a fact file on the EU, ASEAN and SAARC.
- Students have to prepare a fact file that contains information on the objectives, functions and recent activities of these organisations. Pictures of the conferences / summit meetings can be collected.
- Each group is to present its fact file before the class.

Ideas for the Teacher

- The teacher is to focus on the functions of these organisations.
- Draw the attention of students to the achievements of regional organisations.
- Link the role of regional economic organisations to the over all development of the member countries.
- Sensitise students to the growing importance of regional economic organisations as an alternative approach to the peace and security of the world.



Some people say Chinese products are going to flood our market? But where are they?

a major role in the Asian economy and politics.

Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December 1988 provided the impetus for an improvement in India–China relations. Since then both governments have taken measures to contain conflict and maintain 'peace and tranquility' on the border. They have also signed agreements on cultural exchanges and cooperation in science and technology, and opened four border posts for trade. With India–China trade growing at 30 per cent per year since 1999, a more positive perspective on relations with China has emerged. Bilateral trade between India and China has increased from \$338 million in 1992 to more than \$84 billion in 2017. More recently, both

countries have agreed to cooperate with each other in areas that could otherwise create conflict between the two, such as bidding for energy deals abroad. At the global level, India and China have adopted similar policies in international economic institutions like the World Trade Organisation.

India's nuclear tests in 1998, was justified on the grounds of a threat from China, did not stop greater interaction. It is true that China was seen as contributing to the build up of Pakistan's nuclear programme. China's military relations with Bangladesh and Myanmar were viewed as hostile to Indian interests in South Asia. However, none of these issues is likely to lead to conflict between the two. One sign of this is that the talks to resolve the boundary question have continued without interruption and military-to-military cooperation is increasing. Indian and Chinese leaders and officials visit Beijing and New Delhi with greater frequency, and both sides are now becoming more familiar with each other. Increasing transportation and communication links, common economic interests and global concerns should help establish a more positive and sound relationship between the two most populous countries of the world. Recently the relation between the two countries has taken a downslide. Border disputes, China-Pakistan economic corridor and China's support to Pakistan in UN against India's move to counter terrorism are some of the factors for it.

Japan

You might have heard about famous Japanese brands such as Sony, Panasonic, Canon, Suzuki, Honda, Toyota, Mazda. They have a reputation for making high-technology products. Japan has very few natural resources and imports most of its raw materials. Even then it progressed rapidly after the end of the Second World War. Japan became a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1964. In 2017, it is the third largest economy in the world. It is the only Asian member of the G-7. It is the eleventh most populous nation in the world.

Japan is the only nation that suffered the destruction caused by nuclear bombs. It is the second largest contributor to the regular budget of the UN, contributing almost 10 per cent of the total. Japan has a security alliance with the US since 1951. As per Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes." Although Japan's military expenditure is only one per cent of its GDP, it is the seventh largest in the world.

Keeping all this in mind, do you think Japan can effectively function as an alternative centre of power?

Also find out about major agreements signed during high-level bilateral visits between the two nations in the recent past.



ASIMO, the world's most advanced humanoid robot, walking with a person while holding hand

Credit: <http://asimo.honda.com>

South Korea

The Korean peninsula was divided into South Korea (Republic of Korea) and North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) at the end of the Second World War along the 38th Parallel. The Korean War during 1950-53 and dynamics of the Cold War era further intensified the rivalries between the two sides. Both the Koreas finally became Members of the UN on 17 September 1991.

Meanwhile, South Korea emerged as a centre of power in Asia. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, it rapidly developed into an economic power, which is termed as "Miracle on the Han River". Signalling its all-round development, South Korea became a Member of the OECD in 1996. In 2017, its economy is the eleventh largest in the world and its military expenditure is the tenth largest.

According to the Human Development Report 2016, the HDI rank of South Korea is 18. The major factors responsible for its high human development include "successful land reforms, rural development, extensive human resources development and rapid equitable economic growth." Other factors are export orientation, strong redistribution policies, public infrastructure development, effective institutions and governance.

The South Korean brands such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai have become renowned in India. Numerous agreements between India and South Korea signify their growing commercial and cultural ties. Find out about major agreements signed in the recent past.



Skyline of Seoul city near the Han River

Credit: <http://english.seoul.go.kr>

S**E****S****U****R****W****X****E**

1. Arrange the following in chronological order.
 - a. China's accession to WTO
 - b. Establishment of the EEC
 - c. Establishment of the EU
 - d. Birth of ARF
2. The 'ASEAN Way'
 - a. Reflects the life style of ASEAN members
 - b. A form of interaction among ASEAN members that is informal and cooperative
 - c. The defence policy followed by the ASEAN members
 - d. The road that connects all the ASEAN members
3. Which of the following nations adopted an 'open door' policy?
 - a. China
 - b. South Korea
 - c. Japan
 - d. USA
4. Fill in the blanks:
 - a. The border conflict between China and India in 1962 was principally over _____ and _____ region.
 - b. ARF was established in the year _____.
 - c. China entered into bilateral relations with _____ (a major country) in 1972.
 - d. _____ Plan influenced the establishment of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation in 1948.
 - e. _____ is the organisation of ASEAN that deals with security.
5. What are the objectives of establishing regional organisations?
6. How does geographical proximity influence the formation of regional organisations?
7. What are the components of the ASEAN Vision 2020?
8. Name the pillars and the objectives of the ASEAN Community.
9. In what ways does the present Chinese economy differs from its command economy?
10. How did the European countries resolve their post-Second World War problem? Briefly outline the attempts that led to the formation of the European Union.
11. What makes the European Union a highly influential regional organisation?
12. The emerging economies of China and India have great potential to challenge the unipolar world. Do you agree with the statement? Substantiate your arguments.
13. The Peace and prosperity of countries lay in the establishment and strengthening of regional economic organisations. Justify this statement.
14. Identify the contentious issues between China and India. How could these be resolved for greater cooperation? Give your suggestions.

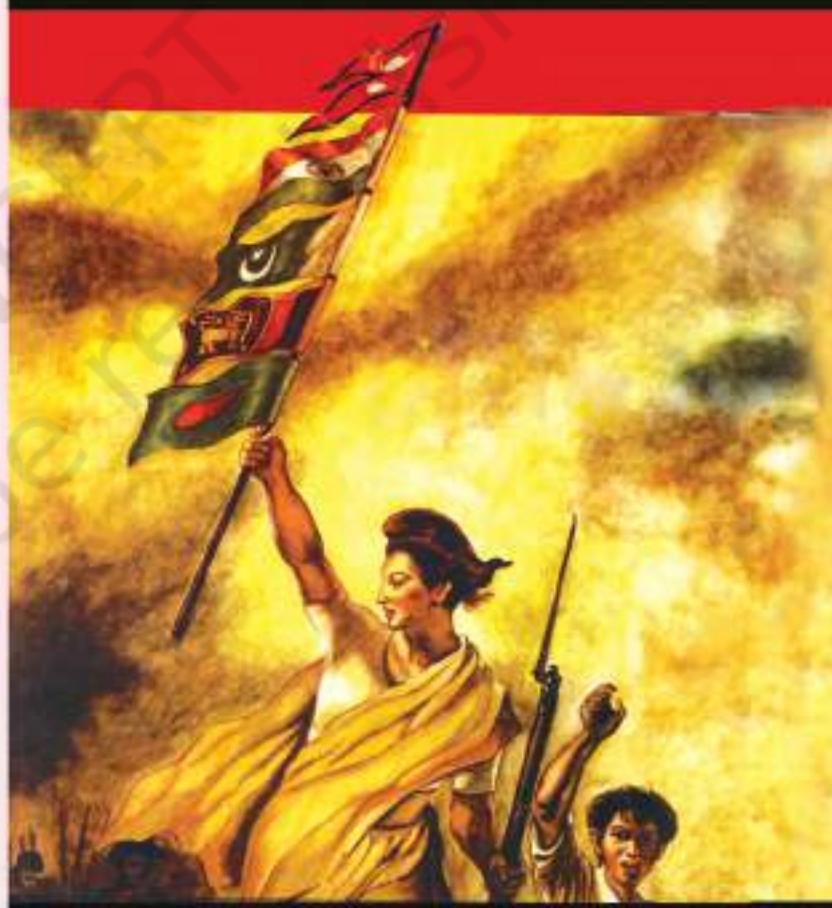


Chapter 3

Contemporary South Asia

OVERVIEW

Let us shift our gaze from the larger global developments in the post-Cold War era to developments in our own region, South Asia. When India and Pakistan joined the club of nuclear powers, this region suddenly became the focus of global attention. The focus was, of course, on the various kinds of conflict in this region: there are pending border and water sharing disputes between the states of the region. Besides, there are conflicts arising out of insurgency, ethnic strife and resource sharing. This makes the region very turbulent. At the same time, many people in South Asia recognise the fact that this region can develop and prosper if the states of the region cooperate with each other. In this chapter, we try to understand the nature of conflict and cooperation among different countries of the region. Since much of this is rooted in or conditioned by the domestic politics of these countries, we first introduce the region and the domestic politics of some of the big countries in the region.



Source: Subhas Rai's adaptation of 'Liberty Leading the People', painted by Eugene Delacroix in 1830. Courtesy of Himal Southasian, (January 2007) *The Southasia Trust, Nepal*

LET'S DO IT!

Identify some features common to all the South Asian countries but different from countries in West Asia or Southeast Asia.



Is there a fixed definition of these regions? Who decides that?

WHAT IS SOUTH ASIA?

We are all familiar with the gripping tension during an India-Pakistan cricket match. We have also seen the goodwill and hospitality shown to visiting Indian and Pakistani fans by their hosts when they come to watch a cricket match. This is symbolic of the larger pattern of South Asian affairs. Ours is a region where rivalry and goodwill, hope and despair, mutual suspicion and trust coexist.

Let us begin by asking an elementary question: what is South Asia? The expression 'South Asia' usually includes the following countries: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The mighty Himalayas in the north and the vast Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal in the south, west and east respectively provide a natural insularity to the region, which is largely responsible for the linguistic, social and cultural distinctiveness of the sub-continent. The boundaries of the region are not as clear in the east and the west, as they are in the north and the south. Afghanistan and Myanmar are often included in discussions of the region as a whole. China is an important player but is not considered to be a part of the region. In this chapter, we shall use South Asia to mean the seven countries mentioned above. Thus defined, South Asia stands for diversity in every sense and yet constitutes one geopolitical space.

The various countries in South Asia do not have the same kind of political systems. Despite many problems and limitations, Sri Lanka and India have successfully operated a democratic system since their independence from the British. You will study more about the evolution of democracy in India in the textbook that deals with politics in India since independence. It is, of course, possible to point out many limitations of India's democracy; but we have to remember the fact that India has remained a democracy throughout its existence as an independent country. The same is true of Sri Lanka.

Pakistan and Bangladesh have experienced both civilian and military rulers, with Bangladesh remaining a democracy in the post-Cold War period. Pakistan began the post-Cold War period with successive democratic governments under Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif respectively. But it suffered a military coup in 1999. It has been run by a civilian government again since 2008. Till 2006, Nepal was a constitutional monarchy with the danger of the king taking over executive powers. In 2008, the monarchy was abolished and Nepal emerged as a democratic republic. From the experience of Bangladesh and Nepal, we can say that democracy is becoming an accepted norm in the entire region of South Asia.

Similar changes are taking place in the two smallest countries of the region. Bhutan became a constitutional monarchy in 2008. Under the leadership of the king, it emerged as a multi-party democracy. The Maldives, the other island nation, was a Sultanate till 1968 when it was transformed into a republic with a presidential form of government. In June 2005, the parliament of the Maldives voted unanimously to introduce a multi-party system. The Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP) dominates the political affairs of the island. The MDP won the 2018 Elections.

Despite the mixed record of the democratic experience, the people in all these countries share the aspiration for democracy. A recent survey of the attitudes of the people in the five big countries of the region showed that there is widespread support for democracy in all these countries. Ordinary citizens, rich as well as poor and belonging to different religions, view the idea of democracy positively and support the institutions of representative democracy. They prefer democracy over any other form of government and think that democracy is suitable for their country. These are significant findings, for it was earlier believed that democracy could flourish and find support only in prosperous countries of the world.

Democracy is preferred over dictatorship everywhere except in Pakistan

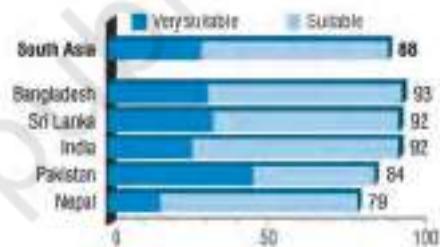
Those who agree with one of these statements



	Bangladesh	India	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Democracy is preferable	69	70	62	37	71
Sometimes dictatorship is better	6	8	10	14	11
Doesn't matter to me	25	21	28	49	16

Very few doubt the suitability of democracy for their own country

How suitable is democracy for your country?



Both these graphs are based on interviews with more than 19,000 ordinary citizens in the five countries of South Asia. Source: SDSA Team, State of Democracy in South Asia, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007

Countries	SDG 3 Life expectancy at birth (years) 2017	SDG 4.6 Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and older) 2006-2016	SDG 4.1 Gross enrolment ratio (Secondary) 2012-2017	SDG 8.1 GDP per capita (2011 PPP \$) 2017	SDG 3.2 Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) 2016	SDG 3.3 TB cases (per 100,000 people) 2016	SDG 1.1 Population living below income poverty line (%) PPP \$1.90 a day 2006-2016	HDI Rank
World	72.2	82.1	79	15,439	29.9	140.0	—	—
Developing countries	70.7	81.1	75	10,199	32.7	164.5	—	—
South Asia	69.3	68.7	71	6,485	37.8	206.3	—	—
Bangladesh	72.8	72.8	69	3,524	28.2	221.0	14.8	136
India	68.8	69.3	75	6,427	34.6	211.0	21.2	130
Nepal	70.6	59.6	71	2,433	28.4	154.0	15.0	149
Pakistan	66.6	57.0	46	5,035	64.2	268.0	6.1	150
Sri Lanka	75.5	91.2	98	11,669	8.0	65.0	—	76

Source: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report, 2018



TIMELINE OF SOUTH ASIA SINCE 1947

- 1947:** India and Pakistan emerge as independent nations after the end of British rule
- 1948:** Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) gains independence; Indo-Pak conflict over Kashmir
- 1954-55:** Pakistan joins the Cold War military blocs, SEATO and CENTO
- 1960:** India and Pakistan sign the Indus Waters Treaty
- 1962:** Border conflict between India and China
- 1965:** Indo-Pak War; UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission
- 1966:** India and Pakistan sign the Tashkent Agreement; Six-point proposal of Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman for greater autonomy to East Pakistan
- 1971 March:** Proclamation of Independence by leaders of Bangladesh
- August :** Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship signed for 20 years
- December :** Indo-Pak War, Liberation of Bangladesh
- 1972 July:** India and Pakistan sign the Simla Agreement
- 1974 May:** India conducts nuclear test
- 1976:** Pakistan and Bangladesh establish diplomatic ties
- 1985 December:** South Asian leaders sign the SAARC Charter at the first summit in Dhaka
- 1987:** Indo-Sri Lanka Accord; Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) operation in Sri Lanka (1987-90)
- 1988:** India sends troops to the Maldives to foil a coup attempt by mercenaries
- India and Pakistan sign the agreement not to attack nuclear installations and facilities of each other
- 1988-91:** Democracy restoration in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal
- 1996 December:** India and Bangladesh sign the Farakka Treaty for sharing of the Ganga Waters
- 1998 May:** India and Pakistan conduct nuclear tests
- December:** India and Sri Lanka sign the Free Trade Agreement (FTA)
- 1999 February:** Indian PM Vajpayee undertakes bus journey to Lahore to sign a Peace Declaration
- June-July:** Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan
- 2001 July:** Vajpayee - Musharraf Agra Summit unsuccessful
- 2004 January:** SAFTA signed at the 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad
- 2007:** Afghanistan joins SAARC
- 2014 November:** The 18th SAARC Summit in Kathmandu, Nepal

In that sense the South Asian experience of democracy has expanded the global imagination of democracy.

Let us look at the experience of democracy in each of the four big countries of the region other than India.

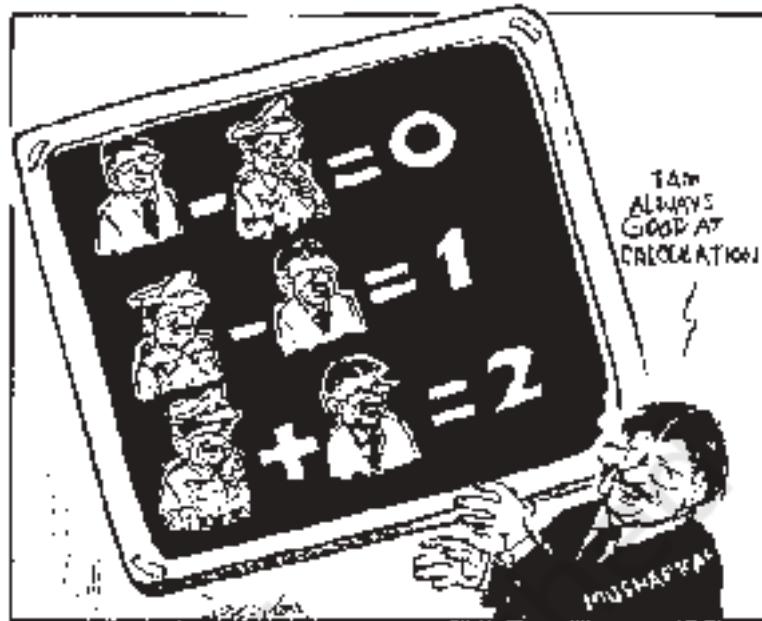
THE MILITARY AND DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

After Pakistan framed its first constitution, General Ayub Khan took over the administration of the country and soon got himself elected. He had to give up office when there was popular dissatisfaction against his rule. This gave way to a military takeover once again under General Yahya Khan. During Yahya's military rule, Pakistan faced the Bangladesh crisis, and after a war with India in 1971, East Pakistan broke away to emerge as an independent country called Bangladesh. After this, an elected government under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power in Pakistan from 1971 to 1977. The Bhutto government was removed by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. General Zia faced a pro-democracy movement from 1982 onwards and an elected democratic government was established once again in 1988 under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto. In the period that followed, Pakistani politics centred around the competition between her party, the Pakistan People's Party, and the Muslim

League. This phase of elective democracy lasted till 1999 when the army stepped in again and General Pervez Musharraf removed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. In 2001, General Musharraf got himself elected as the President. Pakistan continued to be ruled by the army, though the army rulers have held some elections to give their rule a democratic image. Since 2008, democratically elected leaders have been ruling Pakistan.

Several factors have contributed to Pakistan's failure in building a stable democracy. The social dominance of the military, clergy, and landowning aristocracy has led to the frequent overthrow of elected governments and the establishment of military government. Pakistan's conflict with India has made the pro-military groups more powerful. These groups have often said that political parties and democracy in Pakistan are flawed, that Pakistan's security would be harmed by selfish-minded parties and chaotic democracy, and that the army's stay in power is, therefore, justified. While democracy has not been fully successful in Pakistan, there has been a strong pro-democracy sentiment in the country. Pakistan has a courageous and relatively free press and a strong human rights movement.

The lack of genuine international support for democratic rule in Pakistan has further encouraged the military to continue its dominance. The United States and other Western



Surendra, The Hindu

This cartoon comments on the dual role of Pakistan's ruler Pervez Musharraf as the President of the country and as the army General. Read the equations carefully and write down the message of this cartoon.

countries have encouraged the military's authoritarian rule in the past, for their own reasons. Given their fear of the threat of what they call 'global Islamic terrorism' and the apprehension that Pakistan's nuclear arsenal might fall into the hands of these terrorist groups, the military regime in Pakistan has been seen as the protector of Western interests in West Asia and South Asia.

DEMOCRACY IN BANGLADESH

Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan from 1947 to 1971. It consisted of the partitioned areas of Bengal and Assam from British India. The people of this region resented the domination of western Pakistan and the imposition of the Urdu language. Soon after the partition,



If Germany can be reunited, why can't the people of India and Pakistan at least travel more easily to each other's country?

they began protests against the unfair treatment meted out to the Bengali culture and language. They also demanded fair representation in administration and a fair share in political power. Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman led the popular struggle against West Pakistani domination. He demanded autonomy for the eastern region. In the 1970 elections in the then Pakistan, the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib won all the seats in East Pakistan and secured a majority in the proposed constituent assembly for the whole of Pakistan. But the government dominated by the West Pakistani leadership refused to convene the assembly. Sheikh Mujib was

arrested. Under the military rule of General Yahya Khan, the Pakistani army tried to suppress the mass movement of the Bengali people. Thousands were killed by the Pakistan army. This led to a large scale migration into India, creating a huge refugee problem for India. The government of India supported the demand of the people of East Pakistan for their independence and helped them financially and militarily. This resulted in a war between India and Pakistan in December 1971 that ended in the surrender of the Pakistani forces in East Pakistan and the formation of Bangladesh as an independent country.



A mural in Dhaka University to remember Noor Hossain who was killed by the police during pro-democracy protests against General Ershad in 1987. Painted on his back: "Let Democracy be Freed". Photo credit: Shahidul Alam/ Drik

Bangladesh drafted its constitution declaring faith in secularism, democracy and socialism. However, in 1975 Sheikh Mujib got the constitution amended to shift from the parliamentary to presidential form of government. He also abolished all parties except his own, the Awami League. This led to conflicts and tensions. In a dramatic and tragic development, he was assassinated in a military uprising in August 1975. The new military ruler, Ziaur Rahman, formed his own Bangladesh National Party and won elections in 1979. He was assassinated and another military takeover followed under the leadership of Lt Gen H. M. Ershad. The people of Bangladesh soon rose in support of the demand for democracy. Students were in the forefront. Ershad was forced to allow political activity on a limited scale. He was later elected as President for five years. Mass public protests made Ershad step down in 1990. Elections were held in 1991. Since then representative democracy based on multi-party elections has been working in Bangladesh.

MONARCHY AND DEMOCRACY IN NEPAL

Nepal was a Hindu kingdom in the past and then a constitutional monarchy in the modern period for many years. Throughout this period, political parties and the common people of Nepal have wanted a more open and

responsive system of government. But the king, with the help of the army, retained full control over the government and restricted the expansion of democracy in Nepal.

The king accepted the demand for a new democratic constitution in 1990, in the wake of a strong pro-democracy movement. However, democratic governments had a short and troubled career. During the nineties, the Maoists of Nepal were successful in spreading their influence in many parts of Nepal. They believed in armed insurrection against the monarch and the ruling elite. This led to a violent conflict between the Maoist guerrillas and the armed forces of the king. For some time, there was a triangular conflict among the monarchist forces, the democrats and the Maoists. In 2002, the king abolished the parliament and dismissed the government, thus ending even the limited democracy that existed in Nepal.

In April 2006, there were massive, country wide, pro-democracy protests. The struggling pro-democracy forces achieved their first major victory when the king was forced to restore the House of Representatives that had been dissolved in April 2002. The largely non-violent movement was led by the Seven Party Alliance (SPA), the Maoists and social activists.

Nepal's transition to democracy is almost complete. Nepal has undergone a unique moment in its history because it formed a constituent assembly to

Let's know more about Bangladesh's Grameen Bank. Can we make use of the idea to reduce poverty in India?





Nepal sounds really exciting. I wish I was in Nepal!

draft the constitution for Nepal. Some sections in Nepal thought that a nominal monarchy was necessary for Nepal to retain its link with the past. The Maoist groups agreed to suspend armed struggle. They wanted the constitution to include the radical programmes of social and economic restructuring. All the parties in the SPA did not agree with this programme. The Maoists and some other political groups were also deeply suspicious of the Indian government and its role in the future of Nepal. In 2008, Nepal became a democratic republic after abolishing the monarchy. In 2015, it adopted a new constitution.

ETHNIC CONFLICT AND DEMOCRACY IN SRI LANKA

We have already seen that Sri Lanka has retained democracy

since its independence in 1948. But it faced a serious challenge, not from the military or monarchy but rather from ethnic conflict leading to the demand for secession by one of the regions.

After its independence, politics in Sri Lanka (it was then known as Ceylon) was dominated by forces that represented the interest of the majority Sinhala community. They were hostile to a large number of Tamils who had migrated from India to Sri Lanka and settled there. This migration continued even after independence. The Sinhala nationalists thought that Sri Lanka should not give 'concessions' to the Tamils because Sri Lanka belongs to the Sinhala people only. The neglect of Tamil concerns led to militant Tamil nationalism. From 1983 onwards, the militant organisation, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam



Democracy activist, Durga Thapa, participating in a pro-democracy rally in Kathmandu in 1990. The second picture shows the same person in 2006, this time celebrating the success of the second democracy movement.

Photo credit: Min Bajracharya



(LTTE) was fighting an armed struggle with the army of Sri Lanka in pursuit of their demand for a 'Tamil Elam' or separate country for the Tamilians of Sri Lanka. At one point of time, the northeastern part of Sri Lanka was controlled by LTTE.

The Sri Lankan problem involves people of Indian origin, and there was considerable pressure from the Tamil people in India to the effect that the Indian government should protect the interests of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The government of India has from time to time tried to negotiate with the Sri Lankan government on the Tamil question. But in 1987, the government of India for the first time got directly involved in the Sri Lankan Tamil question. India signed an accord with Sri Lanka and sent troops to stabilise relations between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamils. Eventually, the Indian Army got into a fight with the LTTE. The presence of Indian troops was also not liked much by the Sri Lankans. They saw this as an attempt by India to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. In 1989, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) pulled out of Sri Lanka without attaining its objective.

The Sri Lankan crisis continued to be violent. However, international actors, particularly the Scandinavian countries such as Norway and Iceland tried to bring the warring groups back to negotiations. Finally, the armed conflict came to an end, as the



Keshav, The Hindu

The cartoon depicts the dilemma of the Sri Lankan leadership in trying to balance Sinhala hardliners or the Lion and Tamil militants or the Tiger while negotiating peace.

LTTE was vanquished in 2009.

In spite of the conflict, Sri Lanka has registered considerable economic growth and recorded high levels of human development. Sri Lanka was one of the first developing countries to successfully control the rate of growth of population, the first country in the region to liberalise the economy, and it has had the highest per capita gross domestic product (GDP) for many years right through the civil war. Despite the ravages of internal conflict, it has maintained a democratic political system.

INDIA-PAKISTAN CONFLICTS

Let us now move from domestic politics and take a look at some of the areas of conflict in the international relations in this region. The post-Cold War era has not meant the end of conflicts and



Keshav, The Hindu

A view of the current phase of the Indo-Pak negotiations.

tensions in this region. We have already noted the conflicts around internal democracy or ethnic differences. But there are also some very crucial conflicts of an international nature. Given the position of India in this region, most of these conflicts involve India.

The most salient and overwhelming of these conflicts is, of course, the one between India and Pakistan. Soon after the partition, the two countries got embroiled in a conflict over the fate of Kashmir. The Pakistani government claimed that Kashmir belonged to it. Wars between India and Pakistan in 1947-48 and 1965 failed to settle the matter. The 1947-48 war resulted in the division of the province into Pakistan-occupied



Discussion on Kashmir sounds like a property dispute between the rulers of India and Pakistan! What do the Kashmiris feel about it?

Kashmir and the Indian province of Jammu and Kashmir divided by the Line of Control. In 1971, India won a decisive war against Pakistan but the Kashmir issue remained unsettled.

India's conflict with Pakistan is also over strategic issues like the control of the Siachen glacier and over acquisition of arms. The arms race between the two countries assumed a new character with both states acquiring nuclear weapons and missiles to deliver such arms against each other in the 1990s. In 1998, India conducted nuclear explosion in Pokhran. Pakistan responded within a few days by carrying out nuclear tests in the Chagai Hills. Since then India and Pakistan seem to have built a military relationship in which the possibility of a direct and full-scale war has declined.

But both the governments continue to be suspicious of each other. The Indian government has blamed the Pakistan government for using a strategy of low-key violence by helping the Kashmiri militants with arms, training, money and protection to carry out terrorist strikes against India. The Indian government also believes that Pakistan had aided the pro-Khalistani militants with arms and ammunitions during the period 1985-1995. Its spy agency, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), is alleged to be involved in various anti-India campaigns in India's northeast, operating secretly through Bangladesh and Nepal.

The government of Pakistan, in turn, blames the Indian government and its security agencies for fomenting trouble in the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan.

India and Pakistan also have had problems over the sharing of river waters. Until 1960, they were locked in a fierce argument over the use of the rivers of the Indus basin. Eventually, in 1960, with the help of the World Bank, India and Pakistan signed the Indus Waters Treaty which has survived to this day in spite of various military conflicts in which the two countries have been involved. There are still some minor differences about the interpretation of the Indus Waters Treaty and the use of the river waters. The two countries are not in agreement over the demarcation line in Sir Creek in the Rann of Kutch. The dispute seems minor, but there is an underlying worry that how the dispute is settled may have an impact on the control of sea resources in the area adjoining Sir Creek. India and Pakistan are holding negotiations on all these issues.

INDIA AND ITS OTHER NEIGHBOURS

The governments of India and Bangladesh have had differences over several issues including the sharing of the Ganga and Brahmaputra river waters. The Indian government has been

unhappy with Bangladesh's denial of illegal immigration to India, its support for anti-Indian Islamic fundamentalist groups, Bangladesh's refusal to allow Indian troops to move through its territory to northeastern India, and its decision not to export natural gas to India or allow Myanmar to do so through Bangladeshi territory. Bangladeshi governments have felt that the Indian government behaves like a regional bully over the sharing of river waters, encouraging rebellion in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, trying to extract its natural gas and being unfair in trade. The two countries could not resolve their boundary dispute for a long while.

Despite their differences, India and Bangladesh do cooperate on many issues. Economic relations have improved considerably in the last 20 years. Bangladesh is a part of India's Look East (Act East since 2014) policy that wants to link up with Southeast Asia via Myanmar. On disaster management and environmental issues, the two states have cooperated regularly. In 2015, they exchanged certain enclaves. Efforts are on to broaden the areas of cooperation further by identifying common threats and being more sensitive to each other's needs.

Nepal and India enjoy a very special relationship that has very few parallels in the world. A treaty between the two countries allows the citizens of the two countries to travel to and work in the other country without visas and



Why is it that every one of our neighbours has a problem with India? Is there something wrong with our foreign policy? Or is it just our size?



STEPS

- Divide the classroom into eight groups (as many as the number of countries). The number of students in each group may vary, reflecting the size of the countries of South Asia.
- Name each group after a country and hand over a brief country profile to respective groups. Besides the basic information, include a short note on the contentious issues/disputes among the South Asian countries. The issues could be those discussed in this chapter or an issue of relevance but not discussed in the chapter.
- Allow students to select an issue of their choice. The dispute could be bilateral or multilateral (the issue could be related to India, given the geographic peculiarity of the region).
- Assign each group to find out what initiatives the governments involved have taken and the reasons for their failures in resolving the disputes.
- Students should assume the role of representing their respective countries and share their findings.

Ideas for the Teacher

- Pair up the countries sharing the common issue/dispute. It could be two groups in the case of a bilateral issue or more in case of a multilateral issue (examples of bilateral issues include the Jammu and Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, the migrant problem between India and Bangladesh; multilateral issues include the creation of a free trade zone or tackling terrorism).
- Groups should negotiate on the proposals and counter-proposals within a time limit. The teacher is to take note of the outcome of the negotiations. The focus should be on the areas of agreement and disagreement.
- Link the outcome of the negotiations with the prevailing situation among the countries of South Asia. Talk about the difficulties involved in negotiating on a political issue based on the observation made. Conclude by discussing the importance of accommodating each other's interest for the sake of peaceful coexistence.

passports. Despite this special relationship, the governments of the two countries have had trade-related disputes in the past. The Indian government has often expressed displeasure at the warm relationship between Nepal and China and at the Nepal government's inaction against anti-Indian elements. Indian security agencies see the Maoist movement in Nepal as a growing security threat, given the rise of Naxalite groups in various Indian states from Bihar in the north to Andhra Pradesh in the south. Many leaders and citizens in Nepal think that the Indian government interferes in its internal affairs, has designs on its river waters and hydro-electricity, and prevents Nepal, a landlocked country, from getting easier access to the sea through Indian territory. Nevertheless, Indo-Nepal relations are fairly stable and peaceful. Despite differences, trade, scientific cooperation, common natural resources, electricity generation and interlocking water management grids hold the two countries together. There is a hope that the consolidation of democracy in Nepal will lead to improvements in the ties between the two countries.

The difficulties in the relationship between the governments of India and Sri Lanka are mostly over ethnic conflict in the island nation. Indian leaders and citizens find it impossible to remain neutral when Tamils are politically unhappy and are being killed. After the military intervention in 1987, the Indian

government now prefers a policy of disengagement vis-à-vis Sri Lanka's internal troubles. India signed a free trade agreement with Sri Lanka, which strengthened relations between two countries. India's help in post-tsunami reconstruction in Sri Lanka has also brought the two countries closer.

India enjoys a very special relationship with Bhutan too and does not have any major conflict with the Bhutanese government. The efforts made by the Bhutanese monarch to weed out the guerrillas and militants from northeastern India that operate in his country have been helpful to India. India is involved in big hydroelectric projects in Bhutan and remains the Himalayan kingdom's biggest source of development aid. India's ties with the Maldives remain warm and cordial. In November 1988, when some Tamil mercenaries from Sri Lanka attacked the Maldives, the Indian air force and navy reacted quickly to the Maldives' request to help stop the invasion. India has also contributed towards the island's economic development, tourism and fisheries.

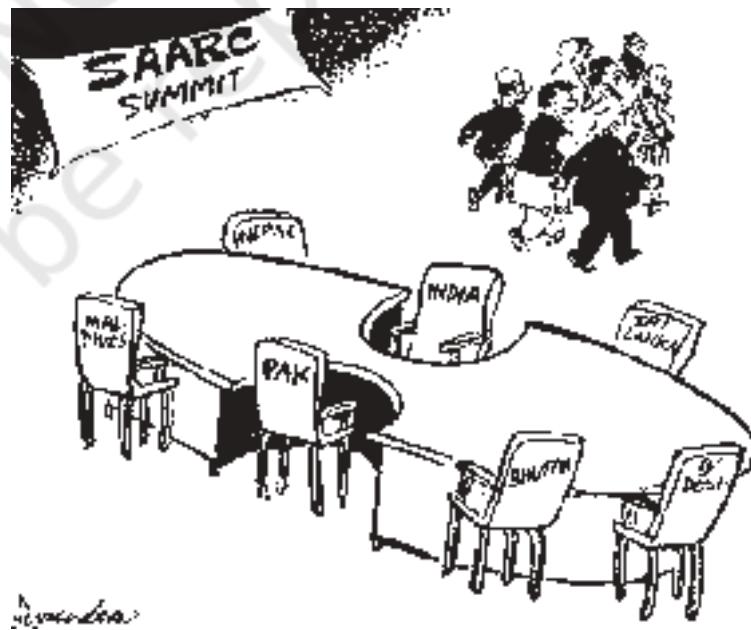
You may have noticed that India has various problems with its smaller neighbours in the region. Given its size and power, they are bound to be suspicious of India's intentions. The Indian government, on the other hand, often feels exploited by its neighbours. It does not like the political instability in these countries, fearing it can help outside powers to gain influence in

the region. The smaller countries fear that India wants to be a regionally-dominant power.

Not all conflicts in South Asia are between India and its neighbours. Nepal and Bhutan, as well as Bangladesh and Myanmar, have had disagreements in the past over the migration of ethnic Nepalese into Bhutan and the Rohingyas from Myanmar into India and Bangladesh, respectively. Bangladesh and Nepal have had some differences over the future of the Himalayan river waters. The major conflicts and differences, though, are between India and the others, partly because of the geography of the region, in which India is located centrally and is therefore the only country that borders the others.



If the chapter on US was called 'US Hegemony' why is this chapter not called 'Indian Hegemony'?

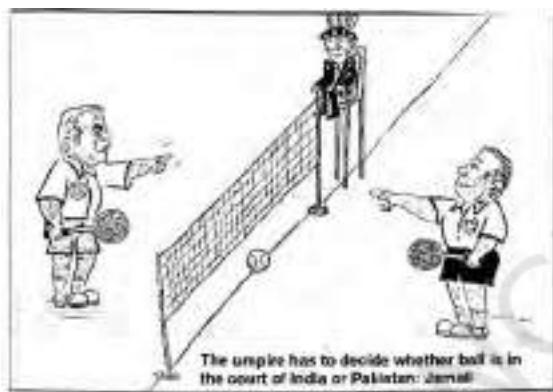


Surendra, The Hindu

What does this cartoon tell you about the role of India and Pakistan in the process of regional cooperation in South Asia?



Keshav, The Hindu



Pakistan Tribune

The two cartoons, one from India and the other from Pakistan, interpret the role of two key players who are also interested in the region. Do you notice any commonality between their perspectives?



Every association seems to have emerged for trade! Is trade more important than people-to-people relations?

PEACE AND COOPERATION

Do the states of South Asia cooperate with each other? Or do they only keep fighting with each other? In spite of the many conflicts, the states of South Asia recognise the importance of cooperation and friendly relationship, among themselves. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is a major regional initiative by the South Asian states to evolve cooperation through multilateral means. It began in 1985. Unfortunately, due to persisting political differences, SAARC has not had much success. SAARC members signed the South Asian Free Trade (SAFTA) agreement which promised the formation of a free trade zone for the whole of South Asia.

A new chapter of peace and cooperation might evolve in South Asia if all the countries in the region allow free trade across the borders. This is the spirit behind the idea of SAFTA. The Agreement was signed in 2004 and came into effect on 1 January 2006. SAFTA aims at lowering trade tariffs. But some of our neighbours fear that SAFTA is a way for India to 'invade' their markets and to influence their societies and politics through commercial ventures and a commercial presence in their countries. India thinks that there are real economic benefits for all from SAFTA and that a region that trades more freely will be able to cooperate better on political issues. Some in India think that SAFTA is not worth the trouble since India already has bilateral agreements with Bhutan, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Although India-Pakistan relations seem to be a story of endemic conflict and violence, there have been a series of efforts to manage tensions and build peace. The two countries have agreed to undertake confidence building measures to reduce the risk of war. Social activists and prominent personalities have collaborated to create an atmosphere of friendship among the people of both countries. Leaders have met at summits to understand each other better and to find solutions

to the major problems between the two neighbours. A number of bus routes have been opened up between the two countries. Trade between India and Pakistan had increased and Visas had been more easily granted. However, in recent times, the situation has changed.

No region exists in a vacuum. It is influenced by outside powers and events no matter how much it may try to insulate itself from non-regional powers. China and the United States remain key players in South Asian politics. Sino-Indian relations have improved significantly in the last ten years, but China's strategic partnership with Pakistan remains a major irritant. The demands of development and globalisation have brought the two Asian giants closer, and their economic ties have multiplied rapidly since 1991.

American involvement in South Asia has rapidly increased after the Cold War. The US has had good relations with both India and Pakistan since the end of the Cold War and increasingly works as a moderator in India-Pakistan relations. Economic reforms and liberal economic policies in both countries have greatly increased the depth of American participation in the region. The large South Asian diasporas in the US and the huge size of the population and markets of the region also give America an added stake in the future of regional security and peace.

However, whether South Asia will continue to be known as a conflict prone zone or will evolve into a regional bloc with some common cultural features and trade interests will depend more on the people and the governments of the region than any other outside power.

1. Identify the country:

- a. The struggle among pro-monarchy, pro-democracy groups and extremists created an atmosphere of political instability:
- b. A landlocked country with multi-party competition:
- c. The first country to liberalise its economy in the South Asian region:
- d. In the conflict between the military and pro-democracy groups, the military has prevailed over democracy:
- e. Centrally located and shares borders with most of the South Asian countries:
- f. Earlier the island had the Sultan as the head of state. Now, it's a republic:
- g. Small savings and credit cooperatives in the rural areas have helped in reducing poverty:
- h. A landlocked country with a monarchy:

EXERCISES

S**E****S****C****R****E****X****E**

2. Which among the following statements about South Asia is wrong?
 - a) All the countries in South Asia are democratic.
 - b) Bangladesh and India have signed an agreement on river-water sharing.
 - c) SAFTA was signed at the 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad.
 - d) The US and China play an influential role in South Asian politics.
3. What are some of the commonalities and differences between Bangladesh and Pakistan in their democratic experiences?
4. List three challenges to democracy in Nepal.
5. Name the principal players in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. How do you assess the prospects of the resolution of this conflict?
6. Mention some of the recent agreements between India and Pakistan. Can we be sure that the two countries are well on their way to a friendly relationship?
7. Mention two areas each of cooperation and disagreement between India and Bangladesh.
8. How are the external powers influencing bilateral relations in South Asia? Take any one example to illustrate your point.
9. Write a short note on the role and the limitations of SAARC as a forum for facilitating economic cooperation among the South Asian countries.
10. India's neighbours often think that the Indian government tries to dominate and interfere in the domestic affairs of the smaller countries of the region. Is this a correct impression?



Chapter 4

International Organisations

OVERVIEW

In this chapter we shall discuss the role of international organisations after the collapse of the Soviet Union. We shall examine how, in this emerging world, there were calls for the restructuring of international organisations to cope with various new challenges including the rise of US power. The potential reform of the United Nations Security Council is an interesting case of the reform process and its difficulties. We then turn to India's involvement in the UN and its view of Security Council reforms. The chapter closes by asking if the UN can play any role in dealing with a world dominated by one superpower. In this chapter we also look at some other trans-national organisations that are playing a crucial role.



*This is the United Nations' logo. The emblem has a world map with olive branches around it, signifying world peace.
Credit : www.un.org*

WHY INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS?

Read the two cartoons on this page. Both the cartoons comment on the ineffectiveness of the United Nations Organisation, usually referred to as the UN, in the Lebanon crisis in 2006. Both the cartoons represent the kind of opinions that we often hear about the UN.

On the other hand, we also find that the UN is generally regarded as the most important international organisation in today's world. In the eyes of many people all over the world, it is indispensable and represents the great hope of humanity for peace and progress. Why do we then need organisations like the UN? Let us hear two insiders:

"The United Nations was not created to take humanity to heaven, but to save it from hell."
— Dag Hammarskjold, the UN's second Secretary-General.

"Talking shop? Yes, there are a lot of speeches and meetings at the U.N., especially during the annual sessions of the General Assembly. But as Churchill put it, jaw-jaw is better than war-war. Isn't it better to have one place where all... countries in the world can get together, bore each other sometimes with their words rather than bore holes into each other on the battlefield?" — Shashi Tharoor, the former UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information.

These two quotes suggest something important. International organisations are not the answer to everything, but they are important. International organisations help with matters of war and peace. They also help countries cooperate to make better living conditions for us all.

Countries have conflicts and differences with each other. That does not necessarily mean they must go to war to deal with their



That's what they say about the parliament too — a talking shop. Does it mean that we need talking shops?



© Harry Harrison, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

© Petar Pismestrovic, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

During June 2006, Israel attacked Lebanon, saying that it was necessary to control the militant group called Hezbollah. Large numbers of civilians were killed and many public buildings and even residential areas came under Israeli bombardment. The UN passed a resolution on this only in August and the Israel army withdrew from the region only in October. Both these cartoons comment on the role of the UN and its Secretary-General in this episode.

antagonisms. They can, instead, discuss contentious issues and find peaceful solutions; indeed, even though this is rarely noticed, most conflicts and differences are resolved without going to war. The role of an international organisation can be important in this context. An international organisation is not a super-state with authority over its members. It is created by and responds to states. It comes into being when states agree to its creation. Once created, it can help member states resolve their problems peacefully.

International organisations are helpful in another way. Nations can usually see that there are some things they must do together. There are issues that are so challenging that they can only be dealt with when everyone works together. Disease is an example. Some diseases can only be eradicated if everyone in the world cooperates in inoculating or vaccinating their populations. Or take global warming and its effects. As temperatures rise because of the increase in greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, there is a danger that sea levels will also rise, thereby submerging many coastal areas of the world including huge cities. Of course, each country can try to find its own solution to the effects of global warming. But in the end a more effective approach is to stop the warming itself. This requires at least all of the major industrial powers to cooperate.

Unfortunately, recognising the need for cooperation and

IMF

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international organisation that oversees those financial institutions and regulations that act at the international level. The IMF has 190 member countries (as on 19 February 2024) but they do not enjoy an equal say. The G-7 members US (16.52%), Japan (6.15%), Germany (5.32%), France (4.03%), UK (4.03%), Italy (3.02%) and Canada (2.22%) have 41.29% of the votes. China (6.09%), India (2.64%), Russia (2.59%) Brazil (2.22%) and Saudi Arabia (2.02%) are the other major members.



IMF

actually cooperating are two different things. Nations can recognise the need to cooperate but cannot always agree on how best to do so, how to share the costs of cooperating, how to make sure that the benefits of cooperating are justly divided, and how to ensure that others do not break their end of the bargain and cheat on an agreement. An international organisation can help produce information and ideas about how to cooperate. It can provide mechanisms, rules and a bureaucracy, to help members have more confidence that costs will be shared properly, that the benefits

Make a list of issues or problems (other than the ones mentioned in the text) that cannot be handled by any one country and require an international organisation.

LET'S DO IT



FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

1941 August: Signing of the Atlantic Charter by the US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British PM Winston S. Churchill

1942 January: 26 Allied nations fighting against the Axis Powers meet in Washington, D.C., to support the Atlantic Charter and sign the 'Declaration by United Nations'

1943 December: Tehran Conference Declaration of the Three Powers (US, Britain and Soviet Union)

1945 February: Yalta Conference of the 'Big Three' (Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin) decides to organise a United Nations conference on the proposed world organisation

April-May: The 2-month long United Nations Conference on International Organisation at San Francisco

1945 June 26: Signing of the UN Charter by 50 nations (Poland signed on October 15; so the UN has 51 original founding members)

1945 October 24: the UN was founded (hence October 24 is celebrated as UN Day)

1945 October 30: India joins the UN

will be fairly divided, and that once a member joins an agreement it will honour the terms and conditions of the agreement.

With the end of the Cold War, we can see that the UN may have a slightly different role. As the United States and its allies emerged victorious, there was concern amongst many governments and peoples that the Western countries led by the US would be so powerful that there would be no check against their wishes and desires. Can the UN serve to promote dialogue and discussion with the US in particular, and could it limit the power of the American

government? We shall try to answer this question at the end of the chapter.

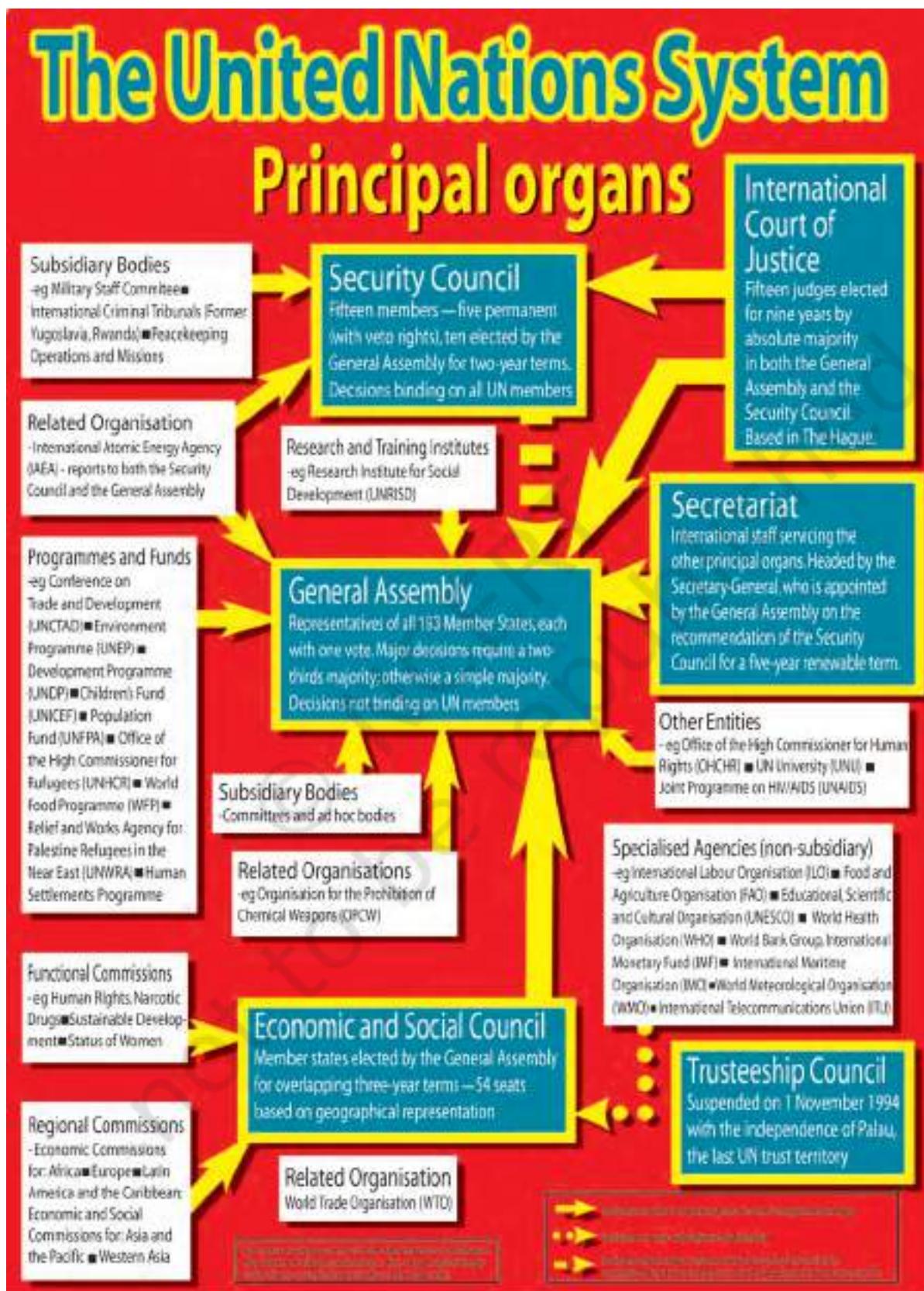
EVOLUTION OF THE UN

The First World War encouraged the world to invest in an international organisation to deal with conflict. Many believed that such an organisation would help the world to avoid war. As a result, the League of Nations was born. However, despite its initial success, it could not prevent the Second World War (1939-45). Many more people died and were wounded in this war than ever before.

The UN was founded as a successor to the League of Nations. It was established in 1945 immediately after the Second World War. The



The US Office of War Information created the above poster during the Second World War as per the Declaration by United Nations of 1942. The poster features the flags of all nations that were part of the Allied Forces. It reflects the belligerent origins of the UN.



LET'S DO IT

Search for at least one news item about the activities of each of the UN agencies mentioned on this page.

organisation was set up through the signing of the United Nations Charter by 51 states. It tried to achieve what the League could not between the two world wars. The UN's objective is to prevent international conflict and to facilitate cooperation among states. It was founded with the hope that it would act to stop the conflicts between states escalating into war and, if war broke out, to limit the extent of hostilities. Furthermore, since conflicts often arose from the lack of social and economic development, the UN was intended to bring countries together to improve the prospects of social and economic development all over the world.

By 2011, the UN had 193 member states. These included almost all independent states. In the UN General Assembly, all members have one vote each. In the UN Security Council, there are five permanent members. These are: the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and China. These states were selected as permanent members as they were the most powerful immediately after the Second World War and because they constituted the victors in the War.

The UN's most visible public figure, and the representative head, is the Secretary-General. The present Secretary-General is António Guterres. He is the ninth Secretary-General of the UN. He took over as the Secretary-General on 1 January 2017. He was the Prime Minister of Portugal

(1995-2002) and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (2005-2015).

The UN consists of many different structures and agencies. War and peace and differences between member states are discussed in the General Assembly as well as the Security Council. Social and economic issues are dealt with by many agencies including the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), among others.

REFORM OF THE UN AFTER THE COLD WAR

Reform and improvement are fundamental to any organisation to serve the needs of a changing environment. The UN is no exception. In recent years, there have been demands for reform of the world body. However, there is little clarity and consensus on the nature of reform.

Two basic kinds of reforms face the UN: reform of the organisation's structures and processes; and a review of the issues that fall within the jurisdiction of the organisation. Almost everyone is agreed that both aspects of reform are



Cold War or no Cold War, one reform is needed above all. Only democratic leaders should be allowed to represent their countries in the UN. How can they allow dictators to speak in the name of the people of their country?

necessary. What they cannot agree on is precisely what is to be done, how it is to be done, and when it is to be done.

On the reform of structures and processes, the biggest discussion has been on the functioning of the Security Council. Related to this has been the demand for an increase in the UN Security Council's permanent and non-permanent membership so that the realities of contemporary world politics are better reflected in the structure of the organisation. In particular, there are proposals to increase membership from Asia, Africa and South America. Beyond this, the US and other Western countries want improvements in the UN's budgetary procedures and its administration.

On the issues to be given greater priority or to be brought within the jurisdiction of the UN, some countries and experts want the organisation to play a greater or more effective role in peace and security missions, while others want its role to be confined to development and humanitarian work (health, education, environment, population control, human rights, gender and social justice).

Let us look at both sets of reforms, with an emphasis on reform of the structures and processes.

The UN was established in 1945 immediately after the Second World War. The way it



UN SECRETARIES-GENERAL

Trygve Lie (1946-1952) Norway; lawyer and foreign minister; worked for ceasefire between India and Pakistan on Kashmir; criticised for his failure to quickly end the Korean war; Soviet Union opposed second term for him; resigned from the post.



Dag Hammarskjöld (1953-1961) Sweden; Economist and lawyer; worked for resolving the Suez Canal dispute and the decolonisation of Africa; awarded Nobel Peace Prize posthumously in 1961 for his efforts to settle the Congo crisis; Soviet Union and France criticised his role in Africa.



U Thant (1961-1971) Burma (Myanmar); teacher and diplomat; worked for resolving the Cuban Missile Crisis and ending the Congo crisis; established the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus; criticised the US during the Vietnam War.



Kurt Waldheim (1972-1981) Austria; diplomat and foreign minister; made efforts to resolve the problems of Namibia and Lebanon; oversaw the relief operation in Bangladesh; China blocked his bid for a third term.



Javier Perez de Cuellar (1982-1991) Peru; lawyer and diplomat; worked for peace in Cyprus, Afghanistan and El Salvador; mediated between Britain and Argentina after the Falklands War; negotiated for the independence of Namibia.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992-1996) Egypt; diplomat, jurist, foreign minister; issued a report, *An Agenda for Peace*; conducted a successful UN operation in Mozambique; blamed for the UN failures in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda; due to serious disagreements, the US blocked a second term for him.



Kofi A. Annan (1997-2006) Ghana; UN official; created the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; declared the US-led invasion of Iraq as an illegal act; established the Peacebuilding Commission and the Human Rights Council in 2005; awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize.



Ban Ki-moon (2007-2016) Republic of Korea (South Korea); diplomat and foreign minister; the second Asian to hold the post; highlighted climate change; focused on the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals; worked for the creation of UN Women; emphasised conflict resolution and nuclear disarmament.



António Manuel de Oliveira Guterres (2017-) Portugal; former Prime Minister of Portugal from 1995 to 2002; was the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees during 2005-2015; President of the Socialist International from 1999 to 2005. He is serving as the ninth Secretary-General of the United Nations.





Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General, launches UN @ 70 to celebrate the 70th Anniversary in New Delhi in 2015 (UN Photo/Mark Garten)

was organised and the way it functioned reflected the realities of world politics after the Second World War. After the Cold War, those realities are different. Here are some of the changes that have occurred:

- The Soviet Union has collapsed.
- The US is the strongest power.
- The relationship between Russia, the successor to the Soviet Union, and the US is much more cooperative.
- China is fast emerging as a great power, and India also is growing rapidly.
- The economies of Asia are growing at an unprecedented rate.
- Many new countries have joined the UN (as they became independent from the Soviet Union or former communist states in eastern Europe).
- A whole new set of challenges confronts the world (genocide, civil war, ethnic conflict,

terrorism, nuclear proliferation, climate change, environmental degradation, epidemics).

In this situation, in 1989, as the Cold War was ending, the question facing the world was: is the UN doing enough? Is it equipped to do what is required? What should it be doing? And how? What reforms are necessary to make it work better? For the past decade and a half, member states have been trying to find satisfactory and practical answers to these questions.

REFORM OF STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES

While the case for reform has widespread support, getting agreement on what to do is difficult. Let us examine the debate over reform of the UN Security Council. In 1992, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution. The resolution reflected three main complaints:

- The Security Council no longer represents contemporary political realities.
- Its decisions reflect only Western values and interests and are dominated by a few powers.
- It lacks equitable representation.

In view of these growing demands for the restructuring of the UN, on 1 January 1997, the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan initiated an inquiry into how the

UN should be reformed. How, for instance, should new Security Council members be chosen?

In the years since then, the following are just some of the criteria that have been proposed for new permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council. A new member, it has been suggested, should be:

- A major economic power
- A major military power
- A substantial contributor to the UN budget
- A big nation in terms of its population
- A nation that respects democracy and human rights
- A country that would make the Council more representative of the world's diversity in terms of geography, economic systems, and culture

Major contributors to the UN regular budget for 2019

No.	Member State	%
1	USA	22.0
2	China	12.0
3	Japan	8.5
4	Germany	6.0
5	UK	4.5
6	France	4.4
7	Italy	3.3
8	Brazil	2.9
9	Canada	2.7
10	Russia	2.4
11	Republic of Korea	2.2
12	Australia	2.2
13	Spain	2.1
14	Turkey	1.3
15	Netherlands	1.3
16	Mexico	1.2
17	Saudi Arabia	1.1
18	Switzerland	1.1
19	Argentina	0.9
20	Sweden	0.9
21	India	0.8

Source: www.un.org

World Bank

The World Bank was created during the Second World War in 1944. Its activities are focused on the developing countries. It works for human development (education, health), agriculture and rural development (irrigation, rural services), environmental protection (pollution reduction, establishing and enforcing regulations), infrastructure (roads, urban regeneration, electricity) and governance (anti-corruption, development of legal institutions). It provides loans and grants to the member-countries. In this way, it exercises enormous influence on the economic policies of developing countries. It is often criticised for setting the economic agenda of the poorer nations, attaching stringent conditions to its loans and forcing free market reforms.



WORLD BANK

Clearly, each of these criteria has some validity. Governments saw advantages in some criteria and disadvantages in others depending on their interests and aspirations. Even if they had no desire to be members themselves, countries could see that the criteria were problematic. How big an economic or military power did you have to be to qualify for Security Council membership? What level of budget contribution would enable a state to buy its way into the Council? Was a big population an asset or a liability for a country trying to play a bigger role in the world? If respect for democracy and human rights was the criteria, countries with excellent records would be in line to be members; but would they be effective as Council members?



STEPS

- Divide the class into six groups. Each group is to follow one of the six criteria (or more if there are more suggestions) listed here for permanent membership of the UN Security Council.
- Each group is to make its own list of the permanent members based on its given criterion (e.g. the group working on the 'population' criterion will find out which are five most populous countries).
- Each group can make a presentation of their recommended list and reasons why their criterion should be accepted.

Ideas for the Teacher

- Allow the students to opt for the group whose criterion they themselves favour.
- Compare all the lists and see how many names are common and how often India features.
- Keep some time for an open ended discussion on which criterion should be adopted.

Furthermore, how was the matter of representation to be resolved? Did equitable representation in geographical terms mean that there should be one seat each from Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean? Should the representation, on the other hand, be by regions or sub-regions (rather than continents)? Why should the issue of equitable representation be decided by geography? Why not by levels of economic development? Why not, in other words, give more seats

to members of the developing world? Even here, there are difficulties. The developing world consists of countries at many different levels of development. What about culture? Should different cultures or 'civilisations' be given representation in a more balanced way? How does one divide the world by civilisations or cultures given that nations have so many cultural streams within their borders?

A related issue was to change the nature of membership altogether. Some insisted, for instance, that the veto power of the five permanent members be abolished. Many perceived the veto to be in conflict with the concept of democracy and sovereign equality in the UN and thought that the veto was no longer right or relevant.

In the Security Council, there are five permanent members and ten non-permanent members. The Charter gave the permanent members a privileged position to bring about stability in the world after the Second World War. The main privileges of the five permanent members are permanency and the veto power. The non-permanent members serve for only two years at a time and give way after that period to newly elected members. A country cannot be re-elected immediately after completing a term of two years. The non-permanent members are elected in a manner so that they represent all continents of the world.

Most importantly, the non-permanent members do not have the veto power. What is the veto power? In taking decisions, the Security Council proceeds by voting. All members have one vote. However, the permanent members can vote in a negative manner so that even if all other permanent and non-permanent members vote for a particular decision, any permanent member's negative vote can stall the decision. This negative vote is the veto.

While there has been a move to abolish or modify the veto system, there is also a realisation that the permanent members are unlikely to agree to such a reform. Also, the world may not be ready for such a radical step even though the Cold War is over. Without the veto, there is the danger as in 1945 that the great powers would lose interest in the world body, that they would do what they pleased outside it, and that without their support and involvement the body would be ineffective.

Use of veto power by permanent members (upto 1 June 2018)



Source: www.un.org

JURISDICTION OF THE UN

The question of membership is a serious one. In addition, though, there are more substantial issues before the world. As the UN completed 60 years of its existence, the heads of all the member-states met in September 2005 to celebrate the anniversary and review the situation. The leaders in this meeting decided that the following steps should be taken to make the UN more relevant in the changing context.

- Creation of a Peacebuilding Commission
- Acceptance of the responsibility of the international community in case of failures of national governments to protect their own citizens from atrocities
- Establishment of a Human Rights Council (operational since 19 June 2006)
- Agreements to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
- Condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations
- Creation of a Democracy Fund
- An agreement to wind up the Trusteeship Council

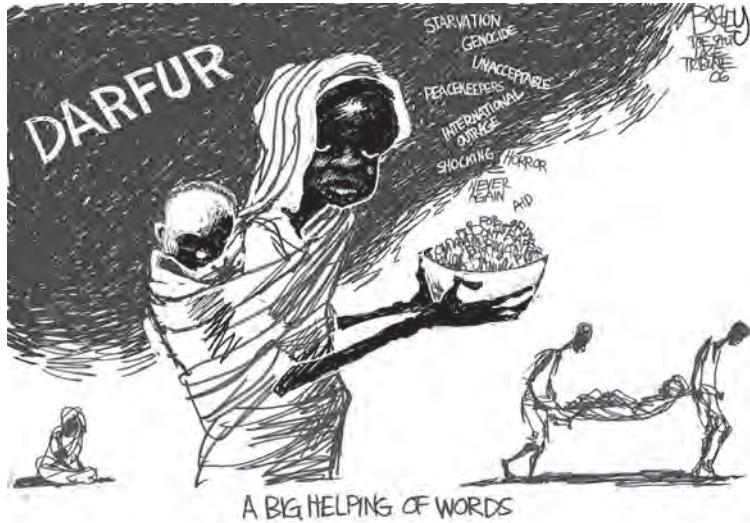


That's very unfair! It's actually the weaker countries who need a veto, not those who already have so much power.



It is not hard to see that these are equally contentious issues for the UN. What should a Peacebuilding Commission do? There are any number of conflicts all over the world. Which ones should it intervene in? Is it possible or even desirable for it to intervene in

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The humanitarian crisis in Darfur, Sudan since 2003 has attracted empty promises by the International Community. How do you think the UN can intervene in situations like this? Would that require a change in its jurisdiction?

each and every conflict? Similarly, what is the responsibility of the international community in dealing with atrocities? What are human rights and who should determine the level of human rights violations and the course of action to be taken when they are violated? Given that so many countries are still part of the developing world, how realistic is it for the UN to achieve an ambitious set of goals such as those listed in the Sustainable Development Goals? Can there be agreement on a definition of terrorism? How shall the UN use funds to promote democracy? And so on.



Source: www.un.org

INDIA AND THE UN REFORMS

India has supported the restructuring of the UN on several grounds. It believes that a strengthened and revitalised UN is desirable in a changing world. India also supports an enhanced role for the UN in promoting development and cooperation among states. India believes that development should be central to the UN's agenda as it is a vital precondition for the maintenance of international peace and security.

One of India's major concerns has been the composition of the Security Council, which has remained largely static while the UN General Assembly membership has expanded considerably. India considers that this has harmed the representative character of the Security Council. It also argues that an expanded Council, with more representation, will enjoy greater support in the world community.

We should keep in mind that the membership of the UN Security Council was expanded from 11 to 15 in 1965. But, there was no change in the number of permanent members. Since then, the size of the Council has remained stationary. The fact remains that the overwhelming majority of the UN General Assembly members now are developing countries. Therefore, India argues that they should also have a role in shaping the decisions in the Security Council which affect them.

WTO

WTO



The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is an international organisation which sets the rules for global trade. This organisation was set up in 1995 as the successor to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) created after the Second World War. It has 164 members (as on 29 July 2016). All decisions are taken unanimously but the major economic powers such as the US, EU and Japan have managed to use the WTO to frame rules of trade to advance their own interests. The developing countries often complain of non-transparent procedures and being pushed around by big powers.

India supports an increase in the number of both permanent and non-permanent members. Its representatives have argued that the activities of the Security Council have greatly expanded in the past few years. The success of the Security Council's actions depends upon the political support of the international community. Any plan for restructuring of the Security Council should, therefore, be broad-based. For example, the Security Council should have more developing countries in it.

Not surprisingly, India itself also wishes to be a permanent member in a restructured UN. India is the most populous country in the world comprising almost one-fifth of the world population. Moreover, India is also the world's largest democracy. India has participated in virtually all of the initiatives of the UN. Its role in the UN's



Do we want to oppose the bossism of the big five or do we want to join them and become another boss?

IAEA**IAEA**

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was established in 1957. It came into being to implement US President Dwight Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" proposal. It seeks to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy and to prevent its use for military purposes. IAEA teams regularly inspect nuclear facilities all over the world to ensure that civilian reactors are not being used for military purposes.



What happens if the UN invites someone to New York but the US does not issue visa?

peacekeeping efforts is a long and substantial one. The country's economic emergence on the world stage is another factor that perhaps justifies India's claim to a permanent seat in the Security Council. India has also made regular financial contributions to the UN and never faltered on its payments. India is aware that permanent membership of the Security Council also has symbolic importance. It signifies a country's growing importance in world affairs. This greater status is an advantage to a country in the conduct of its foreign policy: the reputation for being powerful makes you more influential.

Despite India's wish to be a permanent veto-wielding member of the UN, some countries question its inclusion. Neighbouring Pakistan, with which India has troubled relations, is not the only country that is reluctant to see India become a permanent veto member of the Security Council. Some countries, for instance, are concerned about India's nuclear weapons capabilities. Others think

that its difficulties with Pakistan will make India ineffective as a permanent member. Yet others feel that if India is included, then other emerging powers will have to be accommodated such as Brazil, Germany, Japan, perhaps even South Africa, whom they oppose. There are those who feel that Africa and South America must be represented in any expansion of the permanent membership since those are the only continents not to have representation in the present structure. Given these concerns, it may not be very easy for India or anyone else to become a permanent member of the UN in the near future.

THE UN IN A UNIPOLAR WORLD

Among the concerns about the reform and restructuring of the UN has been the hope of some countries that changes could help the UN cope better with a unipolar world in which the US was the most powerful country without any serious rivals. Can the UN serve as a balance against US dominance? Can it help maintain a dialogue between the rest of the world and the US and prevent America from doing whatever it wants?

US power cannot be easily checked. First of all, with the disappearance of the Soviet Union, the US stands as the only superpower. Its military and economic power allow it to ignore the UN or any other international organisation.

Secondly, within the UN, the influence of the US is considerable. As the single largest contributor to the UN, the US has unmatched financial power. The fact that the UN is physically located within the US territory gives Washington additional sources of influence. The US also has many nationals in the UN bureaucracy. In addition, with its veto power the US can stop any moves that it finds annoying or damaging to its interests or the interests of its friends and allies. The power of the US and its veto within the organisation also ensure that Washington has a considerable degree of say in the choice of the Secretary General of the UN. The US can and does use this power to "split" the rest of the world and to reduce opposition to its policies.

The UN is not therefore a great balance to the US. Nevertheless, in a unipolar world in which the US is dominant, the UN can and has served to bring the US and the rest of the world into discussions over various issues. US leaders, in spite of their frequent criticism of the UN, do see the organisation as serving a purpose in bringing together over 190 nations in dealing with conflict and social and economic development. As for the rest of the world, the UN provides an arena in which it is possible to modify US attitudes and policies. While the rest of the world is rarely united against Washington, and while it is virtually impossible to "balance" US power, the UN



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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Amnesty International

Amnesty International is an NGO that campaigns for the protection of human rights all over the world. It promotes respect for all the human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It believes that human rights are interdependent and indivisible. It prepares and publishes reports on human rights. Governments are not always happy with these reports since a major focus of Amnesty is the misconduct of government authorities. Nevertheless, these reports play an important role in research and advocacy on human rights.



HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH**Human Rights Watch**

Human Rights Watch is another international NGO involved in research and advocacy on human rights. It is the largest international human rights organisation in the US. It draws the global media's attention to human rights abuses. It helped in building international coalitions like the campaigns to ban landmines, to stop the use of child soldiers and to establish the International Criminal Court.



does provide a space within which arguments against specific US attitudes and policies are heard and compromises and concessions can be shaped.

The UN is an imperfect body, but without it the world would

be worse off. Given the growing connections and links between societies and issues—what we often call 'interdependence'—it is hard to imagine how more than seven billion people would live together without an organisation such as the UN. Technology promises to increase planetary interdependence, and therefore the importance of the UN will only increase. Peoples and governments will have to find ways of supporting and using the UN and other international organisations in ways that are consistent with their own interests and the interests of the international community more broadly.

EXERCISES

1. Mark correct or wrong against each of the following statements about the veto power.
 - a. Only the permanent members of the Security Council possess the veto power.
 - b. It's a kind of negative power.
 - c. The Secretary-General uses this power when not satisfied with any decision.
 - d. One veto can stall a Security Council resolution.
2. Mark correct or wrong against each of the following statements about the way the UN functions.
 - a. All security and peace related issues are dealt with in the Security Council.
 - b. Humanitarian policies are implemented by the main organs and specialised agencies spread across the globe.
 - c. Having consensus among the five permanent members on security issues is vital for its implementation.
 - d. The members of the General Assembly are automatically the members of all other principal organs and specialised agencies of the UN.

3. Which among the following would give more weightage to India's proposal for permanent membership in the Security Council?
- Nuclear capability
 - It has been a member of the UN since its inception
 - It is located in Asia
 - India's growing economic power and stable political system
4. The UN agency concerned with the safety and peaceful use of nuclear technology is:
- The UN Committee on Disarmament
 - International Atomic Energy Agency
 - UN International Safeguard Committee
 - None of the above
5. WTO is serving as the successor to which of the following organisations
- General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
 - General Arrangement on Trade and Tariffs
 - World Health Organisation
 - UN Development Programme
6. Fill in the blanks.
- The prime objective of the UN is _____
 - The highest functionary of the UN is called_____
 - The UN Security Council has ___ permanent and ___ non-permanent members.
 - _____ is the present UN Secretary-General.
7. Match the principal organs and agencies of the UN with their functions:
- Economic and Social Council
 - International Court of Justice
 - International Atomic Energy Agency
 - Security Council
 - UN High Commission for Refugees
 - World Trade Organisation
 - International Monetary Fund
 - General Assembly
 - World Health Organisation
 - Secretariat

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- a. Oversees the global financial system
 - b. Preservation of international peace and security
 - c. Looks into the economic and social welfare of the member countries
 - d. Safety and peaceful use of nuclear technology
 - e. Resolves disputes between and among member countries
 - f. Provides shelter and medical help during emergencies
 - g. Debates and discusses global issues
 - h. Administration and coordination of UN affairs
 - i. Providing good health for all
 - j. Facilitates free trade among member countries
8. What are the functions of the Security Council?
9. As a citizen of India, how would you support India's candidature for the permanent membership of the Security Council? Justify your proposal.
10. Critically evaluate the difficulties involved in implementing the suggested reforms to reconstruct the UN.
11. Though the UN has failed in preventing wars and related miseries, nations prefer its continuation. What makes the UN an indispensable organisation?
12. 'Reforming the UN means restructuring of the Security Council'. Do you agree with this statement? Give arguments for or against this position.

Chapter 5

Security in the Contemporary World



OVERVIEW

In reading about world politics, we frequently encounter the terms 'security' or 'national security'. Do we know what these terms mean? Often, they are used to stop debate and discussion. We hear that an issue is a security issue and that it is vital for the well-being of the country. The implication is that it is too important or secret to be debated and discussed openly. We see movies in which everything surrounding 'national security' is shadowy and dangerous. Security seems to be something that is not the business of the ordinary citizen. In a democracy, surely this cannot be the case. As citizens of a democracy, we need to know more about the term security. What exactly is it? And what are India's security concerns? This chapter debates these questions. It introduces two different ways of looking at security and highlights the importance of keeping in mind different contexts or situations which determine our view of security.



The concern about human security was reflected in the 1994 UNDP's Human Development Report, which contends, "the concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly... It has been more related to nation states than people... Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives." The images above show various forms of security threats.



Who decides about my security? Some leaders and experts? Can't I decide what is my security?

WHAT IS SECURITY?

At its most basic, security implies freedom from threats. Human existence and the life of a country are full of threats. Does that mean that every single threat counts as a security threat? Every time a person steps out of his or her house, there is some degree of threat to their existence and way of life. Our world would be saturated with security issues if we took such a broad view of what is threatening.

Those who study security, therefore, generally say that only



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Taming Peace

Have you heard of 'peacekeeping force'? Do you think this is a paradoxical term?

those things that threaten 'core values' should be regarded as being of interest in discussions of security. Whose core values though? The core values of the country as a whole? The core values of ordinary women and men in the street? Do governments, on behalf of citizens, always have the same notion of core values as the ordinary citizen?

Furthermore, when we speak of threats to core values, how intense should the threats be? Surely there are big and small threats to virtually every value we hold dear. Can all those threats be brought into the understanding of security? Every time another country does something or fails to do something, this may damage the core values of one's country. Every time a person is robbed in the streets, the security of ordinary people as they live their daily lives is harmed. Yet, we would be paralysed if we took such an extensive view of security: everywhere we looked, the world would be full of dangers.

So we are brought to a conclusion: security relates only to extremely dangerous threats—threats that could so endanger core values that those values would be damaged beyond repair if we did not do something to deal with the situation.

Having said that, we must admit that security remains a slippery idea. For instance, have societies always had the same conception of security? It would be surprising if they did because

so many things change in the world around us. And, at any given time in world history, do all societies have the same conception of security? Again, it would be amazing if six hundred and fifty crore people, organised in nearly 200 countries, had the same conception of security! Let us begin by putting the various notions of security under two groups: traditional and non-traditional conceptions of security.

TRADITIONAL NOTIONS: EXTERNAL

Most of the time, when we read and hear about security we are talking about traditional, national security conceptions of security. In the traditional conception of security, the greatest danger to a country is from military threats. The source of this danger is another country which by threatening military action endangers the core values of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Military action also endangers the lives of ordinary citizens. It is unlikely that in a war only soldiers will be hurt or killed. Quite often, ordinary men and women are made targets of war, to break their support of the war.

In responding to the threat of war, a government has three basic choices: to surrender; to prevent the other side from attacking by promising to raise the costs of war to an unacceptable level; and to defend itself when war actually



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Economy of war

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breaks out so as to deny the attacking country its objectives and to turn back or defeat the attacking forces altogether. Governments may choose to surrender when actually confronted by war, but they will not advertise this as the policy of the country. Therefore, security policy is concerned with preventing war, which is called deterrence, and with limiting or ending war, which is called defence.

Traditional security policy has a third component called balance of power. When countries look around them, they see that some countries are bigger and stronger. This is a clue to who might be a threat in the future. For instance, a neighbouring country may not say it is preparing for attack. There may be no obvious reason for attack. But the fact that this country is very powerful is a sign



War is all about insecurity, destruction and deaths. How can a war make anyone secure?

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How do the big powers react when new countries claim nuclear status? On what basis can we say that some countries can be trusted with nuclear weapons while others can't be?

that at some point in the future it may choose to be aggressive. Governments are, therefore, very sensitive to the balance of power between their country and other countries. They do work hard to maintain a favourable balance of power with other countries, especially those close by, those with whom they have differences, or with those they have had conflicts in the past. A good part of maintaining a balance of power is to build up one's military power, although economic and technological power are also important since they are the basis for military power.

A fourth and related component of traditional security policy is alliance building. An alliance is a coalition of states that coordinate their actions to deter or defend against military attack. Most alliances are

formalised in written treaties and are based on a fairly clear identification of who constitutes the threat. Countries form alliances to increase their effective power relative to another country or alliance. Alliances are based on national interests and can change when national interests change. For example, the US backed the Islamic militants in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union in the 1980s, but later attacked them when Al Qaeda—a group of Islamic militants led by Osama bin Laden—launched terrorist strikes against America on 11 September 2001.

In the traditional view of security, then, most threats to a country's security come from outside its borders. That is because the international system is a rather brutal arena in which there is no central authority capable of controlling behaviour. Within a country, the threat of violence is regulated by an acknowledged central authority—the government. In world politics, there is no acknowledged central authority that stands above everyone else. It is tempting to think that the United Nations is such an authority or could become such an institution. However, as presently constituted, the UN is a creature of its members and has authority only to the extent that the membership allows it to have authority and obeys it. So, in world politics, each country has to be responsible for its own security.

TRADITIONAL NOTIONS: INTERNAL

By now you will have asked yourself: doesn't security depend on internal peace and order? How can a society be secure if there is violence or the threat of violence inside its borders? And how can it prepare to face violence from outside its borders if it is not secure inside its borders?

Traditional security must also, therefore, concern itself with internal security. The reason it is not given so much importance is that after the Second World War it seemed that, for the most powerful countries on earth, internal security was more or less assured. We said earlier that it is important to pay attention to contexts and situations. While internal security was certainly a part of the concerns of governments historically, after the Second World War there was a context and situation in which internal security did not seem to matter as much as it had in the past. After 1945, the US and the Soviet Union appeared to be united and could expect peace within their borders. Most of the European countries, particularly the powerful Western European countries, faced no serious threats from groups or communities living within those borders. Therefore, these countries focused primarily on threats from outside their borders.

What were the external threats facing these powerful countries?

Again, we draw attention to contexts and situations. We know that the period after the Second World War was the Cold War in which the US-led Western alliance faced the Soviet-led Communist alliance. Above all, the two alliances feared a military attack from each other. Some European powers, in addition, continued to worry about violence in their colonies, from colonised people who wanted independence. We have only to remember the French fighting in Vietnam in the 1950s or the British fighting in Kenya in the 1950s and the early 1960s.

As the colonies became free from the late 1940s onwards, their security concerns were often similar to that of the European powers. Some of the newly-independent countries, like the European powers, became members of the Cold War alliances. They, therefore, had to worry about the Cold War becoming a hot war and dragging them into hostilities — against neighbours who might have joined the other side in the Cold War, against the leaders of the alliances (the United States or Soviet Union), or against any of the other partners of the US and Soviet Union. The Cold War between the two superpowers was responsible for approximately one-third of all wars in the post-Second World War period. Most of these wars were fought in the Third World. Just as the European colonial powers feared violence in the colonies, some colonial people feared, after independence, that they might be attacked by their

Browse through a week's newspaper and list all the external and internal conflicts that are taking place around the globe.





Third World Arms

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former colonial rulers in Europe. They had to prepare, therefore, to defend themselves against an imperial war.

The security challenges facing the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa were different from the challenges in Europe in two ways. For one thing, the new countries faced the prospect of military conflict with neighbouring countries. For another, they had to worry about internal military conflict. These countries faced threats not only from outside their borders, mostly from neighbours, but also from within. Many newly-independent countries came to fear their neighbours even more than they feared the US or Soviet Union or the former colonial powers. They quarrelled over borders and territories or control of people and populations or all of these simultaneously.



Those who fight against their own country must be unhappy about something. Perhaps it is their insecurity that creates insecurity for the country.

Internally, the new states worried about threats from separatist movements which wanted to form independent countries. Sometimes, the external and internal threats merged. A neighbour might help or instigate an internal separatist movement leading to tensions between the two neighbouring countries. Internal wars now make up more than 95 per cent of all armed conflicts fought anywhere in the world. Between 1946 and 1991, there was a twelve-fold rise in the number of civil wars—the greatest jump in 200 years. So, for the new states, external wars with neighbours and internal wars posed a serious challenge to their security.

TRADITIONAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION

In traditional security, there is a recognition that cooperation in limiting violence is possible. These limits relate both to the ends and the means of war. It is now an almost universally-accepted view that countries should only go to war for the right reasons, primarily self-defence or to protect other people from genocide. War must also be limited in terms of the means that are used. Armies must avoid killing or hurting non-combatants as well as unarmed and surrendering combatants. They should not be excessively violent. Force must in any case be used only after all the alternatives have failed.

Traditional views of security do not rule out other forms of cooperation as well. The most important of these are disarmament, arms control, and confidence building. Disarmament requires all states to give up certain kinds of weapons. For example, the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the 1997 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) banned the production and possession of these weapons. More than 155 states acceded to the BWC and 193 states acceded to the CWC. Both conventions included all the great powers. But the superpowers — the US and Soviet Union — did not want to give up the third type of weapons of mass destruction, namely, nuclear weapons, so they pursued arms control.

Arms control regulates the acquisition or development of weapons. The Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in 1972 tried to stop the United States and Soviet Union from using ballistic missiles as a defensive shield to launch a nuclear attack. While it did allow both countries



The text says: "Whether Elevated or Under Attack, the Department of Homeland Security **Terror Meter** takes the uncertainty out of staying informed of the level of terror in our nation. Move the Terror Indicator to the current threat level, which corresponds to how terrified the American people are of the threat of terror attacks. Terror is all around us, and can strike at anytime. Thanks to the **Terror Meter**, you will never have to wonder how terrified you should be. Proceed with caution".

to deploy a very limited number of defensive systems, it stopped them from large-scale production of those systems.

The US and Soviet Union signed a number of other arms control treaties including the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty II or SALT II and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 was an arms control treaty in the sense that it regulated the acquisition of nuclear weapons: those countries that had tested and manufactured nuclear weapons before 1967 were allowed to keep their weapons; and those that had not done so were to give up the right to acquire them. The NPT did not abolish nuclear weapons; rather, it limited the number of countries that could have them.



How funny! First they make deadly and expensive weapons. Then they make complicated treaties to save themselves from these weapons. They call it security!

Traditional security also accepts confidence building as a means of avoiding violence. Confidence building is a process in which countries share ideas and information with their rivals. They tell each other about their military intentions and, up to a point, their military plans. This is a way of demonstrating that they are not planning a surprise attack. They also tell each other about the kind of forces they possess, and they may share information on where those forces are deployed. In short, confidence building is a process designed to ensure that rivals do not go to war through misunderstanding or misperception.

Overall, traditional conceptions of security are principally concerned with the use, or threat of use, of military force. In traditional security, force is both the principal threat to security and the principal means of achieving security.

NON-TRADITIONAL NOTIONS

Non-traditional notions of security go beyond military threats to include a wide range of threats and dangers affecting the conditions of human existence. They begin by questioning the traditional referent of security. In doing so, they also question the other three elements of security — what is being secured, from what kind of threats and the approach to security. When we say referent we mean ‘Security for who?’ In the traditional



Now we are talking!
That is what I call
real security for real
human beings.

security conception, the referent is the state with its territory and governing institutions. In the non-traditional conceptions, the referent is expanded. When we ask ‘Security for who?’ proponents of non-traditional security reply ‘Not just the state but also individuals or communities or indeed all of humankind’. Non-traditional views of security have been called ‘human security’ or ‘global security’.

Human security is about the protection of people more than the protection of states. Human security and state security should be — and often are — the same thing. But secure states do not automatically mean secure peoples. Protecting citizens from foreign attack may be a necessary condition for the security of individuals, but it is certainly not



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The cartoon comments on the massive expenditure on defence and lack of money for peace-related initiatives in the US. Is it any different in our country?

a sufficient one. Indeed, during the last 100 years, more people have been killed by their own governments than by foreign armies.

All proponents of human security agree that its primary goal is the protection of individuals. However, there are differences about precisely what threats individuals should be protected from. Proponents of the 'narrow' concept of human security focus on violent threats to individuals or, as former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan puts it, "the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence". Proponents of the 'broad' concept of human security argue that the threat agenda should include hunger, disease and natural disasters because these kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. Human security policy, they argue, should protect people from these threats as well as from violence. In its broadest formulation, the human security agenda also encompasses economic security and 'threats to human dignity'. Put differently, the broadest formulation stresses what has been called 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear', respectively.

The idea of **global security** emerged in the 1990s in response to the global nature of threats such as global warming, international terrorism, and health epidemics like AIDS and

bird flu and so on. No country can resolve these problems alone. And, in some situations, one country may have to disproportionately bear the brunt of a global problem such as environmental degradation. For example, due to global warming, a sea level rise of 1.5–2.0 meters would flood 20 percent of Bangladesh, inundate most of the Maldives, and threaten nearly half the population of Thailand. Since these problems are global in nature, international cooperation is vital, even though it is difficult to achieve.

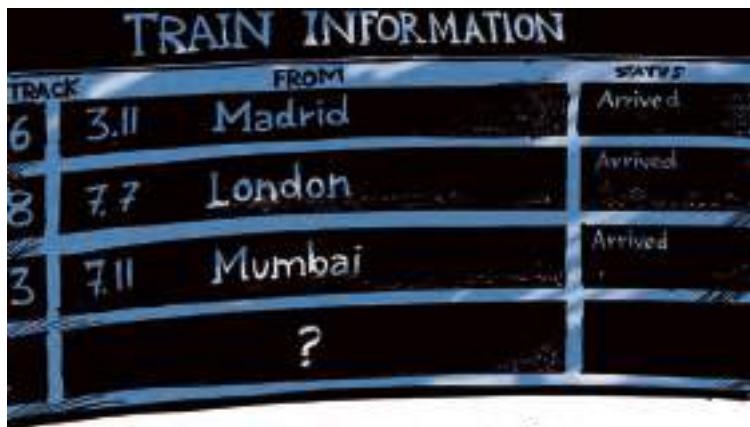


NEW SOURCES OF THREATS

The non-traditional conceptions—both human security and global security—focus on the changing nature of threats to security. We will discuss some of these threats in the section below.

Terrorism refers to political violence that targets civilians deliberately and indiscriminately. International terrorism involves the citizens or territory of more than one country. Terrorist groups seek to change a political context or condition that they do not like by force or threat of force. Civilian targets are usually chosen to terrorise the public and to use the unhappiness of the public as a weapon against national governments or other parties in conflict.

The classic cases of terrorism involve hijacking planes or planting bombs in trains, cafes, markets



Taking the train

© Tab, Cagle Cartoons Inc.



Why do we always look outside when talking about human rights violations? Don't we have examples from our own country?



He doesn't exist!

and other crowded places. Since 11 September 2001 when terrorists attacked the World Trade Centre in America, other governments and public have paid more attention to terrorism, though terrorism itself is not new. In the past, most of the terror attacks have occurred in the Middle East, Europe, Latin America and South Asia.

Human rights have come to be classified into three types. The first type is political rights such as freedom of speech and assembly. The second type is economic and social rights. The third type is the rights of colonised people or ethnic and indigenous minorities. While there is broad agreement on this classification, there is no agreement on which set of rights should be considered as universal

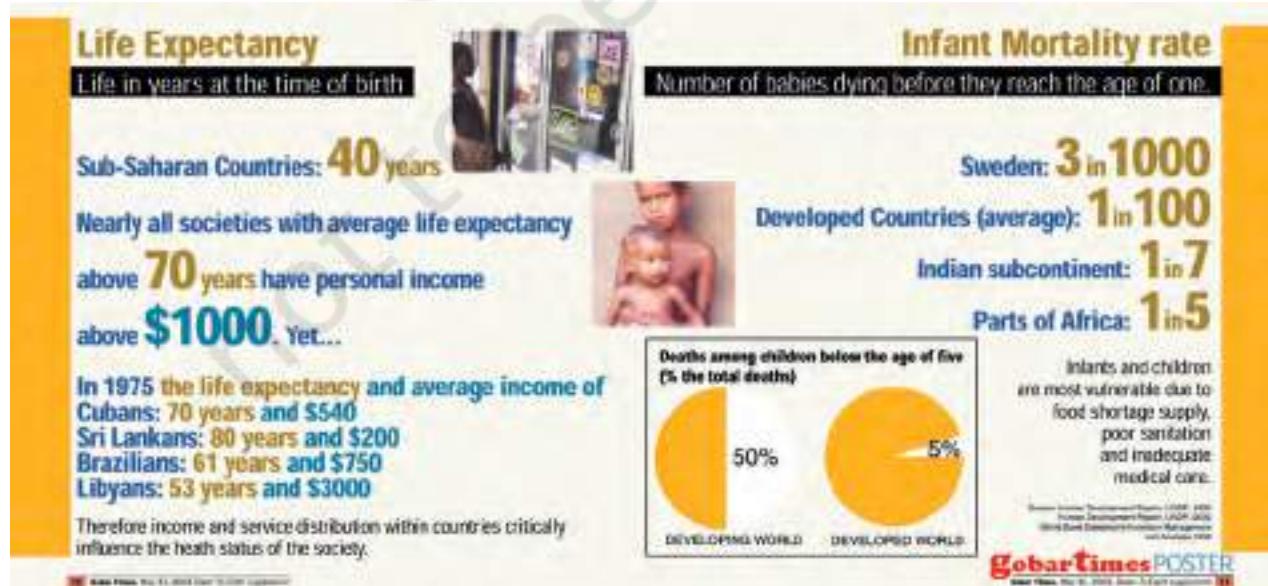
human rights, nor what the international community should do when rights are being violated.

Since the 1990s, developments such as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the genocide in Rwanda, and the Indonesian military's killing of people in East Timor have led to a debate on whether or not the UN should intervene to stop human rights abuses. There are those who argue that the UN Charter empowers the international community to take up arms in defence of human rights. Others argue that the national interests of the powerful states will determine which instances of human rights violations the UN will act upon.

Global poverty is another source of insecurity. World population—now at 760 crore—will grow to nearly 1000 crore by the middle of the 21st century. Currently, half the world's

population growth occurs in just six countries—India, China, Pakistan, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Among the world's poorest countries, population is expected to triple in the next 50 years, whereas many rich countries will see population shrinkage in that period. High per capita income and low population growth make rich states or rich social groups get richer, whereas low incomes and high population growth reinforce each other to make poor states and poor groups get poorer.

Globally, this disparity contributes to the gap between the Northern and Southern countries of the world. Within the South, disparities have also sharpened, as a few countries have managed to slow down population growth and raise incomes while others have failed to do so. For example, most of the





Take a map of Africa and plot various threats to the people's security on that map.

world's armed conflicts now take place in sub-Saharan Africa, which is also the poorest region of the world. At the turn of the 21st century, more people were being killed in wars in this region than in the rest of the world combined.

Poverty in the South has also led to large-scale **migration** to seek a better life, especially better economic opportunities, in the North. This has created international political frictions. International law and norms make a distinction between migrants (those who voluntarily leave their home countries) and refugees (those who flee from war, natural disaster or political persecution). States are generally supposed to accept refugees, but they do not have to accept migrants. While refugees leave

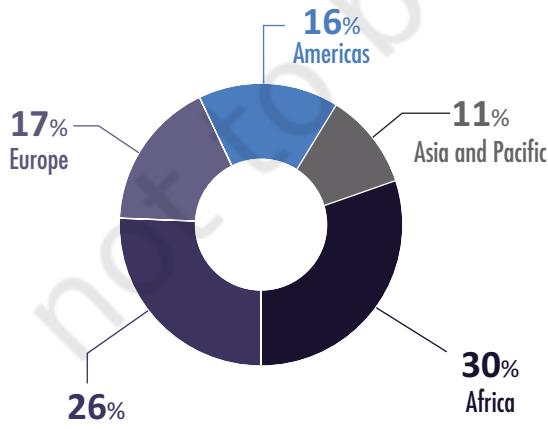
their country of origin, people who have fled their homes but remain within national borders are called 'internally displaced people'. Kashmiri Pandits that fled the violence in the Kashmir Valley in the early 1990s are an example of an internally displaced community.

The world refugee map tallies almost perfectly with the world conflicts map because wars and armed conflicts in the South have generated millions of refugees seeking safe haven. From 1990 to 1995, 70 states were involved in 93 wars which killed about 55 lakh people. As a result, individuals, and families and, at times, whole communities have been forced to migrate because of generalised fear of violence or due to the destruction of livelihoods, identities and living environments. A look at the correlation between wars and refugee migration shows that in the 1990s, all but three of the 60 refugee flows coincided with an internal armed conflict.

Health epidemics such as HIV-AIDS, bird flu, and severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) have rapidly spread across countries through migration, business, tourism and military operations. One country's success or failure in limiting the spread of these diseases affects infections in other countries.

Refugees in the world (2017)

Where the world's displaced people are being hosted



Source: <http://www.unhcr.org>

By 2003, an estimated 4 crore people were infected with HIV-AIDS worldwide, two-thirds of them in Africa and half of the rest in South Asia. In North America and other industrialised countries, new drug therapies dramatically lowered the death rate from HIV-AIDS in the late 1990s. But these treatments were too expensive to help poor regions like Africa where it has proved to be a major factor in driving the region backward into deeper poverty.

Other new and poorly understood diseases such as Corona, ebola virus, hantavirus, and hepatitis C have emerged, while old diseases like tuberculosis, malaria, dengue fever and cholera have mutated into drug resistant forms that are difficult to treat. Epidemics among animals have major economic effects. Since the late 1990s, Britain has lost billions of dollars of income during an outbreak of the mad-cow disease, and bird flu shut down supplies of poultry exports from several Asian countries. Such epidemics demonstrate the growing interdependence of states making their borders less meaningful than in the past and emphasise the need for international cooperation.

Expansion of the concept of security does not mean that we can include any kind of disease or distress in the ambit of security. If we do that, the concept of security stands to lose its coherence. Everything could become a security issue.



Keshav, The Hindu

How should the world address issues shown here?

To qualify as a security problem, therefore, an issue must share a minimum common criterion, say, of threatening the very existence of the referent (a state or group of people) though the precise nature of this threat may be different. For example, the Maldives may feel threatened by global warming because a big part of its territory may be submerged with the rising sea level, whereas for countries in Southern Africa, HIV-AIDS poses a serious threat as one in six adults has the disease (one in three for Botswana, the worst case). In 1994, the Tutsi tribe in Rwanda faced a threat to its existence as nearly five lakh of its people were killed by the rival Hutu tribe in a matter of weeks. This shows that non-traditional conceptions of security, like traditional conceptions of security, vary according to local contexts.

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World Blindness

COOPERATIVE SECURITY

We can see that dealing with many of these non-traditional threats to security require cooperation rather than military

confrontation. Military force may have a role to play in combating terrorism or in enforcing human rights (and even here there is a limit to what force can achieve), but it is difficult to see what force would do to help alleviate poverty, manage migration and refugee movements, and control epidemics. Indeed, in most cases, the use of military force would only make matters worse!

Far more effective is to devise strategies that involve international cooperation. Cooperation may be bilateral (i.e. between any two countries), regional, continental, or global. It would all depend on the nature of the threat and the willingness and ability of countries to respond. Cooperative security may also involve a variety of other players, both international and national—international organisations (the UN, the World Health Organisation, the World Bank, the IMF etc.), non-governmental organisations (Amnesty International, the Red Cross, private foundations and charities, religious organisations, trade unions, associations, social and development organisations),

businesses and corporations, and great personalities (e.g. Mother Teresa, Nelson Mandela).

Cooperative security may involve the use of force as a last resort. The international community may have to sanction the use of force to deal with governments that kill their own people or ignore the misery of their populations who are devastated by poverty, disease and catastrophe. It may have to agree to the use of violence against international terrorists and those who harbour them. Non-traditional security is much better when the use of force is sanctioned and applied collectively by the international community rather than when an individual country decides to use force on its own.

INDIA'S SECURITY STRATEGY

India has faced traditional (military) and non-traditional threats to its security that have emerged from within as well as outside its borders. Its security strategy has four broad components, which have been used in a varying combination from time to time.

The first component was strengthening its military capabilities because India has been involved in conflicts with its neighbours — Pakistan in 1947–48, 1965, 1971 and 1999; and China in 1962. Since it is surrounded by nuclear-armed countries in



I feel happy when I hear that my country has nuclear weapons. But I don't know how exactly it makes me and my family more secure.

the South Asian region, India's decision to conduct nuclear tests in 1998 was justified by the Indian government in terms of safeguarding national security. India first tested a nuclear device in 1974.

The second component of India's security strategy has been to strengthen international norms and international institutions to protect its security interests. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, supported the cause of Asian solidarity, decolonisation, disarmament, and the UN as a forum in which international conflicts could be settled. India also took initiatives to bring about a universal and non-discriminatory non-proliferation regime in which all countries would have the same rights and obligations with respect to weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological, chemical). It argued for an equitable New International Economic Order (NIEO). Most importantly, it used non-alignment to help carve out an area of peace outside the bloc politics of the two superpowers. India joined 160 countries that have signed and ratified the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, which provides a roadmap for reducing the emissions of greenhouse gases to check global warming. Indian troops have been sent abroad on UN peacekeeping missions in support of cooperative security initiatives.

The third component of Indian security strategy is geared towards meeting security challenges within

the country. Several militant groups from areas such as the Nagaland, Mizoram, the Punjab, and Kashmir among others have, from time to time, sought to break away from India. India has tried to preserve national unity by adopting a democratic political system, which allows different communities and groups of people to freely articulate their grievances and share political power.

Finally, there has been an attempt in India to develop its economy in a way that the vast mass of citizens are lifted out of poverty and misery and huge economic inequalities are not allowed to exist. The attempt has partially succeeded; we are advancing towards overcoming poverty and inequality. Yet democratic politics allows spaces for articulating the voice of the poor and the deprived citizens. There is a pressure on the democratically elected governments to combine economic growth with human development. Thus democracy is not just a political ideal; a democratic government is also a way to provide greater security. You will read more about the successes and failures of Indian democracy in this respect in the textbook on politics in India since independence.

Compare the expenditure by the Indian government on traditional security with its expenditure on non-traditional security.





STEPS

- Narrate the following imaginary situation of four villages settled on the banks of a river.

Kotabagh, Gewali, Kandali and Goppa are villages adjoining each other beside a river. People in Kotabagh were the first settlers on the riverbank. They had an uninterrupted access to abundant natural resources available in the region. Gradually, people from different regions started coming to this region because of the abundant natural resources and water. Now there are four villages. With time the population of these villages expanded. But resources did not expand. Each village started making claims over natural resources including the boundary of their respective settlement. Inhabitants of Kotabagh argued for a greater share in natural resources, as they were the first settlers. Settlers of Kandali and Gewali said that as they have bigger populations than the others they both need a greater share. The people of Goppa said as they are used to an extravagant life they need a bigger share, though their population is smaller in size. All four villages disagreed with each other's demands and continued to use the resources as they wished. This led to frequent clashes among the villagers. Gradually, everybody felt disgusted with the state of affairs and lost their peace of mind. Now they all wish to live the way they had lived earlier. But they do not know how to go back to that golden age.

- Make a brief note describing the characteristics of each village — the description should reflect the actual nature of present-day nations.
- Divide the classroom into four groups. Each group is to represent a village. Hand over the village notes to the respective groups.
- The teacher is to allot a time (15 minutes) for group discussions on how to go back to the golden age. Each should develop its own strategy.

All groups are to negotiate freely among themselves as village representatives, to arrive at a solution (within 20 minutes). Each would put forth its arguments and counter arguments. The result could be: an amicable agreement accommodating the demands of all, which seldom happens; or, the entire negotiation/discussion ends without achieving the purpose.

Ideas for the Teacher

- Link the villages to nations and connect to the problems of security (threat to geographical territory/access to natural resources/insurgency, and so on).
- Talk about the observations made during the negotiation and explain how similarly the nations behave while negotiating on related issues.
- The activity could be concluded by making reference to some of the current security issues between and among nations.

E
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1. Match the terms with their meaning:
 - i. Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)
 - ii. Arms Control
 - iii. Alliance
 - iv. Disarmament
 - a. Giving up certain types of weapons
 - b. A process of exchanging information on defence matters between nations on a regular basis
 - c. A coalition of nations meant to deter or defend against military attacks
 - d. Regulates the acquisition or development of weapons
2. Which among the following would you consider as a traditional security concern / non-traditional security concern / not a threat?
 - a. The spread of chikungunya / dengue fever
 - b. Inflow of workers from a neighbouring nation
 - c. Emergence of a group demanding nationhood for their region
 - d. Emergence of a group demanding autonomy for their region
 - e. A newspaper that is critical of the armed forces in the country
3. What is the difference between traditional and non-traditional security? Which category would the creation and sustenance of alliances belong to?
4. What are the differences in the threats that people in the Third World face and those living in the First World face?
5. Is terrorism a traditional or non-traditional threat to security?
6. What are the choices available to a state when its security is threatened, according to the traditional security perspective?
7. What is 'Balance of Power'? How could a state achieve this?
8. What are the objectives of military alliances? Give an example of a functioning military alliance with its specific objectives.
9. Rapid environmental degradation is causing a serious threat to security. Do you agree with the statement? Substantiate your arguments.

EXERCISES

10. Nuclear weapons as deterrence or defence have limited usage against contemporary security threats to states. Explain the statement.
11. Looking at the Indian scenario, what type of security has been given priority in India, traditional or non-traditional? What examples could you cite to substantiate the argument?
12. Read the cartoon below and write a short note in favour or against the connection between war and terrorism depicted in this cartoon.



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Chapter 6

Environment and Natural Resources

OVERVIEW

This chapter examines the growing significance of environmental as well as resource issues in world politics. It analyses in a comparative perspective some of the important environmental movements against the backdrop of the rising profile of environmentalism from the 1960s onwards. Notions of common property resources and the global commons too are assessed. We also discuss, in brief, the stand taken by India in more recent environmental debates. Next follows a brief account of the geopolitics of resource competition. We conclude by taking note of the indigenous peoples' voices and concerns from the margins of contemporary world politics.



The 1992 Earth Summit has brought environmental issues to the centre-stage of global politics. The pictures above show rainforest and mangroves.



Politics in forests,
politics in water,
politics in
atmosphere! What is
not political then?

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNs IN GLOBAL POLITICS

In this book we have discussed 'world politics' in a fairly limited sense: wars and treaties, rise and decline of state power, the relationship between the governments that represent their countries in the international arena and the role of inter-governmental organisations. In Chapter 5, we expanded the scope of world politics to include issues like poverty and epidemics. That may not have been a very difficult step to take, for we all think that governments are responsible for controlling these. In that sense they fall within the scope of world politics. Now consider some other issues. Do you think they fall within the scope of contemporary world politics?



Around the Aral Sea, thousands of people have had to leave their homes as the toxic waters have totally destroyed the fishing industry. The shipping industry and all related activities have collapsed. Rising concentrations of salt in the soil have caused low crop yields. Numerous studies have been conducted. In fact locals joke that if everyone who'd come to study the Aral had brought a bucket of water, the sea would be full by now. Source: www.gobartimes.org

- Throughout the world, cultivable area is barely expanding any more, and a substantial portion of existing agricultural land is losing fertility. Grasslands have been overgrazed and fisheries over-harvested. Water bodies have suffered extensive depletion and pollution, severely restricting food production.
- According to the *Human Development Report 2016* of the United Nations Development Programme, 663 million people in developing countries have no access to safe water and 2.4 billion have no access to sanitation, resulting in the death of more than three million children every year.
- Natural forests — which help stabilise the climate, moderate water supplies, and harbour a majority of the planet's biodiversity on land— are being cut down and people are being displaced. The loss of biodiversity continues due to the destruction of habitat in areas which are rich in species.
- A steady decline in the total amount of ozone in the Earth's stratosphere (commonly referred to as the ozone hole) poses a real danger to ecosystems and human health.
- Coastal pollution too is increasing globally. Although the open sea is relatively clean, the coastal waters are

becoming increasingly polluted largely due to land-based activities. If unchecked, intensive human settlement of coastal zones across the globe will lead to further deterioration in the quality of marine environment.

You might ask are we not talking here about 'natural phenomena' that should be studied in geography rather than in political science. But think about it again. If the various governments take steps to check environmental degradation of the kind mentioned above, these issues will have political consequences in that sense. Most of them are such that no single government can address them fully. Therefore they have to become part of 'world politics'. Issues of environment and natural resources are political in another deeper sense. Who causes environmental degradation? Who pays the price? And who is responsible for taking corrective action? Who gets to use how much of the natural resources of the Earth? All these raise the issue of who wields how much power. They are, therefore, deeply political questions.

Although environmental concerns have a long history, awareness of the environmental consequences of economic growth acquired an increasingly political character from the 1960s onwards. The Club of Rome, a global think tank, published a book in 1972 entitled *Limits to Growth*,



Global Warming

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Why do you think the fingers are designed like chimneys and the world made into a lighter?

dramatising the potential depletion of the Earth's resources against the backdrop of rapidly growing world population. International agencies, including the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), began holding international conferences and promoting detailed studies to get a more coordinated and effective response to environmental problems. Since then, the environment has emerged as a significant issue of global politics.

The growing focus on environmental issues within the arena of global politics was firmly consolidated at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June 1992. This was also called the Earth Summit. The summit was

Collect news clippings on reports linking environment and politics in your own locality.

LET'S DO IT



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Are there different perspectives from which the rich and the poor countries agree to protect the Earth?

attended by 170 states, thousands of NGOs and many multinational corporations. Five years earlier, the 1987 Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, had warned that traditional patterns of economic growth were not sustainable in the long term, especially in view of the demands of the South for further industrial development. What was obvious at the Rio Summit was that the rich and developed

countries of the First World, generally referred to as the 'global North' were pursuing a different environmental agenda than the poor and developing countries of the Third World, called the 'global South'. Whereas the Northern states were concerned with ozone depletion and global warming, the Southern states were anxious to address the relationship between economic development and environmental management.

The Rio Summit produced conventions dealing with climate change, biodiversity, forestry, and recommended a list of development practices called 'Agenda 21'. But it left unresolved considerable differences and difficulties. There was a consensus on combining economic growth with ecological responsibility. This approach to development is commonly known as 'sustainable development'. The problem however was how exactly this was to be achieved. Some critics have pointed out that Agenda 21 was biased in favour of economic growth rather than ensuring ecological conservation. Let us look at some of the contentious issues in the global politics of environment.

THE PROTECTION OF GLOBAL COMMONS

'Commons' are those resources which are not owned by anyone but rather shared by a community. This could be a 'common room', a 'community centre', a park or a river. Similarly, there are some



ANTARCTICA

The Antarctic continental region extends over 14 million square kilometres and comprises 26 per cent of the world's wilderness area, representing 90 per cent of all terrestrial ice and 70 per cent of planetary fresh water. The Antarctic also extends to a further 36 million square kilometres of ocean. It has a limited terrestrial life and a highly productive marine ecosystem, comprising a few plants (e.g. microscopic algae, fungi and lichen), marine mammals, fish and hordes of birds adapted to harsh conditions, as well as the krill, which is central to marine food chain and upon which other animals are dependent. The Antarctic plays an important role in maintaining climatic equilibrium, and deep ice cores provide an important source of information about greenhouse gas concentrations and atmospheric temperatures of hundreds and thousands of years ago.



Who owns this coldest, farthest, and windiest continent on globe? There are two claims about it. Some countries like the UK, Argentina, Chile, Norway, France, Australia and New Zealand have made legal claims to sovereign rights over Antarctic territory. Most other states have taken the opposite view that the Antarctic is a part of the global commons and not subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of any state. These differences, however, have not prevented the adoption of innovative and potentially far-reaching rules for the protection of the Antarctic environment and its ecosystem. The Antarctic and the Arctic polar regions are subjected to special regional rules of environmental protection. Since 1959, activities in the area have been limited to scientific research, fishing and tourism. Even these limited activities have not prevented parts of the region from being degraded by waste as a result of oil spills.

areas or regions of the world which are located outside the sovereign jurisdiction of any one state, and therefore require common governance by the international community. These are known as *res communis humanitatis* or *global commons*. They include the earth's atmosphere, Antarctica (see Box), the ocean floor, and outer space.

Cooperation over the global commons is not easy. There have been many path-breaking agreements such as the 1959 Antarctic Treaty, the 1987 Montreal Protocol, and the 1991 Antarctic Environmental Protocol. A major problem underlying all ecological issues relates to the difficulty of achieving consensus on common environmental agendas on the



Very soon we will have ecological degradation of the moon!



One of the biggest catastrophes in Africa in the 1970s, a drought turned the best cropland in five countries into cracked and barren earth. In fact, the term environmental refugees came into popular vocabulary after this. Many had to flee their homelands as agriculture was no longer possible. Source: www.gobartimes.org

basis of vague scientific evidence and time frames. In that sense the discovery of the ozone hole over the Antarctic in the mid-1980s revealed the opportunity as well as dangers inherent in tackling global environmental problems.

Similarly, the history of outer space as a global commons shows that the management of these areas is thoroughly influenced by North-South inequalities. As with the earth's atmosphere and the ocean floor, the crucial

issue here is technology and industrial development. This is important because the benefits of exploitative activities in outer space are far from being equal either for the present or future generations.

COMMON BUT DIFFERENTIATED RESPONSIBILITIES

We have noted above a difference in the approach to environment between the countries of the North

Find out more about the Kyoto Protocol. Which major countries did not sign it? And why?

LET'S DO IT

and the South. The developed countries of the North want to discuss the environmental issue as it stands now and want everyone to be equally responsible for ecological conservation. The developing countries of the South feel that much of the ecological degradation in the world is the product of industrial development undertaken by the developed countries. If they have caused more degradation, they must also take more responsibility for undoing the damage now. Moreover, the developing countries are in the process of industrialisation and they must not be subjected to the same restrictions, which apply to the developed countries. Thus the special needs of the developing countries must be taken into account in the development, application, and interpretation of rules of international environmental law. This argument was accepted in the Rio Declaration at the Earth Summit in 1992 and is called the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibilities'.

The relevant part of the Rio Declaration says that "States shall cooperate in the spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth's ecosystem. In view of the different contributions of global environmental degradation, states have common but differentiated responsibilities. The developed countries acknowledge the

responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technological and financial resources they command."

The 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) also provides that the parties should act to protect the climate system "on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities." The parties to the Convention agreed that the largest share of historical and current global emissions of greenhouse gases has originated in developed countries. It was also acknowledged that per capita emissions in developing countries are still relatively low. China, India, and other developing countries were, therefore, exempted from the requirements of the Kyoto Protocol. The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement setting targets for industrialised countries to cut their greenhouse gas emissions. Certain gases like Carbon dioxide, Methane, Hydro-fluoro carbons etc. are considered at least partly responsible for global warming - the rise in global temperature which may have catastrophic consequences for life on Earth. The protocol was agreed to in 1997 in Kyoto in Japan, based on principles set out in UNFCCC.



That's a cool principle! A bit like the reservation policy in our country, isn't it?



I heard about some rivers being sold in Latin America. How can common property be sold?

COMMON PROPERTY RESOURCES

Common property represents common property for the group. The underlying norm here is that members of the group have both rights and duties with respect to the nature, levels of use, and the maintenance of a given resource. Through mutual understanding and centuries of practice, many village communities in India, for example, have defined members' rights and responsibilities. A combination of factors, including privatisation, agricultural intensification, population growth and ecosystem degradation have caused common property to dwindle in size, quality, and

availability to the poor in much of the world. The institutional arrangement for the actual management of the sacred groves on state-owned forest land appropriately fits the description of a common property regime. Along the forest belt of South India, sacred groves have been traditionally managed by village communities.

INDIA'S STAND ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

India signed and ratified the 1997 Kyoto Protocol in August 2002. India, China and other developing countries were exempt from the requirements of the Kyoto Protocol because their contribution to the



SACRED GROVES IN INDIA

Protecting nature for religious reasons is an ancient practice in many traditional societies. Sacred groves in India (parcels of uncut forest vegetation in the name of certain deities or natural or ancestral spirits) exemplify such practice. As a model of community-based resource management, groves have lately gained attention in conservation literature. The sacred groves can be seen as a system that informally forces traditional communities to harvest natural resources in an ecologically sustained fashion. Some researchers believe that sacred groves hold the potential for preserving not only biodiversity and ecological functions, but also cultural diversity.

Sacred groves embody a rich set of forest preservation practices and they share characteristics with common property resource systems. Their size ranges from clumps of a few trees to several hundred acres. Traditionally, sacred groves have been valued for their embodied spiritual and cultural attributes. Hindus commonly worshipped natural objects, including trees and groves. Many temples have originated from sacred groves. Deep religious reverence for nature, rather than resource scarcity, seems to be the basis for the long-standing commitment to preserving these forests. In recent years, however, expansion and human settlement have slowly encroached on sacred forests.

In many places, the institutional identity of these traditional forests is fading with the advent of new national forest policies. A real problem in managing sacred groves arises when legal ownership and operational control are held by different entities. The two entities in question, the state and the community, vary in their policy norms and underlying motives for using the sacred grove.

POSTER
MAP BY ANU LALWANI

TROUBLED WATERS, TRAPPED PEOPLE

Pollution, overfishing, damming.. here is a snapshot of the many problems faced by communities in different parts of India

Coastal Environmental Issues

- Overexploitation of fish and marine life
- Degradation of coastal and river populations due to dredging
- Degradation of mangroves due to illegal industrial activity
- Accidental leakage of untreated sewage water & discharge into the ocean
- Industrial pollution from oil refineries
- Overfertilization
- Pollution from industry along the coast
- Loss of trout aquaculture farms due to industrial pollution

LETTER BAY/ BAGMATI

- Katmandu, Kathmandu谷
- Mahabaleshwar, Dehu, Devgad
- Industrial pollution, dams and dams, river abstraction

MAHABALA RIVER & CHITRAKHOLI

- Dhamtari, Deonar, Narmada
- Surguja, Koraput, Panchayati
- Industrial pollution, mining, overfishing

GODAVARI & KALYANIDHAR

- Guru, Kosi, Subarnarekha
- Nalbari, Majuli, Brahmaputra, Gauhati
- Industrial pollution, agriculture runoff, municipal sewage, dredging

SEVEN RIVERS

- Mahesh, Ranchi, Ranchi
- Ranchi, Dhanbad, Jamshedpur
- Salt, Kalgoda, Maha, Jharkhand
- Industrial pollution, dredging

INDRABRITALI

- Haridwar, Rishikesh
- Alaknanda, Bhagirathi, Ganga, Yamuna
- Industrial pollution, dams, dredging

SWARNA RIVER

- Brahmaputra, Meghalaya, Assam
- Barak, Manipur, Chittagong
- Industrial pollution, water extraction

BRAMAPUTRA

- Assam, Arunachal Pradesh
- Industrial pollution, dredging

FISH LAWS

International Regulators:
Law of the Sea, UN, CITES
Country laws include:
- India's 2002 Fishery Management Act 2002 off the coast.
They are also bound by ICES
affiliation and conservation
actions.

Domestic Provisions:
India's 2002 Fishery Management Act 2002 off the coast.
The law regulates and monitors
fisheries and regulates net
use and destruction of
seas.

Investment to India
Wildlife Protection Act 1972
and 2002 FISB are
added under the definition
of animals.

Hazardous Fishing Policy
2004 Main objectives are
to change native fish
production to the sustainable
level; to increase export
and to establish positive
image of the fishing sector
through recovery of the
traditional fisheries and to
develop environmentally
sustainable marine fisheries.

emission of greenhouse gases during the industrialisation period (that is believed to be causing today's global warming and climate change) was not significant. However, the critics of the Kyoto Protocol point out that sooner or later, both India and China, along with other developing countries, will be among the leading contributors to greenhouse gas emissions. At the G-8 meeting in June 2005, India pointed out that the per capita emission rates of the developing countries are a tiny fraction of those in the developed world. Following the principle of common but differentiated

responsibilities, India is of the view that the major responsibility of curbing emission rests with the developed countries, which have accumulated emissions over a long period of time.

India's international negotiating position relies heavily on principles of historical responsibility, as enshrined in UNFCCC. This acknowledges that developed countries are responsible for most historical and current greenhouse gas emissions, and emphasizes that 'economic and social development are the first and overriding priorities of the developing country parties'. So



I get it! First they destroyed the earth, now it is our turn to do the same! Is that our stand?

India is wary of recent discussions within UNFCCC about introducing binding commitments on rapidly industrialising countries (such as Brazil, China and India) to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. India feels this contravenes the very spirit of UNFCCC. Neither does it seem fair to impose restrictions on India when the country's rise in per capita carbon emissions by 2030 is likely to still represent less than half the world average of 3.8 tonnes in 2000. Indian emissions are predicted to rise from 0.9 tonnes per capita in 2000 to 1.6 tonnes per capita in 2030.

The Indian government is already participating in global efforts through a number of programmes. For example, India's National Auto-fuel Policy mandates cleaner fuels for vehicles. The Energy Conservation Act, passed in 2001, outlines initiatives to improve energy efficiency. Similarly, the Electricity Act of 2003 encourages the use of renewable energy. Recent trends in importing natural gas and encouraging the adoption of clean coal technologies show that India has been making real efforts. The government is also keen to launch a National Mission on Biodiesel, using about 11 million hectares of land to produce biodiesel by 2011–2012. India ratified the Paris Climate Agreement on 2 October 2016. And India has one of the largest renewable energy programmes in the world.

A review of the implementation of the agreements at the Earth Summit in Rio was undertaken

by India in 1997. One of the key conclusions was that there had been no meaningful progress with respect to transfer of new and additional financial resources and environmentally-sound technology on concessional terms to developing nations. India finds it necessary that developed countries take immediate measures to provide developing countries with financial resources and clean technologies to enable them to meet their existing commitments under UNFCCC. India is also of the view that the SAARC countries should adopt a common position on major global environment issues, so that the region's voice carries greater weight.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS: ONE OR MANY?

We have, so far, looked at the way governments have reacted at the international level to the challenge of environmental degradation. But some of the most significant responses to this challenge have come not from the governments but rather from groups of environmentally conscious volunteers working in different parts of the world. Some of them work at the international level, but most of them work at the local level. These environmental movements are amongst the most vibrant, diverse, and powerful social movements across the globe today. It is within social movements that new forms of political action are born or reinvented. These

movements raise new ideas and long-term visions of what we should do and what we should not do in our individual and collective lives. Here are just a few examples to show that diversity is an important trait of contemporary environmental movements.

The forest movements of the South, in Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Malaysia, Indonesia, continental Africa and India (just to list a few

examples) are faced with enormous pressures. Forest clearing in the Third World continues at an alarming rate, despite three decades of environmental activism. The destruction of the world's last remaining grand forests has actually increased in the last decade.

The minerals industry is one of the most powerful forms of industry on the planet. A large number of economies of the South

Let's find out about 'Chipko Movement'.

LET'S DO IT



ARE FORESTS "WILDERNESS"?

What distinguishes the forest movements of the South from those of the North is that the forests of the former are still peopled, whilst the forests of the latter are more or less devoid of human habitat or, at least, are perceived as thus. This explains to some extent the prevailing notion of wilderness in the North as a 'wild place' where people do not live. In this perspective, humans are not seen as part of nature. In other words, 'environment' is perceived as 'somewhere out there', as something that should be protected from humans through the creation of parks and reserves. On the other hand, most environmental issues in the South are based on the assumption that people live in the forests.

Wilderness-oriented perspectives have been predominant in Australia, Scandinavia, North America and New Zealand. In these regions, there are still large tracts of relatively 'underdeveloped wilderness', unlike in most European countries. This is not to say that wilderness campaigns are entirely missing in the South. In the Philippines, green organisations fight to protect eagles and other birds of prey from extinction. In India, a battle goes on to protect the alarmingly low number of Bengal tigers. In Africa, a long campaign has been waged against the ivory trade and the savage slaughter of elephants. Some of the most famous wilderness struggles have been fought in the forests of Brazil and Indonesia. All of these campaigns focus on individual species as well as the conservation of the wilderness habitats, which support them. Many of the wilderness issues have been renamed biodiversity issues in recent times, as the concept of wilderness has been proved difficult to sell in the South. Many of these campaigns have been initiated and funded by NGOs such as the Worldwide Wildlife Fund (WWF), in association with local people.



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Do you agree with the efforts made by ecologists? Do you agree with the way ecologists are portrayed here?



An entire community erupted in protests against a proposed open-cast coal mine project in Phulbari town, in the North-West district of Dinajpur, Bangladesh. Here several dozen women, one with her infant child, are chanting slogans against the proposed coal mine project in 2006.

are now being re-opened to MNCs through the liberalisation of the global economy. The mineral industry's extraction of earth, its use of chemicals, its pollution of waterways and land,

its clearance of native vegetation, its displacement of communities, amongst other factors, continue to invite criticism and resistance in various parts of the globe. One good example is that of the Philippines, where a vast network of groups and organisations campaigned against the Western Mining Corporation (WMC), an Australia-based multinational company. Much opposition to the company in its own country, Australia, is based on anti-nuclear sentiments and advocacy for the basic rights of Australian indigenous peoples.

Another group of movements are those involved in struggles against mega-dams. In every country where a mega-dam is being built, one is likely to find an environmental movement opposing it. Increasingly anti-dam movements are pro-river movements for more sustainable and equitable management of river systems and valleys. The early 1980s saw the first anti-dam movement launched in the North, namely, the campaign to save the Franklin River and its surrounding forests in Australia. This was a wilderness and forest campaign as well as anti-dam campaign. At

present, there has been a spurt in mega-dam building in the South, from Turkey to Thailand to South Africa, from Indonesia to China. India has had some of the leading anti-dam, pro-river movements. Narmada Bachao Andolan is one of the best known of these movements. It is significant to note that, in anti-dam and other environmental movements in India, the most important shared idea is non-violence.

RESOURCE GEOPOLITICS

Resource geopolitics is all about who gets what, when, where and how. Resources have provided some of the key means and motives of global European power expansion. They have also been the focus of inter-state rivalry. Western geopolitical thinking about resources has been dominated by the relationship of trade, war and power, at the core of which were overseas resources and maritime navigation. Since sea power itself rested on access to timber, naval timber supply became a key priority for major European powers from the 17th century onwards. The critical importance of ensuring uninterrupted supply of strategic resources, in particular oil, was well established both during the First World War and the Second World War.

Throughout the Cold War the industrialised countries of the North adopted a number of methods to ensure a steady flow of resources. These included the

deployment of military forces near exploitation sites and along sea-lanes of communication, the stockpiling of strategic resources, efforts to prop up friendly governments in producing countries, as well as support to multinational companies and favourable international agreements. Traditional Western strategic thinking remained concerned with access to supplies, which might be threatened by the Soviet Union. A particular concern was Western control of oil in the Gulf and strategic minerals in Southern and Central Africa. After the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the security of supply continues to worry government and business decisions with regard to several minerals, in particular radioactive materials. However, oil continues to be the most important resource in global strategy.

The global economy relied on **oil** for much of the 20th century as a portable and indispensable fuel. The immense wealth associated with oil generates political struggles to control it, and the history of petroleum is also the history of war and struggle. Nowhere is this more obviously the case than in West Asia and Central Asia. West Asia, specifically the Gulf region, accounts for about 30 per cent of global oil production. But it has about 64 per cent of the planet's known reserves, and is therefore the only region able to



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satisfy any substantial rise in oil demand. Saudi Arabia has a quarter of the world's total reserves and is the single largest producer. Iraq's known reserves are second only to Saudi Arabia's. And, since substantial portions of Iraqi territory are yet to be fully explored, there is a fair chance that actual reserves might be far larger. The United States, Europe, Japan, and increasingly India and China, which consume this petroleum, are located at a considerable distance from the region.

Water is another crucial resource that is relevant to global



EVERYONE IS PLAYING CRUDE!

"The list of petroleum based products in our lives is endless. Toothbrush, pacemaker, paints, inks,Oil provides the energy for 95 per cent of the world's transportation needs. The whole industrialised world survives on petroleum. We cannot imagine living without it. There are billions of barrels of it under the earth for us to use. Yet there are disputes between countries. Why here is one of the problems"

I belong to the Royal Family of the Kingdom of Black Gold. I am what they call filthy rich. Ever since black gold was found in my Kingdom things have never been the same again. Mr. Bigoil and his government came prospecting one day. We struck oil...and a deal. They armed me to the teeth till it hurt. So when I grin my subjects look at me with awe. In return Bigoil and sons get to buy all my oil and loyalty. I am happy and rich and so are they. I turn my blind eye to their military in this holy land.

I value precious things. Bigoil says his President values freedom and democracy. So I keep both safely under lock and key in my land.



**Sheikh Petrodollah
King of the land of Black Gold**



**Mr. Bigoil
CEO of Bigoil and sons**

As advised, I did ask myself what can I do for my country. My country has an enormous appetite for oil. So ...provide it with oil of course! I believe in the free market system. Free to dig up oil in far away countries, free to create pliable tin-pot dictators to keep local populations at bay and free to destroy ecology.

We play no politics but pay them at election campaigns and get them to invest in our company. That way we don't have to embarrass ourselves by foolishly waving and smiling at TV cameras.



Mr & Mrs Gobbledoo



**Errorists
Loose cannonballs**

Toppleton defends freedom and democracy. That's why he is so generous with guns and missiles. Like the ones he gave us to fight the invading Ruffians. He even trained us. We did not realise that it was the oil they were after. Bigoil is always trying to woo us. But we are too busy playing war games. Now we have rules of our own.

Toppleton's govt. kept changing its rules. Not fair we said. Some of us now hate Toppleton, his government and his people. Of course their bullets and missiles come in handy when we have to beat them at their game.

Make no mistake, we are Errorists.



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The larger part of the Earth is water than the land and yet the cartoonist decides to show larger image of the land than water. How does the image show the scarcity of water?

politics. Regional variations and the increasing scarcity of freshwater in some parts of the world point to the possibility of disagreements over shared water resources as a leading source of conflicts in the 21st century. Some commentators on world politics have referred to 'water wars' to describe the possibility of violent conflict over this life-sustaining resource. Countries that share rivers can disagree over many things. For instance, a typical disagreement is a downstream

(lower riparian) state's objection to pollution, excessive irrigation, or the construction of dams by an upstream (upper riparian) state, which might decrease or degrade the quality of water available to the downstream state. States have used force to protect or seize freshwater resources. Examples of violence include those between Israel, Syria, and Jordan in the 1950s and 1960s over attempts by each side to divert water from the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers, and more recent threats between Turkey, Syria, and Iraq over the construction of dams on the Euphrates River. A number of studies show that countries that share rivers — and many countries do share rivers — are involved in military conflicts with each other.



How are these conflicts different from the many water conflicts within our own country?

THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THEIR RIGHTS

The question of indigenous people brings the issues of environment, resources and politics together. The UN defines indigenous populations as comprising the descendants of peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world and overcame them. Indigenous people today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic, and cultural customs and traditions than the institutions of the country of which they now form a part.



In the context of world politics, what are the common interests of approximately 30 crore indigenous peoples spread throughout the world including India? There are 20 lakh indigenous people of the Cordillera region of the Philippines, 10 lakh Mapuche people of Chile, six lakh tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, 35 lakh North American natives, 50,000 Kuna living east of Panama Canal and 10 lakh Small Peoples of the Soviet North. Like other social movements, indigenous people speak of their struggles, their agenda and their rights.

The indigenous voices in world politics call for the admission of indigenous people to the world community as equals. Indigenous people occupy areas in Central and South America, Africa, India (where they are known as Tribals) and Southeast Asia. Many of the present day



Why don't we hear much about the indigenous people and their movements? Is the media biased against them?

island states in the Oceania region (including Australia and New Zealand), were inhabited by the Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian people over the course of thousands of years. They appeal to governments to come to terms with the continuing existence of indigenous nations as enduring communities with an identity of their own. 'Since times immemorial' is the phrase used by indigenous people all over the world to refer to their continued occupancy of the lands from which they originate. The worldviews of indigenous societies, irrespective of their geographical location, are strikingly similar with respect to land and the variety of life systems supported by it. The loss of land, which also means the loss of an economic resource base, is the most obvious threat



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Spoonful of Ecology

Do you agree with this perspective where a man from an urban (developed!) area becomes greedy for nature?

to the survival of indigenous people. Can political autonomy be enjoyed without its attachment to the means of physical survival?

In India, the description 'indigenous people' is usually applied to the Scheduled Tribes who constitute nearly eight per cent of the population of the country. With the exception of small communities of hunters and gatherers, most indigenous populations in India depend for their subsistence primarily on the cultivation of land. For centuries, if not millennia, they had free access to as much land as they could cultivate. It was only after the establishment of the British colonial rule that areas, which had previously been inhabited by the Scheduled Tribe communities, were subjected to outside forces. Although they enjoy a constitutional protection in political representation, they have not got much of the benefits of development in the country. In fact they have paid a huge cost for development since they are the single largest group among the people displaced by various developmental projects since independence.

Issues related to the rights of the indigenous communities have been neglected in domestic and international politics for very long. During the 1970s, growing international contacts among indigenous leaders from around the world aroused a sense of common concern and shared experiences. The World Council

of Indigenous Peoples was formed in 1975. The Council became subsequently the first of 11 indigenous NGOs to receive consultative status in the UN. Many of the movements against globalisation, discussed in Chapter 7, have focussed on the rights of the indigenous people.

LET'S DO IT TOGETHER

STEPS

- Each student is asked to list any ten items they consume/use every day.
(The list could include — pen/paper/eraser/computer/water etc.)
- Ask students to calculate the amount of natural resources being used to make these items. (For finished products like pen/pencil/computer etc., students will calculate the amount of resources and for items like water they could calculate the amount of electricity used for purifying and pumping along with gallons of water). Each would calculate and arrive at an approximate figure.

Ideas for the Teacher

- Collect the approximate figures from each student and sum up all to arrive at total resources consumed by the students of that particular class. (Teacher is to act as a facilitator and allow students to do the calculations.)
- Project this figure to other classes of the same school, then to schools across the country. The country figure could be used to measure the amount of resources being used by schools in other countries too. (The teacher is to have background information about the resources being used by students in a few select countries. While selecting countries, teacher should ensure that the selected countries belong to the developed / developing countries category).
- Ask students to imagine the amount of resources we are consuming and also to estimate future consumption.

S
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1. Which among the following best explains the reason for growing concerns about the environment?
 - a. The developed countries are concerned about protecting nature.
 - b. Protection of the environment is vital for indigenous people and natural habitats.
 - c. The environmental degradation caused by human activities has become pervasive and has reached a dangerous level.
 - d. None of the above.
2. Mark correct or wrong against each of the following statements about the Earth Summit:
 - a. It was attended by 170 countries, thousands of NGOs and many MNCs.
 - b. The summit was held under the aegis of the UN.
 - c. For the first time, global environmental issues were firmly consolidated at the political level.
 - d. It was a summit meeting.
3. Which among the following are TRUE about the global commons?
 - a. The Earth's atmosphere, Antarctica, ocean floor and outer space are considered as part of the global commons.
 - b. The global commons are outside sovereign jurisdiction.
 - c. The question of managing the global commons has reflected the North-South divide.
 - d. The countries of the North are more concerned about the protection of the global commons than the countries of the South.
4. What were the outcomes of the Rio Summit?
5. What is meant by the global commons? How are they exploited and polluted?
6. What is meant by 'common but differentiated responsibilities'? How could we implement the idea?
7. Why have issues related to global environmental protection become the priority concern of states since the 1990s?
8. Compromise and accommodation are the two essential policies required by states to save planet Earth. Substantiate the statement in the light of the ongoing negotiations between the North and South on environmental issues.
9. The most serious challenge before the states is pursuing economic development without causing further damage to the global environment. How could we achieve this? Explain with a few examples.

World Social Forum: AN OPEN SPACE!

On the one hand, a persistent presence of an old style of leftist politics, a bit repetitive and hollow in its discourse. On the other, a rich diverse anarchic force impossible to condense in terms of common themes

Some sort of Comintern which would centralise and try to speak for the entire movement would be a disaster.

Is totalitarianism the only means of eliminating capitalism?

**Excuse me,
may I know
who's in
charge here?**

Neoliberalism (alternative word - Bush) is old wine in a new bottle. It is a dangerous form of capitalism that must be eliminated at all costs. Or could it be something good? We are as confused as you are.

A permanent process of seeking and building alternatives...plural, diversified, non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party context.

A genuine socialist order can be achieved through struggle, not endless and often not so meaningful debates.

MUMBAI RESISTANCE 2004

After the World Social Forum in Paris, the next major gathering of different anti-globalisation forces was in Mumbai in October. From organized labour unions to NGOs, the WFTF opened and the growing majority of the world's population in global civil society, and interest in issues relevant in order to respond to world resistance.

Climate protocol issues in the negotiations were up for discussion, including hydrogen power, nuclear energy, renewable energy sources and fossil fuel subsidies. There was also a focus on climate change adaptation, economic and ecological development, sustainable development, environmental education, and "green" economy. The study, discussion and debate of political and social movements against corporate globalization, including the struggle for democracy, freedom and justice, and the struggle against imperialism, racism and fascism.

"NGOs are agents of imperialism, confusing, corrupting and misleading the masses."

India Today, February 14, 2004 (Open to the world)

India Today, April 14, 2004 (Open to the world)

OVERVIEW

In this final chapter of the book we look at globalisation, something that has been referred to in many chapters of this book and textbooks of many other subjects. We begin by analysing the concept of globalisation and then examine its causes. We then discuss at length the political, economic and cultural consequences of globalisation. Our interest is also in studying the impact of globalisation on India as well as how India is affecting globalisation. We finally draw attention to resistance to globalisation and how social movements in India also form part of this resistance.

Chapter 7 Globalisation



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So many Nepalese workers come to India to work. Is that globalisation?

THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALISATION

Janardhan works in a call centre. He leaves late in the evening for work, becomes John when he enters his office, acquires a new accent and speaks a different language (than he does when he is at home) to communicate with his clients who are living thousands of miles away. He works all night, which is actually day time for his overseas customers. Janardhan is rendering a service to somebody who in all probability he is never likely to meet physically. This is his daily routine. His holidays also do not correspond to the Indian calendar but to those of his clients who happen to be from the US.

Ramdhari has gone shopping to buy a birthday gift for his nine-year old daughter. He has promised her a small cycle and decides to search the market for something he finds affordable as well as of reasonable quality. He finally does buy a cycle, which is actually manufactured in China but is being marketed in India. It meets his requirements of quality as well as affordability, and Ramdhari decides to go ahead with his purchase. Last year, Ramdhari on his daughter's insistence had bought her a Barbie doll, which was originally manufactured in the US but was being sold in India.

Sarika is a first generation learner who has done remarkably well throughout her school and

college life by working very hard. She now has an opportunity to take on a job and begin an independent career, which the women of her family had never dreamt of earlier. While some of her relatives are opposed, she finally decides to go ahead because of the new opportunities that have been made available to her generation.

All three examples illustrate an aspect each of what we call globalisation. In the first instance Janardhan was participating in the globalisation of services. Ramdhari's birthday purchases tell us something about the movement of commodities from one part of the world to another. Sarika is faced with a conflict of values partly originating from a new opportunity that earlier was not available to the women in her family but today is part of a reality that has gained wider acceptability.

If we look for examples of the use of the term 'globalisation' in real life, we will realise that it is used in various contexts. Let us look at some examples, different from the ones that we have looked above:

- Some farmers committed suicide because their crops failed. They had bought very expensive seeds supplied by a multinational company (MNC).
- An Indian company bought a major rival company based in Europe, despite protests by some of the current owners.

LET'S DO IT
Go through newspapers for a week and collect clippings on anything related to globalisation.

- Many retail shopkeepers fear that they would lose their livelihoods if some major international companies open retail chains in the country.
- A film producer in Mumbai was accused of lifting the story of his film from another film made in Hollywood.
- A militant group issued a statement threatening college girls who wear western clothes.

These examples show us that globalisation need not always be positive; it can have negative consequences for the people. Indeed, there are many who believe that globalisation has more negative consequences than positive. These examples also show us that globalisation need not be only about the economic issues, nor is the direction of influence always from the rich to the poor countries.

Since much of the usage tends to be imprecise, it becomes important to clarify what we mean by globalisation. Globalisation as a concept fundamentally deals with flows. These flows could be of various kinds — ideas moving from one part of the world to another, capital shunted between two or more places, commodities being traded across borders, and people moving in search of better livelihoods to different parts of the world. The crucial element is the ‘worldwide interconnectedness’ that is created and sustained as a consequence of these constant flows.



This chapter has a series of images about political, economic and cultural aspects of globalisation, taken from different parts of the world.



Much of the Chinese stuff that comes to India is smuggled. Does globalisation lead to smuggling?



Isn't globalisation a new name for imperialism? Why do we need a new name?

Globalisation is a multi-dimensional concept. It has political, economic and cultural manifestations, and these must be adequately distinguished. It is wrong to assume that globalisation has purely economic dimensions, just as it would also be mistaken to assume that it is a purely cultural phenomenon. The impact of globalisation is vastly uneven — it affects some societies more than others and some parts of some societies more than others — and it is important to avoid drawing general conclusions about the impact of globalisation without paying sufficient attention to specific contexts.

CAUSES OF GLOBALISATION

What accounts for globalisation? If globalisation is about the flows of ideas, capital, commodities, and people, it is perhaps logical to ask if there is anything novel about this phenomenon. Globalisation in terms of these four flows has taken place through much of human history. However, those who argue that there is something distinct about contemporary globalisation point out that it is the scale and speed of these flows that account for the uniqueness of globalisation in the contemporary era. Globalisation has a strong historical basis, and it is important to view contemporary flows against this backdrop.



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Digital Economy

While globalisation is not caused by any single factor, technology remains a critical element. There is no doubt that the invention of the telegraph, the telephone, and the microchip in more recent times has revolutionised communication between different parts of the world. When printing initially came into being it laid the basis for the creation of nationalism. So also today we should expect that technology will affect the way we think of our personal but also our collective lives.

The ability of ideas, capital, commodities and people to move more easily from one part of the world to another has been made possible largely by technological advances. The pace of these flows may vary. For instance, the movement of capital and commodities will most likely be quicker and wider than the movement of peoples across different parts of the world.

Globalisation, however, does not emerge merely because of the availability of improved communications. What is important is for people in different parts of the world to recognise these interconnections with the rest of the world. Currently, we are aware of the fact that events taking place in one part of the world could have an impact on another part of the world. The Bird flu or tsunami is not confined to any particular nation. It does not respect national boundaries.

Similarly, when major economic events take place, their impact is felt outside their immediate local, national or regional environment at the global level.

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

One of the debates that has been generated as a consequence of contemporary processes of globalisation relates to its ongoing political impact. How does globalisation affect traditional conceptions of state sovereignty? There are at least three aspects that we need to consider when answering this question.

At the most simple level, globalisation results in an erosion of state capacity, that is, the ability of government to do what they do. All over the world, the old 'welfare state' is now giving way to a more minimalist state that performs certain core functions such as the maintenance of law and order and the security of its citizens. However, it withdraws from many of its earlier welfare functions directed at economic and social well-being. In place of the welfare state, it is the market that becomes the prime determinant of economic and social priorities. The entry and the increased role of multinational companies all over the world leads to a reduction in the capacity of governments to take decisions on their own.

At the same time, globalisation does not always reduce state capacity. The primacy of the state



continues to be the unchallenged basis of political community. The old jealousies and rivalries between countries have not ceased to matter in world politics. The state continues to discharge its essential functions (law and order, national security) and consciously withdraws from certain domains from which it wishes to. States continue to be important.

Indeed, in some respects state capacity has received a boost as a consequence of globalisation, with enhanced technologies available at the disposal of the state to collect information about its citizens. With this information, the state is better able to rule, not less able. Thus, states become more powerful than they were earlier as an outcome of the new technology.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

While everything may not be known about the economic facets of globalisation, this particular dimension shapes a large part of the content and direction of contemporary debates surrounding globalisation.

A part of the problem has to do with defining economic globalisation itself. The mention of economic globalisation draws our attention immediately to the role of international institutions like the IMF and the WTO and the role they play in determining economic policies across the world. Yet, globalisation must not be viewed in such narrow terms. Economic globalisation involves many actors other than these international institutions. A much broader way of understanding of economic globalisation requires us to look at the distribution of economic gains, i.e. who gets the most from globalisation and who gets less, indeed who loses from it.

What is often called economic globalisation usually involves greater economic flows among different countries of the world. Some of this is voluntary and some forced by international institutions and powerful countries. As we saw in the examples at the beginning of this chapter, this flow or exchange can take various forms: commodities, capital, people and ideas. Globalisation has involved greater trade in commodities across the globe; the restrictions imposed by

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different countries on allowing the imports of other countries have been reduced. Similarly, the restrictions on movement of capital across countries have also been reduced. In operational terms, it means that investors in the rich countries can invest their money in countries other than their own, including developing countries, where they might get better returns. Globalisation has also led to the flow of ideas across national boundaries. The spread of internet and computer related services is an example of that. But globalisation has not led to the same degree of increase in the movement of people across the globe. Developed countries have carefully guarded their borders with visa policies to ensure that citizens of other countries cannot take away the jobs of their own citizens.

In thinking about the consequences of globalisation, it is necessary to keep in mind that the same set of policies do not lead to the same results everywhere. While globalisation has led to similar economic policies adopted by governments in different parts of the world, this has generated vastly different outcomes in different parts of the world. It is again crucial to pay attention to specific context rather than make simple generalisations in this connection.

Economic globalisation has created an intense division of opinion all over the world. Those who are concerned about social



When we talk about 'safety net' it means that we expect some people to fall down because of globalisation. Isn't that right?

justice are worried about the extent of state withdrawal caused by processes of economic globalisation. They point out that it is likely to benefit only a small section of the population while impoverishing those who were dependent on the government for jobs and welfare (education, health, sanitation, etc.). They have emphasised the need to ensure institutional safeguards or creating 'social safety nets' to minimise the negative effects of globalisation on those who are economically weak. Many movements all over the world feel that safety nets are insufficient or unworkable. They have called for a halt to forced economic globalisation, for its results would lead to economic ruin for the weaker countries, especially for the poor within these countries. Some economists have described economic globalisation as re-colonisation of the world.

Advocates of economic globalisation argue that it generates greater economic growth and well-being for larger sections of the population when there is de-regulation. Greater trade among countries allows each economy to do what it does best. This would benefit the whole world. They also argue that economic globalisation is inevitable and it is not wise to resist the march of history. More moderate supporters of globalisation say that globalisation provides a challenge that can be responded to intelligently without accepting it uncritically.

What, however, cannot be denied is the increased momentum towards inter-dependence and integration between governments, businesses, and ordinary people in different parts of the world as a result of globalisation.

CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

The consequences of globalisation are not confined only to the sphere of politics and economy. Globalisation affects us in our home, in what we eat, drink, wear and indeed in what we think. It shapes what we think are our preferences. The cultural effect of globalisation leads to the fear that this process poses a threat to cultures in the world. It does so, because globalisation leads to the rise of a uniform culture or what is called cultural homogenisation. The rise of a uniform culture is not the emergence of a global culture. What we have in the



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name of a global culture is the imposition of Western culture on the rest of the world. This phenomenon is known as the soft power of US hegemony. The popularity of a burger or blue jeans, some argue, has a lot to do with the powerful influence of the American way of life. Thus, the culture of the politically and economically dominant society leaves its imprint on a less powerful society, and the world begins to look more like the dominant power wishes it to be. Those who make this argument often draw attention to the 'McDonaldisation' of the world, with cultures seeking to buy into the dominant American dream. This is dangerous not only for the poor countries but for the whole of humanity, for it leads to the shrinking of the rich cultural heritage of the entire globe.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to assume that cultural consequences of globalisation are only negative. Cultures are not static things. All cultures accept outside influences all the time. Some external influences are negative because they reduce our choices. But sometimes external influences simply enlarge our choices, and sometimes they modify our culture without overwhelming the traditional. The burger is no substitute for a *masala dosa* and, therefore, does not pose any real challenge. It is simply added on to our food choices. Blue jeans, on the other hand, can go well with a homespun *khadi kurta*. Here



Why are we scared
of Western culture?
Are we not confident
of our own culture?

Make a list of
all the known
'dialects' of
your language.
Consult
people of your
grandparents'
generation
about this. How
many people
speak those
dialects today?

LET'S DO IT

the outcome of outside influence is a new combination that is unique — a *khadi kurta* worn over jeans. Interestingly, this clothing combination has been exported back to the country that gave us blue jeans so that it is possible to see young Americans wearing a *kurta* and jeans!

While cultural homogenisation is an aspect of globalisation, the same process also generates precisely the opposite effect. It leads to each culture becoming more different and distinctive. This phenomenon is called cultural heterogenisation. This is not to deny that there remain differences in power when cultures interact but instead more fundamentally to suggest that cultural exchange is rarely one way.



'Gosh, an Indian again!'

An insider's view of a call centre job

Working in a call centre, in fact, can be enlightening in its own way. As you handle calls from Americans, you get an insight into the true American culture. An average American comes out as more lively and honest than we imagine...

However, not all calls and conversations are pleasant. You can also receive irate and abusive callers. Sometimes the hatred that they exhibit in their tone on knowing that their call has been routed to India is very stressful. Americans tend to perceive every Indian as one who has denied them their rightful job...

One can receive a call, beginning on the lines of "I spoke to a South African a few minutes ago and now I'm speaking to an Indian!" or "Oh gosh, an Indian again! Connect me to an American please...". It's difficult to find the right response in situations of this kind.

Source: Report by Ranjeetha Urs in The Hindu, 10 January 2005.

INDIA AND GLOBALISATION

We said earlier that globalisation has occurred in earlier periods in history in different parts of the world. Flows pertaining to the movement of capital, commodities, ideas and people go back several centuries in Indian history.

During the colonial period, as a consequence of Britain's imperial ambitions, India became an exporter of primary goods and raw materials and a consumer of finished goods. After independence, because of this experience with the British, we decided to make things ourselves rather than relying on others. We also decided not to allow others to export to us so that our own producers could learn to make things. This 'protectionism' generated its own problems. While some advances were made in certain arenas, critical sectors such as health, housing and primary education did not receive the attention they deserved. India had a fairly sluggish rate of economic growth.

In 1991, responding to a financial crisis and to the desire for higher rates of economic growth, India embarked on a programme of economic reforms that has sought increasingly to de-regulate various sectors including trade and foreign investment. While it may be too early to say how good this has been for India, the ultimate test is not high growth rates as making sure that the benefits of growth are shared so that everyone is better off.

RESISTANCE TO GLOBALISATION

We have already noted that globalisation is a very contentious subject and has invited strong criticism all over the globe. Critics of globalisation make a variety of arguments. Those on the left argue that contemporary globalisation represents a particular phase of global capitalism that makes the rich richer (and fewer) and the poor poorer. Weakening of the state leads to a reduction in the capacity of the state to protect the interest of its poor. Critics of globalisation from the political right express anxiety over the political, economic and cultural effects. In political terms, they also fear the weakening of the state. Economically, they want a return to self-reliance and protectionism, at least in certain areas of the economy. Culturally, they are worried that traditional culture will be harmed and people will lose their age-old values and ways.

It is important to note here that anti-globalisation movements too participate in global networks, allying with those who feel like them in other countries. Many anti-globalisation movements are not opposed to the idea of globalisation *per se* as much as they are opposed to a specific programme of globalisation, which they see as a form of imperialism.

In 1999, at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Ministerial Meeting there were widespread



It is true sometimes
I like the new songs.
Didn't we all like to
dance a bit? Does
it really matter if
it is influenced by
western music?



The activity enables students to understand how globalisation has penetrated our lives and the impact the all-inclusive nature of globalisation has on an individual, a community and a nation as a whole.

STEPS

- Students are to list the names of products — food products, white goods, and luxuries, they are familiar with.
- Students are to write down their favourite TV programmes.
- The teacher is to collect the list and consolidate.
- Divide the classroom (into convenient groups) and assign each group a number of items (depends on how exhaustive the list is) and TV programmes.
- Let students find out who are the manufacturers of the products they use everyday and the makers/ sponsors of their favourite TV programmes.
- The teacher is to (by involving students) classify the names of manufacturers and makers/sponsors collected by students into three categories: exclusive foreign companies; exclusive Indian companies; and companies working in collaboration.

Ideas for the Teacher

- The teacher is to debrief the students focussing on:
How globalisation has been impacting our lives.
- Drawing the attention of the students to different faces of globalisation. As we use more foreign goods, our own small-scale industries have been losing their customers and are closing down.
- The activity could be concluded by introducing students to the ongoing debates about the impact of globalisation on the developing and developed countries.

protests at Seattle alleging unfair trading practices by the economically powerful states. It was argued that the interests of the developing world were not given sufficient importance in the evolving global economic system.

The World Social Forum (WSF) is another global platform, which brings together a wide coalition composed of human rights activists, environmentalists, labour, youth and women activists opposed to neo-liberal globalisation. The first WSF meeting was organised in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001. The fourth WSF meeting was held in Mumbai in 2004. The latest WSF meeting was held in Nepal in February 2024.

INDIA AND RESISTANCE TO GLOBALISATION

What has been India's experience in resisting globalisation? Social movements play a role in helping people make sense of the world

around them and finding ways to deal with matters that trouble them. Resistance to globalisation in India has come from different quarters. There have been left wing protests to economic liberalisation voiced through political parties as well as through forums like the Indian Social Forum. Trade unions of industrial workforce as well as those representing farmer interests have organised protests against the entry of multinationals. The patenting of certain plants like *Neem* by American and European firms has also generated considerable opposition.

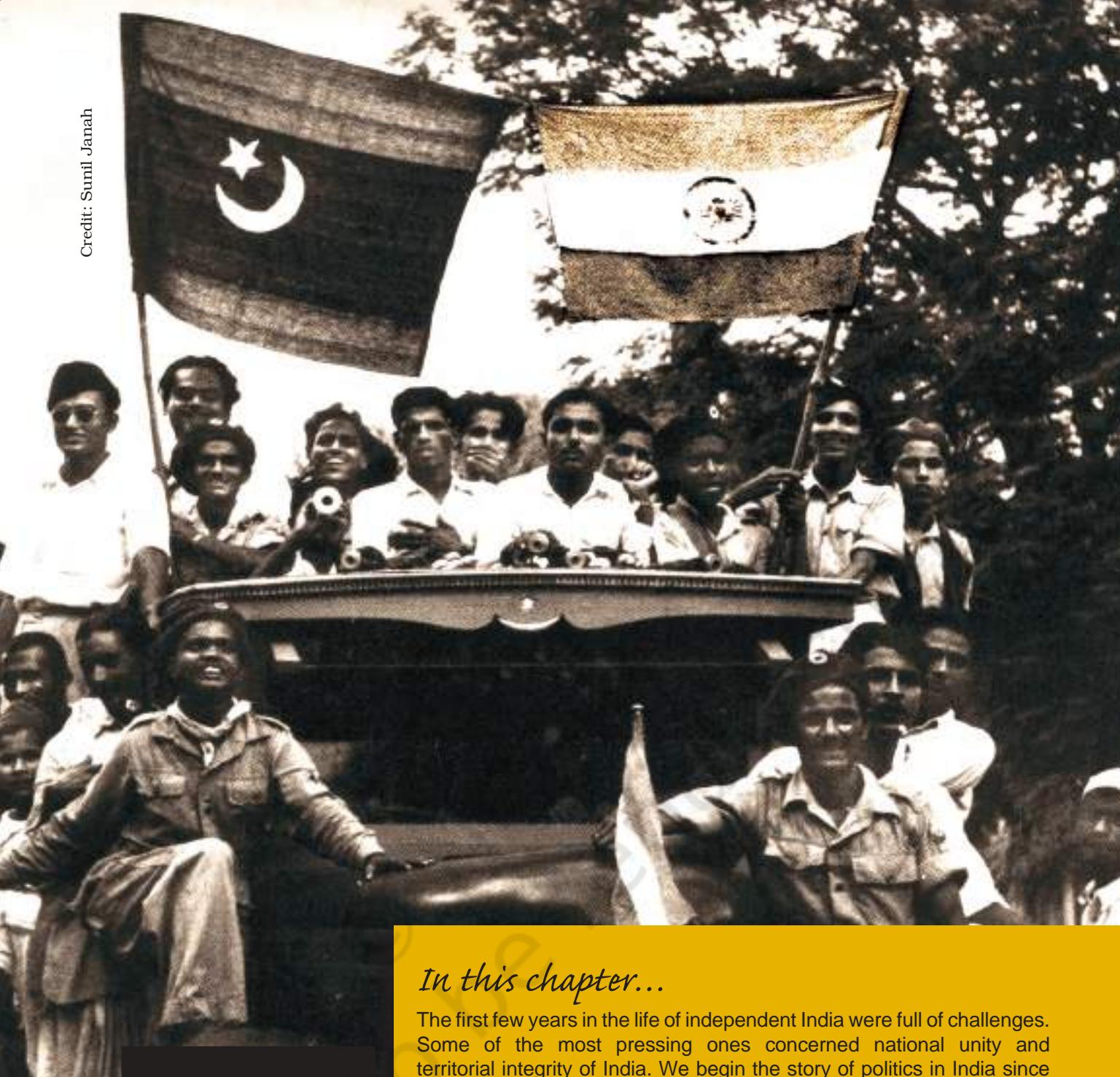
Resistance to globalisation has also come from the political right. This has taken the form of objecting particularly to various cultural influences — ranging from the availability of foreign T.V. channels provided by cable networks, celebration of Valentine's Day, and westernisation of the dress tastes of girl students in schools and colleges.

1. Which of the statements are TRUE about globalisation?
 - a. Globalisation is purely an economic phenomenon.
 - b. Globalisation began in 1991.
 - c. Globalisation is the same thing as westernisation.
 - d. Globalisation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.
2. Which of the statements are TRUE about the impact of globalisation?
 - a. Globalisation has been uneven in its impact on states and societies.
 - b. Globalisation has had a uniform impact on all states and societies.

EXERCISES

EXERCISES

- c. The impact of globalisation has been confined to the political sphere.
- d. Globalisation inevitably results in cultural homogeneity.
3. Which of the statements are TRUE about the causes of globalisation?
 - a. Technology is an important cause of globalisation.
 - b. Globalisation is caused by a particular community of people.
 - c. Globalisation originated in the US.
 - d. Economic interdependence alone causes globalisation.
4. Which of the statements are TRUE about globalisation?
 - a. Globalisation is only about movement of commodities.
 - b. Globalisation does not involve a conflict of values.
 - c. Services are an insignificant part of globalisation.
 - d. Globalisation is about worldwide interconnectedness.
5. Which of the statements are FALSE about globalisation?
 - a. Advocates of globalisation argue that it will result in greater economic growth.
 - b. Critics of globalisation argue that it will result in greater economic disparity.
 - c. Advocates of globalisation argue that it will result in cultural homogenisation.
 - d. Critics of globalisation argue that it will result in cultural homogenisation.
6. What is worldwide interconnectedness? What are its components?
7. How has technology contributed to globalisation?
8. Critically evaluate the impact of the changing role of the state in the developing countries in the light of globalisation.
9. What are the economic implications of globalisation? How has globalisation impacted on India with regard to this particular dimension?
10. Do you agree with the argument that globalisation leads to cultural heterogeneity?
11. How has globalisation impacted on India and how is India in turn impacting on globalisation?



Hindus and Muslims in Kolkata in 1947 marked the end of communal violence by jointly flying the flags of India and Pakistan from trucks patrolling the city. This rare photograph captured the joy of freedom and the tragedy of partition in India and in Pakistan.

In this chapter...

The first few years in the life of independent India were full of challenges. Some of the most pressing ones concerned national unity and territorial integrity of India. We begin the story of politics in India since Independence by looking at how three of these challenges of nation-building were successfully negotiated in the first decade after 1947.

- Freedom came with Partition, which resulted in large scale violence and displacement and challenged the very idea of a secular India.
- The integration of the princely states into the Indian union needed urgent resolution.
- The internal boundaries of the country needed to be drawn afresh to meet the aspirations of the people who spoke different languages.

In the next two chapters we shall turn to other kinds of challenges faced by the country in this early phase.

CHAPTER 1

CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING

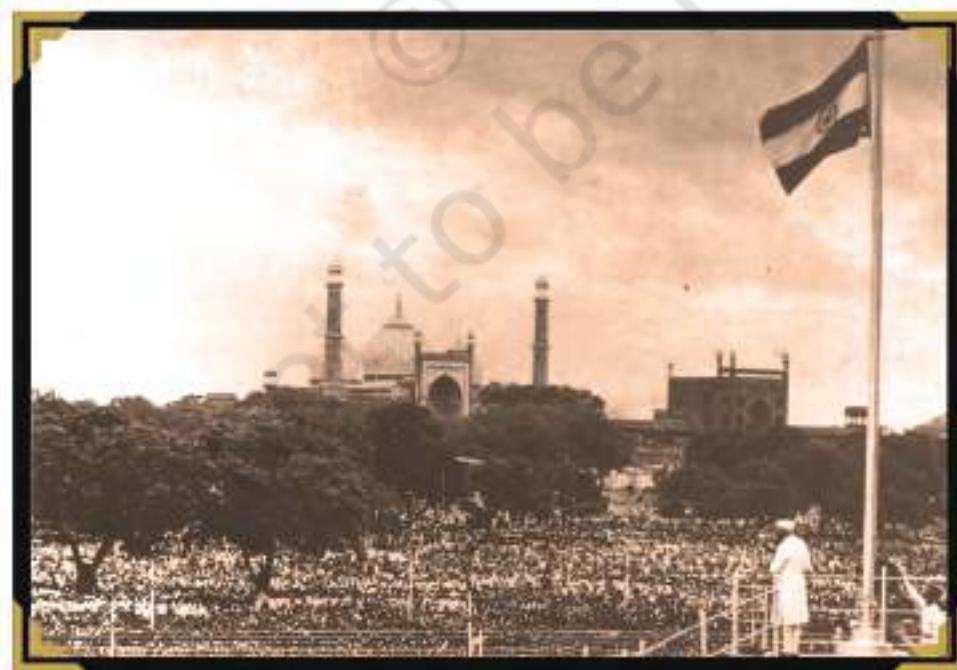


Challenges for the new nation-state

At the hour of midnight on 14-15 August 1947, India attained independence. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, addressed a special session of the Constituent Assembly that night. This was the famous 'tryst with destiny' speech that you are familiar with.

This was the moment Indians had been waiting for. You have read in your history textbooks that there were many voices in our national movement. But there were two goals almost everyone agreed upon: one, that after Independence, we shall run our country through democratic government; and two, that the government will be run for the good of all, particularly the poor and the socially disadvantaged groups. Now that the country was independent, the time had come to realise the promise of freedom.

This was not going to be easy. India was born as a nation-state in very difficult circumstances. Perhaps no other country by then was born in a situation more difficult than that of India in 1947. Freedom came with the partition of the country. The year 1947 was a year of unprecedented violence and trauma of displacement. It was in this situation that independent India started on its journey to achieve several objectives. Yet the turmoil that accompanied independence did not make our leaders lose sight of the multiple challenges that faced the new nation.



Credit: PIB

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru speaking from the Red Fort,
15 August 1947



Hindustan Times, 19 July 1947

“ Tomorrow we shall be free from the slavery of the British domination. But at midnight India will be partitioned. Tomorrow will thus be a day of rejoicing as well as of mourning.

”

Mahatma Gandhi
14 August 1947,
Kolkata.

Three Challenges

Broadly, independent India faced three kinds of challenges. The first and the immediate challenge was to shape a nation that was united, yet accommodative of the diversity in our society. India was a land of continental size and diversity. Its people spoke different languages and followed different cultures and religions. At that time it was widely believed that a country full of such kinds of diversity could not remain together for long. The partition of the country appeared to prove everyone's worst fears. There were serious questions about the future of India: Would India survive as a unified country? Would it do so by emphasising national unity at the cost of every other objective? Would it mean rejecting all regional and sub-national identities? And there was an urgent question: How was integration of the territory of India to be achieved?

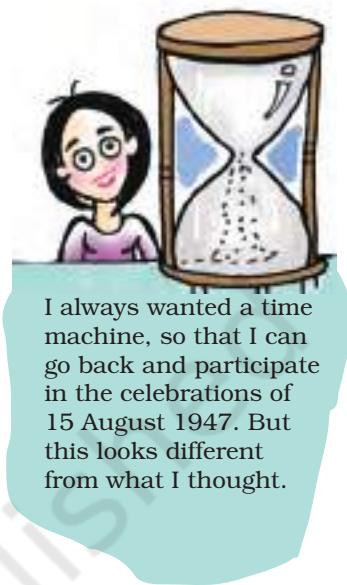
The second challenge was to establish democracy. You have already studied the Indian Constitution. You know that the Constitution granted fundamental rights and extended the right to vote to every citizen. India adopted representative democracy based on the parliamentary form of government. These features ensure that the political competition would take place in a democratic framework.

A democratic constitution is necessary but not sufficient for establishing a democracy. The challenge was to develop democratic practices in accordance with the Constitution.

The third challenge was to ensure the development and well-being of the entire society and not only of some sections. Here again the Constitution clearly laid down the principle of equality and special protection to socially disadvantaged groups and religious and cultural communities. The Constitution also set out in the Directive Principles of State Policy the welfare goals that democratic politics must achieve. The real challenge now was to evolve effective policies for economic development and eradication of poverty.

How did independent India respond to these challenges? To what extent did India succeed in achieving the various objectives set out by the Constitution? This entire book is an attempt to respond to these questions. The book tells the story of politics in India since Independence so as to equip you to develop your own answers to big questions like these. In the first three chapters we look at how the three challenges mentioned above were faced in the early years after Independence.

In this chapter, we focus on the first challenge of nation-building that occupied centre-stage in the years immediately after Independence. We begin by looking at the events that formed the context of Independence. This can help us understand why the issue of national unity and security became a primary challenge at the time of Independence. We shall then see how India chose to shape itself into a nation, united by a shared history and common destiny. This unity had to reflect the aspirations of people across the different regions and deal with the disparities that existed among regions and different sections of people. In the next two chapters we shall turn to the challenge of establishing a democracy and achieving economic development with equality and justice.



I always wanted a time machine, so that I can go back and participate in the celebrations of 15 August 1947. But this looks different from what I thought.



These three stamps were issued in 1950 to mark the first Republic Day on 26 January 1950. What do the images on these stamps tell you about the challenges to the new republic? If you were asked to design these stamps in 1950, which images would you have chosen?

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Edited by ALTAF H. SA

DELHI THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1947. 26 R.

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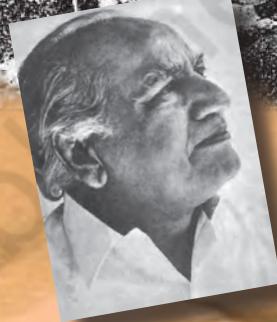
Absolute Transfer Of Power Unknown In World History

AKISTAN TO MAINTAIN FRIENDSHIP WITH BRITAIN AND HINDUSTAN

JINNAH'S SPEECH AT STATE DINNER TO LORD & LADY MOUNTBATTEN

KARACHI, Wednesday, AUGUST 14, 1947. 26 R.
T WILL BE OUR ENDEAVOUR TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP WITH BRITAIN AND OUR NEIGHBOURING DOMINION—HINDUSTAN—ALONG WITH OTHER SISTER NATIONS SO THAT WE ALL TOGETHER MAY MAKE OUR GREATEST CONTRIBUTION FOR THE HARMONY AND PROSPERITY OF THIS WORLD," SAID QAED-E-AZAM JINNAH IN PROFOUND TOAST TO THE KING AT THE STATE DINNER GIVEN BY HIM IN HONOUR OF THE VIST OF THE KING AND QUEEN MOUNTBATTEN.

TO BRITISH PEOPLE



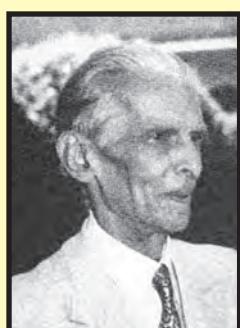
The Dawn of Freedom

Faiz Ahmed Faiz

This scarred, marred brightness,
this bitten-by-night dawn -
The one that was awaited, surely, this is not that dawn.
This is not the dawn yearning for which
Had we set out, friends, hoping to find
sometime, somewhere
The final destination of stars in the wilderness of the sky.
Somewhere, at least, must be a shore for the languid
waves of the night,
Somewhere at least must anchor the sad
boat of the heart ...

Translation of an extract from Urdu poem *Subh-e-azadi*

Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984) Born in Sialkot; stayed in Pakistan after Partition. A leftist in his political leanings, he opposed the Pakistani regime and was imprisoned. Collections of his poetry include *Naksh-e-Fariyadi*, *Dast-e-Saba* and *Zindan-Nama*. Regarded as one of the greatest poets of South Asia in the twentieth century.



We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community — because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vaishnavas, Khatri, also Bengalees, Madrasis, and so on — will vanish. ... You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi, 11 August 1947.



Today I call Waris Shah

Amrita Pritam

Today, I call Waris Shah, "Speak from your grave"
And turn, today, the book of love's next affectionate page
Once, a daughter of Punjab cried and you wrote a wailing saga
Today, a million daughters, cry to you, Waris Shah
Rise! O' narrator of the grieving; rise! look at your Punjab
Today, fields are lined with corpses, and blood fills the Chenab
Someone has mixed poison in the five rivers' flow
Their deadly water is, now, irrigating our lands galore
This fertile land is sprouting, venom from every pore
The sky is turning red from endless cries of gore
The toxic forest wind, screams from inside its wake
Turning each flute's bamboo-shoot, into a deadly snake ...

Translation of an extract from a Punjabi poem "Aaj Akhan Waris Shah Nun"



Amrita Pritam (1919–2005): A prominent Punjabi poet and fiction writer. Recipient of Sahitya Akademi Award, Padma Shree and Jnanapeeth Award. After Partition she made Delhi her second home. She was active in writing and editing 'Nagmani' a Punjabi monthly magazine till her last.



We have a Muslim minority who are so large in numbers that they cannot, even if they want, go anywhere else. That is a basic fact about which there can be no argument. Whatever the provocation from Pakistan and whatever the indignities and horrors inflicted on non-Muslims there, we have got to deal with this minority in a civilised manner. We must give them security and the rights of citizens in a democratic State. If we fail to do so, we shall have a festering sore which will eventually poison the whole body politic and probably destroy it.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Letter to Chief Ministers, 15 October 1947.

Partition: displacement and rehabilitation

On 14-15 August 1947, not one but two nation-states came into existence – India and Pakistan. This was a result of ‘partition’, the division of British India into India and Pakistan. The drawing of the border demarcating the territory of each country marked the culmination of political developments that you have read about in the history textbooks. According to the ‘two-nation theory’ advanced by the Muslim League, India consisted of not one but two ‘people’, Hindus and Muslims. That is why it demanded Pakistan, a separate country for the Muslims. The Congress opposed this theory and the demand for Pakistan. But several political developments in 1940s, the political competition between the Congress and the Muslim League and the British role led to the decision for the creation of Pakistan.

Process of Partition

Thus it was decided that what was till then known as ‘India’ would be divided into two countries, ‘India’ and ‘Pakistan’. Such a division was not only very painful, but also very difficult to decide and to implement. It was decided to follow the principle of religious majorities. This basically means that areas where the Muslims were in majority would make up the territory of Pakistan. The rest was to stay with India.

The idea might appear simple, but it presented all kinds of difficulties. First of all, there was no single belt of Muslim majority areas in British India. There were two areas of concentration, one in the west and one in the east. There was no way these two parts could be joined. So it was decided that the new country, Pakistan, will comprise two territories, West and East Pakistan separated by a long expanse of Indian territory. Secondly, not all Muslim majority areas wanted to be in Pakistan. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the undisputed leader of the North Western Frontier Province and known as ‘Frontier Gandhi’, was staunchly opposed to the two-nation theory. Eventually, his voice was simply ignored and the NWFP was made to merge with Pakistan.



Oh, now I understand! What was ‘East’ Bengal has now become Bangladesh. That is why our Bengal is called ‘West’ Bengal!

The third problem was that two of the Muslim majority provinces of British India, Punjab and Bengal, had very large areas where the non-Muslims were in majority. Eventually it was decided that these two provinces would be bifurcated according to the religious majority at the district or even lower level. This decision could not be made by the midnight of 14-15 August. It meant that a large number of people did not know on the day of Independence whether they were in India or in Pakistan. The Partition of these two provinces caused the deepest trauma of Partition.

This was related to the fourth and the most intractable of all the problems of partition. This was the problem of ‘minorities’ on both

sides of the border. Lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs in the areas that were now in Pakistan and an equally large number of Muslims on the Indian side of Punjab and Bengal (and to some extent Delhi and surrounding areas) found themselves trapped. They were to discover that they were undesirable aliens in their own home, in the land where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries. As soon as it became clear that the country was going to be partitioned, the violence started at an unprecedented level against communities who were lesser in number in their respective areas. No one had quite anticipated the scale of this problem. No one had any plans for handling this. Initially, the people and political leaders kept hoping that this violence was temporary and would be controlled soon. But very soon the violence went out of control. Such communities on both sides of the border were often compelled to leave their homes at a few hours' notice.

Consequences of Partition

The year 1947 was the year of one of the largest, most abrupt, unplanned and tragic transfer of population that human history has known. There were killings and atrocities on both sides of the border. In the name of religion people of one community ruthlessly killed and maimed people of the other community. Cities like Lahore,



Credit: DPA.

A train full of 'refugees' in 1947.

Hospitality Delayed

Saadat Hasan Manto

Rioters brought the running train to a halt. People belonging to the other community were pulled out and slaughtered with swords and bullets.

The remaining passengers were treated to halwa, fruits and milk.

The chief organiser said, 'Brothers and sisters, news of this train's arrival was delayed. That is why we have not been able to entertain you lavishly – the way we wanted to.'

Source: English translation of Urdu short story Kasre-Nafsi

Amritsar and Kolkata became divided into 'communal zones'. Muslims would avoid going into an area where mainly Hindus or Sikhs lived; similarly the Hindus and Sikhs stayed away from areas of Muslim predominance.

Forced to abandon their homes and move across borders, people went through immense sufferings. Minorities on both sides of the border fled their home and often secured temporary shelter in 'refugee camps'. They often found unhelpful local administration and police in what was till recently their own country. They travelled to the other side of the new border by all sorts of means, often by foot. Even during this journey they were often attacked, killed or raped. Thousands of women were abducted. They were made to convert to the religion of the abductor and were

forced into marriage. In many cases women were killed by their own family members to preserve the 'family honour'. Many children were separated from their parents. Those who did manage to cross the border found that they had no home. For lakhs of these 'refugees' the

country's freedom meant life in 'refugee camps', for months and sometimes for years.

Writers, poets and film-makers in India and Pakistan have expressed the ruthlessness of the killings and the suffering of displacement and violence in their novels, short-stories, poems and films. While recounting the trauma of Partition, they have often used the phrase that the survivors themselves used to describe Partition — as a 'division of hearts'.

The Partition was not merely a division of properties, liabilities

Credit: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library



Gandhi in Noakhali (now in Bangladesh) in 1947.

and assets, or a political division of the country and the administrative apparatus. What also got divided were the financial assets, and things like tables, chairs, typewriters, paper-clips, books and also musical instruments of the police band! The employees of the government and the railways were also 'divided'. Above all, it was a violent separation of communities who had hitherto lived together as neighbours. It is estimated that the Partition forced about 80 lakh people to migrate across the new border. Between five to ten lakh people were killed in Partition related violence.

Beyond the administrative concerns and financial strains, however, the Partition posed another deeper issue. The leaders of the Indian national struggle did not believe in the two-nation theory. And yet, partition on religious basis had taken place. Did that make India a Hindu nation automatically? Even after large scale migration of Muslims to the newly created Pakistan, the Muslim population in India accounted for 10-12 per cent of the total population in 1951. So, how would the government of India treat its Muslim citizens and other religious minorities (Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and Jews)? The Partition had already created severe conflict between the two communities.

There were competing political interests behind these conflicts. The Muslim League was formed to protect the interests of the Muslims in colonial India. It was in the forefront of the demand for a separate Muslim nation. Similarly, there were organisations, which were trying to organise the Hindus in order to turn India into a Hindu nation. But most leaders of the national movement believed that India must treat persons of all religions

Let's watch a Film

GARAM HAWA



Salim Mirza, a shoe manufacturer in Agra, increasingly finds himself a stranger amid the people he has lived with all his life. He feels lost in the emerging reality after Partition. His business suffers and a refugee from the other side of partitioned India occupies his ancestral dwelling. His daughter too has a tragic end. He believes that things would soon be normal again.

But many of his family members decide to move to Pakistan. Salim is torn between an impulse to move out to Pakistan and an urge to stay back. A decisive moment comes when Salim witnesses a students' procession demanding fair treatment from the government. His son Sikandar has joined the procession. Can you imagine what Mirza Salim finally did? What do you think you would have done in these circumstances?

Year: 1973
 Director: M.S. Sathyu
 Screenplay: Kaifi Azmi
 Actors: Balraj Sahani, Jalal Aga, Farouque Sheikh, Gita Siddharth

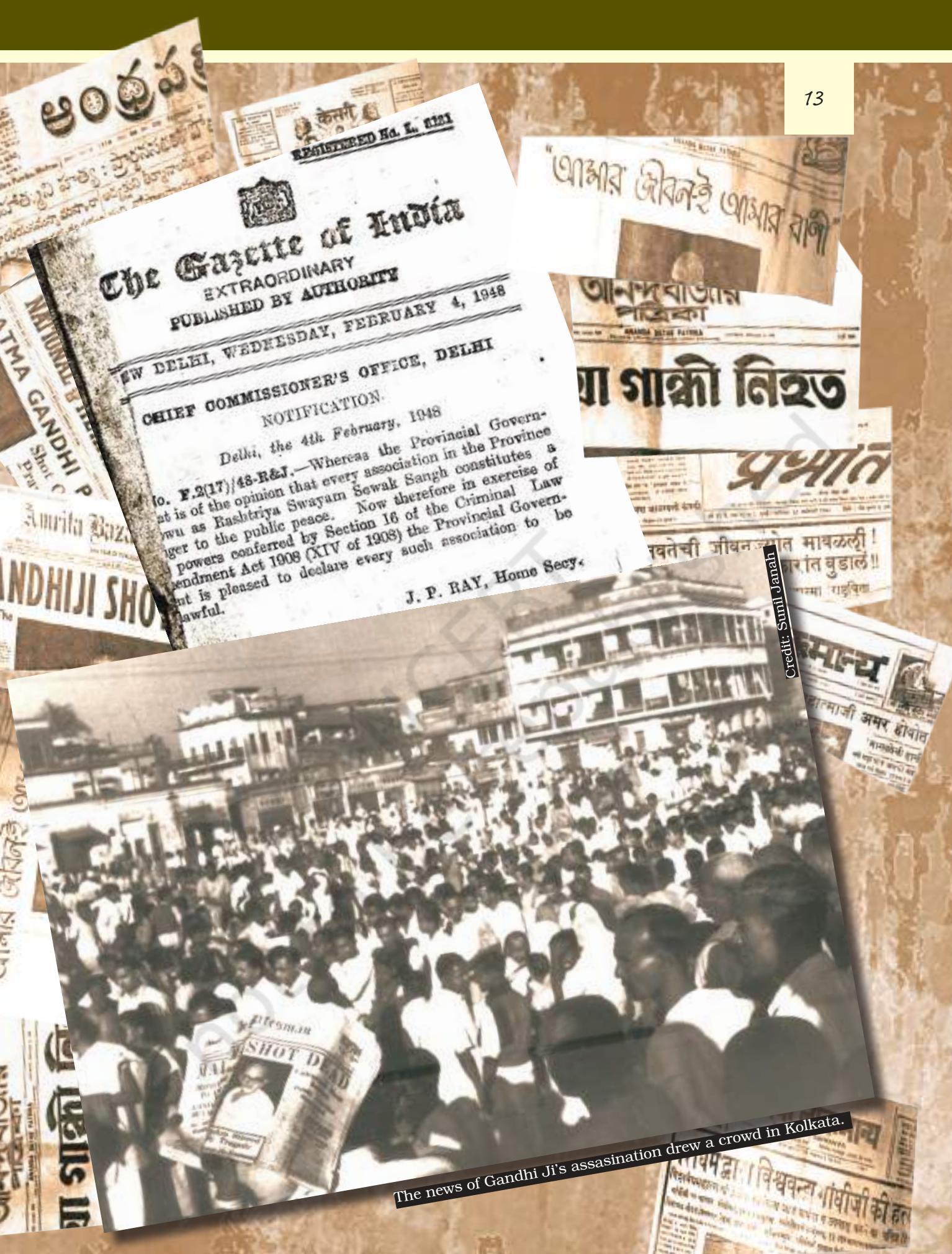
Mahatma Gandhi's sacrifice

On the 15th August 1947 Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in any of the Independence Day celebrations. He was in Kolkata in the areas which were torn by gruesome riots between Hindus and Muslims. He was saddened by the communal violence and disheartened that the principles of ahimsa (non-violence) and satyagraha (active but non-violent resistance) that he had lived and worked for, had failed to bind the people in troubled times. Gandhiji went on to persuade the Hindus and Muslims to give up violence. His presence in Kolkata greatly improved the situation, and the coming of independence was celebrated in a spirit of communal harmony, with joyous dancing in the streets. Gandhiji's prayer meetings attracted large crowds. But this was short lived as riots between Hindus and Muslims erupted once again and Gandhiji had to resort to a fast to bring peace.

Next month Gandhiji moved to Delhi where large scale violence had erupted. He was deeply concerned about ensuring that Muslims should be allowed to stay in India with dignity, as equal citizens. He was also concerned about the relations between India and Pakistan. He was unhappy with what he saw as the Indian government's decision not to honour its financial commitments to Pakistan. With all this in mind he undertook what turned out to be his last fast in January 1948. As in Kolkata, his fast had a dramatic effect in Delhi. Communal tension and violence reduced. Muslims of Delhi and surrounding areas could safely return to their homes. The Government of India agreed to give Pakistan its dues.

Gandhiji's actions were however not liked by all. Extremists in both the communities blamed him for their conditions. Despite this he continued to meet everyone during his prayer meetings. Finally, on 30 January 1948, one such extremist, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, walked up to Gandhiji during his evening prayer in Delhi and fired three bullets at him, killing him instantly. Thus ended a lifelong struggle for truth, non-violence, justice and tolerance.





equally and that India should not be a country that gave superior status to adherents of one faith and inferior to those who practiced another religion. All citizens would be equal irrespective of their religious affiliation. Being religious or a believer would not be a test of citizenship. They cherished therefore the ideal of a secular nation. This ideal was enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

Shweta noticed that her Nana (maternal grandfather) would get very quiet whenever anyone mentioned Pakistan. One day she decided to ask him about it. Her Nana told her about how he moved from Lahore to Ludhiana during Partition. Both his parents were killed. Even he would not have survived, but a neighbouring Muslim family gave him shelter and kept him in hiding for several days. They helped him find some relatives and that is how he managed to cross the border and start a new life. Similarly, there are many examples of Hindu families and others who helped, sheltered, and saved the lives of Muslim families during the times of crisis and violence caused by Partition. It shows the importance of compassion and solidarity on religious grounds in both communities.

Have you heard a similar story? Ask your grandparents or anyone of that generation about their memories of Independence Day, about the celebration, about the trauma of Partition, about the expectations they had from independence.

Write down at least two of these stories.

Let's re-search

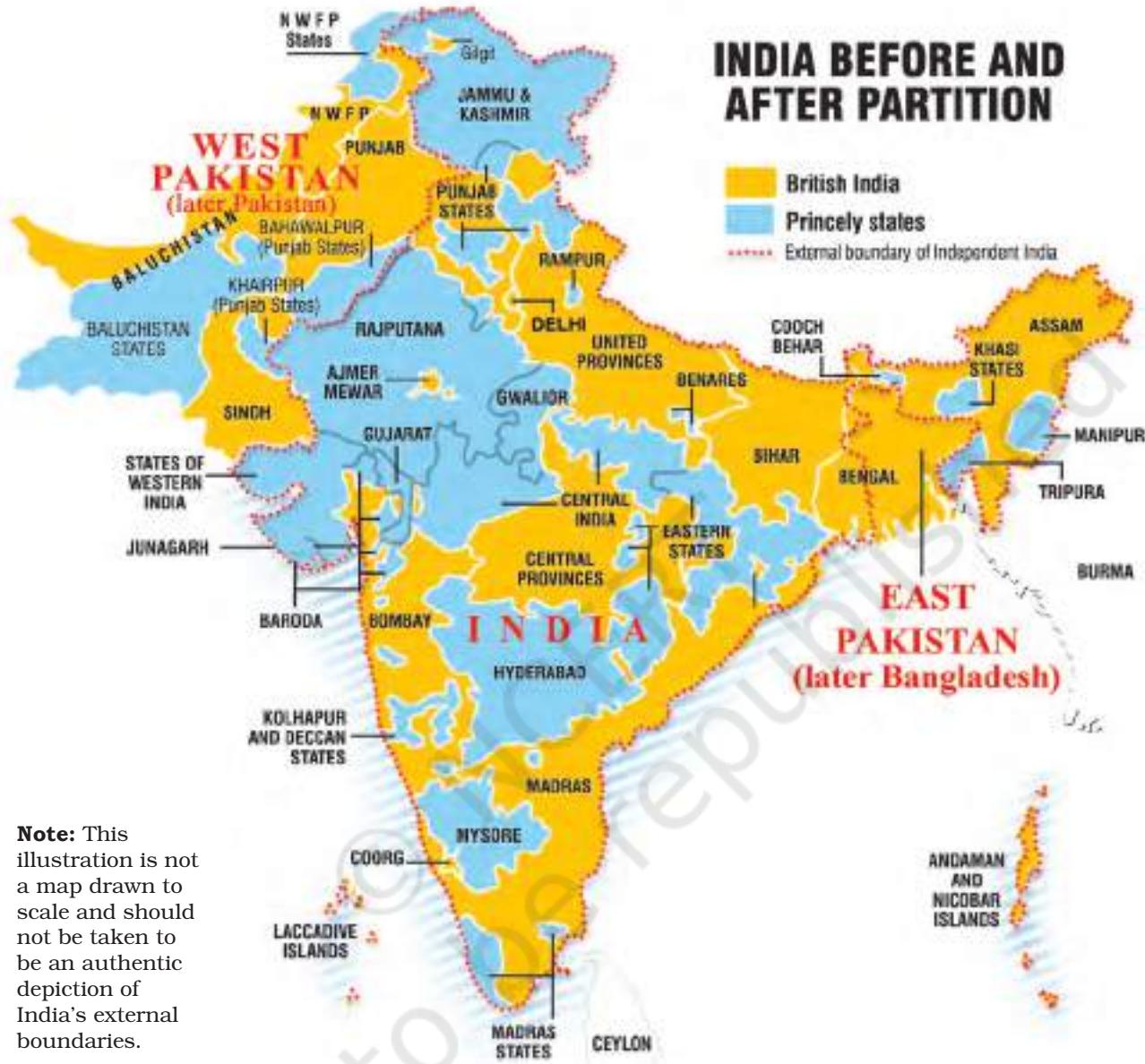
Integration of Princely States

British India was divided into what were called the British Indian Provinces and the Princely States. The British Indian Provinces were directly under the control of the British government. On the other hand, several large and small states ruled by princes, called the Princely States, enjoyed some form of control over their internal affairs as long as they accepted British supremacy. This was called paramountcy or suzerainty of the British crown. Princely States covered one-third of the land area of the British Indian Empire and one out of four Indians lived under princely rule.

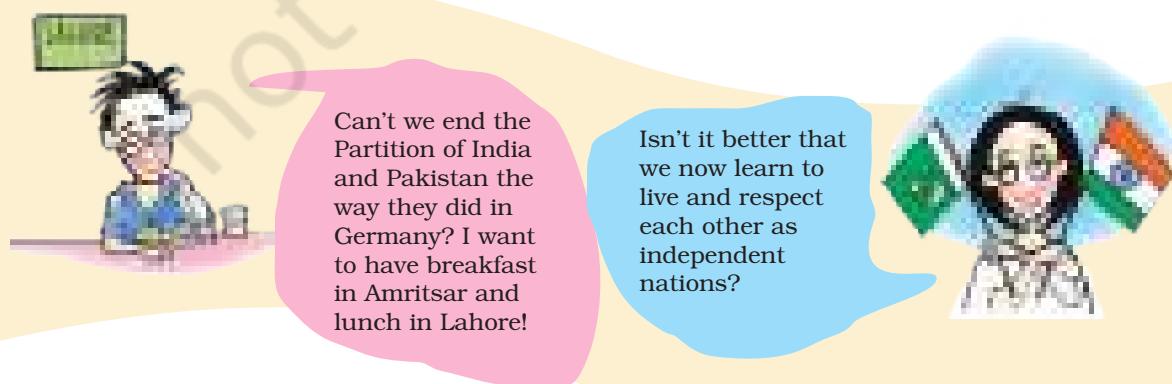
The problem

Just before Independence it was announced by the British that with the end of their rule over India, paramountcy of the British crown over Princely States would also lapse. This meant that all these states, as many as 565 in all, would become legally independent. The British government took the view that all these states were free to join either India or Pakistan or remain independent if they so wished. This decision was left not to the people but to the princely rulers of these states. This was a very serious problem and could threaten the very existence of a united India.

The problems started very soon. First of all, the ruler of Travancore announced that the state had decided on Independence. The Nizam



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.



of Hyderabad made a similar announcement the next day. Rulers like the Nawab of Bhopal were averse to joining the Constituent Assembly. This response of the rulers of the Princely States meant that after Independence there was a very real possibility that India would get further divided into a number of small countries. The prospects of democracy for the people in these states also looked bleak. This was a strange situation, since the Indian Independence was aimed at unity, self-determination as well as democracy. In most of these princely states, governments were run in a non-democratic manner and the rulers were unwilling to give democratic rights to their populations.

“We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour, we can raise the country to new greatness, while lack of unity will expose us to unexpected calamities. I hope the Indian States will realise fully that if we do not cooperate and work together in the general interest, anarchy and chaos will overwhelm us all, great and small, and lead us to total ruin...
”

Sardar Patel
Letter to Princely rulers,
1947.

Government's approach

The interim government took a firm stance against the possible division of India into small principalities of different sizes. Under the Mountbatten Plan, the Princely states were free to join India or Pakistan. Sardar Patel was India's Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Minister during the crucial period immediately following Independence. He played a historic role in negotiating with the rulers of princely states firmly but diplomatically and bringing most of them into the Indian Union. It may look easy now. But it was a very complicated task which required skilful persuasion. For instance, there were 26 small states in today's Orissa. Saurashtra region of Gujarat had 14 big states, 119 small states and numerous other different administrations.

The government's approach was guided by three considerations. Firstly, the people of most of the princely states clearly wanted to become part of the Indian union. Secondly, the government was prepared to be flexible in giving autonomy to some regions. The idea was to accommodate plurality and adopt a flexible approach in dealing with the demands of the regions. Thirdly, in the backdrop of Partition which brought into focus the contest over demarcation of territory, the integration and consolidation of the territorial boundaries of the nation had assumed supreme importance.

Before 15 August 1947, peaceful negotiations had brought almost all states whose territories were contiguous to the new boundaries of India, into the Indian Union. The rulers of most of the states signed a document called the 'Instrument of Accession' which meant that their state agreed to become a part of the Union of India. Accession of the Princely States of Junagadh, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur proved more difficult than the rest. The issue of Junagarh was resolved after a plebiscite confirmed people's desire to join India. You will read about Kashmir in Chapter Seven. Here, let us look at the cases of Hyderabad and Manipur.



Sardar Patel with the Nizam of Hyderabad

Hyderabad

Hyderabad, the largest of the Princely States was surrounded entirely by Indian territory. Some parts of the old Hyderabad state are today parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Its ruler carried the title, 'Nizam', and he was one of the world's richest men. The Nizam wanted an independent status for Hyderabad. He entered into what was called the Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947 for a year while negotiations with the Indian government were going on.

In the meantime, a movement of the people of Hyderabad State against the Nizam's rule gathered force. The peasantry in the Telangana region in particular, was the victim of Nizam's oppressive rule and rose against him. Women who had seen the worst of this oppression joined the movement in large numbers. Hyderabad town was the nerve centre of this movement. The Communists and the Hyderabad Congress were in the forefront of the movement. The Nizam responded by unleashing a para-military force known as the Razakars on the people. The atrocities and communal nature of the Razakars knew no bounds. They



Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950): Leader of the freedom movement; Congress leader; follower of Mahatma Gandhi; Deputy Prime Minister and first Home Minister of independent India; played an important role in the integration of Princely States with India; member of important committees of the Constituent Assembly on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Provincial Constitution, etc.



I wonder what happened to all those hundreds of kings, queens, princes and princesses. How did they live their lives after becoming just ordinary citizens?

murdered, maimed, raped and looted, targeting particularly the non-Muslims. The central government had to order the army to tackle the situation. In September 1948, Indian army moved in to control the Nizam's forces. After a few days of intermittent fighting, the Nizam surrendered. This led to Hyderabad's accession to India.

Manipur

A few days before Independence, the Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh, signed the Instrument of Accession with the Indian government on the assurance that the internal autonomy of Manipur would be maintained. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Maharaja held elections in Manipur in June 1948 and the state became a constitutional monarchy. Thus Manipur was the first part of India to hold an election based on universal adult franchise.

In the Legislative Assembly of Manipur there were sharp differences over the question of merger of Manipur with India. While the state Congress wanted the merger, other political parties were opposed to this. The Government of India succeeded in persuading the Maharaja into signing a Merger Agreement in September 1949.



Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

This cartoon comments on the relation between the people and the rulers in the Princely States, and also on Patel's approach to resolving this issue.

Reorganisation of States

The process of nation-building did not come to an end with Partition and integration of Princely States. Now the challenge was to draw the internal boundaries of the Indian states. This was not just a matter of administrative divisions. The boundaries had to be drawn in a way so that the linguistic and cultural plurality of the country could be reflected without affecting the unity of the nation.

During colonial rule, the state boundaries were drawn either on administrative convenience or simply coincided with the territories annexed by the British government or the territories ruled by the princely powers.

Our national movement had rejected these divisions as artificial and had promised the linguistic principle as the basis of formation of states. In fact after the Nagpur session of Congress in 1920 the principle was recognised as the basis of the reorganisation of the Indian National Congress party itself. Many Provincial Congress Committees were created by linguistic zones, which did not follow the administrative divisions of British India.

Things changed after Independence and Partition. Our leaders felt that carving out states on the basis of language might lead to disruption and disintegration. It was also felt that this would draw attention away from other social and economic challenges that the country faced. The central leadership decided to postpone matters. The need for postponement was also felt because the fate of the Princely States had not been decided. Also, the memory of Partition was still fresh.

This decision of the national leadership was challenged by the local leaders and the people. Protests began in the Telugu speaking areas of the old Madras province, which included present day Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. The Vishalandhra movement (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) demanded that the Telugu speaking areas should be separated from the Madras province of which they were a part and be made into a separate Andhra province. Nearly all the political forces in the Andhra region were in favour of linguistic reorganisation of the then Madras province.

The movement gathered momentum as a result of the Central government's vacillation. Potti Sriramulu, a Congress leader and a veteran Gandhian, went on an indefinite fast that led to his death after 56 days. This caused great unrest and resulted in violent outbursts in Andhra region. People in large numbers took to the streets. Many were injured or lost their lives in police firing. In Madras, several legislators resigned their seats in protest. Finally, the Prime Minister announced the formation of a separate Andhra state in December 1952.

“...if linguistic provinces are formed, it will also give a fillip to the regional languages. It would be absurd to make Hindustani the medium of instruction in all the regions and it is still more absurd to use English for this purpose.”

Mahatma Gandhi
January 1948



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

Read the map and answer the following questions:

1. Name the original state from which the following states were carved out:
 Gujarat Haryana
 Meghalaya Chhattisgarh
2. Name two states that were affected by the Partition of the country.
3. Name two states today that were once a Union Territory.



Credit: Shankar

"Struggle for Survival" (26 July 1953) captures contemporary impression of the demand for linguistic states

The formation of Andhra spurred the struggle for making of other states on linguistic lines in other parts of the country. These struggles forced the Central Government into appointing a States Reorganisation Commission in 1953 to look into the question of redrawing of the boundaries of states. The Commission in its report accepted that the boundaries of the state should reflect the boundaries of different languages. On the basis of its report the States Reorganisation Act was passed in 1956. This led to the creation of 14 states and six union territories.



Now, isn't this very interesting? Nehru and other leaders were very popular, and yet the people did not hesitate to agitate for linguistic states against the wishes of the leaders!

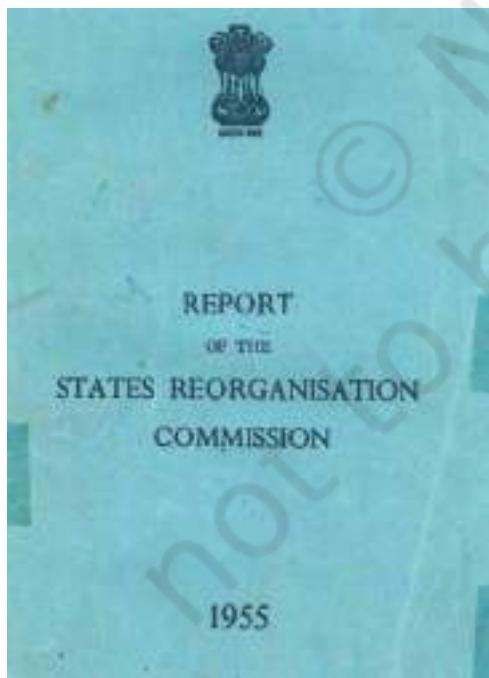


Potti Sriramulu
(1901-1952): Gandhian worker; left government job to participate in Salt Satyagraha; also participated in individual Satyagraha; went on a fast in 1946 demanding that temples in Madras province be opened to dalits; undertook a fast unto death from 19 October 1952 demanding separate state of Andhra; died during the fast on 15 December 1952.



Credit: Shankar

"Coaxing the Genie back" (5 February 1956) asked if the State Reorganisation Commission could contain the genie of linguism.



One of the most important concerns in the early years was that demands for separate states would endanger the unity of the country. It was felt that linguistic states may foster separatism and create pressures on the newly founded nation. But the leadership, under popular pressure, finally made a choice in favour of linguistic states. It was hoped that if we accept the regional and linguistic claims of all regions, the threat of division and separatism would be reduced. Besides, the accommodation of regional demands and the formation of linguistic states were also seen as more democratic.

Now it is more than fifty years since the formation of linguistic states. We can say that linguistic states and the movements for the formation of these states changed the nature of democratic politics and leadership in some basic ways. The path to politics and power was now open to people other than the small English speaking elite. Linguistic reorganisation also gave some uniform basis to the drawing of state boundaries. It did not lead

to disintegration of the country as many had feared earlier. On the contrary it strengthened national unity.

Above all, the linguistic states underlined the acceptance of the principle of diversity. When we say that India adopted democracy, it does not simply mean that India embraced a democratic constitution, nor does it merely mean that India adopted the format of elections. The choice was larger than that. It was a choice in favour of recognising and accepting the existence of differences which could at times be oppositional. Democracy, in other words, was associated with plurality of ideas and ways of life. Much of the politics in the later period was to take place within this framework.

Fast Forward Creation of new states



The acceptance of the principle of linguistic states did not mean, however, that all states immediately became linguistic states. There was an experiment of 'bilingual' Bombay state, consisting of Gujarati- and Marathi-speaking people. After a popular agitation, the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created in 1960.

In Punjab also, there were two linguistic groups: Hindi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking. The Punjabi-speaking people demanded a separate state. But it was not granted with other states in 1956. Statehood for Punjab came ten years later, in 1966, when the territories of today's Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were separated from the larger Punjab state.

Another major reorganisation of states took place in the north-east in 1972. Meghalaya was carved out of Assam in 1972. Manipur and Tripura too emerged as separate states in the same year. The states of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh came into being in 1987. Nagaland had become a state much earlier in 1963.

Language did not, however, remain the sole basis of organisation of states. In later years sub-regions raised demands for separate states on the basis of a separate regional culture or complaints of regional imbalance in development. Three such states, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand, were created in 2000. Telangana has emerged as a new state on 2 June, 2014. The story of reorganisation has not come to an end. There are many regions in the country where there are movements demanding separate and smaller states. These include Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Harit Pradesh in the western region of Uttar Pradesh and the northern region of West Bengal.



EXERCISES

1. Which among the following statements about the Partition is incorrect?

(a) Partition of India was the outcome of the “two-nation theory.”
(b) Punjab and Bengal were the two provinces divided on the basis of religion.
(c) East Pakistan and West Pakistan were not contiguous.
(d) The scheme of Partition included a plan for transfer of population across the border.

2. Match the principles with the instances:

(a) Mapping of boundaries on religious grounds	i. Pakistan and Bangladesh
(b) Mapping of boundaries on grounds of different languages	ii. India and Pakistan
(c) Demarcating boundaries within a country by geographical zones	iii. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh
(d) Demarcating boundaries within a country on administrative and political grounds	iv. Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand

3. Take a current political map of India (showing outlines of states) and mark the location of the following Princely States.

(a) Junagadh	(b) Manipur
(c) Mysore	(d) Gwalior

4. Here are two opinions –

Bismay: “The merger with the Indian State was an extension of democracy to the people of the Princely States.”

Inderpreet: “I am not so sure, there was force being used. Democracy comes by creating consensus.”

What is your own opinion in the light of accession of Princely States and the responses of the people in these parts?

5. Read the following very different statements made in August 1947 –

“Today you have worn on your heads a crown of thorns. The seat of power is a nasty thing. You have to remain ever wakeful on that seat.... you have to be more humble and forbearing...now there will be no end to your being tested.” — M.K GANDHI

“...India will awake to a life of freedom....we step out from the old to the new...we end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity...” — JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Spell out the agenda of nation building that flows from these two statements. Which one appeals more to you and why?

6. What are the reasons being used by Nehru for keeping India secular? Do you think these reasons were only ethical and sentimental? Or were there some prudential reasons as well?
7. Bring out two major differences between the challenge of nation building for eastern and western regions of the country at the time of Independence.
8. What was the task of the States Reorganisation Commission? What was its most salient recommendation?
9. It is said that the nation is to a large extent an “imagined community” held together by common beliefs, history, political aspirations and imaginations. Identify the features that make India a nation.
10. Read the following passage and answer the questions below:
“In the history of nation-building only the Soviet experiment bears comparison with the Indian. There too, a sense of unity had to be forged between many diverse ethnic groups, religious, linguistic communities and social classes. The scale – geographic as well as demographic – was comparably massive. The raw material the state had to work with was equally unpropitious: a people divided by faith and driven by debt and disease.” — RAMACHANDRA GUHA
 - (a) List the commonalities that the author mentions between India and Soviet Union and give one example for each of these from India.
 - (b) The author does not talk about dissimilarities between the two experiments. Can you mention two dissimilarities?
 - (c) In retrospect which of these two experiments worked better and why?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

- Read a novel/ story on Partition by an Indian and a Pakistani/ Bangladeshi writer. What are the commonalities of the experience across the border?
- Collect all the stories from the ‘Let’s Research’ suggestion in this chapter. Prepare a wallpaper that highlights the common experiences and has stories on the unique experiences.



Credit: Shankar

This famous sketch by Shankar appeared on the cover of his collection – *Don't Spare Me, Shankar*. The original sketch was drawn in the context of India's China policy. But this cartoon captures the dual role of the Congress during the era of one-party dominance.

In this chapter...

The challenge of nation-building, covered in the last chapter, was accompanied by the challenge of instituting democratic politics. Thus, electoral competition among political parties began immediately after Independence. In this chapter, we look at the first decade of electoral politics in order to understand

- the establishment of a system of free and fair elections;
- the domination of the Congress party in the years immediately after Independence; and
- the emergence of opposition parties and their policies.

CHAPTER 2

ERA OF ONE-PARTY DOMINANCE



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Challenge of building democracy

You now have an idea of the difficult circumstances in which independent India was born. You have read about the serious challenge of nation-building that confronted the country right in the beginning. Faced with such serious challenges, leaders in many other countries of the world decided that their country could not afford to have democracy. They said that national unity was their first priority and that democracy will introduce differences and conflicts. Therefore many of the countries that gained freedom from colonialism experienced non-democratic rule. It took various forms: nominal democracy but effective control by one leader, one party rule or direct army rule. Non-democratic regimes always started with a promise of restoring democracy very soon. But once they established themselves, it was very difficult to dislodge them.

The conditions in India were not very different. But the leaders of the newly independent India decided to take the more difficult path. Any other path would have been surprising, for our freedom struggle was deeply committed to the idea of democracy. Our leaders were conscious of the critical role of politics in any democracy. They did not see politics as a problem; they saw it as a way of solving the problems. Every society needs to decide how it will govern and regulate itself. There are always different policy alternatives to choose from. There are different groups with different and conflicting aspirations. How do we resolve these differences? Democratic politics is an answer to this question. While competition and power are the two most visible things about politics, the purpose of political activity is and should be deciding and pursuing public interest. This is the route our leaders decided to take.

Last year you studied how our Constitution was drafted. You would remember that the Constitution was adopted on 26 November 1949 and signed on 24 January 1950 and it came into effect on 26 January 1950. At that time the country was being ruled by an interim government. It was now necessary to install the first democratically elected government of the country. The Constitution had laid down the rules, now the machine had to be put in place. Initially it was thought that this was only a matter of a few months. The Election Commission of India was set up in January 1950. Sukumar Sen became the first Chief Election Commissioner. The country's first general elections were expected sometime in 1950 itself.

“

In India,....

...hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country....But in politics, ...hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and eventual dictatorship

”

Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Speech in Constituent Assembly
25 November 1949



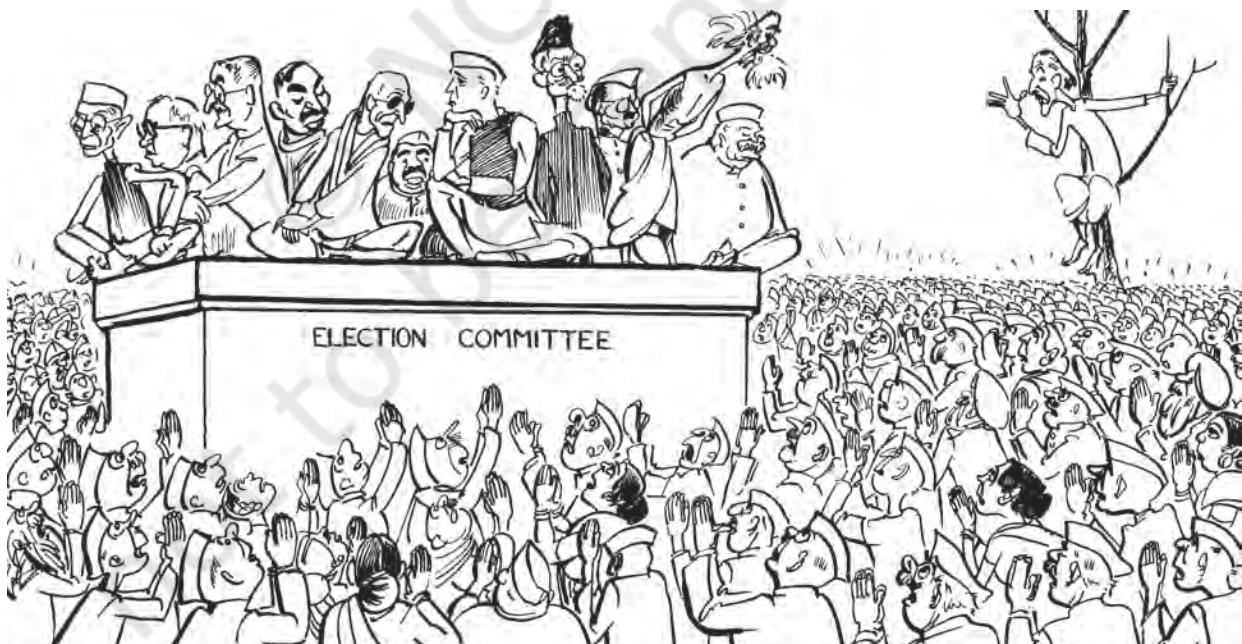
What's so special about our being a democracy? Sooner or later every country has become a democracy, isn't it?



That was a good decision. But what about men who still refer to a woman as Mrs. Somebody, as if she does not have a name of her own?

But the Election Commission discovered that it was not going to be easy to hold a free and fair election in a country of India's size. Holding an election required delimitation or drawing the boundaries of the electoral constituencies. It also required preparing the electoral rolls, or the list of all the citizens eligible to vote. Both these tasks took a lot of time. When the first draft of the rolls was published, it was discovered that the names of nearly 40 lakh women were not recorded in the list. They were simply listed as "wife of ..." or "daughter of ...". The Election Commission refused to accept these entries and ordered a revision if possible and deletion if necessary. Preparing for the first general election was a mammoth exercise. No election on this scale had ever been conducted in the world before. At that time there were 17 crore eligible voters, who had to elect about 3,200 MLAs and 489 Members of Lok Sabha. Only 15 per cent of these eligible voters were literate. Therefore the Election Commission had to think of some special method of voting. The Election Commission trained over 3 lakh officers and polling staff to conduct the elections.

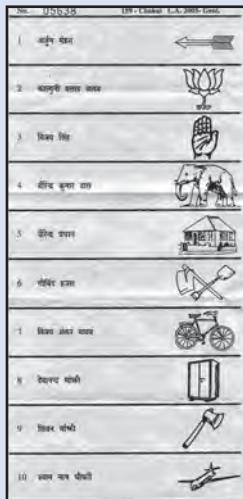
It was not just the size of the country and the electorate that made this election unusual. The first general election was also the first big test of democracy in a poor and illiterate country. Till then democracy had existed only in the prosperous countries, mainly in Europe and North America, where nearly everyone was literate. By that time many countries in Europe had not given voting rights to all women. In this context India's experiment with universal adult franchise



Credit: Shankar, 20 May 1951

A cartoonist's impression of the election committee formed by the Congress to choose party candidates in 1951. On the committee, besides Nehru: Morarji Desai, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Dr B.C. Roy, Kamaraj Nadar, Rajagopalachari, Jagjivan Ram, Maulana Azad, D.P. Mishra, P.D. Tandon and Govind Ballabh Pant.

Changing methods of voting



These days we use an Electronic Voting Machine (EVM) to record voters' preferences. But that is not how we started. In the first general election, it was decided to place inside each polling booth a box for each candidate with the election symbol of that candidate. Each voter was given a blank ballot paper which they had to drop into the box of the candidate they wanted to vote for. About 20 lakh steel boxes were used for this purpose.

A presiding officer from Punjab described how he prepared the ballot boxes—"Each box had to have its candidate's symbol, both inside and outside it, and outside on either side, had to be displayed the name of the candidate in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi along with the number of the constituency, the polling station and the polling booth. The paper seal with the numerical description of the candidate, signed by the presiding officer, had to be inserted in the token frame and its window closed by its door

A sample of the ballot paper used from the third to the thirteenth general elections to Lok Sabha

which had to be fixed in its place at the other end by means of a wire. All this had to be done on the day previous to the one fixed for polling. To fix symbols and labels the boxes had first to be rubbed with sandpaper or a piece of brick. I found that it took about five hours for six persons, including my two daughters, to complete this work. All this was done at my house."

After the first two elections, this method was changed. Now the ballot paper carried the names and symbols of all the candidates and the voter was required to put a stamp on the name of the candidate they wanted to vote for. This method worked for nearly forty years. Towards the end of 1990s the Election Commission started using the EVM. By 2004 the entire country had shifted to the EVM.

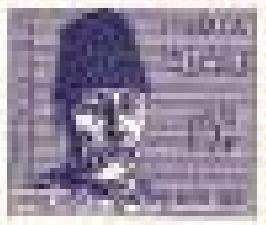


Electronic Voting Machine

Ask the elders in your family and neighbourhood about their experience of participating in elections.

- Did anyone vote in the first or second general election? Who did they vote for and why?
- Is there someone who has used all the three methods of voting? Which one did they prefer?
- In which ways do they find the elections of those days different from the present ones?

Let's re-search



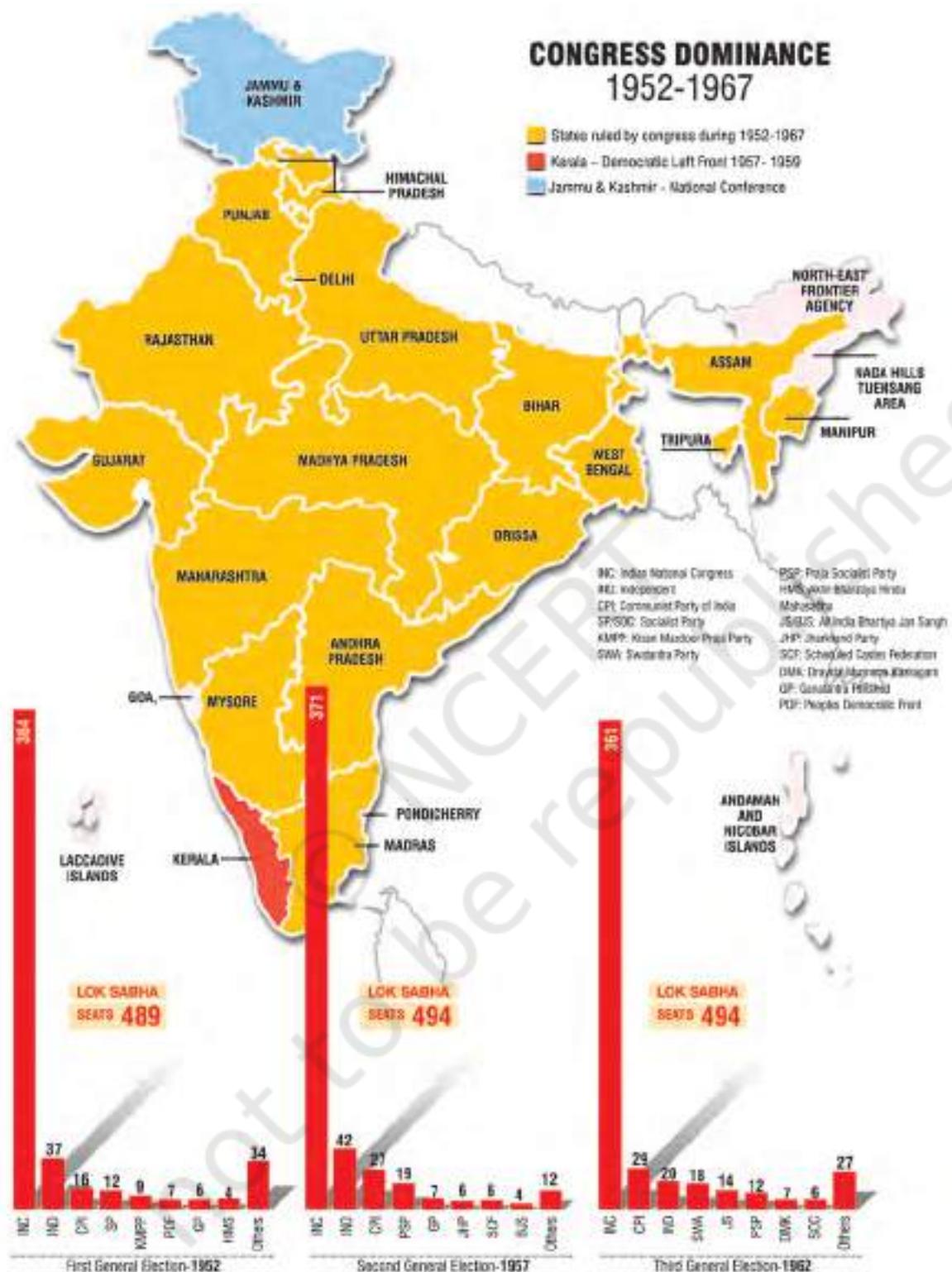
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958): original name — Abul Kalam Mohiyuddin Ahmed; scholar of Islam; freedom fighter and Congress leader; proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity; opposed to Partition; member of Constituent Assembly; Education Minister in the first cabinet of free India.

appeared very bold and risky. An Indian editor called it “the biggest gamble in history”. Organiser, a magazine, wrote that Jawaharlal Nehru “would live to confess the failure of universal adult franchise in India”. A British member of the Indian Civil Service claimed that “a future and more enlightened age will view with astonishment the absurd farce of recording the votes of millions of illiterate people”.

The elections had to be postponed twice and finally held from October 1951 to February 1952. But this election is referred to as the 1952 election since most parts of the country voted in January 1952. It took six months for the campaigning, polling and counting to be completed. Elections were competitive – there were on an average more than four candidates for each seat. The level of participation was encouraging — more than half the eligible voters turned out to vote on the day of elections. When the results were declared these were accepted as fair even by the losers. The Indian experiment had proved the critics wrong. The Times of India held that the polls have “confounded all those sceptics who thought the introduction of adult franchise too risky an experiment in this country”. The Hindustan Times claimed that “there is universal agreement that the Indian people have conducted themselves admirably in the largest experiment in democratic elections in the history of the world”. Observers outside India were equally impressed. India’s general election of 1952 became a landmark in the history of democracy all over the world. It was no longer possible to argue that democratic elections could not be held in conditions of poverty or lack of education. It proved that democracy could be practiced anywhere in the world.

Congress dominance in the first three general elections

The results of the first general election did not surprise anyone. The Indian National Congress was expected to win this election. The Congress party, as it was popularly known, had inherited the legacy of the national movement. It was the only party then to have an organisation spread all over the country. And finally, in Jawaharlal Nehru, the party had the most popular and charismatic leader in Indian politics. He led the Congress campaign and toured through the country. When the final results were declared, the extent of the victory of the Congress did surprise many. The party won 364 of the 489 seats in the first Lok Sabha and finished way ahead of any other challenger. The Communist Party of India that came next in terms of seats won only 16 seats. The state elections were held with the



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

Can you identify the places where the Congress had a strong presence?
In which States, did the other parties perform reasonably well?



Credit: The Hindu



Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (1889-1964): A Gandhian and Freedom fighter; belonged to the royal family of Kapurthala; inherited Christian religion from her mother; member of Constituent Assembly; Minister for Health in independent India's first ministry; continued as Health Minister till 1957.

Lok Sabha elections. The Congress scored big victory in those elections as well. It won a majority of seats in all the states except Travancore-Cochin (part of today's Kerala), Madras and Orissa. Finally even in these states the Congress formed the government. So the party ruled all over the country at the national and the state level. As expected, Jawaharlal Nehru became the Prime Minister after the first general election.

A look at the electoral map on the previous page would give you a sense of the dominance of the Congress during the period 1952-1962. In the second and the third general elections, held in 1957 and 1962 respectively, the Congress maintained the same position in the Lok Sabha by winning three-fourth of the seats. None of the opposition parties could win even one-tenth of the number of seats won by the Congress. In the state assembly elections, the Congress did not get majority in a few cases. The most significant

of these cases was in Kerala in 1957 when a coalition led by the CPI formed the government. Apart from exceptions like this, the Congress controlled the national and all the state governments.

The extent of the victory of the Congress was artificially boosted by our electoral system. The Congress won three out of every four seats but it did not get even half of the votes. In 1952, for example, the Congress obtained 45 per cent of the total votes. But it managed to win 74 per cent of the seats. The Socialist Party, the second largest party in terms of votes, secured more than 10 per cent of the votes all over the country. But it could not even win three per cent of the seats. How did this happen? For this, you need to recall the discussion about the first-past-the-post method in your textbook, *Indian Constitution at Work* last year.

In this system of election, that has been adopted in our country, the party that gets more votes than others tends to get much more than its proportional share. That is exactly what worked in favour of the Congress. If we add up the votes of all the non-Congress candidates it was more than the votes of the Congress. But the non-Congress votes were divided between different rival parties and candidates. So the Congress was still way ahead of the opposition and managed to win.



Communist victory in Kerala

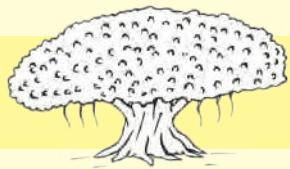
As early as in 1957, the Congress party had the bitter taste of defeat in Kerala. In the assembly elections held in March 1957, the Communist Party won the largest number of seats in the Kerala legislature. The party won 60 of the 126 seats and had the support of five independents. The governor invited E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the leader of the Communist legislature party, to form the ministry. For the first time in the world, a Communist party government had come to power through democratic elections.

On losing power in the State, the Congress party began a 'liberation struggle' against the elected government. The CPI had come to power on the promise of carrying out radical and progressive policy measures. The Communists claimed that the agitation was led by vested interests and religious organisations. In 1959 the Congress government at the Centre dismissed the Communist government in Kerala under Article 356 of the Constitution. This decision proved very controversial and was widely cited as one of the prominent instances of the misuse of constitutional emergency powers.

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, leading a procession of Communist Party workers, after his ministry was dismissed from office in Trivandrum in August 1959.



Credit: Hindu



socialist Party (SP)

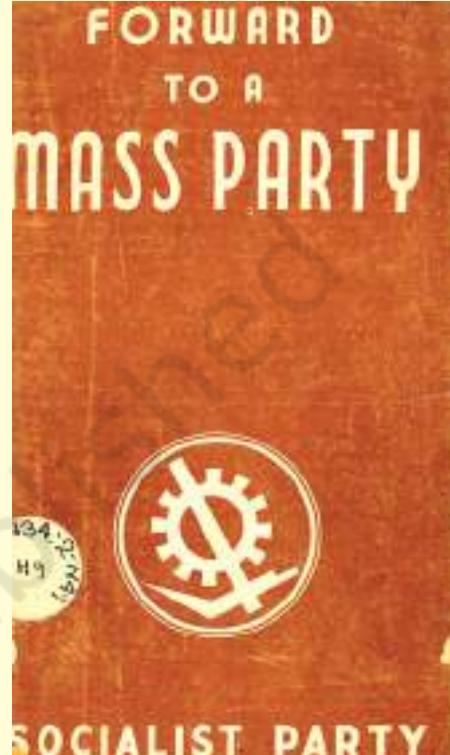
The origins of the Socialist Party can be traced back to the mass movement stage of the Indian National Congress in the pre-independence era. The Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed within the Congress in 1934 by a group of young leaders who wanted a more radical and egalitarian Congress. In 1948, the Congress amended its constitution to prevent its members from having a dual party membership. This forced the Socialists to form a separate Socialist Party in 1948. The Party's electoral performance caused much disappointment to its supporters. Although the Party had presence in most of the states of India, it could achieve electoral success only in a few pockets.



Acharya Narendra Dev (1889-1956): Freedom fighter and founding President of the Congress Socialist Party; jailed several times during the freedom movement; active in peasants' movement; a scholar of Buddhism; after independence led the Socialist Party and later the Praja Socialist Party.

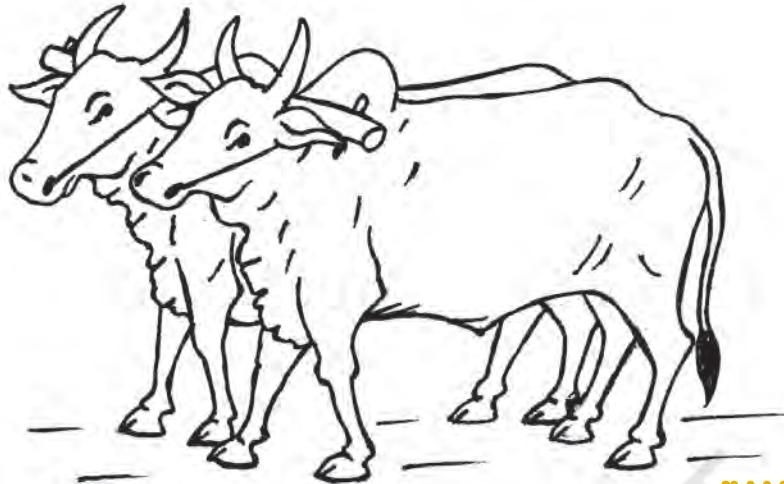
The socialists believed in the ideology of democratic socialism which distinguished them both from the Congress as well as from the Communists. They criticised the Congress for favouring capitalists and landlords and for ignoring the workers and the peasants. But the socialists faced a dilemma when in 1955 the Congress declared its goal to be the socialist pattern of society. Thus it became difficult for the socialists to present themselves as an effective alternative to the Congress. Some of them, led by Rammanohar Lohia, increased their distance from and criticism of the Congress party. Some others like Asoka Mehta advocated a limited cooperation with the Congress.

The Socialist Party went through many splits and reunions leading to the formation of many socialist parties. These included the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, the Praja Socialist Party and Samyukta Socialist Party. Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Asoka Mehta, Acharya Narendra Dev, Rammanohar Lohia and S.M. Joshi were among the leaders of the socialist parties. Many parties in contemporary India, like the Samajwadi Party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal, Janata Dal (United) and the Janata Dal (Secular) trace their origins to the Socialist Party.



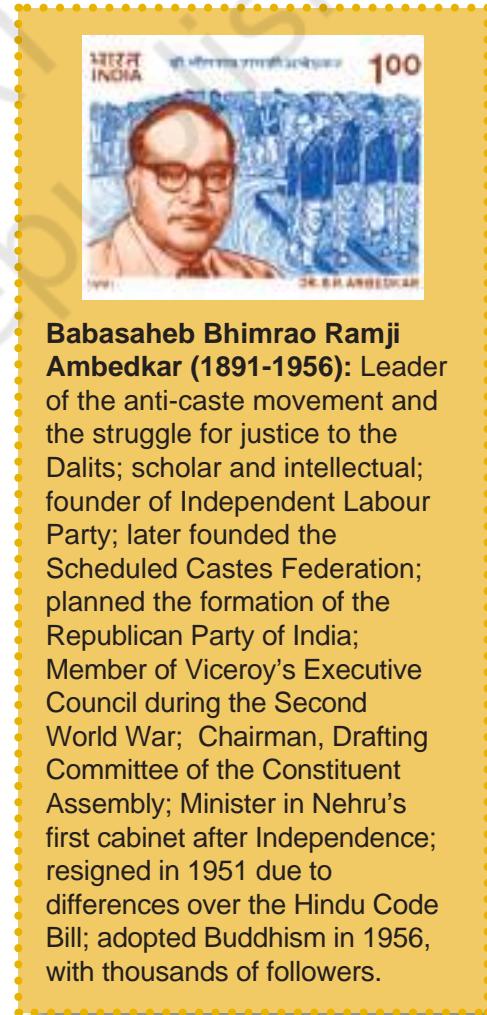
Nature of Congress dominance

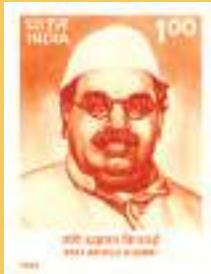
India is not the only country to have experienced the dominance of one party. If we look around the world, we find many other examples



of one-party dominance. But there is a crucial difference between these and the Indian experience. In the rest of the cases the dominance of one party was ensured by compromising democracy. In some countries like China, Cuba and Syria the constitution permits only a single party to rule the country. Some others like Myanmar, Belarus, Egypt, and Eritrea are effectively one-party states due to legal and military measures. Until a few years ago, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan were also effectively one-party dominant states. What distinguished the dominance of the Congress party in India from all these cases was it happened under democratic conditions. Many parties contested elections in conditions of free and fair elections and yet the Congress managed to win election after election. This was similar to the dominance the African National Congress has enjoyed in South Africa after the end of apartheid.

The roots of this extraordinary success of the Congress party go back to the legacy of the freedom struggle. Congress was seen as inheritor of the national movement. Many leaders who were in the forefront of that struggle were now contesting elections as Congress candidates. The Congress was already a very well-organised party and by the time the other parties could even think of a strategy, the Congress





**Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
(1894-1954):**

Congress leader from U.P.; Minister in U.P. in 1937 and again in 1946; Minister for Communications in the first ministry of free India; Food and Agriculture Minister, 1952-54.

had already started its campaign. In fact, many parties were formed only around Independence or after that. Thus, the Congress had the 'first off the blocks' advantage. By the time of Independence the party had not only spread across the length and breadth of the country as we had seen in the maps but also had an organisational network down to the local level. Most importantly, as the Congress was till recently a national movement, its nature was all-inclusive. All these factors contributed to the dominance of the Congress party.

Congress as social and ideological coalition

You have already studied the history of how Congress evolved from its origins in 1885 as a pressure group for the newly educated, professional and commercial classes to a mass movement in the twentieth century. This laid the basis for its eventual transformation into a mass political party and its subsequent domination of the political system. Thus the Congress began as a party dominated by the English speaking, upper caste, upper middle-class and urban elite. But with every civil disobedience movement it launched, its social base widened. It brought together diverse groups, whose interests were often contradictory.

Peasants and industrialists, urban dwellers and villagers, workers and owners, middle, lower and upper classes and castes, all found space in the Congress. Gradually, its leadership also expanded beyond the upper caste and upper class professionals to agriculture based leaders with a rural orientation. By the time of Independence, the Congress was transformed into a rainbow-like social coalition broadly representing India's diversity in terms of classes and castes, religions and languages and various interests.

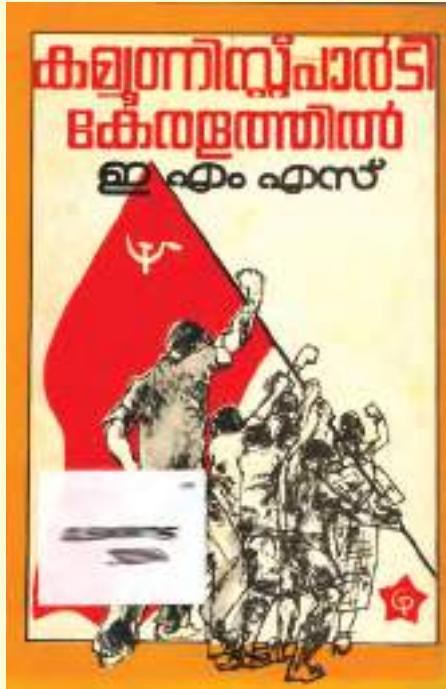
Many of these groups merged their identity within the Congress. Very often they did not and continued to exist within the Congress as groups and individuals holding different beliefs. In this sense the Congress was an ideological coalition as well. It accommodated the revolutionary and pacifist, conservative and radical, extremist and moderate and the right, left and all shades of the centre. The Congress was a 'platform' for numerous groups, interests and even political parties to take part in the national movement. In pre-Independence days, many organisations and parties with their own constitution and organisational structure were allowed to exist within the Congress.

Earlier we had coalition in a party, now we have coalition of parties. Does it mean that we have had a coalition government since 1952?





The Communist Party of India (CPI)



In the early 1920s communist groups emerged in different parts of India taking inspiration from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and advocating socialism as the solution to problems affecting the country. From 1935, the Communists worked mainly from within the fold of the Indian National Congress. A parting of ways took place in December 1941, when the Communists decided to support the British in their war against Nazi Germany. Unlike other non-Congress parties the CPI had a well-oiled party machinery and dedicated cadre at the time of Independence. However, Independence raised different voices in the party. The basic question that troubled the party was the nature of Indian independence. Was India really free or was freedom a sham?

Soon after Independence, the party thought that the transfer of power in 1947 was not true independence and encouraged violent uprisings in Telangana. The Communists failed to generate popular support for their position and were crushed by the armed forces. This forced them to rethink their position. In 1951 the Communist Party abandoned the path of violent revolution and decided to participate in the approaching general elections. In the first general election, CPI won 16 seats and emerged as the largest opposition party. The party's support was more concentrated in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Kerala.

A. K. Gopalan, S.A. Dange, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, P.C. Joshi, Ajay Ghosh and P. Sundarayya were among the notable leaders of the CPI. The Party went through a major split in 1964 following the ideological rift between Soviet Union and China. The pro-Soviet faction remained as the CPI, while the opponents formed the CPI(M). Both these parties continue to exist to this day.



A.K. Gopalan
(1904-1977): Communist leader from Kerala, worked as a Congress worker initially; joined the Communist Party in 1939; after the split in the Communist Party in 1964, joined the CPI (M) and worked for strengthening the party; respected as a parliamentarian; Member of Parliament from 1952.

Let's watch a Film

SIMHASAN



This Marathi film, based on Arun Sadhu's two novels 'Simhasan' and 'Mumbai Dinank', depicts the tussle for the post of Chief Minister in Maharashtra. The story is told through journalist Digu Tipnis as the silent 'Sutradhar'. It tries to capture the intense power struggle within the ruling party and the secondary role of the Opposition.

Finance Minister, Vishwasrao Dabholkar is making all-out efforts to unseat the incumbent Chief Minister. Both contenders are trying to woo trade union leader D'Costa to obtain his support. In this factional fight, other politicians too seek to obtain maximum advantage while bargaining with both sides. Smuggling in Mumbai and the grim social reality in rural Maharashtra form the sub-plots in this film.

Year: 1981
 Director: Jabbar Patel
 Screenplay: Vijay Tendulkar
 Cast: Nilu Phule, Arun Sarnaik, Dr. Shreeram Lagoo, Satish Dubashi, Datta Bhat, Madhukar Toradmal, Madhav Watve, Mohan Agashe

Some of these, like the Congress Socialist Party, later separated from the Congress and became opposition parties. Despite differences regarding the methods, specific programmes and policies the party managed to contain if not resolve differences and build a consensus.

Tolerance and management of factions

This coalition-like character of the Congress gave it an unusual strength. Firstly, a coalition accommodates all those who join it. Therefore, it has to avoid any extreme position and strike a balance on almost all issues. Compromise and inclusiveness are the hallmarks of a coalition. This strategy put the opposition in a difficulty. Anything that the opposition wanted to say, would also find a place in the programme and ideology of the Congress. Secondly, in a party that has the nature of a coalition, there is a greater tolerance of internal differences and ambitions of various groups and leaders are accommodated. The Congress did both these things during the freedom struggle and continued doing this even after Independence. That is why, even if a group was not happy with the position of the party or with its share of power, it would remain inside the party and fight the other groups rather than leaving the party and becoming an 'opposition'.

These groups inside the party are called factions. The coalitional nature of the Congress party tolerated and in fact encouraged various factions. Some of these factions were based on ideological considerations but very often these factions were rooted in personal ambitions and rivalries. Instead of being a weakness, internal factionalism became a strength of



Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS)

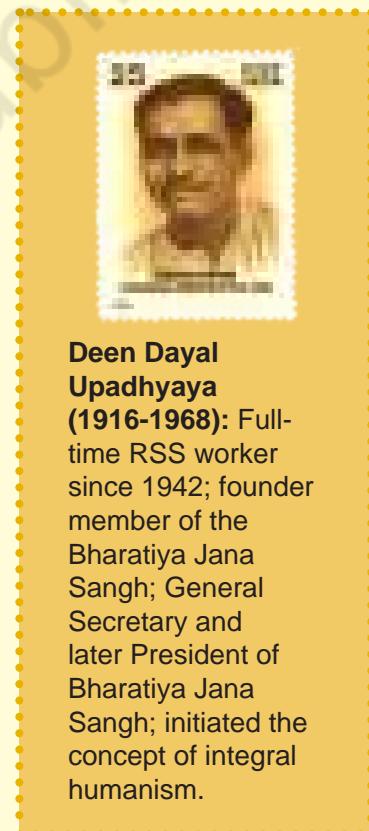


The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 with Shyama Prasad Mukherjee as its founder-President. Its lineage however can be traced back to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Hindu Mahasabha before Independence.

The Jana Sangh was different from other parties in terms of ideology and programmes. It emphasised the idea of one country, one culture and one nation and believed that the country could become modern, progressive and strong on the basis of Indian culture and traditions. The party called for a reunion of India and Pakistan in Akhand Bharat. The party was in forefront of the agitation to replace English with Hindi as the official language of India

and was also opposed to the granting of concessions to religious and cultural minorities. The party was a consistent advocate of India developing nuclear weapons especially after China carried out its atomic tests in 1964.

In the 1950s Jana Sangh remained on the margins of the electoral politics and was able to secure only 3 Lok Sabha seats in 1952 elections and 4 seats in 1957 general elections to Lok Sabha. In the early years its support came mainly from the urban areas in the Hindi speaking states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. The party's leaders included Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya and Balraj Madhok. The Bharatiya Janata Party traces its roots to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.



Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (1916-1968): Full-time RSS worker since 1942; founder member of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh; General Secretary and later President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh; initiated the concept of integral humanism.

the Congress. Since there was room within the party for various factions to fight with each other, it meant that leaders representing different interests and ideologies remained within the Congress rather than go out and form a new party.

Most of the state units of the Congress were made up of numerous factions. The factions took different ideological positions making the Congress appear as a grand centrist party. The other parties primarily attempted to influence these factions and thereby indirectly influenced policy and decision making from the "margins". They were far removed from the actual exercise of authority. They were not alternatives to the ruling party; instead they constantly pressurised and criticised, censured and influenced the Congress. The system of factions functioned as balancing mechanism within the ruling party. Political competition therefore took place within the Congress. In that sense, in the first decade of electoral competition the Congress acted both as the ruling party as well as the opposition. That is why this period of Indian politics has been described as the 'Congress system'.

I thought factions
were a disease that
needed to be cured.
You make it sound
as if factions are
normal and good.

Credit: Shankar



"Tug of War" (29 August 1954) is a cartoonist's impression of the relative strength of the opposition and the government. Sitting on the tree are Nehru and his cabinet colleagues. Trying to topple the tree are opposition leaders A. K. Gopalan, Acharya Kripalani, N.C. Chatterjee, Srikantan Nair and Sardar Hukum Singh.

As we have noted above, it is not that India did not have opposition parties during this period. While discussing the results of the elections, we have already come across the names of many parties other than the Congress. Even then India had a larger number of diverse and vibrant opposition parties than many other multi-party democracies. Some of these had come into being even before the first general election of 1952. Some of these parties played an important part in the politics of the country in the 'sixties and 'seventies. The roots of almost all the non-Congress parties of today can be traced to one or the other of the opposition parties of the 1950s.

All these opposition parties succeeded in gaining only a token representation in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies during this period. Yet their presence played a crucial role in maintaining the democratic character of the system. These parties offered a sustained and often principled criticism of the policies and practices of the Congress party. This kept the ruling party under check and often changed the balance of power within the Congress. By keeping democratic political alternative alive,

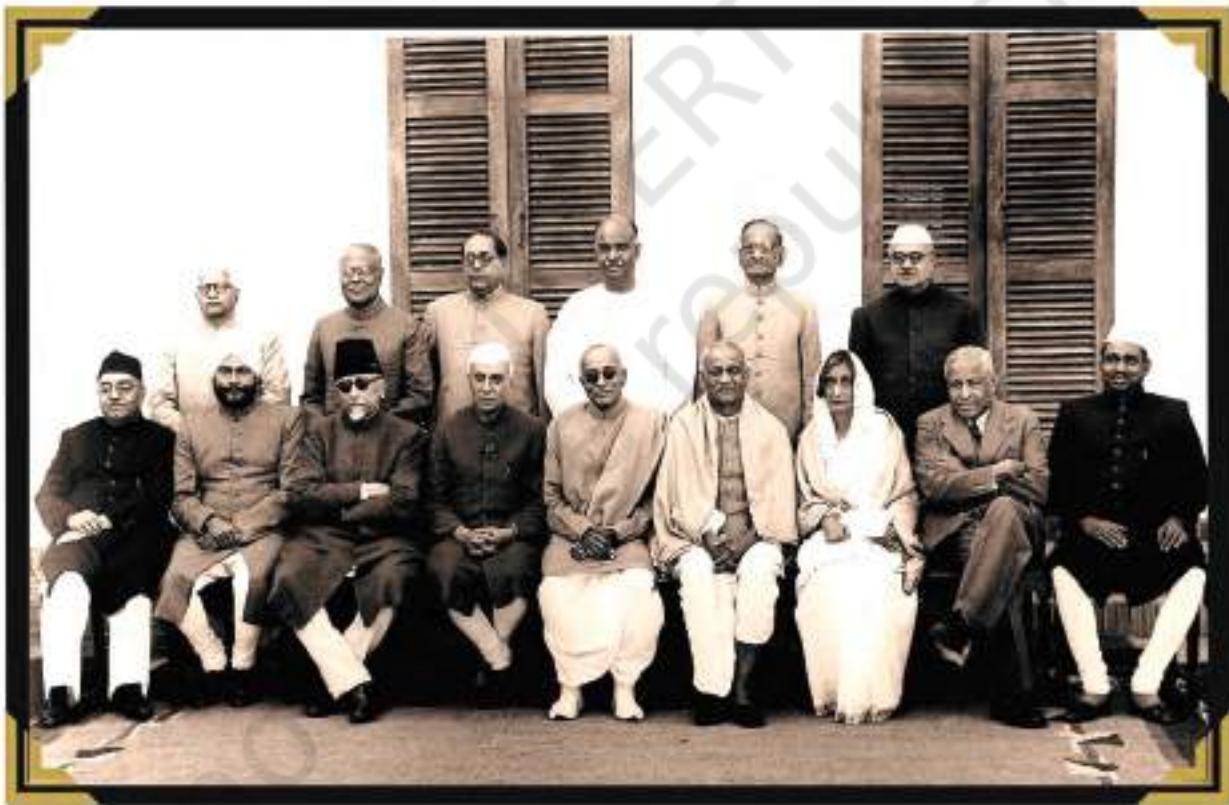
these parties prevented the resentment with the system from turning anti-democratic. These parties also groomed the leaders who were to play a crucial role in the shaping of our country.

In the early years there was a lot of mutual respect between the leaders of the Congress and those of the opposition. The interim government that ruled the country after the declaration of Independence and the first general election included opposition leaders like Dr. Ambedkar and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee in the cabinet. Jawaharlal Nehru often referred to his fondness for the Socialist Party and invited socialist leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan to join his government. This kind of personal relationship with and respect for political adversaries declined after the party competition grew more intense.

Thus this first phase of democratic politics in our country was quite unique. The inclusive character of the national movement led by the Congress enabled it to attract different sections, groups and interests making it a broad based social and ideological

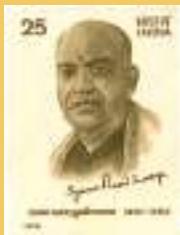
“.....Tandon's election is considered (by Congress members) more important than my presence in the Govt or the Congress..... .. .I have completely exhausted my utility both in the Congress and Govt.”

Jawaharlal Nehru
in a letter to Rajaji, after the election of Tandon as Congress president against his wishes.



Nehru's Cabinet after the swearing-in of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari as Governor-General in 1948. Sitting from left to right: Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Baldev Singh, Maulana Azad, Prime Minister Nehru, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mr. John Matthai and Jagjivan Ram. Standing from left to right: Mr. Gadgil, Mr. Neogi, Dr. Ambedkar, Shyama Prasad Mukherji, Mr. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Mr. Jayramdas Daulatram.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee (1901-1953): Leader of Hindu Mahasabha; founder of Bharatiya Jana Sangh; Minister in Nehru's first cabinet after Independence; resigned in 1950 due to differences over relations with Pakistan; Member of Constituent Assembly and later, the first Lok Sabha; was opposed to India's policy of autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir; arrested during Jana Sangh's agitation against Kashmir policy; died during detention.



coalition. The key role of the Congress in the freedom struggle thus gave it a head start over others. As the ability of the Congress to accommodate all interests and all aspirants for political power steadily declined, other political parties started gaining greater significance. Thus, Congress dominance constitutes only one phase in the politics of the country. We shall come to the other phases in later parts of this textbook.

EXERCISES

1. Choose the correct option to fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The First General Elections in 1952 involved simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha and(The President of India/ State Assemblies/ Rajya Sabha/ The Prime Minister)
 - (b) The party that won the second largest number of Lok Sabha seats in the first elections was the.....(Praja Socialist Party/ Bharatiya Jana Sangh/ Communist Party of India/Bharatiya Janata Party)
 - (c) One of the guiding principles of the ideology of the Swatantra Party was.....(Working class interests/ protection of Princely States / economy free from State control / Autonomy of States within the Union)

2. Match the following leaders listed in List A with the parties in List B.

List A	List B
(a) S. A. Dange	i. Bharatiya Jana Sangh
(b) Shyama Prasad Mukherjee	ii. Swatantra Party
(c) Minoo Masani	iii. Praja Socialist Party
(d) Asoka Mehta	iv. Communist Party of India

3. Four statements regarding one-party dominance are given below. Mark each of them as true or false.
 - (a) One-party dominance is rooted in the absence of strong alternative political parties.
 - (b) One-party dominance occurs because of weak public opinion.
 - (c) One-party dominance is linked to the nation's colonial past.
 - (d) One-party dominance reflects the absence of democratic ideals in a country.

4. Take a political map of India (with State outlines) and mark:

- (a) two states where Congress was not in power at some point during 1952-67.
- (b) two states where the Congress remained in power through this period.

5. Read the following passage and answer the questions below:

"Patel, the organisational man of the Congress, wanted to purge the Congress of other political groups and sought to make of it a cohesive and disciplined political party. He sought to take the Congress away from its all-embracing character and turn it into a close-knit party of disciplined cadres. Being a 'realist' he looked more for discipline than for comprehension. While Gandhi took too romantic a view of "carrying on the movement," Patel's idea of transforming the Congress into strictly political party with a single ideology and tight discipline showed an equal lack of understanding of the eclectic role that the Congress, as a government, was to be called upon to perform in the decades to follow." — RAJNI KOTHARI

- (a) Why does the author think that Congress should not have been a cohesive and disciplined party?
- (b) Give some examples of the eclectic role of the Congress party in the early years.
- (c) Why does the author say that Gandhi's view about Congress' future was romantic?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

Make a chart of elections and governments in your State since 1952. The chart could have the following columns: year of election, name of the winning party, name of ruling party or parties, name of the Chief Minister(s).



In this chapter...

In the last two chapters we have studied how the leaders of independent India responded to the challenges of nation-building and establishing democracy. Let us now turn to the third challenge, that of economic development to ensure well-being of all. As in the case of the first two challenges, our leaders chose a path that was different and difficult. In this case their success was much more limited, for this challenge was tougher and more enduring.

In this chapter, we study the story of political choices involved in some of the key questions of economic development.

- What were the key choices and debates about development?
- Which strategy was adopted by our leaders in the first two decades? And why?
- What were the main achievements and limitations of this strategy?
- Why was this development strategy abandoned in later years?

Stamps like these, issued mostly between 1955 and 1968, depicted a vision of planned development. Left to right, top to bottom: Damodar Valley, Bhakra Dam, Chittaranjan Locomotives, Gauhati Refinery, Tractor, Sindri Fertilisers, Bhakra Dam, Electric Train, Wheat Revolution, Hirakud Dam, Hindustan Aircraft Factory

CHAPTER 3

POLITICS OF PLANNED DEVELOPMENT



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As the global demand for steel increases, Orissa, which has one of the largest reserves of untapped iron ore in the country, is being seen as an important investment destination. The State government hopes to cash in on this unprecedented demand for iron ore and has signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with both international and domestic steel makers. The government believes that this would bring in necessary capital investment and provide a lot of employment opportunities. The iron ore resources lie in some of the most underdeveloped and predominantly tribal districts of the state. The tribal population fears that the setting up of industries would mean displacement from their home and livelihood. The environmentalists fear that mining and industry would pollute the environment. The central government feels that if the industry is not allowed it would set a bad example and discourage investments in the country.

Can you identify the various interests involved in this case? What are their key points of conflict? Do you think there are any common points on which everyone can agree? Can this issue be resolved in a way which satisfies all the various interests? As you ask these questions, you would find yourself facing yet bigger questions. What kind of development does Orissa need? Indeed, whose need can be called Orissa's need?

Political contestation

These questions cannot be answered by an expert. Decisions of this kind involve weighing the interests of one social group against another, present generation against future generations. In a democracy such major decisions should be taken or at least approved by the people themselves. It is important to take advice from experts on mining, from environmentalists and from economists. Yet the final decision must be a political decision, taken by people's representatives who are in touch with the feelings of the people.

After Independence our country had to make a series of major decisions like this. Each of these decisions could not be made independent of other such decisions. All these decisions were bound together by a shared vision or model of economic development. Almost everyone agreed

Orissa villagers protest against POSCO plant

Staff Reporter

BHUBANESWAR: People facing displacement by the proposed POSCO-India steel plant in Jagatsinghpur district staged a demonstration outside the Korean company's office here on Thursday. They were demanding cancellation of the memorandum of understanding signed between the company and the Orissa government one year ago.

More than 100 men and women from the gram panchayats of Dhinkia, Nuagaon and Gadakujanga tried to enter the office premises but the police prevented them. Raising slogans, the protesters said the company should not be allowed to set up its plant at the cost of their lives and livelihood. The demonstration was organised by the Rashtriya Yuva Sangathan and the Nabaniyam Samiti.

The Hindu, 23 June 2006

What is Left and what is Right?

In the politics of most countries, you will always come across references to parties and groups with a Left or Right ideology or leaning. These terms characterise the position of the concerned groups or parties regarding social change and role of the state in effecting economic redistribution. Left often refers to those who are in favour of state control of the economy and prefers state regulation over free competition. The Right refers to those who believe that free competition and market economy alone ensure progress and that the government should not unnecessarily intervene in the economy.

Can you tell which of the parties in the 1960s were Rightist and which were the Left parties? Where would you place the Congress party of that time?

that the development of India should mean both economic growth and social and economic justice. It was also agreed that this matter cannot be left to businessmen, industrialists and farmers themselves, that the government should play a key role in this. There was disagreement, however, on the kind of role that the government must play in ensuring growth with justice. Was it necessary to have a centralised institution to plan for the entire country? Should the government itself run some key industries and business? How much importance was to be attached to the needs of justice if it differed from the requirements of economic growth?

Each of these questions involved contestation which has continued ever since. Each of the decision had political consequence. Most of these issues involved political judgement and required consultations among political parties and approval of the public. That is why we need to study the process of development as a part of the history of politics in India.

Ideas of development

Very often this contestation involves the very idea of development. The example of Orissa shows us that it is not enough to say that everyone wants development. For 'development' has different meanings for different sections of the people. Development would mean different things for example, to an industrialist who is planning to set up a steel plant, to an urban consumer of steel and to the Adivasi who lives in that region. Thus any discussion on development is bound to generate contradictions, conflicts and debates.

The first decade after Independence witnessed a lot of debate around this question. It was common then, as it is even now, for people to refer to the 'West' as the standard for measuring development. 'Development' was about becoming more 'modern' and modern was about becoming more like the industrialised countries of the West. This is how common people as well as the experts thought. It was believed that every country would go through the process of modernisation as in the West, which involved the breakdown of traditional social structures and the rise of capitalism and liberalism. Modernisation was also associated with the ideas of growth, material progress and scientific rationality. This kind of idea of development allowed

everyone to talk about different countries as developed, developing or underdeveloped.

On the eve of Independence, India had before it, two models of modern development: the liberal-capitalist model as in much of Europe and the US and the socialist model as in the USSR. You have already studied these two ideologies and read about the 'cold war' between the two super powers. There were many in India then who were deeply impressed by the Soviet model of development. These included not just the leaders of the Communist Party of India, but also those of the Socialist Party and leaders like Nehru within the Congress. There were very few supporters of the American style capitalist development.

This reflected a broad consensus that had developed during the national movement. The nationalist leaders were clear that the economic concerns of the government of free India would have to be different from the narrowly defined commercial functions of the colonial government. It was clear, moreover, that the task of poverty alleviation and social and economic redistribution was being seen primarily as the responsibility of the government. There were debates among them. For some, industrialisation seemed to be the preferred path. For others, the development of agriculture and in particular alleviation of rural poverty was the priority.

Planning

Despite the various differences, there was a consensus on one point: that development could not be left to private actors, that there was the need for the government to develop a design or plan for development.

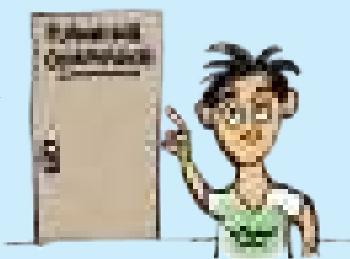
Are you saying we don't have to be western in order to be modern? Is that possible?



Credit: Hindustan Times

Nehru
addressing
the staff of
the Planning
Commission

Credit:Ninan



I wonder if the Planning Commission has actually followed these objectives in practice.

Fast Forward ► Niti Aayog

The Government of India replaced the Planning Commission with a new institution named NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India). This came into existence on 1 January 2015. Find out about its objectives and composition from the website, <http://niti.gov.in>

Planning Commission

Do you recall any reference to the Planning Commission in your book *Constitution at Work* last year? Actually there was none, for the Planning Commission is not one of the many commissions and other bodies set up by the Constitution. The Planning Commission was set up in March, 1950 by a simple resolution of the Government of India. It has an advisory role and its recommendations become effective only when the Union Cabinet approved these. The resolution which set up the Commission defined the scope of its work in the following terms :

"The Constitution of India has guaranteed certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India and enunciated certain Directive Principles of State Policy, in particular, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting....a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things,

- (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

In fact the idea of planning as a process of rebuilding economy earned a good deal of public support in the 1940s and 1950s all over the world. The experience of Great Depression in Europe, the inter-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany, and most of all the spectacular economic growth against heavy odds in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to this consensus.

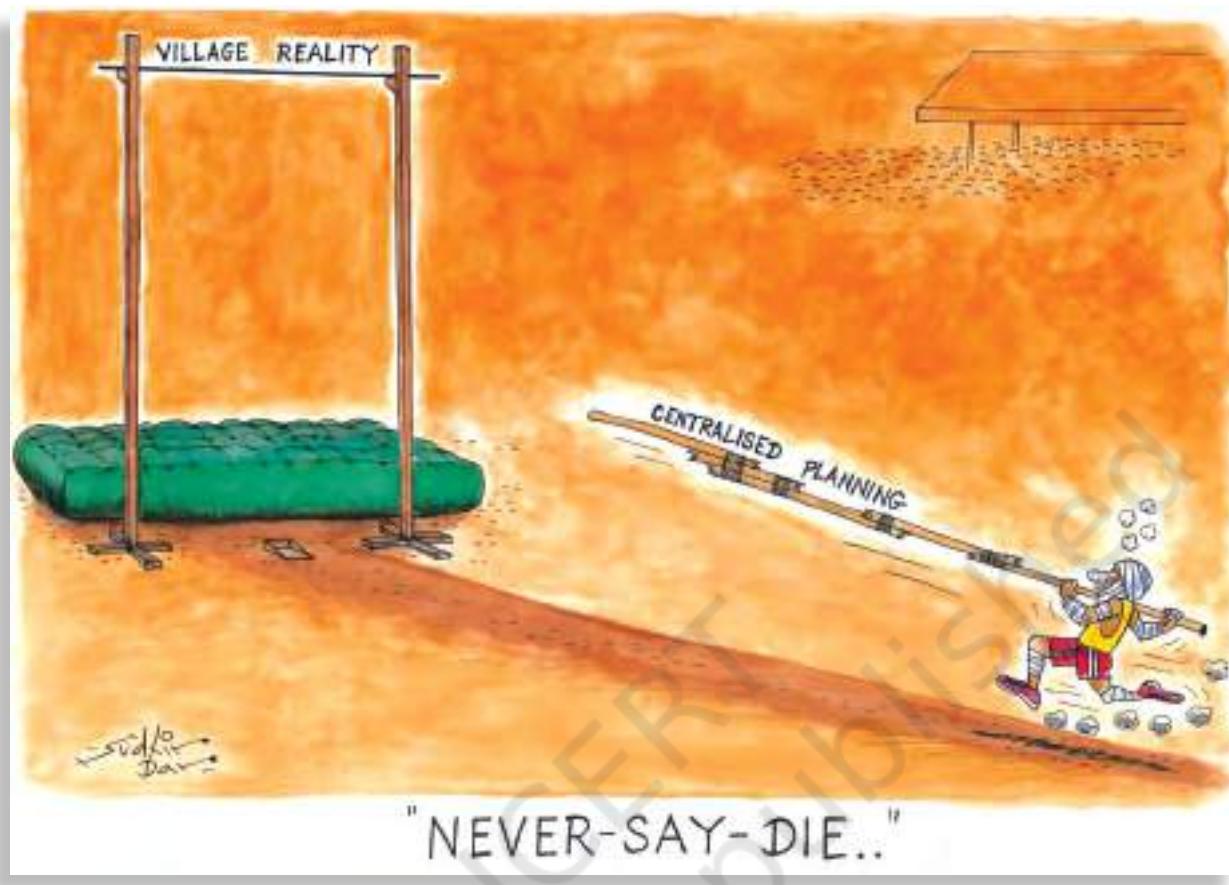
Thus the Planning Commission was not a sudden invention. In fact, it has a very interesting history. We commonly assume that private investors, such as industrialists and big business entrepreneurs, are averse to ideas of planning: they seek an open economy without any state control in the flow of capital. That was not what happened here. Rather, a section of the big industrialists got together in 1944 and drafted a joint proposal for setting up a planned economy in the country. It was called the Bombay Plan. The Bombay Plan wanted the state to take major initiatives in industrial and other economic investments. Thus, from left to right, planning for development was the most obvious choice for the country after Independence. Soon after India became independent, the Planning Commission came into being. The Prime Minister was its Chairperson. It became the most influential and central machinery for deciding what path and strategy India would adopt for its development.

The Early Initiatives

As in the USSR, the Planning Commission of India opted for five year plans (FYP). The idea is very simple: the Government of India prepares a document that has a plan for all its income and expenditure for the next five years. Accordingly the budget of the central and all the State



governments is divided into two parts: 'non-plan' budget that is spent on routine items on a yearly basis and 'plan' budget that is spent on



Credit: Sudhir Dar/UNDP and Planning Commission

a five year basis as per the priorities fixed by the plan. A five year plan has the advantage of permitting the government to focus on the larger picture and make long-term intervention in the economy.

The draft of the First Five Year Plan and then the actual Plan Document, released in December 1951, generated a lot of excitement in the country. People from all walks of life – academics, journalists, government and private sector employees, industrialists, farmers, politicians etc. – discussed and debated the documents extensively. The excitement with planning reached its peak with the launching of the Second Five Year Plan in 1956 and continued somewhat till the Third Five Year Plan in 1961. The Fourth Plan was due to start in 1966. By this time, the novelty of planning had declined considerably, and moreover, India was facing acute economic crisis. The government decided to take a ‘plan holiday’. Though many criticisms emerged both about the process and the priorities of these plans, the foundation of India’s economic development was firmly in place by then.



First Five Year Plan document

The First Five Year Plan

The First Five Year Plan (1951–1956) sought to get the country's economy out of the cycle of poverty. K.N. Raj, a young economist involved in drafting the plan, argued that India should 'hasten slowly' for the first two decades as a fast rate of development might endanger democracy. The First Five Year Plan addressed, mainly, the agrarian sector including investment in dams and irrigation. Agricultural sector was hit hardest by Partition and needed urgent attention. Huge allocations were made for large-scale projects like the Bhakhra Nangal Dam. The Plan identified the pattern of land distribution in the country as the principal obstacle in the way of agricultural growth. It focused on land reforms as the key to the country's development.

One of the basic aims of the planners was to raise the level of national income, which could be possible only if the people saved more money than they spent. As the basic level of spending was very low in the 1950s, it could not be reduced any more. So the planners sought to push savings up. That too was difficult as the total capital stock in the country was rather low compared to the total number of employable people. Nevertheless, people's savings did rise in the first phase of the planned process until the end of the Third Five Year Plan. But, the rise was not as spectacular as was expected at the beginning of the First Plan. Later, from the early 1960s till the early 1970s, the proportion of savings in the country actually dropped consistently.

Rapid Industrialisation

The Second FYP stressed on heavy industries. It was drafted by a team of economists and planners under the leadership of P. C. Mahalanobis. If the first plan had preached patience, the second wanted to bring about quick structural transformation by making changes simultaneously in all possible directions. Before this plan was finalised, the Congress party at its session held at Avadi near the then Madras city, passed an important resolution. It declared that 'socialist pattern of society' was its goal. This was reflected in the Second Plan. The government imposed substantial tariffs on imports in order to protect domestic industries. Such protected environment helped both public and private sector industries to grow. As savings and investment were growing in this period, a bulk of these industries like electricity, railways, steel, machineries and communication could be developed in the public sector. Indeed, such a push for industrialisation marked a turning point in India's development.



Tenth Five Year Plan document



P.C. Mahalanobis (1893-1972):
Scientist and statistician of international repute; founder of Indian Statistical Institute (1931); architect of the Second Plan; supporter of rapid industrialisation and active role of the public sector.

It, however, had its problems as well. India was technologically backward, so it had to spend precious foreign exchange to buy technology from the global market. That apart, as industry attracted more investment than agriculture, the possibility of food shortage loomed large. The Indian planners found balancing industry and agriculture really difficult. The Third Plan was not significantly different from the Second. Critics pointed out that the plan strategies from this time around displayed an unmistakable “urban bias”. Others thought that industry was wrongly given priority over agriculture. There were also those who wanted focus on agriculture-related industries rather than heavy ones.

EXERCISES

1. Which of these statements about the Bombay Plan is incorrect?

(a) It was a blueprint for India's economic future. (b) It supported state-ownership of industry. (c) It was made by some leading industrialists. (d) It supported strongly the idea of planning.
--
2. Which of the following ideas did not form part of the early phase of India's development policy?

(a) Planning (b) Liberalisation	(c) Cooperative Farming (d) Self sufficiency
------------------------------------	---
3. The idea of planning in India was drawn from

(a) the Bombay plan (b) experiences of the Soviet bloc countries i. b and d only ii. d and c only	(c) Gandhian vision of society (d) Demand by peasant organisations iii. a and b only iv. all the above
--	---
4. Match the following.

(a) Charan Singh (b) P C Mahalanobis (c) Bihar Famine (d) Verghese Kurien	i. Industrialisation ii. Zoning iii. Farmers iv. Milk Cooperatives
--	---
5. What were the major differences in the approach towards development at the time of Independence? Has the debate been resolved?
6. What was the major thrust of the First Five Year Plan? In which ways did the Second Plan differ from the first one?
7. Read the following passage and answer the questions below:
“In the early years of Independence, two contradictory tendencies were already well advanced inside the Congress party. On the one

hand, the national party executive endorsed socialist principles of state ownership, regulation and control over key sectors of the economy in order to improve productivity and at the same time curb economic concentration. On the other hand, the national Congress government pursued liberal economic policies and incentives to private investment that was justified in terms of the sole criterion of achieving maximum increase in production. — FRANCINE FRANKEL

- (a) What is the contradiction that the author is talking about? What would be the political implications of a contradiction like this?
- (b) If the author is correct, why is it that the Congress was pursuing this policy? Was it related to the nature of the opposition parties?
- (c) Was there also a contradiction between the central leadership of the Congress party and its State level leaders?



Credit: NMML

In this chapter...

Thus far we have focussed in this book on the developments within the country and on domestic challenges. We now turn to the external challenges. Here too our leaders faced the challenge with an innovative response by way of the policy of non-alignment. But they also found themselves in conflict with neighbours. This led to three wars in 1962, 1965 and 1971. These wars, and the external relations in general, were shaped by and had their impact on the politics in the country.

In this chapter we study the story of this relationship between the external and the internal politics by focussing on

- the international context that shaped India's external relations;
- the operational principles that informed the country's foreign policy;
- the history of India's relations with China and Pakistan; and
- the evolution of India's nuclear policy.

Nehru with Nkrumah from Ghana, Nasser from Egypt, Sukarno from Indonesia and Tito from Yugoslavia at a meeting of non-aligned nations, New York, October 1960. These five comprised the core leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

CHAPTER 4

INDIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS



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International context

India was born as an independent nation-state in a very trying and challenging international context. The world had witnessed a devastating war and was grappling with issues of reconstruction; yet another attempt to establish an international body was underway; many new countries were emerging as a result of the collapse of colonialism; and most new nations were trying to come to terms with the twin challenges of welfare and democracy. Free India's foreign policy reflected all these concerns in the period immediately after Independence. Apart from these factors at the global level, India had its own share of concerns. The British government left behind the legacy of many international disputes; Partition created its own pressures, and the task of poverty alleviation was already waiting for fulfilment. This was the overall context in which India started participating in the world affairs as an independent nation-state.

As a nation born in the backdrop of the world war, India decided to conduct its foreign relations with an aim to respect the sovereignty of all other nations and to achieve security through the maintenance of peace. This aim finds an echo in the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Just as both internal and external factors guide the behaviour of an individual or a family, both domestic and international environment influence the foreign policy of a nation. The developing countries lack the required resources to effectively advocate their concerns in the international system. So they pursue more modest goals than the advanced states. They focus more on peace and development in their own neighbourhood. Moreover, their economic and security dependence on the more powerful states occasionally influences their foreign policy. In the period immediately after the Second World War, many developing nations chose to support the foreign policy preferences of the powerful countries who were giving them aid or credits. This resulted in the division of countries of the world into two clear camps. One was under the influence of the United States and its western allies and the other was under the influence of the then Soviet Union. There was also the experiment called Non-Aligned Movement in which India had played an important role. However, the end of the Cold War changed the context of international relations entirely. But when India achieved its freedom and started framing

“ What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. That is the test of independence. All else is local autonomy. Once foreign relations go out of your hands into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure you are not independent. ”

Jawaharlal Nehru
during a debate in the Constituent Assembly in March 1949.

The Constitutional principles

Article 51 of the Indian Constitution lays down some Directive Principles of State Policy on 'Promotion of international peace and security'.

"The State shall endeavour to –

- (a) Promote international peace and security
- (b) Maintain just and honourable relations between nations
- (c) Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another; and
- (d) Encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

How well did the Indian state live up to these principles in the first two decades after Independence? You may come back to this question after reading the chapter.

its foreign policy, the Cold War was just beginning and the world was getting divided into these two camps. Did India belong to any of these two camps in global politics of the fifties and the sixties? Was it successful in conducting its foreign policy peacefully and avoiding international conflicts?

The Policy of non-alignment

The Indian national movement was not an isolated process. It was a part of the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism. It influenced the liberation movements of many Asian and African countries. Prior to India's Independence, there were contacts between the nationalist leaders of India and those of other colonies, united as they were in their common struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The creation of the Indian National Army (INA) by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during the Second World War was the clearest manifestation of the linkages established between India and overseas Indians during the freedom struggle.

The foreign policy of a nation reflects the interplay of domestic and external factors. Therefore, the noble ideals that inspired India's struggle for freedom influenced the making of its foreign policy. But India's attainment of independence coincided with the beginning of the Cold War era, a period which was marked by the political, economic, and military confrontation at the global level between the two blocs led by the superpowers, the US and the USSR. The same period also witnessed developments like the establishment of the UN, the creation of nuclear weapons, the emergence of Communist



It's the fourth chapter and it's Nehru once again! Was he a superman or what? Or has his role been glorified?

China, and the beginning of decolonisation. So India's leadership had to pursue its national interests within the prevailing international context.

Nehru's role

The first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru played a crucial role in setting the national agenda. He was his own foreign minister. Thus both as the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, he exercised profound influence in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy from 1946 to 1964. The three major objectives of Nehru's foreign policy were to preserve the hard-earned sovereignty, protect territorial integrity, and promote rapid economic development. Nehru wished to achieve these objectives through the strategy of non-alignment. There were, of course, parties and groups in the country that believed that India should be more friendly with the bloc led by the US because that bloc claimed to be pro-democracy. Among those who thought on these lines were leaders like Dr Ambedkar. Some political parties, which were opposed to communism, also wanted India to follow a pro-US foreign policy. These included the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and later the Swatantra Party. But Nehru possessed considerable leeway in formulating foreign policy.

Distance from two camps

The foreign policy of independent India vigorously pursued the dream of a peaceful world by advocating the policy of non-alignment, by reducing Cold War tensions and by contributing human resources to the UN peacekeeping operations. You might ask why India did not join either of the two camps during the Cold War era. India wanted to keep away from the military alliances led by US and Soviet Union against each other. During the Cold War, the US-led North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact came into existence. India advocated non-alignment as the ideal foreign policy approach. This was a difficult balancing act and sometimes the balance did not appear perfect. In 1956 when Britain attacked Egypt over the Suez Canal issue, India led the world protest against this neo-colonial invasion. But in the same year when the USSR invaded Hungary, India did not join its public condemnation. Despite such a situation, by and large India did take an independent stand on various international issues and could get aid and assistance from members of both the blocs.

While India was trying to convince the other developing countries about the policy of non-alignment, Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances. The US was not happy about India's independent initiatives and the policy of non-alignment. Therefore, there was a considerable

“ Our general policy is to avoid entanglement in power politics and not to join any group of powers as against any other group. The two leading groups today are the Russian bloc and the Anglo-American bloc. We must be friendly to both and yet not join either. Both America and Russia are extraordinarily suspicious of each other as well as of other countries. This makes our path difficult and we may well be suspected by each of leaning towards the other. This cannot be helped. ”

Jawaharlal Nehru
Letter to K .P. S.
Menon, January
1947.



Did we have more recognition and power in the world when we were younger, poorer and more vulnerable than now? Isn't that strange?

“a country without material, men or money – the three means of power – is now fast coming to be recognised as the biggest moral power in the civilised world...her word listened to with respect in the councils of the great.

”

C. Rajagopalachari
Letter to Edwina Mountbatten, 1950.

unease in Indo-US relations during the 1950s. The US also resented India's growing partnership with the Soviet Union.

You have studied in the last chapter, the strategy of planned economic development adopted by India. This policy emphasised import-substitution. The emphasis on developing a resource base also meant that export oriented growth was limited. This development strategy limited India's economic interaction with the outside world.

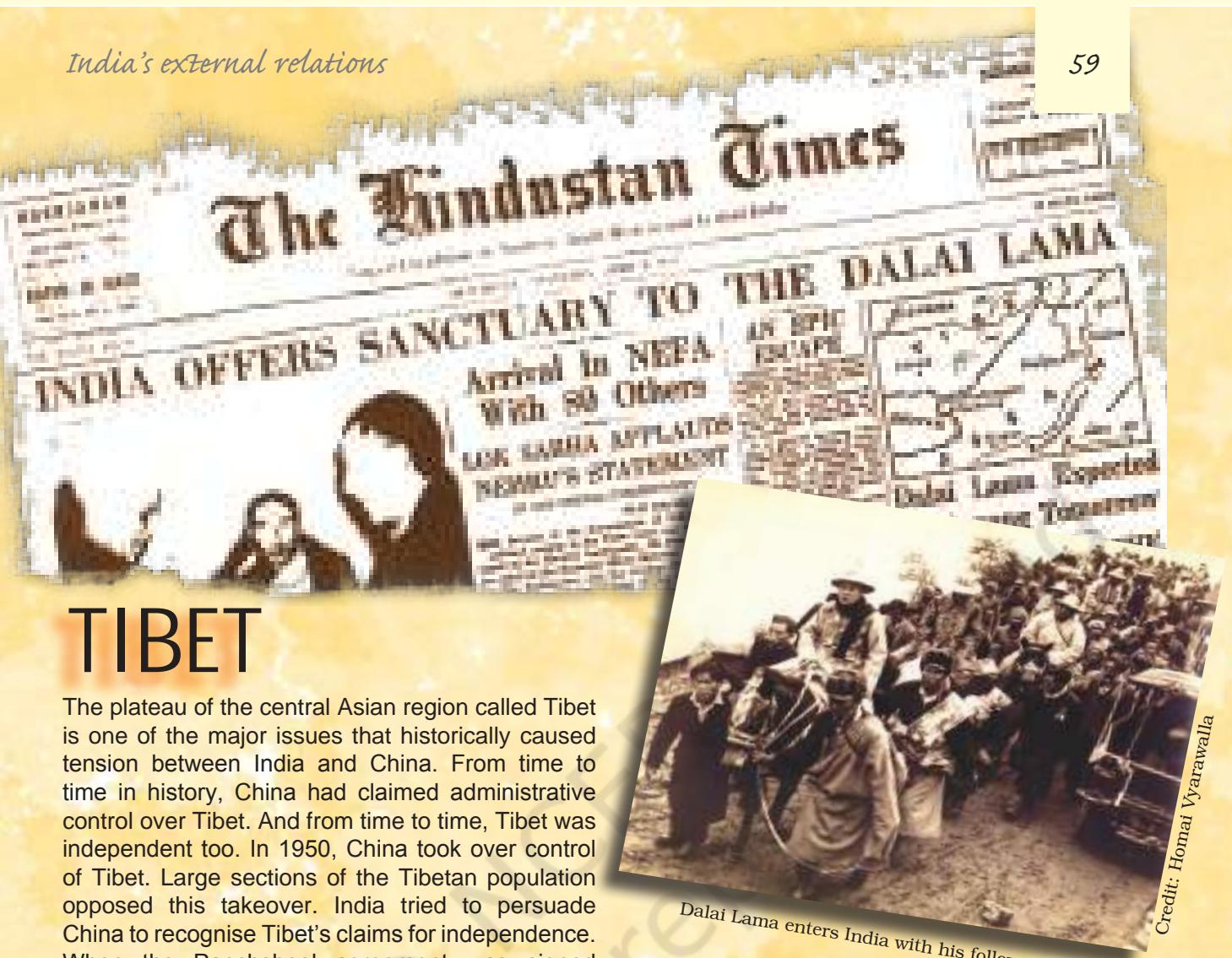
Afro-Asian unity

Yet, given its size, location and power potential, Nehru envisaged a major role for India in world affairs and especially in Asian affairs. His era was marked by the establishment of contacts between India and other newly independent states in Asia and Africa. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Nehru had been an ardent advocate of Asian unity. Under his leadership, India convened the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, five months ahead of attaining its independence. India made earnest efforts for the early realisation of freedom of Indonesia from the Dutch colonial regime by convening an international conference in 1949 to support its freedom struggle. India was a staunch supporter of the decolonisation process and firmly opposed racism, especially apartheid in South Africa. The Afro-Asian conference held in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955, commonly known as the Bandung Conference, marked the zenith of India's engagement with the newly independent Asian and African nations. The Bandung Conference later led to the establishment of the NAM. The First Summit of the NAM was held in Belgrade in September 1961. Nehru was a co-founder of the NAM.

Peace and conflict with China

Unlike its relationship with Pakistan, free India began its relationship with China on a very friendly note. After the Chinese revolution in 1949, India was one of the first countries to recognise the communist government. Nehru felt strongly for this neighbour that was coming out of the shadow of western domination and helped the new government in international fora. Some of his colleagues, like Vallabhbhai Patel, were worried about a possible Chinese aggression in future. But Nehru thought it was 'exceedingly unlikely' that India will face an attack from China. For a very long time, the Chinese border was guarded by para-military forces, not the army.

The joint enunciation of Panchsheel, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, by the Indian Prime Minister Nehru and the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai on 29 April 1954 was a step in the direction of stronger relationship between the two countries. Indian and Chinese leaders visited each other's country and were greeted by large and friendly crowds.



TIBET

The plateau of the central Asian region called Tibet is one of the major issues that historically caused tension between India and China. From time to time in history, China had claimed administrative control over Tibet. And from time to time, Tibet was independent too. In 1950, China took over control of Tibet. Large sections of the Tibetan population opposed this takeover. India tried to persuade China to recognise Tibet's claims for independence. When the Panchsheel agreement was signed between India and China in 1954, through one of its clauses about respecting each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, India conceded China's claim over Tibet. The Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama accompanied the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai during the official Chinese visit to India in 1956. He informed Nehru about the worsening situation in Tibet. But China had already assured India that Tibet will be given greater autonomy than enjoyed by any other region of China. In 1958, there was armed uprising in Tibet against China's occupation. This was suppressed by the Chinese forces. Sensing that the situation had become worse, in 1959, the Dalai Lama crossed over into the Indian border and sought asylum which was granted. The Chinese government strongly protested against this. Over the last half century, a large number of Tibetans have also sought refuge in India and many other countries of the world. In India, particularly in Delhi, there are large settlements of Tibetan refugees. Dharmashala in Himachal Pradesh is perhaps the largest refuge settlement of Tibetans in India. The Dalai Lama has also made Dharmashala his home in India. In the 1950s and 1960s many political leaders and parties in India including the Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh supported the cause of Tibet's independence.

China has created the Tibet autonomous region, which is an integral part of China. Tibetans oppose the Chinese claim that Tibet is part of Chinese territory. They also oppose the policy of bringing into Tibet more and more Chinese settlers. Tibetans dispute China's claim that autonomy is granted to the region. They think that China wants to undermine the traditional religion and culture of Tibet.



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.



The Hindustan Times Weekly

Indian troops fall back in NEFA and Ladakh

1962

Dhola Khiamzang posts abandoned

Chinese advance pushed at heavy cost

We will not live

China has numerical and logistic edge

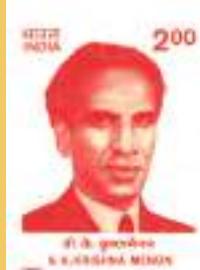
Hindi Chini Bye Bye?

Amul
Attack this instead

China roller evidence under construction.



Credit: R. K. Laxman



V.K. Krishna Menon (1897-1974): Diplomat and minister; active in the Labour Party in UK between 1934-1947; Indian High

Commissioner in UK and later head of India's delegation to UN; Rajya Sabha MP and later Lok Sabha MP; member of the Union Cabinet from 1956; Defence Minister since 1957; considered very close to Nehru; resigned after the India-China war in 1962.

The Chinese invasion, 1962

“Frankly ... my impression (of Zhou Enlai) was very favourable.the Chinese premier is, I believe a good type of man and trustworthy.**”**

C. Rajagopalachari
In a letter, December 1956

Two developments strained this relationship. China annexed Tibet in 1950 and thus removed a historical buffer between the two countries. Initially, the government of India did not oppose this openly. But as more information came in about the suppression of Tibetan culture, the Indian government grew uneasy. The Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, sought and obtained political asylum in India in 1959. China alleged that the government of India was allowing anti-China activities to take place from within India.

A little earlier, a boundary dispute had surfaced between India and China. India claimed that the boundary was a matter settled in colonial time, but China said that any colonial decision did not apply. The main dispute was about the western and the eastern end of the long border. China claimed two areas within the Indian territory: Aksai-chin area in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and much of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in what was then called NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency). Between 1957 and 1959, the Chinese occupied the Aksai-chin area and built a strategic road there. Despite a very long correspondence and discussion among top leaders, these differences could not be resolved. Several small border skirmishes between the armies of the two countries took place.

Around this time, while the entire world's attention was on the Cuban Missile crisis involving the two superpowers, China launched a swift and massive invasion in October 1962 on both the disputed regions. The first attack lasted one week and Chinese forces captured some key areas in Arunachal Pradesh. The second wave of attack came next month. While the Indian forces could block the Chinese advances on the western front in Ladakh, in the east the Chinese managed to advance nearly to the entry point of Assam plains. Finally, China declared a unilateral ceasefire and its troops withdrew to where they were before the invasion began.

I heard it from my grandfather. Nehru Ji cried in public when Lata Mangeshkar sang "Ai mere watan ke logo..." after the 1962 war.



The China war dented India's image at home and abroad. India had to approach the Americans and the British for military assistance to tide over the crisis. The Soviet Union remained neutral during the conflict. It induced a sense of national humiliation and at the same time strengthened a spirit of nationalism. Some of the top army commanders either resigned or were retired. Nehru's close associate and the then Defence Minister, V. Krishna Menon, had to leave the cabinet. Nehru's own stature suffered as he was severely criticised for his naïve assessment of the Chinese intentions and the lack of military preparedness. For the first time, a no-confidence motion against his government was moved and debated in the Lok Sabha. Soon thereafter, the Congress lost some key by-elections to Lok Sabha. The political mood of the country had begun to change.

Fast Forward



Sino-Indian relations since 1962

It took more than a decade for India and China to resume normal relations. It was in 1976 that full diplomatic relations were restored between the two countries. Atal Behari Vajpayee was the first top level leader (he was then External Affairs Minister) to visit China in 1979. Later, Rajiv Gandhi became the first Prime Minister after Nehru to visit China. Since then, the emphasis is more on trade relations between the two countries. In the book, *Contemporary World Politics*, you have already read about these developments.

The Sino-Indian conflict affected the opposition as well. This and the growing rift between China and the Soviet Union created irreconcilable differences within the Communist Party of India (CPI). The pro-USSR faction remained within the CPI and moved towards closer ties with the Congress. The other faction was for sometime closer to China and was against any ties with the Congress. The party split in 1964 and the leaders of the latter faction formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M). In the wake of the China war, many leaders of what became CPI (M) were arrested for being pro-China.

The war with China alerted the Indian leadership to the volatile situation in the Northeast region. Apart from being isolated and extremely underdeveloped, this region also presented India with the challenge of national integration and political unity. The process of its reorganisation began soon after the China war. Nagaland was granted statehood; Manipur and Tripura, though Union Territories, were given the right to elect their own legislative assemblies.

Let's watch a Film

HAQEEQAT



A small platoon of Indian army is rescued by the gypsies in Ladakh region. The enemy has surrounded their post. Capt. Bahadur Singh and his gypsy girlfriend Kammo help the *jawans* vacate their posts. Both Bahadur Singh and Kammo die while resisting the Chinese but the *jawans* too, are overpowered by the enemy and lay down their lives for the country.

Set in the backdrop of the China war of 1962, this film portrays the soldier and his travails as its central theme. It pays tribute to the soldiers while depicting their plight, and the political frustration over the betrayal by the Chinese. The film uses documentary footage of war scenes and is considered as one of the early war films made in Hindi.

Year: 1964

Director: Chetan Anand

Actors: Dharmendra, Priya Rajvansh, Balraj Sahni, Jayant, Sudhir, Sanjay Khan, Vijay Anand

Wars and Peace with Pakistan

In the case of Pakistan, the conflict started just after Partition over the dispute on Jammu and Kashmir. You will read more about the dispute in Chapter 7. A proxy war broke out between the Indian and Pakistani armies in Jammu and Kashmir during 1947 itself. But this did not turn into a full war. The issue was then referred to the UN. Pakistan soon emerged as a critical factor in India's relations with the US and subsequently with China.

The Kashmir conflict did not prevent cooperation between the governments of India and Pakistan. Both the governments worked together to restore the women abducted during Partition to their original families. A long-term dispute about the sharing of river waters was resolved through mediation by the World Bank. The India-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in 1960. Despite all ups and downs in the Indo-Pak relations, this treaty has worked well.

A more serious armed conflict between the two countries began in 1965. As you would read in the next chapter, by then Lal Bahadur Shastri had taken over as the Prime Minister. In April 1965 Pakistan launched armed attacks in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat. This was followed by a bigger offensive in Jammu and Kashmir in August-September. Pakistani rulers were hoping to get support from the local population there, but it did not happen. In order to ease the pressure on the Kashmir front, Shastri ordered Indian troops to launch a counter-offensive on the Punjab border. In a fierce battle, the Indian army reached close to Lahore.

The hostilities came to an end with the UN intervention. Later, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement, brokered by the Soviet Union, in January 1966. Though India could inflict considerable military loss on Pakistan, the 1965 war added to India's already difficult economic situation.

Bangladesh war, 1971

Beginning in 1970, Pakistan faced its biggest internal crisis. The country's first general election produced a split verdict – Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party emerged a winner in West Pakistan, while the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman swept through East Pakistan. The Bengali population of East Pakistan had voted to protest against years of being treated as second class citizens by the rulers based in West Pakistan. The Pakistani rulers were not willing to accept the democratic verdict. Nor were they ready to accept the Awami League's demand for a federation.

Instead, in early 1971, the Pakistani army arrested Sheikh Mujib and unleashed a reign of terror on the people of East Pakistan. In





The Times of India

ANSWER

65

Largest Net Sales among all Daily Newspapers in India.
NO. 246, VOL. CXXVII. * BOMBAY: TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1965.

14 PAGES

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16 PAISE

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"The Times of India" N.

"The Times of India" News Service

massive three-pronged
West Pakistan-
d read



A small rectangular advertisement for contact lenses. It features a woman's face with her eyes closed, and the text "CONTACT LENS" and "REVEALS YOUR EYES".

4 of 111 pages

*English Association on Narcotics and General Health
New Delhi, Tuesday September 7, 1953*

Reprint 2025-26

This sounds like joining the Soviet bloc. Can we say that we were non-aligned even after signing this treaty with the Soviet Union?



Refugee influx threatens peace. India warns Pak



response to this, the people started a struggle to liberate 'Bangladesh' from Pakistan. Throughout 1971, India had to bear the burden of about 80 lakh refugees who fled East Pakistan and took shelter in the neighbouring areas in India. India extended moral and material support to the freedom struggle in Bangladesh. Pakistan accused India of a conspiracy to break it up.

Support for Pakistan came from the US and China. The US-China rapprochement that began in the late 1960s resulted in a realignment of forces in Asia. Henry Kissinger, the adviser to the US President Richard Nixon, made a secret visit to China via Pakistan in July 1971. In order to counter the US-Pakistan-China axis, India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union in August 1971. This treaty assured India of Soviet support if the country faced any attack.

After months of diplomatic tension and military build-up, a full-scale war between India and Pakistan broke out in December 1971. Pakistani aircrafts attacked Punjab and Rajasthan, while the army moved on the Jammu and Kashmir front. India retaliated with an attack involving the air force, navy and the army on both the Western and the Eastern front. Welcomed and supported by the local population, the Indian army made rapid progress in East Pakistan. Within ten days the Indian army had surrounded Dhaka from three sides and the Pakistani army of about 90,000 had to surrender. With Bangladesh as a free country, India declared a unilateral ceasefire. Later, the signing of the Shimla Agreement between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 3 July 1972 formalised the return of peace.

A decisive victory in the war led to national jubilation. Most people in India saw this as a moment of glory and a clear sign of India's growing military prowess. As you would read in the next chapter, Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister at this time. She had already won the Lok Sabha elections in 1971. Her personal popularity soared

Fast Forward Kargil Confrontation



In the early part of 1999 several points on the Indian side of the LoC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar and Batalik areas were occupied by forces claiming to be Mujahideens. Suspecting involvement of the Pakistan Army, Indian forces started reacting to this occupation. This led to a confrontation between the two countries. This is known as the Kargil conflict. This conflict went on during May and June 1999. By 26 July 1999, India had recovered control of many of the lost points. The Kargil conflict drew attention worldwide for the reason that only one year prior to that, both India and Pakistan had attained nuclear capability. However, this conflict remained confined only to the Kargil region. In Pakistan, this conflict has been the source of a major controversy as it was alleged later that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was kept in the dark by the Army Chief. Soon after the conflict, the government of Pakistan was taken over by the Pakistan Army led by the Army Chief, General Pervez Musharraf.

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

BOMBAY: SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1971

2 PAGES
1 PAGE
1/2 PAGE
1/4 PAGE



YAHYA YIELDS TO INDIRA, ENDS WAR Somersault by General as 1971 S. hails Delhi keeps out



Gen. A. A. N. Niazi signing the surrender documents in Dhaka on Thursday. Lt.-Gen. A. K. Singh (left) and Lt.-Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora (right) are also seen.

Remain alert, warn



The surrender document

A.A.K. Niazi dt. L.
Jagjit Singh
Lt.-Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora
Commander-in-Chief, East Pakistan Command (DESTAN)
Lt.-Gen. Abdur Rehman Khan
Administrator, Zone II and
Commander-in-Chief, Law and Order Administration (DESTAN)

16 December 1971.

Twenty Paise

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

New Delhi Tuesday March 18 1972

Twenty Paise

MUJIB TAKES OVER 'BANGLA DESH' JAMES

New Delhi Sunday March 24 1972

Twenty Paise

PAK PLANES BOMB BANGLA DESH

Baluchistan,
NWFP are
also free?

Freedom fighters
blow up bridges

Reprint 2023-26



Cong(N)
majority
in UP no

further after the 1971 war. After the war, assembly elections in most States took place, bringing large majorities for the Congress party in many states.

India, with its limited resources, had initiated development planning. However, conflicts with neighbours derailed the five-year plans. The scarce resources were diverted to the defence sector especially after 1962, as India had to embark on a military modernisation drive. The Department of Defence Production was established in November 1962 and the Department of Defence Supplies in November 1965. The Third Plan (1961-66) was affected and it was followed by three Annual Plans and the Fourth Plan could be initiated only in 1969. India's defence expenditure increased enormously after the wars.

India's nuclear policy

Another crucial development of this period was the first nuclear explosion undertaken by India in May 1974. Nehru had always put his faith in science and technology for rapidly building a modern India. A significant component of his industrialisation plans was the nuclear programme initiated in the late 1940s under the guidance of Homi J. Bhabha. India wanted to generate atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nehru was against nuclear weapons. So he pleaded with the superpowers for comprehensive nuclear disarmament. However, the nuclear arsenal kept rising. When Communist China conducted nuclear tests in October 1964, the five nuclear weapon powers, the US, USSR, UK, France, and China (Taiwan then represented China) – also the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council – tried to impose the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 on the rest of the world. India always considered the NPT as discriminatory and had refused to sign it. When India conducted its first nuclear test, it was termed as peaceful explosion. India argued that it was committed to the policy of using nuclear power only for peaceful purposes.

I am confused! Isn't it all about atom bombs? Why don't we say so?



The period when the nuclear test was conducted was a difficult period in domestic politics. Following the Arab-Israel War of 1973, the entire world was affected by the Oil Shock due to the massive hike in the oil prices by the Arab nations. It led to economic turmoil in India resulting in high inflation. As you will read in Chapter Six, many agitations were going on in the country around this time, including a nationwide railway strike.

Although there are minor differences among political parties about how to conduct external relations, Indian politics is generally marked by a broad agreement among the parties on national integration, protection of international boundaries, and on questions of national interest. Therefore, we find that in the course of the decade of 1962-1971, when India faced three wars, or even later, when different parties came to power from time to time, foreign policy has played only a limited role in party politics.

Fast Forward India's Nuclear Programme



India has opposed the international treaties aimed at non-proliferation since they were selectively applicable to the non-nuclear powers and legitimised the monopoly of the five nuclear weapons powers. Thus, India opposed the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 and also refused to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

India conducted a series of nuclear tests in May 1998, demonstrating its capacity to use nuclear energy for military purposes. Pakistan soon followed, thereby increasing the vulnerability of the region to a nuclear exchange. The international community was extremely critical of the nuclear tests in the subcontinent and sanctions were imposed on both India and Pakistan, which were subsequently waived. India's nuclear doctrine of credible minimum nuclear deterrence professes "no first use" and reiterates India's commitment to global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament leading to a nuclear weapons free world.

Shifting alliances in world politics

As you will read in Chapter Six and also in Chapter Eight, many non-Congress governments came to power in the period starting 1977. This was also the time when world politics was changing dramatically. What did it mean for India's external relations?

The Janata Party government that came to power in 1977 announced that it would follow genuine non-alignment. This implied that the pro-Soviet tilt in the foreign policy will be corrected. Since then, all governments (Congress or non-Congress) have taken initiatives for restoring better relations with China and entering into close ties with US. In Indian politics and in popular mind, India's foreign policy is always very closely linked to two questions. One is India's stand vis-à-vis Pakistan and the other is Indo-US relations. In the post-1990 period the ruling parties have often been criticised for their pro-US foreign policy.

Foreign policy is always dictated by ideas of national interest. In the period after 1990, Russia, though it continues to be an important friend of India, has lost its global pre-eminence. Therefore, India's foreign policy has shifted to a more pro-US strategy. Besides, the contemporary international situation is more influenced by economic interests than by military interests. This has also made an impact on India's foreign policy choices. At the same time, Indo-Pakistan relations have witnessed many new developments during this period. While Kashmir continues to be the main issue between the two countries, there have been many efforts to restore normal relations. This means that cultural exchanges, movement of citizens and economic cooperation would be encouraged by both countries. Do you know that a train and a bus service operate between these two countries? This has been a major achievement of the recent times. But that could not avoid the near-war situation from emerging in 1999. Even after this setback to the peace process, efforts at negotiating durable peace have been going on.

EXERCISES

1. Write 'true' or 'false' against each of these statements.
 - (a) Non-alignment allowed India to gain assistance both from USA and USSR.
 - (b) India's relationship with her neighbours has been strained from the beginning.
 - (c) The cold war has affected the relationship between India and Pakistan.
 - (d) The treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1971 was the result of India's closeness to USA.

2. Match the following

(a) The goal of India's foreign policy in the period 1950-1964 (b) Panchsheel (c) Bandung Conference (d) Dalai Lama	i. Tibetan spiritual leader who crossed over to India ii. Preservation of territorial integrity, sovereignty and economic development iii. Five principles of peaceful coexistence iv. Led to the establishment of NAM
--	---

3. Why did Nehru regard conduct of foreign relations as an essential indicator of independence? State any two reasons with examples to support your reading.

4. "The conduct of foreign affairs is an outcome of a two-way interaction between domestic compulsions and prevailing international climate". Take one example from India's external relations in the 1960s to substantiate your answer.

5. Identify any two aspects of India's foreign policy that you would like to retain and two that you would like to change, if you were to become a decision maker. Give reasons to support your position.

6. Write short notes on the following.
 - (a) India's Nuclear policy
 - (b) Consensus in foreign policy matters

7. India's foreign policy was built around the principles of peace and cooperation. But India fought three wars in a space of ten years between 1962 and 1971. Would you say that this was a failure of the foreign policy? Or would you say that this was a result of international situation? Give reasons to support your answer.

8. Does India's foreign policy reflect her desire to be an important regional power? Argue your case with the Bangladesh war of 1971 as an example.
9. How does political leadership of a nation affect its foreign policy? Explain this with the help of examples from India's foreign policy.
10. Read this passage and answer the questions below:

"Broadly, non-alignment means not tying yourself off with military blocs....It means trying to view things, as far as possible, not from the military point of view, though that has to come in sometimes, but independently, and trying to maintain friendly relations with all countries." — JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- (a) Why does Nehru want to keep off military blocs?
- (b) Do you think that the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty violated the principle of non-alignment? Give reasons for your answer.
- (c) If there were no military blocs, do you think non-alignment would have been unnecessary?



Originally the election symbol of the Congress was a pair of bullocks. This famous cartoon depicts the changes within the Congress leading to a head-on confrontation in the 22nd year after Independence.

In this chapter...

In Chapter Two we read about the emergence of the Congress system. This system was first challenged during the 1960s. As political competition became more intense, the Congress found it difficult to retain its dominance. It faced challenges from the opposition that was more powerful and less divided than before. The Congress also faced challenges from within, as the party could no longer accommodate all kinds of differences. In this chapter we pick the story from where we left it in Chapter Two, in order to

- understand how the political transition took place after Nehru;
- describe how the opposition unity and the Congress split posed a challenge to Congress dominance;
- explain how a new Congress led by Indira Gandhi overcame these challenges; and
- analyse how new policies and ideologies facilitated the restoration of the Congress system.

CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGES TO AND RESTORATION OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM



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Challenge of Political Succession

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru passed away in May 1964. He had been unwell for more than a year. This had generated a lot of speculation about the usual question of succession: after Nehru, who? But in a newly independent country like India, this situation gave rise to a more serious question: after Nehru, what?

The second question arose from the serious doubts that many outsiders had about whether India's democratic experiment will survive after Nehru. It was feared that like so many other newly independent countries, India too would not be able to manage a democratic succession. A failure to do so, it was feared, could lead to a political role for the army. Besides, there were doubts if the new leadership would be able to handle the multiple crises that awaited a solution. The 1960s were labelled as the 'dangerous decade' when



When France or Canada have similar problems, no one talks about failure or disintegration. Why are we under this constant suspicion?



Lal Bahadur Shastri (1904-1966): Prime Minister of India; participated in the freedom movement since 1930; minister in UP cabinet; General Secretary of Congress; Minister in Union Cabinet from 1951 to 1956 when he resigned taking responsibility for the railway accident and later from 1957 to 1964; coined the famous slogan 'Jai Jawan-Jai Kisan'.

unresolved problems like poverty, inequality, communal and regional divisions etc. could lead to a failure of the democratic project or even the disintegration of the country.

From Nehru to Shastri

The ease with which the succession after Nehru took place proved all the critics wrong. When Nehru passed away, K. Kamraj, the president of the Congress party consulted party leaders and Congress members of Parliament and found that there was a consensus in favour of Lal Bahadur Shastri. He was unanimously chosen as the leader of the Congress parliamentary party and thus became the country's next Prime Minister. Shastri was a non-controversial leader from Uttar Pradesh who had been a Minister in Nehru's cabinet for many years. Nehru had come to depend a lot on him in his last year. He was known for his simplicity and his commitment to principles. Earlier he had resigned from the position of Railway Minister accepting moral responsibility for a major railway accident.

Shastri was the country's Prime Minister from 1964 to 1966. During Shastri's brief Prime Ministership, the country faced two major challenges. While India was still recovering from the economic implications of the war with China, failed monsoons, drought and serious food crisis presented a grave challenge. As discussed in the previous chapter, the country also faced a war with Pakistan in 1965. Shastri's famous slogan 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan', symbolised the country's resolve to face both these challenges.

Shastri's Prime Ministership came to an abrupt end on 10 January 1966, when he suddenly expired in Tashkent, then in USSR and currently the capital of Uzbekistan. He was there to discuss and sign an agreement with Muhammad Ayub Khan, the then President of Pakistan, to end the war.

“...new Prime Minister of India, in spite of all forebodings, had been named with more dispatch, and much more dignity, than was the new Prime Minister of Britain.”

Editorial in The Guardian, London, 3 June 1964, comparing the political succession after Nehru with the succession drama after Harold Macmillan in Britain.

From Shastri to Indira Gandhi

Thus the Congress faced the challenge of political succession for the second time in two years. This time there was an intense competition between Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi. Morarji Desai had earlier served as Chief Minister of Bombay state (today's Maharashtra and Gujarat) and also as a Minister at the centre. Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, had been Congress President in the past and had also been Union Minister for Information in the Shastri cabinet. This time the senior leaders in the party decided to back Indira Gandhi, but the decision was not unanimous. The contest was resolved through a secret ballot among Congress MPs. Indira Gandhi defeated Morarji Desai by securing the support of more than two-thirds of the party's MPs. A peaceful transition of power, despite intense competition for leadership, was seen as a sign of maturity of India's democracy.



Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 18 January 1966

It took some time before the new Prime Minister could settle down. While Indira Gandhi had been politically active for very long, she had served as a minister under Lal Bahadur Shastri only for a short period. The senior Congress leaders may have supported Indira Gandhi in the belief that her administrative and political inexperience would compel her to be dependent on them for support and guidance. Within a year of becoming Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi had to lead the party in a Lok Sabha election. Around this time, the economic situation in the country had further deteriorated, adding to her problems. Faced with these difficulties, she set out to gain control over the party and to demonstrate her leadership skills.

Indira Gandhi (1917-1984): Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1977 and 1980 to 1984; daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru; participated in the freedom struggle as a young Congress worker; Congress President in 1958; minister in Shastri's cabinet from 1964-66; led the Congress party to victory in 1967, 1971 and 1980 general elections; credited with the slogan 'garibi hatao', victory in 1971 war and for policy initiatives like abolition of Privy Purse, nationalisation of banks, nuclear test and environmental protection; assassinated on 31 October 1984.





It must have been difficult for her – one woman in a world dominated by men. Why don't we have more women in positions like that?



Credit: Raghu Rai

Fourth General Elections, 1967

The year 1967 is considered a landmark year in India's political and electoral history. In Chapter Two you read about how the Congress party was the dominant political force throughout the country from 1952 onwards. This trend was to undergo significant changes with the 1967 elections.

Context of the elections

In the years leading up to the fourth general elections, the country witnessed major changes. Two Prime Ministers had died in quick succession, and the new Prime Minister, who was being seen as a political novice, had been in office for less than a year. You will recall from the discussion in Chapter Three and in the previous section of this chapter that the period was fraught with grave economic crisis resulting from successive failure of monsoons, widespread drought,

decline in agricultural production, serious food shortage, depletion of foreign exchange reserves, drop in industrial production and exports, combined with a sharp rise in military expenditure and diversion of resources from planning and economic development. One of the first decisions of the Indira Gandhi government was to devalue the Indian rupee, under what was seen to be pressure from the US. Earlier one US dollar could be purchased for less than Rs. 5; after devaluation it cost more than Rs. 7.

The economic situation triggered off price rise. People started protesting against the increase in prices of essential commodities, food scarcity, growing unemployment and the overall economic condition in the country. Bandhs and hartals were called frequently across the country. The government saw the protests as a law and order problem and not as expressions of people's problems. This further increased public bitterness and reinforced popular unrest.

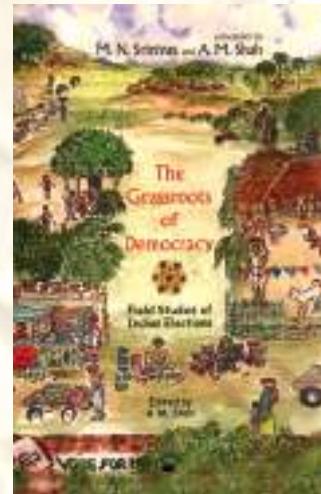
The communist and socialist parties launched struggles for greater equality. You will read in the next chapter about how a group of communists who separated from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) led armed agrarian struggles and organised peasant agitations. This period also witnessed some of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots since Independence.

Non-Congressism

This situation could not have remained isolated from party politics in the country. Opposition parties were in the forefront of organising public protests and pressurising the

Election in a Rajasthan Village

This is a story about 1967 assembly elections. In the Chomu constituency, the main parties in the fray were Congress and the Swatantra party. But village Devisar had its own local political dynamics and it got mixed up with the competition between the two parties. Sher Singh, traditionally dominated village politics, but gradually his nephew, Bhim Singh was emerging as the more popular leader and rival. Though both were Rajputs, Bhim Singh cultivated the support of many non-Rajputs in the village by attending to their requirements after becoming the panchayat Pradhan. So, he struck a new equation—the alliance of Rajputs and non-Rajputs.



He proved to be more adept in building alliances across the village by supporting candidates in other villages for the posts of village Pradhan. In fact, he took an initiative and took a delegation to the State Chief Minister and Congress leader Mohan Lal Sukhadia for pressing the name of one of his friends from a nearby village as Congress candidate in the Assembly election. When Sukhadia convinced him of some other name, Bhim Singh, in turn, convinced many others that they should work for the party candidate. Bhim Singh knew that if the party candidate won from this constituency, that candidate would become a minister and thus, he would have direct contacts with a minister for the first time!

Sher Singh had no option but to work for the Swatantra candidate, who was a jagirdar. He kept telling people that the jagirdar would help build the village school and use his resources for the development of the locality. At least in Devisar village, the Assembly election had turned into a factional fight between uncle and nephew.

Based on Anand Chakravarti, 'A Village in Chomu Assembly Constituency in Rajasthan.'

“...in India, as present trends continue... maintenance of an ordered structure of society is going to slip out of reach of an ordered structure of civil government and the army will be only alternative source of authority and order....the great experiment of developing India within a democratic framework has failed.

”

Neville Maxwell
‘India’s Disintegrating Democracy’ an article published in the London Times, 1967.

government. Parties opposed to the Congress realised that the division of their votes kept the Congress in power. Thus parties that were entirely different and disparate in their programmes and ideology got together to form anti-Congress fronts in some states and entered into electoral adjustments of sharing seats in others. They felt that the inexperience of Indira Gandhi and the internal factionalism within the Congress provided them an opportunity to topple the Congress. The socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia gave this strategy the name of ‘non-Congressism’. He also produced a theoretical argument in its defence: Congress rule was undemocratic and opposed to the interests of ordinary poor people; therefore, the coming together of the non-Congress parties was necessary for reclaiming democracy for the people.



C. Natarajan Annadurai (1909-1969): Chief Minister of Madras (Tamil Nadu) from 1967; a journalist, popular writer and orator; initially associated with the Justice Party in Madras province; later joined Dravid Kazagham (1934); formed DMK as a political party in 1949; a proponent of Dravid culture, he was opposed to imposition of Hindi and led the anti-Hindi agitations; supporter of greater autonomy to States.



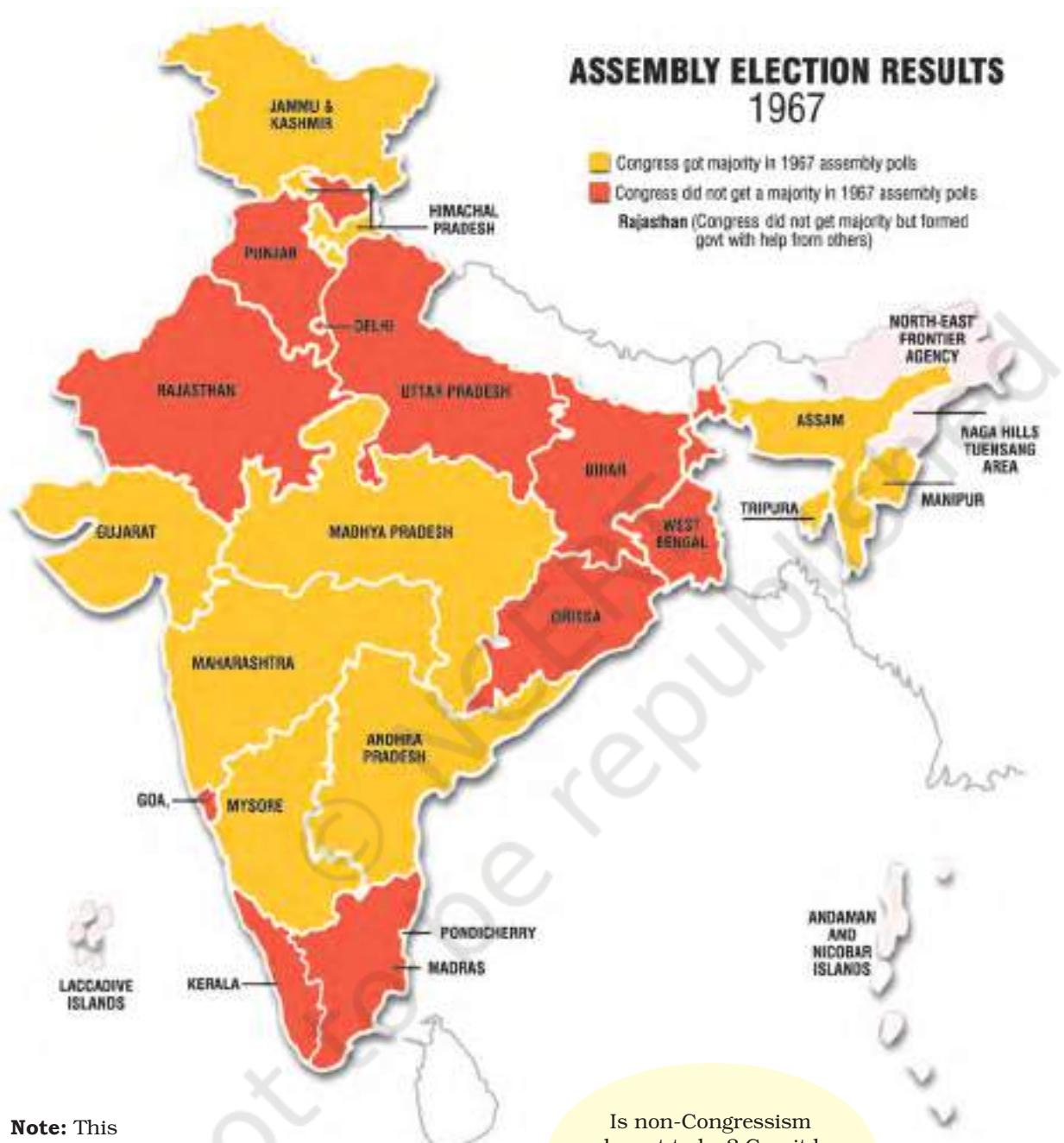
Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-1967): Socialist leader and thinker; freedom fighter and among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party; after the split in the parent

party, the leader of the Socialist Party and later the Samyukta Socialist Party; Member, Lok Sabha, 1963-67; founder editor of Mankind and Jan, known for original contribution to a non-European socialist theory; as political leader, best known for sharp attacks on Nehru, strategy of non-Congressism, advocacy of reservation for backward castes and opposition to English.

Electoral verdict

It was in this context of heightened popular discontent and the polarisation of political forces that the fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies were held in February 1967. The Congress was facing the electorate for the first time without Nehru.

The results jolted the Congress at both the national and state levels. Many contemporary political observers described the election results as a ‘political earthquake’. The Congress did manage to get a majority in the Lok Sabha, but with its lowest tally of seats and share of votes since 1952. Half the ministers in Indira Gandhi’s cabinet were defeated. The political stalwarts who lost in their constituencies included Kamaraj in Tamil Nadu, S.K. Patil in Maharashtra, Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal and K. B. Sahay in Bihar.



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

Is non-Congressism relevant today? Can it be applied against Left Front in today's West Bengal?



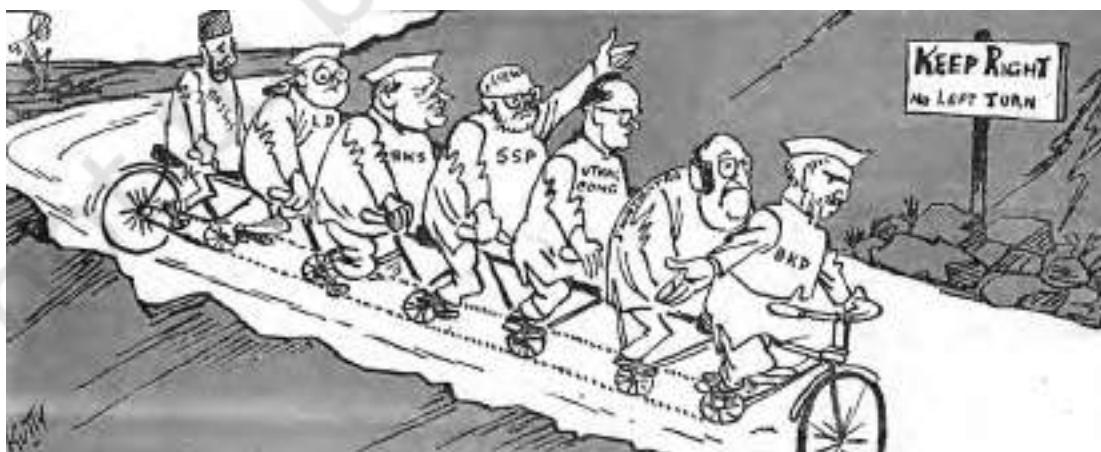
The dramatic nature of the political change would be more apparent to you at the State level. The Congress lost majority in as many as seven States. In two other States defections prevented it from forming a government. These nine States where the Congress lost power were spread across the country – Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Kerala. In Madras State (now called Tamil Nadu), a regional party — the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) — came to power by securing a clear majority. The DMK won power after having led a massive anti-Hindi agitation by students against the centre on the issue of imposition of Hindi as the official language. This was the first time any non-Congress party had secured a majority of its own in any State. In the other eight States, coalition governments consisting of different non-Congress parties were formed. A popular saying was that one could take a train from Delhi to Howrah and not pass through a single Congress ruled State. It was a strange feeling for those who were used to seeing the Congress in power. So, was the domination of the Congress over?

What's so unusual in hung assemblies and coalition governments? We see them all the time.



Coalitions

The elections of 1967 brought into picture the phenomenon of coalitions. Since no single party had got majority, various non-Congress parties came together to form joint legislative parties (called Samyukt Vidhayak Dal in Hindi) that supported non-Congress governments. That is why these governments came to be described as SVD governments. In most of these cases the coalition partners were ideologically incongruent. The SVD government in Bihar, for instance, included the two socialist parties – SSP and the PSP – along with the CPI on the left and Jana Sangh on the right. In Punjab it was called the 'Popular United Front' and comprised the two rival Akali parties at that time – Sant group and the Master group – with both the communist parties – the CPI and the CPI(M), the SSP, the Republican Party and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.



Credit: Kutty

A cartoonist's reading of Charan Singh's attempt to build a United Front of non-communist parties in 1974

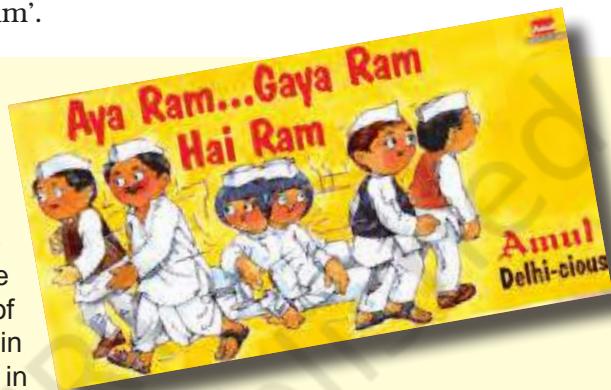
Defection

Another important feature of the politics after the 1967 election was the role played by defections in the making and unmaking of governments in the States. Defection means an elected representative leaves the party on whose symbol he/she was elected and joins another party. After the 1967 general election, the breakaway Congress legislators played an important role in installing non-Congress governments in three States - Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The constant realignments and shifting political loyalties in this period gave rise to the expression 'Aya Ram, Gaya Ram'.

The story of 'Aya Ram, Gaya Ram'

The expression 'aya ram, gaya ram' became popular in the political vocabulary in India to describe the practice of frequent floor-crossing by legislators. Literally translated the terms meant, Ram came and Ram went. The expression originated in an amazing feat of floor crossing achieved by Gaya Lal, an MLA in Haryana, in 1967. He changed his party thrice in a fortnight, from Congress to United Front, back to Congress and then within nine hours to United Front again! It is said that when Gaya Lal declared his intention to quit the United Front and join the Congress, the Congress leader, Rao Birendra Singh brought him to Chandigarh press and declared "Gaya Ram was now Aya Ram".

Gaya Lal's feat was immortalised in the phrase "Aya Ram, Gaya Ram" which became the subject of numerous jokes and cartoons. Later, the Constitution was amended to prevent defections.



split in the Congress

We saw that after the 1967 elections, the Congress retained power at the Centre but with a reduced majority and lost power in many States. More importantly, the results proved that the Congress could be defeated at the elections. But there was no substitute as yet. Most non-Congress coalition governments in the States did not survive for long. They lost majority, and either new combinations were formed or President's rule had to be imposed.

Indira vs. the 'Syndicate'

The real challenge to Indira Gandhi came not from the opposition but from within her own

K. Kamaraj

(1903-1975): Freedom fighter and Congress President; Chief Minister of Madras (Tamil Nadu); having suffered educational deprivation, made efforts to spread education in Madras province; introduced mid-day meal scheme for schoolchildren; in 1963 he proposed that all senior Congressmen should resign from office to make way for younger party workers—this proposal is famous as the 'Kamaraj plan.'



The Congress 'Syndicate'

Syndicate was the informal name given to a group of Congress leaders who were in control of the party's organisation. It was led by K. Kamraj, former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and then the president of the Congress party. It included powerful State leaders like S. K. Patil of Bombay city (later named as Mumbai), S. Nijalingappa of Mysore (later Karnataka), N. Sanjeeva Reddy of Andhra Pradesh and Atulya Ghosh of West Bengal. Both Lal Bahadur Shastri and later Indira Gandhi owed their position to the support received from the Syndicate. This group had a decisive say in Indira Gandhi's first Council of Ministers and also in policy formulation and implementation. After the Congress split the leaders of the syndicate and those owing allegiance to them stayed with the Congress (O). Since it was Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) that won the test of popularity, all these big and powerful men of Indian politics lost their power and prestige after 1971.



So,
there is nothing
new about State
level leaders being
the king-makers at
the centre. I thought
it happened only in
the 1990s.

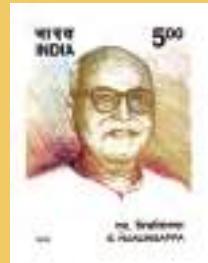
party. She had to deal with the 'syndicate', a group of powerful and influential leaders from within the Congress. The Syndicate had played a role in the installation of Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister by ensuring her election as the leader of the parliamentary party. These leaders expected Indira Gandhi to follow their advise. Gradually, however, Indira Gandhi attempted to assert her position within the government and the party. She chose her trusted group of advisers from outside the party. Slowly and carefully, she sidelined the Syndicate.

Indira Gandhi thus faced two challenges. She needed to build her independence from the Syndicate. She also needed to work towards regaining the ground that the Congress had lost in the 1967 elections. Indira Gandhi adopted a very bold strategy. She converted a simple power struggle into an ideological struggle. She launched a series of initiatives to give the government policy a Left orientation. She got the Congress Working Committee to adopt a Ten Point Programme in May 1967. This programme included social control of banks, nationalisation of General Insurance, ceiling on urban property and income,



Karpoori Thakur (1924-1988): Chief Minister of Bihar between December 1970 and June 1971 and again between June 1977 and April 1979; Freedom Fighter and socialist leader; active in labour and peasant movements; staunch

follower of Lohia; participated in the movement led by JP; known for his decision to introduce reservations for the backward classes in Bihar during his second Chief Ministership; strong opponent of the use of English Language.



S. Nijalingappa (1902-2000): Senior Congress leader; Member of Constituent Assembly; member of Lok Sabha; Chief Minister of the then Mysore (Karnataka) State; regarded as the maker of modern Karnataka; President of Congress during 1968-71.

public distribution of food grains, land reforms and provision of house sites to the rural poor. While the 'syndicate' leaders formally approved this Left-wing programme, they had serious reservations about the same.

Presidential election, 1969

The factional rivalry between the Syndicate and Indira Gandhi came in the open in 1969. Following President Zakir Hussain's death, the post of President of the India fell vacant that year. Despite Mrs Gandhi's reservations the 'syndicate' managed to nominate her long time opponent and then speaker of the Lok Sabha, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, as the official Congress candidate for the ensuing Presidential elections. Indira Gandhi retaliated by encouraging the then Vice-President, V.V. Giri, to file his nomination as an independent candidate. She also announced several big and popular policy measures like the nationalisation of fourteen leading private banks and the abolition of the 'privy purse' or the special privileges given to former princes. Morarji Desai was the Deputy Prime Minister and

**V.V. Giri
(1894-1980):**

President of India from 1969 to 1974; Congress worker and labour leader from Andhra Pradesh; Indian High Commissioner to Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Labour Minister in Union cabinet; Governor of U.P., Kerala, Mysore (Karnataka); Vice-President (1967-1969) and acting President after the death of President Zakir Hussain; resigned and contested presidential election as independent candidate; received support from Indira Gandhi for his election as President.



Credit: R. K. Laxman in *The Times of India*, 21 August 1969

"The Left Hook" was published after the victory of V.V. Giri, (the boxer with the garland) over the nominee of the Syndicate, represented here by Nijalingappa (on his knees).

“ History ... is replete with instances of the tragedy that overtakes democracy when a leader who has risen to power on the crest of a popular wave or with the support of a democratic organisation becomes a victim of political narcissism and is egged on by a coterie of unscrupulous sycophants....

”

S Nijalingappa

Letter to Indira Gandhi expelling her from the party, 11 November 1969.

Finance Minister. On both the above issues serious differences emerged between him and the Prime Minister resulting in Desai leaving the government.

Congress had seen differences of this kind in the past. But this time both the parties wanted a showdown which took place during the Presidential elections. The then Congress President S. Nijalingappa issued a 'whip' asking all the Congress MPs and MLAs to vote in favour of Sanjeeva Reddy, the official candidate of the party. Supporters of Indira Gandhi requisitioned a special meeting of the AICC (that is why this faction came to be known as 'requisitionists') but this was refused. After silently supporting V.V. Giri, the Prime Minister openly called for a 'conscience vote' which meant that the MPs and MLAs from the Congress should be free to vote the way they want. The election ultimately resulted in the victory of V.V. Giri, the independent candidate, and the defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy, the official Congress candidate.

The defeat of the official Congress candidate formalised the split in the party. The Congress President expelled the Prime Minister from the party; she claimed that her group was the real Congress. By November 1969, the Congress group led by the 'syndicate' came to be referred to as the Congress (Organisation) and the group led by Indira Gandhi came to be called the Congress (Requisitionists). These two parties were also described as Old Congress and New Congress. Indira Gandhi projected the split as an ideological divide between socialists and conservatives, between the pro-poor and the pro-rich.

Abolition of Privy Purse

In Chapter One you have read about the integration of the Princely States. This integration was preceded by an assurance that after the dissolution of princely rule, the then rulers' families would be allowed to retain certain private property, and given a grant in heredity or government allowance, measured on the basis of the extent, revenue and potential of the merging state. This grant was called the privy purse. At the time of accession, there was little criticism of these privileges since integration and consolidation was the primary aim.

Yet, hereditary privileges were not consonant with the principles of equality and social and economic justice laid down in the Constitution of India. Nehru had expressed his dissatisfaction over the matter time and again. Following the 1967 elections, Indira Gandhi supported the demand that the government should abolish privy purses. Morarji Desai, however, called the move morally wrong and amounting to a 'breach of faith with the princes'.

The government tried to bring a Constitutional amendment in 1970, but it was not passed in Rajya Sabha. It then issued an ordinance which was struck down by the Supreme Court. Indira Gandhi made this into a major election issue in 1971 and got a lot of public support. Following its massive victory in the 1971 election, the Constitution was amended to remove legal obstacles for abolition of 'privy purse'.



Credit: Vijayan, Shankar's Weekly



20 July 1969

A cartoonist's impression of the leadership rivalry in the Congress Party in 1969.

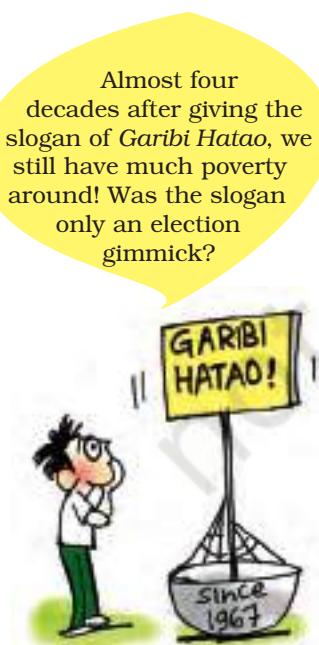
The 1971 Election and Restoration of Congress

The split in the Congress reduced Indira Gandhi Government to a minority. Yet her government continued in office with the issue-based support of a few other parties including the Communist Party of India and the DMK. During this period the government made conscious attempts to project its socialist credentials. This was also a phase when Indira Gandhi vigorously campaigned for implementing the existing land reform laws and undertook further land ceiling legislation. In order to end her dependence on other political parties, strengthen her party's position in the Parliament, and seek a popular mandate for her programmes, Indira Gandhi's government recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970. This was another surprising and bold move. The fifth general election to Lok Sabha were held in February 1971.

The contest

The electoral contest appeared to be loaded against Congress(R). After all, the new Congress was just one faction of an already weak party. Everyone believed that the real organisational strength of the Congress party was under the command of Congress(O). To make matters worse for Indira Gandhi, all the major non-communist, non-Congress opposition parties formed an electoral alliance known as the Grand Alliance. The Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP), Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), Swatantra Party (SWA) and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) came together under this umbrella. The ruling party had an alliance with the Communist Party of India (CPI).

Yet the new Congress had something that its big opponents lacked – it had an issue, an agenda and a positive slogan. The Grand Alliance did not have a coherent political programme. Indira Gandhi said that the opposition alliance had only one common programme: *Indira Hatao* (Remove Indira). In contrast to this, she put forward a positive programme captured in the famous slogan: *Garibi Hatao* (Remove Poverty). She focused on the growth of the public sector, imposition of ceiling on rural land holdings and urban property, removal of disparities in income and opportunity, and abolition of princely privileges. Through *garibi hatao* Indira Gandhi tried to generate a support base among the disadvantaged, especially among the landless labourers, Dalits and Adivasis, minorities, women and the unemployed youth. The slogan of *garibi hatao* and the programmes that followed it were part of Indira Gandhi's political strategy of building an independent nationwide political support base.



The outcome and after

The results of the Lok Sabha elections of 1971, were as dramatic as was the decision to hold these elections. The Congress(R)-CPI alliance won more seats and votes than the Congress had ever won in the first four general elections. The combine won 375 seats in Lok Sabha and secured 48.4 per cent votes. Indira Gandhi's Congress(R) won 352 seats with about 44 per cent of the popular votes on its own. Contrast this with the performance of the Congress(O): the party with so many stalwarts could get less than one-fourth of the votes secured by Indira Gandhi's party and win merely 16 seats. With this the Congress party led by Indira Gandhi established its claim to being the 'real' Congress and restored to it the dominant position in Indian politics. The Grand Alliance of the opposition proved a grand failure. Their combined tally of seats was less than 60.

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India



"The Grand Finish" is how a cartoonist interpreted the outcome of the 1971 elections. Players on the ground are the then leading opposition figures.

Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India



Soon after the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, a major political and military crisis broke out in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). As you have read in Chapter Four, the 1971 elections were followed by the crisis in East Pakistan and the Indo-Pak war leading to the establishment of Bangladesh. These events added to the popularity of Indira Gandhi. Even the opposition leaders admired her statesmanship. Her party swept through all the State Assembly elections held in 1972. She was seen not only as the protector of the poor and the underprivileged, but also a strong nationalist leader. The opposition to her, either within the party or outside of it, simply did not matter.

With two successive election victories, one at the centre and other at the State level, the dominance of the Congress was restored.

The Congress was now in power in almost all the States. It was also popular across different social sections. Within a span of four years, Indira Gandhi had warded off the challenge to her leadership and to the dominant position of the Congress party.



The new manner of choosing CMs by Indira Gandhi inspired this cartoon.

Credit: Kutty

Restoration?

But does it mean that the Congress system was restored? What Indira Gandhi had done was not a revival of the old Congress party. In many ways she had re-invented the party. The party occupied a similar position in terms of its popularity as in the past. But it was a different kind of a party. It relied entirely on the popularity of the supreme leader. It had a somewhat weak organisational structure. This Congress party now did not have many factions, thus it could not accommodate all kinds of opinions and interests. While it won elections, it depended more on some social groups: the poor, the women, Dalits, Adivasis and the minorities. This was a new Congress that had emerged. Thus Indira Gandhi restored the Congress system by changing the nature of the Congress system itself.

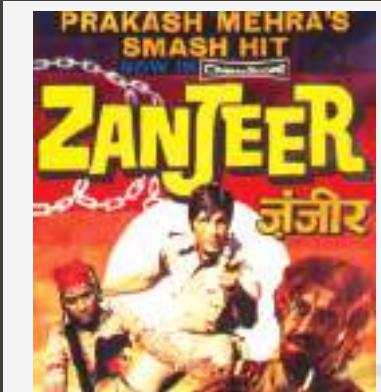
Despite being more popular, the new Congress did not have the kind of capacity to absorb all tensions and conflicts that the Congress system was known for. While the Congress consolidated its position and Indira Gandhi assumed a position of unprecedented political authority, the spaces for democratic expression of people's aspirations actually shrank. The popular unrest and mobilisation around issues of development and economic deprivation continued to grow. In the next chapter you will read about how this led to a political crisis that threatened the very existence of constitutional democracy in the country.

That
is like
changing the top
and legs of a table
and still calling it the
old table! What was
common between the
Old and the New
Congress?



Let's watch a Film

ZANJEER



Vijay, a young police officer is framed in false charges and sent to jail while fighting gangsters. Released from jail, Vijay is determined to take revenge. He fights all odds and vanquishes the villains. Even while he is engaged in taking revenge, Vijay is fighting the anti-social element and gets the tacit support of many others from within the system.

This film portrayed the erosion of moral values and the deep frustrations arising from that quite forcefully. It represents the indifference of the system and the harsh and volcanic eruption of protest through the anger of Vijay. The film set the trend of what was later to be known as the 'angry young man' of the seventies.

Year: 1973
Director: Prakash Mehra
Screenplay: Salim Khan-Javed Akhtar
Cast: Amitabh Bachchan, Ajit, Jaya Bhaduri, Pran

EXERCISES

1. Which of these statements about the 1967 elections is/are correct?
 - (a) Congress won the Lok Sabha elections but lost the Assembly elections in many states.
 - (b) Congress lost both Lok Sabha and Assembly elections.
 - (c) Congress lost majority in the Lok Sabha but formed a coalition government with the support of some other parties.
 - (d) Congress retained power at the Centre with an increased majority.

2. Match the following:

(a) Syndicate (b) Defection (c) Slogan (d) Anti-Congressism	i. An elected representative leaving the party on whose ticket s/he has been elected ii. A catchy phrase that attracts public attention iii. parties with different ideological position coming together to oppose Congress and its policies iv. A group of powerful and influential leaders within the Congress
--	---

3. Whom would you identify with the following slogans/phrases?

(a) Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan
(b) Indira Hatao!
(c) Garibi Hatao!

4. Which of the following statement about the Grand Alliance of 1971 is correct?
 The Grand Alliance

(a) was formed by non-Communist, non-Congress parties.
(b) had a clear political and ideological programme.
(c) was formed by all non-Congress parties.

5. How should a political party resolve its internal differences? Here are some suggestions. Think of each and list out their advantages and shortcomings.

(a) Follow the footsteps of the party president
(b) Listen to the majority group
(c) Secret ballot voting on every issue
(d) Consult the senior and experienced leaders of the party

6. State which of these were reasons for the defeat of the Congress in 1967. Give reasons for your answer.

(a) The absence of a charismatic leader in the Congress party
(b) Split within the Congress party
(c) Increased mobilisation of regional, ethnic and communal groups

- (d) Increasing unity among non-Congress parties
- (e) Internal differences within the Congress party

7. What were the factors which led to the popularity of Indira Gandhi's Government in the early 1970s?
8. What does the term 'syndicate' mean in the context of the Congress party of the sixties? What role did the Syndicate play in the Congress party?
9. Discuss the major issue which led to the formal split of the Congress Party in 1969.
10. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

...Indira Gandhi changed the Congress into highly centralised and undemocratic party organisation, from the earlier federal, democratic and ideological formation that Nehru had led.....But this... could not have happened had not Indira Gandhi changed the entire nature of politics. This new, populist politics turned political ideology into a mere electoral discourse, use of various slogans not meant to be translated into government policies..... During its great electoral victories in early 1970s, amidst the celebration, the Congress party as a political organisation died..... — SUDIPTA KAVIRAJ

- (a) What according to the author is the difference between the strategies of Nehru and Indira Gandhi?
- (b) Why does the author say that the Congress party 'died' in the seventies?
- (c) In what way, did the change in the Congress party affect other political parties also?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

- Make a list of slogans coined by political parties.
- Do you see any similarities between advertisements and manifestoes, slogans and advertisements of political parties?
- Have a discussion on how price rise affects the political fortunes of the political parties.

CHAPTER 6

THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC ORDER



Background to Emergency

We have already studied the changes that were taking place in Indian politics since 1967. Indira Gandhi had emerged as a towering leader with tremendous popularity. This was also the period when party competition became bitter and polarised. This period also witnessed tensions in the relationship between the government and the judiciary. The Supreme Court found many initiatives of the government to be violative of the Constitution. The Congress party took the position that this stand of the Court was against principles of democracy and parliamentary supremacy. The Congress also alleged that the Court was a conservative institution and it was becoming an obstacle in the way of implementing pro-poor welfare programmes. The parties opposed to the Congress felt that politics was becoming too personalised and that governmental authority was being converted into personal authority. The split in the Congress had sharpened the divisions between Indira Gandhi and her opponents.

Economic context

In the elections of 1971, Congress had given the slogan of *garibi hataao* (remove poverty). However, the social and economic condition in the country did not improve much after 1971-72. The Bangladesh crisis had put a heavy strain on India's economy. About eight million people crossed over the East Pakistan border into India. This was followed by war with Pakistan. After the war the U.S government stopped all aid to India. In the international market, oil prices increased manifold during this period. This led to an all-round increase in prices of commodities. Prices increased by 23 per cent in 1973 and 30 per cent in 1974. Such a high level of inflation caused much hardship to the people.

Industrial growth was low and unemployment was very high, particularly in the rural areas. In order to reduce expenditure the government froze the salaries of its employees. This caused further dissatisfaction among government employees. Monsoons failed in 1972-1973. This resulted in a sharp decline in agricultural productivity. Food grain output declined by 8 per cent.



Credit: Abu



Poor people must have had a tough time. What happened to the promise of *garibi hatao*?

“ Samponna Kranti
ab nara hai, bhavi itihas
hamara hai [With Total
Revolution as our motto, the
future belongs to us]
”

A slogan of the Bihar movement, 1974

There was a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction with the prevailing economic situation all over the country. In such a context non-Congress opposition parties were able to organise popular protests effectively. Instances of students' unrests that had persisted from the late 1960s became more pronounced in this period. There was also an increase in the activities of Marxist groups who did not believe in parliamentary politics. These groups had taken to arms and insurgent techniques for the overthrow of the capitalist order and the established political system. Known as the Marxist-Leninist (now Maoist) groups or Naxalites, they were particularly strong in West Bengal, where the State government took stringent measures to suppress them.

Gujarat and Bihar movements

Students' protests in Gujarat and Bihar, both of which were Congress ruled States, had far reaching impact on the politics of the two States and national politics. In January 1974 students in Gujarat started an agitation against rising prices of food grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities, and against corruption in high places. The students' protest was joined by major opposition parties and became widespread leading to the imposition of President's rule in the state. The opposition parties demanded fresh elections to the state legislature. Morarji Desai, a prominent leader of Congress (O), who was the main rival of Indira Gandhi when he was in the Congress, announced that he would go on an indefinite fast if fresh elections were not held in the State. Under intense pressure from students, supported by the opposition political parties, assembly elections were held in Gujarat in June 1975. The Congress was defeated in this election.

In March 1974 students came together in Bihar to protest against rising prices, food scarcity, unemployment and corruption. After a point they invited Jayaprakash Narayan (JP), who had given up active politics and was involved in social work, to lead the student movement. He accepted it on the condition that the movement will remain non-violent and will not limit itself to Bihar. Thus the students' movement assumed a political character and had national appeal. People from all walks of life now entered the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan demanded the dismissal of the Congress government in Bihar and gave a call for total revolution in the social, economic and political spheres in order to establish what he considered to be true democracy. A series of bandhs, gehraos, and strikes

“ Indira is India,
India is Indira
”

A slogan given by
D. K. Barooah, President of the
Congress, 1974



were organised in protest against the Bihar government. The government, however, refused to resign.

The movement was beginning to influence national politics. Jayaprakash Narayan wanted to spread the Bihar movement to other parts of the country. Alongside the agitation led by Jayaprakash Narayan, the employees of the Railways gave a call for a nationwide strike. This threatened to paralyse the country. In 1975, JP led a peoples' march to the Parliament. This was one of the largest political rallies ever held in the capital. He was now supported by the non-Congress opposition parties like the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the Congress (O), the Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Socialist Party and others. These



Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) (1902-1979):
A marxist in his youth; founder general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party

and the Socialist Party; a hero of the 1942 Quit India movement; declined to join Nehru's cabinet; after 1955 quit active politics; became a Gandhian and was involved in the Bhootan movement, negotiations with the Naga rebels, peace initiative in Kashmir and ensured the surrender of rebels in Chambal; leader of Bihar movement, he became the symbol of opposition to Emergency and was the moving force behind the formation of Janata Party.

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 16 April 1974

parties were projecting JP as an alternative to Indira Gandhi. However, there were many criticisms about his ideas and about the politics of mass agitations that he was employing. Both the Gujarat and Bihar agitations were seen as anti-Congress and rather than opposing the State governments, they were seen as protests against the leadership of Indira Gandhi. She believed that the movement was motivated by personal opposition to her.

Railway Strike of 1974

What would happen when the railways stop running? Not for one or two days, but for more than a week? Of course, many people would be inconvenienced; but more than that, the economy of the country would come to a halt because goods are transported from one part to another by trains.

Do you know that such a thing actually happened in 1974? The National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle led by George Fernandes gave a call for nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways for pressing their demands related to bonus and service conditions. The government was opposed to these demands. So, the employees of India's largest public sector undertaking went on a strike in May 1974. The strike by the Railway employees added to the atmosphere of labour unrest. It also raised issues like rights of the workers and whether employees of essential services should adopt measures like strikes.

The government declared the strike illegal. As the government refused to concede the demands of the striking workers, arrested many of their leaders and deployed the territorial army to protect railway tracks, the strike had to be called off after twenty days without any settlement.

Conflict with Judiciary

This was also the period when the government and the ruling party had many differences with the judiciary. Do you remember the discussion about the long drawn conflict between the Parliament and the judiciary? You have studied this last year. Three constitutional issues had emerged. Can the Parliament abridge Fundamental Rights? The Supreme Court said it cannot. Secondly, can the Parliament curtail the right to property by making an amendment? Again, the Court said that Parliament cannot amend the Constitution in such a manner that rights are curtailed. Thirdly, the Parliament amended the Constitution saying that it can abridge Fundamental Rights for giving effect to Directive Principles. But the Supreme Court rejected this provision also. This led to a crisis as far as the relations between the government and the judiciary were concerned. You may remember



Do 'committed judiciary' and 'committed bureaucracy' mean that the judges and government officials should be loyal to the ruling party?

that this crisis culminated in the famous Kesavananda Bharati Case. In this case, the Court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the Constitution and the Parliament cannot amend these features.

Two developments further added to the tension between the judiciary and the executive. Immediately after the Supreme Court's decision in 1973 in the Keshavananda Bharati case, a vacancy arose for the post of the Chief Justice of India. It had been a practice to appoint the senior-most judge of the Supreme Court as the Chief Justice. But in 1973, the government set aside the seniority of three judges and appointed Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of India. The appointment became politically controversial because all the three judges who were superseded had given rulings against the stand of the government. Thus, constitutional interpretations and political ideologies were getting mixed up rapidly. People close to the Prime Minister started talking of the need for a judiciary and the bureaucracy 'committed' to the vision of the executive and the legislature. The climax of the confrontation was of course the ruling of the High Court declaring Indira Gandhi's election invalid.

Declaration of Emergency

On 12 June 1975, Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court passed a judgment declaring Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid. This order came on an election petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader and a candidate who had contested against her in 1971. The petition, challenged the election of Indira Gandhi on the ground that she had used the services of government servants in her election campaign. The judgment of the High Court meant that legally she was no more an MP and therefore, could not remain the Prime Minister unless she was once again elected as an MP within six months. On June 24, the Supreme Court granted her a partial stay on the High Court order – till her appeal was decided, she could remain an MP but could not take part in the proceedings of the Lok Sabha.

Crisis and response

The stage was now set for a big political confrontation. The opposition political parties led by Jayaprakash Narayan pressed for Indira Gandhi's resignation and organised a massive demonstration in Delhi's Ramlila grounds on 25 June 1975. Jayaprakash announced a nationwide satyagraha for her resignation and asked the army, the police and government employees not to obey "illegal and immoral orders". This too threatened to bring the activities of the government to a standstill. The political mood of the country had turned against the Congress, more than ever before.

That is like asking the army to disobey the government! Is that democratic?



The response of the government was to declare a state of emergency. On 25 June 1975, the government declared that there was a threat of internal disturbances and therefore, it invoked Article 352 of the Constitution. Under the provision of this article the government could declare a state of emergency on grounds of external threat or a threat of internal disturbances. The government decided that a grave crisis had arisen which made the proclamation of a state of emergency necessary. Technically speaking this was within the powers of the government, for our Constitution provides for some special powers to the government once an emergency is declared.

Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the union government. Secondly, the government also gets the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the Fundamental Rights during the emergency. From the wording of the provisions of the Constitution, it is clear that an Emergency is seen as an

Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 26 June 1975



This cartoon appeared few days before the declaration of Emergency and captures the sense of impending political crisis. The man behind the chair is D. K. Barooah, the Congress President.

पर्यंत २५ वर्ष की समिक्षा

हमेशा दूसरा २५ अप्रैल १९७४

सेल १० पैसे

नया आपात्काल : जयप्रकाश और कई नेता गिरफ्तार

पर्यंत २५ अप्रैल (हुस्तानी), नाला में इंडिया में पहली बार जनवारों पर विवरण में खेला रास्ता नहीं जानी वहाँ ने जब तुम्हें मारा करे—
जी जनवारों विवरण में यही थामि जनवारों से विवरण मारके ते
मैराँ बहुत नियां हो गए ताकि जान में घने बार कर गिरफ्तार हो गए
जानवार की विवरण है।

To our readers

The City edition of Friday
and Dak editions of Friday
and Saturday of the Hindustan
Times could not be
brought out as no power was
available from 12.45 P.M. on
Thursday till 7.15 P.M. on Fri-
day. The inconvenience is
deeply regretted.

Emergency ensures
YOUR Security—
and the NATION'S

**WORK MORE
TALK LESS**

क्या नहीं हुआ
(१) जातक से जीवन का वह
भी बदल है और वह उचित नहीं
हुआ है। नाला विवरण की विवरण
गिरफ्तारी की जारा १५३ के नो-
टिस से यह है। नाला ने जो बदल
उठाया है, वहूँ उसके लिए बदल
उठाया है।

(२) यहाँ देखा जाये वाटू
में गोपनीय जान नाम होने की
भी विवरण नहीं है। बंद-
खाल यहाँ देखा जाना चाहिए वह
जान नाम होने से लिए जाये है।
गोपनीय जान नाम होने से लिए जाये है।

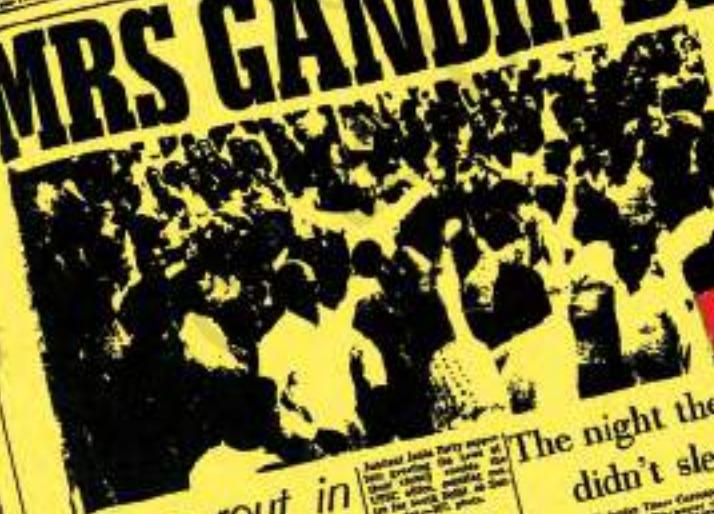
प्रधान मंत्री का
क्रान्तिकारी कार्यक्रम
आज इसे सफल बनाएं

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

New Delhi Monday, March 27, 1977

Regd. No. D-11-147

MRS GANDHI DEFEATED



Cong rout in
Delhi total

Nightmare
over, says
Vajpayee

The night the
didn't sleep

We've always practised
Compulsory
Sterilisation



Party position
at 2.30 a.m.
Mamata's wife Mr.
Gandhi

Capital's
Leading

Lots City Edition

extraordinary condition in which normal democratic politics cannot function. Therefore, special powers are granted to the government.

On the night of 25 June 1975, the Prime Minister recommended the imposition of Emergency to President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. He issued the proclamation immediately. After midnight, the electricity to all the major newspaper offices was disconnected. In the early morning, a large number of leaders and workers of the opposition parties were arrested. The Cabinet was informed about it at a special meeting at 6 a.m. on 26 June, after all this had taken place.



Should the President have declared Emergency without any recommendation from the Cabinet?

Consequences

This brought the agitation to an abrupt stop; strikes were banned; many opposition leaders were put in jail; the political situation became very quiet though tense. Deciding to use its special powers under Emergency provisions, the government suspended the freedom of the Press. Newspapers were asked to get prior approval for all material to be published. This is known as press censorship. Apprehending social and communal disharmony, the government banned Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami. Protests and strikes and public agitations were also disallowed. Most importantly, under the provisions of Emergency, the various Fundamental Rights of citizens stood suspended, including the right of citizens to move the Court for restoring their Fundamental Rights.

The government made extensive use of preventive detention. Under this provision, people are arrested and detained not because they have committed any offence, but on the apprehension that they may commit an offence. Using preventive detention acts, the government made large scale arrests during the Emergency. Arrested political workers could not challenge their arrest through habeas corpus petitions. Many cases were filed in the High Courts and the Supreme Court by and on behalf of arrested persons, but the government claimed that it was not even necessary to inform the arrested persons of the reasons and grounds of their arrest. Several High Courts gave judgments that even after the declaration of Emergency the courts could entertain a writ of habeas corpus filed by a person challenging his/her detention. In April 1976, the constitution bench of the Supreme Court over-ruled the High Courts and accepted the government's plea. It meant that during Emergency the government could take away the citizen's right to life and liberty. This judgment closed the doors of judiciary for the citizens and is regarded as one of the most controversial judgments of the Supreme Court.

There were many acts of dissent and resistance to the Emergency. Many political workers who were not arrested in the first wave, went 'underground' and organised protests against the government. Newspapers like the *Indian Express* and the *Statesman* protested against censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items had been censored. Magazines like the *Seminar* and the *Mainstream*

Now, even the Supreme Court gave in! What was happening to everyone in those days?





Let us not talk about the few who protested. What about the rest? All the big officials, intellectuals, social and religious leaders, citizens... What were they doing?

“... death of
D. E. M. O’Cracy, mourned by
his wife T. Ruth, his son
L. I. Bertie, and his
daughters Faith, Hope and
Justice.
”

An anonymous advertisement in the Times of India, soon after the declaration of Emergency, 1975.

chose to close down rather than submit to censorship. Many journalists were arrested for writing against the Emergency. Many underground newsletters and leaflets were published to bypass censorship. Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth, awarded with Padma Bhushan, and Hindi writer Fanishwarnath Renu, awarded with Padma Shri, returned their awards in protest against the suspension of democracy. By and large, though, such open acts of defiance and resistance were rare.

The Parliament also brought in many new changes to the Constitution. In the background of the ruling of the Allahabad High Court in the Indira Gandhi case, an amendment was made declaring that elections of Prime Minister, President and Vice-President could not be challenged in the Court. The forty-second amendment was also passed during the Emergency. You have already studied that this amendment consisted of a series of changes in many parts of the Constitution. Among the various changes made by this amendment, one was that the duration of the legislatures in the country was extended from five to six years. This change was not only for the Emergency period, but was intended to be of a permanent nature. Besides this, during an Emergency, elections can be postponed by one year. Thus, effectively, after 1971, elections needed to be held only in 1978; instead of 1976.

Lessons of the Emergency

The Emergency at once brought out both the weaknesses and the strengths of India’s democracy. Though there are many observers who think that India ceased to be democratic during the Emergency, it is noteworthy that normal democratic functioning resumed within a short span of time. Thus, one lesson of Emergency is that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.

Secondly, it brought out some ambiguities regarding the Emergency provision in the Constitution that have been rectified since. Now, ‘internal’ Emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of ‘armed rebellion’ and it is necessary that the advice to the President to proclaim Emergency must be given in writing by the Union Cabinet.

Thirdly, the Emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties. The Courts too, have taken an active role after the Emergency in protecting the civil liberties of the individuals. This is a response to the inability of the

“Today is India’s
Independence Day... Don’t
Let the Lights Go Out on
India’s Democracy
”

An advertisement in The Times, London,
15 August 1975 by
'Free JP Campaign'.

judiciary to protect civil liberties effectively during the emergency. Many civil liberties organisations came up after this experience.

However, the critical years of emergency brought many issues that have not been adequately grappled with. We have noted in this chapter that there is a tension between routine functioning of a democratic government and the continuous political protests by parties and groups. What is the correct balance between the two? Should the citizens have full freedom to engage in protest activity or should they have no such right at all? What are the limits to such a protest?

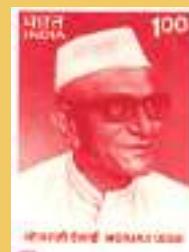
Secondly, the actual implementation of the Emergency rule took place through the police and the administration. These institutions could not function independently. They were turned into political instruments of the ruling party and according to the Shah Commission Report, the administration and the police became vulnerable to political pressures. This problem did not vanish after the Emergency.

Politics after Emergency

The most valuable and lasting lesson of the Emergency was learnt as soon as the Emergency was over and the Lok Sabha elections were announced. The 1977 elections turned into a referendum on the experience of the Emergency, at least in north India where the impact of the Emergency was felt most strongly. The opposition fought the election on the slogan of 'save democracy'. The people's verdict was decisively against the Emergency. The lesson was clear and has been reiterated in many state level elections thereafter—governments that are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters. In this sense the experience of 1975–77 ended up strengthening the foundations of democracy in India.

Lok Sabha Elections, 1977

In January 1977, after eighteen months of Emergency, the government decided to hold elections. Accordingly, all the leaders and activists were released from jails. Elections were held in March 1977. This left the opposition with very little time, but political developments took place very rapidly. The major opposition parties had already been coming closer in the pre-Emergency period. Now they came together on the eve of the elections and formed a new party, known as the Janata Party. The new party accepted the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. Some leaders of the Congress who were opposed to the Emergency also joined this new party.



**Morarji Desai
(1896-1995):** Freedom fighter; a Gandhian leader; Proponent of Khadi, naturopathy and prohibition; Chief Minister of Bombay State; Deputy Prime Minister (1967-1969); joined Congress (O) after the split in the party; Prime Minister from 1977 to 1979—first Prime Minister belonging to a non-Congress party.

Credit: R. K. Laxman
in The Times of India
29 March 1977

A cartoonist's reading of who won and what was defeated in the 1977 election. Those standing with the common man include Jagjivan Ram, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Atal Behari Vajpayee.



Some other Congress leaders also came out and formed a separate party under the leadership of Jagjivan Ram. This party named as Congress for Democracy, later merged with the Janata Party.

The Janata Party made this election into a referendum on the Emergency. Its campaign was focused on the non-democratic character of the rule and on the various excesses that took place during this period. In the backdrop of arrests of thousands of persons and the censorship of the Press, the public opinion was against the Congress. Jayaprakash Narayan became the popular symbol of restoration of democracy. The formation of the Janata Party also ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided. It was evident that the going was tough for the Congress.

Yet the final results took everyone by surprise. For the first time since Independence, the Congress party was defeated in the Lok Sabha elections. The Congress could win only 154 seats in the Lok Sabha. Its share of popular votes fell to less than 35 per cent. The Janata Party and its allies won 330 out of the 542 seats in the Lok Sabha; Janata Party itself won 295 seats and thus enjoyed a clear majority. In north India, it was a massive electoral wave against the Congress. The Congress lost in every constituency in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana and the Punjab and could win only one seat each in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Indira Gandhi was defeated from Rae Bareli, as was her son Sanjay Gandhi from Amethi.

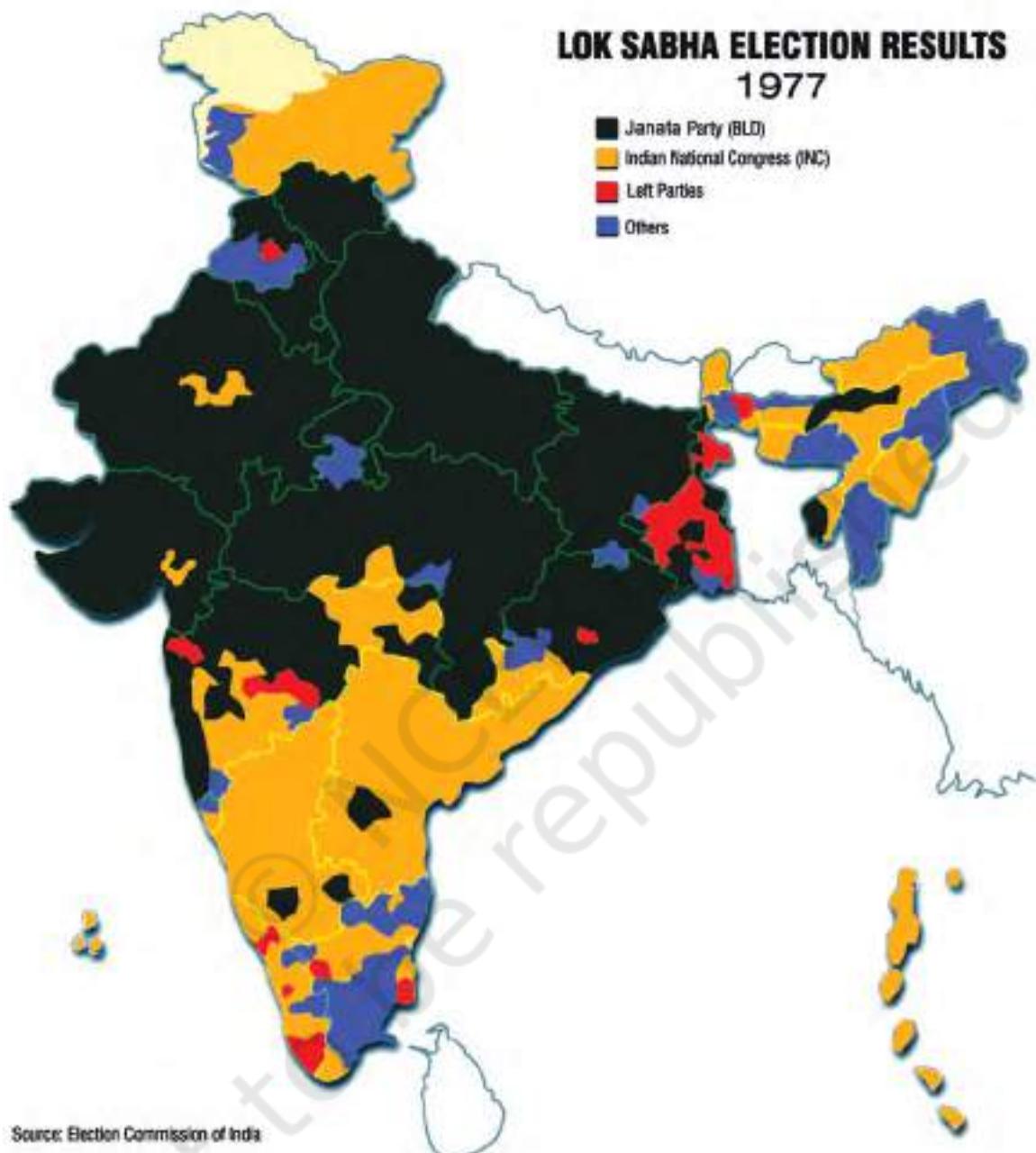
But if you look at the map showing the result of this election, you will notice that Congress did not lose elections all over the country. It retained many seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Orissa and virtually swept through the southern States. There are many reasons for this. To begin with, the impact of Emergency was not felt equally in all the States. The forced relocation and displacements, the forced sterilisations, were mostly concentrated in the northern States. But more importantly, north India had experienced some long term changes in the nature of political competition. The middle castes from north India were beginning to move away from the Congress and the Janata party became a platform for many of these sections to come together. In this sense, the elections of 1977 were not merely about the Emergency.

Janata Government

The Janata Party government that came to power after the 1977 elections was far from cohesive. After the election, there was stiff competition among three leaders for the post of Prime Minister – Morarji Desai, who was the rival to Indira Gandhi ever since 1966-67; Charan Singh, leader of the Bharatiya Lok Dal and a farmers' leader from UP; and Jagjivan Ram, who had vast experience as a senior minister in the Congress governments. Eventually Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister but that did not bring the power struggle within the party to an end.



Oath taking by the first non-congress government at the centre in 1977. In the picture are Jayaprakash Narayan, J. B. Kriplani, Morarji Desai and Atal Behari Vajpayee.



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.



How can we talk about a mandate or verdict in 1977 when the north and the south voted so differently?

Read this map and identify the states where

- Congress lost,
- Congress lost very badly and
- those states where Congress and its allies nearly swept the polls.

Which are the constituencies in north India that the Congress managed to win?

Credit: Atanu Roy/India Today



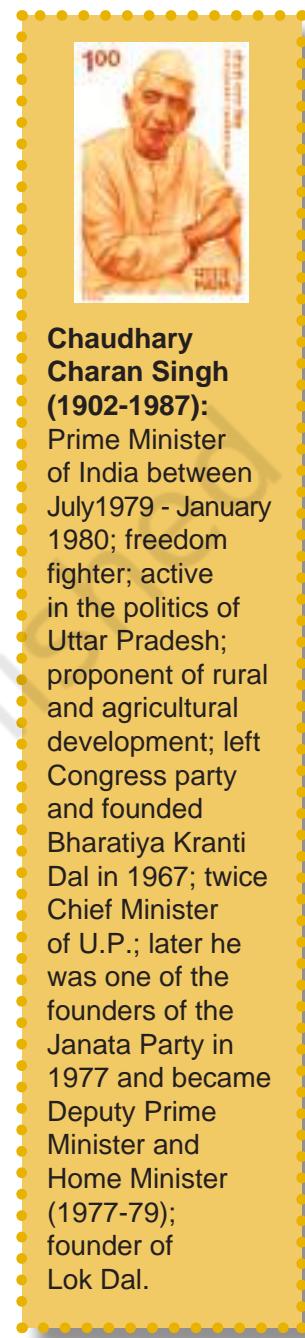
Credit: R. K. Laxman in The Times of India, 13 November 1979



Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India



Janata Party's faction fight inspired many cartoons at that time. Here is a selection.



Chaudhary Charan Singh (1902-1987):

Prime Minister of India between July 1979 - January 1980; freedom fighter; active in the politics of Uttar Pradesh; proponent of rural and agricultural development; left Congress party and founded Bharatiya Kranti Dal in 1967; twice Chief Minister of U.P.; later he was one of the founders of the Janata Party in 1977 and became Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister (1977-79); founder of Lok Dal.

I got it!
Emergency was like a vaccination against dictatorship. It was painful and caused fever, but strengthened the resistance of our democracy.



The opposition to Emergency could keep the Janata Party together only for a while. Its critics felt that the Janata Party lacked direction, leadership, and a common programme. The Janata Party government could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the Congress. The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 28 months. Another government headed by Charan Singh was formed on the assurance of the support of the Congress party. But the Congress party later decided to withdraw its support with the result that the Charan Singh government could remain in power for just about 4 months. Fresh Lok Sabha elections were held in January 1980 in which the Janata Party suffered a comprehensive defeat, especially in north India where it had swept the polls in 1977. Congress party led by Indira Gandhi nearly repeated its great victory in 1971. It won 353 seats and came back to power. The experience of 1977–79 taught another lesson in democratic politics: governments that are seen to be unstable and quarrelsome are severely punished by the voters.



Jagjivan Ram (1908–1986):

Freedom fighter and Congress leader from Bihar; Deputy Prime Minister of India (1977–79); member of Constituent Assembly; also a Member of Parliament since 1952 till his death; Labour Minister in the first ministry of free India; held various other ministries from 1952 to 1977; a scholar and astute administrator.

Legacy

But was it only a case of return of Indira Gandhi? Between the elections of 1977 and 1980 the party system had changed dramatically. Since 1969, the Congress party had started shedding its character as an umbrella party which accommodated leaders and workers of different ideological dispensations and viewpoints. The Congress party now identified itself with a particular ideology, claiming to be the only socialist and pro-poor party. Thus with the early nineteen seventies, the Congress's political success depended on attracting people on the basis of sharp social and ideological divisions and the appeal of one leader, Indira Gandhi. With the change in the nature of the Congress party, other opposition parties relied more and more on what is known in Indian politics as 'non-Congressism'. They also realised the need to avoid a division of non-Congress votes in the election. This factor played a major role in the elections of 1977.

In an indirect manner the issue of welfare of the backward castes also began to dominate politics since 1977. As we saw above, the results of 1977 elections were at least partly due to a shift among the backward castes of north India. Following the Lok Sabha elections, many states also held Assembly elections in 1977. Again, the northern States elected non-Congress governments in which the leaders of the backward castes played an important role. The issue of reservations for 'other backward classes' became very controversial in Bihar and following this, the Mandal Commission was appointed by the Janata Party

Credit: India Today



Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India

This cartoon appeared after the election results of 1980.

government at the centre. You will read more about this and about the role of the politics of backward castes, in the last chapter. The elections after the Emergency set off the process of this change in the party system.

The Emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of constitutional crisis because it had its origins in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary. On the other hand, it was also a period of political crisis. The

Let's watch a Film

HAZARON KHWAISHEIN AISI



Siddharth, Vikram and Geeta are three spirited and socially engaged students. Graduating from Delhi, they follow different paths. While Siddharth is a strong supporter of the revolutionary ideology of social transformation, Vikram is in favour of achieving success in life, whatever the cost. The film narrates the story of their journeys towards their goals and the underlying disappointments.

The film is set in the backdrop of the seventies. The young characters are products of the expectations and idealism of that period. Siddharth is not successful in his ambition to stage a revolution, but is so involved in the plight of the poor that he begins valuing their uplift more than revolution. On the other hand, Vikram becomes a typical political fixer but is constantly ill at ease.

Year: 2005
 Director: Sudhir Mishra
 Screenplay: Sudhir Mishra
 Ruchi Narain
 Shivkumar Subramaniam
 Cast: Kay Kay Menon, Shiney Ahuja, Chitrangada Singh

party in power had absolute majority and yet, its leadership decided to suspend the democratic process. The makers of India's Constitution trusted that all political parties would basically abide by the democratic norm. Even during the Emergency, when the government would use extraordinary powers, its use would be within the norms of the rule of law. This expectation led to the wide and open ended powers given to the government in times of Emergency. These were abused during the Emergency. This political crisis was more serious than the constitutional crisis.

Another critical issue that emerged during this period was the role and extent of mass protests in a parliamentary democracy. There was clearly a tension between institution-based democracy and democracy based on spontaneous popular participation. This tension may be attributed to the inability of the party system to incorporate the aspirations of the people. In the next chapter we shall study some of the manifestations of this tension, in particular, debates around regional identity.

1. State whether the following statements regarding the Emergency are correct or incorrect.

- (a) It was declared in 1975 by Indira Gandhi.
- (b) It led to the suspension of all fundamental rights.
- (c) It was proclaimed due to the deteriorating economic conditions.
- (d) Many Opposition leaders were arrested during the emergency.
- (e) CPI supported the proclamation of the Emergency.

2. Find the odd one out in the context of proclamation of Emergency

- (a) The call for 'Total Revolution.'
- (b) The Railway Strike of 1974
- (c) The Naxalite Movement
- (d) The Allahabad High Court verdict
- (e) The findings of the Shah Commission Report

3. Match the following

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) Total Revolution | i. Indira Gandhi |
| (b) Garibi hatao | ii. Jayaprakash Narayan |
| (c) Students' Protest | iii. Bihar Movement |
| (d) Railway Strike | iv. George Fernandes |

4. What were the reasons which led to the mid-term elections in 1980?

5. The Shah Commission was appointed in 1977 by the Janata Party Government. Why was it appointed and what were its findings?

6. What reasons did the Government give for declaring a National Emergency in 1975?

7. The 1977 elections for the first time saw the Opposition coming into power at the Centre. What would you consider as the reasons for this development?

8. Discuss the effects of Emergency on the following aspects of our polity.

- Effects on civil liberties for citizens.
- Impact on relationship between the Executive and Judiciary
- Functioning of Mass Media
- Working of the Police and Bureaucracy.

9. In what way did the imposition of Emergency affect the party system in India? Elaborate your answer with examples.

10. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

Indian democracy was never so close to a two-party system as it was during the 1977 elections. However, the next few years saw a complete change. Soon after its defeat, the Indian National Congress split into two groups..... The Janata Party also went through major convulsions..... David Butler, Ashok Lahiri and Prannoy Roy. — PARTHA CHATTERJEE

- (a) What made the party system in India look like a two-party system in 1977?
- (b) Many more than two parties existed in 1977. Why then are the authors describing this period as close to a two-party system?
- (c) What caused splits in Congress and the Janata parties?

EXERCISES

हमें हर भारतवासी का सहयोग चाहिये

हमें हर भारतवासी का सहयोग चाहिये
अन्याय-शोषण व दमन के खिलाफ
उत्तराखण्ड राज्यके निर्माण के लिए।



जाग्रात्तर प्रजा और शासी व अखंकारी के खिलाफ
चाहे। उत्तराखण्ड राज्यका निर्माण के लिए।

ग्रामिला सर्व भारतीय जनतया सहयोगपाठ्ये प्राप्त।
उत्तराखण्ड राज्यव्यविनाश सारी।



25 अगस्त 1974 को जनतया के लिए इसका आवाहन किया गया।

25 अगस्त 1974 को जनतया के लिए इसका आवाहन किया गया।



उत्तराखण्ड राज्य लियाएँ लाई जाएँ
जर उत्तराखण्डी दा मिथिया चुरीदा रो।

WE SEEK SUPPORT OF EVERY INDIAN AGAINST
INJUSTICE, EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION
FOR THE CREATION OF UTTRAKHAND STATE

उत्तराखण्ड स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई का लिए इसका आवाहन किया गया। इसका लिए इसका आवाहन किया गया।

Regional aspirations are usually expressed in the language of the region and addressed to the local population or the rulers. This unusual poster from Uttarakhand movement appeals to all the Indian citizens in seven different languages and thus underscores the compatibility of the regional aspirations with nationalist sentiments.

In this chapter...

In the first chapter of this book we studied the process of 'nation-building' in the first decade after Independence. But nation-building is not something that can be accomplished once and for all times to come. In the course of time new challenges came up. Some of the old problems had never been fully resolved. As democratic experiment unfolded, people from different regions began to express their aspirations for autonomy. Sometimes these aspirations were expressed outside the framework of the Indian union. These involved long struggles and often aggressive and armed assertions by the people.

This new challenge came to the fore in the 1980s, as the Janata experiment came to an end and there was some political stability at the centre. This decade will be remembered for some major conflicts and accords in the various regions of the country, especially in Assam, the Punjab, Mizoram and the developments in Jammu and Kashmir. In this chapter we study these cases so as to ask some general questions.

- Which factors contribute to the tensions arising out of regional aspirations?
- How has the Indian state responded to these tensions and challenges?
- What kind of difficulties are faced in balancing democratic rights and national unity?
- What are the lessons here for achieving unity with diversity in a democracy?

CHAPTER 7

REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS



Region and the Nation

1980s may be seen as a period of rising regional aspirations for autonomy, often outside the framework of the Indian Union. These movements frequently involved armed assertions by the people, their repression by the government, and a collapse of the political and electoral processes. It is also not surprising that most of these struggles were long drawn and concluded in negotiated settlements or accords between the central government and the groups leading the movement for autonomy. The accords were reached after a process of dialogue that aimed to settle contentious issues within the constitutional framework. Yet the journey to the accord was always tumultuous and often violent.

Indian approach

In studying the Indian Constitution and the process of nation-building we have repeatedly come across one basic principle of the Indian approach to diversity – the Indian nation shall not deny the rights of different regions and linguistic groups to retain their own culture. We decided to live a united social life without losing the distinctiveness of the numerous cultures that constituted it. Indian nationalism sought to balance the principles of unity and diversity. The nation would not mean the negation of the region. In this sense the Indian approach was very different from the one adopted in many European countries where they saw cultural diversity as a threat to the nation.

India adopted a democratic approach to the question of diversity. Democracy allows the political expressions of regional aspirations and does not look upon them as anti-national. Besides, democratic politics allows parties and groups to address the people on the basis of their regional identity, aspiration and specific regional problems. Thus, in the course of democratic politics, regional aspirations get strengthened. At the same time, democratic politics also means that regional issues and problems will receive adequate attention and accommodation in the policy making process.

Such an arrangement may sometimes lead to tensions and problems. Sometimes, the concern for national unity may overshadow the regional needs

Does it mean that regionalism is not as dangerous as communalism? Or maybe, not dangerous at all?



and aspirations. At other times a concern for region alone may blind us to the larger needs of the nation. Therefore, political conflicts over issues of power of the regions, their rights and their separate existence are common to nations that want to respect diversity while trying to forge and retain unity.

Areas of tension

In the first chapter you have seen how immediately after Independence our nation had to cope with many difficult issues like Partition, displacement, integration of Princely States, reorganisation of states and so on. Many observers, both within the country and from outside, had predicted that India as one unified country cannot last long. Soon after Independence, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir came up. It was not only a conflict between India and Pakistan. More than that, it was a question of the political aspirations of the people of Kashmir valley. Similarly, in some parts of the north-east, there was no consensus about being a part of India. First Nagaland and then Mizoram witnessed strong movements demanding separation from India. In the south, some groups from the Dravid movement briefly toyed with the idea of a separate country.

These events were followed by mass agitations in many parts for the formation of linguistic States. Today's Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Gujarat were among the regions affected by these agitations. In some parts of southern India, particularly Tamil Nadu, there were protests against making Hindi the official national language of the country. In the north, there were strong pro-Hindi agitations demanding that Hindi be made the official language immediately. From the late 1950s, people speaking the Punjabi language started agitating for a separate State for themselves. This demand was finally accepted and the States of Punjab and Haryana were created in 1966. Later, the States of Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand were created. Thus the challenge of diversity was met by redrawing the internal boundaries of the country.

Why does the challenge always come from the border States?



Yet this did not lead to resolution of all problems and for all times. In some regions, like Kashmir and Nagaland, the challenge was so complex that it could not be resolved in the first phase of nation-building. Besides, new challenges came up in States like Punjab, Assam and Mizoram. Let us study these cases in some detail. In this process let us also go back to some of the earlier instances of difficulties of nation building. The successes and failures in these cases are instructive not merely for a study of our past, but also for an understanding of India's future.

Jammu and Kashmir

As you have studied in the previous year, Jammu and Kashmir had a special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. However, in spite of it, Jammu and Kashmir experienced violence, cross border terrorism and political instability with internal and external ramifications. It also resulted in the loss of many lives including that of innocent civilians, security personnel and militants. Besides, there was also a large scale displacement of Kashmiri Pandits from the Kashmir valley.

Jammu and Kashmir comprises three social and political regions— Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The Jammu region is a mix of foothills and plains. It is predominantly inhabited by the Hindus. Muslims, Sikhs and people of other denominations also reside in this region. The Kashmir region mainly comprises of the Kashmir valley. It is inhabited mostly by Kashmiri Muslims with the remaining being Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and others. The Ladakh region is mainly mountainous. It has very little population which is almost equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.

Roots of the Problem

Before 1947, Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was a Princely State. Its ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh did not want to merge either with India or Pakistan but to have an independent status for his state. The Pakistani leaders thought that Kashmir region ‘belonged’ to Pakistan, since the majority population of the State was Muslim. But this is not how the people of the state themselves saw it—they thought of themselves as Kashmiris above all. This issue of regional aspiration is known as Kashmiriyat. The popular movement in the State, led by Sheikh Abdullah of the National Conference, wanted to get rid of the Maharaja, but was against joining Pakistan. The National Conference was a secular organisation and had a long association with the Congress. Sheikh Abdullah was a personal friend of some of the leading nationalist leaders including Nehru.

Union Territories of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh



Source: <https://pib.gov.in>



**E.V.
Ramasami
Naicker
(1879-1973):**

Known as Periyar (the respected); strong supporter of atheism; famous for his anti-caste struggle and rediscovery of Dravidian identity; initially a worker of the Congress party; started the self-respect movement (1925); led the anti-Brahmin movement; worked for the Justice party and later founded Dravidar Kazhagam; opposed to Hindi and domination of north India; propounded the thesis that north Indians and Brahmins are Aryans.

Dravidian movement

'Vadakku Vaazhgiradhu; Therkku Thaeikiradhu' [The north thrives even as the south decays]. This popular slogan sums up the dominant sentiments of one of India's most effective regional movements, the Dravidian movement, at one point of time. This was one of the first regional movements in Indian politics. Though some sections of this movement had ambitions of creating a Dravida nation, the movement did not take to arms. It used democratic means like public debates and the electoral platform to achieve its ends. This strategy paid off as the movement acquired political power in the State and also became influential at the national level.

The Dravidian movement led to the formation of Dravidar Kazhagam [DK] under the leadership of Tamil social reformer E.V. Ramasami 'Periyar'. The organisation strongly opposed the Brahmins' dominance and affirmed regional pride against the political, economic and cultural domination of the North. Initially, the Dravidian movement spoke in terms of

the whole of south India; however lack of support from other States limited the movement to Tamil Nadu.

The DK split and the political legacy of the movement was transferred to Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK).

The DMK made its entry into politics with a three pronged agitation in 1953-54. First, it demanded the restoration of the original name of Kallakudi railway station which had been renamed Dalmiapuram, after an industrial house from the North. This demand brought out its opposition to the North Indian economic and cultural symbols. The second agitation was for



Anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu, 1965

HINDI PROTAGONISTS ALLEGEDLY BID TO REVERSE POLICY

"The Times of India" News Service
NEW DELHI, December 2.

A STORM broke out in the Lok Sabha today during question hour when protagonists of Hindi conceded the Government's right to refer the question of medium of instruction to the Education Commission after Parliament had rat its bill of approval on the Government's language policy.

During the Education Committee, Mr. M. C. Chagla's amendment that there had been no change in the language policy and that the findings of the commission were not binding on the Government, evoked no luck and a series of points of order.

The Government's policy which quite correct, his remark that findings of the Commission were non-binding on the Government or his Ministry was greeted with loud cries. "Ditch why appoint a committee?"

The future started when Mr. Prakash Vir Shahi asked whether the response to the Commission's report that the Minister did not agree with the Government's policy. It could not also mean that Parliament, which had adopted the policy, was being bypassed?

GOVT. POLICY

Other questions were also no sine-qua non. Mr. Bhagat Singh Ahluwalia said that he had appointed a Commission

before Parliament and it would be open to the House to take whatever attitude it liked on them.

Earlier, answering questions on the report of the Sanskritisation Committee, Mr. Chagla said that he had been consistently taking the position that regional languages should become the medium of instruction in universities. But they should go side by side with the medium of instruction in the universities.

He said that Odisha was the only State which had introduced English from Standard VIII. Most other States had introduced it from Standard V. One or two States were introducing English from Standard III.

giving Tamil cultural history greater importance in school curricula. The third agitation was against the craft education scheme of the State government, which it alleged was linked to the Brahmanical social outlook. It also agitated against making Hindi the country's official language. The success of the anti-Hindi agitation of 1965 added to the DMK's popularity.

Sustained political agitations brought the DMK to power in the Assembly elections of 1967. Since then, the Dravidian parties have dominated the politics of Tamil Nadu. Though the DMK split after the death of its leader, C. Annadurai, the influence of Dravidian parties in Tamil politics actually increased. After the split there were two parties – the DMK and the All India Anna DMK (AIADMK) – that claimed Dravidian legacy. Both these parties have dominated politics in Tamil Nadu for the last four decades. Since 1996, one of these parties has been a part of the ruling coalition at the Centre. In the 1990s, many other parties have emerged. These include Marumalarchchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) and Desiya Murpokku Dravidar Kazhagam (DMDK). All these parties have kept alive the issue of regional pride in the politics of Tamil Nadu. Initially seen as a threat to Indian nationalism, regional politics in Tamil Nadu is a good example of the compatibility of regionalism and nationalism.



**Sheikh
Mohammad
Abdullah
(1905-1982):**
Leader of Jammu
and Kashmir;
proponent of
autonomy and
secularism for

Jammu and Kashmir; led the popular struggle against princely rule; opposed to Pakistan due to its non-secular character; leader of the National Conference; Prime Minister of J&K immediately after its accession with India in 1947; dismissed and jailed by Government of India from 1953 to 1964 and again from 1965 to 1968; became Chief Minister of the State after an agreement with Indira Gandhi in 1974.

In October 1947, Pakistan sent tribal infiltrators from its side to capture Kashmir. This forced the Maharaja to ask for Indian military help. India extended the military support and drove back the infiltrators from Kashmir valley, but only after the Maharaja had signed an 'Instrument of Accession' with the Government of India. However, as Pakistan continued to control a sizeable part of the state, the issue was taken to the United Nations Organisation, which in its resolution dated 21 April 1948 recommended a three step process to resolve the issue. Firstly, Pakistan had to withdraw its entire nationalities, who entered into Kashmir. Secondly, India needed to progressively reduce its forces so as to maintain law and order. Thirdly, a plebiscite was to be conducted in a free and impartial manner. However, no progress could be achieved under this resolution. In the meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah took over as the Prime Minister of the State of J&K in March 1948 while India agreed to grant it provisional autonomy under the Article 370. The head of the government in the State was then called Prime Minister.

External and internal disputes

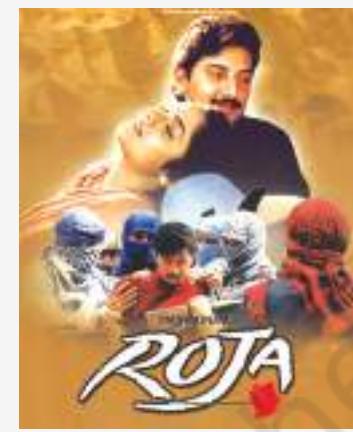
Since then the politics of Jammu and Kashmir remained controversial and conflict-ridden both for external and internal reasons. Externally, Pakistan has always claimed that Kashmir valley should be part of Pakistan. As we noted above, Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of the State in 1947, as a consequence of which one part of the State came under Pakistani control. However, it is the Indian territory which is under illegal occupation of Pakistan called as Pakistan occupied Jammu and Kashmir (POJK). Ever since 1947, Kashmir has remained a major issue of conflict between India and Pakistan.

Internally, there is a dispute about the status of Kashmir within Indian union. You have studied about the special provisions under Articles 370 and 371 last year in *Indian Constitution at Work*. This special status had provoked two opposite reactions. There is a section of people outside of J&K that believed that the special status of the State conferred by Article 370 did not allow full integration of the State with India. This section felt that Article 370 be revoked and J&K be treated like any other state of India.

Another section, mostly Kashmiris, believe that the autonomy conferred by Article 370 is not enough. They had at least three major grievances. First, the promise that Accession would be referred to the people of the State after the situation created by tribal invasion was normalised, has not been fulfilled. This generated the demand for a plebiscite. Secondly, there was a feeling that the special federal status guaranteed by Article 370, had been eroded in practice. This had led to the demand for restoration of autonomy or 'Greater State Autonomy'. Thirdly, it was felt that democracy which is practiced in the rest of India has not been similarly institutionalised in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Let's watch a Film

Roja



Tamil film depicting the travails of Roja, a newly wed and doting wife when her husband, Rishi, is abducted by militants. Rishi is a cryptologist who is assigned duty in Kashmir to decode the enemy's messages. As love blossoms between the husband and the wife, the husband is kidnapped. The kidnappers demand that their jailed leader, be set free in exchange of Rishi.

Roja's world is shattered and she is seen knocking at the doors of officials and politicians. Since the film has the background of Indo-Pakistan dispute, it made instant appeal. The film was dubbed in Hindi and many other Indian languages.

Year: 1992
Director: Maniratnam
Screenplay: Maniratnam
Cast (Hindi version): Madhu, Arvind Swamy, Pankaj Kapoor, Janagaraj

Politics since 1948

After taking over as the Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah initiated major land reforms and other policies which benefitted ordinary people. But there was a growing difference between him and the central government about his position on Kashmir's status. He was dismissed in 1953 and kept in detention for a number of years. The leadership that succeeded him did not enjoy as much popular support and was able to rule the State mainly due to the support of the Centre. There were serious allegations of malpractices and rigging in various elections.

During most of the period between 1953 and 1974, the Congress party exercised influence on the politics of the State. A truncated National Conference (minus Sheikh Abdullah) remained in power with the active support of Congress for some time but later it merged with the Congress. Thus, the Congress gained direct control over the government in the state and brought about the changes. In the meanwhile, there were several attempts to reach an agreement between Sheikh Abdullah and the Government of India. A change in the provision of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir was made in 1965 by which the Prime Minister of the state was designated as Chief Minister of the state. Accordingly, Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq of the Indian National Congress became the first Chief Minister of the state.



Credit: The Times of India

In 1974 Indira Gandhi reached an agreement with Sheikh Abdullah and he became the Chief Minister of the State. He revived the National Conference which was elected with majority in the assembly elections held in 1977. Sheikh Abdullah died in 1982 and the leadership of the National Conference went to his son, Farooq Abdullah, who became the Chief Minister. But he soon was dismissed by the Governor and a breakaway faction of the National Conference came to power for a brief period.

The dismissal of Farooq Abdullah's government due to the intervention of the Centre generated a feeling of resentment in Kashmir. The confidence that Kashmiris had developed in the democratic processes after the accord between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah, received a setback. The feeling that the Centre was intervening in politics of the State was further strengthened when the National Conference in 1986 agreed to have an electoral alliance with the Congress, the ruling party in the Centre.

Insurgency and After

It was in this environment that the 1987 Assembly election took place. The official results showed a massive victory of the National Conference—Congress alliance and Farooq Abdullah returned as Chief Minister. But it was widely believed that the results did not reflect popular choice, and that the entire election process was rigged. A popular resentment had already been brewing in the State against the inefficient administration since early 1980s. This was now augmented by the commonly prevailing feeling that democratic processes were being undermined by the state at the behest of the Centre. This generated a political crisis in Kashmir which became severe with the rise of insurgency.

By 1989, the State had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri nation. The insurgents got moral, material and military support from Pakistan. For a number of years the State was under President's rule and effectively under the control of the armed forces. Throughout the period from 1990, Jammu and Kashmir experienced extraordinary violence at the hands of the insurgents and through army action. Assembly elections in the State were held only in 1996 in which the National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah came to power with a demand for regional autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir. At the end of its term, elections were held in the State in 2002. The National Conference failed to win a majority and was replaced by a coalition government of People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Congress.

2002 and Beyond

As per the coalition agreement, Mufti Mohammed headed the government for the first three years succeeded by Ghulam Nabi Azad

This is all about governments, officials, leaders, terrorists... but what about the people in Jammu and Kashmir? In a democracy we must go by what they want, shouldn't we?



Master Tara Singh (1885–1967):

Prominent Sikh religious and political leader; one of the early leaders of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC); leader of the Akali movement; supporter of the freedom movement but opposed to Congress' policy of negotiating only with the Muslims; after Independence, he was the senior most advocate of formation of separate Punjab State.

of the Indian National Congress who however could not complete the term as president rule was imposed in the state in July 2008. The next election was held in November–December 2008. Another coalition government (composed of NC and INC) came into power headed by Omar Abdullah in 2009. However, the state continued to witness disturbances led by the Hurriyat Conference. In 2014, the state went into another election, which recorded the highest voters' turnout in 25 years. Consequently a coalition government led by Mufti Mohammed Sayeed of the PDP came into power with the BJP as its partner. After Mufti Mohammed Sayeed died, his daughter Mahbooba Mufti became the first woman Chief Minister of the state in April 2016. During the tenure of Mahbooba Mufti, major acts of terrorism, mounting external and internal tensions were witnessed. The President's rule was imposed in June 2018 after BJP withdrew its support to the Mufti government. On 5 August 2019, Article 370 was abolished by the Jammu & Kashmir Reorganisation Act 2019 and the state was constituted into two Union Territories, viz., Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh.

Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh are living examples of plural society in India. Not only are there diversities of all kind (religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and tribal) but there are also divergent political and developmental aspirations, which have been sought to be achieved by the latest Act.

Punjab

The decade of 1980s also witnessed major developments in the State of Punjab. The social composition of the State changed first with Partition and later on after the carving out of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. While the rest of the country was reorganised on linguistic lines in 1950s, Punjab had to wait till 1966 for the creation of a Punjabi speaking State. The Akali Dal, which was formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs, had led the movement for the formation of a 'Punjabi suba'. The Sikhs were now a majority in the truncated State of Punjab.

Political context

After the reorganisation, the Akalis came to power in 1967 and then in 1977. On both the occasions it was a coalition government. The Akalis discovered that despite the redrawing of the boundaries, their political position remained precarious. Firstly, their government was dismissed by the Centre mid-way through its term. Secondly, they did not enjoy strong support among the Hindus. Thirdly, the Sikh community, like all other religious communities, was internally differentiated on caste and class lines. The Congress got more support among the Dalits, whether Hindu or Sikh, than the Akalis.

It was in this context that during the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region. This was reflected in a resolution passed at their conference at Anandpur Sahib in 1973. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution asserted regional autonomy and wanted to redefine centre-state relationship in the country. The resolution also spoke of the aspirations of the Sikh *qaum* (community or nation) and declared its goal as attaining the *bolbala* (dominance or hegemony) of the Sikhs. The Resolution was a plea for strengthening federalism in India.

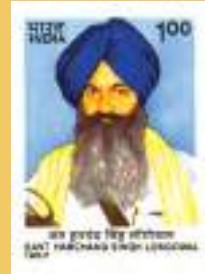
The Resolution had a limited appeal among the Sikh masses. A few years later, after the Akali government had been dismissed in 1980, the Akali Dal launched a movement on the question of the distribution of water between Punjab and its neighbouring States. A section of the religious leaders raised the question of autonomous Sikh identity.

Cycle of violence

Soon, the leadership of the movement passed from the moderate Akalis to the extremist elements and took the form of armed insurgency. These militants made their headquarters inside the Sikh holy shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, and turned it into an armed fortress. In June 1984, the Government of India carried out 'Operation Blue Star', code name for army action in the Golden Temple. In this operation, the Government could successfully flush out the militants, but it also damaged the historic temple and deeply hurt the sentiments of the Sikhs. A large proportion of Sikhs in India and abroad saw the military operation as an attack on their faith and this gave further impetus to militant and extremist groups.

Still more tragic turn of events complicated the Punjab problem further. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31 October 1984 outside her residence by her bodyguards. Both

the assassins were Sikhs and wanted to take revenge for Operation Blue Star. While the entire country was shocked by this development, in Delhi and in many parts of northern India violence broke out against the Sikh community. The violence against the Sikhs



Sant Harchand Singh Longowal (1932–1985):
Sikh political and religious leader; began his political career in mid-sixties as an Akali leader; became president of Akali Dal in 1980; reached an agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on key demands of Akalis; assassinated by unidentified Sikh youth.





“There is also evidence to show that on 31-10-84 either meetings were held or persons who could organise attacks were contacted and were given instructions to kill Sikhs and loot their houses and shops. The attacks were made in a systematic manner and without much fear of the police, almost suggesting that they were assured that they would not be harmed while committing those acts or even after.

”

Justice Nanavati
Commission of Inquiry,
Report, Vol. I, 2005

continued for almost a week. More than two thousand Sikhs were killed in the national capital, the area worst affected by this violence. Hundreds of Sikhs were killed in other parts of the country, especially in places like Kanpur, Bokaro and Chas. Many Sikh families lost their male members and thus suffered great emotional and heavy financial loss. What hurt the Sikhs most was that the government took a long time in restoring normalcy and that the perpetrators of this violence were not effectively punished. Twenty years later, speaking in the Parliament in 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed regret over these killings and apologised to the nation for the anti-Sikh violence.



Women looking at a wall painting depicting Indira Gandhi's assassination.



The Times of India brought out a special mid-day edition on the day Indira Gandhi was assassinated.

Road to peace

After coming to power following the election in 1984, the new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated a dialogue with moderate Akali leaders. In July 1985, he reached an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal, then the President of the Akali Dal. This agreement, known as the Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord, was a step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab. It was agreed that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab, a separate commission would be appointed to resolve the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana, and a tribunal would be set up to decide the sharing of Ravi-Beas river water among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. The agreement also provided for compensation to and better treatment of those affected by the militancy in Punjab and the withdrawal of the application of Armed Forces Special Powers Act in Punjab.

However, peace did not come easily or immediately. The cycle of violence continued nearly for a decade. Militancy and counter insurgency violence led to excesses by the police and violations of human rights. Politically, it led to fragmentation of the Akali Dal. The central government had to impose President's rule in the State and the normal electoral and political process was suspended. It was not easy to restore the political process in the atmosphere of suspicion and violence. When elections were held in Punjab in 1992, only 24 per cent of the electors tuned out to vote.

Militancy was eventually eradicated by the security forces. But the losses incurred by the people of Punjab – Sikhs and Hindus alike – were enormous. Peace returned to Punjab by the middle of 1990s. The alliance of Akali Dal (Badal) and the BJP scored a major victory in 1997, in the first normal elections in the State in the post-militancy era. The State is once again preoccupied with questions of economic development and social change. Though religious identities continue to be important for the people, politics has gradually moved back along secular lines.

“I have no hesitation in apologising not only to the sikh community but the whole Indian nation because what took place in 1984 is the negation of the concept of nationhood and what is enshrined in our Constitution. So, I am not standing on any false prestige. On behalf of our Government, on behalf of the entire people of this country, I bow my head in shame that such thing took place. But, Sir, there are ebbs, there are tides in the affairs of nations. The past is with us. We cannot rewrite the past. But as human beings, we have the willpower and we have the ability to write better future for all of us. **”**

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh intervening in Rajya Sabha debate on 11 August 2005

The North-East

In the North-East, regional aspirations reached a turning point in 1980s. This region now consists of eight States. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram and Meghalaya, which earlier constituted the North-East region, are often called "the seven sisters". Sikkim, which has been added to the list is – referred to as the 'Brother' to those seven states. The region has only 4 per cent of the country's population but about twice as much share of its area. A small corridor of about 22 kilometers connects the region to the rest of the country. Otherwise the region shares boundaries with China, Myanmar and Bangladesh and serves as India's gateway to South East Asia.

The region has witnessed a lot of change since 1947. Tripura, Manipur and Khasi Hills of Meghalaya were erstwhile Princely States which merged with India after Independence. The entire region of North-East has undergone considerable political reorganisation. Nagaland State was created in 1963; Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya in 1972 while Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh became separate States only in 1987. The Partition of India in 1947 had reduced the North-East to a land locked region and affected its economy. Cut off from the rest of India, the region suffered neglect in developmental terms. Its politics too remained insulated. At the same time, most States in this region underwent major demographic changes due to influx of migrants from neighbouring States and countries.

The isolation of the region, its complex social character and its backwardness compared to other parts of the country have all resulted

in the complicated set of demands from different states of the North-East. The vast international border and weak communication between the North-East and the rest of India have further added to the delicate nature of politics there. Three issues dominate the politics of North-East: demands for autonomy, movements for secession, and opposition to 'outsiders'. Major initiatives on the first issue in the 1970s set the stage for some dramatic developments on the second and the third in the 1980s.

Demands for autonomy

At independence the entire region except Manipur and Tripura comprised the State of Assam. Demands for political autonomy arose when the non-Assamese felt that the Assam government was imposing Assamese language on them.



There were opposition and protest riots throughout the State. Leaders of the major tribal communities wanted to separate from Assam. They formed the Eastern India Tribal Union which later transformed into a more comprehensive All Party Hill Leaders Conference in 1960. They demanded a tribal State to be carved out of Assam. Finally instead of one tribal State, several States got carved out of Assam. At different points of time the Central Government had to create Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh out of Assam. Tripura and Manipur were upgraded into States too.

The reorganisation of the North-East was completed by 1972. But this was not the end of autonomy demands in this region. In Assam, for example, communities like the Bodos, Karbis and Dimasas wanted separate States. They worked for this demand by mobilising public opinion and popular movement as well as through insurgency. Often the same area was claimed by more than one community. It was not possible to go on making smaller and yet smaller States. Therefore, some other provisions of our federal set up were used to satisfy their autonomy demands while remaining in Assam. Karbis and Dimasas have been granted autonomy under District Councils while Bodos were recently granted Autonomous Council.

Secessionist movements

Demands for autonomy were easier to respond to, for these involved using the various provisions in the Constitution for accommodation of diversities. It was much more difficult when some groups demanded a separate country, not in momentary anger but consistently as a principled position. The country's leadership faced this problem for a very long time in at least two States in the North-East. A comparison of these two cases offers us a lesson in democratic politics.

After Independence, the Mizo Hills area was made an autonomous district within Assam. Some Mizos believed that they were never a part of British India and therefore did not belong to the Indian union. But the movement for secession gained popular support after the Assam government failed to respond adequately to the great famine of 1959 in Mizo hills. The Mizos' anger led to the formation of the Mizo National Front (MNF) under the leadership of Laldenga.

In 1966 the MNF started an armed campaign for independence. Thus, started a two decade long battle between Mizo insurgents and the Indian army. The MNF fought a guerilla war, got support from Pakistani government and secured shelter in the then East Pakistan. The Indian security forces countered it with a series of repressive measures of which the common people were the victims. At one point even Air Force was used. These measures caused more anger and alienation among the people.

At the end of two decades of insurgency everyone was a loser. This is where maturity of the political leadership at both ends made

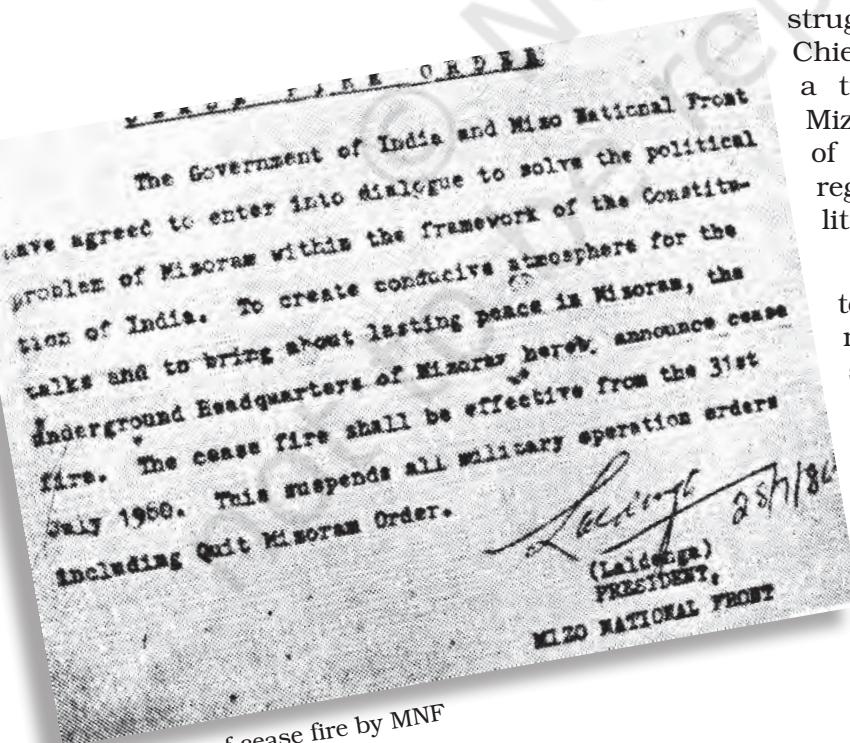
My friend Chon said that people in Delhi know more about the map of Europe than about the North-East in our country. I think she is right at least about my schoolmates.



**Laldenga
(1937-1990):**

Founder and leader of the Mizo National Front; turned into a rebel after the experience of the famine in 1959; led an armed struggle against India for two decades; reached a settlement and signed an agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1986; became the Chief Minister of the newly created State of Mizoram.

Credit : Times of India



Declaration of cease fire by MNF

a difference. Laldenga came back from exile in Pakistan and started negotiations with the Indian government. Rajiv Gandhi steered these negotiations to a positive conclusion. In 1986 a peace agreement was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Laldenga. As per this accord Mizoram was granted full-fledged statehood with special powers and the MNF agreed to give up secessionist struggle. Laldenga took over as the Chief Minister. This accord proved a turning point in the history of Mizoram. Today, Mizoram is one of the most peaceful places in the region and has taken big strides in literacy and development.

The story of Nagaland is similar to Mizoram, except that it started much earlier and has not yet had such a happy ending. Led by Angami Zapu Phizo, a section of the Nagas declared independence from India way back in 1951. Phizo turned down many offers of negotiated settlement. The Naga National Council launched an armed struggle for sovereignty of Nagas. After a period of violent insurgency a section of the Nagas signed an agreement with the Government of India

but this was not acceptable to other rebels. The problem in Nagaland still awaits a final resolution.

Movements against outsiders

The large scale migration into the North-East gave rise to a special kind of problem that pitted the 'local' communities against people who were seen as 'outsiders' or migrants. These latecomers, either from India or abroad are seen as encroachers on scarce resources like land and potential competitors to employment opportunities and political power. This issue has taken political and sometimes violent form in many States of the North-East.

The Assam Movement from 1979 to 1985 is the best example of such movements against 'outsiders'. The Assamese suspected that there were huge numbers of illegal Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh. They felt that unless these foreign nationals are detected and deported they would reduce the indigenous Assamese into a minority. There were other economic issues too. There was widespread poverty and unemployment in Assam despite the existence of natural resources like oil, tea and coal. It was felt that these were drained out of the State without any commensurate benefit to the people.

In 1979 the All Assam Students' Union (AASU), a students' group not affiliated to any party, led an anti-foreigner movement. The movement was against illegal migrations, against domination of Bengalis and other outsiders, and against faulty voters' register that included the names of lakhs of immigrants. The movement demanded that all outsiders who had entered the State after 1951 should be sent back. The agitation followed many novel methods and mobilised all sections of Assamese people, drawing support across the State. It also involved many tragic and violent incidents leading to loss of property and human lives. The movement also tried to blockade the movement of trains and the supply of oil from Assam to refineries in Bihar.

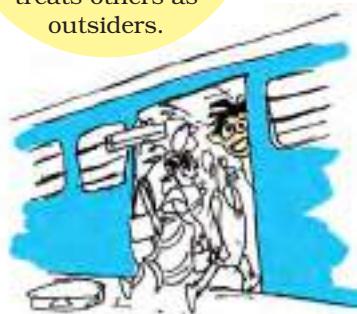
Eventually after six years of turmoil, the Rajiv Gandhi-led government entered into negotiations with the AASU leaders, leading to the signing of an accord in 1985. According to this agreement those foreigners who migrated into Assam during and after Bangladesh war and since, were to be identified and deported. With the successful completion of the movement, the AASU and the Asom Gana Sangram Parishad organised themselves as a regional political party called Asom Gana Parishad (AGP). It came to power in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem as well as to build a 'Golden Assam'.

Assam accord brought peace and changed the face of politics in Assam, but it did not solve the problem of immigration. The issue of the 'outsiders' continues to be a live issue in the politics of Assam



Angami Zapu Phizo
(1904-1990):
Leader of the movement for independent Nagaland; president of Naga National Council; began an armed struggle against the Indian state; went 'underground', stayed in Pakistan and spent the last three decades of his life in exile in UK.

I've never understood this insider-outsider business. It's like the train compartment. Someone who got in before others treats others as outsiders.



नईदृग्निया

✓असम समझौता: उल्लेखनीय उपलब्धि

असम के बारे में केंद्र सरकार तथा असम के छात संगठनों के बीच पंद्रह तारीख को तड़के कुएं समझौते से असम का ए वर्ष पुराना आदोलन समाप्त हो गया है। असम के विकास छात संगठनों द्वारा संघरणित सरकार विशेष आदोलन के दौरान साहे तीन हजार से अधिक जाने वाले और अरबों रुपयों की आपूर्ति हाँह हुई। बारह अप्रैल १९८० को जब तन्त्रालील प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी गुआहाटी मई थीं तो छात ने १९८७ को आद्या वर्ष असम का विदेशी नागरिकों को समर्पया के समाधान के तैयार हो गए थे। पर इस्तेमाली तब १९८९ को आधार वर्ष पाने जाने पर अट्ठी रही। चलान्वयन, सरकार तथा छात संगठनों के बीच बातचीत टूट गई। श्रीमती गांधी ने असम समर्पया को सल्लाह के लिए चार शहरोंवालों—(जीलमिह, शो आर वैन्टरेसन, और ग्रानाइट लेने वाला थी नरसिंहराज) की सेवाओं का उत्त्योग किया। नितू, अधिकारी और कठोर लैटरी का जो कालारंग बना था, वह ऐसा नहीं था कि कोई समझौते हो पाता।

बी राजीव गांधी के काम करने की श्रीमती इम अट्ठे में नहै है कि वह सहव ही विपक्षी दल का विद्यासं जीत लेती है। श्री गांधी रियायतें देने को तैयार रहते हैं, जिसके फलस्वरूप सामने बाला पश्च रियायत देकर समझौता करने को तैयार हो जाता है। केंद्र सरकार के गृह सचिव थी आर डो, स्थान में अत्यन्त के छात नेताओं को साथ चलनावादी बालोंके कर सहभाग का आधार तैयार किया। गृहमंत्री थी एस वी चक्रवर्ण ने लैटिम दौर में बालोंके में आग लिया। कहु इकायटों के बाद प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी के हस्तसेप से छातों को समझौते के लिए राजी किया जा सका और वह सूची समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर हो गए।

असमीयों के देखने से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि बनियादी मानसों में केंद्र सरकार तथा छात हृगठनों, 'आह' तथा 'अस्ति असम का समर्पय परिवद' के नेताओं, दोनों ने एक-दूसरे को उल्लेखनीय रियायतें ही हैं। इसीलिए यह मानने का कोई आशार नहीं है कि पिंडी असम का असम समझौता किसी पक्ष विद्यासं की हार है। असम समझौता एक महत्वपूर्ण इन्डो-प्रॅचारिय है, जिसका बेच भारत के मुक्त असमीयों थी राजीव गांधी को जाता है। असम हृगठनों का ज सांगठनों के नेता भी बाराह के पात्र हैं। इन्होंने विदेश और दूरहाइ का परिवहन देकर ये अपने छ वर्ष पुराना आदोलन समाप्त करने को लिया हो गए हैं। प्रधानमंत्री की कौति में असम समझौते ने एक और छाद बोह दिया है। अभी २४ अप्रैल को ही उन्होंने लोकांग की कालारंग कर में

and many other places in the North-East. This problem is particularly acute, for example, in Tripura as the original inhabitants have been reduced to being a minority in their own land. The same feeling informs the hostility of the local population to Chakma refugees in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.



To end the news, here is a look at the activities of terrorists in the four regions... Punjab, Darjeeling, Delhi, Mizoram

Credit: HT book of Cartoon Rambabu Mathur

Sikkim's merger

At the time of Independence, Sikkim was a 'protectorate' of India. It meant that while it was not a part of India, it was also not a fully sovereign country. Sikkim's defence and foreign relations were looked after by India, while the power of internal administration was with the Chogyal, Sikkim's monarch. This arrangement ran into difficulty as the Chogyal was unable to deal with the democratic aspirations of the people. An overwhelming majority of Sikkim's population was Nepali. But the Chogyal was seen as perpetuating the rule of a small elite from the minority Lepcha-Bhutia community. The anti-Chogyal leaders of both the communities sought and got support from the Government of India.

The first democratic elections to Sikkim assembly in 1974 were swept by Sikkim Congress which stood for greater integration with India. The assembly first sought the status of 'associate state' and then in April 1975 passed a resolution asking for full integration with India. This was followed by a hurriedly organised referendum that put a stamp of popular approval on the assembly's request. The Indian Parliament accepted this request immediately and Sikkim became the 22nd State of the Indian union. Chogyal did not accept this merger and his supporters accused the Government of India of foul play and use of force. Yet the merger enjoyed popular support and did not become a divisive issue in Sikkim's politics.



Kazi Lhendup Dorji

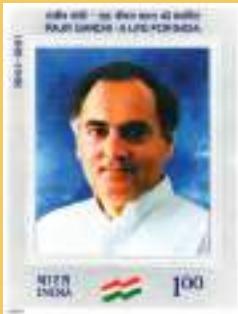
Khangarpa (1904):

Leader of democracy movement in Sikkim; founder of Sikkim Praja Mandal and later leader of the Sikkim State Congress; in 1962 founded the Sikkim National Congress; after an electoral victory, he led the movement for integration of Sikkim with India; after the integration, Sikkim Congress merged with the Indian National Congress.

Accommodation and National Integration

These cases have shown us that even after 75 years of Independence, some of the issues of national integration are not fully resolved. We have seen that regional aspirations ranging from demands of statehood and economic development to autonomy and separation keep coming up. The period since 1980 accentuated these tensions and tested the capacity of democratic politics to accommodate the demands of diverse sections of the society. What lessons can we draw from these examples?

First and the most elementary lesson is that regional aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics. Expression of regional issues is not an aberration or an abnormal phenomenon. Even in smaller countries like the United Kingdom there are regional aspirations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain faces secessionist movement from the Basques and so does Sri Lanka from the Tamils. A large and diverse democracy like India must deal with regional aspirations on a regular basis. Nation building is an ongoing process.



Rajiv Gandhi (1944–1991): Prime Minister of India between 1984 and 1989; son of Indira Gandhi; joined active politics after 1980; reached agreements with militants in Punjab, Mizoram and the students' union in Assam; pressed for a more open economy and computer technology; sent Indian Army contingent on the request of Sri Lankan government, to sort out the Sinhala-Tamil conflict; assassinated by suspected LTTE suicide bomber.

The second lesson is that the best way to respond to regional aspirations is through democratic negotiations rather than through suppression. Look at the situation in the eighties—militancy had erupted in Punjab; problems were persisting in the North-East; students in Assam were agitating; Kashmir valley was on the boil. Instead of treating these as simple law and order problems, the Government of India reached negotiated settlement with regional movements. This produced a reconciliation which reduced the tensions existing in many regions. The example of Mizoram shows how political settlement can resolve the problem of separatism effectively.

The third lesson is about the significance of power sharing. It is not sufficient to have a formal democratic structure. Besides that, groups and parties from the region need to be given share in power at the State level. Similarly, it is not sufficient to say that the states or the regions have autonomy in their matters. The regions together form the nation. So, the regions must have a share in deciding the destiny of the nation. If regions are not given a share in the national level decision making, the feeling of injustice and alienation can spread.

The fourth lesson is that regional imbalance in economic development contributes to the feeling of regional discrimination. Regional imbalance is a fact of India's development experience. Naturally, the backward states or backward regions in some states feel that their backwardness should be addressed on priority basis and that the policies of the Indian government have caused this imbalance. If some states remain poor and others develop rapidly, it leads to regional imbalances and inter-regional migrations.

Finally, these cases make us appreciate the farsightedness of the makers of our Constitution in dealing with questions of diversity. The federal system adopted by India is a flexible arrangement. While most of the states have equal powers, there are special provisions for some states like J&K and the states in the North-East. However, Article 370 that contains special provisions for J&K, was abrogated in August 2019. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution allows different tribes complete autonomy of preserving their practices and customary laws. These provisions proved crucial in resolving some very complex political problems in the North-East.

What distinguishes India from many other countries that face similar challenges is that the constitutional framework in India is much more flexible and accommodative. Therefore, regional aspirations are not encouraged to espouse separatism. Thus, politics in India has succeeded in accepting regionalism as part and parcel of democratic politics.

Goa's liberation

Although the British empire in India came to an end in 1947, Portugal refused to withdraw from the territories of Goa, Diu and Daman which were under its colonial rule since the sixteenth century. During their long rule, the Portuguese suppressed the people of Goa, denied them civil rights, and carried out forced religious conversions. After India's Independence, the Indian government tried very patiently to persuade the Portuguese government to withdraw. There was also a strong popular movement within Goa for freedom. They were strengthened by socialist satyagrahis from Maharashtra. Finally, in December 1961, the Government of India sent the army which liberated these territories after barely two days of action. Goa, Diu and Daman became Union Territory.

Another complication arose soon. Led by the Maharashtra Gomanatak Party (MGP) one section desired that Goa, as a Marathi speaking area should merge with Maharashtra. However, many Goans were keen to retain a separate Goan identity and culture, particularly the Konkani language. They were led by the United Goan Party (UGP). In January 1967, the Central Government held a special 'opinion poll' in Goa asking people to decide if they wanted to be part of Maharashtra or remain separate. A referendum-like procedure was used to ascertain people's wishes on this issue. The majority voted in favour of remaining outside of Maharashtra. Thus, Goa continued as a Union Territory. Finally, in 1987, Goa became a State of the Indian Union.



Credit: R.K. Laxman in The Times of India, 21 April 1954

EXERCISES

1. Match the following.
- | A | B |
|--|----------------------------|
| Nature of regional aspirations | States |
| (a) Socio-religious identity leading to statehood | i. Nagaland /Mizoram |
| (b) Linguistic identity and tensions with Centre | ii. Jharkhand /Chattisgarh |
| (c) Regional imbalance leading to demand for Statehood | iii. Punjab |
| (d) Secessionist demands on account of tribal identity | iv. Tamil Nadu |
2. Regional aspirations of the people of North-East get expressed in different ways. These include movements against outsiders, movement for greater autonomy and movement for separate national existence. On the map of the North-East, using different shades for these three, show the States where these expressions are prominently found.
3. What were the main provisions of the Punjab accord? In what way can they be the basis for further tensions between the Punjab and its neighbouring States?
4. Why did the Anandpur Sahib Resolution become controversial?
5. Explain the internal divisions of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and describe how these lead to multiple regional aspirations in that State.
6. What are the various positions on the issue of regional autonomy for Kashmir? Which of these do you think are justifiable? Give reasons for your answer.
7. The Assam movement was a combination of cultural pride and economic backwardness. Explain.
8. All regional movements need not lead to separatist demands. Explain by giving examples from this chapter.
9. Regional demands from different parts of India exemplify the principle of unity with diversity. Do you agree? Give reasons.
10. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

One of Hazarika's songs... ... dwells on the unity theme; the seven states of north-eastern India become seven sisters born of the same mother. 'Meghalaya went own way...., Arunachal too separated

and Mizoram appeared in Assam's gateway as a groom to marry another daughter.' The song ends with a determination to keep the unity of the Assamese with other smaller nationalities that are left in the present-day Assam – 'the Karbis and the Missing brothers and sisters are our dear ones.' — SANJIB BARUAH

- (a) Which unity is the poet talking about?
- (b) Why were some States of North-East created separately out of the erstwhile State of Assam?
- (c) Do you think that the same theme of unity could apply to all the regions of India? Why?



In this chapter...

In this last chapter we take a synoptic view of the last two decades of politics in India. These developments are complex, for various kinds of factors came together to produce unanticipated outcomes in this period. The new era in politics was impossible to foresee; it is still very difficult to understand. These developments are also controversial, for these involve deep conflicts and we are still too close to the events. Yet we can ask some questions central to the political change in this period.

- What are the implications of the rise of coalition politics for our democracy?
- What is Mandalisation all about? In which ways will it change the nature of political representation?
- What is the legacy of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement?
- What does the rise of a new policy consensus do to the nature of political choices?

The chapter does not answer these questions. It simply gives you the necessary information and some tools so that you can ask and answer these questions when you are through with this book. We cannot avoid asking these questions just because they are politically sensitive, for the whole point of studying the history of politics in India since Independence is to make sense of our present.

Ups and downs of various political parties in the 1990s appeared to many, like this cartoon drawn in 1990, as a roller coaster ride. Riding the roller coaster are Rajiv Gandhi, V. P. Singh, L. K. Advani, Chandrashekhar, Jyoti Basu, N. T. Rama Rao, Devi Lal, P. K. Mahanta and K. Karunanidhi.

CHAPTER 8

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN POLITICS



Context of the 1990s

You have read in the last chapter that Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. He led the Congress to a massive victory in the Lok Sabha elections held immediately thereafter in 1984. As the decade of the eighties came to a close, the country witnessed five developments that were to make a long-lasting impact on our politics.

First the most crucial development of this period was the defeat of the Congress party in the elections held in 1989. The party that had won as many as 415 seats in the Lok Sabha in 1984 was reduced to only 197 in this election. The Congress improved its performance and came back to power soon after the mid-term elections held in 1991. But the elections of 1989 marked the end of what political scientists have called the 'Congress system'. To be sure, the Congress remained an important party and ruled the country more than any other party even in this period since 1989. But it lost the kind of centrality it earlier enjoyed in the party system.

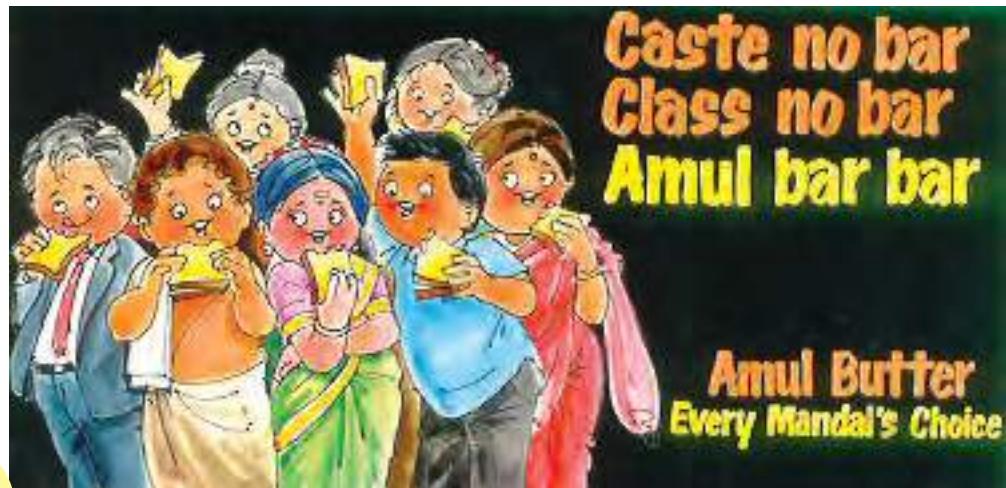


Congress leader Sitaram Kesri withdrew the crutches of support from Deve Gowda's United Front Government.

Second development was the rise of the 'Mandal issue' in national politics. This followed the decision by the new National Front government in 1990, to implement the recommendation of the Mandal Commission that jobs in central government should be reserved for the Other Backward Classes. This led to violent 'anti-Mandal' protests in different parts of the country. This dispute between the supporters and opponents of OBC reservations was known as the 'Mandal issue' and was to play an important role in shaping politics since 1989.

I wish to find out if the Congress can still bounce back to its old glory.





A reaction to Mandalisation.

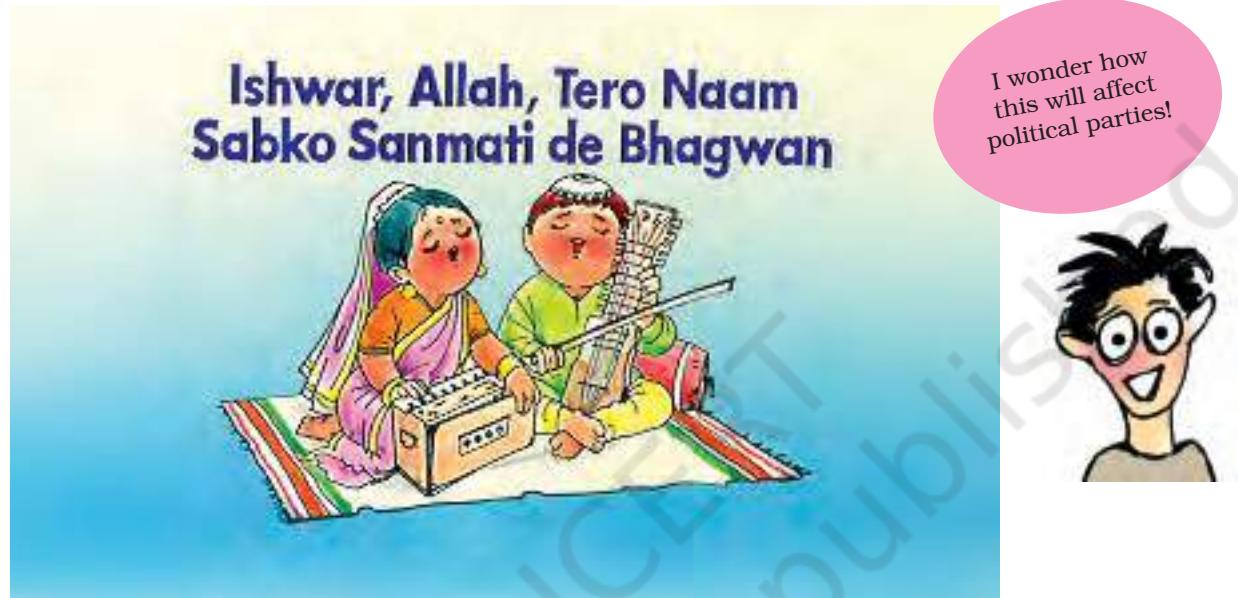
Third, the economic policy followed by the various governments took a radically different turn. This is known as the initiation of the structural adjustment programme or the new economic reforms. Started by Rajiv Gandhi, these changes first became very visible in 1991 and radically changed the direction that the Indian economy had pursued since Independence. These policies have been widely criticised by various movements and organisations. But the various governments that came to power in this period have continued to follow these.

Credit: R. K. Laxman in the Times of India



Manmohan Singh, the then Finance Minister, with Prime Minister Narsimha Rao, in the initial phase of the 'New Economic Policy'.

Fourth, the centuries old legal and political dispute over the Ram Janmabhoomi Temple in Ayodhya started influencing the politics of India which gave birth to various political changes. The Ram Janmabhoomi Temple Movement, becoming the central issue, transformed the direction of the discourse on secularism and democracy. These changes culminated in the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya following the decision of the constitutional bench of the Supreme Court (which was announced on November 9, 2019).



Message of Harmony

Finally, the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991 led to a change in leadership of the Congress party. He was assassinated by a Sri Lankan Tamil linked to the LTTE when he was on an election campaign tour in Tamil Nadu. In the elections of 1991, Congress emerged as the single largest party. Following Rajiv Gandhi's death, the party chose Narsimha Rao as the Prime Minister.



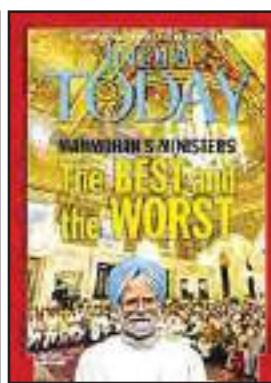
1 May 1996



25 October 1995



20 August 2001



25 October 2004

Leadership in Congress made many headlines.

Era of Coalitions

Elections in 1989 led to the defeat of the Congress party but did not result in a majority for any other party. Though the Congress was the largest party in the Lok Sabha, it did not have a clear majority and therefore, it decided to sit in the opposition. The National Front (which itself was an alliance of Janata Dal and some other regional parties) received support from two diametrically opposite political groups: the BJP and the Left Front. On this basis, the National Front formed a coalition government, but the BJP and the Left Front did not join in this government.



The National Front Government lead by V. P. Singh was supported by the Left (represented here by Jyoti Basu) as well as the BJP (represented by L. K. Advani)

Decline of Congress

The defeat of the Congress party marked the end of Congress dominance over the Indian party system. Do you remember the discussion in Chapters about the restoration of the Congress system? Way back in the late sixties, the dominance of the Congress party was challenged; but the Congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, managed to re-establish its predominant position in politics. The nineties saw yet another challenge to the predominant position of the Congress. It did not, however, mean the emergence of any other single party to fill in its place.

Thus, began an era of multi-party system. To be sure, a large number of political parties always contested elections in our country. Our Parliament always had representatives from several political parties. What happened after 1989 was the emergence of several parties in such a way that one or two parties did not get most of the votes or seats. This also meant that no single party secured a clear majority of seats in any Lok Sabha election held since 1989 till 2014. This development initiated an era of coalition governments at the Centre, in which regional parties played a crucial role in forming ruling alliances but in 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha election, the BJP got clear majority on its own.

Let's re-search

Talk to your parents about their memories of the events happening since the 1990s. Ask them what they felt were the most significant events of the period. Sit together in groups and draw a comprehensive list of the events reported by your parents, see which events get cited most, and compare them with what the chapter suggests were the most significant. You can also discuss why some events are more important for some and not for others.

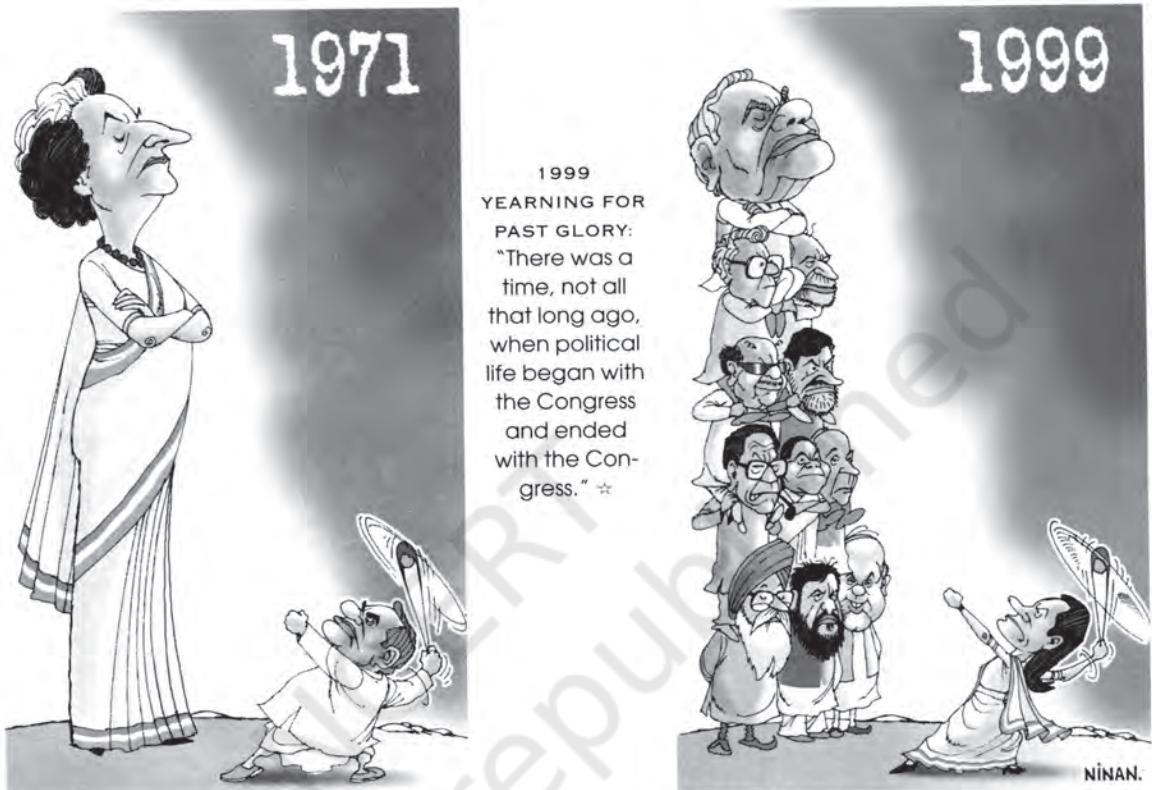
Alliance politics

The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements that represented the Dalit and backward castes (Other Backward Classes or OBCs). Many of these parties represented powerful regional assertion as well. These parties played an important role in the United Front government that came to power in 1996. The United Front was similar to the National Front of 1989 for it included Janata Dal and several regional parties. This time the BJP did not support the government. The United Front government was supported by the Congress. This shows how unstable the political equations were. In 1989, both the Left and the BJP supported the National Front Government because they wanted to keep the Congress out of power. In 1996, the Left continued to support the non-Congress government but this time the Congress, supported it, as both the Congress and the Left wanted to keep the BJP out of power.

They did not succeed for long, as the BJP continued to consolidate its position in the elections of 1991 and 1996. It emerged as the largest party in the 1996 election and was invited to form the government. But most other parties were opposed to its policies and therefore, the BJP government could not secure a majority in the Lok Sabha. It finally came to power by leading

a coalition government from May 1998 to June 1999 and was re-elected in October 1999. Atal Behari Vajpayee was the Prime Minister during both these NDA governments and his government formed in 1999 completed its full term.

Credit: Ajit Ninan/India Today



A cartoonist's depiction of the change from one-party dominance to a multi-party alliance system.

Thus, with the elections of 1989, a long phase of coalition politics began in India. Since then, there have been eleven governments at the Centre, all of which have either been coalition governments or minority governments supported by other parties, which did not join the government. In this new phase, any government could be formed only with the participation or support of many regional parties. This applied to the National Front in 1989, the United Front in 1996 and 1997, the BJP-led coalition in 1998, the NDA in 1999, the UPA in 2004 and 2009. However, this trend changed in 2014.

Let us connect this development with what we have learnt so far. The era of coalition governments may be seen as a long-term trend resulting from relatively silent changes that were taking place over the last few decades.

We saw in Chapter Two that in earlier times, it was the Congress party itself that was a 'coalition' of different interests and different social strata and groups. This gave rise to the term 'Congress system'.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS SINCE 1989



P. V. Narasimha Rao

Period: 1991–1996
Coalition Prime Minister:

January 1991–
December 1996

National Front (1991–1992)

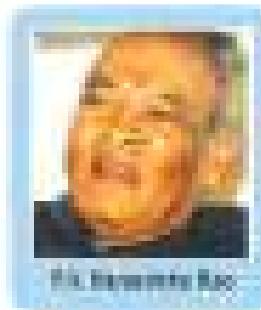
United Front (1992–1996)

January 1998–
March 1998

Formation of NDA and its
entry into Lok Sabha by coalition



Chandra Shekhar



H. D. Deve Gowda

Period: 1999–2002
Coalition Prime Minister:

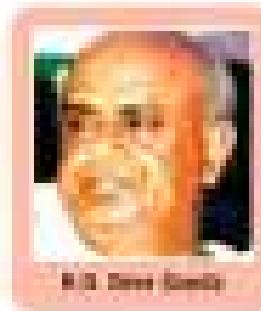
May 1999–
July 2002

KDF (1999–2000)

UDF (2000–2002)



A. K. Antony



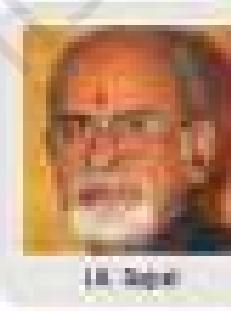
N. D. Tiwari

Period: 2004–2006
Coalition Prime Minister:

July 2004–
March 2006

KDF (2004–2005)

UDFA (2005–2006)



J. N. Reddy



K. R. Narayanan

Period: 1998–October 2004
October 2004–June 2006

National Democratic Alliance

Left Front (2004–2006)

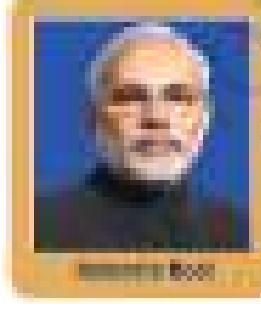
July 2004–
June 2006

United Progressive Alliance

Leftist Congress (2006)



George Fernandes



Period: 2014–Present
Coalition Prime Minister:

National Democratic Alliance

BJP (2014–Present)

For more details about the current
and former Prime Ministers, visit
<http://pmindia.gov.in/en>

Note: The blank space is for you to record more information on the major policies, performance and controversies about that government.

We also saw in Chapters that, especially since the late 1960s, various sections had been leaving the Congress fold and forming separate political parties of their own. We also noted the rise of many regional parties in the period after 1977. While these developments weakened the Congress party, they did not enable any single party to replace the Congress.



Political Rise of Other Backward Classes

One long-term development of this period was the rise of Other Backward Classes as a political force. You have already come across this term 'OBC'. This refers to the administrative category 'Other Backward Classes'. These are communities other than SC and ST who suffer from educational and social backwardness. These are also referred to as 'backward castes'. We have already noted in Chapter Six that the support for the Congress among many sections of the 'backward castes' had declined. This created a space for non-Congress parties that drew more support from these communities. You would recall that the rise of these parties first found political expression at the national level in the form of the Janata Party government in 1977. Many of the constituents of the Janata Party, like the Bharatiya Kranti Dal and the Samyukta Socialist Party, had a powerful rural base among some sections of the OBC.

'Mandal' implemented

In the 1980s, the Janata Dal brought together a similar combination of political groups with strong support among the OBCs. The decision of the National Front government to implement the recommendations

of the Mandal Commission further helped in shaping the politics of 'Other Backward Classes'. The intense national debate for and against reservation in jobs made people from the OBC communities more aware of this identity. Thus, it helped those who wanted to mobilise these groups in politics. This period saw the emergence of many parties that sought better opportunities for OBCs in education and employment and also raised the question of the share of power enjoyed by the OBCs. These parties claimed that since OBCs constituted a large segment of Indian society, it was only democratic that the OBCs should get adequate representation in administration and have their due share of political power.



Implementation of Mandal Commission report sparked off agitations and political upheavals.

The Mandal Commission

Reservations for the OBC were in existence in southern States since the 1960s, if not earlier. But this policy was not operative in north Indian States. It was during the tenure of Janata Party government in 1977-79 that the demand for reservations for backward castes in north India and at the national level was strongly raised. Karpori Thakur, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, was a pioneer in this direction. His government had introduced a new policy of reservations for OBCs in Bihar. Following this, the central government appointed a Commission in 1978 to look into and recommend ways to improve the conditions of the backward classes. This was the second time since Independence that the government had appointed such a commission. Therefore, this commission was officially known as the Second Backward Classes Commission. Popularly, the commission is known as the Mandal Commission, after the name of its Chairperson, Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal.



B.P. Mandal (1918-1982): M.P. from Bihar for 1967-1970 and 1977-1979; chaired the Second Backward Classes Commission that recommended reservations for Other Backward Classes; a socialist leader from Bihar; Chief Minister of Bihar for just a month and a half in 1968; joined the Janata Party in 1977.

The Mandal Commission was set up to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian society and recommend ways of identifying these 'backward classes'. It was also expected to give its recommendations on the ways in which this backwardness could be ended. The Commission gave its recommendations in 1980. By then the Janata government had fallen. The Commission advised that 'backward classes' should be understood to mean 'backward castes', since many castes, other than the Scheduled Castes, were also treated as low in the caste hierarchy. The Commission did a survey and found that these backward castes had a very low presence in both educational institutions and in employment in public services. It therefore recommended reserving 27 per cent of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for these groups. The Mandal Commission also made many other recommendations, like, land reform, to improve the conditions of the OBCs.

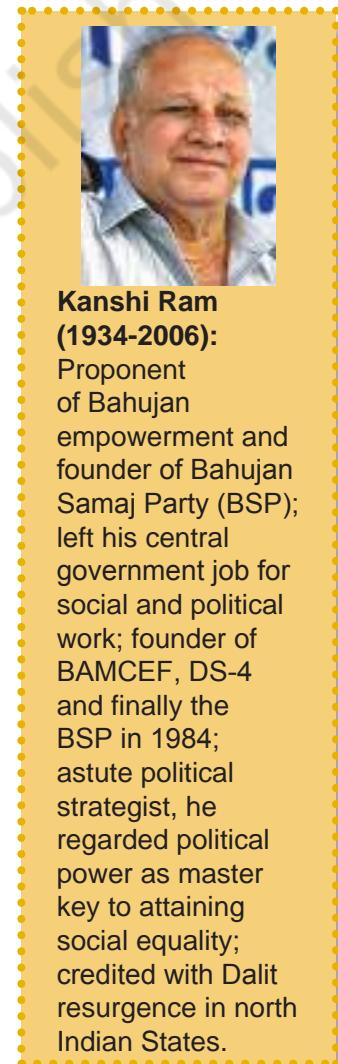
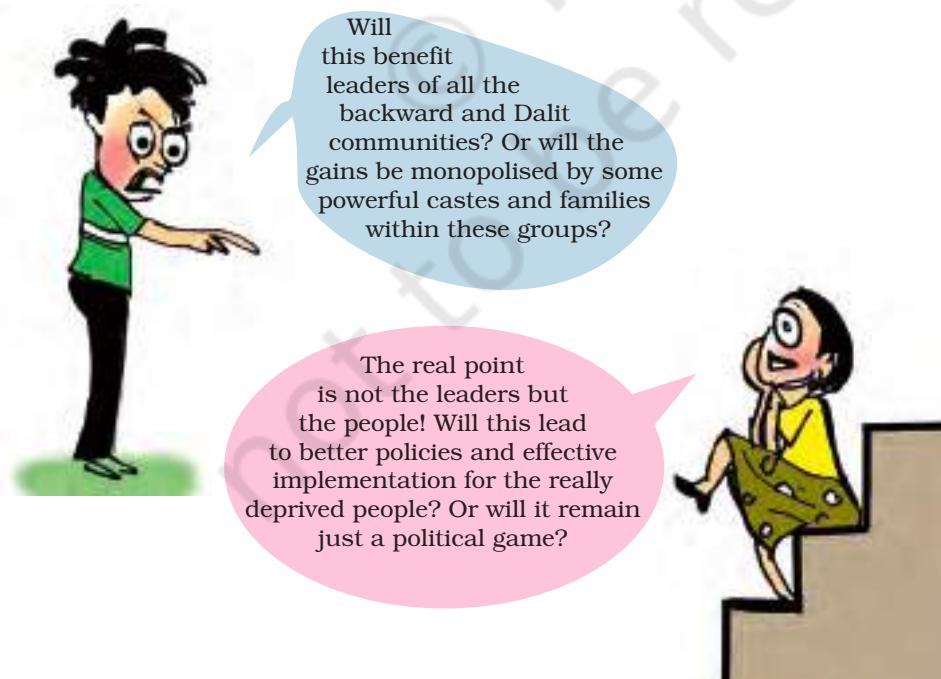
In August 1990, the National Front government decided to implement one of the recommendations of Mandal Commission pertaining to reservations for OBCs in jobs in the central government and its undertakings. This decision sparked agitations and violent protests in many cities of north India. The

decision was also challenged in the Supreme Court and came to be known as the 'Indira Sawhney case', after the name of one of the petitioners. In November 1992, the Supreme Court gave a ruling upholding the decision of the government. There were some differences among political parties about the manner of implementation of this decision. But now the policy of reservation for OBCs has support of all the major political parties of the country.

Political fallouts

The 1980s also saw the rise of political organisation of the Dalits. In 1978 the Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF) was formed. This organisation was not an ordinary trade union of government employees. It took a strong position in favour of political power to the 'bahujan' – the SC, ST, OBC and minorities. It was out of this that the subsequent Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti and later the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) emerged under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. The BSP began as a small party supported largely by Dalit voters in Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. But in 1989 and the 1991 elections, it achieved a breakthrough in Uttar Pradesh. This was the first time in independent India that a political party supported mainly by Dalit voters had achieved this kind of political success.

In fact, the BSP, under Kanshi Ram's leadership was envisaged as an organisation based on pragmatic politics. It derived confidence from the fact that the Bahujans (SC, ST, OBC and religious minorities) constituted the majority of the population, and were a formidable political force on the strength of their numbers. Since then the BSP has emerged as a major political player in the State and has been in government on more than one occasion. Its strongest support still comes from Dalit voters, but it has expanded its support now to various other social groups. In many parts of India, Dalit politics and OBC politics have developed independently and often in competition with each other.



Communalism, Secularism, Democracy

The other long-term development during this period was the visible rise of politics based on religious identity leading to a debate about secularism and democracy. We noted in Chapter Six that in the aftermath of the Emergency, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh had merged with the Janata Party. After the fall of the Janata Party and its break-up, the supporters of erstwhile Jana Sangh formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980. Initially, the BJP adopted a broader political platform than that of the Jana Sangh. BJP embraced 'Gandhian' Socialism along with cultural nationalism as its ideology. But it did not get much success in the elections held in 1984. After 1986, the party began to emphasise nationalism as the core of its ideology. The BJP also pursued the politics of 'Hindutva' for political mobilisation.

Hindutva was popularised by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, as the basis of Indian nationhood. It basically meant that to be an Indian, one must accept India as their 'fatherland' (pitribhu) as well as their holy land (punyabhu). Believers of 'Hindutva' argue that a strong nation can be built on the basis of a united national culture. They also believe that in the case of India, Hindutva can provide this base.

Two developments around 1986 became central to the politics of BJP. The first was the Shah Bano case in 1985. In this case a 62-year old divorced Muslim woman, had filed a case for maintenance from her former husband. The Supreme Court ruled in favour of Shah Bano. The orthodox Muslims saw the Supreme Court's order as an interference in Muslim Personal Law. On the demand of some Muslim leaders, the government passed the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 that nullified the Supreme Court's judgement. This action of the government was opposed by many women's organisations, many Muslim groups and most of the intellectuals. The BJP criticised this action of the Congress government as an unnecessary concession and 'appeasement' of the minority community.

Do you know?

There is a very interesting incident dated November 28 1858, when Nihang Sikhs captured the Janmabhoomi site and performed Puja and Havan, before being forcibly ousted by colonial administration.

Ayodhya Issue

The Ayodhya issue, as the second significant development, was deeply rooted in socio-cultural and political history of the country pertaining to different perspectives from various stakeholders. It involved contentions regarding the birth place of Shri Ram, one of the most holy religious sites, and its legal ownership.

The significance of Ayodhya Ram Janmabhoomi site can be judged by the fact that the 500-year long history, starting from 1528, is marked by numerous conflicts which are also documented in Lucknow, Barabanki and Faizabad district Gazetteers. A three-dome

structure was built at the site of Shri Ram's birth place in 1528, but the structure had visible display of Hindu symbols and relics in its interior as well as its exterior portions. Therefore, Ayodhya Ram Janmabhoomi issue got linked to the national pride in its ancient civilization. Over the years, this issue evolved into a prolonged legal battle, leading to the structure being sealed in 1949 due to the onset of court proceedings.

In 1986, the situation regarding the three-dome structure took a significant turn when the Faizabad (now Ayodhya) district court ruled to unlock the structure, allowing people to worship there. The dispute had been going on for many decades as it was believed that the three-dome structure was built at Shri Ram's birthplace after demolition of a temple. However, although *Shilaanyas* for the temple was done, further construction remained prohibited. The Hindu community felt that their concerns related to the birth place of Shri Ram were overlooked, while the Muslim community sought assurance of their possession over the structure. Subsequently, tensions heightened between both communities over ownership rights, resulting in numerous disputes and legal conflicts. Both communities desired a fair resolution to the longstanding issue. In 1992, following the demolition of the structure, some critics contended that it presented a substantial challenge to the principles of Indian democracy.

From Legal Proceedings to Amicable Acceptance

It is important to note that in any society conflicts are bound to take place. However, in a multi-religious and multi-cultural democratic society, these conflicts are usually resolved following the due process of law. Through a number of democratic and legal procedures including court hearings, mediation attempts, popular movements, and finally with a 5-0 verdict of a constitutional bench of the Supreme Court on November 9, 2019, the Ayodhya issue was resolved. This verdict sought to reconcile the conflicting interests of the various stakeholders involved in the dispute.

The verdict allotted the disputed site to the *Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Teertha Kshetra Trust* for the construction of Ram temple and directed the concerned government to allot appropriate site for the construction of a Mosque to the *Sunni Central Waqf Board*. In this way, democracy gives room for conflict resolution in a plural society like ours, upholding the inclusive spirit of the Constitution. This issue was resolved following the due process of law based on evidences such as archaeological excavations and historical records. The Supreme Court's decision was celebrated by the society at large. It is a classic example of consensus building on a sensitive issue that shows the maturity of democratic ethos which are civilizational ingrained in India.

The excerpts referring to the Judgment of the constitutional Bench of the Supreme Court (November 9, 2019)

“...At the heart of the Constitution is a commitment to equality upheld and enforced by the rule of law. Under our Constitution, citizens of all faiths, beliefs and creeds seeking divine provenance are both subject to the law and equal before the law. Every judge of this Court is not merely tasked with but sworn to uphold the Constitution and its values. The Constitution does not make a distinction between the faith and belief of one religion and another. All forms of belief, worship and prayer are equal..."

(For details see, Supreme Court Judgments, November 9, 2019, p. 920, https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2010/36350/36350_2010_1_1502_18205_Judgement_09-Nov-2019.pdf)

"It is thus concluded ... that faith and belief of Hindus since prior to construction of Mosque and subsequent thereto has always been that Janmaasthan of Lord Ram is the place where Babri Mosque has been constructed which faith and belief is proved by documentary and oral evidence discussed above."

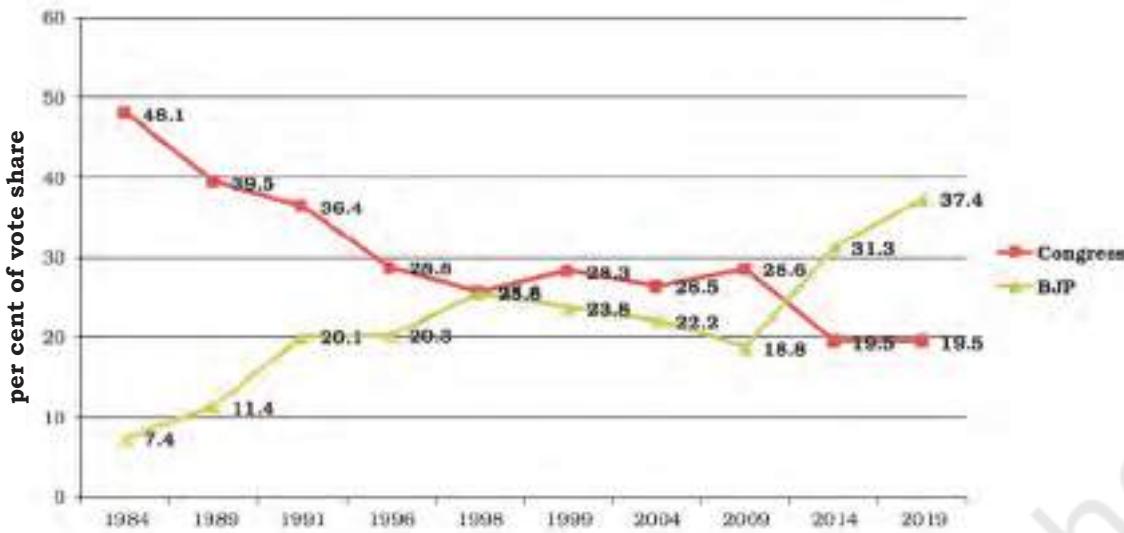
(For details see, Supreme Court Judgments, November 9, 2019, p. 1045, https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2010/36350/36350_2010_1_1502_18205_Judgement_09-Nov-2019.pdf) **”**

Emergence of a new consensus

The period after 1989 is seen sometimes as the period of decline of Congress and rise of BJP. If you want to understand the complex nature of political competition in this period, you have to compare the electoral performances of the Congress and the BJP.

Party Position (Number of seats won) in Lok Sabha



Vote Share

Now let us try to understand the meaning of the information given in the figure.

- You will notice that BJP and Congress were engaged in a tough competition in this period. What is the difference between their electoral fortunes if you compare these with the 1984 elections?
- You will notice that since the 1989 election, the votes polled by the two parties, Congress and the BJP, most of the time, add up to more than fifty per cent except in 1996, 2004 and 2009.
- Look at both the charts showing Congress and Janata 'family' of parties. Which among the parties that exist today are neither part of Congress family of parties nor part of Janata family of parties?
- The political competition during the nineties is divided between the coalition led by BJP and the coalition led by the Congress. Can you list the parties that are not part of any of these two coalitions?

Lok Sabha Elections (2004-2019)

In the elections of 2004, the Congress party too entered into coalitions in a big way. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was defeated and a new coalition government led by the Congress, known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) came to power. This government received support from the Left Front parties. The elections of 2004 also witnessed the partial revival of Congress party. It could increase

its seats once again after 1991. However, in the 2004 elections, there was a negligible difference between the votes polled by the Congress and its allies and the BJP and its allies.

The Congress led UPA government completed its term despite Left parties withdrawing the support in July 2008 on the issue of Indo-US nuclear deal. Elections for 15th Lok Sabha were held in 2009. Results witnessed a rise in the number of seats (from 145 in 2004 to 206 in 2009) of the Indian National Congress (INC) and Congress led UPA Government. Dr. Manmohan Singh was sworn as Prime Minister for the second term, heading the coalition government of UPA again.

Bhartiya Janata Party declared Narendra Modi (then the Chief Minister of Gujrat) as its Prime Ministerial candidate in September 2013. BJP under the leadership of Narendra Modi got a clear majority in 16th Lok Sabha elections held in 2014. BJP won 282 seats on its own, becoming the first party to gain single party majority after 30 years. Despite single-party majority of its own, BJP did choose to form the NDA government with its coalition partners.

Year 2014 was a proverbial watershed moment of Indian politics. Narendra Modi led NDA government rapidly took decisions in social sector, foreign policy and economic policy.

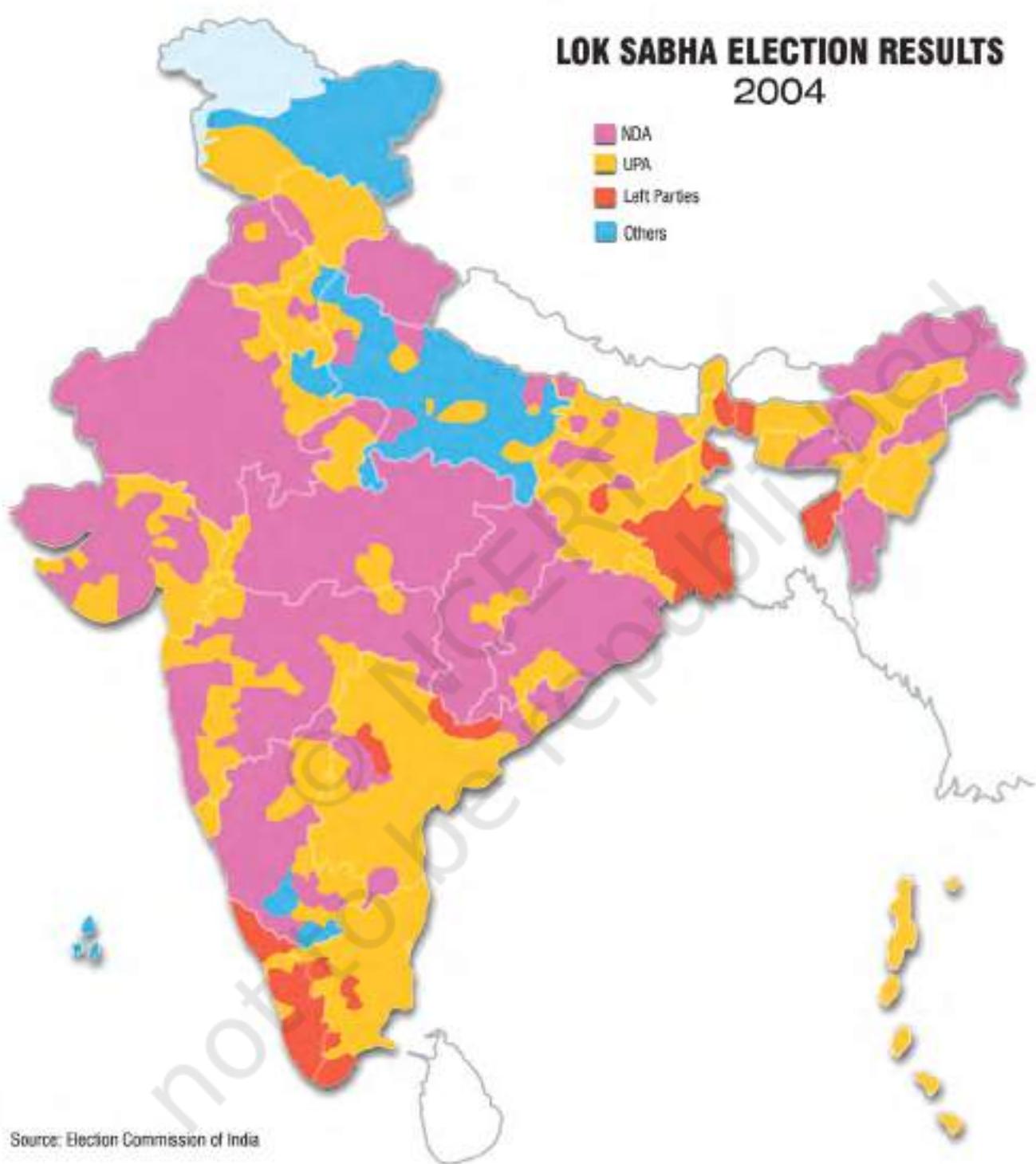
The BJP again emerged victorious with 303 seats of its own in 2019 Lok Sabha election. Even when BJP is getting full majority, the recognition of coalition politics is still relevant. Thus, the party system has now changed almost dramatically from what it was till the seventies.

Growing consensus

However, on many crucial issues, a broad agreement has emerged among most parties. In the midst of severe competition and many conflicts, a consensus appears to have emerged among most parties. This consensus consists of four elements.

First, agreement on new economic policies – while many groups are opposed to the new economic policies, most political parties are in support of the new economic policies. Most parties believe that these policies would lead the country to prosperity and a status of economic power in the world.

Second, acceptance of the political and social claims of the backward castes – political parties have recognised that the social and political claims of the backward castes need to be accepted. As a result, all political parties now support reservation of seats for the ‘backward classes’ in education and employment.



Note: This illustration is not a map drawn to scale and should not be taken to be an authentic depiction of India's external boundaries.

Political parties are also willing to ensure that the OBCs get adequate share of power.

Third, acceptance of the role of State level parties in governance of the country – the distinction between State level and national level parties is fast becoming less important. As we saw in this chapter, State level parties are sharing power at the national level and have played a central role in the country's politics of last twenty years or so.

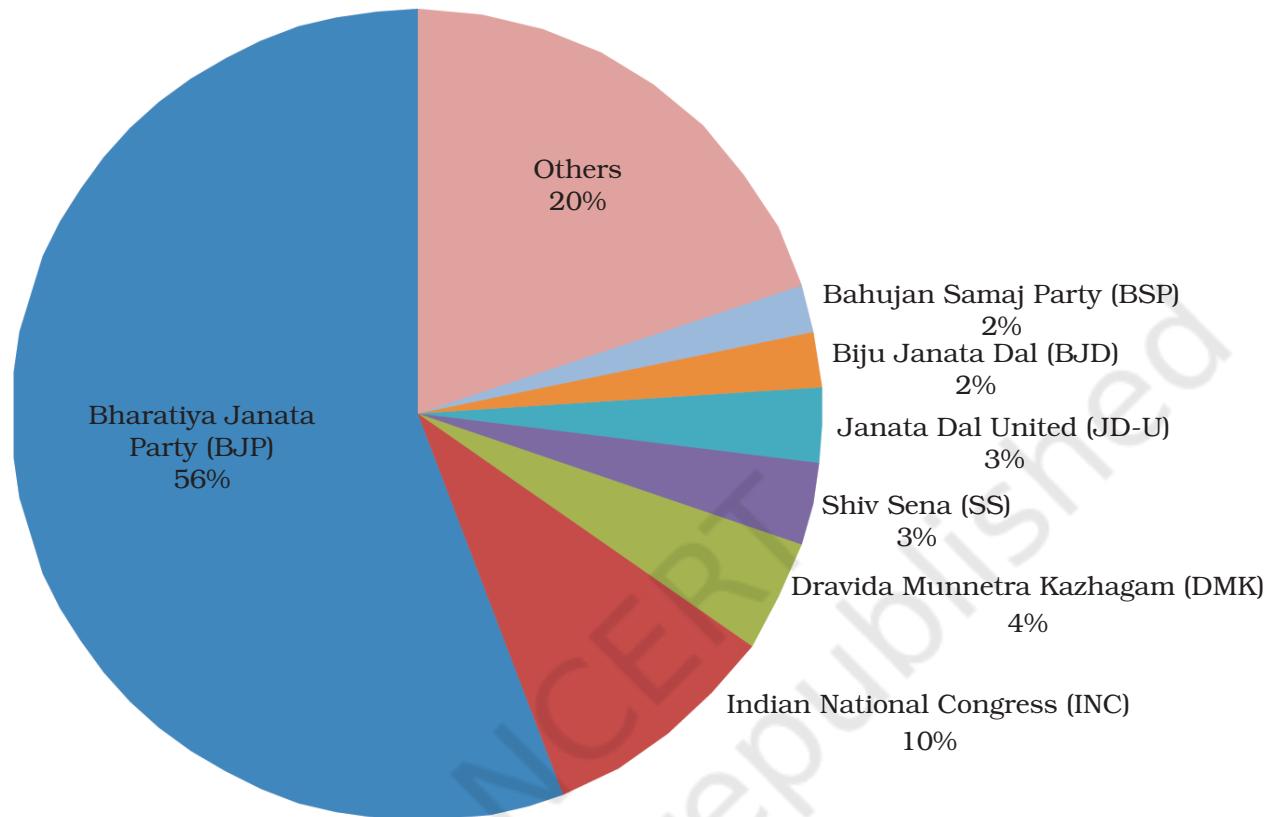
Fourth, emphasis on pragmatic considerations rather than ideological positions and political alliances without ideological agreement – coalition politics has shifted the focus of political parties from ideological differences to power sharing arrangements. Thus, most parties of the NDA did not agree with the 'Hindutva' ideology of the BJP. Yet, they came together to form a government and remained in power for a full term.

All these are momentous changes and are going to shape politics in the near future. We started this study of politics in India with the discussion of how the Congress emerged as a dominant party. From that situation, we have now arrived at a more competitive politics, but politics that is based on a certain implicit agreement among the main political actors. Thus, even as political parties act within the sphere of this consensus, popular movements and organisations are simultaneously identifying new forms, visions and pathways of development. Issues like poverty, displacement, minimum wages, livelihood and social security are being put on the political agenda by peoples' movements, reminding the state of its responsibility. Similarly, issues of justice and democracy are being voiced by the people in terms of class, caste, gender and regions. We cannot predict the future of democracy. All we know is that democratic politics is here to stay in India and that it will unfold through a continuous churning of some of the factors mentioned in this chapter.

As you know around the time of India's independence, many other countries also became independent and adopted democracy. However, even India emerged as a mature democracy playing a great role in promoting social equality and national development, the same has not been the case in some of those countries.

Discuss amongst yourselves the factors that have enabled democracy to thrive in India.

Party Position in 17th Lok Sabha



Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	303
Indian National Congress (INC)	52
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	24
Shiv Sena (SS)	18
Janata Dal (United) [JD(U)]	16
Biju Janata Dal (BJD)	12
Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	10
Other Parties	108

Source: <http://loksabha.nic.in>

EXERCISES

1. Unscramble a bunch of disarranged press clipping file of Unni-Munni... and arrange the file chronologically.
 - (a) Implementation of the recommendation of the Mandal Commission
 - (b) Formation of the Janata Dal
 - (c) Supreme court Judgment on the Ram Janmabhoomi
 - (d) Assassination of Indira Gandhi
 - (e) The formation of NDA government
 - (f) Formation of the UPA government

2. Match the following.

(a) Politics of Consensus (b) Caste based parties (c) Personal Law and Gender Justice (d) Growing strength of Regional parties	i. Shah Bano case ii. Rise of OBCs iii. Coalition government iv. Agreement on Economic policies
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3. State the main issues in Indian politics in the period after 1989. What different configurations of political parties these differences lead to?
4. "In the new era of coalition politics, political parties are not aligning or re-aligning on the basis of ideology." What arguments would you put forward to support or oppose this statement?
5. Trace the emergence of BJP as a significant force in post-Emergency politics.
6. In spite of the decline of Congress dominance, the Congress party continues to influence politics in the country. Do you agree? Give reasons.
7. Many people think that a two-party system is required for successful democracy. Drawing from India's experience of last 30 years, write an essay on what advantages the present party system in India has.
8. Read the passage and answer the questions below:

Party politics in India has confronted numerous challenges. Not only has the Congress system destroyed itself, but the fragmentation of the Congress coalition has triggered a new emphasis on self-representation which raises questions about the party system and its capacity to accommodate diverse interests, An important test facing the polity is to evolve a party system or political parties that can effectively articulate and aggregate a variety of interests. — ZOYA HASAN

- (a) Write a short note on what the author calls challenges of the party system in the light of what you have read in this chapter.
- (b) Given an example from this chapter of the lack of accommodation and aggregation mentioned in this passage.
- (c) Why is it necessary for parties to accommodate and aggregate variety of interests?

LET US DO IT TOGETHER

- This chapter covers the major developments in Indian politics until the 2004 Elections (14th Lok Sabha). Subsequently, the Lok Sabha elections were held in 2009, during which the UPA led by the Congress won. In the 2014 and 2019 Elections, the NDA led by the BJP emerged victorious. The position of various parties in the 17th Lok Sabha is given on page 155.
- A detailed study of Members of the 17th Lok Sabha is available on the website of the Lok Sabha (<http://loksabha.nic.in>).
- Compare and contrast the electoral performances of various political parties since 2004. The table given below can be used for this. You can also collect the data about the results from the website of the Election Commission of India (<http://eci.nic.in>).
- Prepare a timeline of the major political events in India since 2004. Share and discuss it in your classroom.

Party Positions in Indian Parliament since 2004

	Party	2004	2009	2014	2019
1	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)	-	-	4	1
2	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)	0	9	37	1
3	Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	19	21	-	10
4	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	138	116	282	303
5	Biju Janata Dal (BJD)	11	14	20	12
6	Communist Party of India – Marxist (CPI-M)	43	16	9	3
7	Communist Party of India (CPI)	10	4	1	2
8	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	16	18	-	24
9	Indian National Congress(INC)	145	206	44	52
10	Janata Dal - United (JD -U)	8	20	2	16
11	Janata Dal -Secular (JD - S)	3	3	2	1
12	Lok Jan Shakti Party (LJSP)	4	-	6	6
13	Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	9	9	6	5
14	Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)	24	4	4	-
15	Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD)	3	5	1	-
16	Samajwadi Party (SP)	36	23	5	5
17	Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)	8	4	4	2
18	Shiv Sena (SS)	12	11	18	18
19	Others	54	60	98	82
	Total	543	543	543	543

Total Seats in Indian Parliament : 543 (530 from States and 13 from UTs)

EXERCISES



I believe that corruption has been one of the major obstacles to economic, political and social progress of our country. I believe that all stakeholders such as Government, citizens and private sector need to work together to eradicate corruption.

I realise that every citizen should be vigilant and commit to highest standards of honesty and integrity at all times and support the fight against corruption.

I, therefore, pledge:

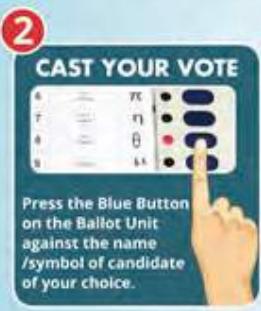
- To follow probity and rule of law in all walks of life;
- To neither take nor offer bribe;
- To perform all tasks in an honest and transparent manner;
- To act in public interest;
- To lead by example exhibiting integrity in personal behaviour;
- To report any incident of corruption to the appropriate agency.

For details about the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC),
log on to www.cvc.nic.in

HOW TO CAST YOUR VOTE



USING EVM & VVPAT



The slip will be visible for 7 seconds

NOTE!

If you do not see the ballot slip and hear the loud beep please contact the Presiding officer.



ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA

URL : <https://eci.nic.in>

Source: Election Commission of India

Notes

not to be republished
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Appendix I

Human Development Index, 2022

HDI Rank	Country	(HDI) Value 2022	HDI Rank	Country	(HDI) Value 2022
Very High Human Development					
1	Switzerland	0.967	40	Qatar	0.875
2	Norway	0.966	40	Saudi Arabia	0.875
3	Iceland	0.959	42	Portugal	0.874
4	Hong Kong, China (SAR)	0.956	43	San Marino	0.867
5	Denmark	0.952	44	Chile	0.860
5	Sweden	0.952	45	Slovakia	0.855
7	Germany	0.950	45	Türkiye	0.855
7	Ireland	0.950	47	Hungary	0.851
9	Singapore	0.949	48	Argentina	0.849
10	Australia	0.946	49	Kuwait	0.847
10	Netherlands	0.946	50	Montenegro	0.844
12	Belgium	0.942	51	Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.838
12	Finland	0.942	52	Uruguay	0.830
12	Liechtenstein	0.942	53	Romania	0.827
15	United Kingdom	0.940	54	Antigua and Barbuda	0.826
16	New Zealand	0.939	55	Brunei Darussalam	0.823
17	United Arab Emirates	0.937	56	Russian Federation	0.821
18	Canada	0.935	57	Bahamas	0.820
19	Korea (Republic of)	0.929	57	Panama	0.820
20	Luxembourg	0.927	59	Oman	0.819
20	United States	0.927	60	Georgia	0.814
22	Austria	0.926	62	Barbados	0.809
22	Slovenia	0.926	63	Malaysia	0.807
24	Japan	0.920	64	Costa Rica	0.806
25	Israel	0.915	65	Serbia	0.805
25	Malta	0.915	66	Thailand	0.803
27	Spain	0.911	67	Kazakhstan	0.802
28	France	0.910	67	Seychelles	0.802
29	Cyprus	0.907	69	Belarus	0.801
30	Italy	0.906	High Human Development		
31	Estonia	0.899	70	Bulgaria	0.799
32	Czechia	0.895	71	Palau	0.797
33	Greece	0.893	72	Mauritius	0.796
34	Bahrain	0.888	73	Grenada	0.793
35	Andorra	0.884	74	Albania	0.789
36	Poland	0.881	75	China	0.788
37	Latvia	0.879	76	Armenia	0.786
37	Lithuania	0.879	77	Mexico	0.781
39	Croatia	0.878	78	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	0.780

HDI Rank	Country	(HDI) Value 2022	HDI Rank	Country	(HDI) Value 2022
78	Sri Lanka	0.780	120	Morocco	0.698
80	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.779	122	Nauru	0.696
81	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.772	123	Gabon	0.693
82	Dominican Republic	0.766	124	Suriname	0.690
83	Ecuador	0.765	125	Bhutan	0.681
83	North Macedonia	0.765	126	Tajikistan	0.679
85	Cuba	0.764	127	El Salvador	0.674
86	Moldova (Republic of)	0.763	128	Iraq	0.673
87	Maldives	0.762	129	Bangladesh	0.670
87	Peru	0.762	130	Nicaragua	0.669
89	Azerbaijan	0.760	131	Cabo Verde	0.661
89	Brazil	0.760	132	Tuvalu	0.653
91	Colombia	0.758	133	Equatorial Guinea	0.650
92	Libya	0.746	134	India	0.644
93	Algeria	0.745	135	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.634
94	Turkmenistan	0.744	136	Guatemala	0.629
95	Guyana	0.742	137	Kiribati	0.628
96	Mongolia	0.741	138	Honduras	0.624
97	Dominica	0.740	139	Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.620
98	Tonga	0.739	140	Vanuatu	0.614
99	Jordan	0.736	141	Sao Tome and Principe	0.613
100	Ukraine	0.734	142	Eswatini (Kingdom of)	0.610
101	Tunisia	0.732	142	Namibia	0.610
102	Marshall Islands	0.731	144	Myanmar	0.608
102	Paraguay	0.731	145	Ghana	0.602
104	Fiji	0.729	146	Kenya	0.601
105	Egypt	0.728	146	Nepal	0.601
106	Uzbekistan	0.727	148	Cambodia	0.600
107	Viet Nam	0.726	149	Congo	0.593
108	Saint Lucia	0.725	150	Angola	0.591
109	Lebanon	0.723	151	Cameroon	0.587
110	South Africa	0.717	152	Comoros	0.586
111	Palestine, State of	0.716	153	Zambia	0.569
112	Indonesia	0.713	154	Papua New Guinea	0.568
113	Philippines	0.710	155	Timor-Leste	0.566
114	Botswana	0.708	156	Solomon Islands	0.562
115	Jamaica	0.706	157	Syrian Arab Republic	0.557
116	Samoa	0.702	158	Haiti	0.552
117	Kyrgyzstan	0.701	159	Uganda	0.550
118	Belize	0.700	159	Zimbabwe	0.550
Medium Human Development					
119	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	0.699	161	Nigeria	0.548
120	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	0.698	161	Rwanda	0.548
Low Human Development					

HDI Rank	Country	(HDI) Value 2022	HDI Rank	Country	(HDI) Value 2022
163	Togo	0.547	179	Guinea-Bissau	0.483
164	Mauritania	0.540	180	Congo (Democratic Republic of the)	0.481
164	Pakistan	0.540	181	Guinea	0.471
166	Côte d'Ivoire	0.534	182	Afghanistan	0.462
167	Tanzania (United Republic of)	0.532	183	Mozambique	0.461
168	Lesotho	0.521	184	Sierra Leone	0.458
169	Senegal	0.517	185	Burkina Faso	0.438
170	Sudan	0.516	186	Yemen	0.424
171	Djibouti	0.515	187	Burundi	0.420
172	Malawi	0.508	188	Mali	0.410
173	Benin	0.504	189	Chad	0.394
174	Gambia	0.495	189	Niger	0.394
175	Eritrea	0.493	191	Central African Republic	0.387
176	Ethiopia	0.492	192	South Sudan	0.381
177	Liberia	0.487	193	Somalia	0.380
177	Madagascar	0.487	<i>Source : http://hdr.undp.org/as on 21.08.2024</i>		

GLOSSARY

Agriculture

The science and art of cultivating the soil, raising crops and rearing livestock. It is also called farming.

Balance of Trade

The difference between the total value of a country's exports and imports. An excess of export over import makes a favourable balance of trade, and the converse an unfavourable balance.

Barter

A direct exchange of excess produce between two parties to the mutual advantages of both, without the use of tokens, credit or money in the transaction.

Census

Official enumeration of population along with certain economic and social statistics in a given territory at some time interval.

Chemical Fertilisers

Substance of natural or artificial origin containing chemical elements such as phosphorus, potassium and nitrogen that are necessary to plan life. They are added to the soil for increasing its productivity.

Contour Ploughing

Tilling or ploughing hillsides or sloping lands along the contour lines, that is, around rather than up and down a slope mainly with a view to conserving soil and water.

Crop Rotation

Growing of different crops in succession on the same field from season to season to maintain soil fertility

Dairy Farming

A kind of agriculture in which major emphasis is on breeding and rearing milch cattle. Agriculture crops are raised mainly to feed these cattle.

Density of Population

The average number of inhabitants living within a specified unit of area, such as a sq km.

Dry Farming

A method of farming adopted in certain regions of inadequate rainfall and devoid of irrigation facilities by conserving moisture in the soil and by raising drought-enduring crops.

Economic Geography

The aspect or branch of geography which deals with the influences of the environment, both physical and cultural, on the economic activity of man, bringing out similarities and differences from place to place in the ways people make a living.

Environment

Surroundings or the conditions under which a person or things exist and develop his or its character. It covers both physical and cultural elements.

Exports

Goods despatched from one country to another.

Extensive Agriculture

Farming in which the amount of capital and labour applied to a given area is relatively small.

Fazenda

A coffee plantation in Brazil.

Foreign Exchange

The mechanism or process by which payments between any two places operating under different national currency systems are effected without passing of actual money or gold, etc.

Freeways

The wide highways on which cross-roads are avoided by providing overhead links where one turns in only one direction to ensure smooth and speedy traffic.

Harbour

An extensive stretch of deep water where vessels can anchor securely to obtain protection from sea and swell either through natural features or artificial works.

Highway

Public road connecting distant places. Such a road of national importance is called the national highway.

Horticulture

Cultivation of vegetables and fruits; often on small plots, involving higher intensiveness than in field cultivation.

Imports

Goods brought into a country from another country.

Industrial Revolution

The change in manufacturing from hand-operated tools to power-driven machinery began in England during the middle of the eighteenth century.

Industry

Systematic production characterised by division of labour and extensive use of machinery.

Intensive Agriculture

Farming in which large amounts of capital and labour are applied per unit area of land, in order to obtain high yield.

Inter Cropping

It is a practice of growing two or more crops together on the same field in the same season

International Trade

Trade carried on between nations primarily to exchange their surpluses and make up their deficits.

Metropolis

A very large city or agglomeration of population in a district or a country, and is often the chief centre or seat of some form of activity—administrative, commercial or industrial. It generally serves a large hinterland.

Mine

An excavation made in the earth for digging out minerals such as coal, iron-ore

and precious stones. A mine usually denotes underground working except in open-pit mines.

Mineral

A substance that is found in the earth's crust, and which generally has a definite chemical composition unlike most rocks.

Mineral Fuel

Non-metallic minerals such as coal and petroleum which are used as fuel.

Mineral Oil

A mixture of hydrocarbons in solid, gaseous or liquid form found in the earth. It is commonly known as petroleum. It became a commercial product only in 1859.

Mineral Ore

Metals in their raw state as extracted from the earth.

Mining

An economic activity concerned with the extraction of commercially valuable minerals from the bowels of the earth.

Mixed Farming

A type of farming in which cultivation of crops and raising of livestock go hand in hand. Both these activities play an important part in the economy.

Natural Resources

Wealth supplied by nature-mineral deposits, soil fertility, timber, fuel, water, potential water-power, fish and wild life, etc.

Nomadism

A way of life of the people who are required to shift their dwellings frequently from place to place in search of pastures for their animals—the mainstay of their economy.

Open-cast Mine

A place where soil and its outward cover are first removed and a mineral or ore is extracted by quarrying. In a way, it is a quarry on a large scale. This method of mining is known as open-cast mining.

Pastoralism

An economy that solely depends upon animals. Whereas nomadic pastoralism is

practised mainly for subsistence, the modern ranches present an example of commercial pastoralism.

Plantation Agriculture

A large-scale one-crop farming resembling factory production. It is usually characterised by large estate, huge capital investment, and modern and scientific techniques of cultivation and trade.

Port

The commercial part of a harbour containing facilities for embarking and disembarking passengers, loading and unloading, and some facilities for the storage of cargo.

Primary Activity

Activities concerned with collecting or making available materials, provided by nature, for example, agriculture, fishing, forestry, hunting or mining.

Quarry

An open-air excavation from which stone is obtained by cutting, blasting, etc.

Ranches

Large stock farms, usually fenced in, where animals are bred and reared on a commercial scale. They are found especially in the United States.

Rotation of Crops

A systematic succession of different crops on a given piece of land carried out in order to avoid exhaustion of the soil.

Secondary Activity

Activities which transform the material provided by primary activities into commodities more directly useful to man.

Sedentary Agriculture

Farming practised more or less permanently on the same piece of land, the same as settled agriculture.

Shaft Mine

An underground excavation made deep into the earth for digging minerals like coal, precious stones and iron. Such mines contain vertical and inclined shafts and horizontal tunnels at various levels.

Shifting Agriculture

A method of farming in which a patch of ground is cultivated for a period of few years until the soil is partly exhausted or overrun by weeds, and after which the land is left to natural vegetation while cultivation is carried on elsewhere. In due course, the original patch of land is cultivated again when the natural growth has restored fertility.

Subsistence Agriculture

Farming in which its produce is mainly consumed in the farmer's household unlike commercial agriculture whose products enter into trade on a very large scale.

Transhumance

A seasonal movement of herdsmen with their livestock and from and to the mountains or between the regions of differing climates.

Transport

The action of carrying persons and goods from one place to another.

Truck Farming

Growing of vegetables around the urban centres to meet the daily demand of the people is known as truck farming. It is governed by the distance a truck can cover overnight between the farm and the market.

Urbanisation

A general movement of people from small rural or agricultural communities or villages to larger towns engaged in varied activities such as government, trade, transport and manufacture. It also indicates the concentration of an increasing proportion of total population in towns and cities.



NOTES

FUNDAMENTALS OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Textbook for Class XII



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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 committee for textbooks in Social Sciences, at the higher secondary level, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisor for this book, Professor M.H. Qureshi 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.

Director

National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
20 November 2006



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RATIONALISATION OF CONTENT IN THE TEXTBOOKS

In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is imperative to reduce content load on students. The National Education Policy 2020, also emphasises reducing the content load and providing opportunities for experiential learning with creative mindset. In this background, the NCERT has undertaken the exercise to rationalise the textbooks across all classes. Learning Outcomes already developed by the NCERT across classes have been taken into consideration in this exercise.

Contents of the textbooks have been rationalised in view of the following:

- Overlapping with similar content included in other subject areas in the same class
- Similar content included in the lower or higher class in the same subject
- Difficulty level
- Content, which is easily accessible to students without much interventions from teachers and can be learned by children through self-learning or peer-learning
- Content, which is irrelevant in the present context

This present edition, is a reformatted version after carrying out the changes given above.



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).



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The following are applicable to all the maps of India used in this textbook

1. © Government of India, Copyright 2006
2. The responsibility for the correctness of internal details rests with the publisher.
3. The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.
4. The administrative headquarters of Chandigarh, Haryana and Punjab are at Chandigarh.
5. The interstate boundaries amongst Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya shown on this map are as interpreted from the "North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act.1971," but have yet to be verified.
6. The external boundaries and coastlines of India agree with the Record/Master Copy certified by Survey of India.
7. The state boundaries between Uttaranchal and Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.
8. The spellings of names in this map have been taken from various sources.

Contents

FOREWORD	iii
UNIT I	1-6
1. Human Geography Nature and Scope	1
UNIT II	7-21
2. The World Population Distribution, Density and Growth	7
3. Human Development	13
UNIT III	22-76
4. Primary Activities	22
5. Secondary Activities	36
6. Tertiary and Quaternary Activities	45
7. Transport and Communication	54
8. International Trade	70
APPENDIX I	77
GLOSSARY	80



THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

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

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the **[unity and integrity of the Nation]**;

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

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)



Appendix (i)

India: State-wise Population Distribution, Density and Growth, 2011

State/UT Code	India/State/ Union Territory #	Total Population Persons	National Share (%)	Density	Decadal growth rate 2001-11
	India	1210193422	100	382	17.64
01	Jammu & Kashmir	12,548,926	1.04	124	23.71
02	Himachal Pradesh	6,856,509	0.57	123	12.81
03	Punjab	27,704,236	2.29	550	13.73
04	Chandigarh #	1,054,686	0.09	9,252	17.10
05	Uttarakhand	10,116,752	0.84	189	19.17
06	Haryana	25,353,081	2.09	573	19.90
07	NCT of Delhi #	16,753,235	1.38	11,297	20.96
08	Rajasthan	68,621,012	5.67	201	21.44
09	Uttar Pradesh	199,581,477	16.49	828	20.09
10	Bihar	103,804,637	8.58	1,102	25.07
11	Sikkim	607,688	0.05	86	12.36
12	Arunachal Pradesh	1,382,611	0.11	17	25.92
13	Nagaland	1,980,602	0.16	119	-0.47
14	Manipur	2,721,756	0.22	122	18.65
15	Mizoram	1,091,014	0.09	52	22.78
16	Tripura	3,671,032	0.30	350	14.75
17	Meghalaya	2,964,007	0.24	132	27.82
18	Assam	31,169,272	2.58	397	16.93
19	West Bengal	91,347,736	7.55	1,029	13.93
20	Jharkhand	32,966,238	2.72	414	22.34
21	Orissa	41,947,358	3.47	269	13.97
22	Chhattisgarh	25,540,196	2.11	189	22.59
23	Madhya Pradesh	72,597,565	6.00	236	20.30
24	Gujarat	60,383,628	4.99	308	19.17
25	Daman & Diu #	242,911	0.02	2,169	53.54
26	Dadra & Nagar Haveli #	342,853	0.03	698	55.50
27	Maharashtra	112,372,972	9.29	365	15.99
28	Andhra Pradesh	84,665,533	7.00	308	11.10
29	Karnataka	61,130,704	5.05	319	15.67
30	Goa	1,457,723	0.12	394	8.17
31	Lakshadweep #	64,429	0.01	2,013	6.23
32	Kerala	33,387,677	2.76	859	4.86
33	Tamil Nadu	72,138,958	5.96	555	15.60
34	Puducherry #	1,244,464	0.10	2598	27.72
35	Andaman & Nicobar Islands #	379,944	0.03	46	6.68

Source : Census of India, 2011

Appendix (ii)

India : Decadal Birth Rate, Death Rate and Rate of Natural Increase, 1901 – 2011

Decades	Crude Birth Rate Per 1000	Crude Death Rate Per 1000	Rate of Natural Increase (Per 1000)
1901 - 1911	49.2	42.6	6.6
1911 - 1921	48.1	47.2	0.9
1921 - 1931	46.4	36.2	10.2
1931 - 1941	45.9	37.2	8.7
1941 - 1951	39.9	27.4	12.5
1951 - 1961	41.7	22.8	18.9
1961 - 1971	41.1	19.0	22.1
1971 - 1981	37.2	15	22.2
1981 - 1991	29.5	9.8	19.7
1991 - 2001	25.4	8.4	17.0
2001 - 2011	21.8	7.1	14.7

*Source: Sample Registration System (SRS) Bulletin, October 2012

Appendix (iii)

India: Rural and Urban Population 2011

State/UT Code	India/State/ Union Territory	Population		Percentage of Urban Population
		Rural	Urban	
	India	833087662	377,105,760	31.16
01	Jammu & Kashmir	9,134,820	3,414,106	27.21
02	Himachal Pradesh	6,167,805	688,704	10.04
03	Punjab	17,316,800	10,387,436	37.49
04	Chandigarh	29,004	1,025,682	97.25
05	Uttarakhand	7,025,583	3,091,169	30.55
06	Haryana	16,531,493	8,821,588	34.79
07	NCT of Delhi	419,319	16,333,916	97.50
08	Rajasthan	51,540,236	17,080,776	24.89
09	Uttar Pradesh	155,111,022	44,470,455	22.28
10	Bihar	92,075,028	11,729,609	11.30
11	Sikkim	455,962	151,726	24.97
12	Arunachal Pradesh	1,069,165	313,446	22.67
13	Nagaland	1,406,861	573,741	28.97
14	Manipur	1,899,624	822,132	30.21
15	Mizoram	529,037	561,977	51.51
16	Tripura	2,710,051	960,981	26.18
17	Meghalaya	2,368,971	595,036	20.08
18	Assam	26,780,516	4,388,756	14.08
19	West Bengal	62,213,676	29,134,060	31.89
20	Jharkhand	25,036,946	7,929,292	24.05
21	Orissa	34,951,234	6,996,124	16.68
22	Chhattisgarh	19,603,658	5,936,538	23.24
23	Madhya Pradesh	52,537,899	20,059,666	27.63
24	Gujarat	34,670,817	25,712,811	42.58
25	Daman & Diu	60,331	182,580	75.16
26	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	183,024	159,829	46.62
27	Maharashtra	61,545,441	50,827,531	45.23
28	Andhra Pradesh	56,311,788	28,353,745	33.49
29	Karnataka	37,552,529	23,578,175	38.57
30	Goa	551,414	906,309	62.17
31	Lakshadweep	14,121	50,308	78.08
32	Kerala	17,455,506	15,932,171	47.72
33	Tamil Nadu	37,189,229	34,949,729	48.45
34	Puducherry	394,341	850,123	68.31
35	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	244,411	135,533	35.67

Appendix (iv)

India : % of Population of Religious Groups 2011

States/ Union Territories	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Buddhists	Jains	Other Religions	Religions not stated
Jammu & Kashmir	28.44	68.31	0.28	1.87	0.90	0.02	0.01	0.16
Himachal Pradesh	95.17	2.18	0.18	1.16	1.15	0.03	0.01	0.12
Punjab	38.49	1.93	1.26	57.69	0.12	1.16	0.04	0.32
Chandigarh	80.78	4.87	0.83	13.11	0.11	0.19	0.02	0.10
Uttarakhand	82.97	13.95	0.37	2.34	0.15	0.09	0.01	0.12
Haryana	87.46	7.03	0.20	4.91	0.03	0.21	0.01	0.17
Delhi	81.68	12.86	0.87	3.40	0.11	0.99	0.01	0.08
Rajasthan	88.49	9.07	0.14	1.27	0.02	0.91	0.01	0.10
Uttar Pradesh	79.73	19.26	0.18	0.32	0.10	0.11	0.01	0.29
Bihar	82.69	16.87	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.24
Sikkim	57.76	1.62	9.91	0.31	27.39	0.05	2.67	0.30
Arunachal Pradesh	29.04	1.95	30.26	0.24	11.77	0.06	26.20	0.48
Nagaland	8.75	2.47	87.93	0.10	0.34	0.13	0.16	0.12
Manipur	41.39	8.40	41.29	0.05	0.25	0.06	8.19	0.38
Mizoram	2.75	1.35	87.16	0.03	8.51	0.03	0.07	0.09
Tripura	83.40	8.60	4.32	0.03	3.41	0.02	0.04	0.14
Meghalaya	11.53	4.40	74.59	0.10	0.33	0.02	8.71	0.32
Assam	61.47	34.22	3.74	0.07	0.18	0.08	0.09	0.16
West Bengal	70.54	27.01	0.72	0.07	0.31	0.07	1.03	0.25
Jharkhand	67.83	14.53	4.30	0.22	0.03	0.05	12.84	0.21
Orissa	93.63	2.17	2.77	0.05	0.03	0.02	1.14	0.18
Chhattisgarh	93.25	2.02	1.92	0.27	0.28	0.24	1.94	0.09
Madhya Pradesh	90.89	6.57	0.29	0.21	0.30	0.78	0.83	0.13
Gujarat	88.57	9.67	0.52	0.10	0.05	0.96	0.03	0.10
Daman & Diu	90.50	7.92	1.16	0.07	0.09	0.21	0.03	0.10
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	93.93	3.76	1.49	0.06	0.18	0.35	0.09	0.14
Maharashtra	79.83	11.54	0.96	0.20	5.81	1.25	0.16	0.25
Andhra Pradesh	88.46	9.56	1.34	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.48
Karnataka	84.00	12.92	1.87	0.05	0.16	0.72	0.2	0.27
Goa	66.08	8.33	25.10	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.02	0.21
Lakshadweep	2.77	96.58	0.49	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.10
Kerala	54.73	26.56	18.38	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.26
Tamil Nadu	87.58	5.86	6.12	0.02	0.02	0.12	0.01	0.26
Puducherry	87.30	6.05	6.29	0.02	0.04	0.11	0.01	0.17
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	69.45	8.52	21.28	0.34	0.09	0.01	0.15	0.18

Source : Census of India, 2011

Appendix (v)

India: Work Participation Rate and Occupation Structure, 2011

States/UTs	Work Participation Rate (%)	Cultivators	% to Total Workers	Agricultural Labourers	% to Total Workers	Household Industries	% to Total Workers	Other Workers	% to Total Workers
INDIA	39.8	11,86,92,640	24.6	14,43,29,833	30	1,83,36,307	3.8	20,03,84,531	41.6
Jammu & Kashmir	34.5	12,45,316	28.8	5,47,705	12.7	1,72,586	4	23,57,106	54.5
Himachal Pradesh	51.9	20,62,062	57.9	1,75,038	4.9	58,719	1.6	12,63,603	35.5
Punjab	35.7	19,34,511	19.5	15,88,455	16	3,85,960	3.9	59,88,436	60.5
Chandigarh	38.3	2,578	0.6	1,687	0.4	4,799	1.2	3,95,072	97.8
Uttarakhand	38.4	15,80,423	40.8	4,03,301	10.4	1,14,312	3	17,74,239	45.8
Haryana	35.2	24,80,801	27.8	15,28,133	17.1	2,62,280	2.9	46,45,294	52.1
NCT of Delhi	33.3	33,398	0.6	39,475	0.7	1,81,852	3.3	53,32,324	95.4
Rajasthan	43.6	1,36,18,870	45.6	49,39,664	16.5	7,20,573	2.4	1,06,07,148	35.5
Uttar Pradesh	32.9	1,90,57,888	29	1,99,39,223	30.3	38,98,590	5.9	2,29,19,014	34.8
Bihar	33.4	71,96,226	20.7	1,83,45,649	52.8	14,11,208	4.1	77,71,904	22.4
Sikkim	50.5	1,17,401	38.1	25,986	8.4	5,143	1.7	1,59,608	51.8
Arunachal Pradesh	42.5	3,02,723	51.5	36,171	6.2	8,365	1.4	2,40,398	40.9
Nagaland	49.2	5,37,702	55.2	62,962	6.5	22,838	2.3	3,50,620	36
Manipur	45.1	4,57,891	39.5	1,11,061	9.6	89,495	7.7	5,00,606	43.2
Mizoram	44.4	2,29,603	47.2	41,787	8.6	7,852	1.6	2,07,463	42.6
Tripura	40	2,95,947	20.1	3,53,618	24.1	41,496	2.8	7,78,460	53
Meghalaya	40	4,94,675	41.7	1,98,364	16.7	20,488	1.7	4,72,092	39.8
Assam	38.4	40,61,627	33.9	18,45,346	15.4	4,91,321	4.1	55,71,396	46.5
West Bengal	38.1	51,16,668	14.7	1,01,88,842	29.3	24,64,124	7.1	1,69,86,701	48.9
Jharkhand	39.7	38,14,832	29.1	44,36,052	33.9	4,55,162	3.5	43,92,228	33.5
Orissa	41.8	41,03,989	23.4	67,39,993	38.4	7,83,080	4.5	59,14,527	33.7
Chhattisgarh	47.7	40,04,796	32.9	50,91,882	41.8	1,87,631	1.5	28,95,916	23.8
Madhya Pradesh	43.5	89,44,439	31.2	1,21,92,267	38.6	9,59,259	3	85,78,168	27.2
Gujarat	41	54,47,500	22	68,39,415	27.6	3,43,999	1.4	1,21,36,833	49
Daman & Diu	49.9	2,316	1.9	772	0.6	684	0.6	1,17,499	96.9
D & N Haveli	45.7	28,164	17.9	17,799	11.3	2,195	1.4	1,09,003	69.4
Maharashtra	44	1,25,69,373	25.4	1,34,86,140	27.3	12,25,426	2.5	2,21,46,939	44.8
Andhra Pradesh	46.6	64,91,522	16.5	1,69,67,754	43	14,39,137	3.7	1,45,24,493	36.8
Karnataka	45.6	65,80,649	23.6	71,55,963	25.7	9,13,227	3.3	1,32,22,758	47.4
Goa	39.6	31,354	5.4	26,760	4.6	14,708	2.5	5,04,426	87.4
Lakshadweep	29.1	0	0	0	0	264	1.4	18,489	98.6
Kerala	34.8	6,70,253	5.8	13,22,850	11.4	2,73,022	2.3	93,52,938	80.5
Tamil Nadu	45.6	42,48,457	12.9	96,06,547	29.2	13,64,893	4.2	1,76,64,784	53.7
Puducherry	35.7	12,099	2.7	68,391	15.4	7,892	1.8	3,56,586	80.1
A & N Islands	40.1	16,567	10.9	4,781	3.1	3,727	2.4	1,27,460	83.6

Source : Census of India, 2011

Appendix (vi)

Table 1: Land Use Categories in India 2019–20

Land Use Classes	1950–51 (Million Hectare)	Per cent	2019–20 (Million Hectare)	Per cent
Reporting Area	284.32	100	306.5	100
Forests	40.48	17.0	71.75	23.4
Area under non-agricultural use	9.36	3.2	27.77	9.0
Barren and unculturable waste Land	38.16	13.4	16.54	5.4
Permanent Pasturer and Grazing Land	6.68	2.3	10.48	3.4
Area under Misc. Tree crops and Groves	19.83	6.9	3.13	1.0
Culturable Waste Land	22.94	8.0	11.95	3.9
Fallow other than Current Fallow	17.45	6.1	11.24	3.7
Current Fallow	10.68	3.7	13.77	4.5
Net Area Sown	118.75	41.7	139.90	45.6

Source : Land use statistics 2023. Directorate of Economics & Statistics, DAC & FW.

Table 2: India's position in World Agriculture

S. No.	Crop	% Share in World Production and rank (2018)
1	Rice	22.07 (Second)
2	Wheat	13.58 (Second)
I	Total Cereals	10.74 (Third)
II	All Pulses	27.63 (First)
8	Groundnut	18.18 (Second)
9	Rape seed	11.24 (Third)
10	Jute	53.72 (First)
11	Sugarcane	19.76 (Second)
12	Tea	21.22 (Second)
13	Coffee	3.17 (Eight)

Source: FAOSTAT (as on 23.12.2020), Pocket Book of Agriculture Statistics, 2020.

Table 3 : Three Largest Producing States of major crops during 2019-20

Production - Million Tonnes

Group of Crops (1)	Crops (2)	States (3)	Production* (4)
1. Foodgrains			
	Rice	West Bengal Uttar Pradesh Punjab All India	15.57 15.52 11.78 118.43
	Wheat	Uttar Pradesh Madhya Pradesh Punjab All India	32.59 19.61 17.57 107.59
	Maize	Karnataka Madhya Pradesh Telangana All India	3.96 3.91 3.00 28.64
	Total Nutri/Coarse Cereals	Rajasthan Karnataka Madhya Pradesh All India	7.29 6.45 4.82 47.48
	Total Pulses	Rajasthan Maharashtra Madhya Pradesh All India	4.49 4.03 3.80 23.15
	Total Foodgrains	Uttar Pradesh Madhya Pradesh Punjab All India	55.03 33.03 30.02 296.65
II. Oilseeds			
	Groundnut	Gujarat Rajasthan Tamilnadu All India	4.64 1.62 0.98 10.10
	Rapeseed & Mustard	Rajasthan Haryana Uttar Pradesh All India	4.22 1.15 0.96 9.12
	Soyabean	Madhya Pradesh Maharashtra Rajasthan All India	5.15 4.60 0.52 11.22
	Sunflower	Karnataka Odisha Bihar All India	0.12 0.03 0.01 0.22

Table 3 : (Contd.)

Production - Million Tonnes

Group of Crops	Crops	States	Production
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total Oilseeds	Rajasthan	6.79
		Gujarat	6.66
		Madhya Pradesh	6.57
		All India	33.42
III. Other Cash Crops			
	Sugarcane	Uttar Pradesh	178.42
		Maharashtra	64.67
		Karnataka	31.60
		All India	355.70
	Cotton@	Gujarat	8.28
		Telangana	6.83
		Maharashtra	6.782
		All India	35.491
	Jute & Mesta\$	West Bengal	8.0572
		Bihar	0.86
		Assam	0.77
		All India	9.91

Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Pocket Book of Agricultural Statistics, 2020.

* Production Estimates are as per 4th Advance Estimates.

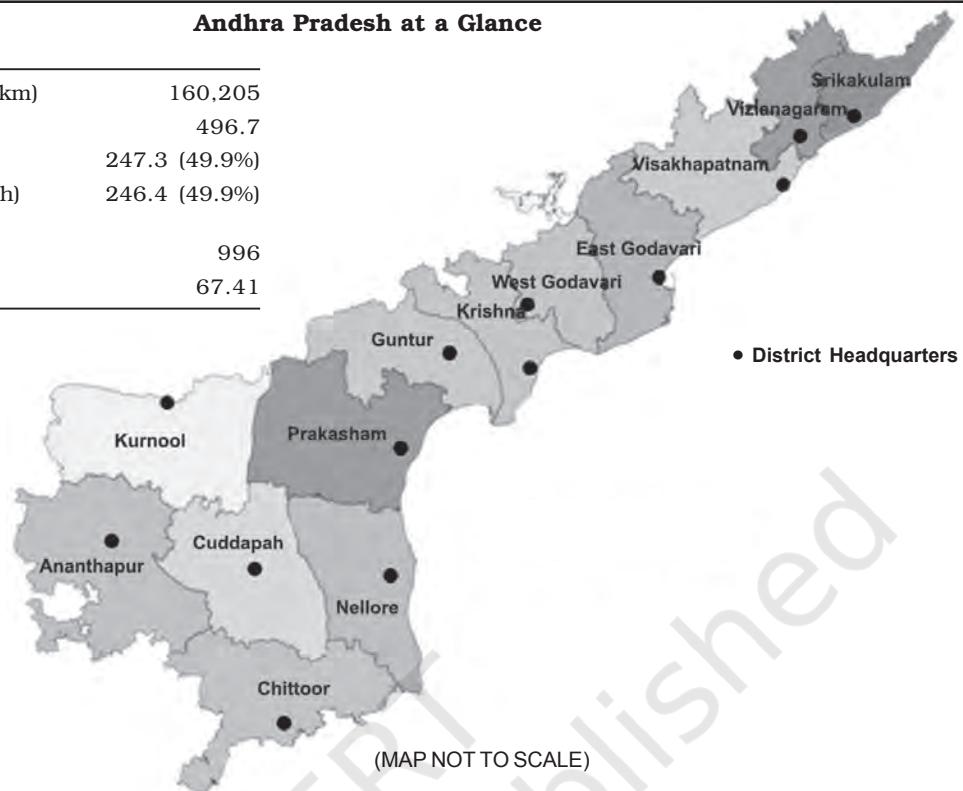
@ : Production in million bales of 170 kg each.

\$: Production in million bales of 180 kg each.

Andhra Pradesh at a Glance

Geographical Area (Sq. km)	160,205
Total Population (Lakh)	496.7
Male Population (Lakh)	247.3 (49.9%)
Female Population (Lakh)	246.4 (49.9%)
Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 males)	996
Literacy Rate (%)	67.41

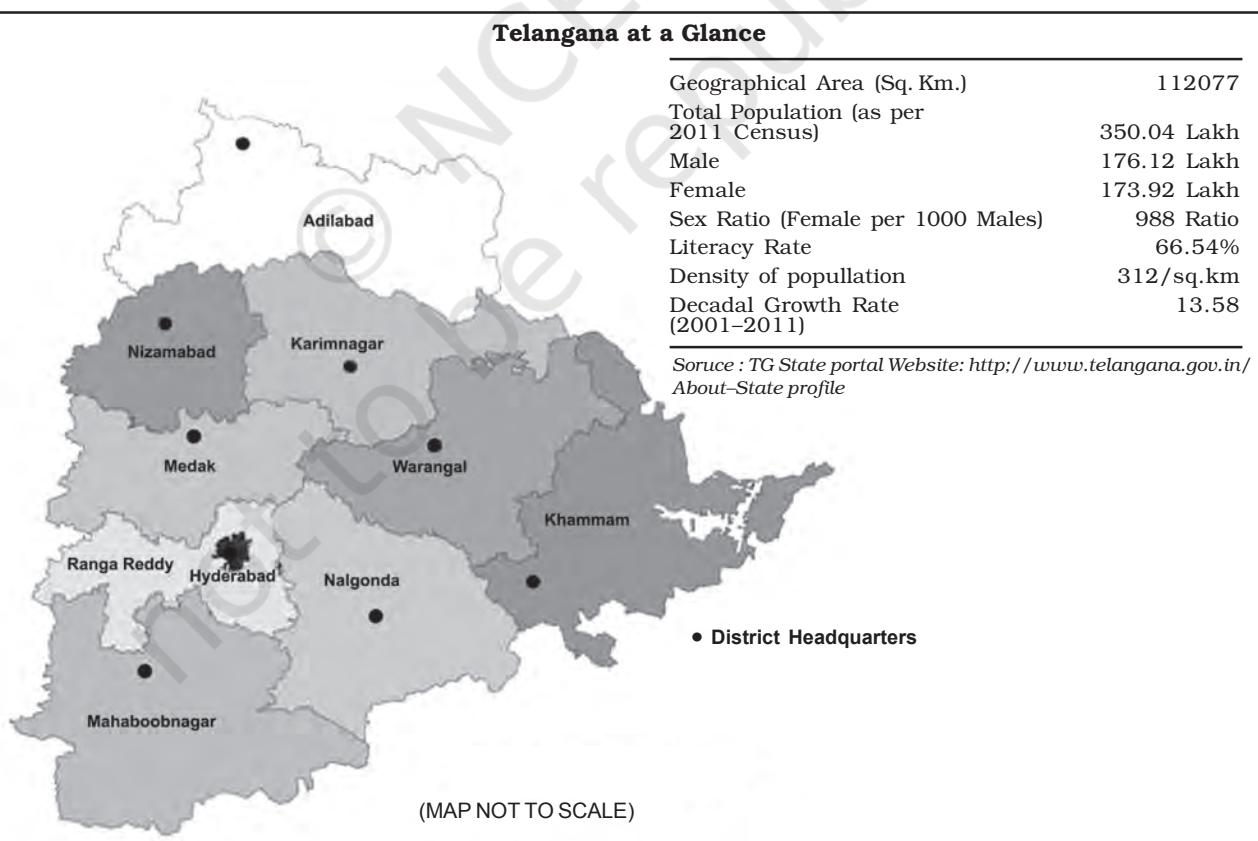
Source: www.ap.gov.in/AP



Telangana at a Glance

Geographical Area (Sq. Km.)	112077
Total Population (as per 2011 Census)	350.04 Lakh
Male	176.12 Lakh
Female	173.92 Lakh
Sex Ratio (Female per 1000 Males)	988 Ratio
Literacy Rate	66.54%
Density of population	312/sq.km
Decadal Growth Rate (2001–2011)	13.58

Source : TG State portal Website: <http://www.telangana.gov.in/> About-State profile



GLOSSARY

Agro-climatic

The climatic and land resource conditions in totality which are crucial for the development of agriculture and allied economic conditions of a region.

Aquifer

A saturated geological unit (e.g. sands, gravels, fractured rock) which can yield water to wells at a sufficient rate to support a well.

Artificial Recharge to Groundwater

Artificial Recharge to Groundwater means the process by which groundwater reservoir is augmented at a rate exceeding that under natural condition of replenishment.

Command Area

The area served by a canal system through supply of water for irrigation and other purposes.

Culturable command area

It refers to the culturable land irrigated by a canal system. It is different from gross command area. The later includes all the area served by a canal system including unculturable.

Eco-development

The process of development of a region by means of conservation and regeneration of degraded ecosystem and ecological sustainability.

Emigration

Movement of people from one place to another usually from one country to another with a purpose of earning, living, residing and settling.

Extensive irrigation

A strategy of irrigation development where the emphasis is on providing irrigation water for a large area. Per unit area use of water is low in this case.

Flow system or channel

A channel of canal where water flows under the influence of gravity.

Groundwater

Groundwater means the water which exists below the ground surface in the zone of saturation and can be extracted through wells or any other means or emerges as springs and base flows in streams and rivers.

Groundwater Table

The top of the zone in which all pore spaces or fissures are totally filled with water.

Immigration

Movement of a person as a permanent resident into another area, usually into a foreign country.

Intrusive irrigation

A strategy of irrigation development where per unit application of water is high.

Lift system or channel

A channel of canal where water is forced to flow against the slope of land by upliftment.

Migration

Movement of the people for the specific purpose from one place to another in the country or to a foreign country.

Migration stream

Migration stream refers to a group of migrants with the common origin and destination.

Net migration or balance of migration

The difference of total numbers of persons arrived in and left out the place. In other words, it is sum of in migrants and immigrants minus sum of out migrants and emigrants. In mathematical term it is defined as:

Net migration

(in migrants + immigrants) - (out migrants + emigrants)

Rainwater Harvesting

Rain Water Harvesting is the technique of collection and storage of rain water at surface or in sub-surface aquifer.

Refugee

People who are forced to take shelter in other country due to life threatening situation, insecurity, war or violation of human rights in their own country.

Remittance

All cash or kinds sent by the migrants to their place of origin. Money order is one form of remittance.

Transhumance

The practice of seasonal migration where the pastoral communities migrate to the pastures along with their herds during summer season. These communities return to their permanent residence in winter.

Warabandi system

It is a system of equitable distribution of water in the command area of canal outlet.

Watershed

A watershed is a natural geo-hydrological unit of land, which collects water and drains it through a common point by a system of streams. Such a unit can be a small area of a few hectares or it could be an area of hundreds of square kilometres like the Ganga river basin.

INDIA

PEOPLE AND ECONOMY

TEXTBOOK IN GEOGRAPHY FOR CLASS XII



12099



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 committee for textbooks in Social Sciences, at the higher secondary level, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisor for this book, Professor M.H. Qureshi 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.

Director

National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
20 November 2006



THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a ¹[**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 ²[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)



Rationalisation of Content in the Textbooks

In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is imperative to reduce content load on students. The National Education Policy 2020, also emphasises reducing the content load and providing opportunities for experiential learning with creative mindset. In this background, the NCERT has undertaken the exercise to rationalise the textbooks across all classes. Learning Outcomes already developed by the NCERT across classes have been taken into consideration in this exercise.

Contents of the textbooks have been rationalised in view of the following:

- Overlapping with similar content included in other subject areas in the same class
- Similar content included in the lower or higher class in the same subject
- Difficulty level
- Content, which is easily accessible to students without much interventions from teachers and can be learned by children through self-learning or peer-learning
- Content, which is irrelevant in the present context

This present edition, is a reformatted version after carrying out the changes given above.



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The following are applicable to all the maps of India used in this textbook

1. © Government of India, Copyright 2006
2. The responsibility for the correctness of internal details rests with the publisher.
3. The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.
4. The administrative headquarters of Chandigarh, Haryana and Punjab are at Chandigarh.
5. The interstate boundaries amongst Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya shown on this map are as interpreted from the "North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act.1971," but have yet to be verified.
6. The external boundaries and coastlines of India agree with the Record/Master Copy certified by Survey of India.
7. The state boundaries between Uttarakhand & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.
8. The spellings of names in this map, have been taken from various sources.

Contents

Foreword	iii
Rationalisation of Content in the Textbooks	v
Unit I	
1. Population : Distribution, Density, Growth and Composition	1-14
Unit II	
2. Human Settlements	15-20
Unit III	
3. Land Resources and Agriculture	21-40
4. Water Resources	41-52
5. Mineral and Energy Resources	53-65
6. Planning and Sustainable Development in Indian Context	66-74
Unit IV	
7. Transport and Communication	75-85
8. International Trade	86-94
Unit V	
9. Geographical Perspective on Selected Issues and Problems	95-105
Appendices	106-114
Glossary	115
References	116-117



School Bhuvan-NCERT an Online web portal

Web based online e-learning Geo spatial portal **School Bhuvan-NCERT** ([URL: http://bhuvan.nrsc.gov.in/governance/mhrd_ncert/](http://bhuvan.nrsc.gov.in/governance/mhrd_ncert/)) has been launched by NCERT and ISRO in collaboration to enhance geo spatial skills among students. This online e-learning portal includes thematic maps given in Geography textbooks. This portal enables students to use Geo-spatial technology for better understanding of concepts in Geography. Online activities available on the portal as Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3 encourage learners from Classes VI to XII to develop neighbourhood maps and their attributes on satellite imageries available on **School Bhuvan-NCERT**.

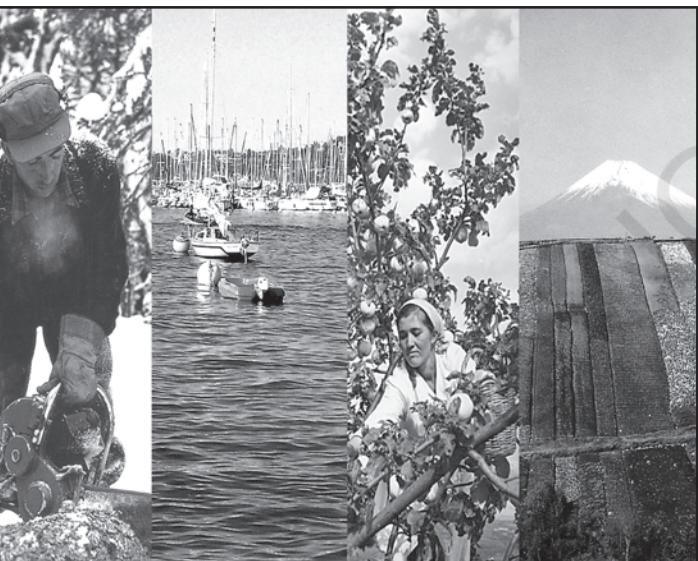
Unit-I Chapter-1



12097CH01

Human Geography

Nature and Scope



You have already studied ‘Geography as a Discipline’ in Chapter I of the book, *Fundamentals of Physical Geography* (NCERT, 2006). Do you recall the contents? This chapter has broadly covered and introduced you to the nature of geography. You are also acquainted with the important branches that sprout from the body of geography. If you re-read the chapter you will be able to recall the link of human geography with the mother discipline i.e. geography. As you know geography as a field of study is integrative, empirical, and practical. Thus, the reach of geography is extensive and each and every event or phenomenon which varies over space and time can be studied geographically. How do you see the earth’s surface? Do you realise that the earth comprises two major components: nature (physical environment) and life forms including human beings? Make a list of physical and human components of your surroundings. Physical geography studies physical environment and human geography studies “the relationship between the physical/natural and the human worlds, the spatial distributions of human phenomena and how they come about, the social and economic differences between different parts of the world”.¹

You are already aware of the fact that the core concern of geography as a discipline is to understand the earth as home of human beings and to study all those elements which have sustained them. Thus, emphasis is on study of nature and human beings. You will realise that geography got subjected to dualism and the wide-ranging debates started whether geography as a discipline should be a **law making/theorising** (nomothetic) or **descriptive** (idiographic). Whether its subject matter should be organised and approach of the study should be **regional** or **systematic**? Whether geographical phenomena be interpreted theoretically or through historic-institutional approach? These have been issues for intellectual exercise but finally you will appreciate that the dichotomy between physical and human is not a very valid one because nature and human are inseparable elements and should be seen holistically. It is interesting to note that both physical and human

¹ Agnew J. Livingstone, David N. and Rogers, A.; (1996) Blackwell Publishing Limited, Malden, U.S.A. p. 1 and 2.



phenomena are described in metaphors using symbols from the human anatomy.

We often talk of the ‘face’ of the earth, ‘eye’ of the storm, ‘mouth’ of the river, ‘snout’ (nose) of the glacier, ‘neck’ of the isthmus and ‘profile’ of the soil. Similarly regions, villages, towns have been described as ‘organisms’. German geographers describe the ‘state/country’ as a ‘living organism’. Networks of road, railways and water ways have often been described as “arteries of circulation”. Can you collect such terms and expressions from your own language? The basic questions now arises, can we separate nature and human when they are so intricately intertwined?

have already studied the elements of physical environment in class XI in the book entitled *Fundamentals of Physical Geography* (NCERT 2006). You know that these elements are landforms, soils, climate, water, natural vegetation and diverse flora and fauna. Can you make a list of elements which human beings have created through their activities on the stage provided by the physical environment? Houses, villages, cities, road-rail networks, industries, farms, ports, items of our daily use and all other elements of material culture have been created by human beings using the resources provided by the physical environment. While physical environment has been greatly modified by human beings, it has also, in turn, impacted human lives.

Human Geography Defined

- “Human geography is the synthetic study of relationship between human societies and earth’s surface”.
Ratzel

Synthesis has been emphasised in the above definition.

- “Human geography is the study of the changing relationship between the unresting man and the unstable earth.”

Ellen C. Semple

Dynamism in the relationship is the keyword in Semple's definition.

- “Conception resulting from a more synthetic knowledge of the physical laws governing our earth and of the relations between the living beings which inhabit it”.

Paul Vidal de la Blache

Human geography offers a new conception of the interrelationships between earth and human beings.

Naturalisation of Humans and Humanisation of Nature

Human beings interact with their physical environment with the help of technology. It is not important what human beings produce and create but it is extremely important ‘with the help of what tools and techniques do they produce and create’.

Technology indicates the level of cultural development of society. Human beings were able to develop technology after they developed better understanding of natural laws. For example, the understanding of concepts of friction and heat helped us discover fire. Similarly, understanding of the secrets of DNA and genetics enabled us to conquer many diseases. We use the laws of aerodynamics to develop faster planes. You can see that knowledge about Nature is extremely important to develop technology and technology loosens the shackles of environment on human beings. In the early stages of their interaction with their natural environment humans were greatly influenced by it. They adapted to the dictates of Nature. This is so because the level of technology was very low and the stage of human social development was also primitive. This type of interaction between primitive human society and strong forces of nature was termed as **environmental determinism**. At that stage of very low technological development we can imagine the presence of a naturalised human, who listened to Nature, was afraid of its fury and worshipped it.

NATURE OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Human geography studies the inter-relationship between the physical environment and socio-cultural environment created by human beings through mutual interaction with each other. You

The Naturalisation of Humans

Benda lives in the wilds of the Abujh Maad area of central India. His village consists of three huts deep in the wilds. Not even birds or stray dogs that usually crowd villages can be seen in these areas. Wearing a small loin cloth and armed with his axe he slowly surveys the *penda* (forest) where his tribe practices a primitive form of agriculture called shifting cultivation. Benda and his friends burn small patches of forest to clear them for cultivation. The ash is used for making the soil fertile. Benda is happy that the Mahua trees around him are in bloom. How lucky I am to be a part of this beautiful universe, he thinks as he looks up to see the Mahua, Palash and Sal trees that have sheltered him since childhood. Crossing the *penda* in a gliding motion, Benda makes his way to a stream. As he bends down to scoop up a handful of water, he remembers to thank Loi-Lugi, the spirit of the forest for allowing him to quench his thirst. Moving on with his friends, Benda chews on succulent leaves and roots. The boys have been trying to collect Gajjhara and Kuchla, from the forest. These are special plants that Benda and his people use. He hopes the spirits of the forest will be kind and lead him to these herbs. These are needed to barter in the madhai or tribal fair coming up the next full moon. He closes his eyes and tries hard to recall what the elders had taught him about these herbs and the places they are found in. He wishes he had listened more carefully. Suddenly there is a rustling of leaves. Benda and his friends know it is the outsiders who have come searching for them in the wilds. In a single fluid motion Benda and his friends disappear behind the thick canopy of trees and become one with the spirit of the forest.

The story in the box represents the direct relationship of a household belonging to an economically primitive society with nature. Read about other primitive societies which live in complete harmony with their natural environment. You will realise that in all such cases nature is a powerful force, worshipped, revered and conserved. There is direct dependence of

human beings on nature for resources which sustain them. The physical environment for such societies becomes the "Mother Nature".

The people begin to understand their environment and the forces of nature with the passage of time. With social and cultural development, humans develop better and more efficient technology. They move from a state of necessity to a state of freedom. They create possibilities with the resources obtained from the environment. The human activities create cultural landscape. The imprints of human activities are created everywhere; health resorts on highlands, huge urban sprawls, fields, orchards and pastures in plains and rolling hills, ports on the coasts, oceanic routes on the oceanic surface and satellites in the space. The earlier scholars termed this as **possibilism**. Nature provides opportunities and human being make use of these and slowly nature gets humanised and starts bearing the imprints of human endeavour.

Humanisation of Nature

Winters in the town of Trondheim mean fierce winds and heavy snow. The skies are dark for months. Kari drives to work in the dark at 8 am. She has special tyres for the winter and keeps the headlights of her powerful car switched on. Her office is artificially heated at a comfortable 23 degrees Celsius. The campus of the university she works in is built under a huge glass dome. This dome keeps the snow out in winter and lets in the sunshine in the summer. The temperature is controlled carefully and there is adequate lighting. Even though fresh vegetables and plants don't grow in such harsh weather, Kari keeps an orchid on her desk and enjoys eating tropical fruits like banana and kiwi. These are flown in from warmer areas regularly. With a click of the mouse, Kari can network with colleagues in New Delhi. She frequently takes a morning flight to London and returns in the evening in time to watch her favourite television serial. Though Kari is fifty-eight years old, she is fitter and looks younger than many thirty-year-olds in other parts of the world.



Can you imagine what has made such a life style possible? It is technology that has allowed the people of Trondheim and others to overcome the constraints imposed by nature. Do you know about some other such instances? Such examples are not difficult to find.

A geographer, Griffith Taylor introduced another concept which reflects a middle path (Madhyam Marg) between the two ideas of **environmental determinism** and **possibilism**. He termed it as **Neodeterminism** or **stop and go determinism**. Those of you who live in cities and those who have visited a city, might have seen that traffic is regulated by lights on the cross-roads. Red light means 'stop', amber light provides a gap between red and green lights 'to get set' and green light means 'go'. The concept shows that neither is there a situation of absolute necessity (environmental determinism) nor is there a condition of absolute freedom (possibilism). It means that human beings can conquer nature by obeying it. They have to respond to the red signals and can proceed in their pursuits of development when nature permits the modifications. It means that possibilities can be created within the limits which do not damage the environment and there is no free run without accidents. The free run which the developed economies attempted to take has already resulted in the green house effect, ozone layer depletion, global warming, receding glaciers and degrading lands. The neo-determinism conceptually attempts to bring a balance nullifying the 'either' 'or' dichotomy.

- Welfare or humanistic school of thought in human geography was mainly concerned with the different aspects of social well-being of the people. These included aspects such as housing, health and education. Geographers have already introduced a paper as Geography of Social well-being in the Post Graduate curriculum'.

- Radical school of thought employed Marxian theory to explain the basic cause of poverty, deprivation and social inequality. Contemporary social problems were related to the development of capitalism.

- Behavioural school of thought laid great emphasis on lived experience and also on the perception of space by social categories based on ethnicity, race and religion, etc.

Fields and Sub-fields of Human Geography

Human geography, as you have seen, attempts to explain the relationship between all elements of human life and the space they occur over. Thus, human geography assumes a highly inter-disciplinary nature. It develops close interface with other sister disciplines in social sciences in order to understand and explain human elements on the surface of the earth. With the expansion of knowledge, new sub-fields emerge and it has also happened to human geography. Let us examine these fields and sub-fields of Human Geography (Table 1.2).

Table 1.1: Broad Stages and Thrust of Human Geography

Period	Approaches	Broad Features
Early Colonial period	Exploration and description	Imperial and trade interests prompted the discovery and exploration of new areas. An encyclopaedic description of the area formed an important aspect of the geographer's account.
Later Colonial period	Regional analysis	Elaborate description of all aspects of a region were undertaken. The idea was that all the regions were part of a whole, i.e. (the earth); so, understanding the parts in totality would lead to an understanding of the whole.

1930s through the inter-War period	Areal differentiation	The focus was on identifying the uniqueness of any region and understanding how and why it was different from others.
Late 1950s to the late 1960s	Spatial organisation	Marked by the use of computers and sophisticated statistical tools. Laws of physics were often applied to map and analyse human phenomena. This phase was called the quantitative revolution. The main objective was to identify mappable patterns for different human activities.
1970s	Emergence of humanistic, radical and behavioural schools	Discontentment with the quantitative revolution and its dehumanised manner of doing geography led to the emergence of three new schools of thought of human geography in the 1970s. Human geography was made more relevant to the socio-political reality by the emergence of these schools of thought. Consult the box below to know a little bit more about these schools of thought.
1990s	Post-modernism in geography	The grand generalisations and the applicability of universal theories to explain the human conditions were questioned. The importance of understanding each local context in its own right was emphasised.

Table 1.2: Human Geography and Sister Disciplines of Social Sciences

Fields of Human Geography	Sub-fields	Interface with Sister Disciplines of Social Sciences
Social Geography	—	Social Sciences – Sociology
	Behavioural Geography	Psychology
	Geography of Social Well-being	Welfare Economics
	Geography of Leisure	Sociology
	Cultural Geography	Anthropology
	Gender Geography	Sociology, Anthropology, Women's Studies
	Historical Geography	History
	Medical Geography	Epidemiology
Urban Geography	—	Urban Studies and Planning
Political Geography	—	Political Science
	Electoral Geography	Psephology
	Military Geography	Military Science
Population Geography	—	Demography
Settlement Geography	—	Urban/Rural Planning



Economic Geography	—	Economics
	Geography of Resources	Resource Economics
	Geography of Agriculture	Agricultural Sciences
	Geography of Industries	Industrial Economics
	Geography of Marketing	Business Studies, Economics, Commerce
	Geography of Tourism	Tourism and Travel Management
	Geography of International Trade	International Trade



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.

 - (i) Which one of the following statements does not describe geography?
 - (a) an integrative discipline
 - (b) study of the inter-relationship between humans and environment
 - (c) subjected to dualism
 - (d) not relevant in the present time due to the development of technology.
 - (ii) Which one of the following is not a source of geographical information?
 - (a) traveller's accounts
 - (b) old maps
 - (c) samples of rock materials from the moon
 - (d) ancient epics
 - (iii) Which one of the following is the most important factor in the interaction between people and environment?
 - (a) human intelligence
 - (b) people's perception
 - (c) technology
 - (d) human brotherhood
 - (iv) Which one of the following is not an approach in human geography?
 - (a) Areal differentiation
 - (b) Spatial organisation
 - (c) Quantitative revolution
 - (d) Exploration and description

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

 - (i) Define human geography.
 - (ii) Name some sub-fields of human geography.
 - (iii) How is human geography related to other social sciences?

3. Answer the following questions in not more than 150 words.

 - (i) Explain naturalisation of humans.
 - (ii) Write a note on the scope of human geography.

Unit-II

Chapter-2



12097CH02

The World Population

Distribution, Density and Growth



Not gold but only (Wo)men can make a people great and strong.

(Wo)men who for truth and honour's sake, stand fast and suffer long (Wo)men who toil while others sleep – who dare while others flee – they build a nation's pillars deep and lift it to the sky.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

The people of a country are its real wealth. It is they, who are the actual resources and make use of the country's other resources and decide its policies. Ultimately a country is known by its people.

It is important to know how many women and men a country has, how many children are born each year, how many people die and how? Whether they live in cities or villages, can they read or write and what work do they do? These are what you will study about in this unit.

The world at the beginning of 21st century recorded the presence of over 6 billion population. We shall discuss the patterns of their distribution and density here.



The population of the world is unevenly distributed. The remark of George B. Cressey about the population of Asia that "Asia has many places where people are few and few place where people are very many" is true about the pattern of population distribution of the world also.

PATTERNS OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE WORLD

Patterns of population distribution and density help us to understand the demographic characteristics of any area. The term population distribution refers to the way people are spaced over the earth's surface. Broadly, 90 per cent of the world population lives in about 10 per cent of its land area.

The 10 most populous countries of the world contribute about 60 per cent of the world's population. Of these 10 countries, 6 are located in Asia. Identify these six countries of Asia.

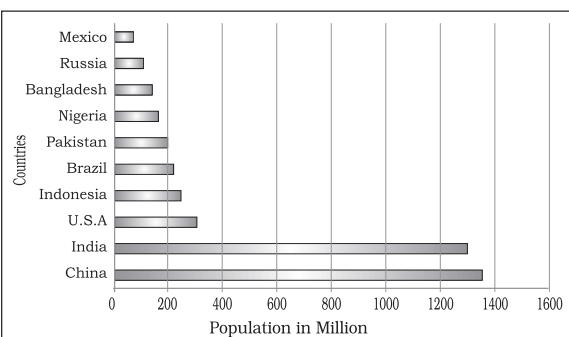


Fig. 2.1: Most Populous Countries

DENSITY OF POPULATION

Each unit of land has limited capacity to support people living on it. Hence, it is necessary to understand the ratio between the numbers of people to the size of land. This ratio is the density of population. It is usually measured in persons per sq km

$$\text{Density of Population} = \frac{\text{Population}}{\text{Area}}$$

For example, area of Region X is 100 sq km and the population is 1,50,000 persons. The density of population is calculated as:

$$\text{Density} = \frac{1,50,000}{100}$$

$$= 1,500 \text{ person/sq km}$$

What does this tell you about Region X?

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

I. Geographical Factors

- (i) *Availability of water:* Water is the most important factor for life. So, people prefer to live in areas where fresh water is easily available. Water is used for drinking, bathing and cooking – and also for cattle, crops, industries and navigation. It is because of this that river valleys are among the most densely populated areas of the world.
- (ii) *Landforms:* People prefer living on flat plains and gentle slopes. This is because such areas are favourable for the production of crops and to build roads and industries. The mountainous and hilly areas hinder the development of transport network and hence initially do not favour agricultural and industrial development. So, these areas tend to be less populated. The Ganga plains are among the most densely populated areas of the world while the mountains zones in the Himalayas are scarcely populated.

(iii) *Climate:* An extreme climate such as very hot or cold deserts are uncomfortable for human habitation. Areas with a comfortable climate, where there is not much seasonal variation attract more people. Areas with very heavy rainfall or extreme and harsh climates have low population. Mediterranean regions were inhabited from early periods in history due to their pleasant climate.

(iv) *Soils:* Fertile soils are important for agricultural and allied activities. Therefore, areas which have fertile loamy soils have more people living on them as these can support intensive agriculture. Can you name some areas in India which are thinly populated due to poor soils?

II. Economic Factors

- (i) *Minerals:* Areas with mineral deposits attract industries. Mining and industrial activities generate employment. So, skilled and semi-skilled workers move to these areas and make them densely populated. Katanga Zambia copper belt in Africa is one such good example.
- (ii) *Urbanisation:* Cities offer better employment opportunities, educational and medical facilities, better means of transport and communication. Good civic amenities and the attraction of city life draw people to the cities. It leads to rural to urban migration and cities grow in size. Mega cities of the world continue to attract large number of migrants every year.

Yet city life can be very taxing.... think of some of the unpleasant aspects of city life.

(iii) *Industrialisation:* Industrial belts provide job opportunities and attract large numbers of people. These include not just factory workers but also transport operators, shopkeepers, bank employees, doctors, teachers and other service providers. The Kobe-Osaka region of

Japan is thickly populated because of the presence of a number of industries.

III. Social and Cultural Factors

Some places attract more people because they have religious or cultural significance. In the same way – people tend to move away from places where there is social and political unrest. Many a times governments offer incentives to people to live in sparsely populated areas or move away from overcrowded places. Can you think of some examples from your region?

POPULATION GROWTH

The population growth or population change refers to the change in number of inhabitants of a territory during a specific period of time. This change may be positive as well as negative. It can be expressed either in terms of absolute numbers or in terms of percentage. Population change in an area is an important indicator of economic development, social upliftment and historical and cultural background of the region.

Some Basic Concepts of Population Geography

Growth of Population : Change of population in particular area between two points of time is known as growth of population. For example, if we deduct the population of India 2001 (102.70 crore) from population of 2011 (121.02 crore) then we shall get the growth of population (18.15 crores) in actual numbers.

Growth Rate of Population : This is the change of population expressed in percentage.

Natural Growth of Population: This is the population increased by difference between births and deaths in a particular region between two points of time.

$$\text{Natural Growth} = \text{Births} - \text{Deaths}$$

Actual Growth of Population : This is

$$\text{Births} - \text{Deaths} + \text{In Migration} - \text{Out Migration}$$

Positive Growth of Population: This happens when the birth rate is more than the death rate between two points of time or when people from other countries migrate permanently to a region.

Negative Growth of Population: If the population decreases between two points of time it is known as negative growth of population. It occurs when the birth rate falls below the death rate or people migrate to other countries.

Components of Population Change

There are three components of population change – births, deaths and migration.

The crude birth rate (CBR) is expressed as number of live births in a year per thousand of population. It is calculated as:

$$\text{CBR} = \frac{\text{B}}{\text{P}} \times 1000$$

Here, CBR = Crude Birth Rate; B = live births during the year; P= Estimated mid year population of the area.

Death rate plays an active role in population change. Population growth occurs not only by increasing births rate but also due to decreasing death rate. Crude Death Rate (CDR) is a simple method of measuring mortality of any area. CDR is expressed in terms of number of deaths in a particular year per thousand of population in a particular region.

CDR is calculated as:

$$\text{CDR} = \frac{\text{D}}{\text{P}} \times 1000$$

Here, CDR=Crude Death Rate; D= Number of deaths; P=Estimated mid-year population of that year.

By and large mortality rates are affected by the region's demographic structure, social advancement and levels of its economic development.

Migration

Apart from birth and death there is another way by which the population size changes.



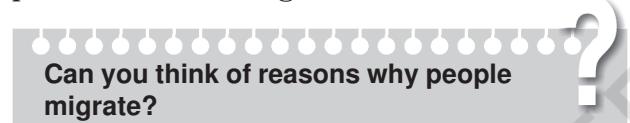
When people move from one place to another, the place they move from is called the **Place of Origin** and the place they move to is called the **Place of Destination**. The place of origin shows a decrease in population while the population increases in the place of destination. Migration may be interpreted as a spontaneous effort to achieve a better balance between population and resources.

Migration may be permanent, temporary or seasonal. It may take place from rural to rural areas, rural to urban areas, urban to urban areas and urban to rural areas.

Do you realise that the same person is both an immigrant and an emigrant?

Immigration: Migrants who move into a new place are called Immigrants.

Emigration: Migrants who move out of a place are called Emigrants.



People migrate for a better economic and social life. There are two sets of factors that influence migration.

The **Push** factors make the place of origin seem less attractive for reasons like unemployment, poor living conditions, political turmoil, unpleasant climate, natural disasters, epidemics and socio-economic backwardness.

The **Pull** factors make the place of destination seem more attractive than the place of origin for reasons like better job opportunities and living conditions, peace and stability, security of life and property and pleasant climate.

DO YOU KNOW

Human population increased more than ten times in the past 500 hundred years.

In the twentieth century itself the population has increased four times.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

Demographic transition theory can be used to describe and predict the future population of any area. The theory tells us that population of any region changes from high births and high deaths to low births and low deaths as society progresses from rural agrarian and illiterate to urban industrial and literate society. These changes occur in stages which are collectively known as the **demographic cycle**.

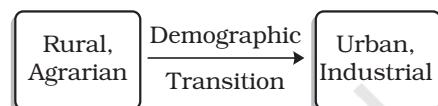


Fig. 2.2 explains the three-staged model of Demographic Transition Theory:

The first stage has high fertility and high mortality because people reproduce more to compensate for the deaths due to epidemics and variable food supply. The population growth is slow and most of the people are engaged in agriculture where large families are an asset. Life expectancy is low, people are mostly illiterate and have low levels of technology. Two hundred years ago all the countries of the world were in this stage.

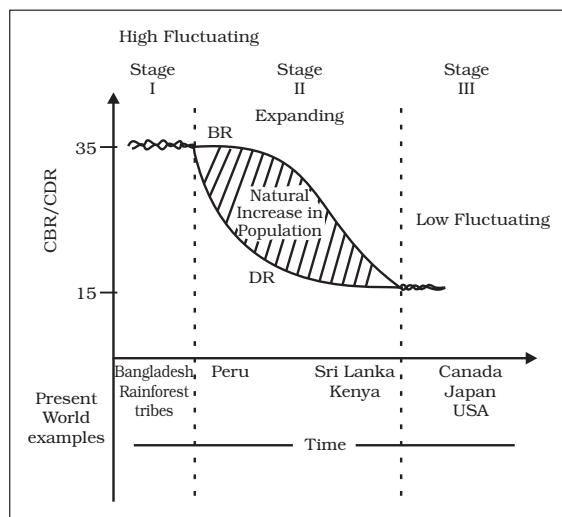


Fig. 2.2: Demographic Transition Theory

Fertility remains high in the beginning of second stage but it declines with time. This is accompanied by reduced mortality rate. Improvements in sanitation and health conditions lead to decline in mortality. Because of this gap the net addition to population is high.

In the last stage, both fertility and mortality decline considerably. The population is either stable or grows slowly. The population becomes urbanised, literate and has high technical know-how and deliberately controls the family size.

This shows that human beings are extremely flexible and are able to adjust their fertility.

In the present day, different countries are at different stages of demographic transition.

POPULATION CONTROL MEASURES

Family planning is the spacing or preventing the birth of children. Access to family planning services is a significant factor in limiting population growth and improving women's health. Propaganda, free availability of contraceptives and tax disincentives for large families are some of the measures which can help population control.

Thomas Malthus in his theory (1798) stated that the number of people would increase faster than the food supply. Any further increase would result in a population crash caused by famine, disease and war. The preventive checks are better than the physical checks. For the sustainability of our resources, the world will have to control the rapid population increase.



EXERCISES

- (ii) There are a number of areas with high population density in the world. Why does this happen?
 - (iii) What are the three components of population change?
- 3.** Distinguish between:
- (i) Birth rate and death rate.
 - (ii) Push factors and pull factors of migration.
- 4.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
- (i) Discuss the factors influencing the distribution and density of population in the world.
 - (ii) Discuss the three stages of demographic transition.

Map Skill

On the outline map of the world, show and name the following.

- (i) Countries of Europe and Asia with negative growth rate of population.

Project/Activity

- (i) Has someone in your family migrated? Write about her/his place of destination. What made her/him migrate?
- (ii) Write a brief report on the distribution and density of population in your state.



Unit-II

Chapter-3



12097CH04

Human Development



The words 'growth' and 'development' are not new to you. Look around you, almost everything that you can see (and many that you cannot) grows and develops. These may be plants, cities, ideas, nations, relationships or even you yourself! What does this mean?

Do growth and development mean the same thing?
Do they accompany each other?

This chapter discusses the concept of human development as it pertains to nations and communities.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Both growth and development refer to changes over a period of time. The difference is that growth is quantitative and value neutral. It may have a positive or a negative sign. This means that the change may be either positive (showing an increase) or negative (indicating a decrease).

Development means a qualitative change which is always value positive. This means that development cannot take place unless there is an increment or addition to the existing conditions. Development occurs when positive growth takes place. Yet, positive growth does not always lead to development. Development occurs when there is a positive change in quality.

For example, if the population of a city grows from one lakh to two lakhs over a period of time, we say the city has grown. However, if all facilities like housing, provision of basic services and other characteristics remain the same, then this growth has not been accompanied by development.

Can you think of a few more examples to differentiate between growth and development?

Activity

Write a short essay or draw a set of pictures illustrating growth without development and growth with development.

For many decades, a country's level of development was measured only in terms of its

Band Aceh, June, 2004



Band Aceh, December, 2004



Do you know that cities can also grow negatively? Look at the photographs of this tsunami affected city. Are natural disasters the only reasons for negative growth in a city's size?

economic growth. This meant that the bigger the economy of the country, the more developed it was considered, even though this growth did not really mean much change in the lives of most people.

The idea that the quality of life people enjoy in a country, the opportunities they have and freedoms they enjoy, are important aspects of development, is not new.

These ideas were clearly spelt out for the first time in the late eighties and early nineties. The works of two South Asian economists, Mahbub-ul-Haq and Amartya Sen are important in this regard.

The concept of human development was introduced by Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq. Dr Haq has described human development as development that enlarges people's choices and improves their lives. People are central to all development under this concept. These choices are not fixed but keep on changing. The basic goal of development is to create conditions where people can live meaningful lives.

A meaningful life is not just a long one. It must be a life with some purpose. This means that people must be healthy, be able to develop their talents, participate in society and be free to achieve their goals.

DO YOU KNOW

Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq and Prof Amartya Sen were close friends and have worked together under the leadership of Dr Haq to bring out the initial Human Development Reports. Both these South Asian economists have been able to provide an alternative view of development.

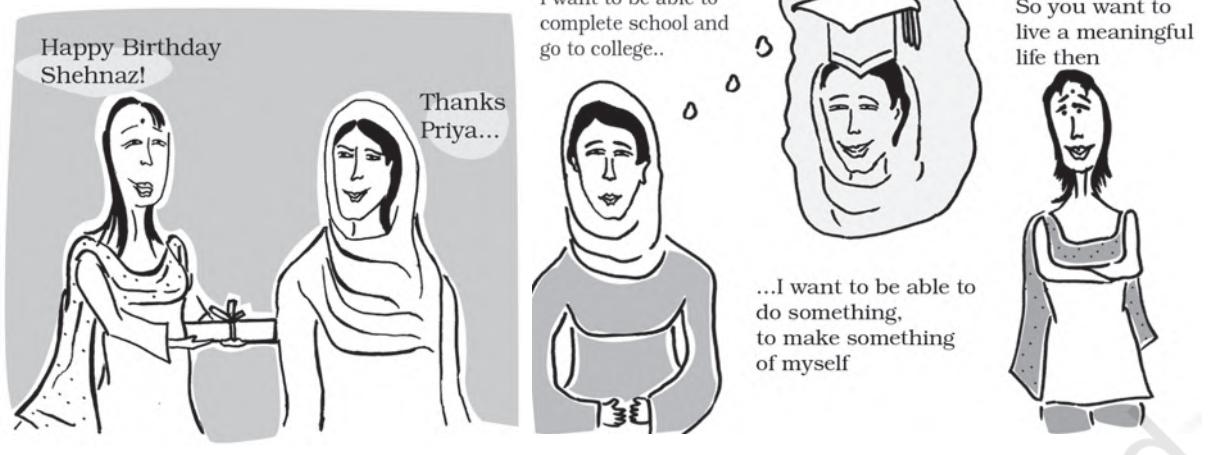
A man of vision and compassion, Pakistani economist Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq created the Human Development Index in 1990. According to him, development is all about enlarging people's choices in order to lead long, healthy lives with dignity. The United Nations Development Programme has used his concept of human development to publish the Human Development Report annually since 1990.

Dr Haq's flexibility of mind and ability to think out of the box can be illustrated from one of his speeches where he quoted Shaw saying, "You see things that are, and ask why? I dream of things that never were, and ask why not?"

Nobel Laureate Prof Amartya Sen saw an increase in freedom (or decrease in unfreedom) as the main objective of development. Interestingly, increasing freedoms is also one of the most effective ways of bringing about development. His work explores the role of social and political institutions and processes in increasing freedom.

The works of these economists are path breaking and have succeeded in bringing people to the centre of any discussion on development.

What is a Meaningful Life?



The Government of India has introduced *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao* programme to address the issue of decline in child sex ratio. Discuss with your peers how it will lead to more meaningful life for girls.

Which of these lives is a meaningful life?



Who do you think leads more meaningful life? What makes one of these more meaningful than the other?

Leading a long and healthy life, being able to gain knowledge and having enough means to be able to live a decent life are the most important aspects of human development.

Therefore, access to resources, health and education are the key areas in human development. Suitable indicators have been developed to measure each of these aspects. Can you think of some?

Very often, people do not have the capability and freedom to make even basic choices. This may be due to their inability to acquire knowledge, their material poverty, social discrimination, inefficiency of institutions and other reasons. This prevents them from leading healthy lives, being able to get educated or to have the means to live a decent life.

Building people's capabilities in the areas of health, education and access to resources is therefore, important in enlarging their choices. If people do not have capabilities in these areas, their choices also get limited.

For example, an uneducated child cannot make the choice to be a doctor because her choice has got limited by her lack of education. Similarly, very often poor people cannot choose to take medical treatment for disease because their choice is limited by their lack of resources.



Activity

Enact a five-minute play with your classmates showing how choices are limited due to lack of capability in the areas of either income, education or health.

THE FOUR PILLARS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Just as any building is supported by pillars, the idea of human development is supported by the concepts of **equity, sustainability, productivity** and **empowerment**.

Equity refers to making equal access to opportunities available to everybody. The opportunities available to people must be equal irrespective of their gender, race, income and in the Indian case, caste. Yet this is very often not the case and happens in almost every society.

For example, in any country, it is interesting to see which group the most of the school dropouts belong to. This should then lead to an understanding of the reasons for such behaviour. In India, a large number of women and persons belonging to socially and economically backward groups drop out of school. This shows how the choices of these groups get limited by not having access to knowledge.

Sustainability means continuity in the availability of opportunities. To have sustainable human development, each generation must have the same opportunities. All environmental, financial and human resources must be used keeping in mind the future. Misuse of any of these resources will lead to fewer opportunities for future generations.

A good example is about the importance of sending girls to school. If a community does not stress the importance of sending its girl children to school, many opportunities will be lost to these young women when they grow up. Their career choices will be severely curtailed and this would affect other aspects of their lives. So each generation must ensure the availability of choices and opportunities to its future generations.

Productivity here means human labour productivity or productivity in terms of human work. Such productivity must be constantly enriched by building capabilities in people. Ultimately, it is people who are the real wealth of nations. Therefore, efforts to increase their knowledge, or provide better health facilities ultimately leads to better work efficiency.

Empowerment means to have the power to make choices. Such power comes from increasing freedom and capability. Good governance and people-oriented policies are required to empower people. The empowerment of socially and economically disadvantaged groups is of special importance.



Activity

Talk to the vegetable vendor in your neighbourhood and find out if she has gone to school. Did she drop out of school? Why? What does this tell you about her choices and the freedom she has? Note how her opportunities were limited because of her gender, caste and income.



APPROACHES TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

There are many ways of looking at the problem of human development. Some of the important approaches are: (a) The income approach; (b) The welfare approach; (c) Minimum needs approach; and (d) Capabilities approach (Table 3.1).

MEASURING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The human development index (HDI) ranks the countries based on their performance in the key areas of health, education and access to resources. These rankings are based on a score between 0 to 1 that a country earns from its record in the key areas of human development.

The indicator chosen to assess health is the life expectancy at birth. A higher life expectancy means that people have a greater chance of living longer and healthier lives.

The adult literacy rate and the gross enrolment ratio represent access to knowledge. The number of adults who are able to read and

write and the number of children enrolled in schools show how easy or difficult it is to access knowledge in a particular country.

Access to resources is measured in terms of purchasing power (in U.S. dollars).

Each of these dimensions is given a weightage of 1/3. The human development index is a sum total of the weights assigned to all these dimensions.

The closer a score is to one, the greater is the level of human development. Therefore, a score of 0.983 would be considered very high while 0.268 would mean a very low level of human development.

The human development index measures **attainments** in human development. It reflects what has been achieved in the key areas of human development. Yet it is not the most reliable measure. This is because it does not say anything about the distribution.

The human poverty index is related to the human development index. This index measures the **shortfall** in human development.

Table 3.1: Approaches to Human Development

(a) Income Approach	This is one of the oldest approaches to human development. Human development is seen as being linked to income. The idea is that the level of income reflects the level of freedom an individual enjoys. Higher the level of income, the higher is the level of human development.
(b) Welfare Approach	This approach looks at human beings as beneficiaries or targets of all development activities. The approach argues for higher government expenditure on education, health, social secondary and amenities. People are not participants in development but only passive recipients. The government is responsible for increasing levels of human development by maximising expenditure on welfare.
(c) Basic Needs Approach	This approach was initially proposed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Six basic needs i.e.: health, education, food, water supply, sanitation, and housing were identified. The question of human choices is ignored and the emphasis is on the provision of basic needs of defined sections.
(d) Capability Approach	This approach is associated with Prof. Amartya Sen. Building human capabilities in the areas of health, education and access to resources is the key to increasing human development.





Bhutan is the only country in the world to officially proclaim the Gross National Happiness (GNH) as the measure of the country's progress. Material progress and technological developments are approached more cautiously taking into consideration the possible harm they might bring to the environment or the other aspects of cultural and spiritual life of the Bhutanese. This simply means material progress cannot come at the cost of happiness. GNH encourages us to think of the spiritual, non-material and qualitative aspects of development.

Since 1990, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been publishing the Human Development Report every year. This report provides a rank-wise list of all member countries according to the level of human development. The Human Development index and the Human Poverty index are two important indices to measure human development used by the UNDP.

It is a non-income measure. The probability of not surviving till the age of 40, the adult illiteracy rate, the number of people who do not have access to clean water, and the number of small children who are underweight are all taken into account to show the shortfall in human development in any region. Often the human poverty index is more revealing than the human development index.

Looking at both these measures of human development together gives an accurate picture of the human development situation in a country.

The ways to measure human development are constantly being refined and newer ways of capturing different elements of human development are being researched. Researchers have found links between the level of corruption or political freedom in a particular region. There is also a discussion regarding a political freedom index and, a listing of the most corrupt countries. Can you think of other links to the level of human development?

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

International comparisons of human development are interesting. Size of the territory and per capita income are not directly related to human development. Often smaller countries have done better than larger ones in human development. Similarly, relatively poorer nations have been ranked higher than richer neighbours in terms of human development.

For example, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago have a higher rank than India in the human development index despite having smaller economies. Similarly, within India, Kerala performs much better than Punjab and Gujarat in human development despite having lower per capita income.

Countries can be classified into four groups on the basis of the human development scores earned by them (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Human Development: Categories, Criteria and Countries

Level of Human Development	Score in Development Index	Number of Countries
Very High	above 0.800	69
High	between 0.700 up to 0.799	49
Medium	between 0.550 up to 0.699	42
Low	below 0.550	33

Source: Human Development Report, 2023-24

Countries with very high human development index are those which have a score of over 0.800. According to the *Human Development Report* of 2023-24, this group includes 69 countries. Table 3.3 shows the top ten countries in this group.

Table 3.3: Top Ten Ranked Countries with High Value Index

Rank	Country	Rank	Country
1.	Switzerland	7.	Germany
2.	Norway	7.	Ireland
3.	Iceland	9.	Singapore
4.	Hongkong, China (SAR)	10.	Australia
5.	Denmark	10.	Netherlands
5.	Sweden		

Source: Human Development Report, 2023-24

Try to locate these countries on a map. Can you see what these countries have in common? To find out more visit the official government websites of these countries.

High level of human development group has 49 countries. Providing education and healthcare is an important government priority. Countries with higher human development are those where a lot of investment in the social sector has taken place. Altogether, a higher investment in people and good governance has set this group of countries apart from the others.

Try to find out the percentage of the country's income spent on these sectors. Can you think of some other characteristics that these countries have in common?

You will notice that many of these countries have been the former imperial powers. The degree of social diversity in these countries is not very high. Many of the countries with a high human development score are located in Europe and represent the industrialised western world. Yet there are striking numbers of non-European countries also who have made it to this list.

Countries with medium levels of human development form the largest group. There are 42 countries in the medium level of human development. Most of these are countries which have emerged in the period after the Second World War. Some countries from this group were former colonies while many others have emerged

after the break up of the erstwhile Soviet Union in 1990. Many of these countries have been rapidly improving their human development score by adopting more people-oriented policies and reducing social discrimination. Most of these countries have a much higher social diversity than the countries with higher human development scores. Many in this group have

India shows progress in Human Development Index, ranks 134 out of 193 countries

After a drop in 2021, India's HDI value increases from 0.633 to 0.644 in 2022, placing the country in the medium human development category.

MARCH 14, 2024



- After a drop in 2021, India's HDI value increases from 0.633 to 0.644 in 2022, placing the country in the medium human development category.
- With a Gender Inequality Index value of 0.437 in 2022, India has shown progress and fares better than the global average of 0.462 and the South Asian average of 0.478.
- Global HDI is projected to reach record highs in 2023. However, this progress is uneven. Rich countries are experiencing record levels of human development, while half of the world's poorest countries remain below their pre-crisis level.
- This uneven progress is leaving the poorest behind, exacerbating inequality, and stoking political polarization on a global scale. The result is a dangerous gridlock that must be urgently tackled through collective action.



faced political instability and social uprisings at some point of time in their recent history.

As many as 33 countries record low levels of human development. A large proportion of these are small countries which have been going through political turmoil and social instability in the form of civil war, famine or a high incidence of diseases. There is an urgent need to address the human development requirements of this group through well thought out policies.

International comparisons of human development can show some very interesting results. Often people tend to blame low levels of human development on the culture of the people. For example, X country has lower human development because its people follow Y religion, or belong to Z community. Such statements are misleading.

To understand why a particular region keeps reporting low or high levels of human development it is important to look at the pattern of government expenditure on the social sector. The political environment of the country and the amount of freedom people have is also important. Countries with high levels of human development invest more in the social sectors and are generally free from political turmoil and instability. Distribution of the country's resources is also far more equitable.

On the other hand, places with low levels of human development tend to spend more on defence rather than social sectors. This shows that these countries tend to be located in areas of political instability and have not been able to initiate accelerated economic development.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
 - (i) Which one of the following best describes development?
 - (a) an increase in size
 - (b) a constant in size
 - (c) a positive change in quality
 - (d) a simple change in the quality
 - (ii) Which one of the following scholars introduced the concept of Human Development?
 - (a) Prof. Amartya Sen
 - (b) Ellen C. Semple
 - (c) Dr Mahabub-ul-Haq
 - (d) Ratzel
- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
 - (i) What are the three basic areas of human development?
 - (ii) Name the four main components of human development?
 - (iii) How are countries classified on the basis of human development index?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in not more than 150 words.
 - (i) What do you understand by the term human development?
 - (ii) What do equity and sustainability refer to within the concept of human development?



Project/Activity

Make a list of the ten most corrupt countries and ten least corrupt countries. Compare their scores on the human development index. What inferences can you draw?

Consult the latest Human Development Report for this.



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Unit-III

Chapter-4



12097CH05

Primary Activities



Human activities which generate income are known as *economic activities*. Economic activities are broadly grouped into primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary activities. Primary activities are directly dependent on environment as these refer to utilisation of earth's resources such as land, water, vegetation, building materials and minerals. It, thus includes, hunting and gathering, pastoral activities, fishing, forestry, agriculture, and mining and quarrying.

Why are the inhabitants of coastal and plain regions engaged in fishing and agriculture respectively? What are the physical and social factors which affect the type of primary activities in different regions?

DO YOU KNOW

People engaged in primary activities are called red-collar workers due to the outdoor nature of their work.

HUNTING AND GATHERING

The earliest human beings depended on their immediate environment for their sustenance. They subsisted on: (a) animals which they hunted; and (b) the edible plants which they gathered from forests in the vicinity.

Primitive societies depended on wild animals. People located in very cold and extremely hot climates survived on hunting. The people in the coastal areas still catch fish though fishing has experienced modernisation due to technological progress. Many species, now have become extinct or endangered due to illegal hunting (poaching). The early hunters used primitive tools made of stones, twigs or arrows so the number of animals killed was limited. Why has hunting been banned in India?

Gathering and hunting are the oldest economic activity known. These are carried out at different levels with different orientations.

Gathering is practised in regions with harsh climatic conditions. It often involves primitive societies, who extract, both plants and



animals to satisfy their needs for food, shelter and clothing. This type of activity requires a small amount of capital investment and operates at very low level of technology. The yield per person is very low and little or no surplus is produced.



Fig. 4.1: Women Gathering Oranges in Mizoram

Gathering is practised in: (i) high latitude zones which include northern Canada, northern Eurasia and southern Chile; (ii) Low latitude zones such as the Amazon Basin, tropical Africa, Northern fringe of Australia and the interior parts of Southeast Asia (Fig. 4.2).

In modern times some gathering is market-oriented and has become commercial. Gatherers collect valuable plants such as leaves, barks of trees and medicinal plants and after simple processing sell the products in the market. They use various parts of the plants, for example, the bark is used for quinine, tanin extract and cork—leaves supply materials for beverages, drugs, cosmetics, fibres, thatch and fabrics; nuts for food and oils and tree trunk yield rubber, balata, gums and resins.

DO YOU KNOW

The name of the part of the chewing gum after the flavour is gone? It is called *Chicle* — it is made from the milky juice of zapota tree.

Gathering has little chance of becoming important at the global level. Products of such an

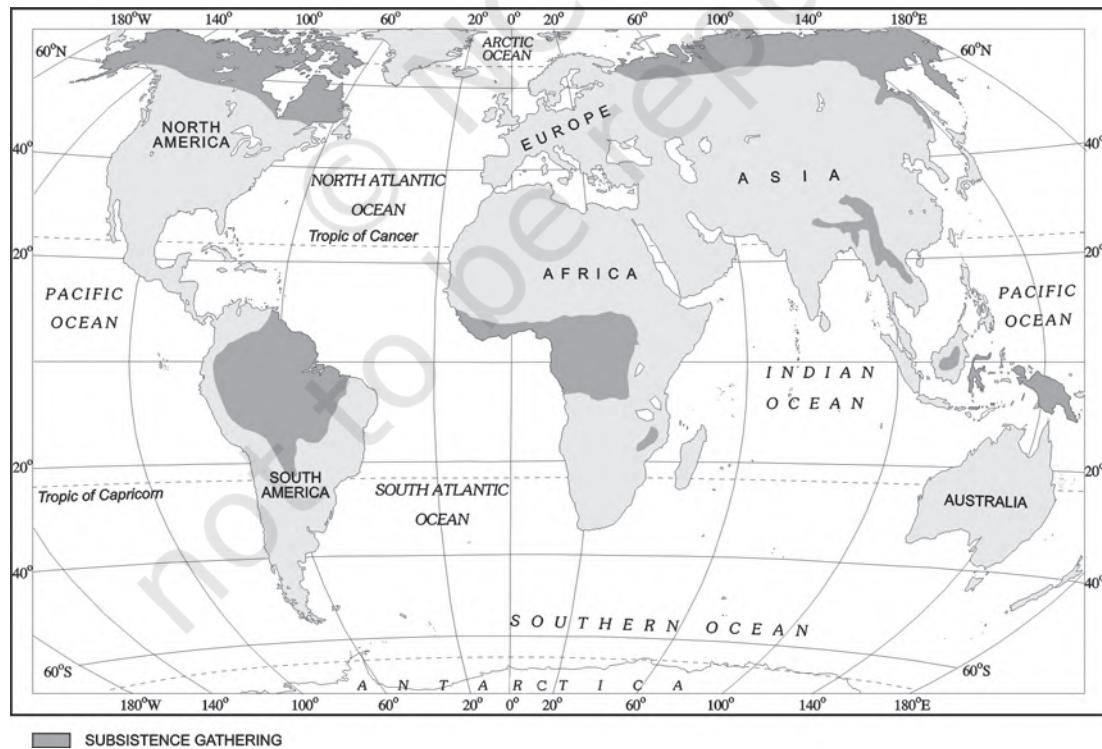


Fig. 4.2: Areas of Subsistence Gathering

activity cannot compete in the world market. Moreover, synthetic products often of better quality and at lower prices, have replaced many items supplied by the gatherers in tropical forests.

PASTORALISM

At some stage in history, with the realisation that hunting is an unsustainable activity, human beings might have thought of domestication of animals. People living in different climatic conditions selected and domesticated animals found in those regions. Depending on the geographical factors, and technological development, animal rearing today is practised either at the subsistence or at the commercial level.

Nomadic Herding

Nomadic herding or pastoral nomadism is a primitive subsistence activity, in which the herders rely on animals for food, clothing, shelter, tools and transport. They move from one place to another along with their livestock, depending on the amount and quality of pastures and water. Each nomadic community occupies a well-identified territory as a matter of tradition.



Fig. 4.3: Nomads taking their sheep up to the Mountains at the onset of summer

A wide variety of animals is kept in different regions. In tropical Africa, cattle are the most important livestock, while in Sahara and Asiatic deserts, sheep, goats and camel are reared. In the mountainous areas of Tibet and Andes, yak and llamas and in the Arctic and sub Arctic areas, reindeer are the most important animals.

Pastoral nomadism is associated with three important regions. The core region extends from the Atlantic shores of North Africa eastwards across the Arabian peninsula into Mongolia and Central China. The second region extends over the tundra region of Eurasia. In the southern hemisphere there are small areas in South-west Africa and on the island of Madagascar (Fig. 4.4)

Movement in search of pastures is undertaken either over vast horizontal distances or vertically from one elevation to another in the mountainous regions. The process of migration from plain areas to pastures on mountains during summers and again from mountain pastures to plain areas during winters is known as *transhumance*. In mountain regions, such as Himalayas, Gujjars, Bakarwals, Gaddis and Bhotiyas migrate from plains to the mountains in summers and to the plains from the high altitude pastures in winters. Similarly, in the tundra regions, the nomadic herders move from south to north in summers and from north to south in winters.

The number of pastoral nomads has been decreasing and the areas operated by them shrinking. This is due to (a) imposition of political boundaries; (b) new settlement plans by different countries.

Commercial Livestock Rearing

Unlike nomadic herding, commercial livestock rearing is more organised and capital intensive. Commercial livestock ranching is essentially associated with western cultures and is practised on permanent ranches. These ranches cover large areas and are divided into a number of parcels, which are fenced to regulate the grazing. When the grass of one parcel is grazed, animals are moved to another parcel. The number of animals in a pasture is kept according to the carrying capacity of the pasture.

This is a specialised activity in which only one type of animal is reared. Important animals include sheep, cattle, goats and horses. Products such as meat, wool, hides and skin are processed and packed scientifically and exported to different world markets.

Rearing of animals in ranching is organised on a scientific basis. The main

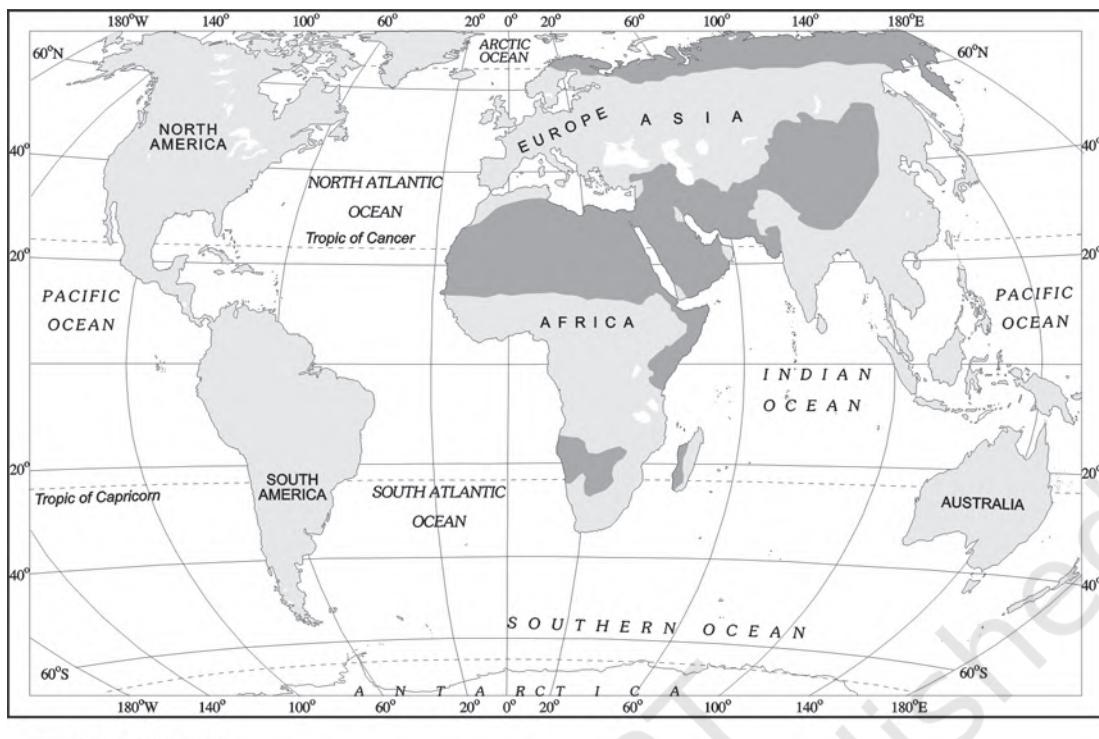


Fig. 4.4: Areas of Nomadic Herding



Fig. 4.5: Commercial Livestock Rearing

Reindeer rearing in the northern regions of Alaska where most of the Eskimos own about two-third of the stock.

emphasis is on breeding, genetic improvement, disease control and health care of the animals.

New Zealand, Australia, Argentina, Uruguay and United States of America are important countries where commercial livestock rearing is practised (Fig. 4.6).

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is practised under multiple combinations of physical and socio-economic conditions, which gives rise to different types of agricultural systems.

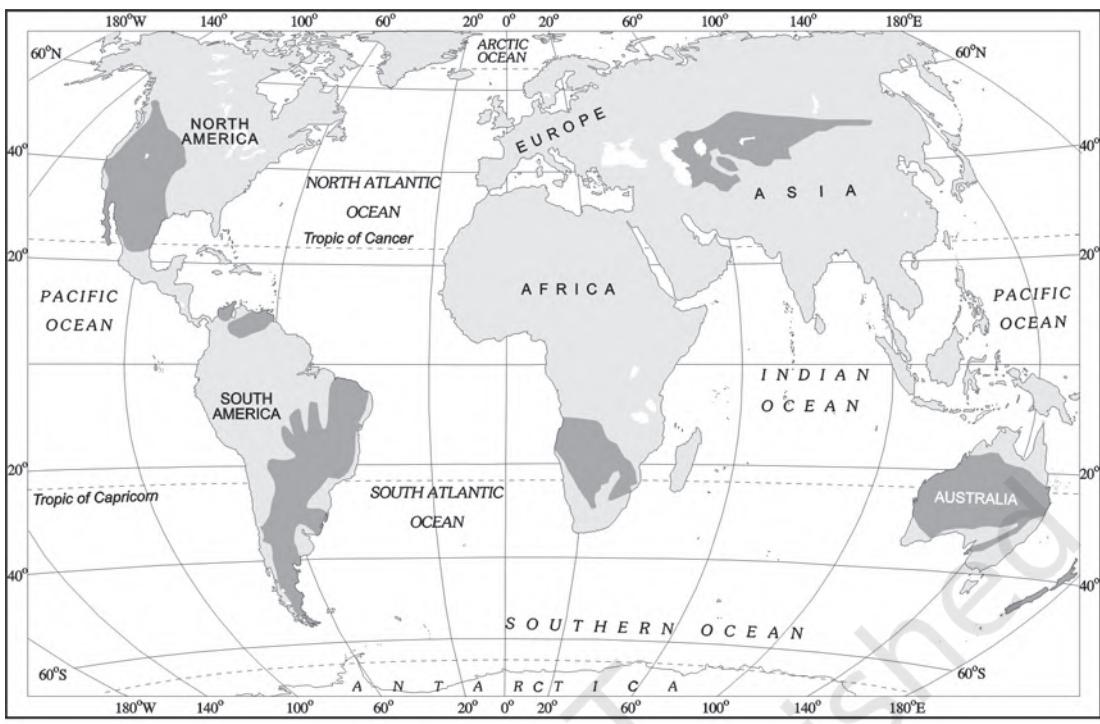
Based on methods of farming, different types of crops are grown and livestock raised. The following are the main agricultural systems.

Subsistence Agriculture

Subsistence agriculture is one in which the farming areas consume all, or nearly so, of the products locally grown. It can be grouped in two categories — Primitive Subsistence Agriculture and Intensive Subsistence Agriculture.

Primitive Subsistence Agriculture

Primitive subsistence agriculture or shifting cultivation is widely practised by many tribes in the tropics, especially in Africa, south and central America and south east Asia (Fig. 4.7).



■ COMMERCIAL LIVESTOCK REARING

Fig. 4.6: Areas of Commercial Livestock Rearing



■ SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE

Fig. 4.7: Areas of Primitive Subsistence Agriculture

The vegetation is usually cleared by fire, and the ashes add to the fertility of the soil. Shifting cultivation is thus, also called **slash and burn agriculture**. The cultivated patches are very small and cultivation is done with very primitive tools such as sticks and hoes. After sometime (3 to 5 years) the soil loses its fertility and the farmer shifts to another part and clears other patch of the forest for cultivation. The farmer may return to the earlier patch after sometime. One of the major problems of shifting cultivation is that the cycle of *jhum* becomes less and less due to loss of fertility in different parcels. It is prevalent in tropical region in different names, e.g. **Jhuming** in North eastern states of India, **Milpa** in central America and Mexico and **Ladang** in Indonesia and Malaysia. Find out other areas and the names with which shifting cultivation is done.

Intensive Subsistence Agriculture

This type of agriculture is largely found in densely populated regions of monsoon Asia.

Basically, there are two types of intensive subsistence agriculture.

- (i) *Intensive subsistence agriculture dominated by wet paddy cultivation:* This type of agriculture is characterised by dominance of the rice crop. Land holdings are very small due to the high density of population. Farmers work with the help of family labour leading to intensive use of land. Use of machinery is limited and most of the agricultural operations are done by manual labour. Farm yard manure is used to maintain the fertility of the soil. In this type of agriculture, the yield per unit area is high but per labour productivity is low.
- (ii) *Intensive subsistence agriculture dominated by crops other than paddy:* Due to the difference in relief, climate, soil and some of the other geographical factors, it is not practical to grow paddy in many parts of monsoon Asia. Wheat, soyabean, barley and sorghum are grown in northern China, Manchuria, North Korea and North Japan. In India wheat is grown in western

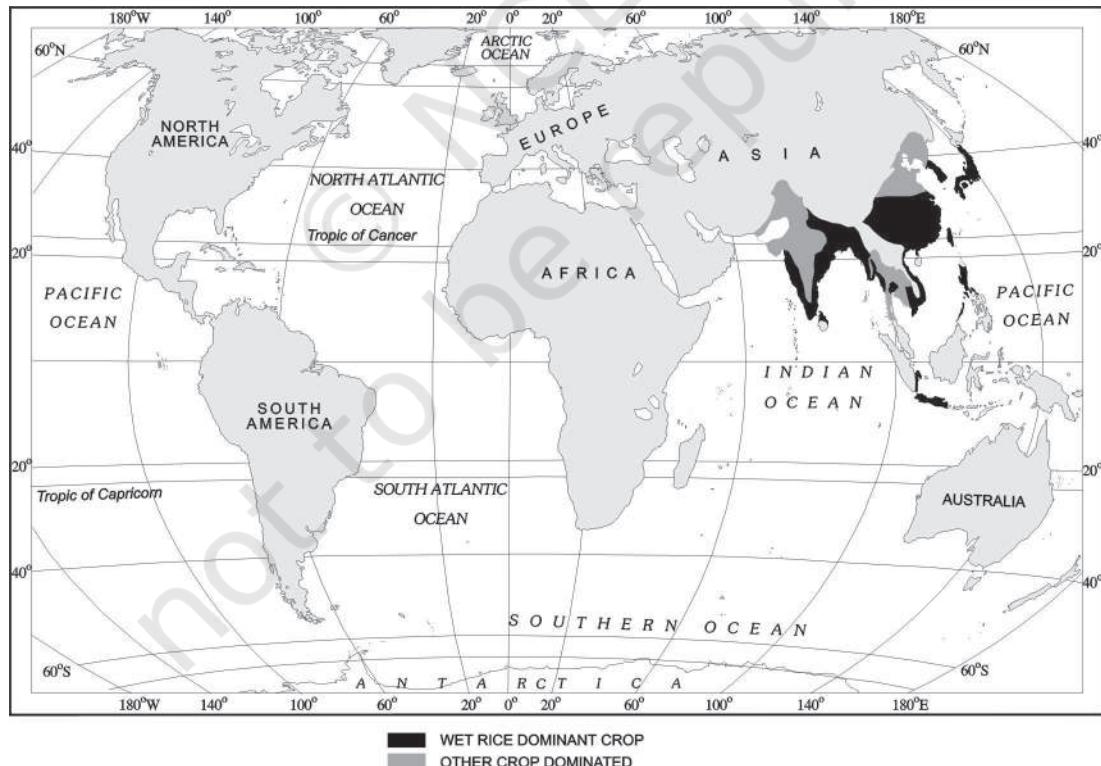


Fig. 4.8: Areas of Intensive Subsistence Farming



Fig. 4.9: Rice Transplantation

parts of the Indo-Gangetic plains and millets are grown in dry parts of western and southern India. Most of the characteristics of this type of agriculture are similar to those dominated by wet paddy except that irrigation is often used.

The Europeans colonised many parts in the world and they introduced some other forms of agriculture such as plantations which were mainly profit-oriented large scale production systems.

Plantation Agriculture

Plantation agriculture as mentioned above was introduced by the Europeans in colonies situated in the tropics. Some of the important plantation crops are tea, coffee, cocoa, rubber, cotton, oil palm, sugarcane, bananas and pineapples.

The characteristic features of this type of farming are large estates or plantations, large capital investment, managerial and technical support, scientific methods of cultivation, single crop specialisation, cheap labour, and a good system of transportation which links the estates to the factories and markets for the export of the products.

The French established cocoa and coffee plantations in west Africa. The British set up large tea gardens in India and Sri Lanka, rubber plantations in Malaysia and sugarcane and banana plantations in West Indies. Spanish and Americans invested heavily in coconut and

sugarcane plantations in the Philippines. The Dutch once had monopoly over sugarcane plantation in Indonesia. Some coffee fazendas (large plantations) in Brazil are still managed by Europeans.

Today, ownership of the majority of plantations has passed into the hands of the government or the nationals of the countries concerned.



Fig. 4.10: Tea Plantation

The slopes of hills are used for tea plantations because of favourable geographical conditions.

Extensive Commercial Grain Cultivation

Commercial grain cultivation is practised in the interior parts of semi-arid lands of the mid-latitudes. Wheat is the principal crop, though other crops like corn, barley, oats and rye are also grown. The size of the farm is very large, therefore entire operations of cultivation from



**Fig. 4.11:
Mechanised Grain
Farming**

Combine crews are capable of harvesting grain over many hectares in a single day.

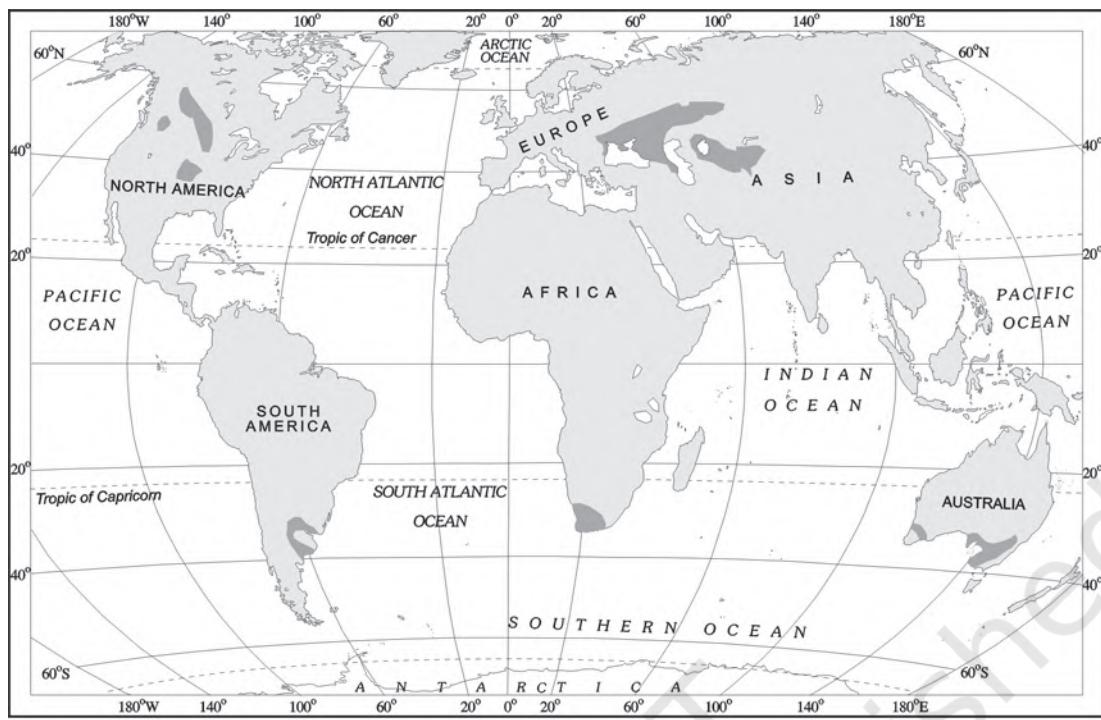


Fig. 4.12: Areas of Extensive Commercial Grain Farming

This type of agriculture is best developed in Eurasian steppes, the Canadian and American Prairies, the Pampas of Argentina, the Velds of South Africa, the Australian Downs and the Canterbury Plains of New Zealand. (Locate these areas on the world map).

Mixed Farming

This form of agriculture is found in the highly developed parts of the world, e.g. North-western Europe, Eastern North America, parts of Eurasia and the temperate latitudes of Southern continents (Fig. 4.14).

Mixed farms are moderate in size and usually the crops associated with it are wheat, barley, oats, rye, maize, fodder and root crops. Fodder crops are an important component of mixed farming. Crop rotation and intercropping play an important role in maintaining soil fertility. Equal emphasis is laid on crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Animals like cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry provide the main income along with crops.

Mixed farming is characterised by high capital expenditure on farm machinery and

building, extensive use of chemical fertilisers and green manures and also by the skill and expertise of the farmers.

Dairy Farming

Dairy is the most advanced and efficient type of rearing of milch animals. It is highly capital intensive. Animal sheds, storage facilities for fodder, feeding and milching machines add to the cost of dairy farming. Special emphasis is laid on cattle breeding, health care and veterinary services.

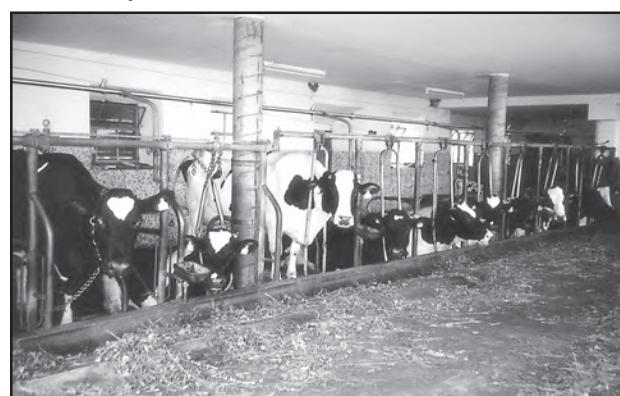


Fig. 4.13: A Dairy Farm in Austria

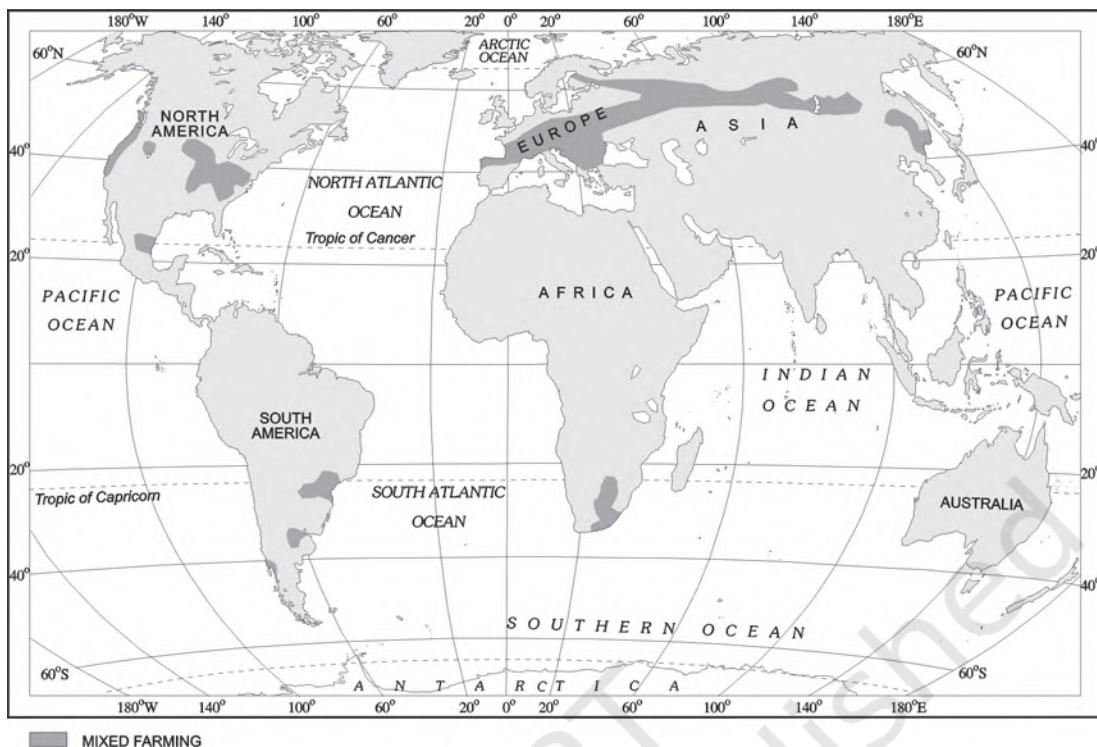


Fig. 4.14: Areas of Mixed Farming

It is highly labour intensive as it involves rigorous care in feeding and milching. There is no off season during the year as in the case of crop raising.

It is practised mainly near urban and industrial centres which provide neighbourhood market for fresh milk and dairy products. The development of transportation, refrigeration, pasteurisation and other preservation processes have increased the duration of storage of various dairy products.

There are three main regions of commercial dairy farming. The largest is North Western Europe the second is Canada and the third belt includes South Eastern Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania (Fig. 4.16).

Mediterranean Agriculture

Mediterranean agriculture is highly specialised commercial agriculture. It is practised in the countries on either side of the Mediterranean



Fig. 4.15 (a): A vineyard in Switzerland



Fig. 4.15 (b): Collection of grapes in a collective farm of Kazakhstan

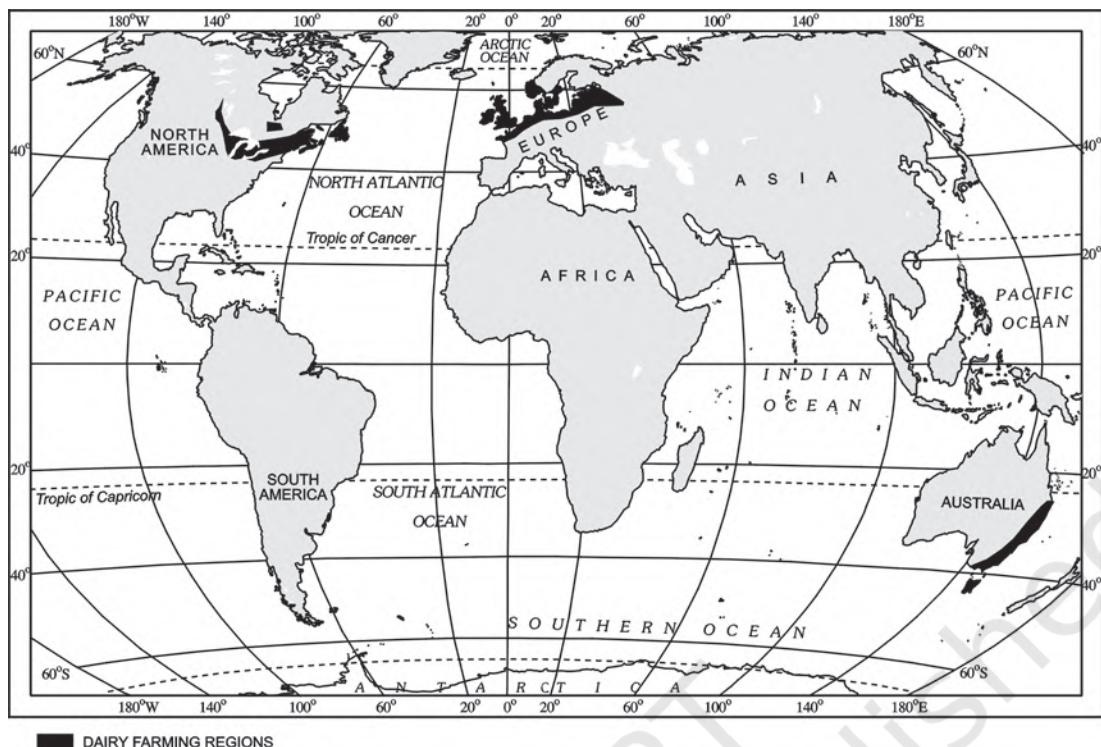


Fig. 4.16: Areas of Dairy Farming

sea in Europe and in north Africa from Tunisia to Atlantic coast, southern California, central Chile, south western parts of South Africa and south and south western parts of Australia. This region is an important supplier of citrus fruits.

Viticulture or grape cultivation is a speciality of the Mediterranean region. Best quality wines in the world with distinctive flavours are produced from high quality grapes in various countries of this region. The inferior grapes are dried into raisins and currants. This region also produces olives and figs. The advantage of Mediterranean agriculture is that more valuable crops such as fruits and vegetables are grown in winters when there is great demand in European and North American markets.

Market Gardening and Horticulture

Market gardening and horticulture specialise in the cultivation of high value crops such as vegetables, fruits and flowers, solely for the urban markets. Farms are small and are

located where there are good transportation links with the urban centre where high income group of consumers is located. It is both labour and capital intensive and lays emphasis on the use of irrigation, HYV seeds, fertilisers, insecticides, greenhouses and artificial heating in colder regions.

This type of agriculture is well developed in densely populated industrial districts of north west Europe, north eastern United States of America and the Mediterranean regions. The Netherlands specialises in growing flowers and horticultural crops especially tulips, which are flown to all major cities of Europe.

The regions where farmers specialise in vegetables only, the farming is known as **truck farming**. The distance of truck farms from the market is governed by the distance that a truck can cover overnight, hence the name truck farming.

In addition to market gardening, a modern development in the industrial regions of Western Europe and North America is factory farming. Livestock, particularly poultry and cattle



Figure 4.17 (a): Vegetables being grown in the vicinity of the city

rearing, is done in stalls and pens, fed on manufactured feedstuff and carefully supervised against diseases. This requires heavy capital investment in terms of building, machinery for various operations, veterinary services and heating and lighting. One of the important features of poultry farming and cattle rearing is breed selection and scientific breeding.

Types of farming can also be categorised according to the farming organisation. Farming organisation is affected by the way in which farmers own their farms and various policies of the government which help to run these farms.

Co-operative Farming

A group of farmers form a co-operative society by pooling in their resources voluntarily for more efficient and profitable farming. Individual farms remain intact and farming is a matter of cooperative initiative.

Co-operative societies help farmers, to procure all important inputs of farming, sell the products at the most favourable terms and help in processing of quality products at cheaper rates.

Co-operative movement originated over a century ago and has been successful in many western European countries like Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Italy etc. In Denmark, the movement has been so successful that practically every farmer is a member of a co-operative.



Figure 4.17 (b): Vegetables being loaded into a truck and cycle carts for transporting to city markets

Collective Farming

The basic principle behind this types of farming is based on social ownership of the means of production and collective labour. Collective farming or the model of **Kolkhoz** was introduced in erstwhile Soviet Union to improve upon the inefficiency of the previous methods of agriculture and to boost agricultural production for self-sufficiency.

The farmers used to pool in all their resources like land, livestock and labour. However, they were allowed to retain very small plots to grow crops in order to meet their daily requirements.

MINING

The discovery of minerals in the history of human development, is reflected in many stages in terms of copper age, bronze age and iron age. The use of minerals in ancient times was largely confined to the making of tools, utensils and weapons. The actual development of mining began with the industrial revolution and its importance is continuously increasing.

Factors Affecting Mining Activity

The profitability of mining operations thus, depends on two main factors:

- (i) Physical factors include the size, grade and the mode of occurrence of the deposits.
- (ii) Economic factors such as the demand for the mineral, technology available and used, capital to develop infrastructure and the labour and transport costs.



Fig. 4.18: Oil drilling operation in the Gulf of Mexico

Methods of Mining

Depending on the mode of occurrence and the nature of the ore, mining is of two types: surface and underground mining. The surface mining also known as *open-cast* mining is the easiest and the cheapest way of mining minerals that occur close to the surface. Overhead costs such as safety precautions and equipment is relatively low in this method. The output is both large and rapid.

When the ore lies deep below the surface, **underground mining method** (shaft method)

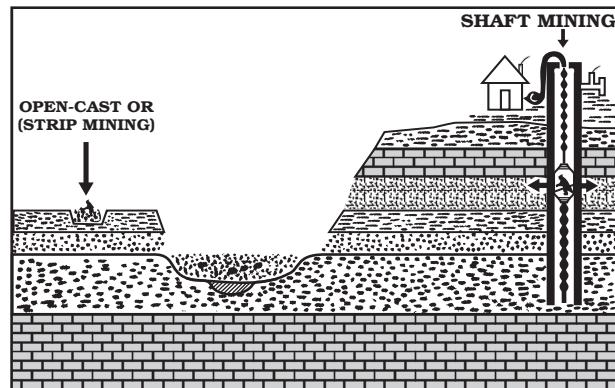


Fig. 4.19: Methods of Mining

has to be used. In this method, vertical shafts have to be sunk, from where underground galleries radiate to reach the minerals. Minerals are extracted and transported to the surface through these passages. It requires specially designed lifts, drills, haulage vehicles, ventilation system for safety and efficient movement of people and material. This method is risky. Poisonous gases, fires, floods and caving in lead to fatal accidents. Have you ever read about mine fires and flooding of coal mines in India?

The developed economies are retreating from mining, processing and refining stages of production due to high labour costs, while the developing countries with large labour force and striving for higher standard of living are becoming more important. Several countries of Africa and few of south America and Asia have over fifty per cent of the earnings from minerals alone.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.

 - (i) Which one of the following is not a plantation crop?
 - (a) Coffee
 - (c) Wheat
 - (b) Sugarcane
 - (d) Rubber
 - (ii) In which one of the following countries co-operative farming was the most successful experiment?
 - (a) Russia
 - (c) India
 - (b) Denmark
 - (d) The Netherlands
 - (iii) Growing of flowers is called:
 - (a) Truck farming
 - (c) Mixed farming
 - (b) Factory farming
 - (d) Floriculture
 - (iv) Which one of the following types of cultivation was developed by European colonists?
 - (a) Kolkoz
 - (c) Mixed farming
 - (b) Viticulture
 - (d) Plantation
 - (v) In which one of the following regions is extensive commercial grain cultivation not practised?
 - (a) American Canadian prairies
 - (c) Pampas of Argentina
 - (b) European Steppes
 - (d) Amazon Basin
 - (vi) In which of the following types of agriculture is the farming of citrus fruit very important?
 - (a) Market gardening
 - (c) Mediterranean agriculture
 - (b) Plantation agriculture
 - (d) Co-operative farming
 - (vii) Which one type of agriculture amongst the following is also called 'slash and burn agriculture'?
 - (a) Extensive subsistence agriculture
 - (b) Primitive subsistence agriculture
 - (c) Extensive commercial grain cultivation
 - (d) Mixed farming
 - (viii) Which one of the following does not follow monoculture?
 - (a) Dairy farming
 - (c) Plantation agriculture
 - (b) Mixed farming
 - (d) Commercial grain farming

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

 - (i) Future of shifting cultivation is bleak. Discuss.
 - (ii) Market gardening is practised near urban areas. Why?
 - (iii) Large scale dairy farming is the result of the development of transportation and refrigeration.

3. Answer the following questions in not more than 150 words.

- (i) Differentiate between Nomadic Herding and Commercial Livestock Rearing.
- (ii) Discuss the important characteristic features of plantation agriculture. Name a few important plantation crops from different countries.

Project/Activity

Visit a nearby village and observe the cultivation of some crops. Ask the farmers and list the various operations.

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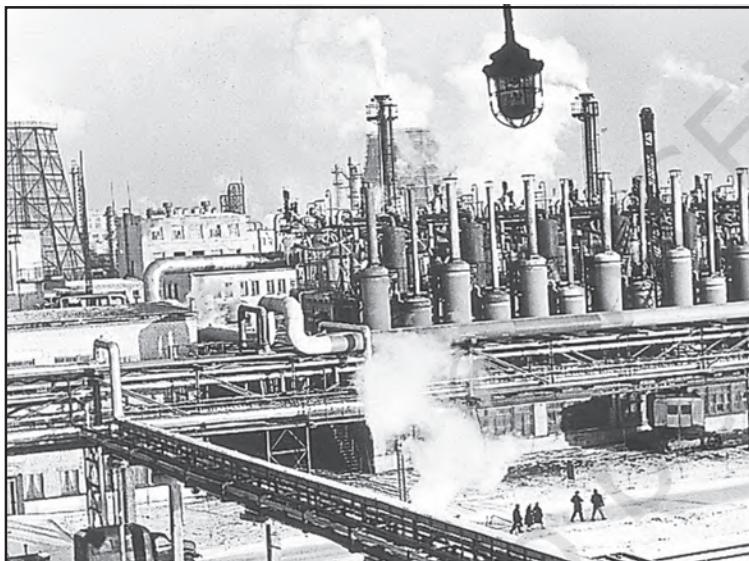
Unit-III

Chapter-5



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Secondary Activities



All economic activities namely primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary, revolve around obtaining and utilising resources necessary for survival.

Secondary activities add value to natural resources by *transforming* raw materials into valuable products. Cotton in the boll has limited use but after it is transformed into yarn, becomes more valuable and can be used for making clothes. Iron ore, cannot be used; directly from the mines, but after being converted into steel it gets its value and can be used for making many valuable machines, tools, etc. The same is true of most of the materials from the farm, forest, mine and the sea. Secondary activities, therefore, are concerned with manufacturing, processing and construction (infrastructure) industries.

MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing involves a full array of production from handicrafts to moulding iron and steel and stamping out plastic toys to assembling delicate computer components or space vehicles. In each of these processes, the common characteristics are the application of power, mass production of identical products and specialised labour in factory settings for the production of standardised commodities. Manufacturing may be done with modern power and machinery or it may still be very primitive. Most of the Third World countries still 'manufacture' in the literal sense of the term. It is difficult to present a full picture of all the manufacturers in these countries. More emphasis is given to the kind of 'industrial' activity which involves less complicated systems of production.

Characteristics of Modern Large Scale Manufacturing

Modern large scale manufacturing has the following characteristics:

Specialisation of Skills/Methods of Production

Under the 'craft' method factories produce only a few pieces which are made-to-order. So the costs are high. On the other hand, mass



production involves production of large quantities of standardised parts by each worker performing only one task repeatedly.

'Manufacturing' Industry and 'Manufacturing Industry'

Manufacturing literally means '*to make by hand*'. However, now it includes goods 'made by machines'. It is essentially a process which involves *transforming raw materials into finished goods of higher value for sale in local or distant markets*. Conceptually, an industry is a geographically located manufacturing unit maintaining books of accounts and, records under a management system. As the term *industry* is comprehensive, it is also used as synonymous with 'manufacturing'. When one uses terms like 'steel industry' and 'chemical industry' one thinks of *factories* and *processes*. But there are many secondary activities which are not carried on in factories such as what is now called the 'entertainment industry' and Tourism industry, etc. So for clarity the longer expression 'manufacturing industry' is used.

Mechanisation

Mechanisation refers to using gadgets which accomplish tasks. Automation (without aid of human thinking during the manufacturing process) is the advanced stage of mechanisation. Automatic factories with feedback and closed-loop computer control systems where machines are developed to 'think', have sprung up all over the world.

Technological Innovation

Technological innovations through research and development strategy are an important aspect of modern manufacturing for quality control, eliminating waste and inefficiency, and combating pollution.

Organisational Structure and Stratification

Modern manufacturing is characterised by a complex machine technology and extreme specialisation and division of labour for producing more goods with less efforts and low costs. It also requires vast capital, large organisations and executive bureaucracy for a large scale manufacturing industry.

Uneven Geographic Distribution

Major concentrations of modern manufacturing have flourished in a few number of places. These cover less than 10 per cent of the world's land area. These nations have become the centres of economic and political power. However, in terms of the total area covered, manufacturing sites are much less conspicuous and concentrated on much smaller areas than that of agriculture due to greater intensity of processes. For example, 2.5 sq km of the American corn belt usually includes about four large farms employing about 10-20 workers supporting 50-100 persons. But this same area could contain several large integrated factories and employ thousands of workers.

Why do Large-scale Industries choose different locations?

Industries maximise profits by reducing costs. Therefore, industries should be located at points where the production costs are minimum. Some of the factors influencing industrial locations are as under:

Access to Market

The existence of a market for manufactured goods is the most important factor in the location of industries. 'Market' means people who have a demand for these goods and also have the purchasing power (ability to purchase) to be able to purchase from the sellers at a place. Remote areas inhabited by a few people offer small markets. The developed regions of Europe, North America, Japan and Australia provide large global markets as the purchasing power of the people is very high. The densely populated regions of South and South-east Asia also

provide large markets. Some industries, such as aircraft manufacturing, have a global market. The arms industry also has global markets.

Access to Raw Material

Raw material used by industries should be cheap and easy to transport. Industries based on cheap, bulky and weight-losing material (ores) are located close to the sources of raw material such as steel, sugar, and cement industries. Perishability is a vital factor for the industry to be located closer to the source of the raw material. Agro-processing and dairy products are processed close to the sources of farm produce or milk supply respectively.

Access to Labour Supply

Labour supply is an important factor in the location of industries. Some types of manufacturing still require skilled labour. Increasing mechanisation, automation and flexibility of industrial processes have reduced the dependence of industry upon the labours.

Access to Sources of Energy

Industries which use more power are located close to the source of the energy supply such as the aluminium industry.

Earlier coal was the main source of energy, today hydroelectricity and petroleum are also important sources of energy for many industries.

Access to Transportation and Communication Facilities

Speedy and efficient transport facilities to carry raw materials to the factory and to move finished goods to the market are essential for the development of industries. The cost of transport plays an important role in the location of industrial units. Western Europe and eastern North America have a highly developed transport system which has always induced the concentration of industries in these areas. Modern industry is inseparably tied to transportation systems. Improvements in transportation led to integrated economic development and regional specialisation of manufacturing.

Communication is also an important need for industries for the exchange and management of information.

Government Policy

Governments adopt 'regional policies' to promote 'balanced' economic development and hence set up industries in particular areas.

Access to Agglomeration Economies/Links between Industries

Many industries benefit from nearness to a leader-industry and other industries. These benefits are termed as agglomeration economies. Savings are derived from the linkages which exist between different industries.

These factors operate together to determine industrial location.

Foot Loose Industries

Foot loose industries can be located in a wide variety of places. They are not dependent on any specific raw material, weight losing or otherwise. They largely depend on component parts which can be obtained anywhere. They produce in small quantity and also employ a small labour force. These are generally not polluting industries. The important factor in their location is accessibility by road network.

Classification of Manufacturing Industries

Manufacturing industries are classified on the basis of their size, inputs/raw materials, output/products and ownership (Fig. 5.1).

Industries based on Size

The amount of capital invested, number of workers employed and volume of production determine the size of industry. Accordingly, industries may be classified into household or cottage, small-scale and large-scale.

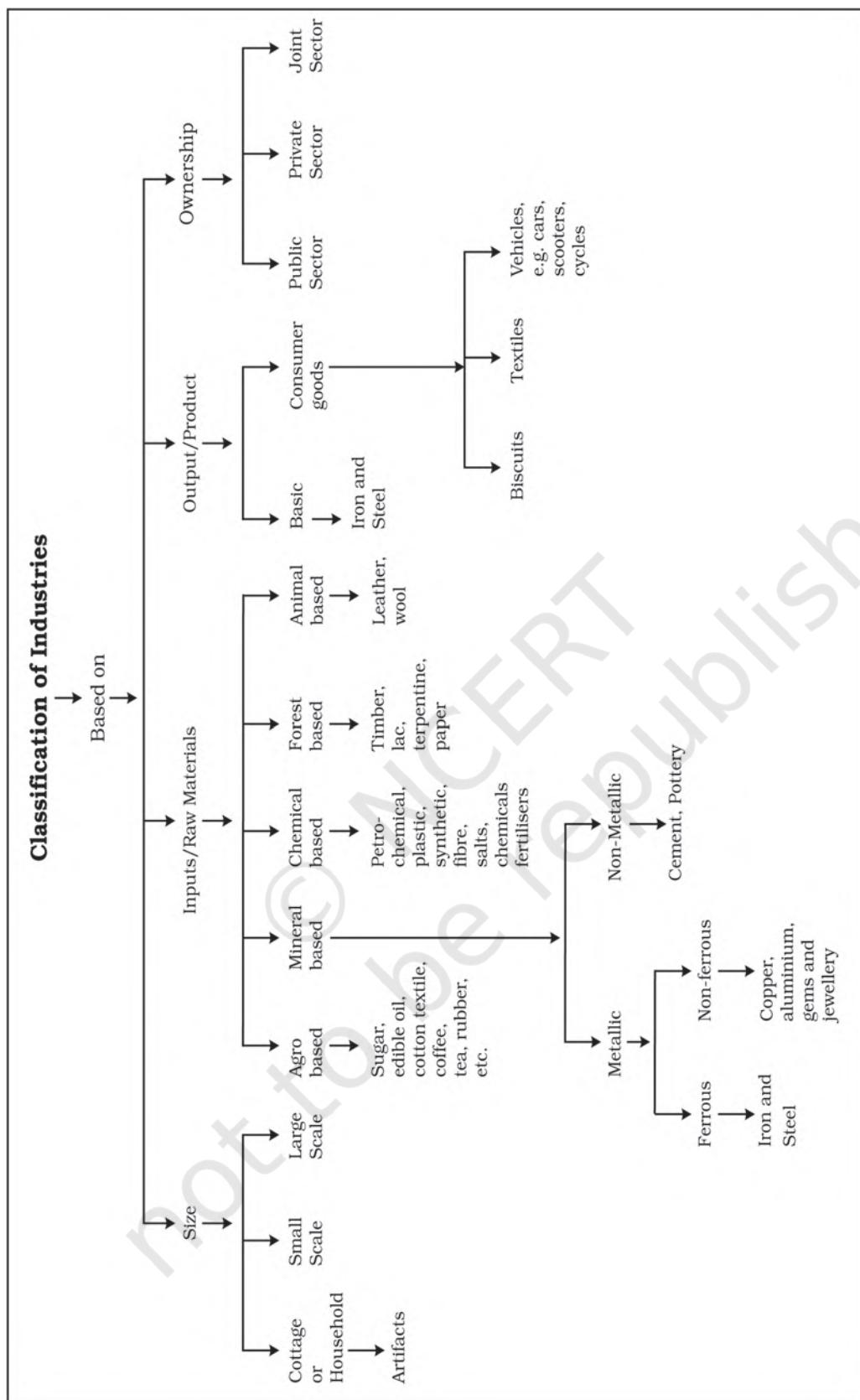


Fig. 5.1 : Classification of Industries

HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES OR COTTAGE MANUFACTURING

It is the smallest manufacturing unit. The artisans use local raw materials and simple tools to produce everyday goods in their homes with the help of their family members or part-time labour. Finished products may be for consumption in the same household or, for sale in local (village) markets, or, for barter. Capital and transportation do not wield much influence as this type of manufacturing has low commercial significance and most of the tools are devised locally.



Fig. 5.2 (a) : A man making pots in his courtyard-example of household industry in Nagaland



Fig. 5.2 (b) : A man weaving a bamboo basket by the roadside in Arunachal Pradesh

Some common everyday products produced in this sector of manufacturing include foodstuffs, fabrics, mats, containers, tools, furniture, shoes, and figurines from wood lot and forest, shoes, thongs and other articles from leather; pottery and bricks from clays and stones. Goldsmiths make jewellery of gold, silver and bronze. Some artefacts and crafts are made out of bamboo, wood obtained locally from the forests.

Small Scale Manufacturing

Small scale manufacturing is distinguished from household industries by its production techniques and place of manufacture (a workshop outside the home/cottage of the producer). This type of manufacturing uses local raw material, simple power-driven machines and semi-skilled labour. It provides employment and raises local purchasing power. Therefore, countries like India, China, Indonesia and Brazil, etc. have developed labour-intensive small scale manufacturing in order to provide employment to their population.



Fig. 5.3: Products of cottage industry on sale in Assam

Large Scale Manufacturing

Large scale manufacturing involves a large market, various raw materials, enormous energy, specialised workers, advanced technology, assembly-line mass production and large capital. This kind of manufacturing developed in the last 200 years, in the United Kingdom, north-eastern U.S.A. and Europe. Now it has diffused to almost all over the world.

On the basis of the system of large scale manufacturing, the world's major industrial regions may be grouped under two broad types, namely

- (i) traditional large-scale industrial regions which are thickly clustered in a few more developed countries.
- (ii) high-technology large scale industrial regions which have diffused to less developed countries.

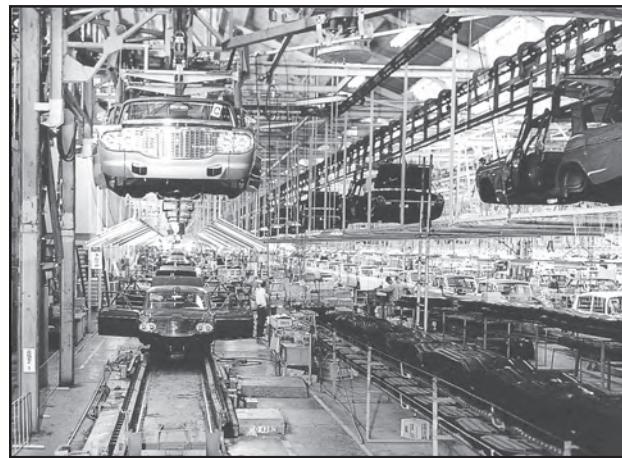


Fig. 5.4 : Passenger car assembly hires at a plant of the Motor Company in Japan

Industries based on Inputs/Raw Materials

On the basis of the raw materials used, the industries are classified as: (a) agro-based; (b) mineral based; (c) chemical based; (d) forest based; and (e) animal based.

(a) Agro based Industries

Agro processing involves the processing of raw materials from the field and the farm into finished products for rural and urban markets. Major agro-processing industries are food processing, sugar, pickles, fruits juices, beverages (tea, coffee and cocoa), spices and oils fats and textiles (cotton, jute, silk), rubber, etc.

Food Processing

Agro processing includes canning, producing cream, fruit processing and confectionery. While some preserving techniques, such as drying, fermenting and pickling, have been known since ancient times, these had limited applications to cater to the pre-Industrial Revolution demands.



Fig. 5.5: Tea Garden and a Tea Factory in the Nilgiri Hills of Tamil Nadu

Agri-business is commercial farming on an industrial scale often financed by business whose main interests lie outside agriculture, for example, large corporations in tea plantation business. Agri-business farms are mechanised, large in size, highly structured, reliant on chemicals, and may be described as 'agro-factories'.

(b) Mineral based Industries

These industries use minerals as a raw material. Some industries use ferrous metallic minerals which contain ferrous (iron), such as iron and steel industries but some use non-ferrous metallic minerals, such as aluminium, copper and jewellery industries. Many industries use non-metallic minerals such as cement and pottery industries.

(c) Chemical based Industries

Such industries use natural chemical minerals, e.g. mineral-oil (petroleum) is used in petrochemical industry. Salts, sulphur and potash industries also use natural minerals. Chemical industries are also based on raw materials obtained from wood and coal. Synthetic fibre, plastic, etc. are other examples of chemical based industries.

(d) Forest based Raw Material using Industries

The forests provide many major and minor products which are used as raw material. Timber for furniture industry, wood, bamboo and grass for paper industry, lac for lac industries come from forests.

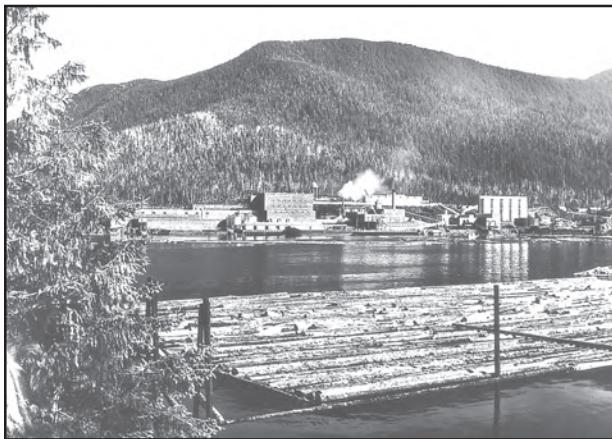


Fig. 5.6: A pulp mill in the heart of the Ketchikan's timber area of Alaska

(e) Animal based Industries

Leather for leather industry and wool for woollen textiles are obtained from animals. Besides, ivory is also obtained from elephant's tusks.

Industries Based On Output/Product

You have seen some machines and tools made of iron or steel. The raw material for such machines and tools is iron and steel. Which is itself an industry. The industry whose products are used to make other goods by using them as raw materials are basic industries. Can you identify the links? Iron/steel → machines for textile industry → clothes for use by consumers.

The consumer goods industries produced goods which are consumed by consumers directly. For example, industries producing breads and biscuits, tea, soaps and toiletries, paper for writing, televisions, etc. are consumer goods or non-basic industries.

INDUSTRIES BASED ON OWNERSHIP

- Public Sector Industries are owned and managed by governments. In India, there were a number of Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs). Socialist countries have many state owned industries. Mixed economies have both Public and Private sector enterprises.
- Private Sector Industries are owned by individual investors. These are managed by private organisations. In capitalist countries, industries are generally owned privately.
- Joint Sector Industries are managed by joint stock companies or sometimes the private and public sectors together establish and manage the industries. Can you make a list of such industries?

Concept of High Technology Industry

High technology, or simply high-tech, is the latest generation of manufacturing activities. It is best understood as the application of intensive research and development (R and D) efforts leading to the manufacture of products of an advanced scientific and engineering character. Professional (white collar) workers make up a large share of the total workforce. These highly skilled specialists greatly outnumber the actual production (blue collar) workers. Robotics on the assembly line, computer-aided design (CAD) and manufacturing, electronic controls of smelting and refining processes, and the constant development of new chemical and pharmaceutical products are notable examples of a high-tech industry.

Neatly spaced, low, modern, dispersed, office-plant-lab buildings rather than massive assembly structures, factories and storage areas mark the high-tech industrial landscape. Planned business parks for high-tech start-ups have become part of regional and local development schemes.

High-tech industries which are regionally concentrated, self-sustained and highly specialised are called technopolies.

The Silicon Valley near San Francisco and Silicon Forest near Seattle are examples of technopolies. Are some technopolies developing in India?

Manufacturing contributes significantly to the world economy. Iron and steel, textiles, automobiles, petrochemicals and electronics are some of the world's most important manufacturing industries.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
 - (i) Which one of the following statements is wrong?
 - (a) Cheap water transport has facilitated the jute mill industry along the Hugli.
 - (b) Sugar, cotton textiles and vegetable oils are footloose industries.
 - (c) The development of hydro-electricity and petroleum reduced, to a great extent, the importance of coal energy as a locational factor for industry.
 - (d) Port towns in India have attracted industries.
 - (ii) In which one of the following types of economy are the factors of production owned individually ?

(a) Capitalist	(c) Socialist
(b) Mixed	(d) None
 - (iii) Which one of the following types of industries produces raw materials for other industries?

(a) Cottage Industries	(c) Basic Industries
(b) Small-scale Industries	(d) Footloose Industries
 - (iv) Which one of the following pairs is correctly matched ?

(a) Automobile industry	... Los Angeles
(b) Shipbuilding industry	... Lusaka
(c) Aircraft industry	... Florence
- 2.** Write a short note on the following in about 30 words.
 - (i) High-Tech industry
 - (ii) Manufacturing
 - (iii) Footloose industries

- 3.** Answer the following in not more than 150 words.
- (i) Differentiate between primary and secondary activities.
 - (ii) Discuss the major trends of modern industrial activities especially in the developed countries of the world.
 - (iii) Explain why high-tech industries in many countries are being attracted to the peripheral areas of major metropolitan centres.
 - (iv) Africa has immense natural resources and yet it is industrially the most backward continent. Comment.

Project/Activity

- (i) Carry out a survey in your school premises of the factory-made goods used by students and the staff.
- (ii) Find out the meaning of the terms bio-degradable and non-biodegradable. Which kind of material is better to use? Why?
- (iii) Look around and make a list of the global brands, their logos and products.



Unit-III

Chapter-6



12097CH07

Tertiary and Quaternary Activities



When you fall ill you go to your family doctor or you call a doctor. Sometimes your parents take you to a hospital for treatment. While in school, you are taught by your teachers. In the event of any dispute, legal opinion is obtained from a lawyer. Likewise, there are many professionals who provide their services against payment of their fee. Thus, all types of services are special skills provided in exchange of payments. Health, education, law, governance and recreation etc. require professional skills. These services require other theoretical knowledge and practical training. Tertiary activities are related to the service sector. Manpower is an important component of the service sector as most of the tertiary activities are performed by skilled labour, professionally trained experts and consultants.

In the initial stages of economic development, larger proportion of people worked in the primary sector. In a developed economy, the majority of workers get employment in tertiary activity and a moderate proportion is employed in the secondary sector.

Tertiary activities include both production and exchange. The production involves the 'provision' of services that are 'consumed'. The output is indirectly measured in terms of wages and salaries. Exchange, involves trade, transport and communication facilities that are used to overcome distance. Tertiary activities, therefore, involve the commercial output of services rather than the production of tangible goods. They are not directly involved in the processing of physical raw materials. Common examples are the work of a plumber, electrician, technician, launderer, barber, shopkeeper, driver, cashier, teacher, doctor, lawyer and publisher etc. The main difference between secondary activities and tertiary activities is that the expertise provided by services relies more heavily on specialised skills, experience and knowledge of the workers rather than on the production techniques, machinery and factory processes.

TYPES OF TERTIARY ACTIVITIES

By now you know that you purchase your books, stationery from traders shop, travel by



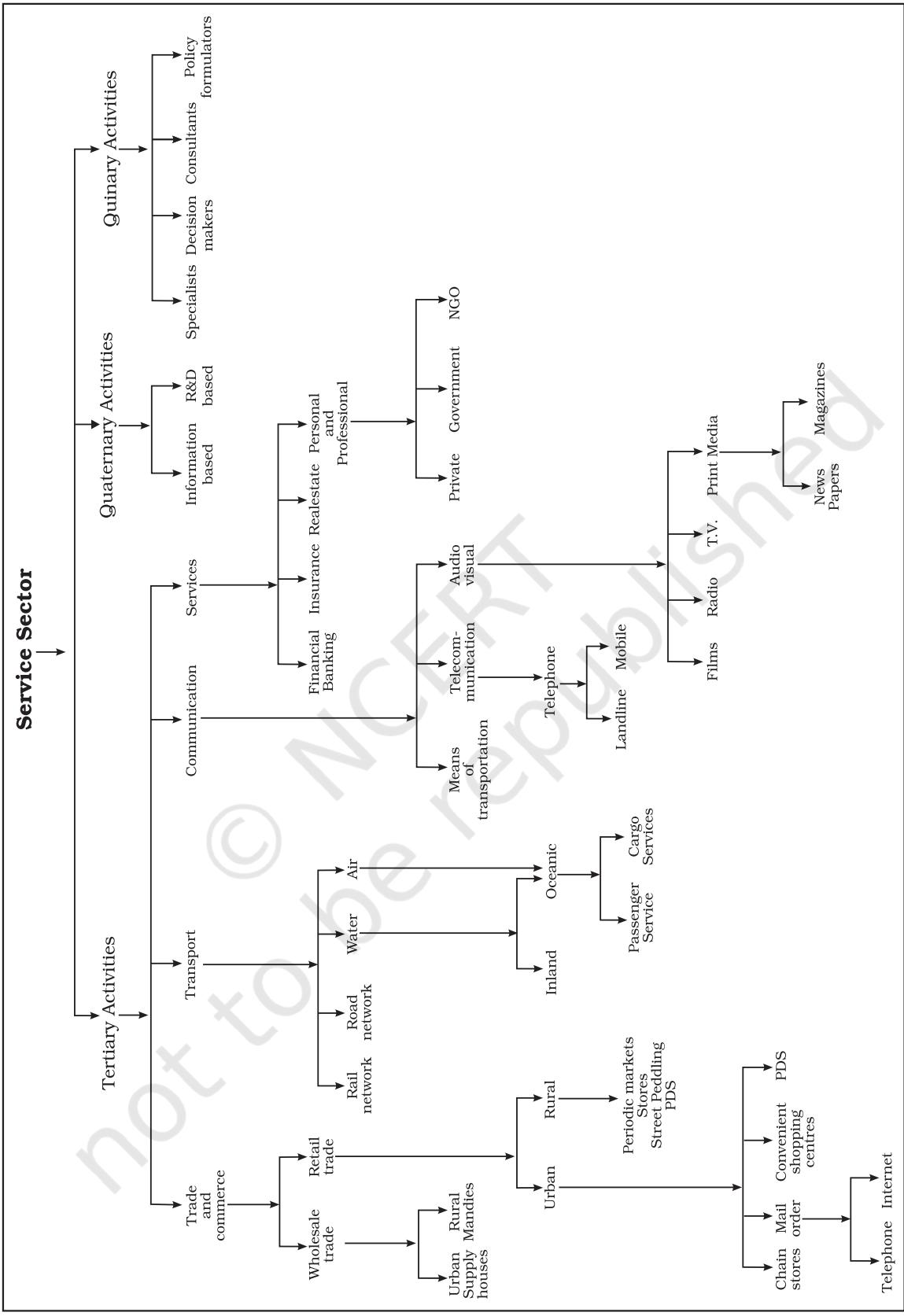


Fig. 6.1: Service Sector

bus or rail, send letters, talk on telephone and obtain services of teachers for studies and doctors at the time of illness.

Thus, trade, transport, communication and services are some of the tertiary activities discussed in this section. The chart provides the basis for classifying the tertiary activities.

Trade and commerce

Trade is essentially **buying** and **selling** of items produced elsewhere. All the services in retail and wholesale trading or commerce are specifically intended for profit. The towns and cities where all these works take place are known us **trading centres**.

The rise of trading from barter at the local level to money-exchange of international scale has produced many centres and institutions such as **trading centres** or collection and distribution points.

Trading centres may be divided into rural and urban marketing centres.

Rural marketing centres cater to nearby settlements. These are quasi-urban centres. They serve as trading centres of the most rudimentary type. Here personal and professional services are not well-developed. These form local collecting and distributing centres. Most of these have *mandis* (wholesale markets) and also retailing areas. They are not urban centres *per se* but are significant centres for making available goods and services which are most frequently demanded by rural folk.

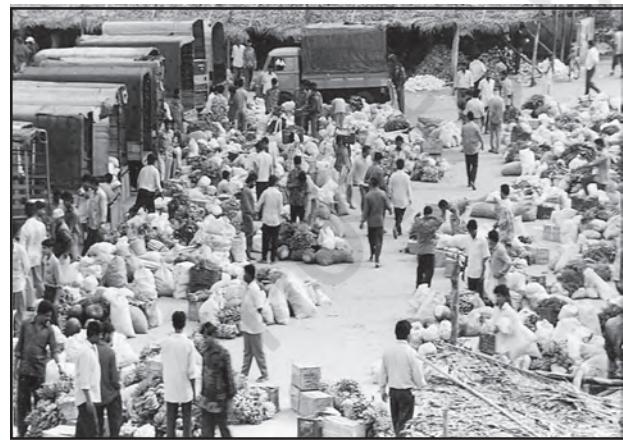


Fig. 6.2: A Wholesale Vegetable Market

Periodic markets in rural areas are found where there are no regular markets and local periodic markets are organised at different temporal intervals. These may be weekly, bi-weekly markets from where people from the surrounding areas meet their temporally accumulated demand. These markets are held on specified dates and move from one place to another. The shopkeepers thus, remain busy on all the days while a large area is served by them.

Urban marketing centres have more widely specialised urban services. They provide ordinary goods and services as well as many of the specialised goods and services required by people. Urban centres, therefore, offer manufactured goods as well as many specialised markets develop, e.g. markets for labour, housing, semi or finished products. Services of educational institutions and professionals such as teachers, lawyers, consultants, physicians, dentists and veterinary doctors are available.



Fig. 6.3: Packed Food Market in U.S.A.

Retail Trading

This is the business activity concerned with the sale of goods directly to the consumers. Most of the retail trading takes place in fixed establishments or stores solely devoted to selling. Street peddling, handcarts, trucks, door-to-door, mail-order, telephone, automatic vending machines and internet are examples of non-store retail trading.

More on Stores

Consumer cooperatives were the first of the large-scale innovations in retailing.

Departmental stores delegate the responsibility and authority to departmental heads for purchasing of commodities and for overseeing the sale in different sections of the stores.

Chain stores are able to purchase merchandise most economically, often going so far as to direct the goods to be manufactured to their specification. They employ highly skilled specialists in many executive tasks. They have the ability to experiment in one store and apply the results to many.

particular route; and **cost distance** or the expense of travelling on a route. In selecting the mode of transport, distance, in terms of time or cost, is the determining factor. Isochrone lines are drawn on a map to join places equal in terms of the time taken to reach them.

Network and Accessibility

As transport systems develop, different places are linked together to form a **network**. Networks are made up of nodes and links. A **node** is the meeting point of two or more routes, a point of origin, a point of destination or any sizeable town along a route. Every road that joins two nodes is called a **link**. A developed network has many links, which means that places are well-connected.

Wholesale Trading

Wholesale trading constitutes bulk business through numerous intermediary merchants and supply houses and not through retail stores. Some large stores including chain stores are able to buy directly from the manufacturers. However, most retail stores procure supplies from an intermediary source. Wholesalers often extend credit to retail stores to such an extent that the retailer operates very largely on the wholesaler's capital.

Transport

Transport is a service or facility by which people, materials and manufactured goods are physically carried from one location to another. It is an organised industry created to satisfy man's basic need of mobility. Modern society requires speedy and efficient transport systems to assist in the production, distribution and consumption of goods. At every stage in this complex system, the value of the material is significantly enhanced by transportation.

Transport distance can be measured as: **km distance** or actual distance of route length; **time distance** or the time taken to travel on a

Factors Affecting Transport

Demand for transport is influenced by the size of population. The larger the population size, the greater is the demand for transport.

Routes depend on: location of cities, towns, villages, industrial centres and raw materials, pattern of trade between them, nature of the landscape between them, type of climate, and funds available for overcoming obstacles along the length of the route.

Communication

Communication services involve the transmission of **words** and **messages**, **facts** and **ideas**. The invention of writing preserved messages and helped to make communication dependent on means of transport. These were actually carried by hand, animals, boat, road, rail and air. That is why all forms of transport are also referred to as lines of communication. Where the transport network is efficient, communications are easily disseminated. Certain developments, such as mobile telephony and satellites, have made communications independent of transport. All forms are not fully disassociated because of the cheapness of the older systems. Thus, very

large volumes of mail continue to be handled by post offices all over the world.

Some of the communication services are discussed below.

Telecommunications

The use of telecommunications is linked to the development of modern technology. It has revolutionised communications because of the speed with which messages are sent. The time reduced is from weeks to minutes. Besides, the recent advancements like mobile telephony have made communications direct and instantaneous at any time and from anywhere. The telegraph, morse code and telex have almost become things of the past.

Radio and **television** also help to relay news, pictures, and telephone calls to vast audiences around the world and hence they are termed as **mass media**. They are vital for advertising and entertainment. **Newspapers** are able to cover events in all corners of the world. Satellite communication relays information of the earth and from space. The **internet** has truly revolutionised the global communication system .

Services

Services occur at many different levels. Some are geared to industry, some to people, and some to both industry and people, e.g. the transport systems. Low-order services, such as grocery shops and laundries, are more common and widespread than high-order services or more specialised ones like those of accountants, consultants and physicians. Services are provided to individual consumers who can afford to pay for them. For example, the gardener, the launderers and the barber do primarily physical labour. Teacher, lawyers, physicians, musicians and others perform mental labour.

Many services have now been regulated. Making and maintaining highways and bridges, maintaining fire fighting departments and supplying or supervising education and customer-care are among the important services most often supervised or performed by governments or companies. State and union

legislation have established corporations to supervise and control the marketing of such services as transport, telecommunication, energy and water supply. Professional services are primarily health care, engineering, law and management. The location of recreational and entertainment services depends on the market. Multiplexes and restaurants might find location within or near the Central Business District (CBD), whereas a golf course would choose a site where land costs are lower than in the CBD.

Personal services are made available to the people to facilitate their work in daily life. The workers migrate from rural areas in search of employment and are unskilled. They are employed in domestic services as housekeepers, cooks, and gardeners. This segment of workers is generally unorganised. One such example in India is Mumbai's *dabbawala* (Tiffin) service provided to about 1,75,000 customers all over the city.



Fig. 6.4: Dabbawala Service in Mumbai

PEOPLE ENGAGED IN TERTIARY ACTIVITIES

Today most people are service workers. Services are provided in all societies. But in more developed countries a higher percentage of workers is employed in providing services as compared to less developed countries. The trend in employment in this sector has been



increasing while it has remained unchanged or decreasing in the primary and secondary activities.

SOME SELECTED EXAMPLES

Tourism

Tourism is travel undertaken for purposes of recreation rather than business. It has become the world's single largest tertiary activity in total registered jobs (250 million) and total revenue (40 per cent of the total GDP). Besides, many local persons, are employed to provide services like accommodation, meals, transport, entertainment and special shops serving the tourists. Tourism fosters the growth of infrastructure industries, retail trading, and craft industries (souvenirs). In some regions, tourism is seasonal because the vacation period is dependent on favourable weather conditions, but many regions attract visitors all the year round.



Fig. 6.5: Tourists skiing in the snow capped mountain slopes of Switzerland

Tourist Regions

The warmer places around the Mediterranean Coast and the West Coast of India are some of the popular tourist destinations in the world. Others include winter sports regions, found mainly in mountainous areas, and various scenic landscapes and national parks, which

are scattered. Historic towns also attract tourists, because of the monument, heritage sites and cultural activities.

Tourist Attractions

Climate: Most people from colder regions expect to have warm, sunny weather for beach holidays. This is one of the main reasons for the importance of tourism in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean lands. The Mediterranean climate offers almost consistently higher temperatures, than in other parts of Europe, long hours of sunshine and low rainfall throughout the peak holiday season. People taking winter holidays have specific climatic requirements, either higher temperatures than their own homelands, or snow cover suitable for skiing.

Landscape: Many people like to spend their holidays in an attractive environment, which often means mountains, lakes, spectacular sea coasts and landscapes not completely altered by man.

History and Art: The history and art of an area have potential attractiveness. People visit ancient or picturesque towns and archaeological sites, and enjoy exploring castles, palaces and churches.

Culture and Economy: These attract tourists with a penchant for experiencing ethnic and local customs. Besides, if a region provides for the needs of tourists at a cheap cost, it is likely to become very popular. Home-stay has emerged as a profitable business such as *heritage homes* in Goa, Madikere and Coorg in Karnataka.

Medical Services for Overseas Patients in India

About 55,000 patients from U.S.A. visited India in 2005 for treatment. This is still a small number compared with the millions of surgeries performed each year in the U.S. healthcare system. India has emerged as the leading country of medical tourism in the world. World class hospitals located in metropolitan cities cater to patients all over the world. Medical tourism brings abundant benefits to developing countries like India, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia. Beyond medical tourism, is the trend

of outsourcing of medical tests and data interpretation. Hospitals in India, Switzerland and Australia have been performing certain medical services – ranging from reading radiology images, to interpreting Magnetic Resonance Images (MRIs) and ultrasound tests. Outsourcing holds tremendous advantages for patients, if it is focused on improving quality or providing specialised care.

Medical Tourism

When medical treatment is combined with international tourism activity, it lends itself to what is commonly known as medical tourism.

QUATERNARY ACTIVITIES

What do a CEO of an MNC in Copenhagen, at New York and a medical transcriptionist at Bangalore have in common? All these people work in a segment of the service sector that is knowledge oriented. This sector can be divided into quaternary and quinary activities.

Quaternary activities involve some of the following: the collection, production and dissemination of information or even the production of information. Quaternary activities centre around research, development and may be seen as an advanced form of services involving specialised knowledge and technical skills.

The Quaternary Sector

The Quaternary Sector along with the Tertiary Sector has replaced most of the primary and secondary employment as the basis for economic growth. Over half of all workers in developed economies are in the 'Knowledge Sector' and there has been a very high growth in demand for and consumption of information-based services from mutual fund managers to tax consultants, software developers and statisticians. Personnel working in office buildings, elementary schools and university classrooms, hospitals and doctors' offices, theatres, accounting and brokerage firms all belong to this category of services.

Like some of the tertiary functions, quaternary activities can also be outsourced. They are not tied to resources, affected by the environment, or necessarily localised by market.

QUINARY ACTIVITIES

The highest level of decision makers or policy makers perform quinary activities. These are subtly different from the knowledge based industries that the quinary sector in general deals with.

Quinary activities are services that focus on the creation, re-arrangement and interpretation of new and existing ideas; data interpretation and the use and evaluation of new technologies. Often referred to as 'gold collar' professions, they represent another subdivision of the tertiary sector representing special and highly paid skills of senior business executives, government officials, research scientists, financial and legal consultants, etc. Their importance in the structure of advanced economies far outweighs their numbers.

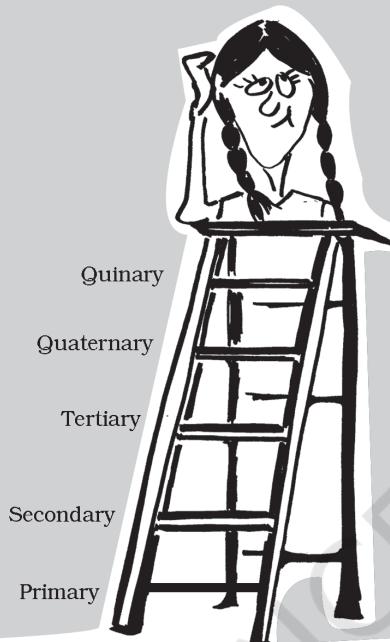
Outsourcing has resulted in the opening up of a large number of call centres in India, China, Eastern Europe, Israel, Philippines and Costa Rica. It has created new jobs in these countries. Outsourcing is coming to those countries where cheap and skilled workers are available. These are also out-migrating countries. With the work available through outsourcing, the migration in these countries may come down. Outsourcing countries are facing resistance from job-seeking youths in their respective countries. The comparative advantage is the main reason for continuing outsourcing. New trends in quinary services include knowledge processing outsourcing (KPO) and 'home shoring', the latter as an alternative to outsourcing. The KPO industry is distinct from Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) as it involves highly skilled workers. It is information driven knowledge outsourcing. KPO enables companies to create additional business opportunities. Examples of KPOs include research and development (R and D) activities, e-learning, business research, intellectual property (IP) research, legal profession and the banking sector.



Where Will it All Lead to?

Is this the beginning
or the end?

What Next?



Outsourcing

Outsourcing or contracting out is giving work to an outside agency to improve efficiency and to reduce costs. When outsourcing involves transferring work to overseas locations, it is described by the term off-shoring, although both off-shoring and outsourcing are used together. Business activities that are outsourced include information technology (IT), human resources, customer support and call centre services and at times also manufacturing and engineering.

Data processing is an IT related service easily be carried out in Asian, East

European and African countries. In these countries IT skilled staff with good English language skills are available at lower wages than those in the developed countries. Thus, a company in Hyderabad or Manila does work on a project based on GIS techniques for a country like U.S.A or Japan. Overhead costs are also much lower making it profitable to get job-work carried out overseas, whether it is in India, China or even a less populous country like Botswana in Africa.

Activity

Describe the nature of work against each colour-name

Colour of the collar	Nature of work
Red	?
Gold	?
White	?
Grey	?
Blue	?
Pink	?

THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

Opportunities emerging from the Information and Communication Technology based development is unevenly distributed across the globe. There are wide ranging economic, political and social differences among countries. How quickly countries can provide ICT access and benefits to its citizens is the deciding factor. While developed countries in general have surged forward, the developing countries have lagged behind and this is known as the digital divide. Similarly digital divides exist within countries. For example, in a large country like India or Russia, it is inevitable that certain areas like metropolitan centres possess better connectivity and access to the digital world versus peripheral rural areas.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.

 - (i) Which one of the following is a tertiary activity?
 - (a) Farming
 - (c) Weaving
 - (b) Trading
 - (d) Hunting
 - (ii) Which one of the following activities is NOT a secondary sector activity?
 - (a) Iron Smelting
 - (c) Making garments
 - (b) Catching fish
 - (d) Basket Weaving
 - (iii) Which one of the following sectors provides most of the employment in Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata.
 - (a) Primary
 - (c) Secondary
 - (b) Quaternary
 - (d) Service
 - (iv) Jobs that involve high degrees and level of innovations are known as:
 - (a) Secondary activities
 - (c) Quinary activities
 - (b) Quaternary activities
 - (d) Primary activities
 - (v) Which one of the following activities is related to quaternary sector?
 - (a) Manufacturing computers
 - (c) University teaching
 - (b) Paper and Raw pulp production
 - (d) Printing books
 - (vi) Which one out of the following statements is not true?
 - (a) Outsourcing reduces costs and increases efficiency.
 - (b) At times engineering and manufacturing jobs can also be outsourced.
 - (c) BPOs have better business opportunities as compared to KPOs.
 - (d) There may be dissatisfaction among job seekers in the countries that outsource the job.

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

 - (i) Explain retail trading service.
 - (ii) Describe quaternary services.
 - (iii) Name the fast emerging countries of medical tourism in the world.
 - (iv) What is digital divide?

3. Answer the following questions in not more than 150 words.

 - (i) Discuss the significance and growth of the service sector in modern economic development.
 - (ii) Explain in detail the significance of transport and communication services.

Project/Activity

- (i) Find out the activities of BPO.
 - (ii) Find out from a travel agent the documents you need to travel abroad.



Unit-III

Chapter-7



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Transport and Communication



Natural resources, economic activities and markets are rarely found in one place. Transport, communication and trade establish links between producing centres and consuming centres. The system of mass production and exchange is complex. Each region produces the items for which it is best suited. Trade or the exchange of such commodities relies on transportation and communication. Likewise, the high living standards and quality of life depend on efficient transportation, communications and trade. In earlier days, the means of transport and communication were the same. But today both have acquired distinct and specialised forms. Transport provides the network of links and carriers through which trade takes place.

TRANSPORT

Transport is a service or facility for the carriage of persons and goods from one place to the other using humans, animals and different kinds of vehicles. Such movements take place over land, water and air. Roads and railways form part of land transport; while shipping and waterways and airways are the other two modes. Pipelines carry materials like petroleum, natural gas, and ores in liquidified form.

Moreover, transportation is an organised service industry created to satisfy the basic needs of society. It includes transport arteries, vehicles to carry people and goods, and the organisation to maintain arteries, and to handle loading, unloading and delivery. Every nation has developed various kinds of transportation for defence purposes. Assured and speedy transportation, along with efficient communication, promote cooperation and unity among scattered peoples.

What is a Transport Network ?

Several places (nodes) joined together by a series of routes (links) to form a pattern.

MODES OF TRANSPORTATION

The principal modes of world transportation, as already mentioned are **land**, **water**, **air** and



pipelines. These are used for inter-regional and intra-regional transport, and each one (except pipelines) carries both passengers and freight. The significance of a mode depends on the type of goods and services to be transported, costs of transport and the mode available. International movement of goods is handled by ocean freighters. Road transport is cheaper and faster over short distances and for door-to-door services. Railways are most suited for large volumes of bulky materials over long distances within a country. High-value, light and perishable goods are best moved by airways. In a well-managed transport system, these various modes complement each other.

Land Transport

Most of the movement of goods and services takes place over land. In early days, humans themselves were carriers. Have you ever seen a bride being carried on a palanquin (*palki/doli*) by four persons (*Kahars* in north India). Later animals were used as beasts of burden. Have you seen mules, horses and camels, carrying loads of cargo in rural areas? With the invention of the wheel, the use of carts and wagons became important. The revolution in transport came about only after the invention of the steam engine in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the first public railway line was opened in 1825 between Stockton and Darlington in northern England and then onwards, railways became the most popular and fastest form of transport in the nineteenth century. It opened up continental interiors for commercial grain farming, mining and manufacturing in U.S.A. The invention of the internal combustion engine revolutionised road transport in terms of road quality and vehicles (motor cars and trucks) plying over them. Among the newer developments in land transportation are pipelines, ropeways and cableways. Liquids like mineral oil, water, sludge and sewers are transported by pipelines. The great freight carriers are the railways, ocean vessels, barges, boats and motor trucks and pipelines.

In general, the old and elementary forms like the human porter, pack animal, cart or wagon are the most expensive means of



Fig. 7.1: Ropeway and Cable cars in Austria

This means of transport is usually found on steep mountain slopes and mines which are not suitable for building roads.

transportation and large freighters are the cheapest. They are important in supplementing modern channels and carriers which penetrate the interiors in large countries. In the densely populated districts of India and China, overland transport still takes place by human porters or carts drawn or pushed by humans.

Pack Animals

Horses are used as a draught animal even in the Western countries. **Dogs** and **reindeer** are used in North America, North Europe and Siberia to draw sledges over snow-covered ground. **Mules** are preferred in the mountainous regions; while **camels** are used for caravan movement in deserts. In India, **bullocks** are used for pulling carts.

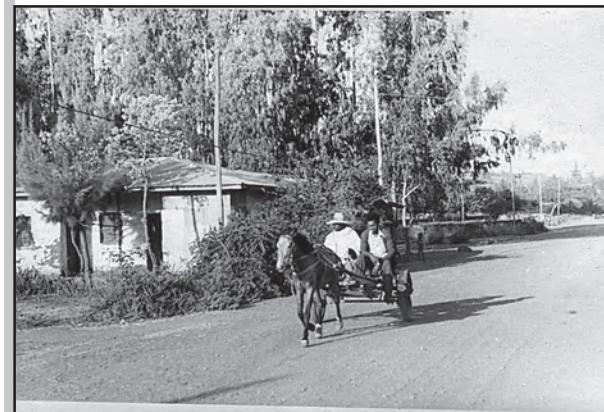


Fig. 7.2: A horse cart in a village Tefki, in Ethiopia



Roads

Road transport is the most economical for short distances compared to railways. Freight transport by road is gaining importance because it offers door-to-door service. But **unmetalled** roads, though simple in construction, are not effective and serviceable for all seasons. During the rainy season these become unmotorable and even the **metalled** ones are seriously handicapped during heavy rains and floods. In such conditions, the high embankment of rail-tracks and the efficient maintenance of railway transport service, is an effective solution. But the rail kilometrage being small cannot serve the needs of vast and developing countries at a low cost. Roads, therefore, play a vital role in a nation's trade and commerce and for promoting tourism.

The quality of the roads varies greatly between developed and developing countries because road construction and maintenance require heavy expenditure. In developed countries good quality roads are universal and provide long-distance links in the form of motorways, autobahns (Germany), and interstate highways for speedy movement. Lorries, of increasing size and power to carry heavy loads, are common. But unfortunately, the world's road system is not well developed.

The world's total motorable road length is only about 15 million km, of which North America accounts for 33 per cent. The highest **road density** and the highest number of vehicles are registered in this continent compared to Western Europe.

Traffic Flows: Traffic on roads has increased dramatically in recent years. When the road network cannot cope with the demands of traffic, congestion occurs. City roads suffer from chronic traffic congestion. Peaks (high points) and troughs (low points) of traffic flow can be seen on roads at particular times of the day, for example, peaks occurring during the rush hour before and after work. Most of the cities in the world have been facing the problem of congestion.

Think on these lines for a better tomorrow . . .

URBAN TRANSPORT SOLUTIONS

- Higher Parking Fee
- Mass Rapid Transit (MRT)
- Improved Public Bus Service
- Expressways

Highways

Highways are metalled roads connecting distant places. They are constructed in a manner for unobstructed vehicular movement. As such these are 80 m wide, with separate traffic lanes, bridges, flyovers and dual carriageways to facilitate uninterrupted traffic flow. In developed countries, every city and port town is linked through highways.

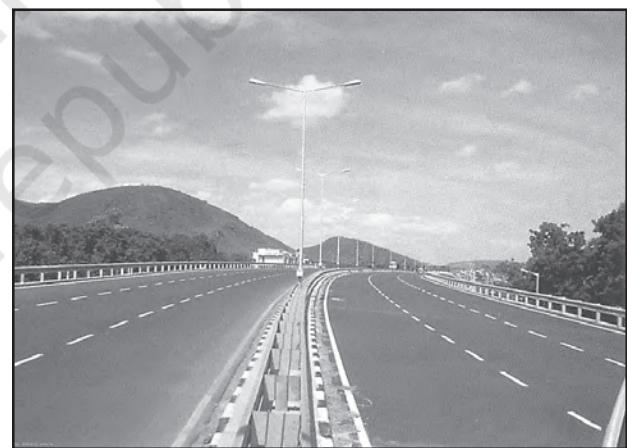


Fig. 7.3 : Dharmavaram Tuni National Highway, India

In North America, highway density is high, about 0.65 km per sq km. Every place is within 20 km distance from a highway. Cities located on the Pacific coast (west) are well-connected with those of the Atlantic Coast (east). Likewise, the cities of Canada in the north are linked with those of Mexico in the south. The Trans-

Canadian Highway links Vancouver in British Columbia(west coast) to St. John's City in Newfoundland (east coast) and the Alaskan Highway links Edmonton (Canada) to Anchorage (Alaska).

The Pan-American Highway, a large portion of which has been constructed, will connect the countries of South America, Central America and U.S.A.-Canada. The Trans-Continental Stuart Highway connects Darwin (north coast) and Melbourne via Tennant Creek and Alice Springs in Australia.

Europe has a large number of vehicles and a well-developed highway network. But highways face a lot of competition from railways and waterways.

In Russia, a dense highway network is developed in the industrialised region west of the Urals with Moscow as the hub. The important Moscow-Vladivostok Highway serves the region to the east. Due to the vast geographical area, highways in Russia are not as important as railways.

In China, highways criss-cross the country connecting all major cities such as Tsungtso (near Vietnam boundary), Shanghai (central China), Guangzhou (south) and Beijing (north). A new highway links Chengdu with Lhasa in Tibet.

In India, there are many highways linking the major towns and cities. The Golden Quadrilateral (GQ) or Super Expressway connect the four metropolitan cities — New Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata.

In Africa, a highway joins Algiers in the north to Conakry in Guinea. Similarly, Cairo is also connected to Cape Town.

Border Roads

Roads laid along international boundaries are called border roads. They play an important role in integrating people in remote areas with major cities and providing defence. Almost all

countries have such roads to transport goods to border villages and military camps.

Railways

Railways are a mode of land transport for bulky goods and passengers over long distances. The railway gauges vary in different countries and are roughly classified as broad (more than 1.5 m), standard (1.44 m), metre gauge (1 m) and smaller gauges. The standard gauge is used in the U.K.

Commuter trains are very popular in U.K., U.S.A, Japan and India. These carry millions of passengers daily to and fro in the city. There are about 13 lakh km of railways open for traffic in the world.



Fig. 7.4: Tube Train in Vienna

Europe has one of the most dense rail networks in the world. There are about 4,40,000 km of railways, most of which is double or multiple-tracked. Belgium has the highest density of 1 km of railway for every 6.5 sq kms area. The industrial regions exhibit some of the highest densities in the world. The important rail heads are London, Paris, Brussels, Milan, Berlin and Warsaw. Passenger transport is more important than freight in many of these countries. Underground railways are important in London and Paris. Channel Tunnel, operated by Euro Tunnel Group through England, connects London with Paris. Trans-continental railway lines have now lost



their importance to quicker and more flexible transport systems of airways and roadways.

In Russia, railways account for about 90 per cent of the country's total transport with a very dense network west of the Urals. Moscow is the most important rail head with major lines radiating to different parts of the country's vast geographical area. Underground railways and commuter trains are also important in Moscow.

North America has one of the most extensive rail networks accounting for nearly 40 per cent of the world's total? In contrast to many European countries, the railways are used more for long-distance bulky freight like ores, grains, timber and machinery than for passengers. The most dense rail network is found in the highly industrialised and urbanised region of East Central U.S.A. and adjoining Canada.

In Canada, railways are in the public sector and distributed all over the sparsely populated areas. The transcontinental railways carry the bulk of wheat and coal tonnage.

Australia has about 40,000 km of railways, of which 25 per cent are found in New South Wales alone. The west-east Australian National Railway line runs across the country from Perth to Sydney. New Zealand's railways are mainly in the North Island to serve the farming areas.

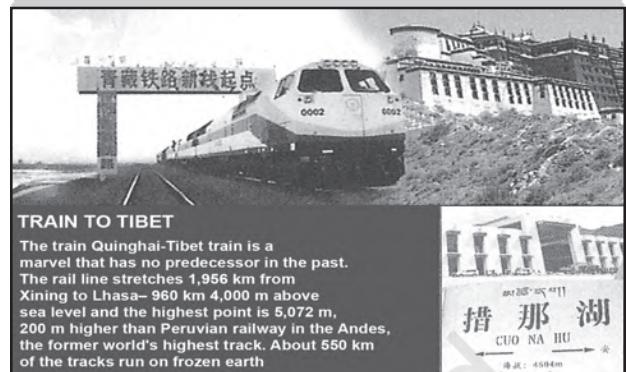
In South America, the rail network is the most dense in two regions, namely, the Pampas of Argentina and the coffee growing region of Brazil which together account for 40 per cent of South America's total route length. Only Chile, among the remaining countries has a considerable route length linking coastal centres with the mining sites in the interior. Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela have short single-track rail-lines from ports to the interior with no inter-connecting links.

There is only one trans-continental rail route linking Buenos Aires (Argentina) with Valparaiso (Chile) across the Andes Mountains through the Uspallatta Pass located at a height of 3,900 m.

In Asia, rail network is the most dense in the thickly populated areas of Japan, China and India. Other countries have relatively few rail routes. West Asia is the least developed in rail

facilities because of vast deserts and sparsely populated regions.

DO YOU KNOW



TRAIN TO TIBET

The train Qinghai-Tibet train is a marvel that has no predecessor in the past. The rail line stretches 1,956 km from Xining to Lhasa—960 km 4,000 m above sea level and the highest point is 5,072 m, 200 m higher than Peruvian railway in the Andes, the former world's highest track. About 550 km of the tracks run on frozen earth

Africa continent, despite being the second largest, has only 40,000 km of railways with South Africa alone accounting for 18,000 km due to the concentration of gold, diamond and copper mining activities. The important routes of the continent are: (i) the Benguela Railway through Angola to Katanga-Zambia Copper Belt; (ii) the Tanzania Railway from the Zambian Copper Belt to Dar-es-Salaam on the coast; (iii) the Railway through Botswana and Zimbabwe linking the landlocked states to the South African network; and (iv) the Blue Train from Cape Town to Pretoria in the Republic of South Africa. Elsewhere, as in Algeria, Senegal, Nigeria, Kenya and Ethiopia, railway lines connect port cities to interior centres but do not form a good network with other countries.

Trans-Continental Railways

Trans-continental railways run across the continent and link its two ends. They were constructed for economic and political reasons to facilitate long runs in different directions. The following are the most important of these:

Trans-Siberian Railway

This is a trans-siberian Railways major rail route of Russia runs from St. Petersburg in the west to Vladivostok on the Pacific Coast in the east passing through Moscow, Ufa, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Chita and Khabarovsk. It is the most important route in Asia and the longest (9,332 km)

double-tracked and electrified trans-continental railway in the world. It has helped in opening up its Asian region to West European markets. It runs across the Ural Mountains Ob and Yenisei rivers Chita is an important agro-centre and Irkutsk, a fur centre. There are connecting links to the south, namely, to Odessa (Ukraine), Baku on the Caspian Coast, Tashkent (Uzbekistan), Ulan Bator (Mongolia), and Shenyang (Mukden) and Beijing in China.

Trans-Canadian Railways

This 7,050 km long rail-line in Canada runs from Halifax in the east to Vancouver on the Pacific Coast passing through Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg and Calgary (Fig. 7.6). It was constructed in 1886, initially as part of an agreement to make British Columbia on the west coast join the Federation of States. Later on, it

gained economic significance because it connected the Quebec-Montreal Industrial Region with the wheat belt of the Prairie Region and the Coniferous Forest region in the north. Thus each of these regions became complementary to the other. A loop line from Winnipeg to Thunder Bay (Lake Superior) connects this rail-line with one of the important waterways of the world. This line is the economic artery of Canada. Wheat and meat are the important exports on this route.

The Union and Pacific Railway

This rail-line connects New York on the Atlantic Coast to San Francisco on the Pacific Coast passing through Cleveland, Chicago, Omaha, Evans, Ogden and Sacramento. The most valuable exports on this route are ores, grain, paper, chemicals and machinery.



Fig. 7.5: Trans-Siberian Railway

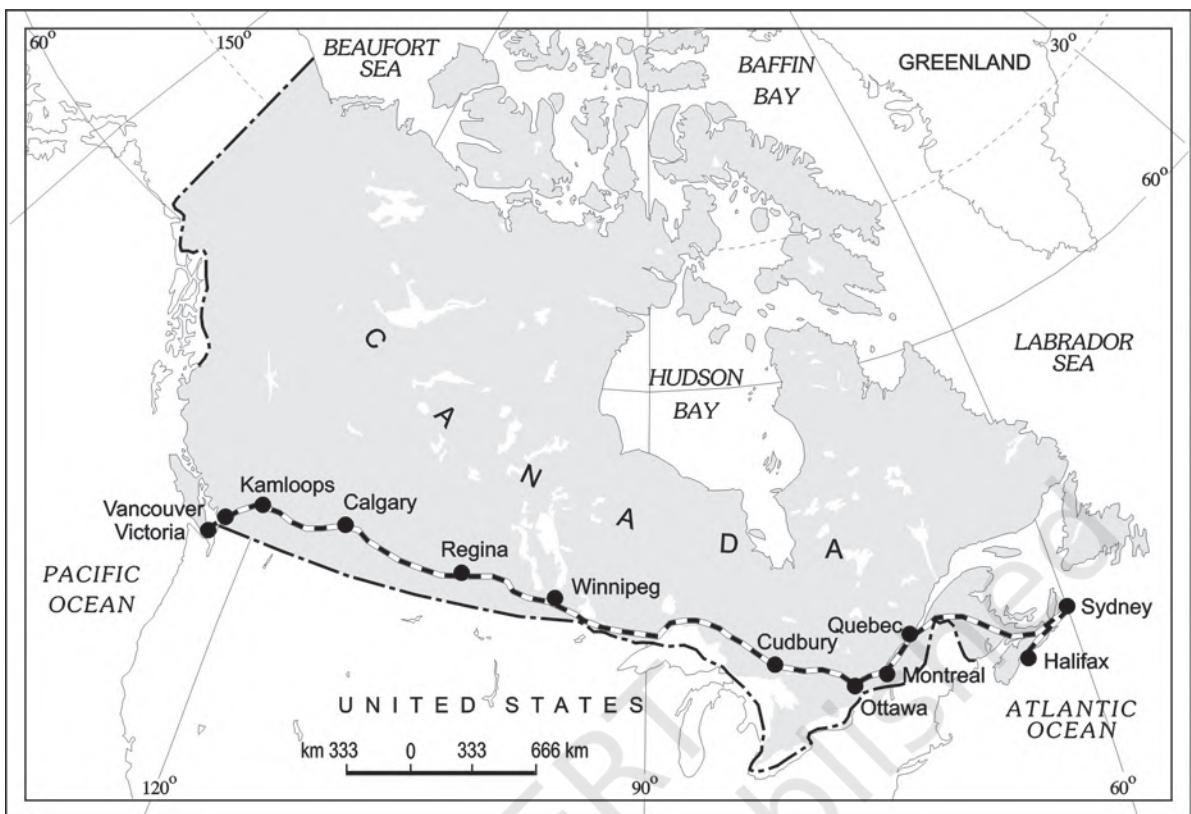


Fig. 7.6: Trans-Canadian Railway

The Australian Trans-Continental Railway

This rail-line runs west-east across the southern part of the continent from Perth on the west coast, to Sydney on the east coast, passing through Kalgoorlie, Broken Hill and Port Augusta (Fig. 7.7).

Another major north-south line connects Adelaide and Alice Spring and to be joined further to the Darwin-Birdum line.

The Orient Express

This line runs from Paris to Istanbul passing through Strasbourg, Munich, Vienna, Budapest and Belgrade. The journey time from London to Istanbul by this Express is now reduced to 96 hours as against 10 days by the sea-route. The chief exports on this rail-route

are cheese, bacon, oats, wine, fruits, and machinery.

There is a proposal to build a Trans-Asiatic Railway linking Istanbul with Bangkok via Iran, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

WATER TRANSPORT

One of the great advantages of water transportation is that it does not require route construction. The oceans are linked with each other and are negotiable with ships of various sizes. All that is needed is to provide port facilities at the two ends. It is much cheaper because the friction of water is far less than that of land. The energy cost of water transportation is lower. Water transport is divided into sea routes and inland waterways.

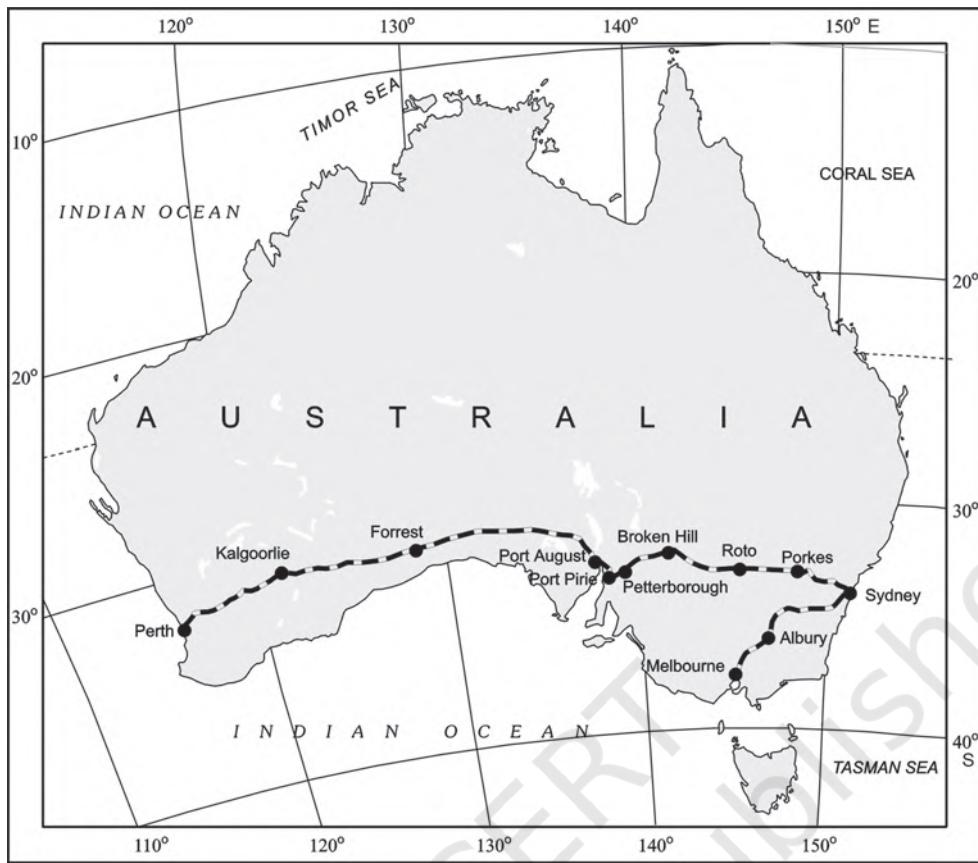


Fig. 7.7: Australian Trans-Continental Railway

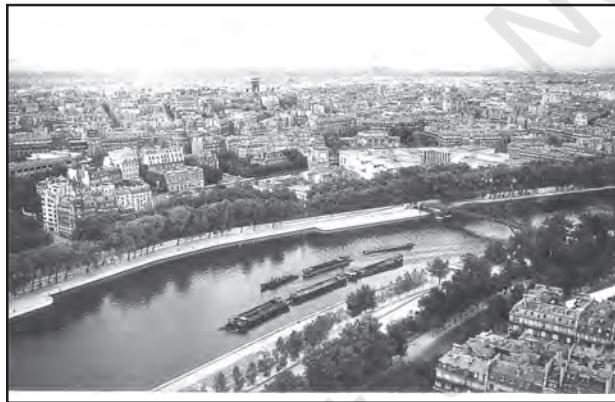


Fig. 7.8: The view of Seine River from the Eiffel Tower (One can see how the river has become an important Inland waterway)

Sea Routes

The oceans offer a smooth highway traversable in all directions with no maintenance costs. Its transformation into a routeway by sea-going vessels is an important development in human

adaptation to the physical environment. Compared to land and air, ocean transport is a cheaper means of haulage (carrying of load) of bulky material over long distances from one continent to another.

Modern passenger liners (ships) and cargo ships are equipped with radar, wireless and other navigation aids. The development of refrigerated chambers for perishable goods, tankers and specialised ships has also improved cargo transport. The use of containers has made cargo handling at the world's major ports easier.

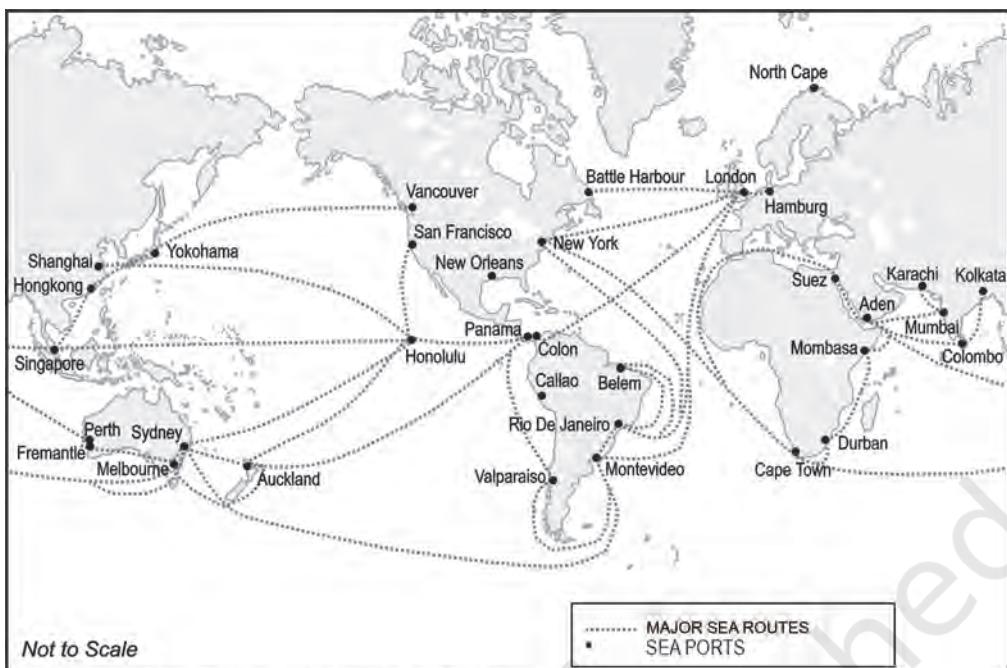
Important Sea Routes

Major sea routes are shown in the Fig. 7.9. Some important routes have been discussed in the following pages.

The Northern Atlantic Sea Route

This links North-eastern U.S.A. and North-western Europe, the two industrially developed





The International Boundary shown in this map may not to be considered as authentic

Fig. 7.9: Major Sea Routes and Sea Ports

regions of the world. The foreign trade over this route is greater than that of the rest of the world combined. One fourth of the world's foreign trade moves on this route. It is, therefore, the busiest in the world and otherwise, called the Big Trunk Route. Both the coasts have highly advanced ports and harbour facilities.

Activity

Find out some of the important ports on the coast of U.S.A. and Western Europe in your atlas.

The Mediterranean-Indian Ocean Sea Route

This sea route passes through the heart of the Old World and serves more countries and people than any other route. Port Said, Aden, Mumbai, Colombo and Singapore are some of the important ports on this route. The construction of Suez Canal has greatly reduced the distance and time as compared to the earlier route through the Cape of Good Hope, which was longer than the route through Suez Canal.

The Cape of Good Hope Sea Route

This trade route connects the highly industrialised Western European region with West Africa, South Africa, South-east Asia and the commercial agriculture and livestock economies of Australia and New Zealand. The volume of trade and traffic between both East and West Africa is on the increase due to the development of the rich natural resources such as gold, diamond, copper, tin, groundnut, oil palm, coffee and fruits.

The Southern Atlantic Sea Route

This sea route is another important one across the Atlantic Ocean which connects West European and West African countries with Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay in South America. The traffic is far less on this route because of the limited development and population in South America and Africa. Only southeastern Brazil and Plata estuary and parts of South Africa have large-scale industries. There is also little traffic on the route between Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town because both South America and Africa have similar products and resources.

The North Pacific Sea Route

Trade across the vast North Pacific Ocean moves by several routes which converge at Honolulu. The direct route on the Great Circle links Vancouver and Yokohama and reduces the travelling distance (2,480 km) by half.

This sea route links the ports on the west-coast of North America with those of Asia. These are Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles on the American side and Yokohama, Kobe, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila and Singapore on the Asian side.

The South Pacific Sea Route

This sea route connects Western Europe and North America with Australia, New Zealand and the scattered Pacific islands via the Panama Canal. This route is also used for reaching Hong Kong, Philippines and Indonesia. The distance covered between Panama and Sydney is 12,000 km. Honolulu is an important port on this route.

Coastal Shipping

It is obvious that water transport is a cheaper mode. While oceanic routes connect different countries, coastal shipping is a convenient mode of transportation with long coastlines, e.g. U.S.A, China and India. Shenzhen States in Europe are most suitably placed for coastal shipping connecting one member's coast with the other. If properly developed, coastal shipping can reduce the congestion on the land routes.

Shipping Canals

The Suez and the Panama Canals are two vital man-made navigation canals or waterways which serve as gateways of commerce for both the eastern and western worlds.

The Suez Canal

This canal had been constructed in 1869 in Egypt between Port Said in the north and Port Suez in the south linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. It gives Europe a new gateway to the Indian Ocean and reduces direct

sea-route distance between Liverpool and Colombo compared to the Cape of Good Hope route. It is a sea-level canal without locks which is about 160 km and 11 to 15 m deep. About 100 ships travel daily and each ship takes 10-12 hours to cross this canal. The tolls are so heavy that some find it cheaper to go by the longer Cape Route whenever the consequent delay is not important. A railway follows the canal to Suez, and from Ismailia there is a branch line to Cairo. A navigable fresh-water canal from the Nile also joins the Suez Canal in Ismailia to supply fresh-water to Port Said and Suez.



Fig. 7.10 : Suez Canal

The Panama Canal

This canal connects the Atlantic Ocean in the east to the Pacific Ocean in the west. It has been constructed across the Panama Isthmus between Panama City and Colon by the U.S. government which purchased 8 km of area on either side and named it the Canal Zone. The Canal is about 72 km. long and involves a very

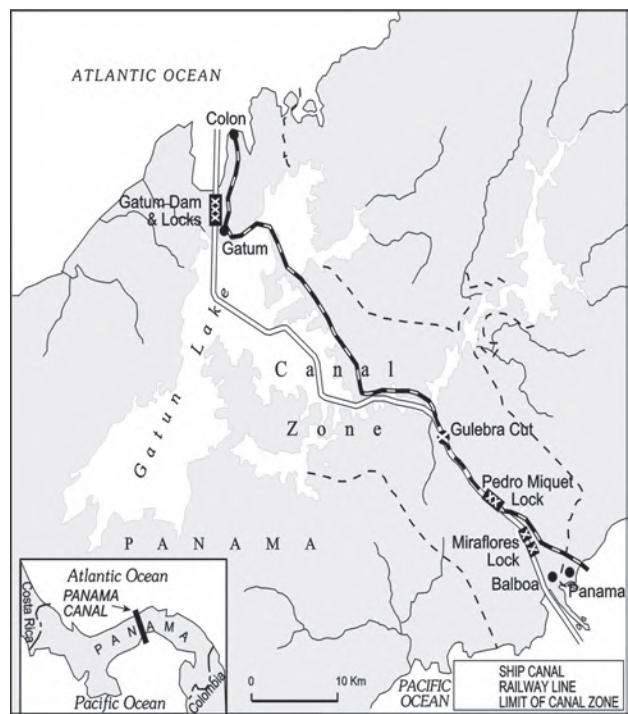
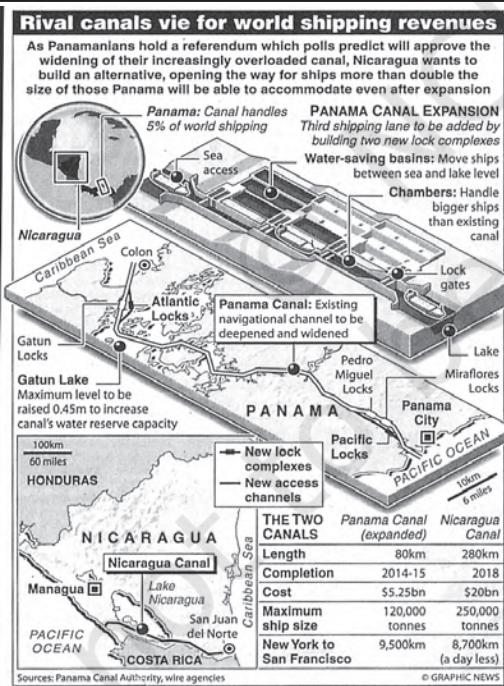


Fig. 7.11 : The Panama Canal



Activity

Can you think of the impact on traffic in Panama canal after the Nicaraguan canal opens up?

deep cutting for a length of 12 km. It has a six-lock system and ships cross the different levels (26 m up and down) through these locks before entering the Gulf of Panama.

It shortens the distance between New York and San Francisco by 13,000 km by sea. Likewise the distance between Western Europe and the West-coast of U.S.A.; and North-eastern and Central U.S.A. and East and South-east Asia is shortened. The economic significance of this Canal is relatively less than that of the Suez. However, it is vital to the economies of Latin America.

Inland Waterways

Rivers, canals, lakes and coastal areas have been important waterways since time immemorial. Boats and steamers are used as means of transport for cargo and passengers. The development of inland waterways is dependent on the **navigability** width and depth of the channel, continuity in the **water flow**, and **transport technology** in use. Rivers are the only means of transport in dense forests. Very heavy cargo like coal, cement, timber and metallic ores can be transported through inland waterways. In ancient times, riverways were the main highways of transportation as in the case of India. But they lost importance because of competition from railways, lack of water due to diversion for irrigation, and their poor maintenance.



Fig. 7.12: Inland waterways are a major source of transport wherever the river is wide, deep and free of silt

The significance of rivers as inland waterways for domestic and international

transport and trade has been recognised throughout the developed world. Despite inherent limitations, many rivers have been modified to enhance their navigability by dredging, stabilising river banks, and building dams and barrages for regulating the flow of water. The following river waterways are some of the world's important highways of commerce.

The Rhine Waterways

The Rhine flows through Germany and the Netherlands. It is navigable for 700 km from Rotterdam, at its mouth in the Netherlands to **Basel** in Switzerland. Ocean-going vessels can reach up to Cologne. The Ruhr river joins the Rhine from the east. It flows through a rich coalfield and the whole basin has become a prosperous manufacturing area. Dusseldorf is the Rhine port for this region. Huge tonnage moves along the stretch south of the Ruhr. This waterway is the world's most heavily used. Each year more than 20,000 ocean-going ships and 2,00,000 inland vessels exchange their cargoes. It connects the industrial areas of Switzerland, Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands with the North Atlantic Sea Route.

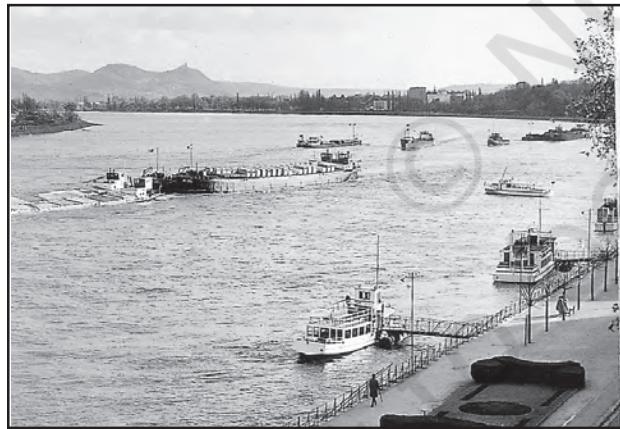


Fig. 7.13: The Rhine Waterway

The Danube Waterway

This important inland waterway serves Eastern Europe. The Danube river rises in the Black Forest and flows eastwards through many countries. It is navigable up to Taurna Severin. The chief export items are wheat, maize, timber, and machinery.

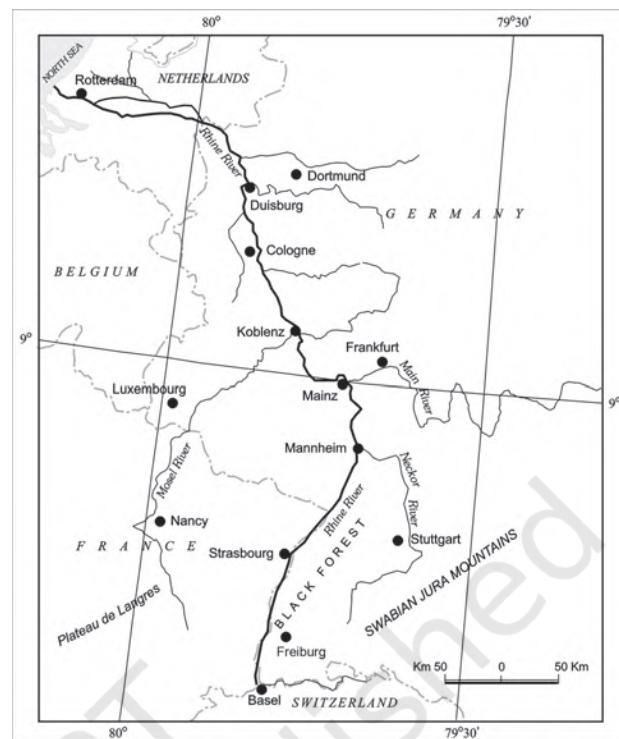


Fig. 7.14 : Rhine Waterway

The Volga Waterway

Russia has a large number of developed waterways, of which the Volga is one of the most important. It provides a navigable waterway of 11,200 km and drains into the Caspian Sea. The Volga-Moscow Canal connects it with the Moscow region and the Volga-Don Canal with the Black Sea.

The Great Lakes – St. Lawrence Seaway

The Great Lakes of North America Superior, Huron Erie and Ontario are connected by Soo Canal and Welland Canal to form an inland waterway. The estuary of St. Lawrence River, along with the Great Lakes, forms a unique commercial waterway in the northern part of North America. The ports on this route like Duluth and Buffalo are equipped with all facilities of ocean ports. As such large ocean-going vessels are able to navigate up the river deep inside the continent to Montreal. But here goods have to be trans-shipped to smaller vessels due to the presence of rapids. Canals have been constructed up to 3.5 m deep to avoid these.

The Mississippi Waterways

The Mississippi-Ohio waterway connects the interior part of U.S.A. with the Gulf of Mexico in the south. Large steamers can go through this route up to Minneapolis.

AIR TRANSPORT

Air transport is the fastest means of transportation, but it is very costly. Being fast, it is preferred by passengers for long-distance travel. Valuable cargo can be moved rapidly on a world-wide scale. It is often the only means to reach inaccessible areas. Air transport has brought about a connectivity revolution in the world. The frictions created by mountainous snow fields or inhospitable desert terrains have been overcome. The accessibility has increased. The airplane brings varied articles to the Eskimos in Northern Canada unhindered by the frozen ground. In the Himalayan region, the routes are often obstructed due to landslides, avalanches or heavy snow fall. At such times, air travel is the only alternative to reach a place. Airways also have great strategic importance. The air strikes by U.S. and British forces in Iraq bears testimony to this fact. The airways network is expanding very fast.



Fig. 7.15: An Aeroplane at Salsburg Airport

The manufacturing of aircrafts and their operations require elaborate infrastructure like hangars, landing, fuelling, and maintenance facilities for the aircrafts. The construction of airports is also very expensive and has developed more in highly industrialised countries where there is a large volume of traffic.

At present no place in the world is more than 35 hours away. This startling fact has been made possible due to people who build and fly airplanes. Travel by air can now be measured by hours and minutes instead of years and months. Frequent air services are available to many parts of the world. Although, U.K. pioneered the use of commercial jet transport, U.S.A. developed largely post-War international civil aviation. Today, more than 250 commercial airlines offer regular services to different parts of the world. Recent developments can change the future course of air transport. Supersonic aircraft, cover the distance between London and New York within three and a half hours.

Inter-Continental Air Routes

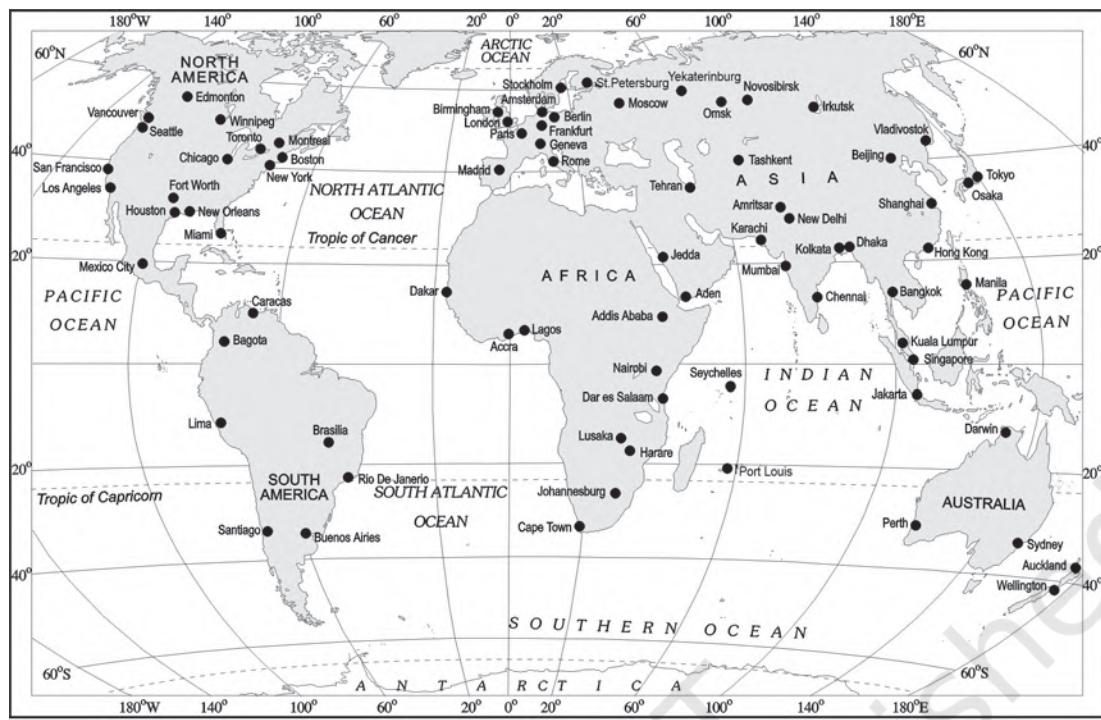
In the Northern Hemisphere, there is a distinct east-west belt of inter-continental air routes. Dense network exists in Eastern U.S.A., Western Europe and Southeast Asia. U.S.A. alone accounts for 60 per cent of the airways of the world. New York, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Frankfurt Rome, Moscow, Karachi, New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangkok, Singapore, Tokyo, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago are the nodal points where air routes converge or radiate to all continents.

Africa, Asiatic part of Russia and South America lack air services. There are limited air services between 10-35 latitudes in the Southern hemisphere due to sparser population, limited landmass and economic development.

PIPELINES

Pipelines are used extensively to transport liquids and gases such as water, petroleum and natural gas for an uninterrupted flow. Water supplied through pipelines is familiar to all. Cooking gas or LPG is supplied through pipelines in many parts of the world. Pipelines can also be used to transport liquidified coal. In New Zealand, milk is being supplied through pipelines from farms to factories.

In U.S.A. there is a dense network of oil pipelines from the producing areas to the



● MAJOR AIR PORTS

Fig. 7.16: Major Airports

consuming areas. Big Inch is one such famous pipeline, which carries petroleum from the oil wells of the Gulf of Mexico to the North-eastern States. About 17 per cent of all freight per tonne-km. is carried through pipelines in U.S.A.

The proposed Iran-India via Pakistan international oil and natural gas pipeline will be the longest in the world.

COMMUNICATIONS

Human beings have used different methods long-distance communications of which the telegraph and the telephone were important. The telegraph was instrumental in the colonisation of the American West. During the early and mid-twentieth century, the American Telegraph and Telephone Company (AT&T) enjoyed a monopoly over U.S.A.'s telephone industry. In fact, the telephone became a critical factor in the urbanisation of America. Firms centralised their functioning at city-headquarters and located their branch offices in smaller towns. Even today, the telephone is the most commonly used mode. In developing countries, the use of cell phones, made possible by satellites, is important for rural connectivity.

Today there is a phenomenal pace of development. The first major breakthrough is the use of optic fiber cables (OFC). Faced with mounting competition, telephone companies all



Fig. 7.17: Pipelines transporting natural gas in Ukraine

In Europe, Russia, West Asia and India pipelines are used to connect oil wells to refineries, and to ports or domestic markets. Turkmenistan is central Asia has extended pipelines to Iran and also to parts of China.



over the world soon upgraded their copper cable systems to include optic fiber cables. These allow large quantities of data to be transmitted rapidly, securely, and are virtually error-free. With the digitisation of information in the 1990s, telecommunication slowly merged with computers to form integrated networks termed as Internet.

Satellite Communication

Today Internet is the largest electronic network on the planet connecting about 1,000 million people in more than 100 countries.

Satellites touch human lives in many ways. Every time you use a cell phone to call a friend, send an SMS or watch a popular programme on cable television. You are using **satellite communication.**

Communication through satellites emerged as a new area in communication technology since the 1970s after U.S.A. and former U.S.S.R. pioneered space research. Artificial satellites, now, are successfully deployed in the earth's orbit to connect even the remote corners of the globe with limited on-site verification. These have rendered the unit cost and time of communication invariant in terms of distance. This means it costs the same to communicate over 500 km as it does over 5,000 km via satellite.

India has also made great strides in satellite development. Aryabhatt was launched on 19 April 1975, Bhaskar-I in 1979 and Rohini in 1980. On 19 June 1981, APPLE (Arian Passenger Payload Experiment) was launched through Arian rocket. Bhaskar,

Challenger and INSAT I-B have made long-distance communication, television and radio very effective. Today weather forecasting through television is a boon.

Cyber Space – Internet

Cyberspace is the world of electronic computerised space. It is encompassed by the Internet such as the World Wide Web (www). In simple words, it is the electronic digital world for communicating or accessing information over computer networks without physical movement of the sender and the receiver... It is also referred to as the Internet. Cyberspace exists everywhere. It may be in an office, sailing boat, flying plane and virtually anywhere.

The speed at which this electronic network has spread is unprecedented in human history. There were less than 50 million Internet users in 1995, about 400 million in 2000, over two billion in 2010 and about 5.4 billion in 2023. In the last few years there has been a shift among global users from U.S.A. to the developing countries. The percentage share of U.S.A. has dropped from 66 in 1995 to only 25 in 2005. Now the majority of the world's users are in U.S.A., U.K., Germany, Japan, China and India.

As billions use the Internet each year, cyberspace will expand the contemporary economic and social space of humans through e-mail, e-commerce, e-learning and e-governance. Internet together with fax, television and radio will be accessible to more and more people cutting across place and time. It is these modern communication systems, more than transportation, that has made the concept of global village a reality.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
 - (i) The Trans-Continental Stuart Highway runs between
 - (a) Darwin and Melbourne
 - (b) Edmonton and Anchorage
 - (c) Vancouver and St. John's City
 - (d) Chengdu and Lhasa
 - (ii) Which country has the highest density of railway network?
 - (a) Brazil (c) Canada
 - (b) U.S.A (d) Russia
 - (iii) The Big Trunk Route runs through
 - (a) The Mediterranean – Indian ocean
 - (b) The North Atlantic Ocean
 - (c) The South Atlantic Ocean
 - (d) The North Pacific Ocean
 - (iv) The Big Inch pipeline transports
 - (a) Milk (c) Water
 - (b) Liquid petroleum gas (LGP) (d) Petroleum
 - (v) Which one pair of the following places is linked by Channel Tunnel?
 - (a) London – Berlin (c) Berlin – Paris
 - (b) Paris – London (d) Barcelona – Berlin
- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
 - (i) What are the problems of road transport in mountainous, desert and flood prone regions?
 - (ii) What is a trans-continental railway?
 - (iii) What are the advantages of water transport?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in not more than 150 words.
 - (i) Elucidate the statement- “In a well managed transport system, various modes complement each other”.
 - (ii) Which are the major regions of the world having a dense network of airways.
 - (iii) What are the modes by which cyber space will expand the contemporary economic and social space of humans.

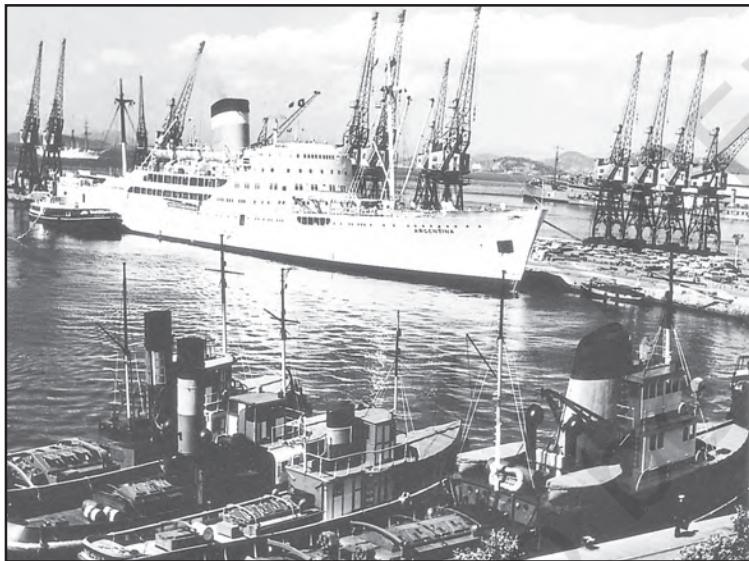
Unit-III

Chapter-8



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International Trade



You are already familiar with the term “trade” as a tertiary activity which you have studied in Chapter 7 of this book. You know that trade means the voluntary exchange of goods and services. Two parties are required to trade. One person sells and the other purchases. In certain places, people barter their goods. For both the parties trade is mutually beneficial.

Trade may be conducted at two levels: international and national. International trade is the exchange of goods and services among countries across national boundaries. Countries need to trade to obtain commodities, they cannot produce themselves or they can purchase elsewhere at a lower price.

The initial form of trade in primitive societies was the **barter system**, where direct exchange of goods took place. In this system if you were a potter and were in need of a plumber, you would have to look for a plumber who would be in need of pots and you could exchange your pots for his plumbing service.



Fig. 8.1: Two women practising barter system in Jon Beel Mela

Every January after the harvest season Jon Beel Mela takes place in Jagiroad, 35 km away from Guwahati and it is possibly the only fair in India, where barter system is still alive. A big market is organised during this fair and people from various tribes and communities exchange their products.

The difficulties of barter system were overcome by the introduction of money. In the olden times, before paper and coin currency



came into being, rare objects with very high intrinsic value served as money, like, flintstones, obsidian, cowrie shells, tiger's paws, whale's teeth, dogs teeth, skins, furs, cattle, rice, peppercorns, salt, small tools, copper, silver and gold.

DO YOU KNOW

The word salary comes from the Latin word *Salarium* which means payment by salt. As in those times producing salt from sea water was unknown and could only be made from rock salt which was rare and expensive. That is why it became a mode of payment.

HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

In ancient times, transporting goods over long distances was risky, hence trade was restricted to local markets. People then spent most of their resources on basic necessities – food and clothes. Only the rich people bought jewellery, costly dresses and this resulted in trade of luxury items.

The Silk Route is an early example of long distance trade connecting Rome to China – along the 6,000 km route. The traders transported Chinese silk, Roman wool and precious metals and many other high value commodities from intermediate points in India, Persia and Central Asia.

After the disintegration of the Roman Empire, European commerce grew during twelfth and thirteenth century with the development of ocean going warships trade between Europe and Asia grew and the Americas were discovered.

Fifteenth century onwards, the European colonialism began and along with trade of exotic commodities, a new form of trade emerged which was called **slave trade**. The Portuguese, Dutch, Spaniards, and British captured African natives and forcefully transported them to the newly discovered Americas for their labour in the plantations. Slave trade was a lucrative business for more than two hundred years till it was abolished in Denmark in 1792, Great Britain in 1807 and United States in 1808.

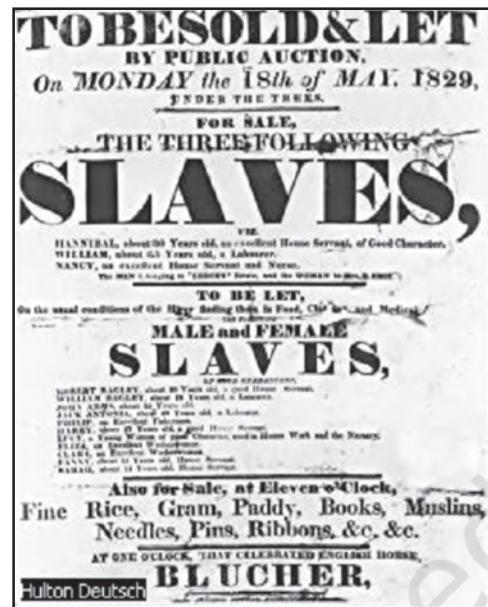


Figure 8.2 : Advertisement for Slave Auction, 1829

This American slave auction advertised slaves for sale or temporary hire by their owners. Buyers often paid as much as \$2,000 for a skilled, healthy slave. Such auctions often separated family members from one another, many of whom never saw their loved ones again.

After the Industrial Revolution the demand for raw materials like grains, meat, wool also expanded, but their monetary value declined in relation to the manufactured goods.

The industrialised nations imported primary products as raw materials and exported the value added finished products back to the non-industrialised nations.

In the later half of the nineteenth century, regions producing primary goods were no more important, and industrial nations became each other's principle customers.

During the World Wars I and II, countries imposed trade taxes and quantitative restrictions for the first time. During the post-war period, organisations like General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade (which later became the World Trade Organisation), helped in reducing tariff.

Why Does International Trade Exist?

International trade is the result of specialisation in production. It benefits the world economy if

different countries practise specialisation and division of labour in the production of commodities or provision of services. Each kind of specialisation can give rise to trade. Thus, international trade is based on the principle of comparative advantage, complimentarity and transferability of goods and services and in principle, should be mutually beneficial to the trading partners.

In modern times, trade is the basis of the world's economic organisation and is related to the foreign policy of nations. With well-developed transportation and communication systems, no country is willing to forego the benefits derived from participation in international trade.

Basis of International Trade

- (i) *Difference in national resources:* The world's national resources are unevenly distributed because of differences in their physical make up i.e. geology, relief soil and climate.
 - (a) *Geological structure:* It determines the mineral resource base and topographical differences ensure diversity of crops and animals raised. Lowlands have greater agricultural potential. Mountains attract tourists and promote tourism.
 - (b) *Mineral resources:* They are unevenly distributed the world over. The availability of mineral resources provides the basis for industrial development.
 - (c) *Climate:* It influences the type of flora and fauna that can survive in a given region. It also ensures diversity in the range of various products, e.g. wool production can take place in cold regions, bananas, rubber and cocoa can grow in tropical regions.
- (ii) *Population factors:* The size, distribution and diversity of people between countries affect the type and volume of goods traded.
 - (a) *Cultural factors:* Distinctive forms of art and craft develop in certain

cultures which are valued the world over, e.g. China produces the finest porcelains and brocades. Carpets of Iran are famous while North African leather work and Indonesian batik cloth are prized handicrafts.

- (b) *Size of population:* Densely populated countries have large volume of internal trade but little external trade because most of the agricultural and industrial production is consumed in the local markets. Standard of living of the population determines the demand for better quality imported products because with low standard of living only a few people can afford to buy costly imported goods.

(iii) *Stage of economic development:* At different stages of economic development of countries, the nature of items traded undergo changes. In agriculturally important countries, agro products are exchanged for manufactured goods whereas industrialised nations export machinery and finished products and import food grains and other raw materials.

(iv) *Extent of foreign investment:* Foreign investment can boost trade in developing countries which lack in capital required for the development of mining, oil drilling, heavy engineering, lumbering and plantation agriculture. By developing such capital intensive industries in developing countries, the industrial nations ensure import of food stuffs, minerals and create markets for their finished products. This entire cycle steps up the volume of trade between nations.

(v) *Transport:* In olden times, lack of adequate and efficient means of transport restricted trade to local areas. Only high value items, e.g. gems, silk and spices were traded over long distances. With expansions of rail, ocean and air transport, better means of refrigeration and preservation, trade has experienced spatial expansion.

Balance of Trade

Balance of trade records the volume of goods and services imported as well as exported by a country to other countries. If the value of imports is more than the value of a country's exports, the country has negative or unfavourable balance of trade. If the value of exports is more than the value of imports, then the country has a positive or favourable balance of trade.

Balance of trade and balance of payments have serious implications for a country's economy. A negative balance would mean that the country spends more on buying goods than it can earn by selling its goods. This would ultimately lead to exhaustion of its financial reserves.

Types of International Trade

International trade may be categorised into two types:

- (a) Bilateral trade: Bilateral trade is done by two countries with each other. They enter into agreement to trade specified commodities amongst them. For example, country A may agree to trade some raw material with agreement to purchase some other specified item to country B or vice versa.
- (b) Multi-lateral trade: As the term suggests multi-lateral trade is conducted with many trading countries. The same country can trade with a number of other countries. The country may also grant the status of the "Most Favoured Nation" (MFN) on some of the trading partners.

Case for Free Trade

The act of opening up economies for trading is known as free trade or trade liberalisation. This is done by bringing down trade barriers like tariffs. Trade liberalisation allows goods and services from everywhere to compete with domestic products and services.

Globalisation along with free trade can adversely affect the economies of developing countries by not giving equal playing field by imposing conditions which are unfavourable. With the development of transport and communication systems goods and services can travel faster and farther than ever before. But free trade should not only let rich countries enter the markets, but allow the developed countries to keep their own markets protected from foreign products.

Countries also need to be cautious about **dumped goods**; as along with free trade dumped goods of cheaper prices can harm the domestic producers.

Dumping

The practice of selling a commodity in two countries at a price that differs for reasons not related to costs is called dumping.

Panel to study anti-dumping duty on shrimp



The US act had seriously hit India's export to that country as US is the second largest importer of marine products from India

GEORGE JOSEPH
KOCHI, 26 November

Upholding India and Thailand request, World Trade Organization (WTO) has constituted a panel to examine the anti-dumping duty and customs bond imposed by the US government against the import shrimp from these countries. The dispute settlement body of WTO has resolved to appoint the panel so that several rounds of discussion with these countries were fu-

lliance [SSA], an organization of local shrimp manufacturers. The US act had seriously hit India's export to that country as US is the second largest importer of marine products from India. The duty was also imposed against a host of other countries like Thailand, China, Brazil, Ecuador and Vietnam in July 2004. US customs had also imposed continuous bond requirement on importers of certain frozen warm water shrimp from these countries.

Activity

Think of some reasons why dumping is becoming a serious concern among trading nations?

World Trade Organisation

In 1948, to liberalise the world from high customs tariffs and various other types of restrictions, General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was formed by some countries. In 1994, it was decided by the member countries to set up a permanent institution for looking after the promotion of free and fair trade amongst nation and the GATT was transformed into the World Trade Organisation from 1st January 1995.

WTO is the only international organisation dealing with the global rules of trade between nations. It sets the rules for the global trading system and resolves disputes between its member nations. WTO also covers trade in services, such as telecommunication and banking, and others issues such as intellectual rights.

The WTO has however been criticised and opposed by those who are worried about the effects of free trade and economic globalisation. It is argued that free trade does not make ordinary people's lives more prosperous. It is actually widening the gulf between rich and poor by making rich countries more rich. This is because the influential nations in the WTO focus on their own commercial interests. Moreover, many developed countries have not fully opened their markets to products from developing countries. It is also argued that issues of health, worker's rights, child labour and environment are ignored.

Do You Know

WTO Headquarters are located in Geneva, Switzerland.

166 countries were members of WTO as on December 2024.

India has been one of the founder member of WTO.

Regional Trade Blocs

Regional Trade Blocs have come up in order to encourage trade between countries with geographical proximity, similarity and complementarities in trading items and to curb restrictions on trade of the developing world. Today, 120 regional trade blocs generate 52 per cent of the world trade. These trading blocs developed as a response to the failure of the global organisations to speed up intra-regional trade.

Though, these regional blocs remove trade tariffs within the member nations and encourage free trade, in the future it could get increasingly difficult for free trade to take place between different trading blocs.

Concerns Related to International Trade

Undertaking international trade is mutually beneficial to nations if it leads to regional specialisation, higher level of production, better standard of living, worldwide availability of goods and services, equalisation of prices and wages and diffusion of knowledge and culture.

International trade can prove to be detrimental to nations if it leads to dependence on other countries, uneven levels of development, exploitation, and commercial rivalry leading to wars. Global trade affects many aspects of life; it can impact everything from the environment to health and well-being of the people around the world. As countries compete to trade more, production and the use of natural resources spiral up, resources get used up faster than they can be replenished. As a result, marine life is also depleting fast, forests are being cut down and river basins sold off to private drinking water companies. Multi-national corporations trading in oil, gas mining, pharmaceuticals and agri-business keep expanding their operations at all costs creating more pollution – their mode of work does not follow the norms of sustainable development. If organisations are geared only towards profit making, and environmental and health concerns are not addressed, then it could lead to serious implications in the future.

GATEWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Ports

The chief gateways of the world of international trade are the harbours and ports. Cargoes and travellers pass from one part of the world to another through these ports.

The ports provide facilities of docking, loading, unloading and the storage facilities for cargo. In order to provide these facilities, the port authorities make arrangements for maintaining navigable channels, arranging tugs and barges, and providing labour and managerial services. The importance of a port is judged by the size of cargo and the number of ships handled. The quantity of cargo handled by a port is an indicator of the level of development of its hinterland.



Fig. 8.3: San Francisco, the largest land-locked harbour in the world

Types of Port

Generally, ports are classified according to the types of traffic which they handle.

Types of port according to cargo handled:

- (i) *Industrial Ports:* These ports specialise in bulk cargo-like grain, sugar, ore, oil, chemicals and similar materials.
- (ii) *Commercial Ports:* These ports handle general cargo-packaged products and manufactured good. These ports also handle passenger traffic.



Fig. 8.4: Leningrad Commercial Port

- (iii) *Comprehensive Ports:* Such ports handle bulk and general cargo in large volumes. Most of the world's great ports are classified as comprehensive ports.

Types of port on the basis of location:

- (i) *Inland Ports:* These ports are located away from the sea coast. They are linked to the sea through a river or a canal. Such ports are accessible to flat bottom ships or barges. For example, Manchester is linked with a canal; Memphis is located on the river Mississippi; Rhine has several ports like Mannheim and Duisburg; and Kolkata is located on the river Hoogli, a branch of the river Ganga.

Out Ports: These are deep water ports built away from the actual ports. These serve the parent ports by receiving those ships which are unable to approach them due to their large size. Classic combination, for example, is Athens and its out port Piraeus in Greece.

Types of port on the basis of specialised functions:

- (i) *Oil Ports:* These ports deal in the processing and shipping of oil. Some of these are tanker ports and some are refinery ports. Maracaibo in Venezuela, Esskhira in Tunisia, Tripoli in Lebanon are tanker ports. Abadan on the Gulf of Persia is a refinery port.

- (ii) *Ports of Call:* These are the ports which originally developed as calling points on main sea routes where ships used to anchor for refuelling, watering and taking food items. Later on, they developed into commercial ports. Aden, Honolulu and Singapore are good examples.
- (iii) *Packet Station:* These are also known as *ferry ports*. These packet stations are exclusively concerned with the transportation of passengers and mail across water bodies covering short distances. These stations occur in pairs located in such a way that they face each other across the water body, e.g. Dover in England and Calais in France across the English Channel.
- (iv) *Entrepot Ports:* These are collection centres where the goods are brought from different countries for export. Singapore is an entrepot for Asia. Rotterdam for Europe, and Copenhagen for the Baltic region.
- (v) *Naval Ports:* These are ports which have only strategic importance. These ports serve warships and have repair workshops for them. Kochi and Karwar are examples of such ports in India.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below.
 - (i) Most of the world's great ports are classified as:

(a) Naval Ports	(c) Comprehensive Ports
(b) Oil Ports	(d) Industrial Ports
 - (ii) Which one of the following continents has the maximum flow of global trade?

(a) Asia	(c) Europe
(b) North America	(d) Africa
- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words:
 - (i) What is the basic function of the World Trade Organisation?
 - (ii) Why is it detrimental for a nation to have negative balance of payments?
 - (iii) What benefits do nations get by forming trading blocs?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in not more than 150 words:
 - (i) How are ports helpful for trade? Give a classification of ports on the basis of their location.
 - (ii) How do nations gain from International Trade?



Unit I

Chapter 1



12099CH01

POPULATION

Distribution, Density, Growth and Composition



The people are very important component of a country. India is the second most populous country after China in the world with its total population of 1,210 million (2011). India's population is larger than the total population of North America, South America and Australia put together. More often, it is argued that such a large population invariably puts pressure on its limited resources and is also responsible for many socio-economic problems in the country.

How do you perceive the idea of India? Is it simply a territory? Does this signify an amalgam of people? Is it a territory inhabited by people living under certain institutions of governance?

In this chapter, we will discuss the patterns of distribution, density, growth and composition of India's population.

Sources of Population Data

Population data are collected through Census operation held every 10 years in our country. The first population Census in India was conducted in 1872 but its first complete Census was conducted only in 1881.

Distribution of Population

Examine Fig. 1.1 and try to describe the patterns of spatial distribution of population shown on it. It is clear that India has a highly uneven pattern of population distribution. The percentage shares of population of the states and Union Territories in the country (Appendix) show that Uttar Pradesh has the highest population followed by Maharashtra, Bihar and West Bengal.

Activity

Looking at the data in Appendix i, arrange the Indian States and Union Territories according to their sizes and population and find out :

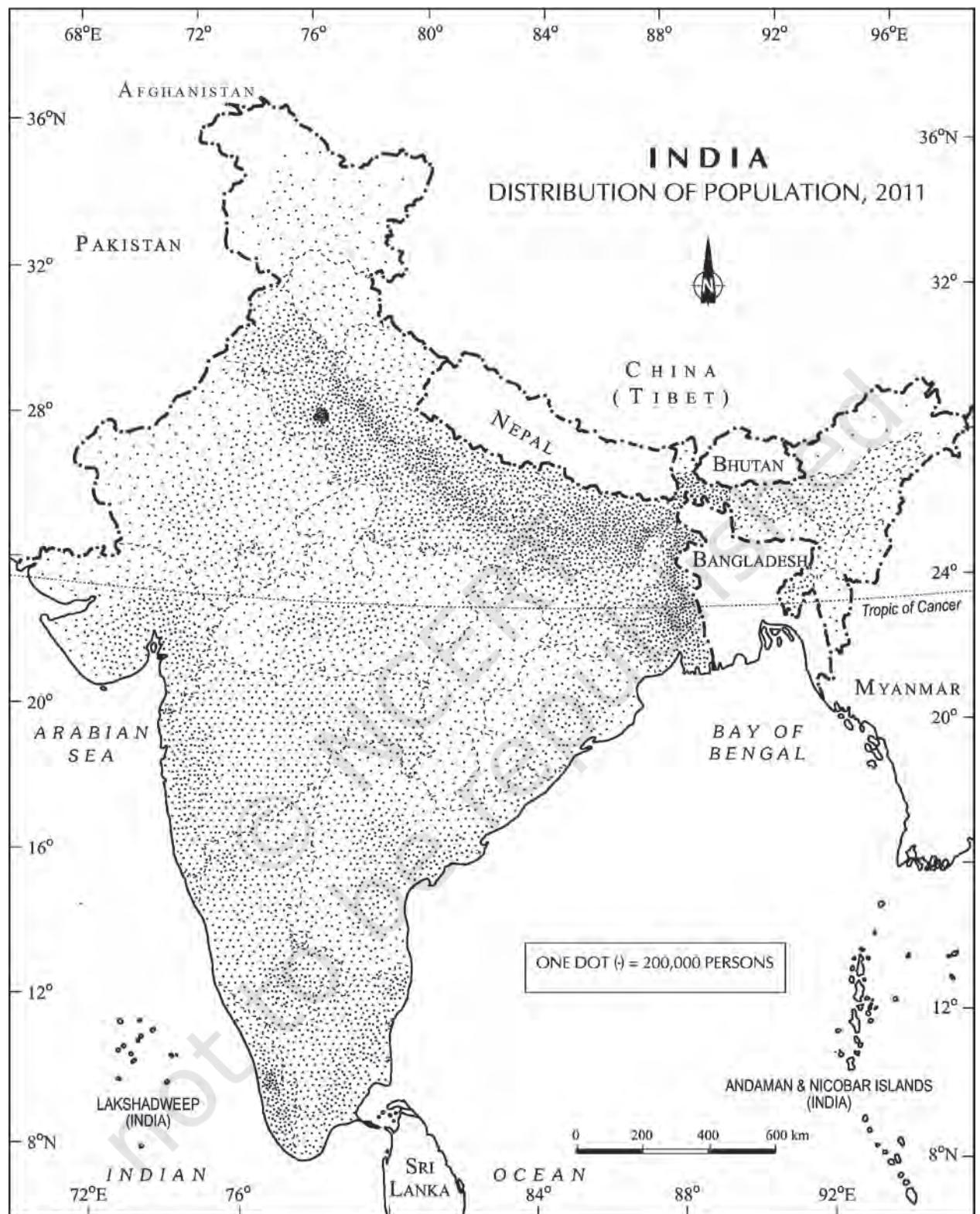


Fig. 1.1 : India – Distribution of Population

States/UTs of large size and large population
States/UTs of large size but small population
States/UTs of smaller size but larger population

Check from the table (Appendix-iA) that U.P., Maharashtra, Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh along with Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Gujarat, together account for about 76 per cent of the total population of the country. On the other hand, share of population is very small in the states like Jammu & Kashmir (1.04%), Arunachal Pradesh (0.11%) and Uttarakhand (0.84%) inspite of these states having fairly large geographical area.

Such an uneven spatial distribution of population in India suggests a close relationship between population and physical, socio-economic and historical factors. As far as the physical factors are concerned, it is clear that climate along with terrain and availability of water largely determines the pattern of the population distribution. Consequently, we observe that the North Indian Plains, deltas and Coastal Plains have higher proportion of population than the interior districts of southern and central Indian States, Himalayas, some of the north eastern and the western states. However, development of irrigation (Rajasthan), availability of mineral and energy resources (Jharkhand) and development of transport network (Peninsular States) have resulted in moderate to high concentration of population in areas which were previously very thinly populated.

Among the socio-economic and historical factors of distribution of population, important ones are evolution of settled agriculture and agricultural development; pattern of human settlement; development of transport network, industrialisation and urbanisation. It is observed that the regions falling in the river plains and coastal areas of India have remained the regions of larger population concentration. Even though the uses of natural resources like land and water in these regions have shown the sign of degradation, the concentration of population remains high because of an early

history of human settlement and development of transport network. On the other hand, the urban regions of Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bengaluru, Pune, Ahmedabad, Chennai and Jaipur have high concentration of population due to industrial development and urbanisation drawing a large numbers of rural-urban migrants.

Density of Population

Density of population, is expressed as number of persons per unit area. It helps in getting a better understanding of the spatial distribution of population in relation to land. The density of population in India (2011) is 382 persons per sq km. There has been a steady increase of more than 200 persons per sq km over the last 50 years as the density of population increased from 117 persons/ sq km in 1951 to 382 persons/sq km in 2011.

The data shown in Appendix (i) give an idea of spatial variation of population densities in the country which ranges from as low as 17 persons per sq km in Arunachal Pradesh to 11,297 persons in the National Capital Territory of Delhi. Among the northern Indian States, Bihar (1102), West Bengal (1029) and Uttar Pradesh (828) have higher densities, while Kerala (859) and Tamil Nadu (555) have higher densities among the peninsular Indian states. States like Assam, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Jharkhand, Odisha have moderate densities. The hill states of the Himalayan region and North eastern states of India (excluding Assam) have relatively low densities while the Union Territories (excluding Andaman and Nicobar islands) have very high densities of population (Appendix-i).

The density of population, as discussed in the earlier paragraph, is a crude measure of human and land relationship. To get a better insight into the human-land ratio in terms of pressure of population on total cultivable land, the *physiological* and the *agricultural* densities should be found out which are significant for a country like India having a large agricultural population.



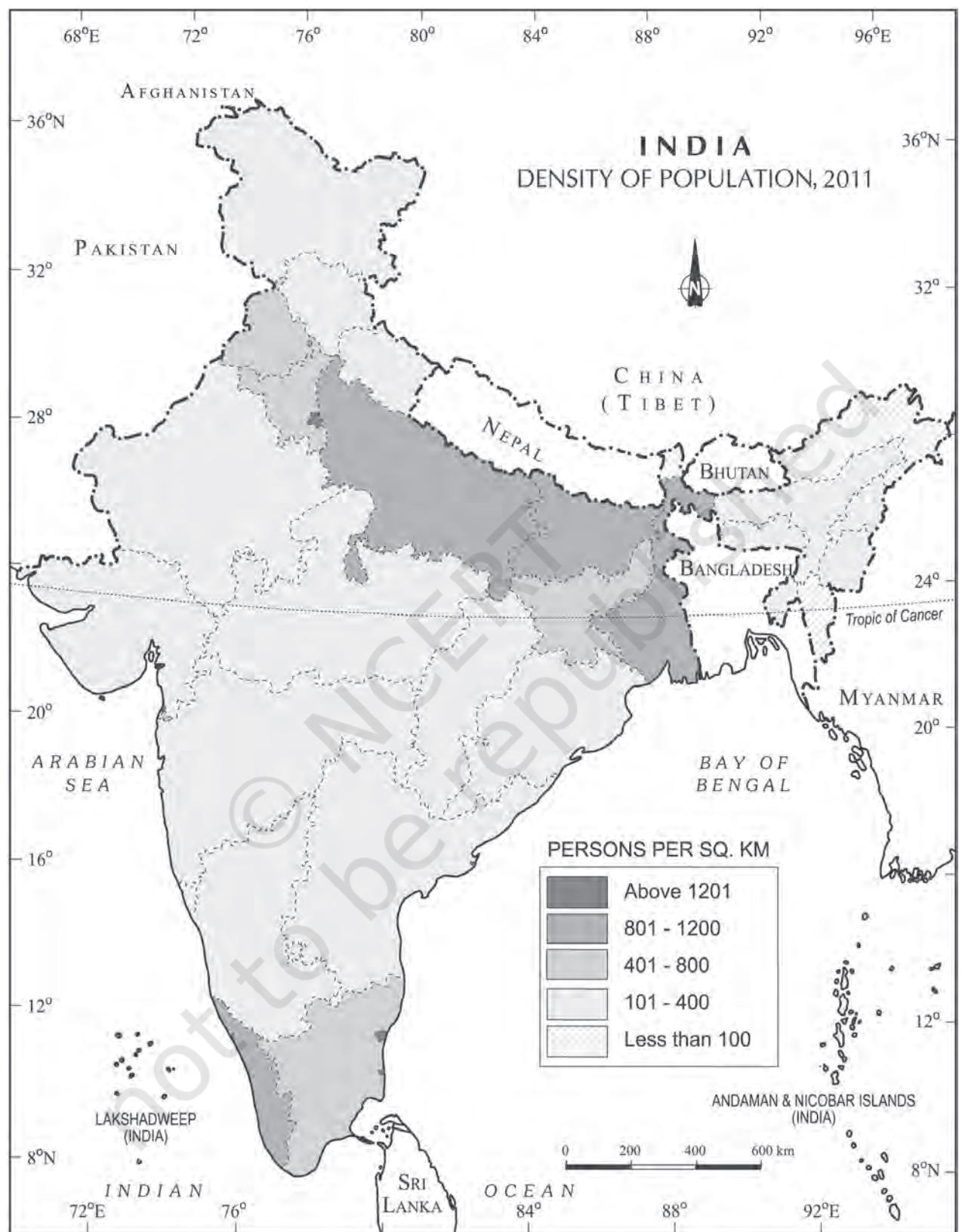


Fig. 1.2 : India – Density of Population

Physiological density = total population / net cultivated area

Agricultural density = total agricultural population / net cultivable area

Agricultural population includes cultivators and agricultural labourers and their family members.

Growth of Population

Growth of population is the change in the number of people living in a particular area between two points of time. Its rate is expressed in percentage. Population growth has two components namely; natural and induced. While the natural growth is analysed by assessing the crude birth and death rates, the induced components are explained by the volume of inward and outward movement of

people in any given area. However, in the present chapter, we will only discuss the natural growth of India's population.

The decadal and annual growth rates of population in India are both very high and steadily increasing over time. The annual growth rate of India's population is 1.64 per cent (2011).

Population Doubling Time

Population doubling time is the time taken by any population to double itself at its current annual growth rate.

The growth rate of population in India over the last one century has been caused by annual birth rate and death rate and rate of migration and thereby shows different trends. There are four distinct phases of growth identified within this period:

Table 1.1 : Decadal Growth Rates in India, 1901-2011

Census Years	Total Population	Growth Rate*	
		Absolute Number	% of Growth
1901	238396327	-----	-----
1911	252093390	(+) 13697063	(+) 5.75
1921	251321213	(-) 772117	(-) 0.31
1931	278977238	(+) 27656025	(+) 11.60
1941	318660580	(+) 39683342	(+) 14.22
1951	361088090	(+) 42420485	(+) 13.31
1961	439234771	(+) 77682873	(+) 21.51
1971	548159652	(+) 108924881	(+) 24.80
1981	683329097	(+) 135169445	(+) 24.66
1991	846302688	(+) 162973591	(+) 23.85
2001	1028610328	(+) 182307640	(+) 21.54
2011**	1210193422	(+) 181583094	(+) 17.64

* Decadal growth rate:
$$g = \frac{P_2 - P_1}{P_1} \times 100$$

where P_1 = population of the base year
 P_2 = population of the present year

** Source : Census of India, 2011(Provisional)

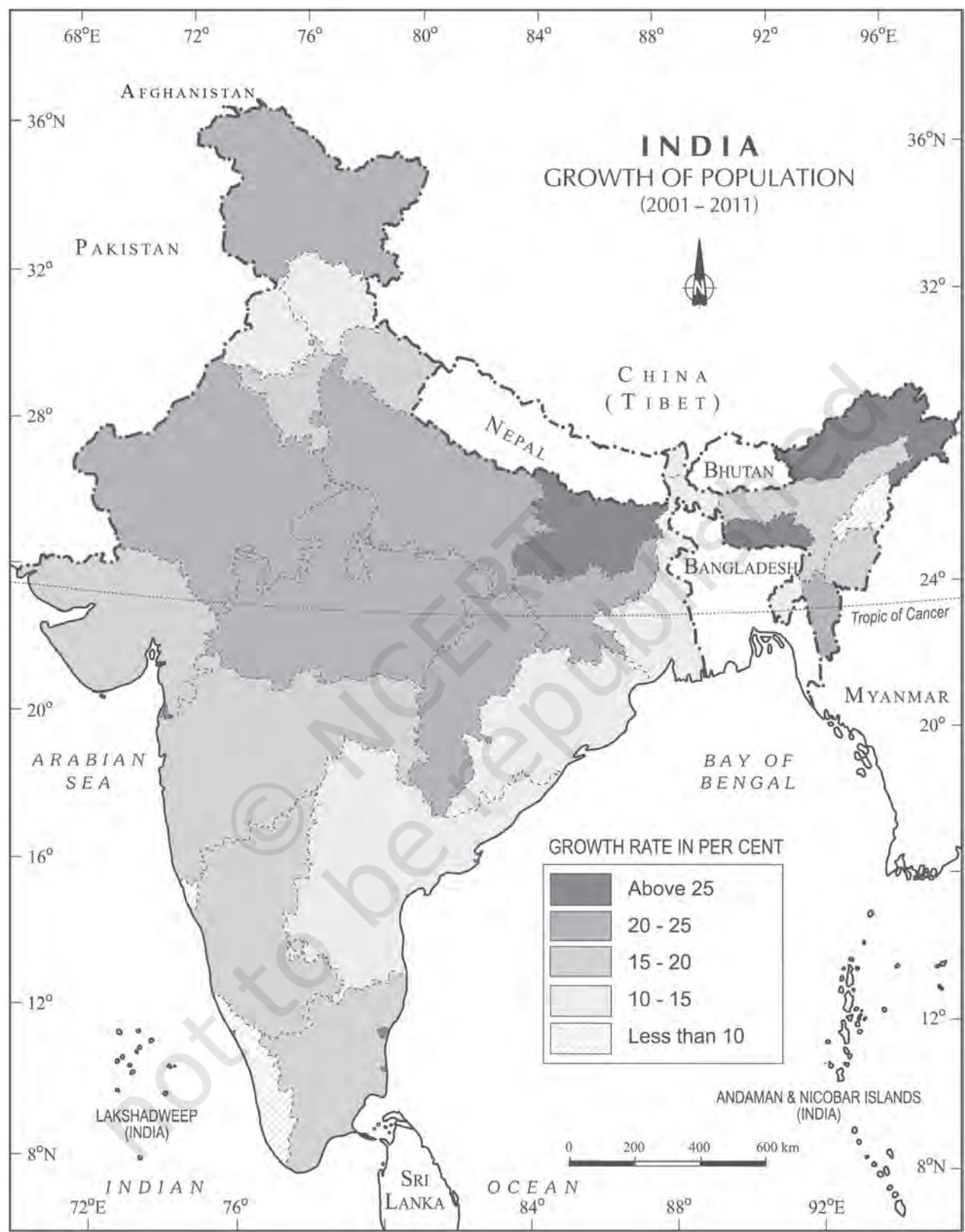


Fig. 1.3 : India – Growth of Population

Phase I : The period from 1901-1921 is referred to as a period of stagnant or stationary phase of growth of India's population, since in this period growth rate was very low, even recording a negative growth rate during 1911-1921. Both the birth rate and death rate were high keeping the rate of increase low (Appendix-iii). Poor health and medical services, illiteracy of people at large and inefficient distribution system of food and other basic necessities were largely responsible for a high birth and death rates in this period.

Phase II : The decades 1921-1951 are referred to as the period of steady population growth. An overall improvement in health and sanitation throughout the country brought down the mortality rate. At the same time better transport and communication system improved distribution system. The crude birth rate remained high in this period leading to higher growth rate than the previous phase. This is impressive at the backdrop of Great Economic Depression, 1920s and World War II.

Phase III : The decades 1951-1981 are referred to as the period of population explosion in India, which was caused by a rapid fall in the mortality rate but a high fertility rate of population in the country. The average annual growth rate was as high as 2.2 per cent. It is in this period, after the Independence, that developmental activities were introduced through a centralised planning process and economy started showing up ensuring the improvement of living condition of people at large. Consequently, there was a high natural increase and higher growth rate. Besides, increased international migration bringing in

Tibetans, Bangladeshis, Nepalis and even people from Pakistan contributed to the high growth rate.

Phase IV : In the post 1981 till present, the growth rate of country's population though remained high, has started slowing down gradually (Table 1.1). A downward trend of crude birth rate is held responsible for such a population growth. This was, in turn, affected by an increase in the mean age at marriage, improved quality of life particularly education of females in the country.

The growth rate of population is, however, still high in the country, and it has been projected by World Development Report that population of India will touch 1,350 million by 2025.

The analysis done so far shows the average growth rate, but the country also has wide variation (Appendix-iv) in growth rates from one area to another which is discussed below.

Regional Variation in Population Growth

The growth rate of population during 1991-2001 in Indian States and Union Territories shows very obvious pattern.

The States like Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Puducherry, and Goa show a low rate of growth not exceeding 20 per cent over the decade. Kerala registered the lowest growth rate (9.4) not only in this group of states but also in the country as a whole.

A continuous belt of states from west to east in the north-west, north, and north central parts of the country has relatively high growth rate than the southern states. It is in this belt comprising Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Sikkim, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, and Jharkhand, the growth rate on the average remained 20-25 per cent.

During 2001-2011, the growth rates of almost all States and Union Territories have registered a lower figure compared to the previous decade, namely, 1991-2001. The percentage decadal growth rates of the six most populous States, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra

Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have all fallen during 2001-2011 compared to 1991-2001, the fall being the lowest for Andhra Pradesh (3.5% percentage points) and highest for Maharashtra (6.7 percentage points). Tamil Nadu (3.9 percentage points) and Puducherry (7.1 percentage points) have registered some increase during 2001-2011 over the previous decade.

Activity

Take the population growth data of the districts/selected districts of your respective state for total male and female population and represent them with the help of Composite Bar Graph.

An important aspect of population growth in India is the growth of its adolescents. At present the share of adolescents i.e., up to the age group of 10-19 years is about 20.9 per cent (2011), among which male adolescents constitute 52.7 per cent and female adolescents constitute 47.3 per cent. The adolescent population, though, regarded as the youthful population having high potentials, but at the same time they are quite vulnerable if not guided and channelised properly. There are many challenges for the society as far as these adolescents are concerned, some of which are lower age at marriage, illiteracy – particularly female illiteracy, school dropouts, low intake of nutrients, high rate of maternal mortality of adolescent mothers, high rate of HIV and AIDS infections, physical and mental disability or retardedness, drug abuse and alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and commitence of crimes, etc.

In view of these, the Government of India has undertaken certain policies to impart proper education to the adolescent groups so that their talents are better channelised and properly utilised. The National Youth Policy is one example which has been designed to look into the overall development of our large youth and adolescent population.

The National Youth Policy (NYP-2014) launched in February 2014 proposes a holistic ‘vision’ for the youth of India, which is “To empower the youth of the country to achieve their full potential, and through them enable India to find its rightful place in the community of nations”. The NYP-2014 has defined ‘youth’as persons in the age group of 15–29 years.

The Government of India also formulated the National Policy for Skill Development and Entrepreneurship in 2015 to provide an umbrella framework to all skilling activities being carried out within the country, and to align these to common standards and link skilling with demand centres.

It appears from the above discussion that the growth rate of population is widely variant over space and time in the country and also highlights various social problems related to the growth of population. However, in order to have a better insight into the growth pattern of population it is also necessary to look into the social composition of population.

Population Composition

Population composition is a distinct field of study within population geography with a vast coverage of analysis of age and sex, place of residence, ethnic characteristics, tribes, language, religion, marital status, literacy and education, occupational characteristics, etc. In this section, the composition of Indian population with respect to their rural-urban characteristics, language, religion and pattern of occupation will be discussed.

Rural – Urban Composition

Composition of population by their respective places of residence is an important indicator of social and economic characteristics. This becomes even more significant for a country where about 68.8 per cent of its total population lives in village (2011).

Do you know that India has 640,867 villages according to the Census 2011 out of which 597,608 (93.2 per cent) are inhabited villages? However, the distribution of rural population is not uniform throughout the country. You might have noted that the states like Himachal Pradesh and Bihar have very high percentage of rural population. The states of Goa and Mizoram have only little over half of their total population residing in villages.

The Union Territories, on the other hand, have smaller proportion of rural population, except Dadra and Nagar Haveli (53.38 per cent). The size of villages also varies considerably. It is less than 200 persons in the hill states of north-eastern India, Western Rajasthan and Rann of Kuchchh and as high as 17 thousand persons in the states of Kerala and in parts of Maharashtra. A thorough examination of the pattern of distribution of rural population of India reveals that both at intra-State and inter-State levels, the relative degree of urbanisation and extent of rural-urban migration regulate the concentration of rural population.

You have noted that contrary to rural population, the proportion of urban population (31.16 per cent) in India is quite low but it is showing a much faster rate of growth over the decades. The growth rate of urban population has accelerated due to enhanced economic development and improvement in health and hygienic conditions.

The distribution of urban population too, as in the case of total population, has a wide variation throughout the country (Appendix-iii).

Activity

Compare the data of Appendix (iii) and identify the states/UTs with very high and very low proportion of urban population.

It is, however, noticed that in almost all the states and Union Territories, there has been a considerable increase of urban population. This indicates both development of urban areas in terms of socio-economic conditions and an increased rate of rural-urban migration. The

rural-urban migration is conspicuous in the case of urban areas along the main road links and railroads in the North Indian Plains, the industrial areas around Kolkata, Mumbai, Bengaluru – Mysuru, Madurai – Coimbatore, Ahmedabad – Surat, Delhi – Kanpur and Ludhiana – Jalandhar. In the agriculturally stagnant parts of the middle and lower Ganga Plains, Telengana, non-irrigated Western Rajasthan, remote hilly, tribal areas of north-east, along the flood prone areas of Peninsular India and along eastern part of Madhya Pradesh, the degree of urbanisation has remained low.

Linguistic Composition

India is a land of linguistic diversity. According to Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, 1903 – 1928), there were 179 languages and as many as 544 dialects in the country. In the context of modern India, there are about 22 scheduled languages and a number of non-scheduled languages.

Activity

See how many languages appear on a Rs 10 note.

Among the scheduled languages, the speakers of Hindi have the highest percentage. The smallest language groups are Sanskrit, Bodo and Manipuri speakers (2011). However, it is noticed that the linguistic regions in the country do not have a sharp and distinct boundary, rather they gradually merge and overlap in their respective frontier zones.

Linguistic Classification

The speakers of major Indian languages belong to four language families, which have their sub-families and branches or groups. This can be better understood from Table 1.2.

Religious Composition

Religion is one of the most dominant forces affecting the cultural and political life of the majority of Indians. Since religion virtually permeates into almost all the aspects of people's family and community lives, it is important to study the religious composition in detail.

Table 1.2 : Classification of Modern Indian Languages

Family	Sub-Family	Branch/Group	Speech Areas
Austro (Nishada) 1.38%	Austro-Asiatic	Mon-Khmer	Meghalaya, Nicobar Islands
		Munda	West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra Outside India
Dravidian (Dravida) 20%		South-Dravidian	Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala
		Central Dravidian	Andhra Pradesh, M.P., Orissa, Maharashtra
		North Dravidian	Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh
Sino-Tibetan (Kirata) 0.85%	Tibeto - Myanmari	Tibeto-Himalayan	Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim
	Siamese-Chinese	North Assam	Arunachal Pradesh
		Assam- Myanmari	Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya
Indo - European (Aryan) 73%	Indo-Aryan	Iranian	Outside India
		Dardic	Jammu & Kashmir
		Indo-Aryan	Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, U.P., Rajasthan, Haryana, M.P., Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa.

Source : Ahmed, A. (1999) : Social Geography, Rawat Publication, New Delhi

Activity

Look at Table 1.2 and prepare a pie diagram of linguistic composition of India showing the sectoral shares of each linguistic group.

Or

Prepare a qualitative symbol map of India showing the distribution of different linguistic groups in the country.

The spatial distribution of religious communities in the country (Appendix-v) shows that there are certain states and districts having large numerical strength of one religion, while the same may be very negligibly represented in other states.

Hindus are distributed as a major group in many states (ranging from 70-90 per cent and above) except the districts of states along Indo-Bangladesh border, Indo-Pak border, Jammu & Kashmir, Hill States of North-East and in scattered areas of Deccan Plateau and Ganga Plain.

Table 1.3 : Religious Communities of India, 2011

Religious Group	2011	
	Population (in million)	% of Total
Hindus	966.3	79.8
Muslims	172.2	14.2
Christians	27.8	2.3
Sikhs	20.8	1.7
Buddhists	8.4	0.7
Jains	4.5	0.4
Other Religions and Persuasions (ORP)	7.9	0.7
Religion Not Stated	2.9	0.2

Source : Census of India, 2011

Muslims, the largest religious minority, are concentrated in Jammu & Kashmir, certain districts of West Bengal and Kerala, many districts of Uttar Pradesh, in and around Delhi and in Lakshadweep. They form majority in Kashmir valley and Lakshadweep.

Religion and Landscape

Formal expression of religions on landscape is manifested through sacred structures, use of cemeteries and assemblages of plants and animals, groves of trees for religious purposes. Sacred structures are widely distributed throughout the country. These may range from inconspicuous village shrines to large Hindu temples, monumental masjids or ornately designed cathedrals in large metropolitan cities. These temples, masjids, gurudwaras, monasteries and churches differ in size, form, space – use and density, while attributing a special dimension to the total landscape of the area.

The Christian population is distributed mostly in rural areas of the country. The main concentration is observed along the Western coast around Goa, Kerala and also in the hill states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Chotanagpur area and Hills of Manipur.

Sikhs are mostly concentrated in relatively small area of the country, particularly in the states of Punjab, Haryana and Delhi.

Jains and Buddhists, the smallest religious groups in India have their concentration only in selected areas of the country. Jains have major concentration in the urban areas of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, while the Buddhists are concentrated mostly in Maharashtra. The other areas of Buddhist majority are Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Ladakh in Jammu & Kashmir, Tripura, and Lahul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh.

The other religions of India include Zoroastrians, tribal and other indigenous faiths and beliefs. These groups are concentrated in small pockets scattered throughout the country.

Composition of Working Population

The population of India according to their economic status is divided into three groups, namely; main workers, marginal workers and non-workers.

It is observed that in India, the proportion of workers (both main and marginal) is only 39.8

Standard Census Definition

Main Worker is a person who works for atleast 183 days (or six months) in a year.

Marginal Worker is a person who works for less than 183 days (or six months) in a year.

per cent (2011) leaving a vast majority of about 60 per cent as non-workers. This indicates an economic status in which there is a larger proportion of dependent population, further indicating possible existence of large number of unemployed or under employed people.

What is work participation rate?

The proportion of working population, of the states and Union Territories show a variation from about 29.1 per cent in Lakshdweep to about 51.9 per cent in Himachal Pradesh. The states with larger percentages of workers are Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Meghalaya. Among the Union Territories, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu have higher participation rate. It is understood that, in the context of a country like India, the work participation rate tends to be higher in the areas of lower levels of economic development since number of manual workers are needed to perform the subsistence or near subsistence economic activities.

The occupational composition (see box) of India's population (which actually means engagement of an individual in farming, manufacturing, trade, services or any kind of professional activities) show a large proportion of primary sector workers compared to secondary and tertiary sectors. About 54.6 per cent of total working population are cultivators and agricultural labourers, whereas only 3.8% of workers are engaged in household industries and 41.6 % are other workers including non-household industries, trade, commerce, construction and repair and other services. As far as the occupation of country's male and female population is concerned, male workers out-number female workers in all the three sectors (Fig. 1.4 and Table 1.4).

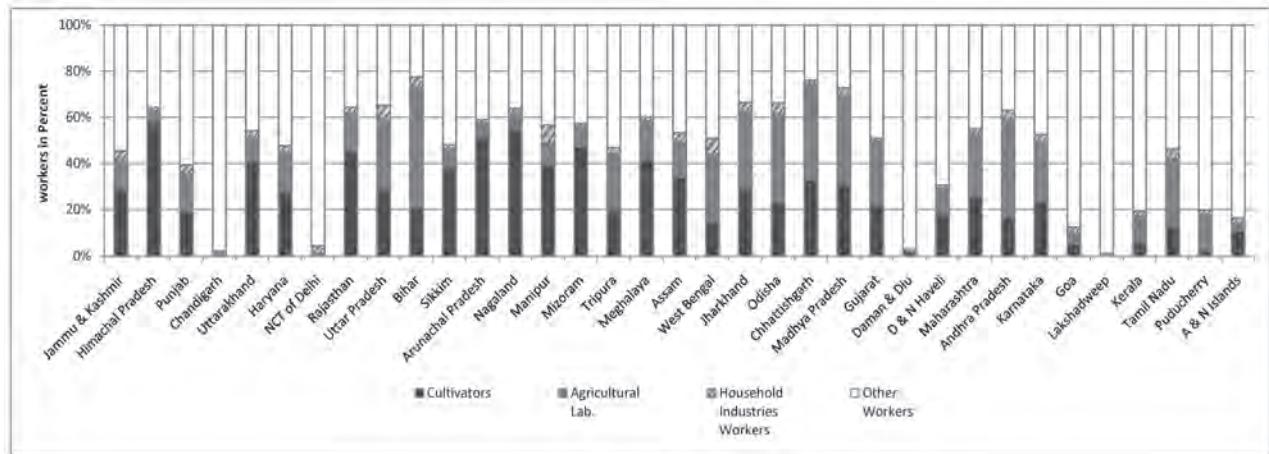


Fig. 1.4 : India – Occupational Structure, 2011

Promoting Gender Sensitivity through ‘Beti Bachao–Beti Padhao’ Social Campaign

The division of the society into male, female and transgender is believed to be natural and biological. But, in reality, there are social constructs and roles assigned to individuals which are reinforced by social institutions. Consequently, these biological differences become the basis of social differentiations, discriminations and exclusions. The exclusion of over half of the population becomes a serious handicap to any developing and civilised society. It is a global challenge, which has been acknowledged by the UNDP when it mentioned that, “If development is not engendered it is endangered” (HDR UNDP 1995). Discrimination, in general, and gender discrimination, in particular, is a crime against humanity.

All efforts need to be made to address the denial of opportunities of education, employment, political representation, low wages for similar types of work, disregard to their entitlement to live a dignified life, etc. A society, which fails to acknowledge and take effective measures to remove such discriminations, cannot be treated as a civilised one. The Government of India has duly acknowledged the adverse impacts of these discriminations and launched a nationwide campaign called ‘Beti Bachao – Beti Padhao’.

Occupational Categories

The 2011 Census has divided the working population of India into four major categories :

1. Cultivators
2. Agricultural Labourers
3. Household Industrial Workers
4. Other Workers.

Table 1.4 : Sectoral Composition of workforce in India, 2011

Categories	Population			
	Persons	% to total Workers	Male	Female
Primary	26,30,22,473	54.6	16,54,47,075	9,75,75,398
Secondary	1,83,36,307	3.8	97,75,635	85,60,672
Tertiary	20,03,84,531	41.6	15,66,43,220	4,37,41,311

Activity

Prepare composite bar graphs, one for India and the other for your respective states showing the proportion of male and female workers in agriculture, household industries and other sectors, and compare.

The number of female workers is relatively high in primary sector, though in recent years there has been some improvement in work participation of women in secondary and tertiary sectors.

It is important to note that the proportion of workers in agricultural sector in India has shown a decline over the last few decades (58.2% in 2001 to 54.6% in 2011). Consequently, the participation rate in secondary and tertiary sector has registered an

increase. This indicates a shift of dependence of workers from farm-based occupations to non-farm based ones, indicating a sectoral shift in the economy of the country.

The spatial variation of work participation rate in different sectors in the country (Appendix-v and vA) is very wide. For instance, the states like Himachal Pradesh and Nagaland have very large shares of cultivators. On the other hand states like Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh have higher proportion of agricultural labourers. The highly urbanised areas like Delhi, Chandigarh and Puducherry have a very large proportion of workers being engaged in other services. This indicates not only availability of limited farming land, but also large scale urbanisation and industrialisation requiring more workers in non-farm sectors.



EXERCISES

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

- (i) Very hot and dry and very cold and wet regions of India have low density of population. In this light, explain the role of climate on the distribution of population.
- (ii) Which states have large rural population in India? Give one reason for such large rural population.
- (iii) Why do some states of India have higher rates of work participation than others?
- (iv) 'The agricultural sector has the largest share of Indian workers.' – Explain.

3. Answer the following questions in about 150 words.

- (i) Discuss the spatial pattern of density of population in India.
 - (ii) Give an account of the occupational structure of India's population.
-

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Unit II
Chapter 2



12059CH04

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS



Human Settlement means cluster of dwellings of any type or size where human beings live. For this purpose, people may erect houses and other structures and command some area or territory as their economic support-base. Thus, the process of settlement inherently involves grouping of people and apportioning of territory as their resource base.

Settlements vary in size and type. They range from a hamlet to metropolitan cities. With size, the economic character and social structure of settlements changes and so do its ecology and technology. Settlements could be small and sparsely spaced; they may also be large and closely spaced. The sparsely located small settlements are called villages, specialising in agriculture or other primary activities. On the other hand, there are fewer but larger settlements which are termed as urban settlements specialising in secondary and tertiary activities. The basic differences between rural and urban settlements are as follows :

- The rural settlements derive their life support or basic economic needs from land based primary economic activities, whereas, urban settlements, depend on processing of raw materials and manufacturing of finished goods on the one hand and a variety of services on the other.
- Cities act as nodes of economic growth, provide goods and services not only to urban dwellers but also to the people of the rural settlements in their hinterlands in return for food and raw materials. This functional relationship between the urban and rural settlements takes place through transport and communication network.
- Rural and urban settlements differ in terms of social relationship, attitude and outlook. Rural people are less mobile and therefore, social relations among them are intimate. In urban areas, on the other hand, way of life is complex and fast, and social relations are formal.

Types of Rural Settlement

Types of the settlement are determined by the extent of the built-up area and inter-house

distance. In India compact or clustered village of a few hundred houses is a rather universal feature, particularly in the northern plains. However, there are several areas, which have other forms of rural settlements. There are various factors and conditions responsible for having different types of rural settlements in India. These include: (i) physical features – nature of terrain, altitude, climate and availability of water (ii) cultural and ethnic factors – social structure, caste and religion (iii) security factors – defence against thefts and robberies. Rural settlements in India can broadly be put into four types:

- Clustered, agglomerated or nucleated,
- Semi-clustered or fragmented,
- Hamleted, and
- Dispersed or isolated.

Clustered Settlements

The clustered rural settlement is a compact or closely built up area of houses. In this type of village the general living area is distinct and separated from the surrounding farms, barns and pastures. The closely built-up area and its



Fig. 2.1 : Clustered Settlements in the North-eastern states

intervening streets present some recognisable pattern or geometric shape, such as rectangular, radial, linear, etc. Such settlements are generally found in fertile alluvial plains and in the northeastern states. Sometimes, people live in compact village for security or defence reasons, such as in the Bundelkhand region of central India and in Nagaland. In Rajasthan, scarcity of water has necessitated compact settlement for maximum utilisation of available water resources.

Semi-Clustered Settlements

Semi-clustered or fragmented settlements may result from tendency of clustering in a restricted area of dispersed settlement. More often such a pattern may also result from segregation or fragmentation of a large compact village. In this case, one or more sections of the village society choose or is forced to live a little away from the main cluster or village. In such cases, generally, the land-owning and dominant community occupies the central part of the main village, whereas people of lower strata of society and menial workers settle on the outer flanks of the village. Such settlements are widespread in the Gujarat plain and some parts of Rajasthan.



Fig. 2.2 : Semi-clustered settlements

Hamleted Settlements

Sometimes settlement is fragmented into several units physically separated from each other bearing a common name. These units are locally called *panna*, *para*, *palli*, *nagla*, *dhani*, etc. in various parts of the country. This segmentation of a large village is often motivated by social and ethnic factors. Such villages are more frequently found in the middle and lower Ganga plain, Chhattisgarh and lower valleys of the Himalayas.

Dispersed Settlements

Dispersed or isolated settlement pattern in India appears in the form of isolated huts or hamlets of few huts in remote jungles, or on small hills



Fig. 2.3 : Dispersed settlements in Nagaland

with farms or pasture on the slopes. Extreme dispersion of settlement is often caused by extremely fragmented nature of the terrain and land resource base of habitable areas. Many areas of Meghalaya, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala have this type of settlement.

Urban Settlements

Unlike rural settlements, urban settlements are generally compact and larger in size. They are engaged in a variety of non-agricultural, economic and administrative functions. As mentioned earlier, cities are functionally linked to rural areas around them. Thus, exchange of goods and services is performed sometimes directly and sometimes through a series of market towns and cities. Thus, cities are connected directly as well as indirectly with the villages and also with each other.

The census of India, 1991 defines urban settlements as "All places which have municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee and have a minimum population of 5000 persons, at least 75 per cent of male workers are engaged in non-agriculture pursuits and a density of population of at least 400 persons per square kilometer are urban."

Evolution of Towns in India

Towns flourished since prehistoric times in India. Even at the time of Indus valley civilisation, towns like Harappa and Mohanjodaro were in existence. The following period has witnessed evolution of towns. It continued with periodic ups and downs until the arrival of Europeans in India in the eighteenth century. On the basis of their

evolution in different periods, Indian towns may be classified as:

- Ancient towns,
- Medieval towns, and
- Modern towns.

Ancient Towns

There are number of towns in India having historical background spanning over 2000 years. Most of them developed as religious and cultural centres. Varanasi is one of the important towns among these. Prayag (Allahabad), Pataliputra (Patna), Madurai are some other examples of ancient towns in the country.

Medieval Towns

About 100 of the existing towns have their roots in the medieval period. Most of them developed as headquarters of principalities and kingdoms. These are fort towns which came up on the ruins of ancient towns. Important among them are Delhi, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Lucknow, Agra and Nagpur.

Modern Towns

The British and other Europeans have developed a number of towns in India. Starting their foothold on coastal locations, they first developed some trading ports such as Surat, Daman, Goa, Pondicherry, etc. The British later consolidated their hold around three principal nodes – Mumbai (Bombay), Chennai (Madras), and Kolkata (Calcutta) – and built them in the British style. Rapidly



Fig. 2.4 : A view of the modern city

extending their domination either directly or through control over the princely states, they established their administrative centres, hill-towns as summer resorts, and added new civil,

Table 2.1 : India – Trends of Urbanisation 1901-2011

Year	Number of Towns/UAs	Urban Population (in Thousands)	% of Total Population	Decennial Growth (%)
1901	1,827	25,851.9	10.84	—
1911	1,815	25,941.6	10.29	0.35
1921	1,949	28,086.2	11.18	8.27
1931	2,072	33,456.0	11.99	19.12
1941	2,250	44,153.3	13.86	31.97
1951	2,843	62,443.7	17.29	41.42
1961	2,365	78,936.6	17.97	26.41
1971	2,590	1,09,114	19.91	38.23
1981	3,378	1,59,463	23.34	46.14
1991	4,689	2,17,611	25.71	36.47
2001	5,161	2,85,355	27.78	31.13
2011*	6,171	3,77,000	31.16	31.08

*Source: Census of India, 2011 <http://www.censusindia.gov.in> (Provisional)

administrative and military areas to them. Towns based on modern industries also evolved after 1850. Jamshedpur can be cited as an example.

After independence, a large number of towns have been developed as administrative headquarters, e.g., Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar, Gandhinagar, Dispur, etc., and industrial centres, such as Durgapur, Bhilai, Sindri, Barauni. Some old towns also developed as satellite towns around metropolitan cities, such as Ghaziabad, Rohtak, Gurugram around Delhi. With increasing investment in rural areas, a large number of medium and small towns have developed all over the country.

Urbanisation in India

The level of urbanisation is measured in terms of percentage of urban population to total population. The level of urbanisation in India in 2011 was 31.16 per cent, which is quite low in comparison to developed countries. Total urban population has increased eleven-fold during the twentieth century. Enlargement of urban centres and emergence of new towns have played a significant role in the growth of urban population and urbanisation in the country. (Table 2.1). But the growth rate of urbanisation has slowed down during last two decades.

Functional Classification of Towns

Apart from their role as central or nodal places, many towns and cities perform specialised services. Some towns and cities specialise in certain functions and they are known for some specific activities, products or services. However, each town performs a number of functions. On the basis of dominant or specialised functions, Indian cities and towns can be broadly classified as follows:

Administrative towns and cities

Towns supporting administrative headquarters of higher order are administrative towns, such as Chandigarh, New Delhi, Bhopal, Shillong, Guwahati, Imphal, Srinagar, Gandhinagar, Jaipur, Chennai, etc.

Industrial towns

Industries constitute prime motive force of these cities, such as Mumbai, Salem, Coimbatore, Modinagar, Jamshedpur, Hugli, Bhilai, etc.

Transport Cities

They may be ports primarily engaged in export and import activities such as Kandla, Kochchi, Kozhikode, Vishakhapatnam, etc., or hubs of inland transport, such as Agra, Dhulia, Mughalsarai, Itarsi, Katni, etc.

Commercial towns

Towns and cities specialising in trade and commerce are kept in this class. Kolkata, Saharanpur, Satna, etc., are some examples.

Mining towns

These towns have developed in mineral rich areas such as Raniganj, Jharia, Digboi, Ankaleshwar, Singrauli, etc.

Garrison Cantonment towns

These towns emerged as garrison towns such as Ambala, Jalandhar, Mhow, Babina, Udhampur, etc.

Smart Cities Mission

The objective of the *Smart Cities Mission* is to promote cities that provide core infrastructure, a clean and sustainable environment and give a decent quality of life to its citizens. One of the features of Smart Cities is to apply smart solutions to infrastructure and services in order to make them better. For example, making areas less vulnerable to disasters, using fewer resources and providing cheaper services. The focus is on sustainable and inclusive development and the idea is to look at compact areas, create a replicable model, which will act like a lighthouse to other aspiring cities.

List the urban agglomerations/cities state-wise and see the state-wise population under this category of cities.

Educational towns

Starting as centres of education, some of the towns have grown into major campus towns, such as Roorki, Varanasi, Aligarh, Pilani, Allahabad, etc.

Religious and cultural towns

Varanasi, Mathura, Amritsar, Madurai, Puri, Ajmer, Pushkar, Tirupati, Kurukshetra, Haridwar, Ujjain came to prominence due to their religious/cultural significance.

Tourist towns

Nainital, Mussoorie, Shimla, Pachmarhi, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Udagamandalam (Ooty), Mount Abu are some of the tourist destinations.

The cities are not static in their function. The functions change due to their dynamic nature.

Even specialised cities, as they grow into metropolises become multifunctional wherein industry, business, administration, transport, etc., become important. The functions get so intertwined that the city can not be categorised in a particular functional class.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answers of the following from the given options.
 - (i) Which one of the following towns is NOT located on a river bank?

(a) Agra	(c) Patna
(b) Bhopal	(d) Kolkata

- (ii) Which one of the following is NOT the part of the definition of a town as per the census of India?
- Population density of 400 persons per sq km.
 - Presence of municipality, corporation, etc.
 - More than 75% of the population engaged in primary sector.
 - Population size of more than 5,000 persons.
- (iii) In which one of the following environments does one expect the presence of dispersed rural settlements?
- Alluvial plains of Ganga
 - Arid and semi-arid regions of Rajasthan
 - Lower valleys of Himalayas
 - Forests and hills in north-east
- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
- What are garrison towns? What is their function?
 - What are the main factors for the location of villages in desert regions?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
- Discuss the features of different types of rural settlements. What are the factors responsible for the settlement patterns in different physical environments?
 - Can one imagine the presence of only one-function town? Why do the cities become multi-functional?
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Unit III

Chapter 3



I209CH05

LAND RESOURCES AND AGRICULTURE



You must have observed that the land around you is put to different uses. Some land is occupied by rivers, some may have trees and on some parts roads and buildings have been built. Different types of lands are suited to different uses. Human beings thus, use land as a resource for production as well as residence and recreation. Thus, the building of your school, roads on which you travel, parks in which you play, fields in which crops are grown and the pastures where animals graze represent different uses to which land is put.

Land Use Categories

Land-use records are maintained by land revenue department. The land use categories add up to *reporting area*, which is somewhat different from the *geographical area*. The Survey of India is responsible for measuring *geographical area* of administrative units in India. Have you ever used a map prepared by Survey of India? The difference between the two concepts are that while the former changes somewhat depending on the estimates of the land revenue records, the latter does not change and stays fixed as per Survey of India measurements. You may be familiar with land use categories as they are also included in your Social Science textbook of Class X.

The land-use categories as maintained in the Land Revenue Records are as follows :

- (i) **Forests** : It is important to note that area under actual forest cover is different from area classified as forest. The latter is the area which the Government has identified and demarcated for forest growth. The land revenue records are consistent with the latter definition. *Thus, there may be an increase in this category without any increase in the actual forest cover.*
- (ii) **Barren and Wastelands** : The land which may be classified as a wasteland such as barren hilly terrains, desert lands, ravines, etc. normally cannot be brought under cultivation with the available technology.

- (iii) **Land put to Non-agricultural Uses:** Land under settlements (rural and urban), infrastructure (roads, canals, etc.), industries, shops, etc., are included in this category. An expansion in the secondary and tertiary activities would lead to an increase in this category of land-use.
- (iv) **Area under Permanent Pastures and Grazing Lands :** Most of this type land is owned by the village 'Panchayat' or the Government. Only a small proportion of this land is privately owned. The land owned by the village panchayat comes under 'Common Property Resources'.
- (v) **Area under Miscellaneous Tree Crops and Groves (Not included in Net sown Area) :** The land under orchards and fruit trees are included in this category. Much of this land is privately owned.
- (vi) **Culturable Wasteland :** Any land which is left fallow (uncultivated) for more than five years is included in this category. It can be brought under cultivation after improving it through reclamation practices.
- (vii) **Current Fallow:** This is the land which is left without cultivation for one or less than one agricultural year. Fallowing is a cultural practice adopted for giving the land rest. The land recoups the lost fertility through natural processes.
- (viii) **Fallow other than Current Fallow :** This is also a cultivable land which is left uncultivated for more than a year but less than five years. If the land is left uncultivated for more than five years, it would be categorised as culturable wasteland.
- (ix) **Net Area Sown:** The physical extent of land on which crops are sown and harvested is known as net sown area.

Land-use Changes in India

Land-use in a region, to a large extent, is influenced by the nature of economic activities carried out in that region. However, while economic activities change over time, land, like many other natural resources, is fixed in terms of its area. At this stage, one needs to appreciate three types of changes that an economy undergoes, which affect land-use.

(i) The **size of the economy** (measured in terms of value for all the goods and services produced in the economy) grows over time as a result of increasing population, change in income levels, available technology and associated factors. As a result, the pressure on land will increase with time and marginal lands would come under use.

Secondly, **the composition of the economy** would undergo a change over time. In other words, the secondary and the tertiary sectors usually grow much faster than the primary sector, specifically the agricultural sector. This type of change is common in developing countries, like India. This process would result in a gradual shift of land from agricultural uses to non-agricultural uses. You would observe that such changes are sharp around large urban areas. The agricultural land is being used for building purposes.

Thirdly, though the contribution of the agricultural activities reduces over time, the pressure on land for agricultural activities does not decline. The reasons for continued pressure on agricultural land are:

- In developing countries, the share of population dependent on agriculture usually declines much more slowly compared to the decline in the sector's share in GDP.
- The number of people that the agricultural sector has to feed is increasing day by day.

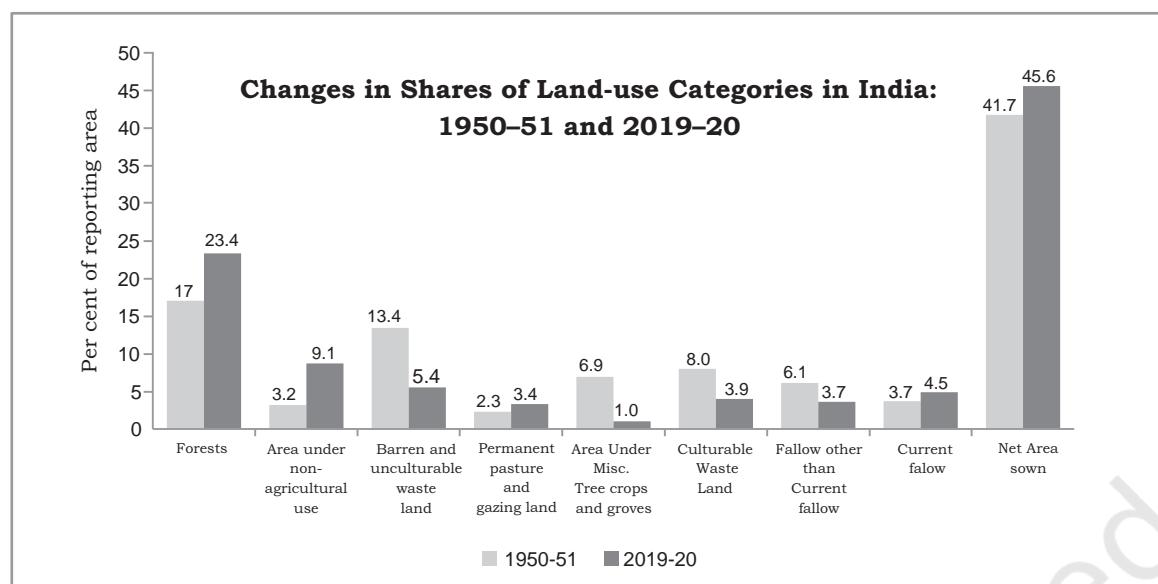


Fig. 3.1

Activity

Compare the changes of land-use between 1950–51 and 2019–20.

India has undergone major changes within the economy over the past four or five decades, and this has influenced the land-use changes in the country. These changes between 1950–51 and 2019–20 have been shown in Fig. 3.1. There are two points that you need to remember before you derive some meaning from this figure. Firstly, the percentages shown in the figure have been derived with respect to the reporting area. Secondly, since even the reporting area has been relatively constant over the years, a decline in one category usually leads to an increase in some other category.

Five categories have undergone increases, while four have registered declines. Share of area under forest, area under non-agricultural uses, current fallow lands and net area sown have shown an increase. The following observations can be made about these increases:

- (i) The *rate of increase* is the highest in case of area under non-agricultural uses. This is due to the changing structure of Indian economy, which is increasingly

depending on the contribution from industrial and services sectors and expansion of related infrastructural facilities. Also, an expansion of area under both urban and rural settlements has added to the increase. Thus, the area under non-agricultural uses is increasing at the expense of wastelands and agricultural land.

(ii) The increase in the share under forest, as explained before, can be accounted for by increase in the demarcated area under forest rather than an actual increase in the forest cover in the country. The increase in the current fallow cannot be explained from information pertaining to only two points. The trend of current fallow fluctuates a great deal over years, depending on the variability of rainfall and cropping cycles.

(iii) The increase in net area sown is a recent phenomenon due to use of culturable waste land for agricultural purpose. Before which it was registering a slow decrease. There are indications that most of the decline had occurred due to the increases in area under non-agricultural use. (Note : the expansion of building activity on agricultural land in your village and city).

The four categories that have registered a decline are barren and wasteland, culturable wasteland, area under tree crops and groves and fallow lands.

The following explanations can be given for the declining trends:

- (i) As the pressure on land increased, both from the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, the wastelands and culturable wastelands have witnessed decline over time.
- (ii) The decline in land under tree crops and groves can be explained by pressure from agricultural land.

Activity

What is the difference between actual increase and rate of increase? Work out the actual increase and rate of increases for all the land use categories between 1950–51 and 2019–20 from the data given in the Appendix (vi). Explain the results.

Note for Teacher

For calculating actual increase, the difference of the land-use categories should be worked out over the two periods.

For deriving the rate of increase, simple growth rate i.e. (difference of values between the two time points i.e. value of terminal year minus base year / base year or 1960-61 value) should be used, e.g.

$$\frac{\text{Net sown Area in 2019-20} - \text{Net sown Area in 1950-51}}{\text{Net sown Area in 1950-51}} \times 100$$

Common Property Resources

Land, according to its ownership can broadly be classified under two broad heads – private land and common property resources (CPRs). While the former is owned by an individual or a group of individuals, the latter is owned by the state meant for the use of the community. CPRs provide fodder for the livestock and fuel for the households along with other minor forest products like fruits, nuts, fibre, medicinal plants, etc. In rural areas, such land is of

particular relevance for the livelihood of the landless and marginal farmers and other weaker sections since many of them depend on income from their livestock due to the fact that they have limited access to land. CPRs also are important for women as most of the fodder and fuel collection is done by them in rural areas. They have to devote long hours in collecting fuel and fodder from a degraded area of CPR.

CPRs can be defined as community's natural resource, where every member has the right of access and usage with specified obligations, without anybody having property rights over them. Community forests, pasture lands, village water bodies and other public spaces where a group larger than a household or family unit exercises rights of use and carries responsibility of management are examples of CPRs.

Agricultural Land Use in India

Land resource is more crucial to the livelihood of the people depending on agriculture:

- (i) Agriculture is a purely land based activity unlike secondary and tertiary activities. In other words, contribution of land in agricultural output is more compared to its contribution in the outputs in the other sectors. Thus, lack of access to land is directly correlated with incidence of poverty in rural areas.
- (ii) Quality of land has a direct bearing on the productivity of agriculture, which is not true for other activities.
- (iii) In rural areas, aside from its value as a productive factor, land ownership has a social value and serves as a security for credit, natural hazards or life contingencies, and also adds to the social status.

An estimation of the total stock of agricultural land resources (i.e. total cultivable land) can be arrived at by adding up net sown area, all fallow lands and culturable wasteland. It may be observed from Table 3.1 that over the years, there has been a marginal decline in the available total stock of cultivable land as a percentage to total reporting area. There has been a greater decline of cultivated land, in spite of a corresponding decline of cultivable wasteland.

Table 3.1 : Composition of Total Cultivable Land

Agricultural Land-use Categories	As a percentage of Reporting Area		As a percentage of total cultivable land	
	1950-51	2019-20	1950-51	2019-20
Culturable Waste land	8.0	3.9	13.4	6.8
Fallow other than Current Fallow	6.1	3.7	10.2	6.4
Current Fallow	3.7	4.5	6.2	7.8
Net Area Sown	41.7	45.6	70.0	79.0
Total Cultivable Land	59.5	57.7	100.00	100.00

It is clear from the above discussion that the scope for bringing in additional land under net sown area in India is limited. There is, thus, an urgent need to evolve and adopt land-saving technologies. Such technologies can be classified under two heads – those which raise the yield of any particular crop per unit area of land and those which increase the total output per unit area of land from all crops grown over one agricultural year by increasing land-use intensity. The advantage of the latter kind of technology is that along with increasing output from limited land, it also increases the demand for labour significantly. For a land scarce but labour abundant country like India, a high cropping intensity is desirable not only for fuller utilisation of land resource, but also for reducing unemployment in the rural economy.

The **cropping intensity (CI)** is calculated as follows :

$$\text{Cropping Intensity in percentage} = \frac{\text{GCA}}{\text{NSA}} \times 100$$

Cropping Seasons in India

There are three distinct crop seasons in the northern and interior parts of country, namely **kharif**, **rabi** and **zaid**. The **kharif** season largely coincides with Southwest Monsoon under which the cultivation of tropical crops, such as rice, cotton, jute, jowar, bajra and tur is possible. The **rabi** season begins with the onset of winter in October-November and ends in March-April. The low temperature conditions during this

season facilitate the cultivation of temperate and subtropical crops such as wheat, gram and mustard. **Zaid** is a short duration summer cropping season beginning after harvesting of rabi crops. The cultivation of watermelons, cucumbers, vegetables and fodder crops during this season is done on irrigated lands. However, this type of distinction in the cropping season does not exist in southern parts of the country. Here, the temperature is high enough to grow tropical crops during any period in the year provided the soil moisture is available. Therefore, in this region same crops can be grown thrice in an agricultural year provided there is sufficient soil moisture.

Types of Farming

On the basis of main source of moisture for crops, the farming can be classified as **irrigated** and **rainfed (barani)**. There is difference in the nature of irrigated farming, as well as based on the objective of irrigation, i.e., protective or productive. The objective of protective irrigation is to protect the crops from adverse effects of

Table 3.2 : Cropping Seasons in India

Cropping Season	Major Crops Cultivated	
	Northern States	Southern States
Kharif June-September	Rice, Cotton, Bajra, Maize, Jowar, Tur	Rice, Maize, Ragi, Jowar, Groundnut
Rabi October – March	Wheat, Gram, Rapeseeds and Mustard, Barley	Rice, Maize, Ragi, Groundnut, Jowar
Zaid April-June	Vegetables, Fruits, Fodder	Rice, Vegetables, Fodder

moisture deficiency which often means that irrigation acts as a supplementary source of water over and above the rainfall. The strategy of this kind of irrigation is to provide soil moisture to maximum possible area. Productive irrigation is meant to provide sufficient soil moisture in the cropping season to achieve high productivity. In such irrigation the water input per unit area of cultivated land is higher than protective irrigation. *Rainfed farming* is further classified on the basis of adequacy of soil moisture during cropping season into *dryland* and *wetland* farming. In India, the *dryland farming* is largely confined to the regions having annual rainfall less than 75 cm. These regions grow hardy and drought resistant crops such as *ragi*, *bajra*, *moong*, gram and *guar* (fodder crops) and practise various measures of soil moisture conservation and rain water harvesting. In *wetland farming*, the rainfall is in excess of soil moisture requirement of plants during rainy season. Such regions may face flood and soil erosion hazards. These areas grow various water intensive crops such as rice, jute and sugarcane and practise aquaculture in the fresh water bodies.

Foodgrains

The importance of foodgrains in Indian agricultural economy may be gauged from the fact these crops occupy about two-third of total cropped area in the country. Foodgrains are dominant crops in all parts of the country whether they have subsistence or commercial agricultural economy. On the basis of the structure of grain the foodgrains are classified as cereals and pulses.

Cereals

The cereals occupy about 54 per cent of total cropped area in India. The country produces about 11 per cent cereals of the world and ranks third in production after China and U.S.A. India produces a variety of cereals, which are classified as fine grains (rice, wheat) and coarse grains (jowar, bajra, maize, ragi), etc. Account of important cereals has been given in the following paragraphs :

Rice

Rice is a staple food for the overwhelming majority of population in India. Though, it is considered to be a crop of tropical humid areas, it has many varieties which are grown in different agro-climatic regions. These are successfully grown from sea level to about 2,000 m altitude and from humid areas in eastern India to dry but irrigated areas of Punjab, Haryana, western U.P. and northern Rajasthan. In southern states and West Bengal the climatic conditions allow the cultivation of two or three crops of rice in an agricultural year. In West Bengal farmers grow three crops of rice called '*aus*', '*aman*' and '*boro*'. But in Himalayas and northwestern parts of the country, it is grown as a *kharif* crop during southwest Monsoon season.

India contributes 22.07 per cent of rice production in the world and ranked second after China in 2018. About one-fourth of the total cropped area in the country is under rice cultivation. West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Punjab are the leading rice producing states in the country. The yield level of rice is high in Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, West Bengal and Kerala. In the first four of these states almost the entire land under rice cultivation is irrigated. Punjab and Haryana are not traditional rice growing areas. Rice



Fig. 3.2 : Rice transplantation in southern parts of India

cultivation in the irrigated areas of Punjab and Haryana was introduced in 1970s following the Green Revolution. Genetically improved varieties of seed, relatively high usage of fertilizers and pesticides and lower levels of susceptibility of the crop to pests due to dry climatic conditions



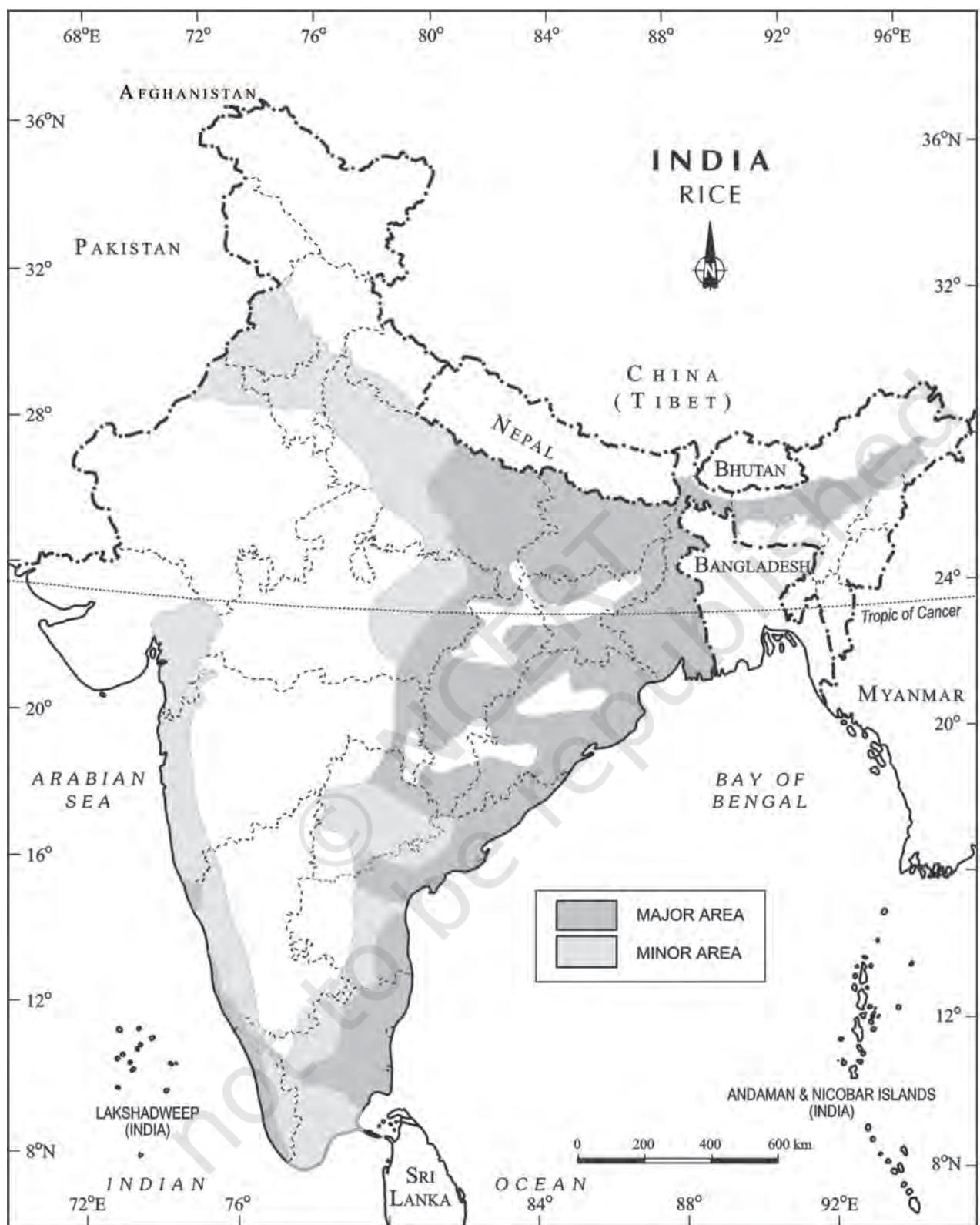


Fig. 3.3 : India – Distribution of Rice

are responsible for higher yield of rice in this region. The yield of this crop is very low in rainfed areas of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha.

Wheat

Wheat is the second most important cereal crop in India after rice. India produces about 12.8 per cent of total wheat production of world (2017). It is primarily a crop of temperate zone. Hence, its cultivation in India is done during winter i.e. *rabi* season. About 85 per cent of total area under this crop is concentrated in north and central regions of the country i.e. Indo-Gangetic Plain, Malwa Plateau and Himalayas up to 2,700 m altitude. Being a *rabi* crop, it is mostly grown under irrigated conditions. But it is a rainfed crop in Himalayan highlands and parts of Malwa plateau in Madhya Pradesh.

About 14 per cent of the total cropped area in the country is under wheat cultivation. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan are leading wheat producing states. The yield level of wheat is very high (above 4,000 k.g. per ha) in Punjab and Haryana whereas, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar have moderate yields. The states like Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir growing wheat under rainfed conditions have low yield.

Jowar

The coarse cereals together occupy about 16.50 per cent of total cropped area in the country. Among these, *jowar* or *sorghum* alone accounts for about 5.3 per cent of total cropped area. It is main food crop in semi-arid areas of central and southern India. Maharashtra alone produces more than half of the total *jowar* production of the country. Other leading producer states of *jowar* are Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. It is sown in both *kharif* and *rabi* seasons in southern states. But it is a *kharif* crop in northern India where it is mostly grown as a fodder crop. South of Vindhyaachal it is a rainfed crop and its yield level is very low in this region.

Bajra

Bajra is sown in hot and dry climatic conditions in northwestern and western parts of the country. It is a hardy crop which resists frequent dry spells and drought in this region. It is cultivated alone as well as part of mixed cropping. This coarse cereal occupies about 5.2 per cent of total cropped area in the country. Leading producers of *bajra* are the states of Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Yield of this crop has increased during recent years in Rajasthan, Haryana and Gujarat due to introduction of drought resistant varieties and expansion of irrigation under it.

Maize

Maize is a food as well as fodder crop grown under semi-arid climatic conditions and over inferior soils. This crop occupies only about 3.6 per cent of total cropped area. Maize cultivation is not concentrated in any specific region. It is sown all over India except Punjab and eastern and north-eastern regions. The leading producers of maize are the states of Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Yield level of maize is higher than other coarse cereals. It is high in southern states and declines towards central parts.

Pulses

Pulses are a very important ingredient of vegetarian food as these are rich sources of proteins. These are legume crops which increase the natural fertility of soils through nitrogen fixation. India is a leading producer of pulses in the world. The cultivation of pulses in the country is largely concentrated in the drylands of Deccan and central plateaus and northwestern parts of the country. Pulses occupy about 11 per cent of the total cropped area in the country. Being the rainfed crops of drylands, the yields of pulses are low and fluctuate from year to year. Gram and *tur* are the main pulses cultivated in India.

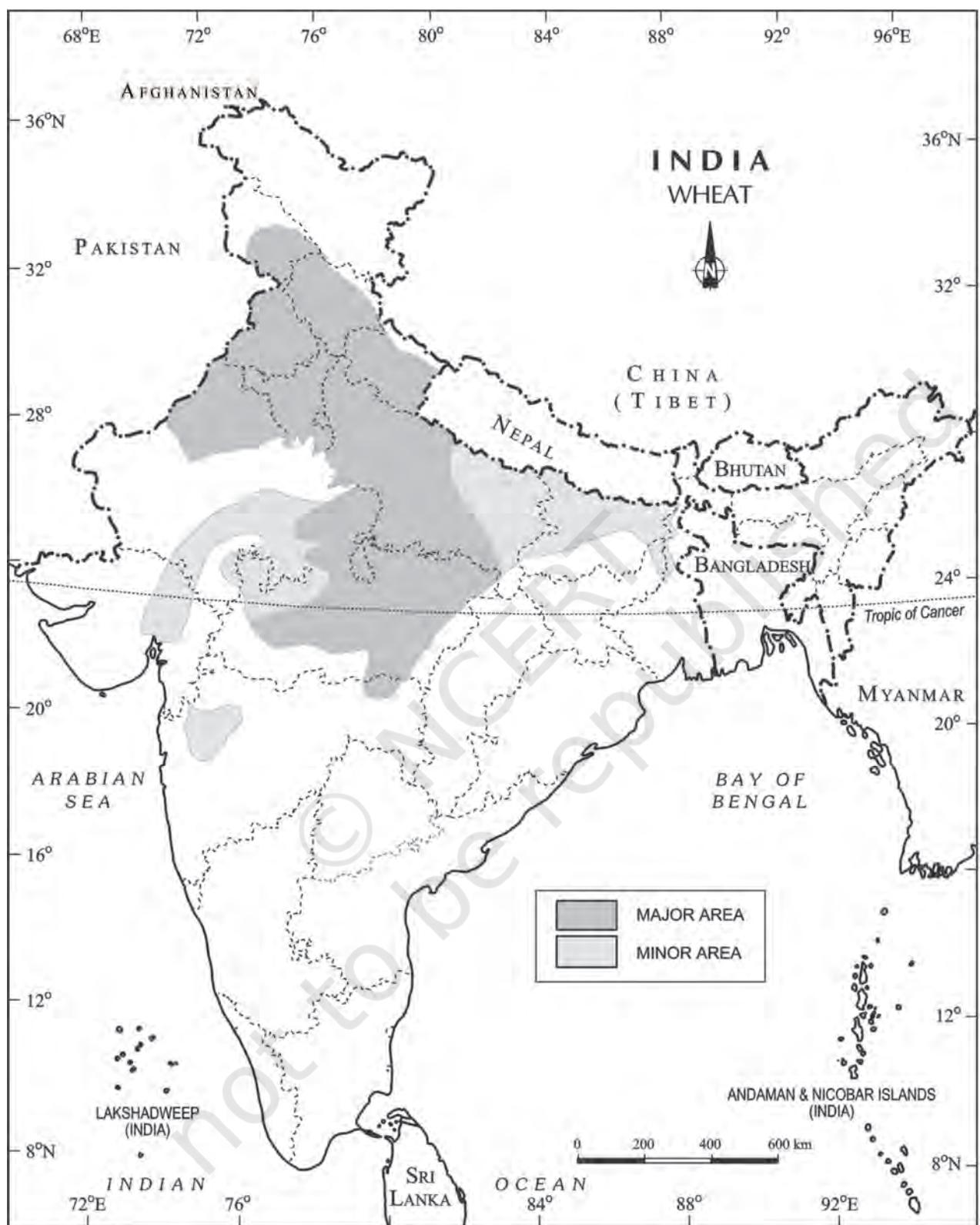


Fig. 3.4 : India – Distribution of Wheat

Gram

Gram is cultivated in subtropical areas. It is mostly a rainfed crop cultivated during rabi season in central, western and northwestern parts of the country. Just one or two light showers or irrigations are required to grow this crop successfully. It has been displaced from the cropping pattern by wheat in Haryana, Punjab and northern Rajasthan following the green revolution. At present, gram covers only about 2.8 per cent of the total cropped area in the country. Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Rajasthan are the main producers of this pulse crop. The yield of this crop continues to be low and fluctuates from year to year even in irrigated areas.

Tur (Arhar)

Tur is the second important pulse crop in the country. It is also known as *red gram* or *pigeon pea*. It is cultivated over marginal lands and under rainfed conditions in the dry areas of central and southern states of the country. This crop occupies only about 2 per cent of total cropped area of India. Maharashtra alone contributes about one-third of the total production of tur. Other leading producer states are Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Per hectare output of this crop is very low and its performance is inconsistent.

Activity

Differentiate between different foodgrains. Mix grains of various kinds and separate cereals from pulses. Also, separate fine from coarse cereals.

Oilseeds

The oilseeds are produced for extracting edible oils. Drylands of Malwa plateau, Marathwada, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Telangana, Rayalseema region of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka plateau are oilseeds growing regions of India. These crops together occupy about 14 per cent of total cropped area in the country. Groundnut, rapeseed and mustard, soyabean and sunflower are the main oilseed crops grown in India.

Groundnut

India produces about 18.8 per cent of the total groundnut production in the world (2018). It is largely a rainfed *kharif* crop of drylands. But in southern India, it is cultivated during rabi season as well. It covers about 3.6 per cent of total cropped area in the country. Gujarat, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra are the leading producers. Yield of groundnut is comparatively high in Tamil Nadu where it is partly irrigated. But its yield is low in Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

Rapeseed and Mustard

Rapeseed and mustard comprise several oilseeds as *rai*, *sarson*, *toria* and *taramira*. These are subtropical crops cultivated during rabi season in north-western and central parts of India. These are frost sensitive crops and their yields fluctuate from year to year. But with the expansion of irrigation and improvement in seed technology, their yields have improved and stabilised to some extent. About two-third of the cultivated area under these crops is irrigated. These oilseeds together occupy only about 2.5 per cent of total cropped area in the country. Rajasthan contributes about one-third production while other leading producers are Haryana and Madhya Pradesh. Yields of these crops are comparatively high in Haryana and Rajasthan.

Other Oilseeds

Soyabean and sunflower are other important oilseeds grown in India. Soyabean is mostly grown in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.



Fig. 3.5 : Farmers sowing soyabean seeds in Amravati, Maharashtra

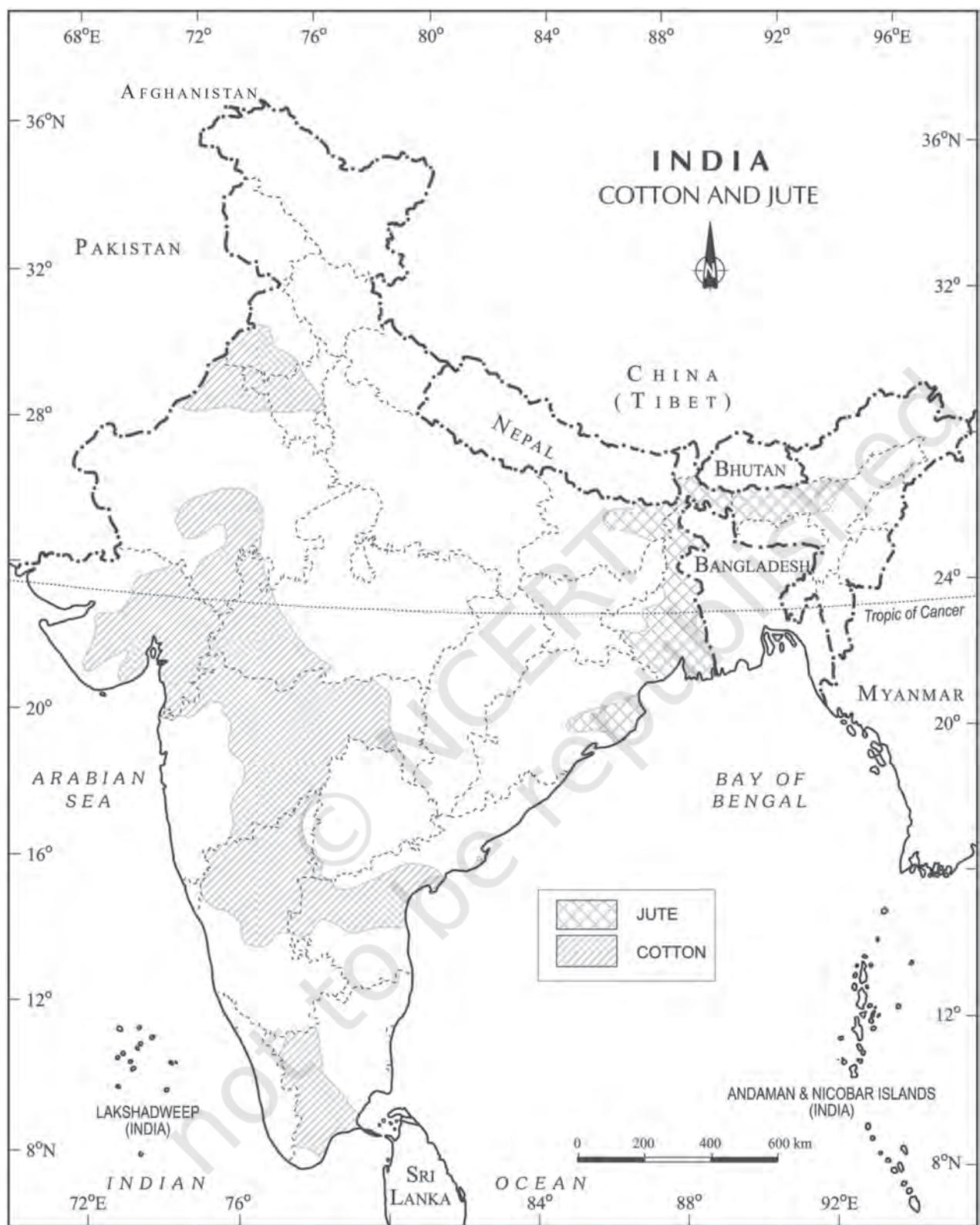


Fig. 3.6 : India – Distribution of Cotton and Jute

These two states together produce about 90 per cent of total output of soyabean in the country. Sunflower cultivation is concentrated in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and adjoining areas of Maharashtra. It is a minor crop in northern parts of the country where its yield is high due to irrigation.

Fibre Crops

These crops provide us fibre for preparing cloth, bags, sacks and a number of other items. Cotton and jute are two main fibre crops grown in India.

Cotton

Cotton is a tropical crop grown in *kharif* season in semi-arid areas of the country. India lost a large proportion of cotton growing area to Pakistan during partition. However, its acreage has increased considerably during the last 50 years. India grows both short staple (Indian) cotton as well as long staple (American) cotton called '*narma*' in north-western parts of the country. Cotton requires clear sky during flowering stage.



Fig. 3.7 : Cotton Cultivation

India ranks second in the world in the production of cotton after China. Cotton occupies about 4.7 per cent of total cropped area in the country. There are three cotton growing areas, i.e. parts of Punjab, Haryana and northern Rajasthan in north-west, Gujarat and Maharashtra in the west and plateaus of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu in south. Leading producers of this crop are

Gujarat, Maharashtra and Telangana. Per hectare output of cotton is high under irrigated conditions in north-western region of the country. Its yield is very low in Maharashtra where it is grown under rainfed conditions.

Jute

Jute is used for making coarse cloth, bags, sacks and decorative items. It is a cash crop in West Bengal and adjoining eastern parts of the country. India lost large jute growing areas to East Pakistan (Bangladesh) during partition. At present, India produces about three-fifth of jute production of the world. West Bengal accounts for about three-fourth of the production in the country. Bihar and Assam are other jute growing areas. Being concentrated only in a few states, this crop accounts for only about 0.5 per cent of total cropped area in the country.

Other Crops

Sugarcane, tea and coffee are other important crops grown in India.

Sugarcane

Sugarcane is a crop of tropical areas. Under rainfed conditions, it is cultivated in sub-humid and humid climates. But it is largely an irrigated crop in India. In Indo-Gangetic plain, its cultivation is largely concentrated in Uttar Pradesh. Sugarcane growing area in western India is spread over Maharashtra and Gujarat.



Fig. 3.8 : Sugarcane Cultivation



Fig. 3.9 : India – Distribution of Sugarcane

In southern India, it is cultivated in irrigated tracts of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

India was the second largest producer of sugarcane after Brazil in 2018. It accounts for about 19.7 per cent of the world production of sugarcane. But it occupies only 2.4 per cent of total cropped area in the country. Uttar Pradesh produces about two-fifth of sugarcane of the country. Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh are other leading producers of this crop where yield level of sugarcane is high. Its yield is low in northern India.

Tea

Tea is a plantation crop used as beverage. Black tea leaves are fermented whereas green tea leaves are unfermented. Tea leaves have rich content of caffeine and tannin. It is an indigenous crop of hills in northern China. It is grown over undulating topography of hilly areas and well-drained soils in humid and sub-humid tropics and sub-tropics. In India, tea plantation started in 1840s in Brahmaputra valley of Assam which still is a major tea growing area in the country. Later on, its plantation was introduced in the sub-Himalayan region of West Bengal (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar districts). Tea is also cultivated on the lower slopes of Nilgiri and



Fig. 3.10 : Tea Farming

Cardamom hills in Western Ghats. India is a leading producer of tea and accounts for about 21.22 per cent of total production in the world 2018. India's share in the international market of tea has declined substantially. It ranks second among tea exporting countries in the

world after China (2018). Assam accounts for about 53.2 per cent of the total cropped area and contributes more than half of total production of tea in the country. West Bengal and Tamil Nadu are the other leading producers of tea.

Coffee

Coffee is a tropical plantation crop. Its seeds are roasted, ground and are used for preparing a beverage. There are three varieties of coffee i.e. *arabica*, *robusta* and *liberica*. India mostly grows superior quality coffee, *arabica*, which is in great demand in International market. But India produces only about 3.17 per cent coffee of the world and *ranks eighth* after Brazil, Vietnam, Indonesia, Colombia, Honduras, Ethiopia and Peru in 2018. Coffee is cultivated in the highlands of Western Ghats in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Karnataka alone accounts for more than two-third of total production of coffee in the country.

Agricultural Development in India

Indian agricultural economy was largely subsistence in nature before Independence. It had dismal performance in the first half of twentieth century. This period witnessed severe droughts and famines. During partition about one-third of the irrigated land in undivided India went to Pakistan. This reduced the proportion of irrigated area in Independent India. After Independence, the immediate goal of the Government was to increase foodgrains production by (i) switching over from cash crops to food crops; (ii) intensification of cropping over already cultivated land; and (iii) increasing cultivated area by bringing cultivable and fallow land under plough. Initially, this strategy helped in increasing foodgrains production. But agricultural production stagnated during late -1950s. To overcome this problem, Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) and Intensive Agricultural Area Programme (IAAP) were launched. But two consecutive droughts during mid-1960s resulted in food crisis in the country. Consequently, foodgrains were imported from other countries.

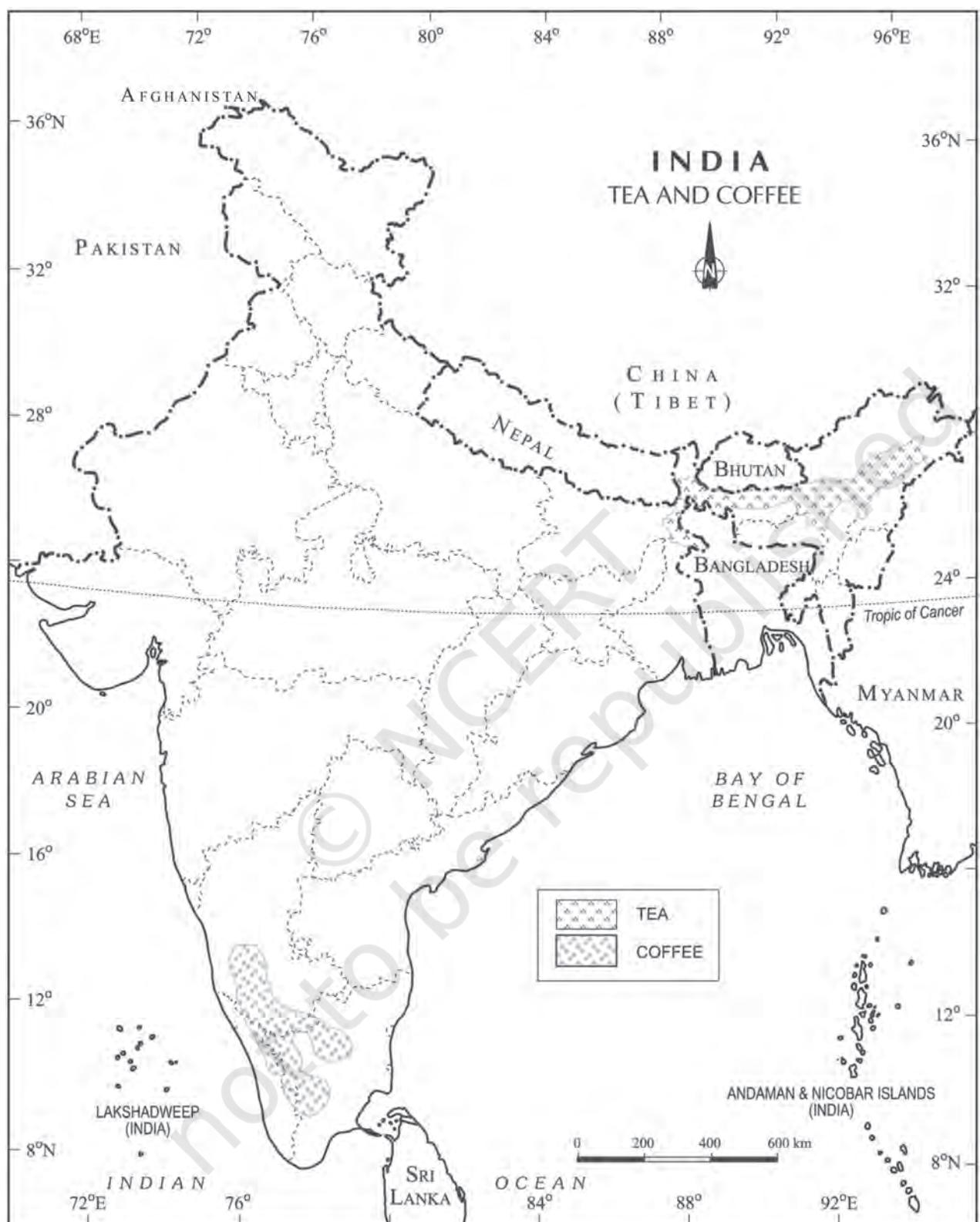


Fig. 3.11 : India – Distribution of Tea and Coffee

New seed varieties of wheat (Mexico) and rice (Philippines) known as high yielding varieties (HYVs) were available for cultivation by mid-1960s. India took advantage of this and introduced package technology comprising HYVs, along with chemical fertilisers in irrigated areas of Punjab, Haryana, Western Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat. Assured supply of soil moisture through irrigation was a basic pre-requisite for the success of this new agricultural technology. This strategy of agricultural development paid dividends instantly and increased the foodgrains production at very fast rate. This spurt of agricultural growth came to be known as '**Green Revolution**'. This also gave fillip to the development of a large number of agro-inputs, agro-processing industries and small-scale industries. This strategy of agricultural development made the country self-reliant in foodgrain production. But Green Revolution was initially confined to irrigated areas only. This led to regional disparities in agricultural development in the country till 1970s, after which the technology spread to the Eastern and Central parts of the country.

The Planning Commission of India focused its attention on the problems of agriculture in rainfed areas in 1980s. It initiated agro-climatic planning in 1988 to induce regionally balanced agricultural development in the country. It also emphasised on the need for diversification of agriculture and harnessing of resources for the development of dairy farming, poultry, horticulture, livestock rearing and aquaculture.

Initiation of the policy of liberalisation and free market economy in 1990s influenced the course of development of Indian agriculture.

National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA)

National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture is to make agriculture more productive, sustainable, remunerative and climate resilient by promoting location specific integrated/composite farming systems and to conserve natural resources through appropriate soil and moisture conservation measures. The Government has been promoting organic farming in the country through the scheme such as Paramparagat Krishi Vikas Yojana (PKVY) and Rashtriya Vikas Yojana (RKVY).

Growth of Agricultural Output and Technology

There has been a significant increase in agricultural output and improvement in technology during the last 50 years.

- Production and yield of many crops such as rice and wheat has increased at an impressive rate. Among the other crops, the production of sugarcane, oilseeds and cotton has also increased appreciably.
- Expansion of irrigation has played a crucial role in enhancing agricultural output in the country. It provided basis for introduction of modern agricultural technology, such as high yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides and farm machinery. The net irrigated area in the country has also increased.
- Modern agricultural technology has diffused very fast in various areas of the country. Consumption of chemical fertilizers has increased by 15 times since mid-sixties. Since the high yielding varieties are highly susceptible to pests and diseases, the use of pesticides has increased significantly since 1960s.

Farmer's Portal of India

The Farmer's Portal is a platform for farmers to seek any information related to agriculture. Detailed information on farmers' insurance, agriculture storage, crops, extension activities, seeds, pesticides, farm machineries, etc. is provided. Details of fertilizers, market prices, package and practices, programmes, welfare schemes are also given. Block level details related to soil fertility, storage, insurance, training, etc. are available in an interactive map. Users can also download farm friendly handbook, scheme guidelines, etc.

(Source: <https://www.india.gov.in/farmers-portal-india-department-agriculture-and-cooperation>)

Problems of Indian Agriculture

The nature of problems faced by Indian agriculture varies according to agro-ecological and historical experiences of its different regions. Hence, most of the agricultural problems in the country are region specific. Yet, there are some problems which are common and range from physical constraints to institutional hindrances. A detailed discussion on these problems follows:



Fig. 3.12 : Roto Till Drill—A modern agricultural equipment

Dependence on Erratic Monsoon

Irrigation covers only about 33 per cent of the cultivated area in India. The crop production in rest of the cultivated land directly depends on rain. Poor performance of south-west monsoon also adversely affects the supply of canal water for irrigation. On the other hand, the rainfall in Rajasthan and other drought-prone areas is too meagre and highly unreliable. Even the areas receiving high annual rainfall experience considerable fluctuations. This makes them vulnerable to both droughts and floods. Drought is a common phenomenon in the low rainfall areas, which may also experience occasional floods. The flash floods in drylands of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan in 2006 and 2017 are examples of this phenomenon. Droughts and floods continue to be the twin menace in Indian agriculture.

Low productivity

The yield of the crops in the country is low in comparison to the international level. Per hectare output of most of the crops such as rice, wheat, cotton and oilseeds in India is much lower than that of the U.S.A., Russia and Japan. Because of the very high pressure on the land resources, the labour productivity in Indian agriculture is also very low in comparison to international level. The vast rainfed areas of the country, particularly drylands which mostly grow coarse cereals, pulses and oilseeds have low yields.

Why is agricultural productivity low in dry regions?

Constraints of Financial Resources and Indebtedness

The inputs of modern agriculture are very expensive. This resource intensive approach has become unmanageable for marginal and small farmers as they have very meagre or no saving to invest in agriculture. To tide over these difficulties, most of such farmers have resorted to availing credit from various institutions and moneylenders. Crop failures and low returns from agriculture have forced them to fall in the trap of indebtedness.

What are the implications of severe indebtedness? Do you feel that the recent incidents of farmers' suicides in different states of the country are the result of indebtedness?

Lack of Land Reforms

Indian peasantry had been exploited for a long time as there had been unequal distribution of land. Among the three revenue systems operational during British period, i.e., Mahalwari, Ryotwari and Zamindari, the last one was most exploitative for the peasants. After Independence, land reforms were accorded priority, but these reforms were not implemented effectively due to lack of strong political will. Most of the state governments avoided taking politically tough decisions which went against strong political lobbies of landlords. Lack of implementation of land reforms has resulted in continuation of inequitable distribution of cultivable land which is detrimental to agricultural development.

Small Farm Size and Fragmentation of Landholdings

There are a large number of marginal and small farmers in the country. The average size of land holding is shrinking under increasing

NITI, agri ministry, FAO launch investment forum for advancing climate resilient agrifood system

PTI | Last Updated: Jan 24, 2024, 06:07:00 PM IST

Synopsis

Delivering the keynote address at the inauguration, NITI Aayog Member Ramesh Chand emphasised on the need for awareness on how agriculture contributes to climate change, citing a contribution of a little more than 13 per cent of the total greenhouse gas emissions in the country.



Avijit Ghosh / EPS

In Maujpur (UP), it's early morning. And a bunch of autorickshaws and tractors piled with sugarcane are already holding up the traffic on NH 24. A little ahead, a team of bullock carts in similar far condition has found a hydrodynamic header before a sugarcane field. This dusty haze will be hours before the first yield is delivered.

Outside, Bal Kumar Tyagi of I of Maujpur village sits by his tractor unloading a massive pile hanging thick in the air. "We are here to wait," he says. "That's what a crop like sugarcane that aims almost a year to mature looks like for farmers."

The wait from cov comes has been w "This year, the quantity is good," says a farmer

What changes have you noticed in agricultural sector and cropping pattern? Discuss in the class.

India needs to usher in Green Revolution 2.0 to promote less water-intensive crops: GTRI

PTI | Last Updated: Feb 22, 2024, 10:20:00 PM IST

Synopsis

India needs Green Revolution 2.0 to promote less water-intensive crops, introduce water pricing mechanisms, and address unsustainable practices. Guaranteeing MSP for pulses and oil seeds, promoting eco-friendly farming, and negotiating with WTO are crucial steps.



India needs to usher in **Green Revolution 2.0** with a view to promote farming of less **water-intensive crops** such as **pulses** and **oil seeds** and discourage free power for the agri sector, economic think tank **GTRI** said on Thursday. There is a need to "promote less water-intensive crops like pulses, oil seeds, and vegetables

that can significantly reduce water demand and the government can guarantee MSP (**minimum support price**) on these crops," the Global Trade Research Initiative (GTRI) report said.

population pressure. Furthermore, in India, the land holdings are mostly fragmented. There are some states where consolidation of holding has not been carried out even once. Even the states where it has been carried out once, second consolidation is required as land holdings have fragmented again in the process of division of land among the owners of next generations. The small size fragmented landholdings are uneconomic.

Lack of Commercialisation

A large number of farmers produce crops for self-consumption. These farmers do not have enough land resources to produce more than their requirement. Most of the small and

marginal farmers grow foodgrains, which are meant for their own family consumption. Modernisation and commercialisation of agriculture have, however, taken place in the irrigated areas.

Vast Underemployment

There is a massive underemployment in the agricultural sector in India, particularly in the unirrigated tracts. In these areas, there is a seasonal unemployment ranging from 4 to 8 months. Even in the cropping season, work is not available throughout as agricultural operations are not labour intensive. Hence, the people engaged in agriculture do not have the opportunity to work round the year.

Degradation of Cultivable Land

One of the serious problems that arises out of faulty strategy of irrigation and agricultural development is degradation of land resources. This is serious because it may lead to depletion of soil fertility. The situation is particularly alarming in irrigated areas. A large tract of agricultural land has lost its fertility due to alkaliisation and salinisation of soils and waterlogging. Excessive use of chemicals such as insecticides and pesticides has led to their concentration in toxic amounts in the soil profile. Leguminous crops have been displaced from the cropping pattern in the irrigated areas.

and duration of fallow has substantially reduced owing to multiple cropping. This has obliterated the process of natural fertilization such as nitrogen fixation. Rainfed areas in humid and semi-arid tropics also experience degradation of several types like soil erosion by water and wind erosion which are often induced by human activities.

Activity

Prepare a list of agricultural problems in your own region. How similar or different are these problems compared to the problems mentioned in this chapter?



EXERCISES

- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
- (i) Differentiate between barren and wasteland and culturable wasteland.
 - (ii) How would you distinguish between net sown area and gross cropped area?
 - (iii) Why is the strategy of increasing cropping intensity important in a country like India?
 - (iv) How do you measure total cultivable land?
 - (v) What is the difference between dryland and wetland farming?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
- (i) What are the different types of environmental problems of land resources in India?
 - (ii) What are the important strategies for agricultural development followed in the post-independence period in India?





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WATER RESOURCES



Do you think that what exists today will continue to be so, or the future is going to be different in some respects? It can be said with some certainty that the societies will witness demographic transition, geographical shift of population, technological advancement, degradation of environment and water scarcity. Water scarcity is possibly to pose the greatest challenge on account of its increased demand coupled with shrinking supplies due to over utilisation and pollution. Water is a cyclic resource with abundant supplies on the globe. Approximately, 71 per cent of the earth's surface is covered with it but freshwater constitutes only about 3 per cent of the total water. In fact, a very small proportion of freshwater is effectively available for human use. The availability of freshwater varies over space and time. The tensions and disputes on sharing and control of this scarce resource are becoming contested issues among communities, regions, and states. The assessment, efficient use and conservation of water, therefore, become necessary to ensure development. In this chapter, we shall discuss water resources in India, its geographical distribution, sectoral utilisation, and methods of its conservation and management.

Water Resources of India

India accounts for about 2.45 per cent of the world's surface area, 4 per cent of the world's water resources and more than 17 per cent of the world's population. The total water available from precipitation in the country in a year is about 4,000 cubic km. The availability from surface water and replenishable groundwater is 1,869 cubic km. Out of this, only 60 per cent can be put to beneficial uses. Thus, the total utilisable water resource in the country is only 1,122 cubic km.

Surface Water Resources

There are four major sources of surface water. These are rivers, lakes, ponds and tanks. In the country, there are about 10,360 rivers and their tributaries longer than 1.6 km each. The mean annual flow in all the river basins

in India is estimated to be 1,869 cubic km. However, due to topographical, hydrological and other constraints, only about 690 cubic km (32 per cent) of the available surface water can be utilised. Water flow in a river depends on size of its catchment area or river basin and rainfall within its catchment area. You have studied in your Class XI textbook "*India : Physical Environment*" that precipitation in India has very high spatial variation, and it is mainly concentrated in Monsoon season. You also have studied in the textbook that some of the rivers in the country like the Ganga, the Brahmaputra, and the Indus have huge catchment areas. Given that precipitation is relatively high in the catchment areas of the Ganga, the Brahmaputra and the Barak rivers, these rivers, although account for only about one-third of the total area in the country, have 60 per cent of the total surface water resources. Much of the annual water flow in south Indian rivers like the Godavari, the Krishna, and the Kaveri has been harnessed, but it is yet to be done in the Brahmaputra and the Ganga basins.

Groundwater Resources

The total replenishable groundwater resources in the country are about 432 cubic km. The level of groundwater utilisation is relatively high in the river basins lying in north-western region and parts of south India.

The groundwater utilisation is very high in the states of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu. However, there are States like Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Kerala, etc., which utilise only a small proportion of their groundwater potentials. States like Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tripura and Maharashtra are utilising their groundwater resources at a moderate rate. If the present trend continues, the demands for water would need the supplies. And such situation, will be detrimental to development, and can cause social upheaval and disruptions.

Lagoons and Backwaters

India has a vast coastline and the coast is very indented in some states. Due to this, a number

of lagoons and lakes have formed. The States like Kerala, Odisha and West Bengal have vast surface water resources in these lagoons and lakes. Although, water is generally brackish in these water bodies, it is used for fishing and irrigating certain varieties of paddy crops, coconut, etc.

Water Demand and Utilisation

India has traditionally been an agrarian economy, and about two-third of its population have been dependent on agriculture. Hence, development of irrigation to increase agricultural production has been assigned a very high priority in the Five Year Plans, and multipurpose river valleys projects, like the Bhakra-Nangal, Hirakud, Damodar Valley, Nagarjuna Sagar, Indira Gandhi Canal Project, etc., have been taken up. In fact, India's water demand at present is dominated by irrigational needs.

Agriculture accounts for most of the surface and groundwater utilisation, it accounts for 89 per cent of the surface water and 92 per cent of the groundwater utilisation. While the share of industrial sector is limited to 2 per cent of the surface water utilisation and 5 per cent of the ground-water, the share of domestic sector is higher (9 per cent) in surface water utilisation as compared to groundwater. The share of agricultural sector in total water utilisation is much higher than other sectors. However, in future, with development, the shares of industrial and domestic sectors in the country are likely to increase.

Demand of Water for Irrigation

In agriculture, water is mainly used for irrigation. Irrigation is needed because of spatio-temporal variability in rainfall in the country. The large tracts of the country are deficient in rainfall and are drought prone. North-western India and Deccan plateau constitute such areas. Winter and summer seasons are more or less dry in most part of the country. Hence, it is difficult to practise agriculture without assured





Fig. 4.1 : India – River Basins

DO YOU KNOW ?

irrigation during dry seasons. Even in the areas of ample rainfall like West Bengal and Bihar, breaks in monsoon or its failure creates dry spells detrimental for agriculture. Water need of certain crops also makes irrigation necessary. For instance, water requirement of rice, sugarcane, jute, etc. is very high which can be met only through irrigation.

Provision of irrigation makes multiple cropping possible. It has also been found that irrigated lands have higher agricultural productivity than unirrigated land. Further, the high yielding varieties of crops need regular moisture supply, which is made possible only by a developed irrigation systems. In fact, this is why that green revolution strategy of agriculture development in the country has largely been successful in Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh.

In Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, more than 85 per cent of their net sown area is under irrigation. Wheat and rice are grown mainly with the help of irrigation in these states. Of the total net irrigated area 76.1 per cent in Punjab and 51.3 per cent in Haryana are irrigated through wells and tubewells. This shows that these states utilise large proportion of their groundwater potential which has resulted in groundwater depletion in these states.

The over-use of groundwater resources has led to decline in groundwater table in these states. In fact, over withdrawals in some states, like Rajasthan and Maharashtra, has increased fluoride concentration in groundwater, and this practice has led to increase in concentration of arsenic in parts of West Bengal and Bihar.

Activity

Intensive irrigation in Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh is increasing salinity in the soil and depletion of groundwater irrigation. Discuss its likely impacts on agriculture.

Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana (PMKSY)

Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana has been launched by the Central Government during 2015-16 with an overarching vision to ensure access to some means of protective irrigation for all agricultural farms in the country, thus bringing much desired rural prosperity. Some of the broad objectives of the this programmes are to:

- Enhance the physical access of water on the farm and expand cultivable area under assured irrigation (*Harkhet kopeni*)
- Promote integration of water source, distribution and its efficient use, to make best use of water through appropriate technologies and practices.
- Improve on-farm water use efficiency to reduce wastage and increase availability both in duration and extent; irrigation and other water saving technologies (*Per drope more crop*)
- Introduce sustainable water conservation practices
- Ensure the integrated development of rain-fed areas using the waters held approach towards soil and water conservation, regeneration of ground water, providing livelihood options, etc.

Emerging Water Problems

The per capita availability of water is dwindling day-by-day due to increase in population. The available water resources are also getting polluted with industrial, agricultural and domestic effluents, and this, in turn, is further limiting the availability of usable water resources.

Deterioration of Water Quality

Water quality refers to purity of water, or water without unwanted foreign substances. Water

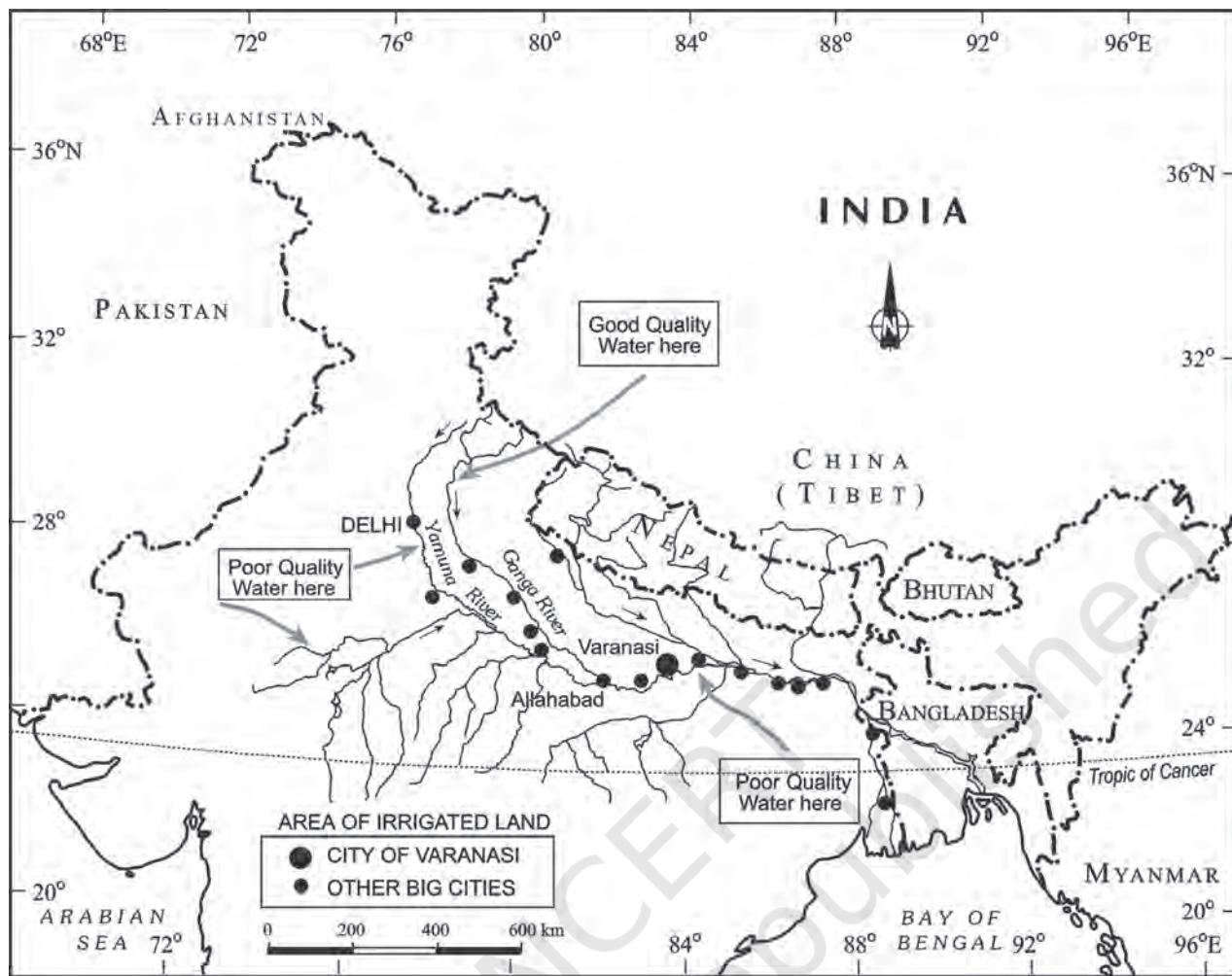


Fig. 4.2 : The Ganga and its Tributaries and Towns Located on them

gets polluted by foreign matters, such as micro-organisms, chemicals, industrial and other wastes. Such matters deteriorate the quality of water and render it unfit for human use. When toxic substances enter lakes, streams, rivers, ocean and other water bodies, they get dissolved or lie suspended in water. This results in pollution of water, whereby quality of water deteriorates affecting aquatic systems. Sometimes, these pollutants also seep down and pollute groundwater.

Activity

Find out which are the major towns/cities located on the bank of the Ganga and its tributaries and major industries they have.

Water Conservation and Management

Since there is a declining availability of freshwater and increasing demand, the need has arisen to conserve and effectively manage this precious life giving resource for sustainable development. Given that water availability from sea/ocean, due to high cost of desalination, is considered negligible, India has to take quick steps and make effective policies and laws, and adopt effective measures for its conservation. Besides developing water-saving technologies and methods, attempts are also to be made to prevent the pollution. There is need to encourage watershed development, rainwater harvesting, water recycling and reuse, and

conjunctive use of water for sustaining water supply in long run.

Prevention of Water Pollution

Available water resources are degrading rapidly. The major rivers of the country generally retain better water quality in less densely populated upper stretches in hilly areas. In plains, river water is used intensively for irrigation, drinking, domestic and industrial purposes. The drains carrying agricultural (fertilizers and insecticides), domestic (solid and liquid wastes), and industrial effluents join the rivers. The concentration of pollutants in rivers, especially remains very high during the summer season when flow of water is low.

The Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB) in collaboration with State Pollution Control Boards has been monitoring water quality of

national aquatic resources at 507 stations. The data obtained from these stations show that organic and bacterial contamination continues to be the main source of pollution in rivers. The Yamuna river is the most polluted river in the country between Delhi and Etawah. Other severely polluted rivers are: the Sabarmati at Ahmedabad, the Gomti at Lucknow, the Kali, the Adyar, the Cooum (entire stretches), the Vaigai at Madurai and the Musi of Hyderabad and the Ganga at Kanpur and Varanasi. Groundwater pollution has occurred due to high concentrations of heavy/toxic metals, fluoride and nitrates at different parts of the country.

The legislative provisions such as the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act 1974, and Environment Protection Act 1986 have not been implemented effectively. The result is that in 1997, 251 polluting industries were located along the rivers and lakes. The Water

Rivers of conflict...but also of peace Rich countries poor in supply of water: WWF

Water has been known for centuries to be a major cause of tension and conflict—within countries, as well as among nations. Yet while its propensity to strain relations frequently makes headlines, the other side of the coin: water as an agent of cooperation—nurtures conflict as well.

With more than the 260 water basins in the world transversing national borders, it is hardly surprising that the situation is widely seen as being fodder for hostility.

Nevertheless, research has shown much more historical evidence of water as a catalyst for cooperation rather than a trigger of conflict. There are more than

There have been more than 500 conflicts over water in the past century, but it's also an agent of cooperation



ALL WELL? There are more than 3,800 declarations or conventions on water, including 286 treaties

3,800 unilateral, bilateral or multilateral declarations or conventions on water

226 are treaties, with 61 referring to over

300 international river basins.

There are examples of workable ac policies if they are to avoid cords on water reached even by state that were in conflict over other matters poorer nations, environments like India and Pakistan, Israel and Jordan organisation WWF said

That is what is happening in the Northern Aral Sea, shared by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. It is being sucked across the industrialised

carefully restored after its surface has world, it said many cities were

shrunk to less than half its original size already losing the battle to

as a result of a massive diversion of wa

maintain water supplies as

under the Soviet Union, which has governments talked about

drained the two rivers feeding it and dev

conservation fail led to im-

stated the surrounding environment. plement their pledges.

Geneva: Rich countries have

to make drastic changes to

the water crisis that is facing

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matters

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l and Jordan organisation

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I WILL IT LAST?

has been very difficult." In Europe, the report said, countries around the Atlantic are suffering from recurring droughts, while in the Mediterranean region water resources were being depleted by overuse, damming and eddy agreements.

In Australia, already the driest continent, salinity had become a major threat to a large proportion of key farming areas, while in the US wide areas were using substantially more water than could be replenished.

Even in India, with its high rainfall, contamination of water supplies had become a serious issue.

SURVIVAL INSTINCT



Water Woes : A father carries his son to safety as he walks through floodwater after a three-day spell of deluge rain in Dhemaji village, near Siliguri

Climate change? Barmer grapples with floods

AND THEY SAY IT'S A DESERT



In the Times of Aravali : A woman carries her child to safety in the flooded Kaila village of Rajasthan's Barmer district

A-prone Barmer?



place in Barmer, 500 people in such support from all walks of

Ashwani Vyas

place in Barmer, 500 people in the region died of falciparum malaria. The state government's health department is yet to wake up to the situation.

Ironically, this is the same region where the much-touted Indira Canal cuts a greening swathe across the desert, but brings its own share of woes. The waters that were to bloom the desert, have also led to a change in eco-system of the desert. Large parts of it have turned marshy and in some places, soil salinity has changed, leading to problems like water-logging, say experts.

Discuss the issues highlighted in the news items.

Cess Act, 1977, meant to reduce pollution has also made marginal impacts. There is a strong need to generate public awareness about importance of water and impacts of water pollution. The public awareness and action can be very effective in reducing the pollutants from agricultural activities, domestic and industrial discharges.

Recycle and Reuse of Water

Another way through which we can improve fresh water availability is by recycle and reuse. Use of water of lesser quality such as reclaimed wastewater would be an attractive option for industries for cooling and fire fighting to reduce their water cost. Similarly, in urban areas water after bathing and washing utensils can be used for gardening. Water used for washing vehicle can also be used for gardening. This would conserve better quality of water for drinking purposes. Currently, recycling of water is practised on a limited scale. However, there is enormous scope for replenishing water through recycling.

Activity

Observe the quantity of water used at your home in various activities and enlist the ways in which the water can be reused and recycled in various activities.

Class teachers should organise a discussion on recycle and reuse of water.

Watershed Management

Watershed management basically refers to efficient management and conservation of surface and groundwater resources. It involves prevention of runoff and storage and recharge of groundwater through various methods like percolation tanks, recharge wells, etc. However, in broad sense watershed management includes conservation, regeneration and judicious use of all resources – natural (like land, water, plants and animals) and human with in a watershed. Watershed management aims at bringing about balance between natural resources on the one

hand and society on the other. The success of watershed development largely depends upon community participation.

The Central and State Governments have initiated many watershed development and management programmes in the country. Some of these are being implemented by non-governmental organisations also. **Haryali** is a watershed development project sponsored by the Central Government which aims at enabling the rural population to conserve water for drinking, irrigation, fisheries and afforestation. The Project is being executed by Gram Panchayats with people's participation.

DO YOU KNOW ?

Atal Bhujal Yojana (Atal Jal) is being implemented in 8220 water stressed Gram Panchayats of 229 administrative blocks/talukas in 80 districts of seven states, viz. Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. The selected States account for about 37 per cent of the total number of water-stressed (over-exploited, critical and semi-critical) blocks in India. One of the key aspects of ATAL JAL is to bring in behavioural changes in the community, from the prevailing attitude of consumption to conservation and smart water management. (Source: *Annual Report, Ministry of Jal Shakti, Govt. of India, 2022-23*)

Neeru-Meeru (Water and You) programme (in Andhra Pradesh) and **Arvary Pani Sansad** (in Alwar, Rajasthan) have taken up constructions of various water-harvesting structures such as percolation tanks, dug out ponds (**Johad**), check dams, etc., through people's participation. Tamil Nadu has made water harvesting structures in the houses compulsory. No building can be constructed without making structures for water harvesting.

Watershed development projects in some areas have been successful in



Watershed Development in Ralegan Siddhi, Ahmadnagar, Maharashtra: A Case Study

Ralegan Siddhi is a small village in the district of Ahmadnagar, Maharashtra. It has become an example for watershed development throughout the country.

In 1975, this village was caught in a web of poverty and illicit liquor trade. The transformation took place when a retired army personnel, settled down in the village and took up the task of watershed development. He convinced villagers about the importance of family planning and voluntary labour; preventing open grazing, felling trees, and liquor prohibition.

Voluntary labour was necessary to ensure minimum dependence on the government for financial aids. "It socialised the costs of the projects," explained the activist. Even those who were working outside the village contributed to the development by committing a month's salary every year.

Work began with the percolation tank constructed in the village. In 1975, the tank could not hold water. The embankment wall leaked. People voluntarily repaired the embankment. The seven wells below it swelled with water in summer for the first time in the living memory of the people. The people reposed their faith in him and his visions.

A youth group called Tarun Mandal was formed. The group worked to ban the dowry system, caste discrimination and untouchability. Liquor distilling units were removed and prohibition imposed. Open grazing was completely banned with a new emphasis on stall-feeding. The cultivation of water-intensive crops like sugarcane was banned. Crops such as pulses, oilseeds and certain cash crops with low water requirements were encouraged.

All elections to local bodies began to be held on the basis of consensus. "It made the community leaders complete representatives of the people." A system of Nyay Panchayats (informal courts) were also set up. Since then, no case has been referred to the police.

A Rs.22 lakh school building was constructed using only the resources of the village. No donations were taken. Money, if needed, was borrowed and paid back. The villagers took pride in this self-reliance. A new system of sharing labour grew out of this infusion of pride and voluntary spirit. People volunteered to help each other in agricultural operation. Landless labourers also gained employment. Today the village plans to buy land for them in adjoining villages.



Ralegan Siddhi before mitigation approach

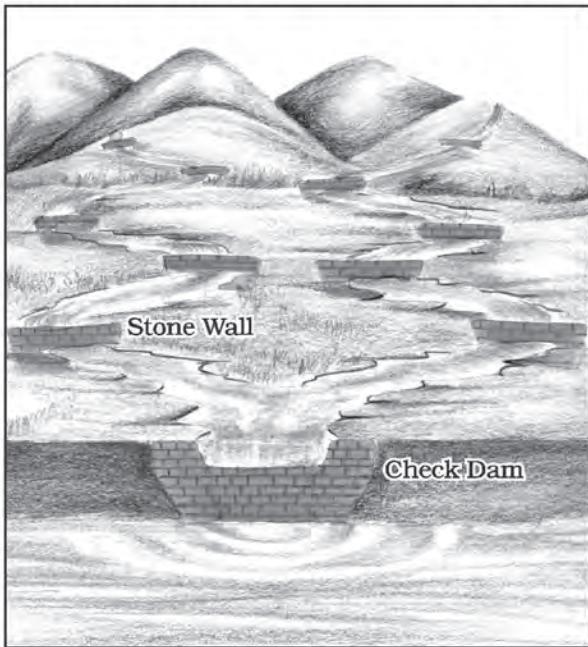


Ralegan Siddhi after mitigation approach

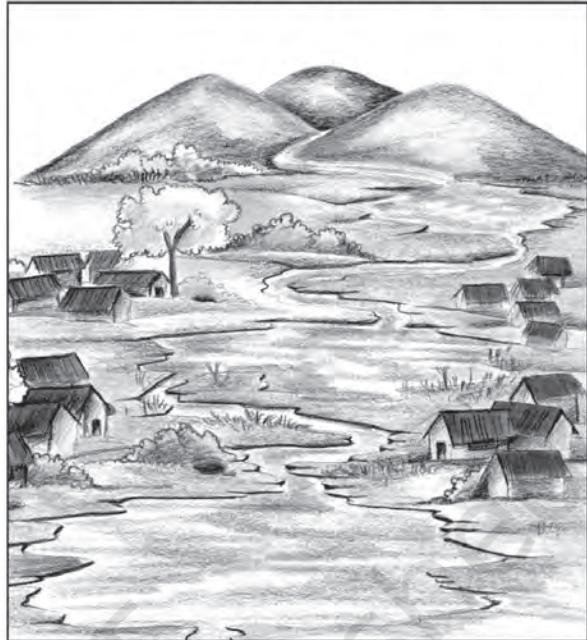
At present, water is adequate; agriculture is flourishing, though the use of fertilisers and pesticides is very high. The prosperity also brings the question of ability of the present generation to carry on the work after the leader of the movement who declared that, "The process of Ralegan's evolution to an ideal village will not stop. With changing times, people tend to evolve new ways. In future, Ralegan might present a different model to the country."

What a mitigation approach can do? A success story.

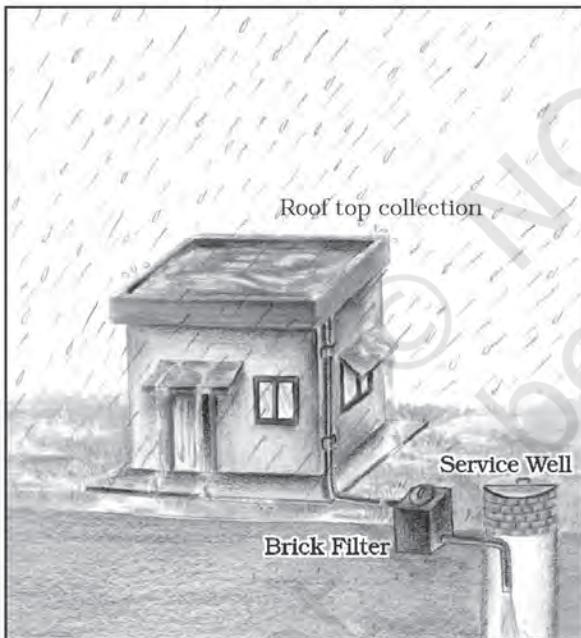
Harvesting through Watershed Management



Harvesting through lakes (Eris)



Harvesting through Service Wells



Harvesting through Recharge Wells

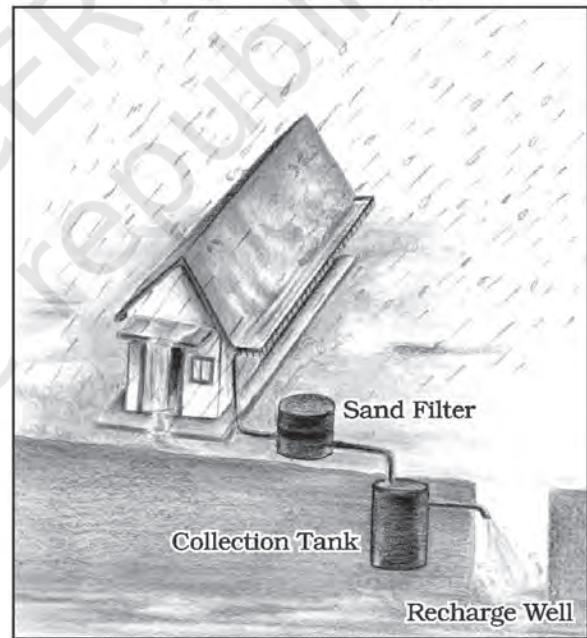


Fig. 4.3 : Various Methods of Rainwater Harvesting

rejuvenating environment and economy. However, there are only a few success stories. In majority of cases, the programme is still in its nascent stage. There is a need to generate awareness regarding benefits of

watershed development and management among people in the country, and through this integrated water resource management approach water availability can be ensured on sustainable basis.

Rainwater Harvesting

Rainwater harvesting is a method to capture and store rainwater for various uses. It is also used to recharge groundwater aquifers. It is a low cost and eco-friendly technique for preserving every drop of water by guiding the rain water to borewell, pits and wells. Rainwater harvesting increases water availability, checks the declining groundwater table, improves the quality of groundwater through dilution of contaminants, like fluoride and nitrates, prevents soil erosion, and flooding and arrests salt water intrusion in coastal areas if used to recharge aquifers.

Rainwater harvesting has been practised through various methods by different communities in the country for a long time. Traditional rainwater harvesting in rural areas is done by using surface storage bodies, like lakes, ponds, irrigation tanks, etc. In Rajasthan, rainwater harvesting structures locally known as **Kund** or **Tanka** (a covered underground tank) are constructed near or in the house or village to store harvested rainwater (see Fig. 4.3 to understand various ways of rainwater harvesting).

There is a wide scope to use rainwater harvesting technique to conserve precious water resource. It can be done by harvesting rainwater on rooftops and open spaces. Harvesting rainwater also decreases the community dependence on groundwater for domestic use. Besides bridging the demand-supply gap, it can also save energy to pump groundwater as recharge leads to rise in groundwater table. These days rainwater harvesting is being taken up on massive scale in many states in the country. Urban areas can specially benefit from rainwater harvesting as water demand has already outstripped supply in most of the cities and towns.

Apart from the above mentioned factors, the issue desalination of water particularly in coastal areas and brackish water in arid and semi-arid areas, transfer of water from water surplus areas to water deficit areas through inter-linking of rivers can be important remedies for solving water problem in India (read more about inter linking of rivers). However, the most important issue from the point of view of individual users, household and communities is pricing of water.

Highlights of India's National Water Policy 2012

The objective of the National Water Policy, 2012 is to assess the existing situation and to propose a framework for a plan of action with a unified national perspective. In order to achieve the objective of the Policy, a number of recommendations have been made therein for conservation, development and improved management of water resources of the country.

Some of the salient features of national water policy 2012 are:

- Emphasis on the need for a national water framework law, comprehensive legislation for optimum development of inter-State rivers and river valleys.
- Water, after meeting the pre-emptive needs for safe drinking water and sanitation, achieving food security, supporting poor people dependent on agriculture for their livelihood and high priority allocation for minimum eco-system needs, be treated as economic good so as to promote its conservation and efficient use.
- Adaptation strategies in view of climate change for designing and management of water resources structures and review of acceptability criteria has been emphasized.
- A system to evolve benchmarks for water uses for different purposes, i.e., water footprints, and water auditing be developed to ensure efficient use of water.
- Removal of large disparity in stipulations for water supply in urban areas and in rural areas has been recommended.
- Water resources projects and services should be managed with community participation.

Source: Press Information Bureau, Govt. of India, Ministry of Water Resources.

Jal Kranti Abhiyan (2015-16)

Water is a recyclable resource but its availability is limited and the gap between supply and demand will be widening over time. Climate change at the global scale will be creating water stress conditions in many regions of the world. India has a unique situation of high population growth and rapid economic development with high water demand. The *Jal Kranti Abhiyan* launched by the Government of India in 2015–16 with an aim to ensure water security through per capita availability of water in the country. People in different regions of India had practised the traditional knowledge of water conservation and management to ensure water availability.

The *Jal Kranti Abhiyan* aims at involving local bodies, NGOs and citizens, at large, in creating awareness regarding its objectives. The following activities have been proposed under the *Jal Kranti Abhiyan*:

1. Selection of one water stressed village in each 672 districts of the country to create a 'Jal Gram'.
2. Identification of model command area of about 1000 hectares in different parts of the country, for example, UP, Haryana (North), Karnataka, Telangana, Tamil Nadu (South), Rajasthan, Gujarat (West), Odisha (East), Meghalaya (North-East).
3. Abatement of pollution:
 - Water conservation and artificial recharge.
 - Reducing groundwater pollution.
 - Construction of Arsenic-free wells in selected areas of the country.
4. Creating mass awareness through social media, radio, TV, print media, poster and essay writing competitions in schools.

Jal Kranti Abhiyan is designed to provide livelihood and food security through water security.



EXERCISES

1. Choose the right answers of the following from the given options.
 - (i) Which one of the following types describes water as a resource?

(a) Abiotic resource	(c) Biotic Resource
(b) Non-renewable Resources	(d) Non-cyclic Resource
 - (ii) Which one of the following south Indian states has the highest groundwater utilisation (in per cent) of its total ground water potential?

(a) Tamil Nadu	(c) Andhra Pradesh
(b) Karnataka	(d) Kerala



Unit III
Chapter 5



1209CH07

MINERAL AND ENERGY RESOURCES



India is endowed with a rich variety of mineral resources due to its varied geological structure. Bulk of the valuable minerals are products of pre-palaeozoic age (Refer: Chapter 2 of Class XI, Textbook: “*Fundamentals of Physical Geography*” and are mainly associated with metamorphic and igneous rocks of the peninsular India. The vast alluvial plain tract of north India is devoid of minerals of economic use. The mineral resources provide the country with the necessary base for industrial development. In this chapter, we shall discuss the availability of various types of mineral and energy resources in the country.

A mineral is a natural substance of organic or inorganic origin with definite chemical and physical properties.

Types of Mineral Resources

On the basis of chemical and physical properties, minerals may be grouped under two main categories of metallics and non-metallics which may further be classified as follows :

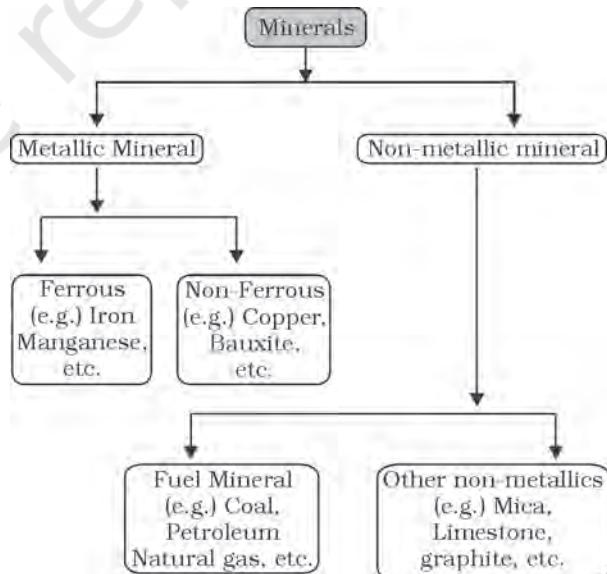


Fig. 5.1 : Classification of Minerals

As, it is clear from the Fig. 5.1 metallic minerals are the sources of metals. Iron ore, copper, gold produce metal and are included in this category. Metallic minerals are further divided into ferrous and non-ferrous metallic minerals. Ferrous, as you know, refers to iron. All those minerals which have iron content are ferrous such as iron ore itself and those which do not have iron content are non-ferrous such as copper, bauxite, etc.

Non-metallic minerals are either organic in origin such as fossil fuels also known as mineral fuels which are derived from the buried animal and plant life such as coal and petroleum. Other type of non-metallic minerals are inorganic in origin such as mica, limestone and graphite, etc.

Minerals have certain characteristics. These are unevenly distributed over space. There is inverse relationship in quality and quantity of minerals i.e. good quality minerals are less in quantity as compared to low quality minerals. The third main characteristic is that all minerals are exhaustible over time. These take long to develop geologically and they cannot be replenished immediately at the time of need. Thus, they have to be conserved and not misused as they do not have the second crop.

Distribution of Minerals in India

Most of the metallic minerals in India occur in the peninsular plateau region in the old crystalline rocks. Over 97 per cent of coal reserves occur in the valleys of Damodar, Sone, Mahanadi and Godavari. Petroleum reserves are located in the sedimentary basins of Assam, Gujarat and Mumbai High i.e. off-shore region in the Arabian Sea. New reserves have been located in the Krishna-Godavari and Kaveri basins. Most of the major mineral resources occur to the east of a line linking Mangaluru and Kanpur.

Minerals are generally concentrated in three broad belts in India. There may be some sporadic occurrences here and there in isolated pockets. These belts are :

The North-Eastern Plateau Region

This belt covers Chhotanagpur (Jharkhand), Odisha Plateau, West Bengal and parts of Chhattisgarh. Have you ever thought about the reason of major iron and steel industry being located in this region? It has variety of minerals viz. iron ore coal, manganese, bauxite, mica.

Find out the specific region where these minerals are being extracted.

The South-Western Plateau Region

This belt extends over Karnataka, Goa and contiguous Tamil Nadu uplands and Kerala. This belt is rich in ferrous metals and bauxite. It also contains high grade iron ore, manganese and limestone. This belt lacks in coal deposits except Neyveli lignite.

This belt does not have as diversified mineral deposits as the north-eastern belt. Kerala has deposits of monazite and thorium, bauxite clay. Goa has iron ore deposits.

The North-Western Region

This belt extends along Aravali in Rajasthan and part of Gujarat and minerals are associated with Dharwar system of rocks. Copper, zinc have been major minerals. Rajasthan is rich in building stones i.e. sandstone, granite, marble. Gypsum and Fuller's earth deposits are also extensive. Dolomite and limestone provide raw materials for cement industry. Gujarat is known for its petroleum deposits. You may be knowing that Gujarat and Rajasthan both have rich sources of salt.

Why and where Dandi March was organised by Mahatma Gandhi?

The Himalayan belt is another mineral belt where copper, lead, zinc, cobalt and tungsten are known to occur. They occur on both the eastern and western parts. Assam valley has

mineral oil deposits. Besides oil resources are also found in off-shore-areas near Mumbai Coast (Mumbai High).

In the following pages you will find the spatial pattern of some of the important minerals.

Ferrous Mineral

Ferrous minerals such as iron ore, manganese, chromite, etc., provide a strong base for the development of metallurgical industries. Our country is well-placed in respect of ferrous minerals both in reserves and production.

Iron Ore

India is endowed with fairly abundant resources of iron ore. It has the largest reserve of iron ore in Asia. The two main types of ore found in our country are *haematite* and *magnetite*. It has great demand in international market due to its superior quality. The iron ore mines occur in close proximity to the coal fields in the north-eastern plateau region of the country which adds to their advantage.

About 95 per cent of total reserves of iron ore is located in the States of Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Goa, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. In Odisha, iron ore occurs in a series of hill ranges in Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj and Jharsuguda. The important mines are Gurumahisani, Sulaipet, Badampahar (Mayurbhaj), Kiruburu (Kendujhar) and Bonai (Sundergarh). Similar hill ranges, Jharkhand has some of the oldest iron ore mines and most of the iron and steel plants are located around them. Most of the important mines such as Noamundi and Gua are located in Poorbi and Pashchimi Singhbhum districts. This belt further extends to Durg, Dantewara and Bailadila. Dalli, and Rajhara in Durg are the important mines of iron ore in the country. In Karnataka, iron ore deposits occur in Sandur-Hospet area of Ballari district, Baba Budan hills and Kudremukh in Chikkamagaluru district and

Iron ore mining gets a boost

The iron ore mining industry in India is attracting several new players, both large and small

Any industrialised nation requires vast quantities of iron ore, which is the basic input required for which iron and steel are made. India's rapid economic growth and development over the past few decades has necessitated huge reserves of iron and steel. Iron ore is produced in approximately 45 countries, and India's reserves are estimated to exceed 3 billion tonnes of reserves containing more than 330 billion tons of iron. While Brazil and China are world leaders in iron ore production and consumption, India ranks sixth in terms of iron ore reserves. Interestingly however, India's per capita mineral consumption is one of the lowest in the world.



The best known private sector companies in the country, Companies like SAIL and TISCO have their own captive mines. The other secondary producers include the organised steel plants, which include the organised and unorganised segments and account for the remaining 55% of India's steel production. Producers are also classified on the basis of the production process and the type of products being (or not) manufactured by them.

Scrap steel producers produce sponge iron and pig iron to be used by the main producers. India is the largest producer of coal based sponge iron in the world, and accounts for about 40% of the global output. Indian Steel & Power Ltd. is the largest producer of coal based

sponge iron in India - it is also the second largest in the world - with a capacity of 650,000 TPA. KIOCL, Sea Coal and Ultra Impat are the major producers of pig iron. Integrated steel plants, such as Essar and Bhushan also produce a significant amount of pig iron.

While iron ore is a major component of the steel manufacturing process, iron is often used to supplement it, though it is relatively inexpensive.

With the number of end user industries in India growing at a significant rate, the production of steel based products is

expected to grow rapidly, driven by the

increasing demand for steel in India.

Can you find out its reason?

parts of Shivamogga, Chitradurg and Tumakuru districts. The districts of Chandrapur, Bhandara and Ratnagiri in Maharashtra, Karimnagar and Warangal district of Telangana, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Anantapur districts of Andhra Pradesh, Salem and Nilgiris districts of Tamil Nadu are other iron mining regions. Goa has also emerged as an important producer of iron ore.

Manganese

Manganese is an important raw material for smelting of iron ore and also used for manufacturing ferro alloys. Manganese deposits are found in almost all geological formations, however, it is mainly associated with Dharwar system.

Madhya Pradesh and Odisha are the leading producers of Manganese. Major mines in Odisha are located in the central part of the iron ore belt of India, particularly in Bonai, Kendujhar, Sundergarh, Gangpur, Koraput, Kalahandi and Bolangir.

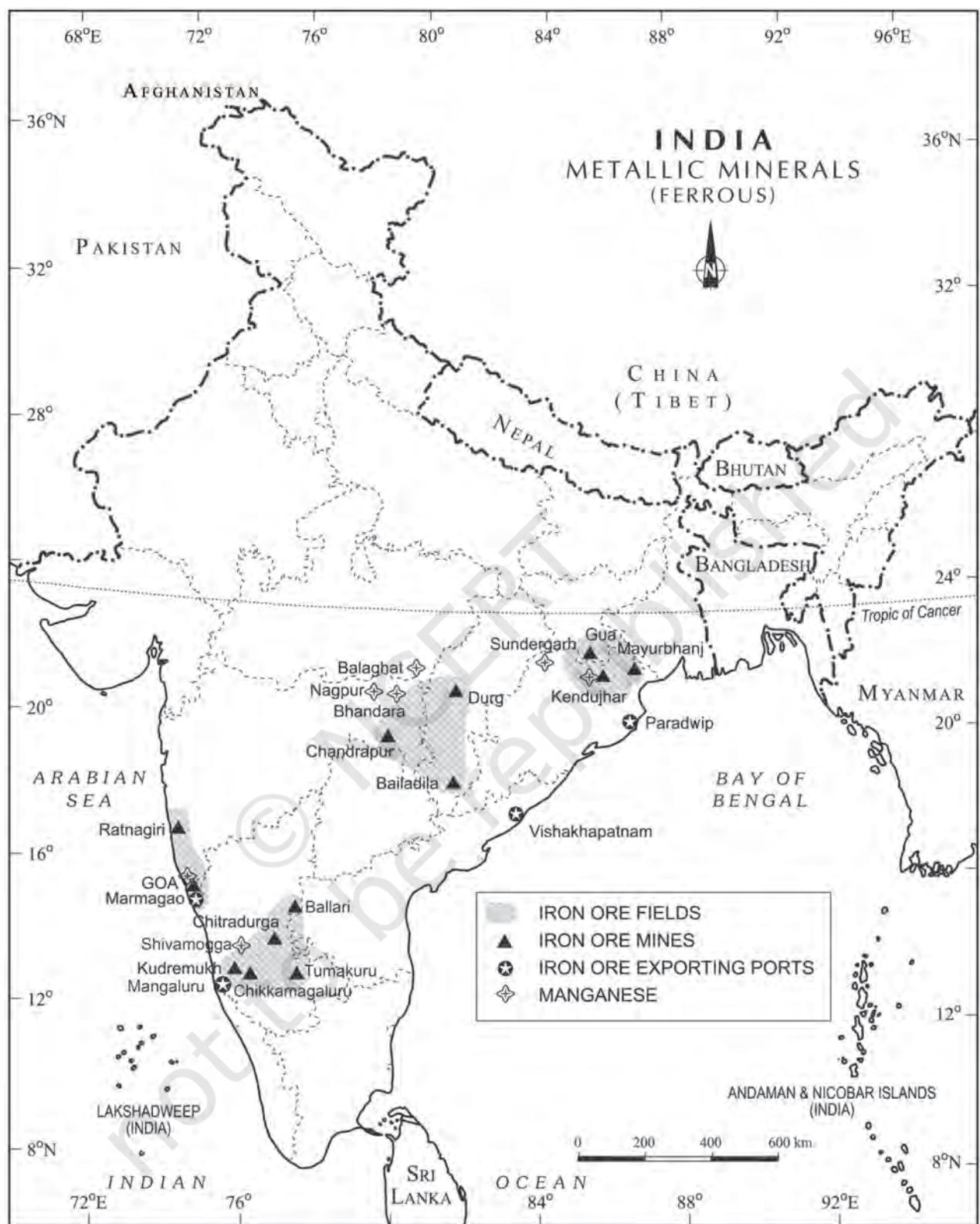


Fig. 5.2 : India - Metallic Minerals (Ferrous)

The manganese belt of Madhya Pradesh extends in a belt in Balaghat-Chhindwara-Nimar-Mandla and Jhabua districts. Karnataka is another major producer and here the mines are located in Dharwar, Ballari, Belagavi, North Canara, Chikmagaluru, Shivamogga, Chitradurg and Tumakuru. Maharashtra is also an important producer of manganese, which is mined in Nagpur, Bhandara and Ratnagiri districts. The disadvantage to these mines is that they are located far from steel plants.

Telangana, Goa, and Jharkhand are other minor producers of manganese.

Non-Ferrous Minerals

India is poorly endowed with non-ferrous metallic minerals except bauxite.

Bauxite

Bauxite is the ore, which is used in manufacturing of aluminium. Bauxite is found mainly in tertiary deposits and is associated with laterite rocks occurring extensively either on the plateau or hill ranges of peninsular India and also in the coastal tracts of the country.

Odisha happens to be the largest producer of Bauxite. Kalahandi and Sambalpur are the leading producers. The other two areas which have been increasing their production are Bolangir and Koraput. The patlands of Lohardaga in Jharkhand have rich deposits. Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra are other major producers. Bhavanagar, and Jamnagar in Gujarat have the major deposits. Chhattisgarh has bauxite deposits in Amarkantak plateau while Katni-Jabalpur area and Balaghat in M.P. have important deposits of bauxite. Kolaba, Thane, Ratnagiri, Satara, Pune and Kolhapur in Maharashtra are important producers. Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Goa are minor producers of bauxite.

Copper

Copper is an indispensable metal in the electrical industry for making wires, electric motors, transformers and generators. It is

allovable, malleable and ductile. It is also mixed with gold to provide strength to jewellery.

The Copper deposits mainly occur in Singhbhum district in Jharkhand, Balaghat district in Madhya Pradesh and Jhunjhunu and Alwar districts in Rajasthan.

Minor producers of Copper are Agnigundala in Guntur District (Andhra Pradesh), Chitradurg and Hasan districts (Karnataka) and South Arcot district (Tamil Nadu).

Non-metallic Minerals

Among the non-metallic minerals produced in India, mica is the important one. The other minerals extracted for local consumption are limestone, dolomite and phosphate.

Mica

Mica is mainly used in the electrical and electronic industries. It can be split into very thin sheets which are tough and flexible. Mica in India is produced in Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Telanganga and Rajasthan followed by Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. In Jharkhand, high quality mica is obtained in a belt extending over a distance of about 150 km, in length and about 22 km, in width in lower Hazaribagh plateau. In Andhra Pradesh, Nellore district produces the best quality mica. In Rajasthan, mica belt extends for about 320 kms from Jaipur to Bhilwara and around Udaipur. Mica deposits also occur in Mysuru and Hasan districts of Karanataka, Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli, Madurai and Kanniyanukumari in Tamil Nadu, Alleppey in Kerala, Ratnagiri in Maharashtra, Purulia and Bankura in West Bengal.

Energy Resources

Mineral fuels are essential for generation of power, required by agriculture, industry, transport and other sectors of the economy. Mineral fuels like coal, petroleum and natural gas (known as fossil fuels), nuclear energy minerals, are the conventional sources of energy. These conventional sources are exhaustible resources.



Fig. 5.3 : India – Minerals (Non-Ferrous)

Coal

Coal is one of the important minerals which is mainly used in the generation of thermal power and smelting of iron ore. Coal occurs in rock sequences mainly of two geological ages, namely Gondwana and tertiary deposits.

About 80 per cent of the coal deposits in India is of bituminous type and is of non-coking grade. The most important Gondwana coal fields of India are located in Damodar Valley. They lie in Jharkhand-Bengal coal belt and the important coal fields in this region are Raniganj, Jharia, Bokaro, Giridih, Karanpura.

Jharia is the largest coal field followed by Raniganj. The other river valleys associated with coal are Godavari, Mahanadi and Sone. The most important coal mining centres are Singrauli in Madhya Pradesh (part of Singrauli coal field lies in Uttar Pradesh), Korba in Chhattisgarh, Talcher and Rampur in Odisha, Chanda-Wardha, Kamptee and Bander in Maharashtra and Singareni in Telangana and Pandur in Andhra Pradesh.

Tertiary coals occur in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Nagaland. It is extracted from Darangiri, Cherrapunji, Mewlong and Langrin (Meghalaya); Makum, Jaipur and Nazira in upper Assam, Namchik – Namphuk (Arunachal Pradesh) and Kalakot (Jammu and Kashmir).

Besides, the brown coal or lignite occur in the coastal areas of Tamil Nadu, Puducherry, Gujarat and Jammu and Kashmir.

Petroleum

Crude petroleum consists of hydrocarbons of liquid and gaseous states varying in chemical composition, colour and specific gravity. It is an essential source of energy for all internal combustion engines in automobiles, railways and aircraft. Its numerous by-products are

processed in petrochemical industries, such as fertiliser, synthetic rubber, synthetic fibre, medicines, vaseline, lubricants, wax, soap and cosmetics.

DO YOU KNOW ?

Petroleum is referred to as liquid gold because of its scarcity and diversified uses.

Crude petroleum occurs in sedimentary rocks of the tertiary period. Oil exploration and production was systematically taken up after the Oil and Natural Gas Commission was set up in 1956. Till then, Digboi in Assam was the only oil producing region but the scenario changed after 1956. In recent years, new oil deposits have been found at the extreme western and eastern parts of the country. In Assam, Digboi, Naharkatiya and Moran are important oil producing areas. The major oilfields of Gujarat are Ankaleshwar, Kalol, Mehsana, Nawagam, Kosamba and Lunej. Mumbai High which lies 160 km off Mumbai was discovered in 1973 and production commenced in 1976. Oil and natural gas have been found in exploratory wells in Krishna-Godavari and Kaveri basin on the east coast.

Oil extracted from the wells is crude oil and contains many impurities. It cannot be used directly. It needs to be refined. There are two types of refineries in India: (a) field-based and (b) market-based. Digboi is an example of field-based and Barauni is an example of market-based refinery.

Natural Gas

Natural Gas is found with petroleum deposits and is released when crude oil is brought to

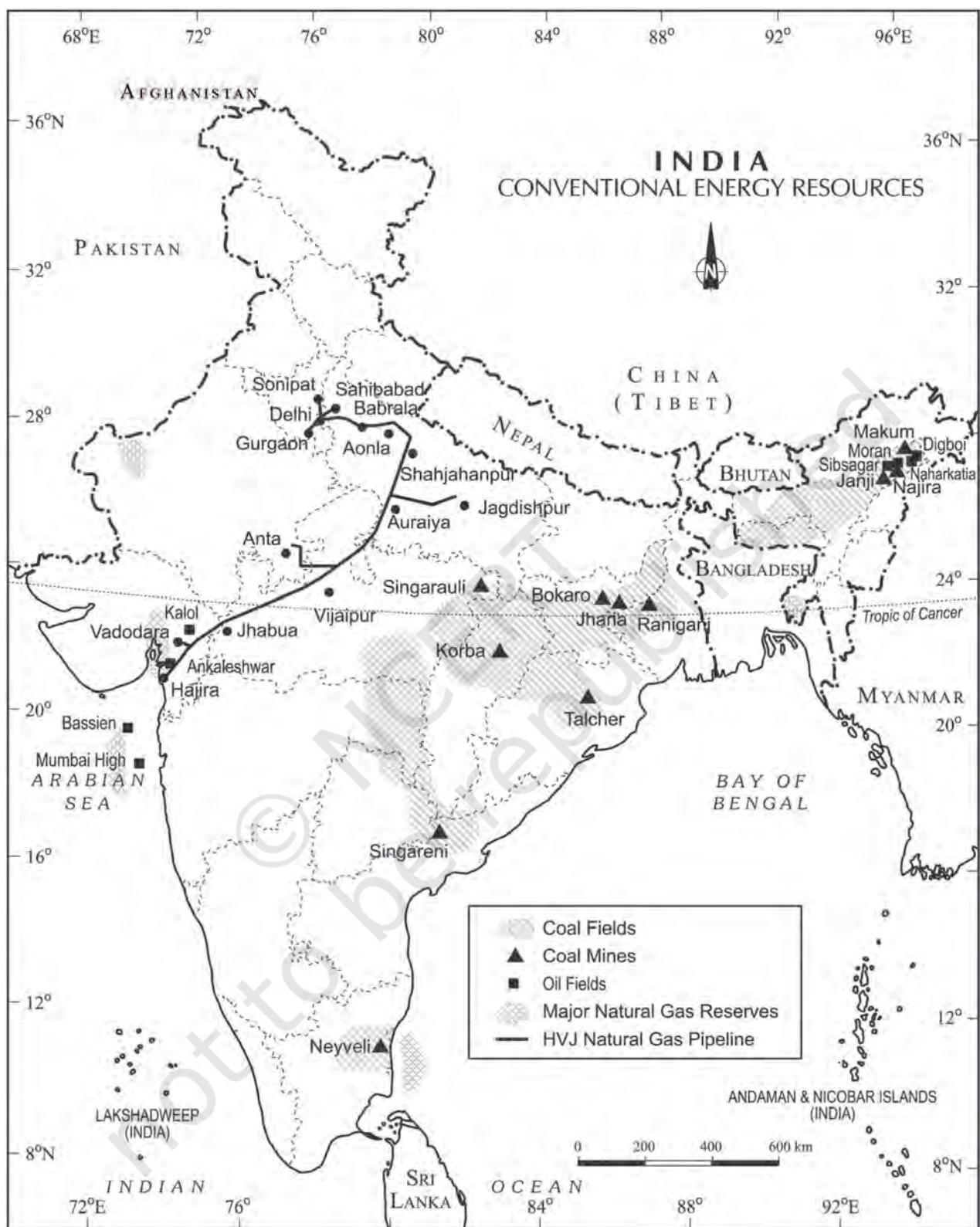


Fig. 5.4 : India – Conventional Energy Resources

Activity: Collect information about cross country natural gas pipelines laid by GAIL (India) under 'One Nation One Grid'.

the surface. It can be used as a domestic and industrial fuel. It is used as fuel in power sector to generate electricity, for heating purpose in industries, as raw material in chemical, petrochemical and fertiliser industries. With the expansion of gas infrastructure and local city gas distribution (COD) networks, natural gas is also emerging as a preferred transport fuel (CNG) and cooking fuel (PNG) at homes. India's major gas reserves are found in the Mumbai High and allied fields along the west coast which are supplemented by finds in the Cambay basin. Along the East Coast, new reserves of natural gas have been discovered in the Krishna-Godavari basin.

Non-Conventional Energy Sources

Fossil fuel sources, such as coal, petroleum, natural gas and nuclear energy use exhaustible raw materials. Sustainable energy resources are only the renewable energy sources like solar, wind, hydro-geothermal and biomass. These energy sources are more equitably distributed and environment-friendly. The non-conventional energy sources will provide more sustained, eco-friendly cheaper energy after the initial cost is taken care of.

Nuclear Energy Resources

Nuclear energy has emerged as a viable source in recent times. Important minerals used for the generation of nuclear energy are uranium and thorium. Uranium deposits occur in the Dharwar rocks. Geographically, uranium ores are known to occur in several locations along the Singhbhum Copper belt. It is also found in Udaipur, Alwar and Jhunjhunu districts of Rajasthan, Durg district of Chhattisgarh, Bhandara district of Maharashtra and Kullu district of Himachal

Pradesh. Thorium is mainly obtained from monazite and ilmenite in the beach sands along the coast of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. World's richest monazite deposits occur in Palakkad and Kollam districts of Kerala, near Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh and Mahanadi river delta in Odisha.

Atomic Energy Commission was established in 1948, progress could be made only after the establishment of the Atomic Energy Institute at Trombay in 1954 which was renamed as the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in 1967. The important nuclear power projects are Tarapur (Maharashtra), Rawatbhata near Kota (Rajasthan), Kalpakkam (Tamil Nadu), Narora (Uttar Pradesh), Kaiga (Karnataka) and Kakrapara (Gujarat).

Solar Energy

Sun rays tapped in photovoltaic cells can be converted into energy, known as solar energy. The two effective processes considered to be very effective to tap solar energy are photovoltaics and solar thermal technology. Solar thermal technology has some relative advantages over all other non-renewable energy sources. It is cost competitive, environment friendly and easy to construct. Solar energy is 7 per cent more effective than coal or oil based plants and 10 per cent more effective than nuclear plants. It is generally used more in appliances like heaters, crop dryers, cookers, etc. The western part of India has greater potential for the development of solar energy in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Wind Energy

Wind energy is absolutely pollution free, inexhaustible source of energy. The mechanism of energy conversion from blowing wind is simple. The kinetic energy of wind, through turbines is converted into electrical energy. The



Fig. 5.5 : India – Oil Refineries

India's next agriculture revolution can happen under solar panels

How Agrivoltaics presents us a rare opportunity to decarbonize the agriculture sector and achieve Just Transition.



In September 2023, India crossed 70,000 MW solar installed capacity making it one of the 5 countries in the world to reach this milestone. But we have a long way to go. It is now crystal clear that solar will be India's energy future for day time electricity, peak time with storage, for powering electric mobility and for producing green hydrogen. We could be looking at 1500 GW by 2050 and studies even project solar capacity at 5600 GW by 2070 to achieve our Net Zero target. The deployment strategy, therefore, is of critical importance.

The focus so far has been primarily on large utility scale solar in western India and parts of the southern peninsula with better solar radiation and ostensibly barren land. The advantages of large plants have been lower generation costs, easier implementation by large companies drawing large foreign investments. Land is, however, becoming increasingly a constraint and a developing problem is the country being divided into producers and consumers which will become a crucial factor in a just transition away from coal.

India's soaring solar growth proves renewables are the future



Ember

Global climate think tank

Electricity data analysis

Policy advocacy

Research

Advocacy

Policy advocacy

Research

The first successful (1890) attempt to tap the underground heat was made in the city of Boise, Idaho (U.S.A.), where a hot water pipe network was built to give heat to the surrounding buildings. This plant is still working.

Bio-energy

Bio-energy refers to energy derived from biological products which includes agricultural residues, municipal, industrial and other wastes. Bio-energy is a potential source of energy conversion. It can be converted into electrical energy, heat energy or gas for cooking. It will also process the waste and garbage and produce energy. This will improve economic life of rural areas in developing countries, reduce environmental pollution, enhance self-reliance and reduce pressure on fuel wood. One such project converting municipal waste into energy is Okhla in Delhi.

Conservation of Mineral Resources

The challenge of sustainable development requires integration of quest for economic development with environmental concerns. Traditional methods of resource use result into generating enormous quantity of waste as well as create other environmental problems. Hence, for sustainable development calls for the protection of resources for the future generations. There is an urgent need to conserve the resources. The alternative energy sources like solar power, wind, wave, geothermal energy are inexhaustible resource. These should be developed to replace the exhaustible resources. In case of metallic minerals, use of scrap metals will enable recycling of metals. Use of scrap is specially significant in metals like copper, lead and zinc in which India's reserves are meagre. Use of substitutes for scarce metals may also reduce their consumption. Export of strategic and scarce minerals must be reduced, so that the existing reserve may be used for a longer period.



EXERCISES

- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
- (i) Give an account of the distribution of mica in India.
 - (ii) What is nuclear power? Mention the important nuclear power stations in India.
 - (iii) Name non-ferrous metal. Discuss their spatial distribution.
 - (vi) What are non-conventional sources of energy?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
- (i) Write a detailed note on the Petroleum resources of India.
 - (ii) Write an essay on hydel power in India.
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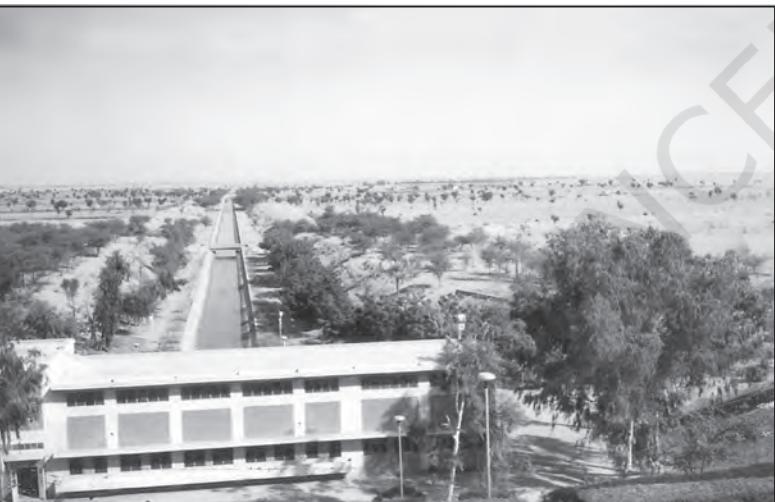
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Unit III
Chapter 6



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PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN CONTEXT



The word ‘planning’ is not new to you as it is a part of everyday usage. You must have used it with reference to preparation for your examination or visit to a hill station. It involves the process of thinking, formulation of a scheme or programme and implementation of a set of actions to achieve some goal. Though it is a very broad term, in this chapter, it has been used with reference to the process of economic development. It is, thus different from the traditional hit-and-miss methods by

On 1 January 2015, the NITI Aayog was formed. India adopted centralised planning after Independence, but subsequently, it graduated into decentralised multi-level planning. The responsibility of plan formulation was with the Planning Commission at the Centre, State and district levels. But on 1 January 2015, the Planning Commission was replaced by the NITI Aayog.

NITI Aayog has been set up with the objective of involving the states in economic policy making for India for providing strategic and technical advice to the Central and State governments.

which reforms and reconstruction are often undertaken. Generally, there are two approaches to planning, i.e., sectoral planning and regional planning. Sectoral planning means formulation and implementation of the sets of schemes or programmes aimed at development of various sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, irrigation, manufacturing, power, construction, transport, communication, social infrastructure and services.

There is no uniform economic development over space in any country. Some areas are more developed and some lag behind. This uneven pattern of development over space necessitates that the planners have a spatial perspective and draw the plans to reduce regional imbalance in development. This type of planning is termed as regional planning.

Target Area Planning

The planning process has to take special care of those areas which have remained economically backward. As you know, the economic development of a region depends upon its resource base. But sometimes resource-rich region also remain backward. Economic development requires technology, as well as, investment besides resources. With the planning experience of about one-and-a-half decades, it was realised that regional imbalances in economic development were getting accentuated. In order to arrest the accentuation of regional and social disparities, the Planning Commission introduced the '*target area*' and *target group* approaches to planning. Some of the examples of programmes directed towards the development of target areas are *Command Area Development Programme*, *Drought Prone Area Development Programme*, *Desert Development Programme*, *Hill Area Development Programme*. The *Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA)* and *Marginal Farmers Development Agency (MFDA)* which are the examples of target group programme.

In the 8th Five Year Plan special area programmes were designed to develop infrastructure in hill areas, north-eastern states, tribal areas and backward areas.

Hill Area Development Programme

Hill Area Development Programmes were initiated during the Fifth Five Year Plan covering 15 districts comprising all the hilly districts of Uttar Pradesh (present Uttarakhand), Mikir Hill and North Cachar hills of Assam, Darjeeling district of West Bengal and Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu. The National Committee on the Development of Backward Area in 1981 recommended that all the hill areas in the country having height above 600 m and not covered under tribal sub-plan be treated as backward hill areas.

The detailed plans for the development of hill areas were drawn keeping in view their topographical, ecological, social and economic conditions. These programmes aimed at harnessing the indigenous resources of the hill areas through development of horticulture,

plantation, agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry, forestry and small-scale and village industry.

Drought Prone Area Programme

This programme was initiated during the Fourth Five Year Plan with the objectives of providing employment to the people in drought-prone areas and creating productive assets. Initially, this programme laid emphasis on the construction of labour-intensive civil works. But later on, it emphasised on irrigation projects, land development programmes, afforestation, grassland development and creation of basic rural infrastructure, such as electricity, roads, market, credit and services.

The National Committee on Development of Backward Areas reviewed the performance of this programme. It has been observed that this programme is largely confined to the development of agriculture and allied sectors with major focus on restoration of ecological balance. Since growing population pressure is forcing the society to utilise the marginal lands for agriculture, and, thereby causing ecological degradation, there is a need to create alternative employment opportunities in the drought-prone areas. The other strategies of development of these areas include adoption of integrated watershed development approach at the micro-level. The restoration of ecological balance between water, soil, plants, and human and animal population should be a basic consideration in the strategy of development of drought-prone areas.

The Planning Commission of India (1967) identified 67 districts (entire or partly) of the country prone to drought. The *Irrigation Commission* (1972) introduced the criterion of 30 per cent irrigated area and demarcated the drought-prone areas. Broadly, the drought-prone area in India spread over semi-arid and arid tract of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Western Madhya Pradesh, Marathwada region of Maharashtra, Rayalseema and Telangana plateaus of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka plateau and highlands and interior parts of Tamil Nadu. The drought-prone areas of Punjab, Haryana and north-Rajasthan are largely protected due to spread of irrigation in these regions.

Case Study – Integrated Tribal Development Project in Bharmaur* Region

Bharmaur tribal area comprises Bharmaur and Holi tehsils of Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. It is a notified tribal area since 21 November 1975. Bharmaur is inhabited by ‘*Gaddi*’, a tribal community who have maintained a distinct identity in the Himalayan region as they practised transhumance and conversed through *Gaddiali* dialect.

Bharmaur tribal region has harsh climate conditions, low resource base and fragile environment. These factors have influenced the society and Economy of the region. According to the 2011 census, the total population of Bharmaur sub-division was 39,113 i.e., 21 persons per sq km. It is one of the most (economically and socially) backward areas of Himachal Pradesh. Historically, the *Gaddis* have experienced geographical and political isolation and socio-economic deprivation. The economy is largely based on agriculture and allied activities such as sheep and goat rearing.

The process of development of tribal area of Bharmaur started in 1970s when *Gaddis* were included among ‘*scheduled tribes*’. Under

This region lies between $32^{\circ} 11' N$ and $32^{\circ} 41' N$ latitudes and $76^{\circ} 22' E$ and $76^{\circ} 53' E$ longitudes. Spread over an area of about 1,818 sq km, the region mostly lies between 1,500 m to 3,700 m above the mean sea level. This region popularly known as the homeland of *Gaddis* is surrounded by lofty mountains on all sides. It has *Pir Panjal* in the north and *Dhauladhar* in the south. In the east, the extension of *Dhauladhar* converges with *Pir Panjal* near *Rohtang Pass*. The river *Ravi* and its tributaries—the *Budhil* and the *Tundahen*, drain this territory, and carve out deep gorges. These rivers divide the region into four physiographic divisions called *Holi*, *Khani*, *Kugti* and *Tundah* areas. Bharmaur experiences freezing weather conditions and snowfall in winter. Its mean monthly temperature in January remains $4^{\circ}C$ and in July $26^{\circ}C$.

the Fifth Five Year Plan, the tribal sub-plan was introduced in 1974 and Bharmaur was designated as one of the five Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) in Himachal Pradesh. This area development plan was aimed at improving the quality of life of the *Gaddis*

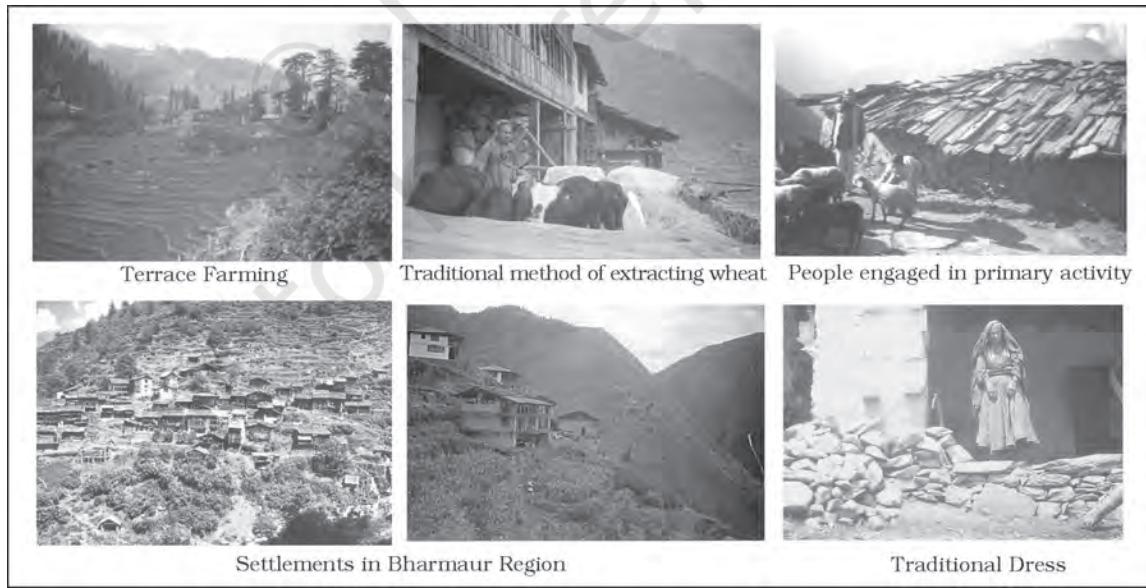


Fig. 6.1

* The name Bharmaur is derived from Sanskrit word Brahmaur. In this book Bharmaur has been used to retain the colloquial flavour.

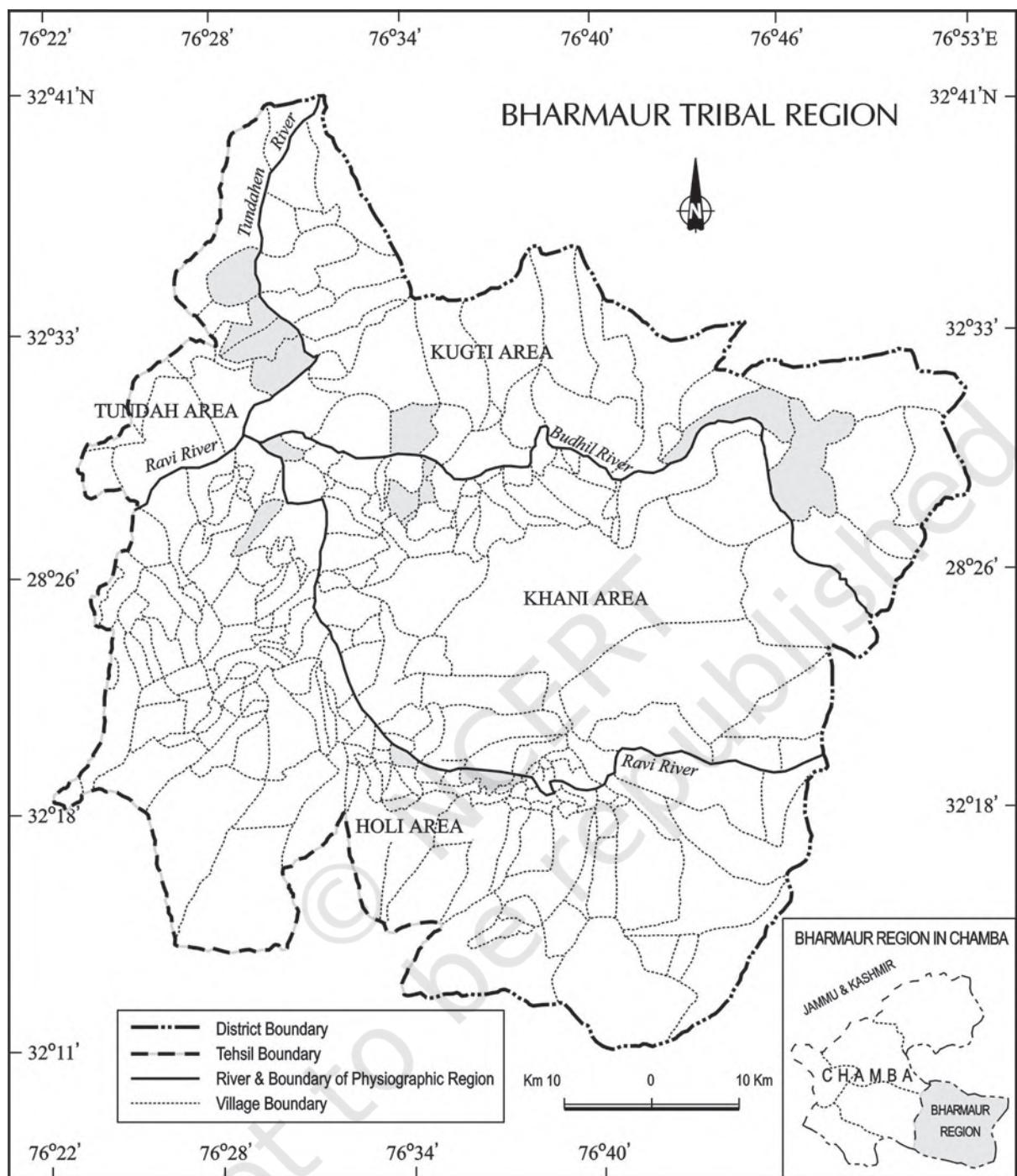


Fig. 6.2

and narrowing the gap in the level of development between Bharmaur and other areas of Himachal Pradesh. This plan laid the highest priority on development of transport and communications, agriculture and allied activities, and social and community services.

The most significant contribution of tribal sub-plan in Bharmaur region is the development of infrastructure in terms of schools, healthcare facilities, potable water, roads, communications and electricity. But the villages located along the river Ravi in Holi and Khani areas are the main

beneficiaries of infrastructural development. The remote villages in Tundah and Kugti areas still do not have sufficient infrastructure.

The social benefits derived from ITDP include tremendous increase in literacy rate, improvement in sex ratio and decline in child marriage. The female literacy rate in the region increased from 1.88 per cent in 1971 to 65 per cent in 2011. The difference between males and females in literacy level i.e. gender inequality, has also declined. Traditionally, the *Gaddis* had subsistence agricultural-cum-pastoral economy having emphasis on foodgrains and livestock production. But during the last three decades of twentieth century, the cultivation of pulses and other cash crops has increased in Bharmaur region. But the crop cultivation is still done with traditional technology. The declining importance of pastoralism in the economy of the region can be gauged from the fact that at present only about one-tenth of the total households practise transhumance. But the *Gaddis* are still very mobile as a sizeable section of them migrate to Kangra and surrounding areas during winter to earn their livings from wage labour.

Sustainable Development

The term development is generally used to describe the state of particular societies and the process of changes experienced by them. During a fairly large period of human history, the state of the societies has largely been determined by the interaction processes between human societies and their bio-physical environment. The processes of human-environment interaction depend upon the level of technology and institutions nurtured by a society. While the technology and institutions have helped in increasing the pace of human-environment interaction, the momentum thus, generated in return has accelerated technological progress and transformation and creation of institutions. Hence, development is a multi-dimensional concept and signifies the positive, irreversible transformation of the economy, society and environment.

The concept of development is dynamic and has evolved during the second half of twentieth

century. In the post World War II era, the concept of development was synonymous to economic growth which is measured in terms of temporal increase in gross national product (GNP) and per capita income/per capita consumption. But, even the countries having high economic growth, experienced speedy rise in poverty because of its unequal distribution. So, in 1970s, the phrases such as *redistribution with growth* and *growth and equity* were incorporated in the definition of development. While dealing with the questions related to redistribution and equity, it was realised that the concept of development cannot be restricted to the economic sphere alone. It also includes the issues such as improving the well-being and living standard of people, availing of the health, education and equality of opportunity and ensuring political and civil rights. By 1980s, development emerged as a concept encapsulating wide-spread improvement in social as well as material well-being of all in a society.

The notion of sustainable development emerged in the wake of general rise in the awareness of environmental issues in the late 1960s in Western World. It reflected the concern of people about undesirable effects of industrial development on the environment. The publication of '*The Population Bomb*' by Ehrlich in 1968 and '*The Limits to Growth*' by Meadows and others in 1972 further raised the level of fear among environmentalists in particular and people in general. This sets the scenario for the emergence of new models of development under a broad phrase '*sustainable development*'.

Concerned with the growing opinion of world community on the environmental issues, the United Nations established a *World Commission on Environment and Development* (WCED) headed by the Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. The Commission gave its report (also known as *Brundtland Report*) entitled '*Our Common Future*' in 1987. The report defines sustainable development as a "*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.*"

Sustainable development takes care of ecological, social and economic aspects of development during the present times and pleads

INDIRA GANDHI CANAL COMMAND AREA

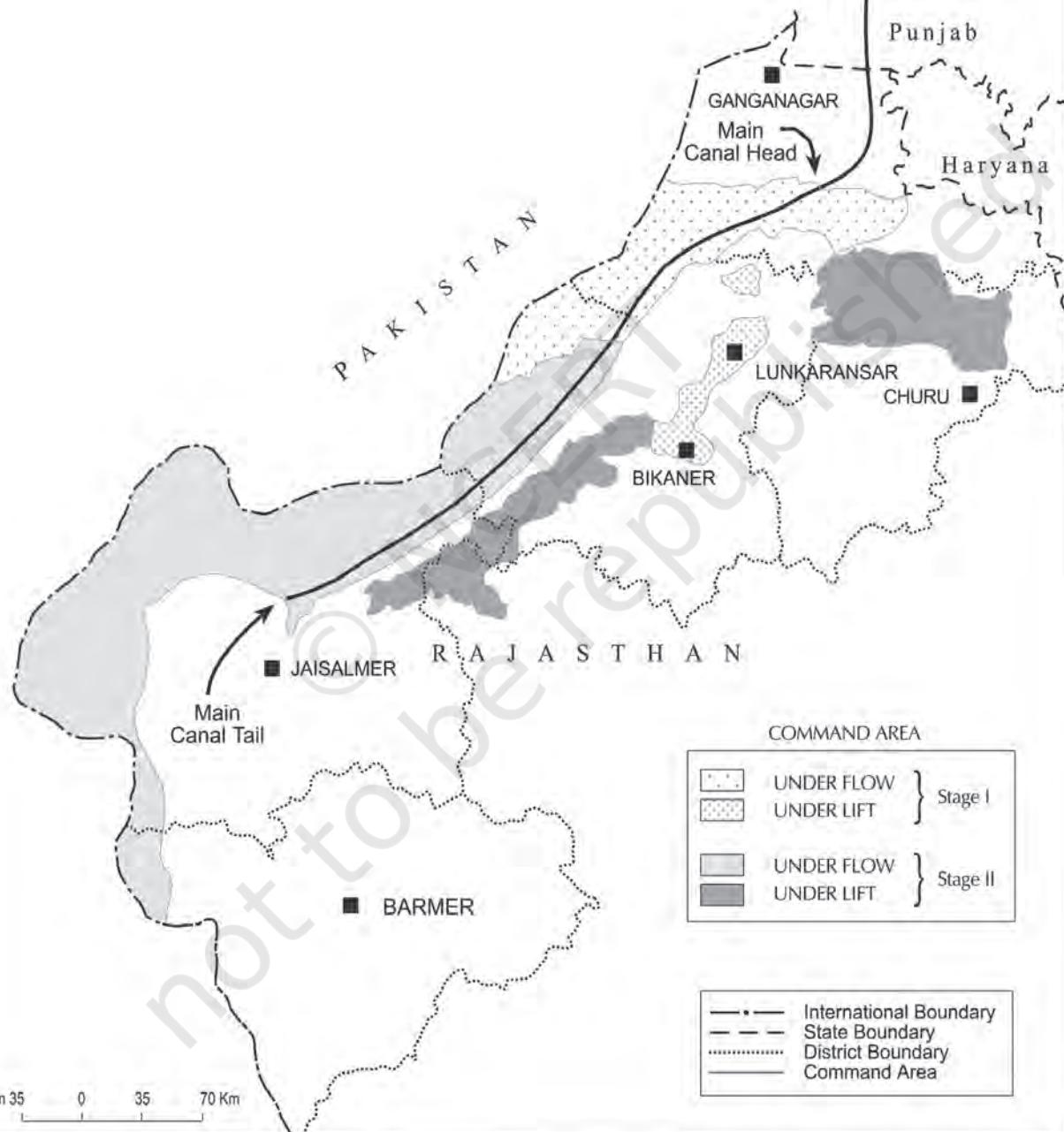


Fig. 6.3



Fig. 6.4: Indira Gandhi Canal

for conservation of resources to enable the future generations to use these resources. It takes into account the development of whole human kind which have common future.

Case Study

Indira Gandhi Canal (Nahar) Command Area

Indira Gandhi Canal, previously known as the Rajasthan Canal, is one of the largest canal systems in India. Conceived by Kanwar Sain in 1948, the canal project was launched on 31 March, 1958. The canal originates at Harike barrage in Punjab and runs parallel to Pakistan border at an average distance of 40 km in Thar Desert (Marusthal) of Rajasthan. The total planned length of the system is 9,060 km catering to the irrigation needs of a total culturable command area of 19.63 lakh hectares. Out of the total command area, about 70 per cent was envisaged to be irrigated by flow system and the rest by lift system. The construction work of the canal system has been carried out through two stages. The command area of Stage-I lies in Ganganagar, Hanumangarh and northern part of Bikaner districts. It has a gently undulating topography and its culturable command area is 5.53 lakh hectares. The command area of Stage-II is spread over Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Barmer, Jodhpur, Nagaur and Churu districts covering culturable command area of 14.10 lakh ha. It comprises desert land dotted with shifting sand dunes and temperature soaring to 50°C in summers. In the lift canal, the water is lifted up to make it to flow



Fig. 6.5 : Indira Gandhi Canal and its adjoining areas

against the slope of the land. All the lift canals of Indira Gandhi Canal system originate at the left bank of main canal while all the canals on the right bank of main canal are flow channels.

Irrigation in Stage-I command area of the canal was introduced in early 1960s, whereas, the command area of Stage-II began receiving irrigation in mid-1980s. The introduction of canal irrigation in this dry land has transformed its ecology, economy and society. It has influenced the environmental conditions of the region both positively as well as negatively. The availability of soil moisture for a longer period of time and various afforestation and pasture development programmes under CAD have resulted in greening the land. This has also helped in reducing wind erosion and siltation of canal systems. But the intensive irrigation and excessive use of water has led to the emergence of twin environmental problems of waterlogging and soil salinity.

Introduction of canal irrigation has brought about a perceptible transformation in the agricultural economy of the region. Soil moisture has been a limiting factor in successful growing of crops in this area. Spread of canal irrigation has led to increase in cultivated area and intensity of cropping. The traditional crops sown in the area, gram, bajra and jowar have been replaced by wheat, cotton, groundnut and rice. This is the result of intensive irrigation. This intensive irrigation, no doubt, initially has led to tremendous increase in agricultural and livestock productivity. This has also caused waterlogging

and soil salinity, and thus, in the long run, it hampers the sustainability of agriculture.

Measures for Promotion of Sustainable Development

The ecological sustainability of Indira Gandhi Canal Project has been questioned by various scholars. Their point of view has also largely been validated by the course of development this region has taken during the last four decades, which has resulted in degradation of physical environment. It is a hard fact that attaining sustainable development in the command area requires major thrust upon the measures to achieve ecological sustainability. Hence, five of the seven measures proposed to promote sustainable development in the command area are meant to restore ecological balance.

- (i) The first requirement is strict implementation of water management policy. The canal project envisages protective irrigation in Stage-I and extensive irrigation of crops and pasture development in Stage-II.
- (ii) In general, the cropping pattern shall not include water intensive crops. It shall be adhered to and people shall be encouraged to grow plantation crops such as citrus fruits.

- (iii) The CAD programmes such as lining of water courses, land development and levelling and *warabandi* system (equal distribution of canal water in the command area of outlet) shall be effectively implemented to reduce the conveyance loss of water.
- (iv) The areas affected by water logging and soil salinity shall be reclaimed.
- (v) The eco-development through afforestation, shelterbelt plantation and pasture development is necessary particularly in the fragile environment of Stage-II.
- (vi) The social sustainability in the region can be achieved only if the land allottees having poor economic background are provided adequate financial and institutional support for cultivation of land.
- (vii) The economic sustainability in the region cannot be attained only through development of agriculture and animal husbandry. The agricultural and allied activities have to develop alongwith other sectors of economy. This shall lead to diversification of economic base and establishment of functional linkages between basic villages, agro-service centres and market centres.



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answers of the following from the given options.
 - (i) Regional planning relates to :
 - (a) Development of various sectors of economy.
 - (b) Area specific approach of development.
 - (c) Area differences in transportation network.
 - (d) Development of rural areas.
 - (ii) ITDP refers to which one of the following?
 - (a) Integrated Tourism Development Programme
 - (b) Integrated Travel Development Programme
 - (c) Integrated Tribal Development Programme
 - (d) Integrated Transport Development Programme
 - (iii) Which one of the following is the most crucial factor for sustainable development in Indira Gandhi Canal Command Area?
 - (a) Agricultural development
 - (b) Eco-development
 - (c) Transport development
 - (d) Colonisation of land
- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
 - (i) What are the social benefits of ITDP in the Bharmaur tribal region?
 - (ii) Define the concept of sustainable development.
 - (iii) What are the positive impacts of irrigation on Indira Gandhi Canal Command Area?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
 - (i) Write short notes on drought-prone area programme. How does this programme help in the development of dryland agriculture in India?
 - (ii) Suggest the measures of promotion of sustainability in Indira Gandhi Canal Command Area.

Project

- (i) Find out the area development programmes being implemented in your region. Assess the impact of such programmes on the society and economy in your locality.
- (ii) Select your own area or identify an area facing severe environmental and socio-economic problems. Make an assessment of its resources and prepare their inventory. Suggest the measures for its sustainable development as it has been done in the case of Indira Gandhi Canal Command Area.

Unit IV

Chapter 7



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TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

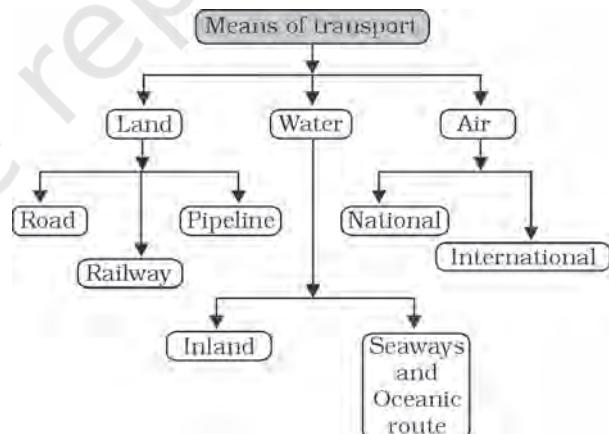


We use many items in our daily life. From toothpaste to our bed tea, milk, clothes, soaps, food items, etc., are required every day. All these can be purchased from the market. Have you ever thought as to how these items are brought from the site of production? All the production is meant for consumption. From the fields and factory, the produce is brought to the place from where consumers purchase it. It is the transportation of these items from the site of their production to the market which make them available to the consumer.

We not only use material things, like fruits, vegetables, books, clothes, etc., but also use ideas, views and messages in our daily life. Do you know we exchange our views, ideas and messages from one place to another or one individual to another while communicating with the help of various means?

The use of transport and communication depends upon our need to move things from place of their availability to the place of their use. Human beings use various methods to move goods, commodities, ideas from one place to another.

The following diagram shows the major means of transportation.



Land Transport

The pathways and unmetalled roads have been used for transportation in India since ancient times. With the economic and technological development, metalled roads and railways were developed to move large volume of goods and

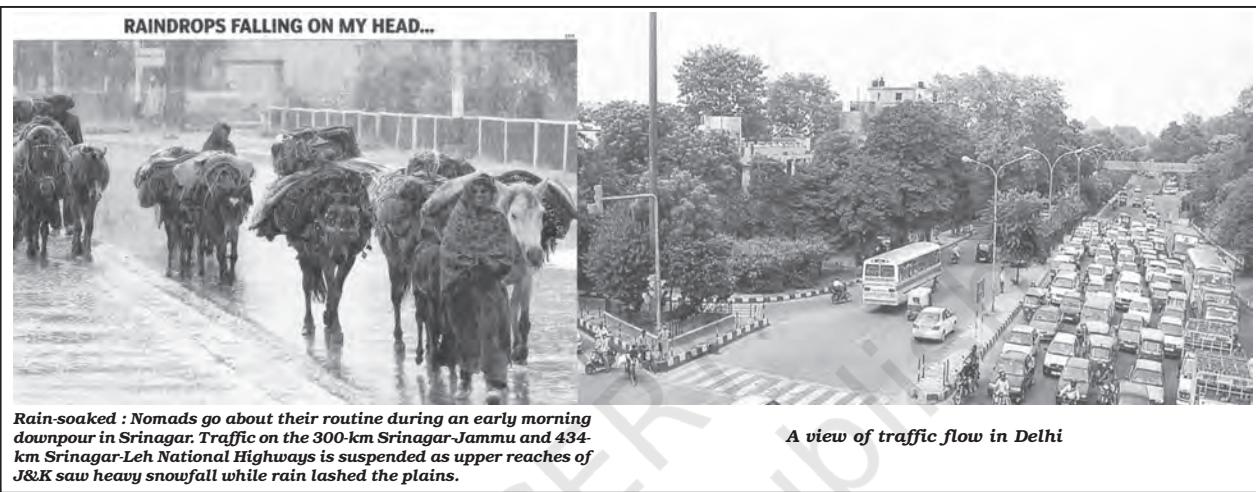
people from one place to another. Ropeways, cableways and pipelines were devised to cater to the demands of transporting specific goods under special circumstances.

Road Transport

India has one of the second largest road networks in the world with a total length of about 62.16 lakh km (morth.nic.in, Annual Report 2020-21).

the princely states and British India. After Independence, twenty-year road plan (1961) was introduced to improve the conditions of roads in India. However, roads continue to concentrate in and around urban centres. Rural and remote areas had the least connectivity by road.

For the purpose of construction and maintenance, roads are classified as National Highways (NH), State Highways (SH), Major District Roads and Rural Roads.



Rain-soaked : Nomads go about their routine during an early morning downpour in Srinagar. Traffic on the 300-km Srinagar-Jammu and 434-km Srinagar-Leh National Highways is suspended as upper reaches of J&K saw heavy snowfall while rain lashed the plains.

A view of traffic flow in Delhi

Fig. 7.1

About 85 per cent of passenger and 70 per cent of freight traffic are carried by roads every year. Road transport is relatively suitable for shorter distance travel.

National Highways

The main roads which are constructed and maintained by the Central Government are known as the National Highways. These roads are meant for inter-state transport and movement of defence men and material in strategic areas. These also connect the state capitals, major cities, important ports, railway junctions, etc. The length of the National Highways has increased from 19,700 km in 1951 to 1,36,440 km in 2020. The National Highways constitute only about 2 per cent of the total road length but carry 40 per cent of the road traffic.

The National Highways Authority of India (NHAI) was operationalised in 1995. It is an autonomous body under the Ministry of Surface Transport. It is entrusted with the responsibility of development, maintenance and operation of National Highways. This is also the apex body to improve the quality of the roads designated as National Highways.

Collect information about National Highway number (old and new) from the website morth.nic.in/national-highway-details.

Road transport in modern sense was very limited in India before World War-II. The first serious attempt was made in 1943 when 'Nagpur Plan' was drawn. This plan could not be implemented due to lack of coordination among

Table 7.1 : India Road Network 2020

Serial No.	Road Category	Length in Km
1.	National Highways	136440
2.	State Highways	176818
3.	Other Roads	5902539
	Total	6215797

Source: Ministry of Road Transport and Highways Annual Report 2020-21. For latest data see website morth.nic.in

National Highways Development Projects

NHAI has taken up some major projects in the country under different phases :

Golden Quadrilateral : It comprises construction of 5,846-km long 4/6 lane, high density traffic corridor, to connect India's four big metro cities of Delhi-Mumbai-Chennai-Kolkata. With the construction of Golden Quadrilateral, the time, distance and cost of movement among the mega cities of India will be considerably minimised.

North-South and East-West Corridors : North-South corridor aims at connecting Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir with Kanniakumari in Tamil Nadu (including Kochchi-Salem Spur) with 4,076-km long road. The East-West Corridor has been planned to connect Silchar in Assam with the port town of Porbandar in Gujarat with 3,640-km of road length.

State Highways

These are constructed and maintained by state governments. They join the state capitals with district headquarters and other important towns. These roads are connected to the National Highways.

District Roads

These roads are the connecting link between District Headquarters and the other important nodes in the district.

Rural Roads

These roads are vital for providing links in the rural areas. About 80 per cent of the total road length in India are categorised as rural roads. There is regional variation in the density of rural road because these are influenced by the nature of the terrain.



Fig. 7.2 : Road constructed under the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna

Why are the rural roads' density very low in hilly, plateau and forested areas? Why does the quality of rural roads deteriorate away from the urban centres?

Other Roads

Other roads include Border Roads and International Highways. The Border Road Organisation (BRO) was established in May 1960 for accelerating economic development and strengthening defence preparedness through rapid and coordinated improvement of strategically important roads along the

northern and north-eastern boundary of the country. It is a premier multifaceted construction agency. It has constructed roads in high altitude mountainous terrain joining Chandigarh with Manali (Himachal Pradesh) and Leh (Ladakh). This road runs at an average altitude of 4,270 metres above the mean sea level.

Apart from the construction and maintenance of roads in strategically sensitive areas, the BRO also undertakes snow clearance in high altitude areas. The international highways are meant to promote the harmonious relationship with the neighbouring countries by providing effective links with India. (Fig. 7.4 and 7.5)



Fig. 7.3 : Khardung La Pass in Ladakh

DO YOU KNOW ?

The World's longest Highway tunnel — **Atal Tunnel** (9.02 Km) has been built by Border Road Organisation. This tunnel connects Manali to Lahaul-Spiti valley throughout the year. Earlier the valley was cut off for about 6 months each year owing to heavy snowfall. The Tunnel is built with ultra-modern specifications in the Pir Panjal range of Himalayas at an altitude of 3000 metres from the Mean Sea Level (MSL).

Source: <http://www.bro.gov.in/pagefimg.asp?imid=144>, And PIB Delhi 03 October 2020

Delhi-Lahore Bus



Fig. 7.4 : A Bus from Lahore to Delhi at Wagah Border



Fig. 7.5 : Aman Setu between Baramula and Muzaffarabad

Activity

Why have Bengaluru and Hyderabad in the South and Delhi, Kanpur and Patna in north India have emerged as important nodes?

Bharatmala Pariyojana – ‘Road’ to country’s infrastructure development

- The Bharatmala Pariyojna envisages development of about 26,000 km length of Economic Corridors, which along with Golden Quadrilateral (GQ) and North–South and East–West (NS-EW) Corridors are expected to carry majority of freight traffic on roads.
- The Programme focuses on development of ring roads, bypasses and elevated corridors to decongest the traffic passing through cities and enhance logistic efficiency.

[Source: Press Information Bureau (Research Unit), Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, December 13, 2021]

Table 7.2 : Indian Railways: Railway Zones and Headquarters

Railway Zone	Headquarters
Central	Mumbai CST
Eastern	Kolkata
East Central	Hajipur
East Coast	Bhubaneswar
Northern	New Delhi
North Central	Allahabad
North Eastern	Gorakhpur
North East Frontier	Maligaon (Guwahati)
North Western	Jaipur
Southern	Chennai
South Central	Secunderabad
South Eastern	Kolkata
South East Central	Bilaspur
South Western	Hubli
Western	Mumbai (Church Gate)
West Central	Jabalpur
Metro Railway	Kolkata

DO YOU KNOW ?

On the basis of the width of track of the Indian Railways, three categories have been made:

Broad gauge: The distance between rails in broad gauge is 1.676 metre. The total length of broad gauge lines was 63950 km (2019-20).

Metre gauge: The distance between rails is one metre. Its total length was 2402 km (2019-20).

Narrow gauge: The distance between the rails in this case is 0.762 metre or 0.610 metre. The total length of narrow gauge was 1604 km (2019-20). It is generally confined to hilly areas.

Indian Railways has launched extensive programme to convert the metre and narrow gauges to broad gauge. Moreover, steam



engines have been replaced by diesel and electric engines. This step has increased the speed, as well as, the haulage capacity.

The replacement of steam engines run by coal has also improved the environment of the stations.

Metro rail has revolutionised the urban transport system in India. Replacement of diesel buses by CNG-run vehicles along with the introduction of metro is a welcome step towards controlling the air pollution in urban centres.

Areas around towns, raw material producing areas and of plantations and other commercial crops, hill stations and cantonment

towns were well-connected by railways from the British colonial era. These were mostly developed for the exploitation of resources. After the Independence of the country, railway routes have been extended to other areas too. The most significant development has been the development of Konkan Railway along the western coast providing a direct link between Mumbai and Mangaluru.

Railway continues to remain the main means of transport for the masses. Railway network is relatively less dense in the hill states, north eastern states, central parts of India and Rajasthan.

Water Transport

Waterways is an important mode of transport for both passenger and cargo traffic in India. It is the cheapest means of transport and is most suitable for carrying heavy and bulky material. It is a fuel-efficient and eco-friendly mode of transport. The water transport is of two types—(a) inland waterways, and (b) oceanic waterways.

Inland Waterways

It was the chief mode of transport before the advent of railways. It, however, faced tough competition from road and railway transport. Moreover, diversion of river water for irrigation purposes made them non-navigable in large parts of their courses. India has 14,500 km of navigable waterways, contributing about 1% to the country's transportation. It comprises rivers, canals, backwaters, creeks, etc.



Fig. 7.6 : River navigation in the North-east

For the development, maintenance and regulation of national waterways in the country, the Inland Waterways Authority was set up in 1986. In order to create wide waterways network and to promote inland water transport in the country as an economical, environment friendly supplementary mode of transport to

rail and road, 111 inland waterways (including 5 national waterways declared earlier, Table 7.3) were declared as National Waterways (NWs) by the National Waterways Act, 2016. (*Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Ports, Shipping & Waterways, Govt. of India, 2022-23*)

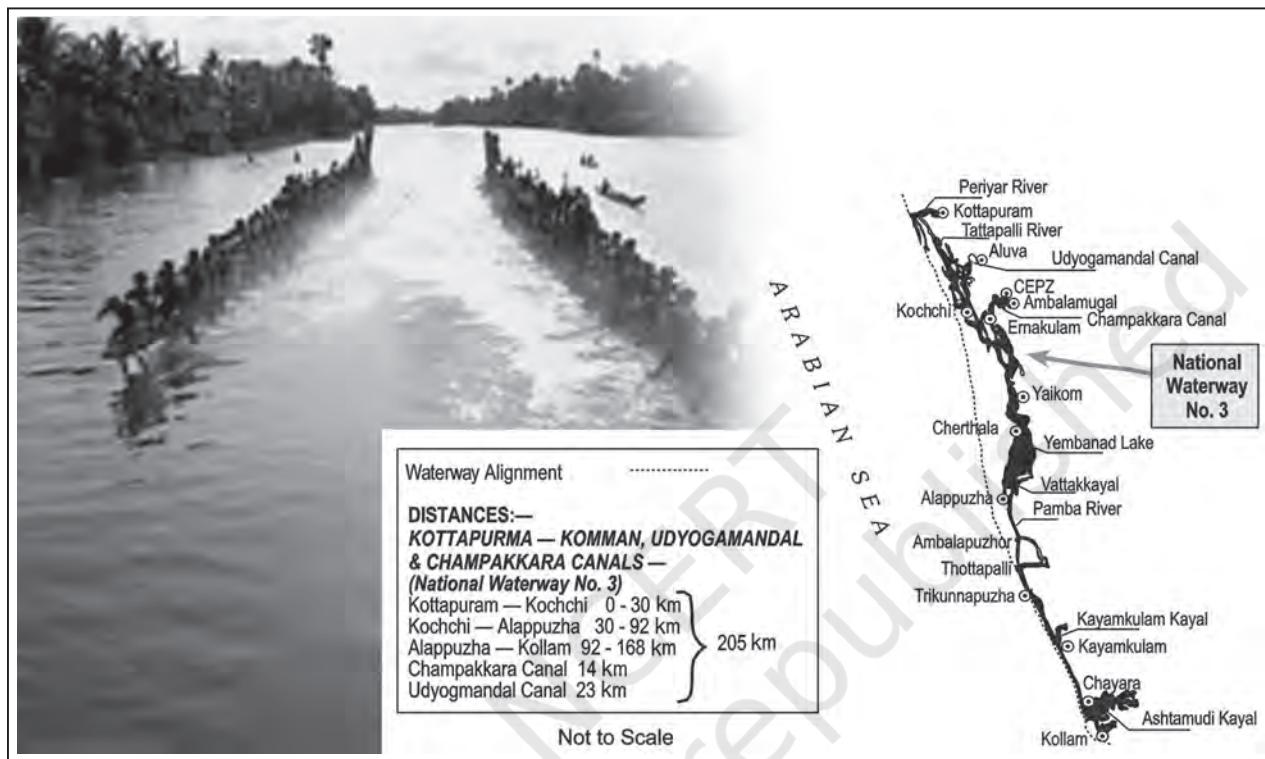


Fig. 7.7 : Natinal Waterway No.3

Table 7.3 National Waterways of India

Waterways	Stretch	Specification
NW 1	Prayagraj-Haldia stretch (1,620 km)	It is one of the most important waterways in India, which is navigable by mechanical boats up to Patna and by ordinary boats up to Haridwar. It is divided into three parts for developmental purposes – (i) Haldia-Farakka (560 km), (ii) Farakka-Patna (460 km), (iii) Patna-Prayagraj (600 km).
NW 2	Sadiya-Dhubri stretch (891 km)	Brahmaputra is navigable by steamers up to Dibrugarh (1,384 km) which is shared by India and Bangladesh
NW 3	Kottapuram-Kollam stretch (205 km)	It includes 168 km of west coast canal along with Champakara canal (14 km) and Udyogmandal canal (23 km).
NW 4	Specified stretches of Godavari and Krishna rivers along with Kakinada Puducherry stretch of canals (1078 km)	
NW 5	Specified stretches of river Brahmani along with Matai river, delta channels of Mahanadi and Brahmani rivers and East Coast canals (588km).	

DO YOU KNOW ?

The Inland Waterways Authority has also identified 10 other inland waterways, which could be upgraded. The backwaters (Kayal) of Kerala has special significance in Inland Waterway. Apart from providing cheap means of transport, they are also attracting a large number of tourists in Kerala. The famous Nehru Trophy Boat Race (VALLAMKALI) is also held in the backwaters.

Oceanic Routes

India has a vast coastline of approximate 7,517 km, including islands. Twelve major and 200 minor ports provide infrastructural support to these routes. Oceanic routes play an important role in the transport sector of India's economy. Approximately 95 per cent of India's foreign trade by volume and 70 per cent by value moves through ocean routes. Apart from international trade, these are also used for the purpose of transportation between the islands and the rest of the country.

Air Transportation

Air transport is the fastest means of movement from one place to the other. It has reduced distances by minimising the travel time. It is essential for a vast country like India, where distances are large and the terrain and climatic conditions are diverse.

Air transport in India made a beginning in 1911 when airmail operation commenced over a little distance of 10 km between Allahabad and Naini. But its real development took place in post-Independent period. The Airport Authority of India is responsible for providing safe, efficient air traffic and aeronautical communication services in the Indian Air Space.

UDAN (*Ude Desh ka Aam Nagrik*) is a first-of-its kind scheme globally, designed to jump-start the regional aviation market. Regional Connectivity Scheme (RCS) -UDAN was conceived by the Ministry of Civil Aviation (MoCA) Govt. of India, to promote regional connectivity by making fly affordable for the common citizen. The central idea of the scheme is to encourage airlines to operate flights on regional and remote routes through enabling policies and extending incentives.

Pawan Hans is the helicopter service operating in hilly areas and is widely used by tourists in north-eastern sector.

In addition, Pawan Hans Limited mainly provides helicopter services to petroleum sector and for tourism.

Oil and Gas Pipelines

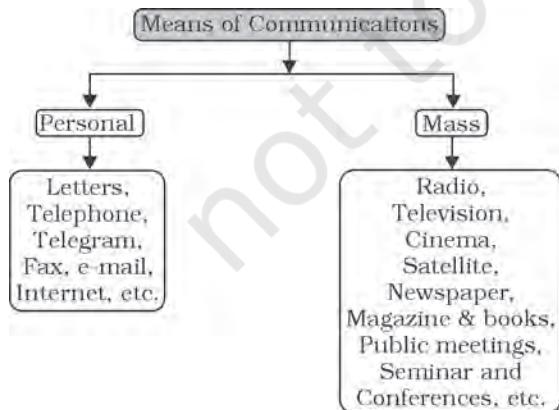
Pipelines are the most convenient and efficient mode of transporting liquids and gases over long distances. Even solids can also be transported by pipelines after converting them into slurry. Oil India Limited (OIL) under the administrative set up of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas is engaged in the exploration, production and transportation of crude oil and natural gas. It was incorporated in 1959 as a company. Asia's first cross country pipeline covering a distance of 1,157 km was constructed by OIL from Naharkatiya oilfield in Assam to Barauni refinery in Bihar. It was further extended up to Kanpur in 1966. GAIL (India) Ltd. was set up in 1984 as a public sector undertaking to transport, process and market natural gas for its economic use. The first 1,700 km long Hazira-Vijaipur-Jagdishpur (HVJ) cross country gas pipeline, constructed by GAIL (India), linked Mumbai

High and Bassein gas fields with various fertiliser, power and industrial complexes in western and northern India. This artery provided impetus to Indian gas market development. Overall, India's gas infrastructure has expanded over ten times from 1,700 km to 18,500 km of cross-country pipelines and is expected to soon reach over 34,000 km as Gas Grid by linking all the gas sources and consuming markets across the country including North Eastern States.

Communication Networks

Human beings have evolved different methods of communication over time. In earlier times, the messages were delivered by beating the drum or hollow tree trunks, giving indications through smoke or fire or with the help of fast runners. Horses, camels, dogs, birds and other animals were also used to send messages. Initially, the means of communication were also the means of transportation. Invention of post-office, telegraph, printing press, telephone, satellite, etc has made the communication much faster and easier. Development in the field of science and technology has significantly contributed in bringing about revolution in the field of communication.

People use different modes of communication to convey the messages. On the basis of scale and quality, the mode of communication can be divided into following categories :



Personal Communication System

Among all the personal communication system internet is the most effective and advanced one. It is widely used in urban areas. It enables the user to establish direct contact through e-mail to get access to the world of knowledge and information. It is increasingly used for e-commerce and carrying out money transactions. The internet is like a huge central warehouse of data, with detailed information on various items. The network through internet and e-mail provides an efficient access to information at a comparatively low cost. It enables us with the basic facilities of direct communication.

Mass Communication System

Radio

Radio broadcasting started in India in 1923 by the Radio Club of Bombay. Since then, it gained immense popularity and changed the socio-cultural life of people. Within no time, it made a place in every household of the country. Government took this opportunity and brought this popular mode of communication under its control in 1930 under the Indian Broadcasting System. It was changed to All India Radio in 1936 and to Akashwani in 1957.

All India Radio broadcasts a variety of programmes related to information, education and entertainment. Special news bulletins are also broadcast at specific occasions like session of parliament and state legislatures.

Television (T.V.)

Television broadcasting has emerged as the most effective audio-visual medium for disseminating information and educating masses. Initially, the T.V. services were limited only to the National Capital where it began in 1959. After 1972, several other centres became operational. In 1976, TV was delinked from All India Radio (AIR) and got a separate identity

as Doordarshan (DD). After INSAT-IA (National Television-DDI) became operational, Common National Programmes (CNP) were started for the entire network and its services were extended to the backward and remote rural areas.

Satellite Communication

Satellites are mode of communication in themselves as well as they regulate the use of other means of communication. However, use of satellite in getting a continuous and synoptic view of larger area has made satellite communication very vital for the country due to the economic and strategic reasons. Satellite images can be used for the weather forecast, monitoring of natural calamities, surveillance of border areas, etc.

On the basis of configuration and purposes, satellite system in India can be

grouped into two: Indian National Satellite System (INSAT) and Indian Remote Sensing Satellite System (IRS). The INSAT, which was established in 1983, is a multi-purpose satellite system for telecommunication, meteorological observation and for various other data and programmes.

The IRS satellite system became operational with the launching of IRS-IA in March 1988 from Vaikanour in Russia. India has also developed her own Launching Vehicle PSLV (Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle). These satellites collect data in several spectral bands and transmit them to the ground stations for various uses. The National Remote Sensing Centre (NRSC) at Hyderabad provides facilities for acquisition of data and its processing. These are very useful in the management of natural resources.



EXERCISES

1. Choose the right answers of the following from the given options.

- (i) In how many zones has the Indian Railways system been divided?
 - (a) 9
 - (b) 12
 - (c) 17
 - (d) 14
- (ii) On which river and between which two places does the National Water Way No. 1 lie?
 - (a) The Brahmaputra, Sadiya-Dhubri
 - (b) The Ganga, Haldia–Prayagraj
 - (c) West Coast Canal, Kottapuram to Kollam
 - (d) Godavari-Kakinada Puducherry
- (iii) In which of the following year, the first radio programme was broadcast?
 - (a) 1911
 - (b) 1936
 - (c) 1927
 - (d) 1923



- 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
- (i) Which activity does transportation convey? Name three major modes of transportation.
 - (ii) Discuss advantages and disadvantages of pipeline transportation.
 - (iii) What do you mean by 'communication'?
- 3.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
- (i) Which are the chief means of transportation in India? Discuss the factors affecting their development.
 - (ii) Give a detailed account of the development of railways in India and highlight their importance.
 - (iii) Describe the role of roads in the economic development of India.

Project

Find out the facilities that Indian Railways provide to the passengers.



Unit IV
Chapter 8



12099CHI1

INTERNATIONAL TRADE



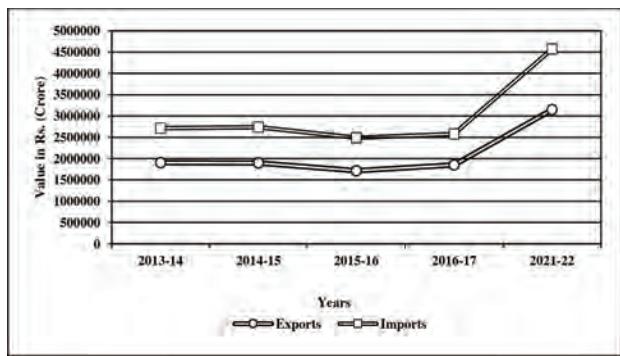
You have already studied about the various aspects of International trade in the book *Fundamentals of Human Geography*. International Trade is mutually beneficial as no country is self-sufficient. India's international trade has undergone a sea change in recent years in terms of volume, composition as well as direction. Although India's contribution in the world trade is as low as one per cent of the total volume, yet it plays a significant role in the world economy.

Let us examine the changing pattern of India's International trade. In 1950-51, India's external trade was worth Rs. 1,214 crore, which rose to Rs. 77,19,796 crore in 2020-21. Can you calculate the percentage growth in 2020-21 over 1950-51? There are numerous reasons for this sharp rise in overseas trade, such as the momentum picked up by the manufacturing sectors, the liberal policies of the government and the diversification of markets.

The nature of India's foreign trade has changed over the years (Table 8.1). Though there has been an increase in the total volume of import and export, the value of import continued to be higher than that of exports.

Changing Pattern of the Composition of India's Exports

Extent of gap between Exports and Imports in India's foreign trade During 2013-14 to 2021-22



Source: Economic Survey 2022-23

Fig. 8.1

Table 8.1 India's Foreign Trade

(Value in Rs. Crore)

Year	Exports	Imports	Trade Balance
2004-05	3,75,340	5,01,065	-1,25,725
2009-10	8,45,534	13,63,736	-5,18,202
2013-14	19,05,011	27,15,434	-8,10,423
2016-17	18,52,340	25,77,422	-7,25,082
2021-22	31,47,021	45,72775	-14,25,753

Source : <http://commerce.nic.in/publications/annual-report-2010-11-and-Economic-Survey-2016-17-2022-23>

Activity

Draw bar diagram to show the trends of exports of all items given in the table. Use pen/pencil of different colours.

Table 8.2 : Composition of India's Export, 2015-2022

(Percentage share in Exports)

Commodities	2015-16	2016-17	2020-21	2021-22
Agriculture and allied products	12.6	12.3	14.3	11.9
Ore and Minerals	1.6	1.9	3.2	2.0
Manufactured goods	72.9	73.6	71.2	67.8
Crude and petroleum products	11.9	11.7	9.2	16.4
Other commodities	1.1	0.5	2.1	1.9

Source : Economic Survey 2016-17 and 2022-23

The composition of commodities in India's international trade has been undergoing a change over the years. In export the share of agriculture and allied products and manufactured goods have decreased, whereas, share from crude petroleum and products and other commodities have increased. The share of ore and minerals have largely remained constant over the years from 2015-16 to 2021-22.

The decline in traditional items is largely due to the tough international competition. Amongst the agriculture products, there is a decline in the export of traditional item, such as cashew, etc., though an increase has been registered in floricultural products, fresh fruits, marine products and sugar, etc.

Manufacturing sector alone accounted for 67.8 per cent of India's total value of export in 2021-22. Engineering goods have shown a

significant growth in the export. China and other East Asian countries are our major competitors. Gems and jewellery contributes a larger share of India's foreign trade.

Activity

Study Table 8.3 and select major commodities exported in 2021-22 and draw bar diagram.

Changing Patterns of the Composition of India's Import

India faced serious food shortage during 1950s and 1960s. The major item of import at that time was foodgrain, capital goods, machinery and equipment. The balance of payment was adverse as imports were more than export in spite of all the efforts of import substitution. After 1970s, foodgrain import was discontinued due to the success of Green

**Table 8.3 : Export of Some Principal Commodities
(in crore rupees)**

Commodities	2021-22
Agriculture and allied products	3,75,742
Ores and Minerals	63,754
Manufactured goods	21,32,296
Mineral fuels and Lubricants	5,15,310

Source : Economic Survey 2022-23.

revolution but the energy crisis of 1973 pushed the prices of petroleum, and import budget was also pushed up. Foodgrain import was replaced by fertilisers and petroleum. Machine and equipment, special steel, edible oil and chemicals largely make the import basket. Examine the changing pattern of imports in Table 8.4 and try to comprehend the shifts.

Table 8.4 shows that there is a rise in the import of petroleum products. It is used not only as a fuel but also as an industrial raw material. It indicates the tempo of rising industrialisation and better standard of living. Sporadic price rise in the international

market is another reason for the same. It is also noticed that the, import of capital goods maintained a steady decline. Import of food and allied products declined. Other major items of India's import include pearls, precious and semi-precious stones, gold and silver, non-metal ferrous metals. The detail of Indian imports of some principal commodities during 2021-22 have been given in Table 8.5.

Based on Table 8.5, few activities may be undertaken:

Arrange the items in ascending or descending order and write the names of the first five major items of India's import list of 2021-22.

Why does India import edible oil in spite of being an agriculturally rich country?

Select five most important and five least important items and represent them by bar diagram.

Can you identify some items of imports for which substitutes can be developed in India?

Table 8.4 : India Composition of Import 2015-22

(In percentage)

Commodity Group	2015-16	2016-17	2020-21	2021-22
Food and allied products	5.1	5.6	4.5	4.4
Fuel (Coal, POL)	25.4	26.7	25.1	31.6
Fertilisers	2.1	1.3	1.9	2.3
Paper board manufacturing and news print	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7
Capital goods	13.0	13.6	12.7	10.1
Others	38.1	37.0	41.6	38.5

Source : Economic Survey 2022-23

Table 8.5 : Import of Some Principal Commodities
(in crore rupees)

Commodities	2021-22
Fertilisers and fertiliser manufacturing	105796
Edible oils	141532
Pulp and waste paper	11934
Non-ferrous metals	499766
Iron and steel	94053
Petroleum, oil and lubricants	1207803
Pearls, precious and semi-precious stones	231279
Medicinal and Pharma products	67545
Chemical products	308882

Source : Economic Survey 2022-23

Direction of Trade

India has trade relations with most of the countries and major trading blocks of the world.

Region-wise and sub-region-wise trade during the period 2021-22 has been given in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6 Direction of India's Import trade
(in crore rupees)

Region	Imports	
	2016-17	2021-22
Europe	403972	640577
Africa	193327	368156
North America	195332	378041
Latin America	115762	161995
Asia and ASEAN	1544520	2918577

Source : Economic Survey 2016-17 and 2022-23

India aims to double its share in the international trade within the next five years. It has already started adopting suitable measures such as import liberalisation, reduction in import duties, delicensing and change from process to product patents.

Activity

Draw a multiple bar diagram to represent the major trading partners.

Most of India's foreign trade is carried through sea and air routes. However, a small portion is also carried through land route to neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Sea Ports as Gateways of International Trade

India is surrounded by sea from three sides and is bestowed with a long coastline. Water provides a smooth surface for very cheap transport provided there is no turbulence. India



Fig. 8.3 : Unloading of goods on port

has a long tradition of sea faring and developed many ports with place name suffixed with *pattan* meaning port. An interesting fact about ports in India is that its west coast has more ports than its east coast.

Can you find out the reasons for the variations in the location of ports along the two coasts?

Though ports have been in use since ancient times, the emergence of ports as gateways of international trade became important after the coming of the European traders and colonisation of the country by the British. This led to the variation in the size and quality of ports. There are some ports which have very vast area of influence and some have limited area of influence. At present, India has 12 major ports and 200 minor or intermediate ports. In case of the major ports, the central government decides the policy and plays regulatory functions. The minor ports are there whose policy and functions are regulated by state governments. The major ports handle larger share of the total traffic.

The British used the ports as suction points of the resources from their hinterlands. The extension of railways towards the interior facilitated the linking of the local markets to regional markets, regional markets to national markets and national markets to the international markets. This trend continued till 1947. It was expected that the country's Independence will reverse the process, but the partition of the country snatched away two very important ports, i.e., Karachi port went to Pakistan and Chittagong port to the erstwhile east-Pakistan and now Bangladesh. To compensate the losses, many new ports, like the Kandla in the west and the Diamond Harbour near Kolkata on river Hugli in the east were developed.

Despite this major setback, Indian ports continued to grow after the Independence. Today, Indian ports are handling large volumes of domestic, as well as, overseas trade. Most of the ports are equipped with modern infrastructure. Previously, the development and modernisation was the responsibility of the government agencies, but considering the increase in function and need to bring these ports at par with the international ports, private entrepreneurs

have been invited for the modernisation of ports in India.

The capacity of Indian ports increased from 20 million tonnes of cargo handling in 1951 to more than 837 million tonnes in 2016.

Some of the Indian ports along with their hinterlands are as follows :

Deendayal Port (Kandla port) situated at the head of Gulf of Kuchchh has been developed as a major port to cater to the needs of western and north western parts of the country and also to reduce the pressure at Mumbai port. The port is specially designed to receive large quantities of petroleum and petroleum products and fertiliser. The offshore terminal at Vadinar has been developed to reduce the pressure at the port.

Demarcation of the boundary of the hinterland would be difficult as it is not fixed over space. In most of the cases, hinterland of one port may overlap with that of the other.

Mumbai is a natural harbour and the biggest port of the country. The port is situated closer to the general routes from the countries of Middle East, Mediterranean countries, North Africa, North America and Europe where the major share of country's overseas trade is carried out. The port is 20 km long and 6-10 km wide with 54 berths and has the country's largest oil terminal. M.P., Maharashtra, Gujarat, U.P. and parts of Rajasthan constitute the main hinterlands of Mumbai ports.

Jawaharlal Nehru Port at Nhava Sheva was developed as a satellite port to relieve the pressure at the Mumbai port. It is the largest container port in India.

Marmagao Port, situated at the entrance of the Zuari estuary, is a natural harbour in Goa. It gained significance after its remodelling in 1961 to handle iron-ore exports to Japan. Construction of Konkan railway has considerably extended the hinterland of this port. Karnataka, Goa, Southern Maharashtra constitute its hinterland.

New Mangalore Port is located in the state of Karnataka and caters to the needs of the export of iron-ore and iron-concentrates. It also handles fertilisers, petroleum products, edible



Fig. 8.4 : India - Major Ports and Sea Routes

oils, coffee, tea, wood pulp, yarn, granite stone, molasses, etc. Karnataka is the major hinterland for this port.

Kochchi Port, situated at the head of Vembanad Kayal, popularly known as the '*Queen of the Arabian Sea*', is also a natural harbour. This port has an advantageous location being close to the Suez-Colombo route. It caters to the needs of Kerala, southern Karnataka and south western Tamil Nadu.

Kolkata Port is located on the Hugli river, 128 km inland from the Bay of Bengal. Like the Mumbai port, this port was also developed by the British. Kolkata had the initial advantage of being the capital of British India. The port has lost its significance considerably on account of the diversion of exports to the other ports such as Vishakhapatnam, Paradwip and its satellite port, Haldia.

Kolkata port is also confronted with the problem of silt accumulation in the Hugli river which provides a link to the sea. Its hinterland covers U.P., Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Sikkim and the north-eastern states. Apart from this, it also extends port facilities to our neighbouring land-locked countries such as Nepal and Bhutan.

Haldia Port is located 105 km downstream from Kolkata. It has been constructed to reduce the congestion at Kolkata port. It handles bulk cargo like iron ore, coal, petroleum, petroleum products and fertilisers, jute, jute products, cotton and cotton yarn, etc.

Paradwip Port is situated in the Mahanadi delta, about 100 km from Cuttack. It has the deepest harbour specially suited to handle very large vessels. It has been developed mainly to handle large-scale export of iron-ore. Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand are the parts of its hinterland.

Visakhapatnam Port in Andhra Pradesh is a land-locked harbour, connected to the sea by a channel cut through solid rock and sand. An outer harbour has been developed for handling iron-ore, petroleum and general cargo. Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are the main hinterland for this port.

Chennai Port is one of the oldest ports on the eastern coast. It is an artificial harbour built in 1859. It is not much suitable for large ships because of the shallow waters near the coast. Tamil Nadu and Puducherry are its hinterland.

Ennore, a newly developed port in Tamil Nadu, has been constructed 25 km north of Chennai to relieve the pressure at Chennai port.

Tuticorin Port was also developed to relieve the pressure of Chennai port. It deals with a variety of cargo, including coal, salt, food grains, edible oils, sugar, chemicals and petroleum products.

Airports

Air transport plays an important role in the international trade. It has the advantage of taking the least time for carriage and handling high value or perishable goods over long distances. It is very costly and unsuitable for carrying heavy and bulky commodities. This ultimately reduces the participation of this sector in the international trade as compared to the oceanic routes.

There were 25 major airports functioning in the country (Annual Report 2016-17). They are Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Chennai, Delhi, Goa, Guwahati, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Mumbai, Thiruvananthapuram, Srinagar, Jaipur, Calicut, Nagpur, Coimbatore, Cochin, Lucknow, Pune, Chandigarh, Mangaluru, Vishakhapatnam, Indore, Patna, Bhubaneswar and Kannur. Since 2017, under the UDAN scheme, a total number of 73 unserved/underserved airports including 9 Heliports and 2 water aerodromes have been operationalized (Source: PIB, Ministry of Civil Aviation, Govt. of India, 2023)

You have already studied about the air transport in the previous chapter. You consult the chapter on transport to find out the main features of air transport in India.

Activity

Name the nearest domestic and international airports from your place. Identify the state with maximum number of domestic airports.

Identify four cities where maximum number of air routes converge and also give reasons for this.

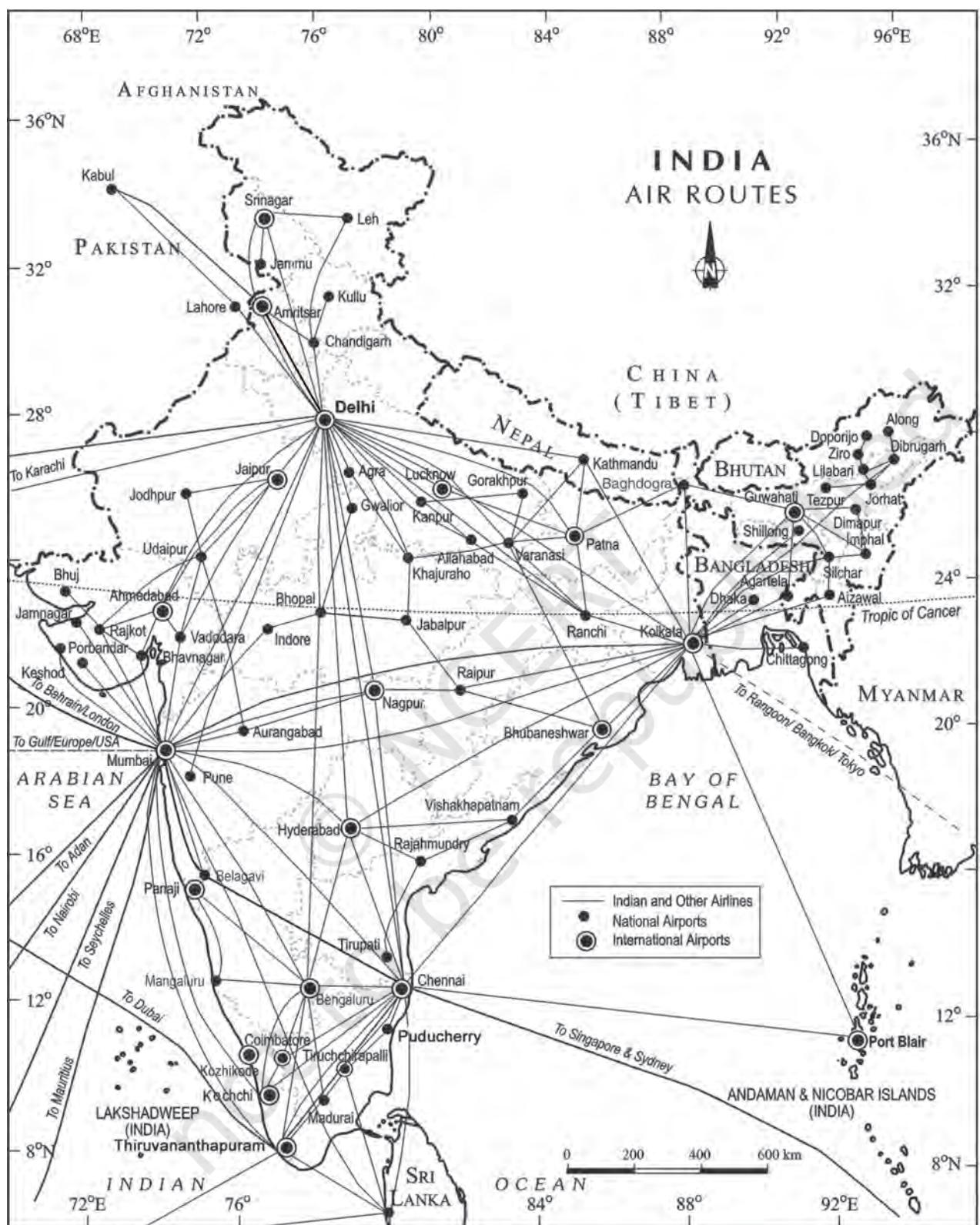


Fig. 8.5 : India – Air Routes



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answers of the following from the given options.
 - (i) Trade between two countries is termed as
 - (a) Internal trade
 - (c) International trade
 - (b) External trade
 - (d) Local trade
 - (ii) Which one of the following is a land locked harbour?
 - (a) Vishakhapatnam
 - (c) Ennore
 - (b) Mumbai
 - (d) Haldia
 - (iii) Most of India's foreign trade is carried through
 - (a) Land and sea
 - (c) Sea and air
 - (b) Land and air
 - (d) Sea
 - 2.** Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
 - (i) Mention the characteristics of India's foreign trade.
 - (ii) Distinguish between port and harbour.
 - (iii) Explain the meaning of hinterland.
 - (iv) Name important items which India imports from different countries.
 - (v) Name the ports of India located on the east coast.
 - 3.** Answer the following questions in about 150 words.
 - (i) Describe the composition of export and import trade of India.
 - (ii) Write a note on the changing nature of the international trade of India.
-

Unit V
Chapter 9



1209CH12

GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SELECTED ISSUES AND PROBLEMS



Environmental Pollution

Environmental pollution results from 'the release of substances and energy from waste products of human activities. There are many types of pollution. They are classified on the basis of medium through which pollutants are transported and diffused. Pollution can be classified into (i) air pollution, (ii) water pollution, (iii) land pollution and (iv) noise pollution.

Water Pollution

Indiscriminate use of water by increasing population and industrial expansion has led degradation of the quality of water considerably. Surface water available from rivers, canals, lakes, etc. is never pure. It contains small quantities of suspended particles, organic and inorganic substances. When concentration of these substances increases, the water becomes polluted, and hence becomes unfit for use. In such a situation, the self-purifying capacity of water is unable to purify the water.



Fig.9.1 : Cutting Through Effluent : Rowing through a pervasive layer of foam on the heavily polluted Yamuna on the outskirts of New Delhi

Though water pollutants are also created from natural sources (erosion, landslides, decay and decomposition of plants and animals, etc.) pollutants from human activities are the real causes of concern. Human beings pollute the water through industrial, agricultural and cultural activities. Among these activities, industry is the most significant contributor.

Table 9.1 : Types and Sources of Pollution

Pollution Types	Pollution Involved	Sources of Pollution
Air Pollution	Oxides of sulphur (SO_2 , SO_3), Oxides of nitrogen, carbon monoxide, hydro-carbon, ammonia, lead, aldehydes asbestos and beryllium.	Combustion of coal, petrol and diesel, industrial processes, solid waste disposal, sewage disposal, etc.
Water Pollution	Odour, dissolved and suspended solids, ammonia and urea, nitrate and nitrites, chloride, fluoride, carbonates, oil and grease, insecticide and pesticide residue, tannin, coliform MPM (bacterial count) sulphates and sulphides, heavy metals e.g. lead, arsenic, mercury, manganese, etc., radioactive substances.	Sewage disposal, urban run-off, toxic effluents from industries, run-off over cultivated lands and nuclear power plants.
Land Pollution	Human and animal excreta viruses and bacteria, garbage and vectors therein, pesticides and fertiliser-residue alkalinity, fluorides, radio-active substances.	Improper human activities, disposal of untreated industrial waste, use of pesticides and fertilisers.
Noise Pollution	High level of noise above tolerance level.	Aircrafts, automobiles, trains, industrial processing and advertising media.

Industries produce several undesirable products including industrial wastes, polluted waste water, poisonous gases, chemical residuals, numerous heavy metals, dust, smoke, etc. Most of the industrial wastes are disposed off in running water or lakes. Consequently, poisonous elements reach the reservoirs, rivers and other water bodies, which destroy the bio-system of these waters. Major water polluting industries are leather, pulp and paper, textiles and chemicals.

Various types of chemicals used in modern agriculture such as inorganic fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides are also pollution generating components. These chemicals are washed down to rivers, lakes and tanks. These chemicals also infiltrate the soil to reach the ground water. Fertiliser induces an increase in the nitrate content of surface waters. Cultural activities such as pilgrimage, religious fairs, tourism, etc. also cause water pollution. In India, almost all

Table 9.2 : Sources of Pollution in the Ganga and the Yamuna Rivers

River and State	Polluted Stretches	Nature of Pollution	Main Polluters
Ganga (Uttar Pradesh) Bihar and West Bengal	(a) Downstream of Kanpur (b) Downstream of Varanasi (c) Farrakka Barrage	1. Industrial pollution from towns like Kanpur 2. Domestic wastes from urban centres 3. Dumping of carcasses in the river	Cities of Kanpur, Prayagraj, Varanasi, Patna and Kolkata release domestic waste into the river
Yamuna (Delhi) and (Uttar Pradesh)	(a) Delhi to confluence with Chambal (b) Mathura and Agra	1. Extraction of water by Haryana and Uttar Pradesh for irrigation 2. Agricultural run off resulting in high levels of micro-pollutants in the Yamuna 3. Domestic and industrial waste of Delhi flowing into the river	Delhi dumping its domestic waste

surface water sources are contaminated and unfit for human consumption.

Water pollution is a source of various water-borne diseases. The diseases commonly caused due to contaminated water are diarrhoea, intestinal worms, hepatitis, etc. The World Health Organization shows that about one-fourth of the communicable diseases in India are water-borne. Though river pollution is common to all rivers, yet pollution of river Ganga flowing through one of the most populous regions of India has caused great concerns among all. To improve the condition of the river, National Mission for Clean Ganga was initiated. The Namami Gange Programme has been launched for the same.

Air Pollution

Air pollution is taken as addition of contaminants, like dust, fumes, gas, fog, odour, smoke or vapour to the air in substantial proportion and duration that may be harmful to flora and fauna and to property. With increasing use of varieties of fuels as the source of energy, there is a marked increase in emission of toxic gases into the atmosphere resulting in the pollution of air. Combustion of fossil fuels, mining and industries are the main sources of air pollution. These processes

Namami Gange Programme

Ganga, as a river, has national importance but the river requires cleaning by effectively controlling the pollution for its water. The Union Government has launched the 'Namami Gange Programme' with the following objectives:

- developing sewerage treatment systems in towns,
- monitoring of industrial effluents,
- development of river front,
- afforestation along the bank to increase biodiversity,
- cleaning of the river surface,
- development of 'Ganga Grams' in Uttarakhand, UP, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal, and
- creating public awareness to avoid adding pollutants into the river even in the form of rituals.

release oxides of sulphur and nitrogen, hydrocarbons, carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide, lead and asbestos.

Air pollution causes various diseases related to respiratory, nervous and circulatory systems.



Smog in Mumbai

Air pollution is world's top environmental health risk, WHO says

Sushmi Dey / TNN / Updated: Jun 2, 2015, 03:19 IST

Air pollution is the world's biggest environmental health risk, causing at least one in eight deaths around the globe, the World Health Organization has said.

Air pollution biggest killer in Southeast Asia, says WHO

A smoky haze that shrouded parts of Southeast Asia this month, forcing schools and businesses to close, is just one element of an air pollution problem that kills hundreds of thousands of people in the region annually, the World Health Organisation said.

Air pollution in major Southeast Asian and Chinese cities ranks among the worst in the world and contributes to the deaths of about 500,000 people each

year, said Michal Krzyzanowski, an air quality specialist at the WHO's European Centre for Environment and Health in Bonn.

Drifting smoke from purposely set forest fires in Indonesia caused Malaysia to declare a state of emergency last week in two areas outside Kuala Lumpur. Parts of Thailand were also blanketed in the haze.

Malaysia said hospitals reported a 150% increase in breathing problems and seven people who had a history

of respiratory problems reportedly died. The government could not confirm the smoky air was to blame.

Worldwide, air pollution contributes to some 800,000 deaths each year. The emergency in Malaysia was lifted after two days. But meteorologists are predicting a new cloud will hover over parts of Malaysia and possibly Singapore.

The haze, blamed on illegal dry-season burning to clear land on Sumatra Island, is an annual problem.

Smoky fog over cities called as urban *smog* is caused by atmospheric pollution. It proves very harmful to human health. Air pollution can also cause acid rains. Rainwater analysis of urban environment has indicated that pH value of the first rain after summer is always lower than the subsequent rains.

Noise Pollution

Noise pollution refers to the state of unbearable and uncomfortable to human beings which is caused by noise from different sources. This matter has become a serious concern only in recent years due to a variety of technological innovations.

The main sources of noise pollution are various factories, mechanised construction and demolition works, automobiles and aircraft, etc. There may be added periodical but polluting noise from sirens, loudspeakers used in various festivals, programmes



Fig. 9.2 : Noise monitoring at Panchpatmalai Bauxite Mine

associated with community activities. The level of steady noise is measured by sound level expressed in terms of decibels (dB).

Of all these sources, the biggest nuisance is the noise produced by traffic, because its intensity and nature depend upon factors, such as the type of aircraft, vehicle, train and the condition of road, as well as, that of vehicle (in case of automobiles). In sea traffic, the noise pollution is confined to the harbour due to loading and unloading activities being carried. Industries cause noise pollution but with varying intensity depending upon the type of industry.

Noise pollution is location specific and its intensity declines with increase in distance

DO YOU KNOW ?

Oceans 10 times noisier today than 40 years ago

A study by Scripps Institute of Oceanography has revealed that Ocean Noise has increased tenfold since the 1960s. Oceanologists Sean Wiggins, John Hildebrand from Scripps and Mark McDonald from WhaleAcoustics, Colorado, studied declassified US Navy documents and came to the conclusion that global shipping has contributed a lot to increased undersea noise pollution. They said with populations increasing around the globe in recent decades, the underwater world had also become a noisier place, adding that the effects of greater noise on marine life was still unknown. Findings revealed a tenfold increase in underwater ocean noise as compared with the 1960s. They said the noise levels in 2003-2004 were about 10 to 12 decibels higher than in 1964-1966. The reasons could be due to the vast increase in the global shipping trade, the number of ships plying the oceans and higher speed of vessels.

from the source of pollution, i.e. industrial areas, arteries of transportation, airport, etc. Noise pollution is hazardous in many metropolitan and big cities in India.

Urban Waste Disposal

Urban areas are generally marked by overcrowding, congestion, inadequate facilities to support the fast growing population and consequent poor sanitary conditions and foul air. Environmental pollution by solid wastes has now got significance because of enormous growth in the quantity of wastes generated from various sources. Solid waste refers to a variety of old and used articles, for example stained small pieces of metals, broken glassware, plastic containers, polythene bags, ash, floppies, CDs, etc., dumped at different places. These discarded materials are also termed as refuse, garbage and rubbish, etc., and are disposed of from two sources : (i) household or domestic establishments, and (ii) industrial or commercial establishments. The household wastes are disposed off either on public lands or on private contractors' sites,

whereas the solid wastes of industrial units are collected and disposed off through public (municipal) facilities at low lying public grounds (landfill areas). The huge turn out of ashes and debris from industries, thermal power houses and building constructions or demolitions have posed problems of serious consequences. Solid wastes cause health hazard through creation of obnoxious smell, and harbouring of flies and rodents, which act as carriers of diseases like typhoid, diphtheria, diarrhoea, malaria and cholera, etc. These wastes cause frequent nuisance as and when these are carelessly handled, spread by wind and splitted through rain water.

Concentration of industrial units in and around urban centres gives rise to disposal of industrial wastes. The dumping of industrial waste into rivers leads to water pollution. River pollution from city-based industries and untreated sewage leads to serious health problems downstream.

Urban waste disposal is a serious problem in India. In metropolitan cities like Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Bengaluru, etc., about 90 per cent of the solid waste is collected and disposed. But in most of other cities and towns



I moved into this second floor from the first to get a view of the sea and the garbage has piled up to this level obstructing the view.

in the country, about 30 to 50 per cent of the waste generated are left uncollected which accumulate on streets, in open spaces between houses and in wastelands leading to serious

Case Study : A Role Model to Restore the Ecology and Safeguard Human Health in Daurala

Based on the universal law "Polluter pays", effort to restore the ecology and safeguard the human health with people's participation has taken place in Daurala near Meerut. These efforts are now bearing fruits after a span of three years when Meerut based NGO had developed a model for ecological restoration. The meeting of the Daurala Industries officials, NGOs, Government officials and other stakeholders at Meerut has brought out results. The powerful logics, authentic studies and the pressure of people have brought a new lease of life to the twelve thousand residents of this village. It was in the year 2003 that the pitiable condition of Dauralaites drew the attention of the civil society. The groundwater of this village was contaminated with heavy metals. The reason was that the untreated wastewater of Daurala industries was leaching to the groundwater table. The NGO conducted a door to door survey of the health status of the residents and came out with a report. The organisation, the village community and people's representatives sat together to find out sustainable solutions to the health problem. The industrialists showed a keen interest towards checking the deteriorating ecology. The overhead water tank's capacity in the village was enhanced and a 900m extra pipeline was laid to supply potable water to the community. The silted pond of the village was cleaned and recharged by desilting it. Large quantity of silt was removed paving way to large quantity of water so that it recharged the aquifers. Rainwater harvesting structures have been constructed at different places which has helped in diluting the contaminants of the groundwater after the monsoons. 1000 trees have also been planted which have improved the environment.

health hazards. These wastes should be treated as resource and utilised for generating energy and compost. Untreated wastes ferment slowly and release toxic biogas to the atmosphere, including methane.

Activity

What do we throw away? Why?

Where does our waste end up?

Why do ragpickers sort out rubbish dumps? Does it have some value?

Is our urban waste worth anything?



Fig. 9.3 : A view of urban waste in Mahim, Mumbai

Rural-Urban Migration

Population flow from rural to urban areas is caused by many factors, like high demand for

labour in urban areas, low job opportunities in rural areas and unbalanced pattern of development between urban and rural areas. In India, population in cities is rapidly increasing. Due to low opportunities in smaller and medium cities, the poor people generally bypass these small cities and directly come to the mega cities for their livelihood.

A case study given below to have better understanding of the subject. Read it carefully and try to comprehend the process of rural urban migration.

A Case Study

Ramesh has been working in contract as a welder on construction site in Talcher (coal region of Odisha) for the last two years. He moved with the contractor to various places like Surat, Mumbai, Gandhi Nagar, Bharuch, Jamnagar and so on. He remits Rs. 20,000 per year to his father in his native village. The remittances have been mainly used for daily consumption, healthcare, schooling of children, etc. Part of the money is also used in agriculture, purchasing of land and building of houses, etc. The standard of living of Ramesh's family improved significantly.

Fifteen years ago, the situation was not the same. The family was passing through very tough times. Three of his brothers and their families had to survive on three acres of land. The family was highly in debt. Ramesh had to discontinue his studies after ninth standard. He was further hard pressed when he got married.

DO YOU KNOW ?

At present, 55 per cent of the world's population lives in cities and more will join them in near future. This proportion is estimated to go up to 68 per cent by 2050. That will put pressure on governments to make urban areas better places to live with optimum infrastructure facilities for desirable quality of life.

Urban population grows as a result of natural increase (when birth rate exceeds death rate), net immigration (when people move in than out), and sometimes reclassification of urban areas to encompass formerly rural population settlements. In India, it is estimated that after 1961 around 60 per cent of the urban growth has been attributed and about 29 per cent of them from rural areas to urban migration.

Simultaneously, he was also impressed by some successful out-migrants of his village who had been working in Ludhiana and supporting their families in village by sending money and some consumer goods. Thus, due to abject poverty in the family and perceived job promises at Ludhiana, he made a move to Punjab with his friend. He worked there in a woolen factory for six months at the rate of only Rs. 20 per day in 1988. Apart from the crisis of managing his personal expenditure from this meagre income, he was also facing difficulty in assimilation to the new culture and environment. Then he decided to change his place of work from Ludhiana to Surat under the guidance of his friend. He learnt the skills of welding in Surat and after that he has been moving to different places with the same contractor. Though the economic condition of Ramesh's family at village improved, he is bearing the pain of separation of his near and dear ones. He cannot shift them with him, as the job is temporary and transferable.

Comments

In developing countries, poor, semi-illiterate and the unskilled like Ramesh migrating from rural areas frequently end up performing menial jobs at low wages in informal sector in urban areas. Since wages are very low to support the family at the place of destination, the spouses are left behind in rural areas to look after children and elderly people. Thus, the rural-urban migration stream is dominated by the males.

Problems of Slums

The concept “Urban or Urban Centre” is defined in settlement geography to differentiate it from the “Rural” about which you have learnt in some previous chapters of this book. You have also learnt in the book entitled *“Fundamentals of Human Geography”* that this concept is defined differently in different countries.

Both urban and rural settlements are different in their functions, sometimes,

Dharavi—Asia's Largest Slum

“.... Buses merely skirt the periphery. Autorickshaws cannot go there, Dharavi is part of central Bombay where three wheelers are banned.

Only one main road traverses the slum, the miscalled ‘ninety-foot road’, which has been reduced to less than half of that for most of its length. Some of the side alleys and lanes are so narrow that not



even a bicycle can pass. The whole neighbourhood consists of temporary buildings, two or three storeyed high with rusty iron stairways to the upper part, where a single room is rented by a whole family, sometimes accommodating twelve or more people; it is a kind of tropical version of the industrial dwelling of Victorian London's East End.

But Dharavi is a keeper of more sombre secrets than the revulsion it inspires in the rich; a revulsion, moreover, that is, in direct proportion to the role it serves in the creation of the wealth of Bombay. In this place of shadowless, treeless sunlight, uncollected garbage, stagnant pools of foul water, where the only non-human creatures are the shining black crows and long grey rats, some of the most beautiful, valuable and useful articles in India are made. From Dharavi come delicate ceramics and pottery, exquisite embroidery and zari work, sophisticated leather goods, high-fashion garments, finely-wrought metalwork, delicate jewellery settings, wood carvings and furniture that would find its way into the richest houses, both in India and abroad...

Dharavi was an arm of the sea, that was filled by waste, largely produced by the people who have come to live there: Scheduled Castes and poor Muslims. It comprises rambling buildings of corrugated metal, 20 metres high in places, used for the treatment of hides and tanning. There are pleasant parts, but rotting garbage is everywhere...”

(Seabrook, 1996, pp. 50, 51-52)

complementing each other. Apart from these, rural and urban areas have also emerged into two separate cultural, social, political, economic and technological divide.

India, which has a predominance of rural population (approximately 69 per cent of the total population in 2011) and where villages were considered the ideal republics by

Mahatma Gandhi, most of the rural areas are still poor performing primary activities. Here most of the villages exist as appendix to the core urban centre forming its hinterland.

This may give an impression that urban centres exist as undifferentiated homogeneous entities in opposition to the rural areas. On the contrary, urban centres in India are more differentiated in terms of the socio-economic, politico-cultural and other indicators of development than any other areas. At the top, there are farm houses and high income group localities characterised by well-developed urban infrastructures, like wide roads, streetlights, water and sanitation facilities, lawns, well-developed green belt, parks, playgrounds and provisions for individual security and right to privacy. At the other extreme of it are the slums, *jhuggi-jhopari* clusters and colonies of shanty structures. These are inhabited by those people who were forced to migrate from the rural areas to these urban centres in search of livelihood but could not afford proper housing due to high rent and high costs of land. They occupy environmentally incompatible and degraded areas.

Slums are residential areas of the least choice, dilapidated houses, poor hygienic conditions, poor ventilation, lack of basic amenities, like drinking water, light and toilet facilities, etc. Open defecation, unregulated drainage system and overcrowded narrow street patterns are serious health and socio-environmental hazards.

The *Swachh Bharat Mission* (SBM) is part of the urban renewal mission launched by the Government of India to improve the quality of life in urban slums.

Moreover, most of the slum population works in low-paid, high risk-prone, unorganised sectors of the urban economy. Consequently, they are the undernourished, prone to different types of diseases and illness

and can not afford to give proper education to their children. The poverty makes them vulnerable to drug abuse, alcoholism, crime, vandalism, escapism, apathy and ultimately social exclusion.

Why are the children of slum-dwellers deprived of school education?

Land Degradation

The pressure on agricultural land increases not only due to the limited availability but also by deterioration of quality of agricultural land. Soil erosion, waterlogging, salinisation and alkalinisation of land lead to land degradation. What happens if land is consistently used without managing its fertility? Land is degraded and productivity declines. Land degradation is generally understood either as a temporary or a permanent decline in productive capacity of the land.

Though all degraded land may not be wasteland, but unchecked process of degradation may lead to the conversion to wasteland.

There are two processes that induce land degradation. These are natural and created by human beings. National Remote Sensing Centre (NRSC) has classified wastelands by using remote sensing techniques and it is possible to categorise these wastelands according to the processes that have created them. There are a few types of wastelands such as gullied /ravinous land, desertic or coastal sands, barren rocky areas, steep sloping land, and glacial areas, which are primarily caused by *natural* agents. There are other types of degraded lands such as waterlogged and marshy areas, land affected by salinity and alkalinity and land with or without scrub, which have largely been caused by *natural as well as human factors*. There are some other types of wastelands such as degraded shifting cultivation area, degraded land under plantation crops, degraded forests, degraded pastures, and mining and industrial wastelands.

are caused by human action. Table 12.3 indicates that wastelands caused by man-made processes are more important than natural processes.

A Case Study

Jhabua district is located in the westernmost agro-climatic zone in Madhya Pradesh. It is, in fact, one of the five most backward districts of the country. It is characterised by high concentration of tribal population (mostly *Bhils*). The people suffer due to poverty which has been accentuated by the high rate of resource degradation, both forest and land. The watershed management programmes funded by both the ministries of "Rural Development" and "Agriculture", Government of India, have been successfully implemented in Jhabua district which has gone a long way in preventing land degradation and improving soil quality. Watershed Management Programmes acknowledge the linkage between land, water and vegetation and attempts to improve livelihoods of people through natural resource management and community participation. In the past five years, the programmes funded by the Ministry of Rural Development alone (*implemented by Rajiv Gandhi Mission for Watershed Management*) has treated 20 per cent of the total area under Jhabua district.

The Petlawad block of Jhabua is located in the northernmost part of the district and represents an interesting and successful case of Government-NGO partnership and community participation in managing watershed programmes. The *Bhils* in Petlawad block, for example, (Sat Rundi hamlet of Karravat village) through their own efforts, have revitalised large parts of common property resources. Each household planted and maintained one tree on the common property. They also have planted fodder grass on the pasture land and adopted social-fencing of these lands for at least two years. Even after that, they say, there would be no open grazing on these lands, but stall feeding of cattle, and they are thus confident that the pastures they have developed would sustain their cattle in future.

An interesting aspect of this experience is that before the community embarked upon the process of management of the pasture, there was encroachment on this land by a villager from an adjoining village. The villagers called the tehsildar to ascertain the rights of the common land. The ensuing conflict was tackled by the villagers by offering to make the defaulter encroaching on the CPR a member of their user group and sharing the benefits of greening the common lands/pastures. (See the section on CPR in chapter 'Land Resources and Agriculture').



Fig. 9.4 : Trees planted on Common Property Resources in Jhabua

Source: Evaluation Report, Rajiv Gandhi Mission for Watershed Management, Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2002



Fig. 9.5 : Community Participation for Land Leveling in Common Property Resources in Jhabua (ASA, 2004)



EXERCISES

- 1.** Choose the right answers of the following from the given options.

 - (i) Which one of the following river is highly polluted?
 - (a) Brahmaputra
 - (c) Yamuna
 - (b) Satluj
 - (d) Godavari
 - (ii) Which one of the following diseases is caused by water pollution?
 - (a) Conjunctivitis
 - (c) Respiratory infections
 - (b) Diarrhoea
 - (d) Bronchitis
 - (iii) Which one of the following is the cause of acid rain?
 - (a) Water pollution
 - (c) Noise pollution
 - (b) Land pollution
 - (d) Air pollution
 - (iv) Push and pull factors are responsible for-
 - (a) Migration
 - (c) Slums
 - (b) Land degradation
 - (d) Air pollution

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

 - (i) What is the difference between pollution and pollutants?
 - (ii) Describe the major source of air pollution.
 - (iii) Mention major problems associated with urban waste disposal in India.
 - (iv) What are the effects of air pollution on human health.

3. Answer the following questions in about 150 words.

 - (i) Describe the nature of water pollution in India.
 - (ii) Describe the problem of slums in India.
 - (iii) Suggest measures for reduction of land degradation.



PRACTICAL WORK in Geography

PART II

TEXTBOOK FOR CLASS XII



12101



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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 committee for textbooks in Social Sciences, at the higher secondary level, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisor for this book, Professor M.H. Qureshi 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 November 2006

Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

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Rationalisation of Content In The Textbooks

In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is imperative to reduce content load on students. The National Education Policy 2020, also emphasises reducing the content load and providing opportunities for experiential learning with creative mindset. In this background, the NCERT has undertaken the exercise to rationalise the textbooks across all classes. Learning Outcomes already developed by the NCERT across classes have been taken into consideration in this exercise.

Contents of the textbooks have been rationalised in view of the following:

- Overlapping with similar content included in other subject areas in the same class
- Similar content included in the lower or higher class in the same subject
- Difficulty level
- Content, which is easily accessible to students without much interventions from teachers and can be learned by children through self-learning or peer-learning
- Content, which is irrelevant in the present context

This present edition, is a reformatted version after carrying out the changes given above.

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The following are applicable to all the maps of India used in this textbook

1. © Government of India, Copyright 2006
2. The responsibility for the correctness of internal details rests with the publisher.
3. The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.
4. The administrative headquarters of Chandigarh, Haryana and Punjab are at Chandigarh.
5. The interstate boundaries amongst Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya shown on this map are as interpreted from the "North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act.1971," but have yet to be verified.
6. The external boundaries and coastlines of India agree with the Record/Master Copy certified by Survey of India.
7. The state boundaries between Uttaranchal and Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.
8. The spellings of names in this map, have been taken from various sources.

Contents

FOREWORD	<i>iii</i>
CHAPTER 1	
Data – Its Source and Compilation	1 – 12
CHAPTER 2	
Data Processing	13 – 22
CHAPTER 3	
Graphical Representation of Data	23 – 45
CHAPTER 4	
Spatial Information Technology	46 – 61
GLOSSARY	62

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a ¹**[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 ²[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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Data – Its Source and Compilation

You must have seen and used various forms of data. For example, at the end of almost every news bulletin on Television, the temperatures recorded on that day in major cities are displayed. Similarly, the books on the Geography of India show data relating to the growth and distribution of population, and the production, distribution and trade of various crops, minerals and industrial products in tabular form. Have you ever thought what they mean? From where these data are obtained? How are they tabulated and processed to extract meaningful information from them? In this chapter, we will deliberate on these aspects of the data and try to answer these many questions.

What is Data?

The data are defined as numbers that represent measurements from the real world. **Datum** is a single measurement. We often read the news like 20 centimetres of continuous rain in Barmer or 35 centimetres of rain at a stretch in Banswara in 24 hours or information such as New Delhi – Mumbai distance via Kota – Vadodara is 1385 kilometres and via Itarsi - Manmad is 1542 kilometres by train. This numerical information is called data. It may be easily realised that there are large volume of data available around the world today. However, at times, it becomes difficult to derive logical conclusions from these data if they are in raw form. Hence, it is important to ensure that the measured information is algorithmically derived and/or logically deduced and/or statistically calculated from multiple data. **Information** is defined as either a meaningful answer to a query or a meaningful stimulus that can cascade into further queries.

Need of Data

Maps are important tools in studying geography. Besides, the distribution and growth of phenomena are also explained through the data in tabular form. We know that an interrelationship exists between many phenomena over the surface of the earth. These interactions are influenced by many variables which can be

explained best in quantitative terms. Statistical analysis of those variables has become a necessity today. For example, to study cropping pattern of an area, it is necessary to have statistical information about the cropped area, crop yield and production, irrigated area, amount of rainfall and inputs like use of fertiliser, insecticides, pesticides, etc. Similarly, data related to the total population, density, number of migrants, occupation of people, their salaries, industries, means of transportation and communication is needed to study the growth of a city. Thus, data plays an important role in geographical analysis.

Presentation of the Data

You might have heard the story of a person who was travelling with his wife and a five-year old child. On his way, he had to cross a river. Firstly, he fathomed the depth of the river at four points as 0.6, 0.8, 0.9 and 1.5 metres. He calculated the average depth as 0.95 metres. His child's height was 1 metre. So, he led them to cross the river and his child drowned in the river. On the other bank, he sat pondering: "*Lekha Jokha Thahe, to Bachha Dooba Kahe?*" (Why did the child drown when average depth was within the reach of each one?). This is called statistical fallacy, which may deviate you from the real situation. So, it is important to collect the data to know the facts and figures, but equally important is the presentation of data. Today, the use of statistical methods in the analysis, presentation and in drawing conclusions plays a significant role in almost all disciplines, including geography, which use the data. It may, therefore, be inferred that the concentration of a phenomenon, e.g., population, forest or network of transportation or communication not only vary over space and time but may also be conveniently explained using the data. In other words, you may say that there is a shift from qualitative description to quantitative analysis in explaining the relationship among variables. Hence, analytical tools and techniques have become more important these days to make the study more logical and derive precise conclusion. Precise quantitative techniques are used right from the beginning of collecting and compiling data to its tabulation, organisation, ordering and analysis till the derivation of conclusions.

Sources of Data

The data are collected through the following ways. These are : 1. Primary Sources, and 2. Secondary Sources.

The data which are collected for the first time by an individual or the group of individuals, institution/organisations are called **Primary sources of the data**. On the other hand, data collected from any published or unpublished sources are called **Secondary sources**. Fig. 1.1 shows the different methods of data collection.

Sources of Primary Data

1. Personal Observations

It refers to the collection of information by an individual or group of individuals through direct observations in the field. Through a field survey, information about the relief features, drainage patterns, types of soil and natural vegetation, as well as, population structure, sex ratio, literacy, means of transport and communication, urban and rural settlements, etc., is collected. However, in

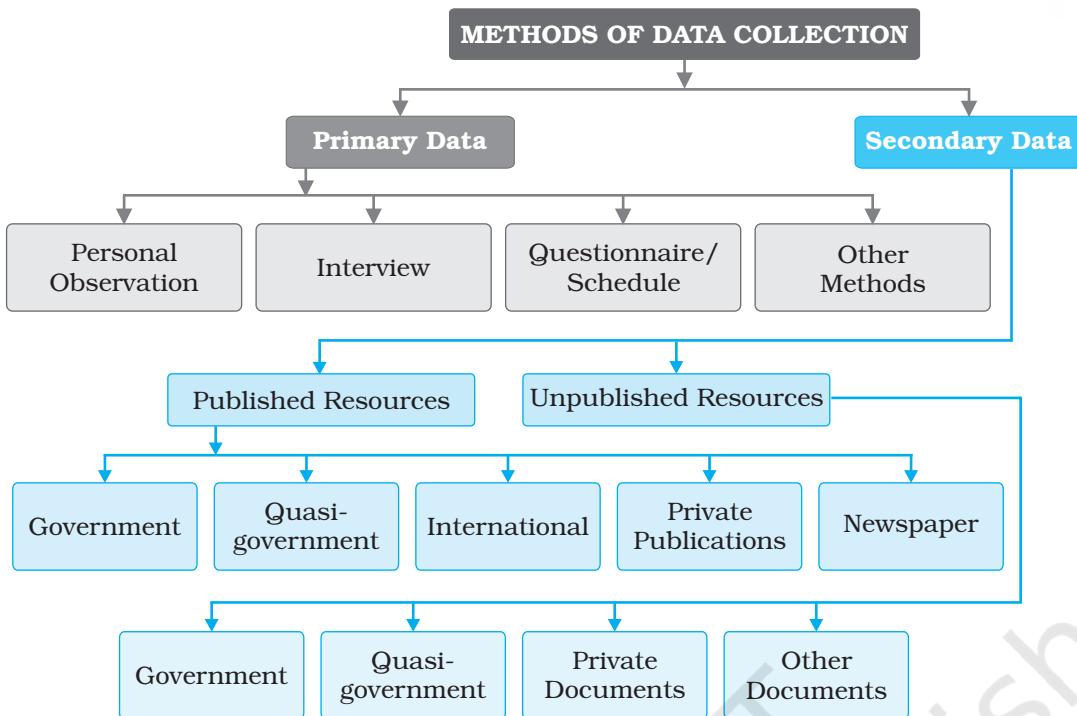


Fig. 1.1 : Methods of Data Collection

carrying out personal observations, the person(s) involved must have theoretical knowledge of the subject and scientific attitude for unbiased evaluation.

2. Interview

In this method, the researcher gets direct information from the respondent through dialogues and conversations. However, the interviewer must take the following precautions while conducting an interview with people of the area:

- (i) A precise list of items about which information is to be gathered from the persons interviewed be prepared.
- (ii) The person(s) involved in conducting the interview should be clear about the objective of the survey.
- (iii) The respondents should be taken into confidence before asking any sensitive question and he/she be assured that the secrecy will be maintained.
- (iv) A congenial atmosphere should be created so that the respondent may explain the facts without any hesitation.
- (v) The language of the questions should be simple and polite so that the respondents feel motivated and readily agree to give the information asked for.
- (vi) Avoid asking any such question that may hurt the self-respect or the religious feelings of the respondent.
- (vii) At the end of the interview, ask the respondent what additional information he/she may provide, other than what has already been provided by him/her.
- (viii) Pay your thanks and gratefulness for sparing his/her valuable time for you.

3. Questionnaire/Schedule

In this method, simple questions and their possible answers are written on a plain paper and the respondents have to tick-mark the possible answers from the given choices. At times, a set of structured questions are written and sufficient space is provided in the questionnaire where the respondent write their opinion. The objectives of the survey should be clearly mentioned in the questionnaire. This method is useful in carrying out the survey of a larger area. Even questionnaire can be mailed to far-flung places. The limitation of the method is that only the literate and educated people can be approached to provide the required information. Similar to the questionnaire that contains the questions pertaining to the matter of investigation is the **schedule**. The only difference between the **questionnaire** and the **schedule** is that the respondent himself/herself fills up the questionnaires, whereas, a properly trained enumerator himself fills up schedules by asking question addressed to the respondents. The main advantage of schedule over the questionnaire is that the information from both literate and illiterate respondents can be collected.

4. Other Methods

The data about the properties of soil and water are collected directly in the field by measuring their characteristics using soil kit and water quality kit. Similarly, field scientists collect data about the health of the crops and vegetation using transducers (Fig. 1.2).

Secondary Source of Data

Secondary sources of data consist of published and unpublished records which include government publications, documents and reports.

Published Sources

1. Government Publications

The publications of the various ministries and the departments of the Government of India, state governments and the District Bulletins are one of the most important sources of secondary information. These include the Census of India published by the Office of the Registrar General of India, reports of the National Sample Survey, Weather Reports of Indian Meteorological Department and Statistical Abstracts published by state governments, and the periodical reports published by different Commissions. Some of the government publications are shown in Fig. 1.3.



Fig. 1.2 : Field Scientist taking Measures of Crop Health



Fig. 1.3 : Some of the Government Publications

2. Semi/Quasi-government Publications

The publications and reports of Urban Development Authorities and Municipal Corporations of various cities and towns, Zila Parishads (District Councils), etc. fall under this category.

3. International Publications

The international publications comprise yearbooks, reports and monographs published by different agencies of the United Nations, such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Health Organisation (WHO), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), etc. Some of the important publications of the United Nations that are periodically published are Demographic Year Book, Statistical Year Book and the Human Development Report (*Fig. 1.4*).



Fig. 1.4 : Some of the United Nations Publications

4. Private Publications

The yearbooks, surveys, research reports and monographs published by newspapers and private organisations fall under this category.

5. Newspapers and Magazines

The daily newspapers and the weekly, fortnightly and monthly magazines serve as easily accessible sources of secondary data.

6. Electronic Media

The electronic media, specially the internet, has emerged as a major source of secondary data in recent times.

Unpublished Sources

1. Government Documents

The unpublished reports, monographs and documents are yet another source of secondary data. These documents are prepared and maintained as unpublished record at different levels of governance. For example, the village level revenue records maintained by the *patwari* of respective villages serve as an important source of village-level information.

2. Quasi-government Records

The periodical reports and the development plans prepared and maintained by different Municipal Corporations, District Councils and Civil Services departments are included in Quasi-government records.

3. Private Documents

These include unpublished reports and records of companies, trade unions, different political and apolitical organisations and residents' welfare associations.

Tabulation and Classification of Data

The data collected from primary or secondary sources initially appear as a big jumble of information with the least of comprehension. This is known as raw data. To draw meaningful inferences and to make them usable the raw data requires tabulation and classification.

One of the simplest devices to summarise and present the data is the **Statistical Table**. It is a systematic arrangement of data in columns and rows. The purpose of table is to simplify the presentation and to facilitate comparisons. This table enables the reader to locate the desired information quickly. Thus, the tables make it possible for the analyst to present a huge mass of data in an orderly manner within a minimum of space.

Data Compilation and Presentation

Data are collected, tabulated and presented in a tabular form either in absolute terms, percentages or indices.

Absolute Data

When data are presented in their original form as integers, they are called absolute data or **raw data**. For example, the total population of a country or a state, the total production of a crop or a manufacturing industry, etc. *Table 1.1* shows the absolute data of population of India and some of the selected states.

Table 1.1 : Population of India and Selected States/Union Territories, 2011

State/ UT Code	India/State/ Union Territory	Total Population		
		Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
	INDIA¹	1,21,05,69,573	62,31,21,843	58,74,47,730
1.	Jammu and Kashmir ²	1,25,41,302	66,40,662	59,00,640
2.	Himachal Pradesh	68,64,602	34,81,873	33,82,729
3.	Punjab	2,77,43,338	1,46,39,465	1,31,03,873
4.	Chandigarh ³	10,55,450	5,80,663	4,74,787
5.	Uttarakhand	1,00,86,292	51,37,773	49,48,519
6.	Haryana	2,53,51,462	1,34,94,734	1,18,56,728
7.	National Capital Territory of Delhi	1,67,87,941	89,87,326	78,00,615
8.	Rajasthan	6,85,48,437	3,55,50,997	3,29,97,440
9.	Uttar Pradesh	19,98,12,341	10,44,80,510	9,53,31,831
10.	Bihar	10,40,99,452	5,42,78,157	4,98,21,295

¹ inclusive of all territorial boundary of India

² excluding PoK

³ Union Territory

Source : Census, 2011

Percentage/Ratio

Some time data are tabulated in a ratio or percentage form that are computed from a common parameter, such as literacy rate or growth rate of population, percentage of agricultural products or industrial products, etc. *Table 1.2* presents

literacy rates of India over the decades in a percentage form. Literacy rate is calculated as :

$$\frac{\text{Total Literates}}{\text{Total Population}} \times 100$$

Index Number

An index number is a statistical measure designed to show changes in variable or a group of related variables with respect to time, geographic location or other characteristics. It is to be noted that index numbers not only measure changes over a period of time but also compare economic conditions of different locations, industries, cities or countries. Index number is widely used in economics and business to see changes in price and quantity. There are various methods for the calculation of index number. However, the simple aggregate method is most commonly used. It is obtained using the following formula:

$$\frac{\sum q_1}{\sum q_0} \times 100$$

$\sum q_1$ = Total of the current year production

$\sum q_0$ = Total of the base year production

Generally, base year values are taken as 100 and index number is calculated thereupon. For example, *Table 1.3* shows the production of iron ore in India and the changes in index number from 1970–71 to 2000–01 taking 1970–71 as the base year.

Table 1.3 : Production of Iron Ore in India

	Production (in million tonnes)	Calculation	Index Number
1970-71	32.5	$\frac{32.5}{32.5} \times 100$	100
1980-81	42.2	$\frac{42.2}{32.5} \times 100$	130
1990-91	53.7	$\frac{53.7}{32.5} \times 100$	165
2000-01	67.4	$\frac{67.4}{32.5} \times 100$	207

Source – India: Economic Year Book, 2005

Processing of Data

The processing of raw data requires their tabulation and classification in selected classes. For example, the data given in *Table 1.4* can be used to understand how they are processed.

We can see that the given data are ungrouped. Hence, the first step is to group data in order to reduce its volume and make it easy to understand.

Table 1.2 : Literacy Rate : 1951 – 2011

Year	Person	Male	Female
1951	18.33	27.16	8.86
1961	28.3	40.4	15.35
1971	34.45	45.96	21.97
1981	43.57	56.38	29.76
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29
2001	64.84	75.85	54.16
2011	73.0	80.9	64.6

Source: Census, 2011

Table 1.4 : Score of 60 Students in Geography Paper

47	02	39	64	22	46	28	02	09	10
89	96	74	06	26	15	92	84	84	90
32	22	53	62	73	57	37	44	67	50
18	51	36	58	28	65	63	59	75	70
56	58	43	74	64	12	35	42	68	80
64	37	17	31	41	71	56	83	59	90

Grouping of Data

The grouping of the raw data requires determining of the number of classes in which the raw data are to be grouped and what will be the class intervals. The selection of the class interval and the number of classes, however, depends upon the range of raw data. The raw data given in *Table 1.4* ranges from 02 to 96. We can, therefore, conveniently choose to group the data into ten classes with an interval of ten units in each group, e.g. 0–10, 10–20, 20–30, etc. (*Table 1.5*).

Table 1.5 : Making Tally Marks to Obtain Frequency

Group	Numerical of Raw Data	Tally Marks	Number of Individual
0-10	02,02,09,06		4
10-20	10,15,18,12,17		5
20-30	22,28,26,22,28		5
30-40	39,32,37,36,35,37,31	//	7
40-50	47,46,44,43,42,41	/	6
50-60	53,57,50,51,58, 59,56,58,56,59		10
60-70	64,62,67,65, 63,64,68,64	//	8
70-80	74,73,75,70,74,71	/	6
80-90	89,84,84,80,83		5
90-100	96,92,90,90		4
			$\sum f = N = 60$

Process of Classification

Once the number of groups and the class interval of each group are determined, the raw data are classified as shown in *Table 1.5*. It is done by a method popularly known as **Four and Cross Method** or tally marks.

First of all, one tally mark is assigned to each individual in the group in which it is falling. For example, the first numerical in the raw data is 47. Since, it falls in the group of 40–50, one tally mark is recorded in the column 3 of *Table 1.5*.

Frequency Distribution

In *Table 1.5* we have classified the raw data of a quantitative variable and have grouped them class-wise. The number of individuals (places in the fourth column of *Table 1.5*) is known as frequency and the column represents the frequency

distribution. It illustrates how the different values of a variable are distributed in different classes. Frequencies are classified as **Simple** and **Cumulative frequencies**.

Simple Frequencies

It is expressed by '**f**' and represent the number of individuals falling in each group (*Table 1.6*). The sum of all the frequencies, assigned to all classes, represents the total number of individual observations in the given series. In statistics, it is expressed by the symbol N that is equal to $\sum f$. It is expressed as $\sum f = N = 60$ (*Table 1.5 and 1.6*).

Table 1.6 : Frequency Distribution

Group	f	Cf
00-10	4	4
10-20	5	9
20-30	5	14
30-40	7	21
40-50	6	27
50-60	10	37
60-70	8	45
70-80	6	51
80-90	5	56
90-100	4	60
	$\sum f = N = 60$	

Cumulative Frequencies

It is expressed by '**Cf**' and can be obtained by adding successive simple frequencies in each group with the previous sum, as shown in the column 3 of *Table 1.6*. For example, the first simple frequency in *Table 1.6* is 4. Next frequency of 5 is added to 4 which gives a total of 9 as the next cumulative frequency. Likewise, add every next number until the last cumulative frequency of 60 is obtained. Note that it is equal to N or $\sum f$.

Advantage of cumulative frequency is that one can easily make out that there are 27 individuals scoring less than 50 or that 45 out of 60 individuals lie below the score of 70.

Each simple frequency is associated with its group or class. The **exclusive** or **inclusive** methods are used for forming the groups or classes.

Exclusive Method

As shown in *Table 1.6*, two numbers are shown in its first column . Notice that the upper limit of one group is the same as the lower limit of the next group. For example, the upper limit of the one group (20 – 30) is 30, which is the lower limit of the next group (30 – 40), making 30 to appear in both groups. But any observation having the value of 30 is included in the group where it is at its lower limit and it is excluded from the group where it is the upper limit as (in 20-30 groups). That is why the method is known as exclusive method, i.e. a group is excluded of its upper limits. You may now make out where all the marginal values of *Table 1.4* will go.

The groups in *Table 1.6*, are interpreted in the following manner –

0 and under 10	10 and under 20
20 and under 30	30 and under 40
40 and under 50	50 and under 60
60 and under 70	70 and under 80
80 and under 90	90 and under100

Hence, in this type of grouping the class extends over ten units. For example, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 are included in the third group.

Inclusive Method

In this method, a value equal to the upper limit of a group is included in the same group. Therefore, it is known as inclusive method. Classes are mentioned in a different form in this method, as shown in the first column of *Table 1.7*. Normally, the upper limit of a group differs by 1 with the lower limits of the next group. It is important to note that each group spreads over ten units in this method also. For example, the group of 50–59 includes the ten values i.e. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58 and 59 (*Table 1.7*). In this method, both the upper and lower limit are included to find the frequency distribution.

Frequency Polygon

A graph of frequency distribution is known as the frequency polygon. It helps in comparing two or more than two frequency distributions (*Fig. 1.5*). The two frequencies are shown using a bar diagram and a line graph respectively.

Ogive

When the frequencies are added they are called cumulative frequencies and are listed in a table called cumulative frequency table. The curve obtained by plotting cumulative frequencies is called an **Ogive** (pronounced as ogive). It is constructed either by the **less than method** or the **more than method**.

In the **less than method**, we start with the upper limit of the classes and go on adding the frequencies. When these frequencies are plotted, we get a rising curve as shown in *Table 1.8* and *Fig. 1.6*.

In the **more than method**, we start with the lower limits of the classes and from the cumulative frequency, we subtract frequency of each class. When these frequencies are plotted, we get a declining curve as shown in *Table 1.9* and *Fig. 1.7*.

Both the *Figs. 1.5* and *1.6* may be combined to get a comparative picture of less than and more than Ogive as shown in *Table 1.10* and *Fig. 1.7*.

Table 1.7 : Frequency Distribution

Group	f	Cf
0 – 9	4	4
10 – 19	5	9
20 – 29	5	14
30 – 39	7	21
40 – 49	6	27
50 – 59	10	37
60 – 69	8	45
70 – 79	6	51
80 – 89	5	56
90 – 99	4	60
$\sum f = N = 60$		

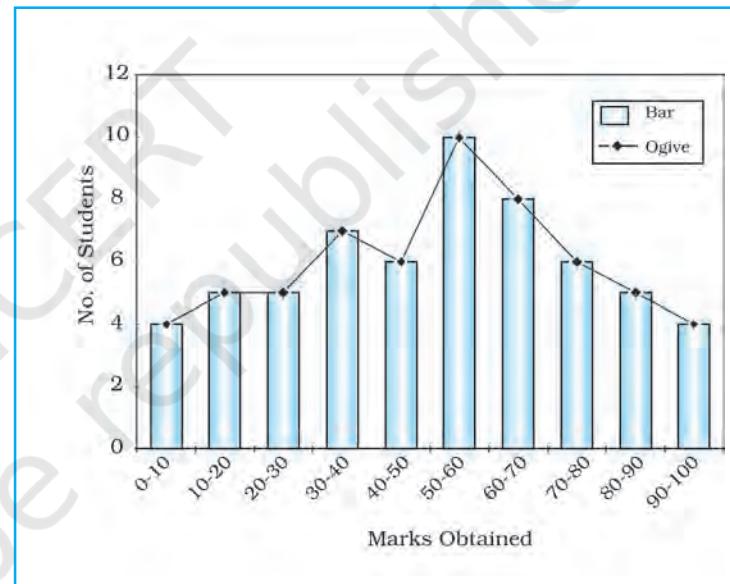


Fig. 1.5 : Frequency Distribution Polygon

Table 1.8 : Frequency Distribution less than Method

Less than Method	Cf
Less than 10	4
Less than 20	9
Less than 30	14
Less than 40	21
Less than 50	27
Less than 60	37
Less than 70	45
Less than 80	51
Less than 90	56
Less than 100	60

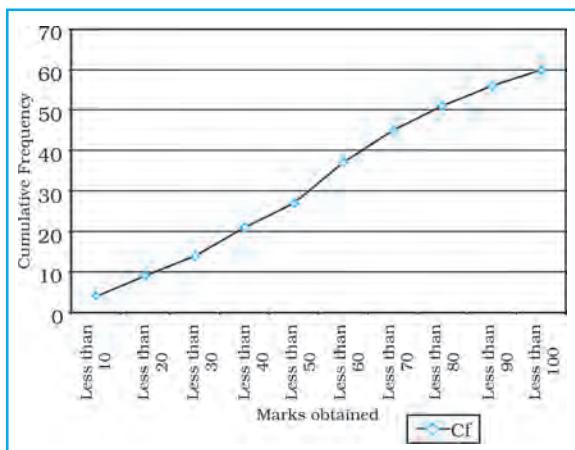


Fig. 1.6 : Less than Ogive

Table 1.9 : Frequency Distribution more than Method

More than Method	Cf
More than 0	60
More than 10	56
More than 20	51
More than 30	44
More than 40	38
More than 50	28
More than 60	20
More than 70	14
More than 80	9
More than 90	4

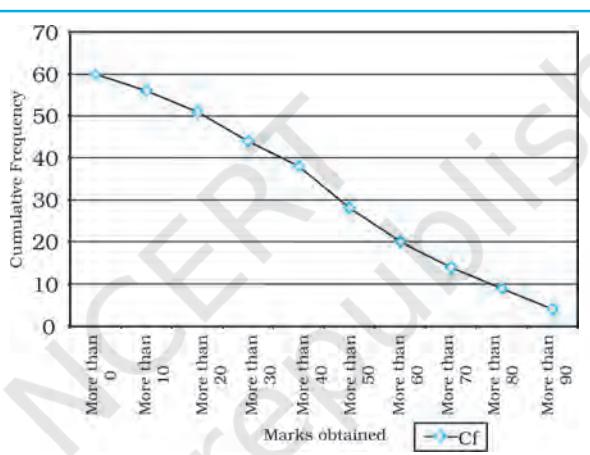


Fig. 1.7 : More than Ogive

Table 1.10 : Less than and more than Ogive

Marks obtained	Less than	More than
0 - 10	4	60
10 - 20	9	56
20 - 30	14	51
30 - 40	21	44
30 - 40	27	38
50 - 60	37	28
60 - 70	45	20
70 - 80	51	14
80 - 90	56	9
90 - 100	60	4

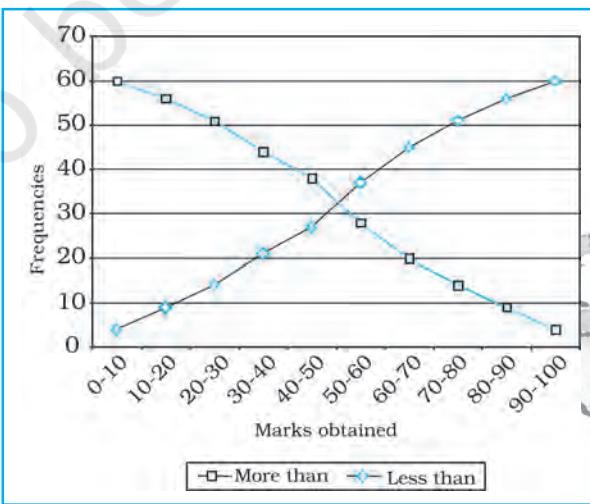


Fig. 1.8 : Less than and more than Ogive

Excercises

1. Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below:
 - (i) A number or character which represents measurement is called
(a) Digit (b) Data (c) Number (d) Character
 - (ii) A single datum is a single measurement from the
(a) Table (b) Frequency (c) Real world (d) Information
 - (iii) In a tally mark grouping by four and crossing fifth is called
(a) Four and Cross Method (b) Tally Marking Method
(c) Frequency plotting Method (d) Inclusive Method
 - (iv) An Ogive is a method in which
(a) Simple frequency is measured
(b) Cumulative frequency is measured
(c) Simple frequency is plotted
(d) Cumulative frequency is plotted
 - (v) If both ends of a group are taken in frequency grouping, it is called
(a) Exclusive Method (b) Inclusive Method
(c) Marking Method (d) Statistical Method
 2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words:
 - (i) Differentiate between data and information.
 - (ii) What do you mean by data processing?
 - (iii) What is the advantage of foot note in a table?
 - (iv) What do you mean by primary sources of data?
 - (v) Enumerate five sources of secondary data.
 3. Answer the following questions in about 125 words:
 - (i) Discuss the national and international agencies where from secondary data may be collected.
 - (ii) What is the importance of an index number? Taking an example examine the process of calculating an index number and show the changes.
- ### Activity
1. In a class of 35 students of Geography, following marks were obtained out of 10 marks in unit test – 1, 0, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 2, 3, 4, 0, 2, 5, 8, 4, 5, 3, 6, 3, 2, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 7, 8, 9, 7, 9, 4, 5, 4, 3. Represent the data in the form of a group frequency distribution.
 2. Collect the last test result of Geography of your class and represent the marks in the form of a group frequency distribution.



12101CH02

2

Data Processing

You have learnt in previous chapter that organising and presenting data makes them comprehensible. It facilitates data processing. A number of statistical techniques are used to analyse the data e.g.

1. Measures of Central Tendency
2. Measures of Dispersion
3. Measures of Relationship

While measures of central tendency provide the value that is an ideal representative of a set of observations, the measures of dispersion take into account the internal variations of the data, often around a measure of central tendency. The measures of relationship, on the other hand, provide the degree of association between any two or more related phenomena, like rainfall and incidence of flood or fertiliser consumption and yield of crops. In this chapter, you will learn the measures of central tendency.

Measures of Central Tendency

The measurable characteristics such as rainfall, elevation, density of population, levels of educational attainment or age groups vary. If we want to understand them, how would we do ? We may, perhaps, require a single value or number that best represents all the observations. This single value usually lies near the centre of a distribution rather than at either extreme. The statistical techniques used to find out the centre of distributions are referred as **measures of central tendency**. The number denoting the central tendency is the representative figure for the entire data set because it is the point about which items have a tendency to cluster.

Measures of central tendency are also known as statistical averages. There are a number of the measures of central tendency, such as the **mean**, **median** and the **mode**.

Mean

The mean is the value which is derived by summing all the values and dividing it by the number of observations.

Median

The median is the value of the rank, which divides the arranged series into two equal numbers. It is independent of the actual value. Arranging the data in ascending or descending order and then finding the value of the middle ranking number is the most significant in calculating the median. In case of the even numbers the average of the two middle ranking values will be the median.

Mode

Mode is the maximum occurrence or frequency at a particular point or value. You may notice that each one of these measures is a different method of determining a single representative number suited to different types of the data sets.

Mean

Mean is the simple arithmetic average of the different values of a variable. For ungrouped and grouped data, the methods for calculating mean are necessarily different. Mean can be calculated by direct or indirect methods, for both grouped and ungrouped data.

Computing Mean from Ungrouped Data

Direct Method

While calculating mean from ungrouped data using the direct method, the values for each observation are added and the total number of occurrences are divided by the sum of all observations. The mean is calculated using the following formula:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum x}{N}$$

Where,

\bar{X} = Mean

\sum = Sum of a series of measures

x = A raw score in a series of measures

$\sum x$ = The sum of all the measures

N = Number of measures

Example 2.1 : Calculate the mean rainfall for Malwa Plateau in Madhya Pradesh from the rainfall of the districts of the region given in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 : Calculation of Mean Rainfall

Districts in Malwa Plateau	Normal Rainfall in mms	Indirect Method
	x Direct Method	$d = x - 800^*$
Indore	979	179
Dewas	1083	283
Dhar	833	33
Ratlam	896	96
Ujjain	891	91
Mandsaur	825	25
Shajapur	977	177
$\sum x$ and $\sum d$	6484	884
$\frac{\sum x}{N}$ and $\frac{\sum d}{N}$	926.29	126.29

* Where 800 is assumed mean.

d is deviation from the assumed mean.

The mean for the data given in *Table 2.1* is computed as under:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum x}{N}$$

$$= \frac{6,484}{7}$$

$$= 926.29$$

It could be noted from the computation of the mean that the raw rainfall data have been added directly and the sum is divided by the number of observations i.e., districts. Therefore, it is known as **direct method**.

Indirect Method

For a large number of observations, the indirect method is normally used to compute the mean. It helps in reducing the values of the observations to smaller numbers by subtracting a constant value from them. For example, as shown in *Table 2.1*, the rainfall values lie between 800 and 1100 mm. We can reduce these values by selecting 'assumed mean' and subtracting the chosen number from each value. In the present case, we have taken 800 as assumed mean. Such an operation is known as **coding**. The mean is then worked out from these reduced numbers (Column 3 of *Table 2.1*).

The following formula is used in computing the mean using indirect method:

$$\bar{X} = A + \frac{\sum d}{N}$$

Where,

A = Subtracted constant

$\sum d$ = Sum of the coded scores

N = Number of individual observations in a series

Mean for the data as shown in *Table 2.1* can be computed using the indirect method in the following manner :

$$\bar{X} = 800 + \frac{884}{7}$$

$$= 800 + \frac{884}{7}$$

$$\bar{X} = 926.29 \text{ mm}$$

Note that the mean value comes the same when computed either of the two methods.

Computing Mean from Grouped Data

The mean is also computed for the grouped data using either direct or indirect method.

Direct Method

When scores are grouped into a frequency distribution, the individual values lose their identity. These values are represented by the midpoints of the class

intervals in which they are located. While computing the mean from grouped data using direct method, the midpoint of each class interval is multiplied with its corresponding frequency (f); all values of fx (the X are the midpoints) are added to obtain $\sum fx$ that is finally divided by the number of observations i. e., N. Hence, mean is calculated using the following formula :

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum fx}{N}$$

Where :

\bar{X} = Mean

f = Frequencies

x = Midpoints of class intervals

N = Number of observations (it may also be defined as $\sum f$)

Example 2.2 : Compute the average wage rate of factory workers using data given in Table 2.2:

Table 2.2 : Wage Rate of Factory Workers

Wage Rate (Rs./day)	Number of workers (f)
Classes	f
50 - 70	10
70 - 90	20
90 - 110	25
110 - 130	35
130 - 150	9

16

Table 2.3 : Computation of Mean

Classes	Frequency (f)	Mid-points (x)	fx	$d=x-100$	fd	$U = (x-100)/20$	fu
50-70	10	60	600	-40	-400	-2	-20
70-90	20	80	1,600	-20	-400	-1	-20
90-110	25	100	2,500	0	0	0	0
110-130	35	120	4,200	20	700	1	35
130-150	9	140	1,260	40	360	2	18
$\sum fx$ and $\sum f$	$\sum f = 99$		$\sum fx = 10,160$		$\sum fd = 260$		$\sum fu = 13$

Where $N = \sum f = 99$

Table 2.3 provides the procedure for calculating the mean for grouped data. In the given frequency distribution, ninety-nine workers have been grouped into five classes of wage rates. The midpoints of these groups are listed in the third column. To find the mean, each midpoint (X) has been multiplied by the frequency (f) and their sum ($\sum fx$) divided by N.

The mean may be computed as under using the given formula :

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum fx}{N}$$

$$= \frac{10,160}{99}$$

$$= 102.6$$

Indirect Method

The following formula can be used for the indirect method for grouped data. The principles of this formula are similar to that of the indirect method given for ungrouped data. It is expressed as under

$$\bar{x} = A \pm \frac{\sum fd}{N}$$

Where,

A = Midpoint of the assumed mean group

(The assumed mean group in *Table 2.3* is 90 – 110 with 100 as midpoint.)

f = Frequency

d = Deviation from the assumed mean group (A)

N = Sum of cases or $\sum f$

i = Interval width (in this case, it is 20)

From *Table 2.3* the following steps involved in computing mean using the direct method can be deduced :

- (i) Mean has been assumed in the group of 90 – 110. It is preferably assumed from the class as near to the middle of the series as possible. This procedure minimises the magnitude of computation. In *Table 2.3*, A (assumed mean) is 100, the midpoint of the class 90 – 110.
- (ii) The fifth column (u) lists the deviations of midpoint of each class from the midpoint of the assumed mean group (90 – 110).
- (iii) The sixth column shows the multiplied values of each f by its corresponding d to give fd . Then, positive and negative values of fd are added separately and their absolute difference is found ($\sum fd$). Note that the sign attached to $\sum fd$ is replaced in the formula following A , where \pm is given.

The mean using indirect method is computed as under :

$$\bar{x} = A \pm \frac{\sum fd}{N}$$

$$= 100 + \frac{260}{99}$$

$$= 100 + 2.6$$

$$= 102.6$$

Note : The Indirect mean method will work for both equal and unequal class intervals.

Median

Median is a **positional average**. It may be defined “as the point in a distribution with an equal number of cases on each side of it”. The **Median** is expressed using symbol M.

Computing Median for Ungrouped Data

When the scores are ungrouped, these are arranged in ascending or descending order. Median can be found by locating the central observation or value in the arranged series. The central value may be located from either end of the series arranged in ascending or descending order. The following equation is used to compute the median :

$$\text{Value of } \left(\frac{N+1}{2} \right) \text{ th item}$$

Example 2.3: Calculate median height of mountain peaks in parts of the Himalayas using the following:

8,126 m, 8,611m, 7,817 m, 8,172 m, 8,076 m, 8,848 m, 8,598 m.

Computation : Median (M) may be calculated in the following steps :

- (i) Arrange the given data in ascending or descending order.
- (ii) Apply the formula for locating the central value in the series. Thus :

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Value of } & \left(\frac{N+1}{2} \right) \text{ th item} \\ & = \left(\frac{7+1}{2} \right) \text{th item} \\ & = \left(\frac{8}{2} \right) \text{th item}\end{aligned}$$

4th item in the arranged series will be the Median.

Arrangement of data in ascending order –

7,817; 8,076; 8,126; 8,172; 8,598; 8,611; 8,848
↓
4th item

Hence,

$$M = 8,172 \text{ m}$$

Computing Median for Grouped Data

When the scores are grouped, we have to find the value of the point where an individual or observation is centrally located in the group. It can be computed using the following formula :

$$M = l + \frac{i}{f} \left(\frac{N}{2} - c \right)$$

Where,

- M = Median for grouped data
- l = Lower limit of the median class
- i = Interval
- f = Frequency of the median class
- N = Total number of frequencies or number of observations
- c = Cumulative frequency of the pre-median class.

Example 2.4 : Calculate the median for the following distribution :

class	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	100-110
f	3	7	11	16	8	5

Table 2.4 : Computation of Median

Class	Frequency (f)	Cumulative Frequency (F)	Calculation of Median Class
50-60	3	3	
60-70	7	10	
70-80	11	21	
80-90 (median group)	$16f$	37	$M = \frac{N}{2}$
90-100	8	45	$= \frac{50}{2}$
100-110	5	50	$= 25$
	$\sum f$ or $N = 50$		

The median is computed in the steps given below :

- The frequency table is set up as in *Table 2.4*.
- Cumulative frequencies (F) are obtained by adding each normal frequency of the successive interval groups, as given in column 3 of *Table 2.4*.
- Median number is obtained by $\frac{N}{2}$ i.e. $\frac{50}{2} = 25$ in this case, as shown in column 4 of *Table 2.4*.
- Count into the cumulative frequency distribution (F) from the top towards bottom until the value next greater than $\frac{N}{2}$ is reached. In this example, $\frac{N}{2}$ is 25, which falls in the Class interval of 40-44 with cumulative frequency of 37, thus the cumulative frequency of the pre-median class is 21 and actual frequency of the median class is 16.
- The median is then computed by substituting all the values determined in the step 4 in the following equation :

$$M = l + \frac{i}{f}(m - c)$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= 80 + \frac{10}{16} (25 - 21) \\
 &= 80 + \frac{5}{8} \times 4 \\
 &= 80 + \frac{5}{2} \\
 &= 80 + 2.5 \\
 M &= 82.5
 \end{aligned}$$

Mode

The value that occurs most frequently in a distribution is referred to as **mode**. It is symbolised as **Z** or **M_o**. Mode is a measure that is less widely used compared to mean and median. There can be more than one type mode in a given data set.

Computing Mode for Ungrouped Data

While computing mode from the given data sets all measures are first arranged in ascending or descending order. It helps in identifying the most frequently occurring measure easily.

Example 2.5 : Calculate mode for the following test scores in geography for ten students :

61, 10, 88, 37, 61, 72, 55, 61, 46, 22

Computation : To find the mode the measures are arranged in ascending order as given below:

10, 22, 37, 46, 55, **61, 61, 61**, 72, 88.

The measure 61 occurring three times in the series is the **mode** in the given dataset. As no other number is in the similar way in the dataset, it possesses the property of being **unimodal**.

Example 2.6 : Calculate the mode using a different sample of ten other students, who scored:

82, 11, 57, 82, 08, 11, 82, 95, 41, 11.

Computation : Arrange the given measures in an ascending order as shown below :

08, 11, 11, 11, 41, 57, 82, 82, 82, 95

It can easily be observed that measures of 11 and 82 both are occurring three times in the distribution. The dataset, therefore, is **bimodal** in appearance. If three values have equal and highest frequency, the series is **trimodal**. Similarly, a recurrence of many measures in a series makes it **multimodal**. However, when there is no measure being repeated in a series it is designated as **without mode**.

Comparison of Mean, Median and Mode

The three measures of the **central tendency** could easily be compared with the help of normal distribution curve. The normal curve refers to a frequency distribution in which the graph of scores often called a bell-shaped curve. Many

human traits such as intelligence, personality scores and student achievements have normal distributions. The bell-shaped curve looks the way it does, as it is symmetrical. In other words, most of the observations lie on and around the middle value. As one approaches the extreme values, the number of observations reduces in a symmetrical manner. A normal curve can have high or low data variability. An example of a normal distribution curve is given in Fig. 2.3.

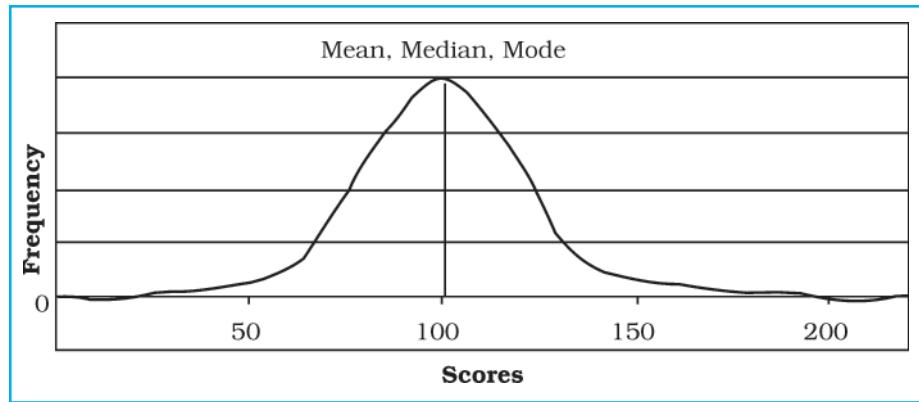


Fig. 2.3 : Normal Distribution Curve

The normal distribution has an important characteristic. **The mean, median and mode are the same score** (a score of 100 in Fig. 2.3) because a normal distribution is symmetrical. The score with the highest frequency occurs in the middle of the distribution and exactly half of the scores occur above the middle and half of the scores occur below. Most of the scores occur around the middle of the distribution or the mean. Very high and very low scores do not occur frequently and are, therefore, considered rare.

If the data are skewed or distorted in some way, the mean, median and mode will not coincide and the effect of the skewed data needs to be considered (Fig. 2.4 and 2.5).

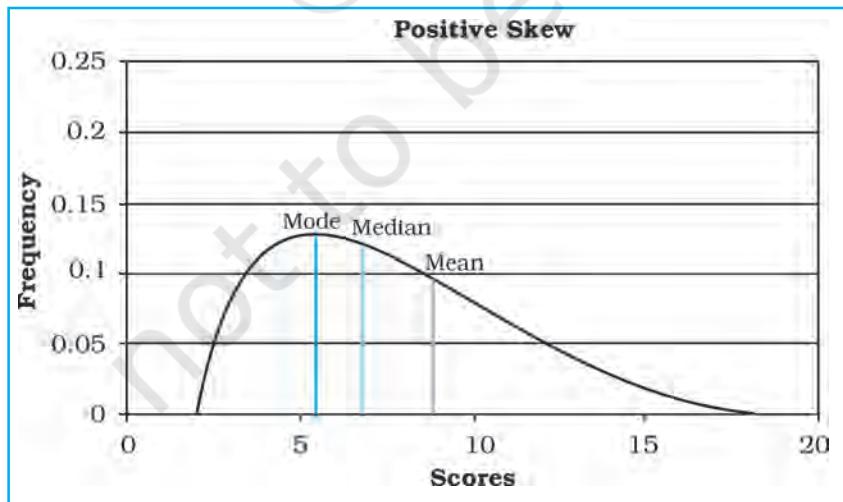


Fig. 2.4 : Positive Skew

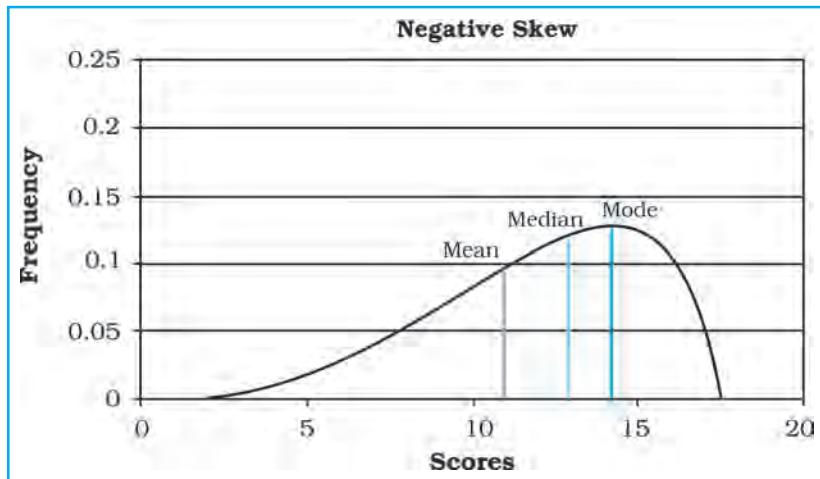


Fig. 2.5 : Negative Skew

Exercises

- 1.** Choose the correct answer from the four alternatives given below:

 - (i) The measure of central tendency that does not get affected by extreme values:
 - (a) Mean
 - (b) Mean and Mode
 - (c) Mode
 - (d) Median
 - (ii) The measure of central tendency always coinciding with the hump of any distribution is:
 - (a) Median
 - (b) Median and Mode
 - (c) Mean
 - (d) Mode

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words:

 - (i) Define the mean.
 - (ii) What are the advantages of using mode ?

3. Answer the following questions in about 125 words:

 - (i) Explain relative positions of mean, median and mode in a normal distribution and skewed distribution with the help of diagrams.
 - (ii) Comment on the applicability of mean, median and mode (*hint: from their merits and demerits*).

Activity

1. Take an imaginary example applicable to geographical analysis and explain direct and indirect methods of calculating mean from ungrouped data.



12101CH03

3

Graphical Representation of Data

You must have seen graphs, diagrams and maps showing different types of data. For example, the thematic maps shown in Chapter 1 of book for Class XI entitled *Practical Work in Geography, Part-I (NCERT, 2006)* depict relief and slope, climatic conditions, distribution of rocks and minerals, soils, population, industries, general land use and cropping pattern in the Nagpur district, Maharashtra. These maps have been drawn using large volume of related data collected, compiled and processed. Have you ever thought what would have happened if the same information would have been either in tabular form or in a descriptive transcript? Perhaps, it would not have been possible from such a medium of communication to draw visual impressions which we get through these maps. Besides, it would also have been a time consuming task to draw inferences about whatever is being presented in non-graphical form. Hence, the graphs, diagrams and maps enhance our capabilities to make meaningful comparisons between the phenomena represented, save our time and present a simplified view of the characteristics represented. In the present chapter, we will discuss methods of constructing different types of graphs, diagrams and maps.

Representation of Data

The data describe the properties of the phenomena they represent. They are collected from a variety of sources (Chapter 1). The geographers, economists, resource scientists and the decision makers use a lot of data these days. Besides the tabular form, the data may also be presented in some graphic or diagrammatic form. The transformation of data through visual methods like graphs, diagrams, maps and charts is called representation of data. Such a form of the presentation of data makes it easy to understand the patterns of population growth, distribution and the density, sex ratio, age-sex composition, occupational structure, etc. within a geographical territory. There is a Chinese proverb that '*a picture is equivalent to thousands of words*'. Hence, the graphic method of the representation of data enhances our understanding, and makes the comparisons easy. Besides, such methods create an imprint on mind for a longer time.

General Rules for Drawing Graphs, Diagrams and Maps

1. Selection of a Suitable Method

Data represent various themes such as temperature, rainfall, growth and distribution of the population, production, distribution and trade of different commodities, etc. These characteristics of the data need to be suitably represented by an appropriate graphical method. For example, data related to the temperature or growth of population between different periods in time and for different countries/states may best be represented using line graphs. Similarly, bar diagrams are suited best for showing rainfall or the production of commodities. The population distribution, both human and livestock, or the distribution of the crop producing areas may suitably be represented on dot maps and the population density using choropleth maps.

2. Selection of Suitable Scale

The scale is used as measure of the data for representation over diagrams and maps. Hence, the selection of suitable scale for the given data sets should be carefully made and must take into consideration entire data that is to be represented. The scale should neither be too large nor too small.

3. Design

We know that the design is an important cartographic task (Refer 'Essentials of Map Making' as discussed in Chapter 1 of the *Practical Work in Geography, Part-I (NCERT, 2006)*, a textbook of Class XI). The following components of the cartographic designs are important. Hence, these should be carefully shown on the final diagram/map.

24

Title

The title of the diagram/map indicates the name of the area, reference year of the data used and the caption of the diagram. These components are represented using letters and numbers of different font sizes and thickness. Besides, their placing also matters. Normally, title, subtitle and the corresponding year are shown in the centre at the top of the map/diagram.

Legend

A legend or index is an important component of any diagram/map. It explains the colours, shades, symbols and signs used in the map and diagram. It should also be carefully drawn and must correspond to the contents of the map/diagram. Besides, it also needs to be properly positioned. Normally, a legend is shown either at the lower left or lower right side of the map sheet.

Direction

The maps, being a representation of the part of the earth's surface, need be oriented to the directions. Hence, the direction symbol, i. e. North, should also be drawn and properly placed on the final map.

Construction of Diagrams

The data possess measurable characteristics such as length, width and volume. The diagrams and the maps that are drawn to represent these data related characteristics may be grouped into the following types:

- (i) One-dimensional diagrams, such as line graph, poly graph, bar diagram, histogram, age, sex, pyramid, etc.;
- (ii) Two-dimensional diagram, such as pie diagram and rectangular diagram;
- (iii) Three-dimensional diagrams, such as cube and spherical diagrams.

It would not be possible to discuss the methods of construction of these many types of diagrams and maps primarily due to the time constraint. We will, therefore, describe the most commonly drawn diagrams and maps and the way they are constructed. These are :

- Line graphs
- Pie diagram
- Bar diagrams
- Wind rose and star diagram
- Flow Charts

Line Graph

The line graphs are usually drawn to represent the time series data related to the temperature, rainfall, population growth, birth rates and the death rates. *Table 3.1* provides the data used for the construction of Fig 3.2.

Construction of a Line Graph

- (a) Simplify the data by converting it into round numbers, such as the growth rate of population as shown in *Table 3.1* for the years 1961 and 1981 may be rounded to 2.0 and 2.2, respectively.
- (b) Draw X and Y-axis. Mark the time series variables (years/months) on the X axis and the data quantity/value to be plotted (growth of population in per cent or the temperature in $^{\circ}\text{C}$) on Y axis.
- (c) Choose an appropriate scale and label it on Y-axis. If the data involve a negative figure, then the selected scale should also show it as shown in *Fig. 3.1*.

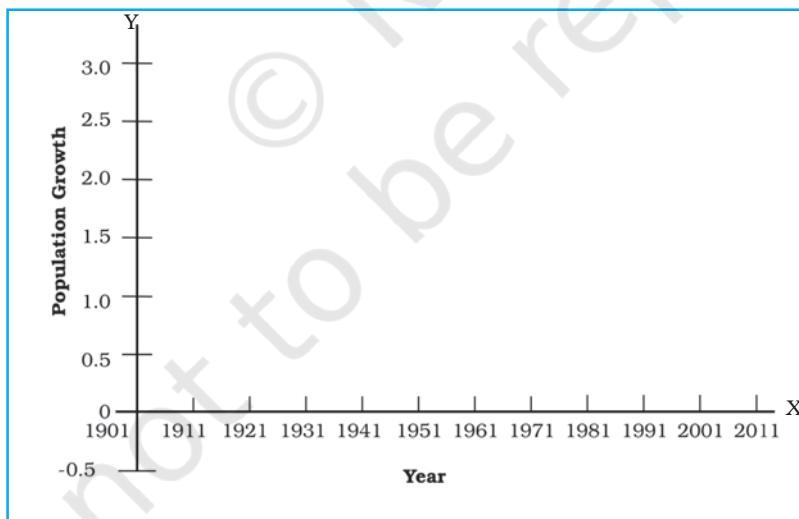


Fig. 3.1 : Construction of a Line Graph

- (d) Plot the data to depict year/month-wise values according to the selected scale on Y-axis, mark the location of the plotted values by a dot and join these dots by a free hand drawn line.

Example 3.1 : Construct a line graph to represent the data as given in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1 : Growth rate of Population in India – 1901 to 2011

Year	Growth rate in percentage
1901	-
1911	0.56
1921	-0.30
1931	1.04
1941	1.33
1951	1.25
1961	1.96
1971	2.20
1981	2.22
1991	2.14
2001	1.93
2011	1.79

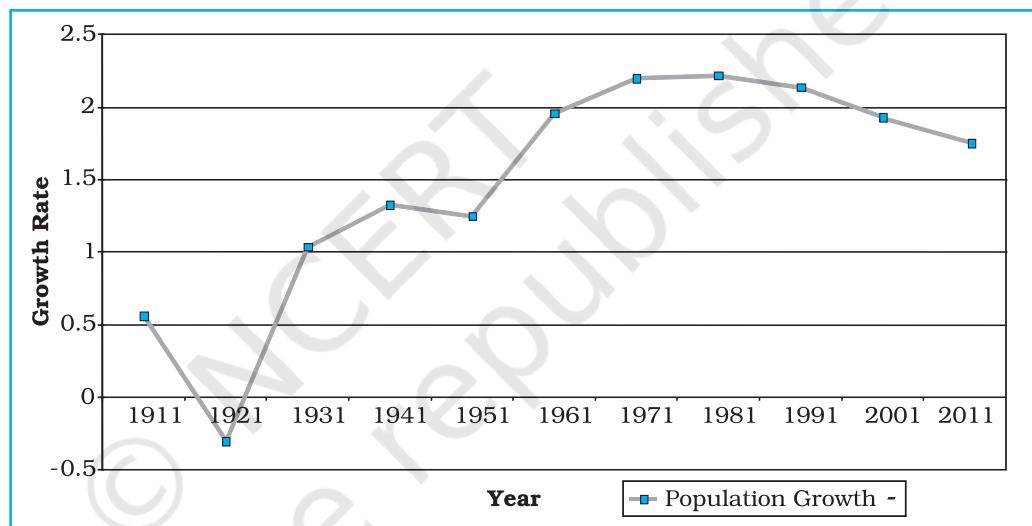


Fig. 3.2 : Annual Growth of Population in India 1901-2011

Activity

Find out the reasons for sudden change in population between 1911 and 1921 as shown in Fig. 3.2.

Polygraph

Polygraph is a line graph in which two or more than two variables are shown by an equal number of lines for an immediate comparison, such as the growth rate of different crops like rice, wheat, pulses or the birth rates, death rates and life expectancy or sex ratio in different states or countries. A different line pattern such as straight line (—), broken line (---), dotted line (.....) or a combination of dotted and broken line (-.-.) or line of different colours may be used to indicate the value of different variables (Fig 3.3).

Example 3.2 : Construct a polygraph to compare the growth of sex-ratio in different states as given in the Table 3.2:

Table 3.2 : Sex-Ratio (Female per 1000 male) of Selected States – 1961-2011

States/UT	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Delhi	785	801	808	827	821	866
Haryana	868	867	870	860	846	877
Uttar Pradesh	907	876	882	876	898	908

Source : Census, 2011

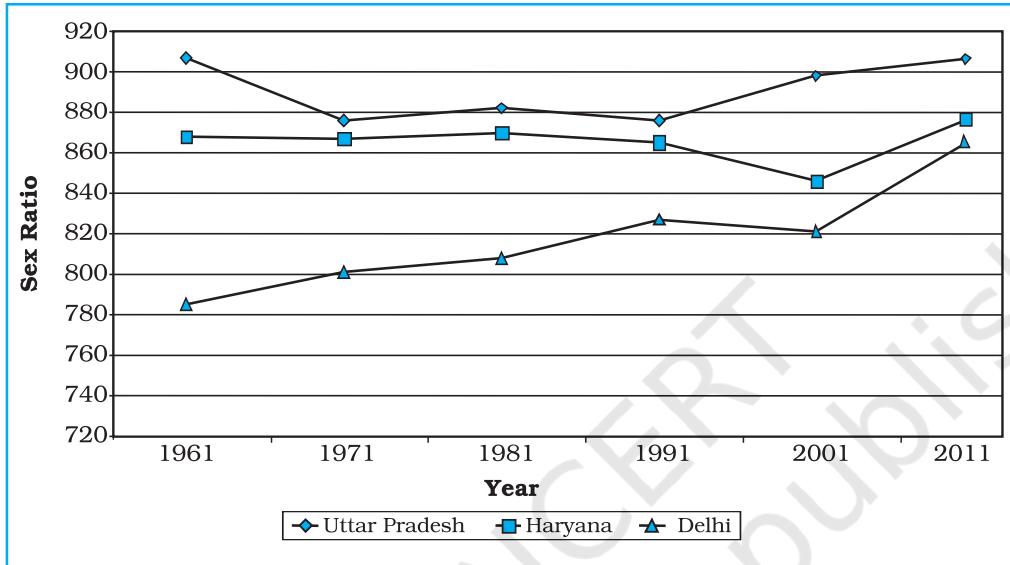


Fig. 3.3 : Sex-Ratio of Selected States 1961-2011

Bar Diagram

The bar diagrams are drawn through columns of equal width. It is also called a columnar diagram. Following rules should be observed while constructing a bar diagram:

- (a) The width of all the bars or columns should be similar.
- (b) All the bars should be placed on equal intervals/distance.
- (c) Bars may be shaded with colours or patterns to make them distinct and attractive.

The simple, compound or polybar diagram may be constructed to suit the data characteristics.

Simple Bar Diagram

A simple bar diagram is constructed for an immediate comparison. It is advisable to arrange the given data set in an ascending or descending order and plot the data variables accordingly. However, time series data are represented according to the sequencing of the time period.

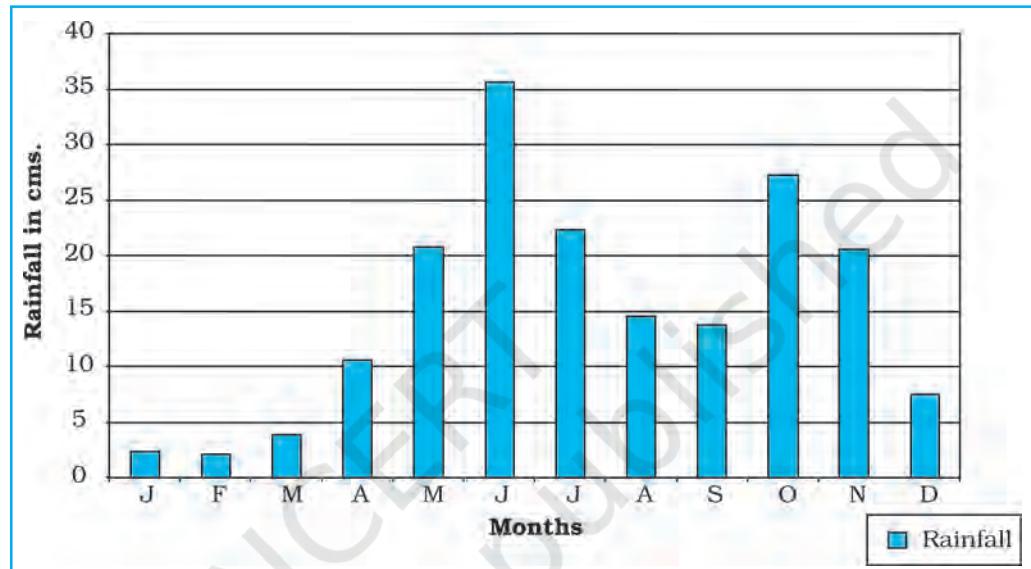
Example 3.3 : Construct a simple bar diagram to represent the rainfall data of Thiruvananthapuram as given in Table 3.3 :

Table 3.3 : Average Monthly Rainfall of Thiruvananthapuram

Months	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Rainfall in cm	2.3	2.1	3.7	10.6	20.8	35.6	22.3	14.6	13.8	27.3	20.6	7.5

Construction

Draw X and Y-axes on a graph paper. Take an interval of 5 cm and mark it on Y-axis to plot rainfall data in cm. Divide X-axis into 12 equal parts to represent 12 months. The actual rainfall values for each month will be plotted according to the selected scale as shown in Fig. 3.4.

**Fig. 3.4 :** Average Monthly Rainfall of Thiruvananthapuram

Line and Bar Graph

The line and bar graphs as drawn separately may also be combined to depict the data related to some of the closely associated characteristics such as the climatic data of mean monthly temperatures and rainfall. In doing so, a single diagram is drawn in which months are represented on X-axis while temperature and rainfall data are shown on Y-axis at both sides of the diagram.

Example 3.4 : Construct a line graph and bar diagram to represent the average monthly rainfall and temperature data of Delhi as given in Table 3.4 :

Table 3.4 : Average monthly Temperature and Rainfall in Delhi

Months	Temp. in °C	Rainfall in cm.
Jan.	14.4	2.5
Feb.	16.7	1.5
Mar.	23.30	1.3
Apr.	30.0	1.0
May	33.3	1.8
June	33.3	7.4
Jul.	30.0	19.3
Aug.	29.4	17.8
Sep.	28.9	11.9
Oct.	25.6	1.3
Nov.	19.4	0.2
Dec.	15.6	1.0

Construction

- Draw X and Y-axes of a suitable length and divide X-axis into 12 parts to show months in a year.
- Select a suitable scale with equal intervals of 5°C or 10°C for temperature data on the Y-axis and label it at its right side.
- Similarly, select a suitable scale with equal intervals of 5 cm or 10 cm for rainfall data on the Y-axis and label at its left side.
- Plot temperature data using line graph and the rainfall by bar diagram as shown in Fig. 3.5.

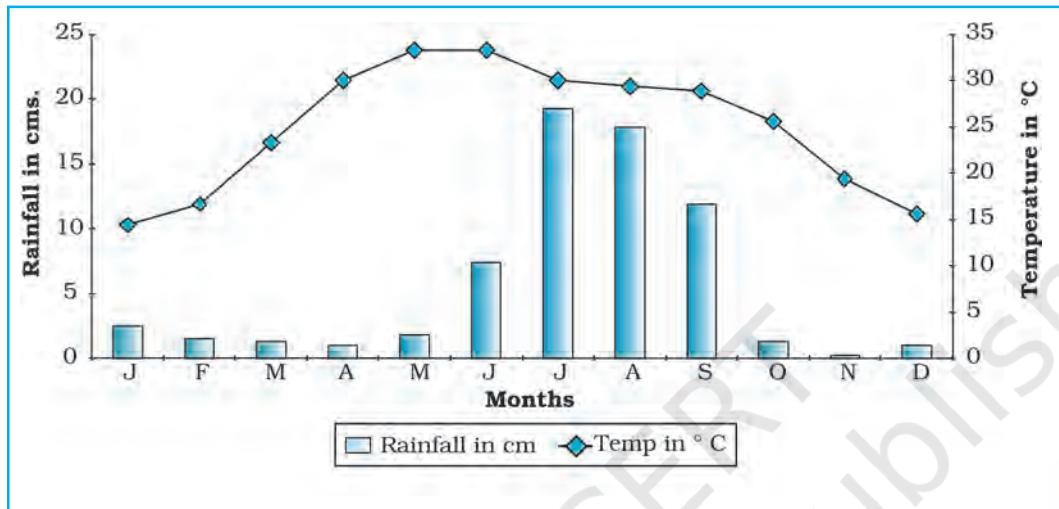


Fig. 3.5 : Temperature and Rainfall in Delhi

Multiple Bar Diagram

Multiple bar diagrams are constructed to represent two or more than two variables for the purpose of comparison. For example, a multiple bar diagram may be constructed to show proportion of males and females in the total, rural and urban population or the share of canal, tube well and well irrigation in the total irrigated area in different states.

Example 3.5 : Construct a suitable bar diagram to show decadal literacy rate in India during 1951–2011 as given in Table 3.5 :

Table 3.5 : Literacy Rate in India, 1951–2011 (in %)

Construction

- Multiple bar diagram may be chosen to represent the above data.
- Mark time series data on X-axis and literacy rates on Y-axis as per the selected scale.

Year	Literacy Rate		
	Total population	Male	Female
1951	18.33	27.16	8.86
1961	28.3	40.4	15.85
1971	34.45	45.96	21.97
1981	43.57	56.38	29.76
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29
2001	64.84	75.85	54.16
2011	73.0	80.9	64.6

Source : Census, 2011

- (c) Plot the per cent of total population, male and female in closed columns (*Fig 3.6*).

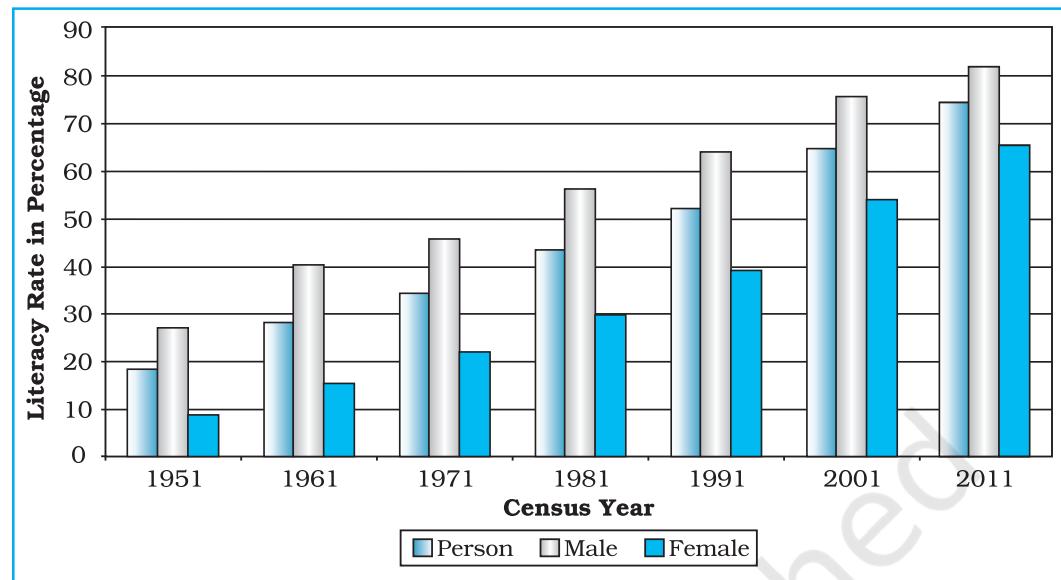


Fig. 3.6 : Literacy Rate in India, 1951-2011

Compound Bar Diagram

When different components are grouped in one set of variable or different variables of one component are put together, their representation is made by a compound bar diagram. In this method, different variables are shown in a single bar with different rectangles.

Example 3.6 : Construct a compound bar diagram to depict the data as shown in *Table 3.6* :

Table 3.6 : Gross Generation of Electricity in India (in Billion KWh)

Year	Thermal	Hydro	Nuclear	Total
2008-09	616.2	110.1	14.9	741.2
2009-10	677.1	104.1	18.6	799.8
2010-11	704.3	114.2	26.3	844.8

Source: Economic Survey, 2011-12

Construction

- Arrange the data in ascending or descending order.
- A single bar will depict the gross electricity generation in the given year and the generation of thermal, hydro and nuclear electricity be shown by dividing the total length of the bar as shown in *Fig 3.7*.

Pie Diagram

Pie diagram is another graphical method of the representation of data. It is drawn to depict the total value of the given attribute using a circle. Dividing the circle into corresponding degrees of angle then represent the sub-sets of the data. Hence, it is also called **Divided Circle Diagram**.

The angle of each variable is calculated using the following formulae.

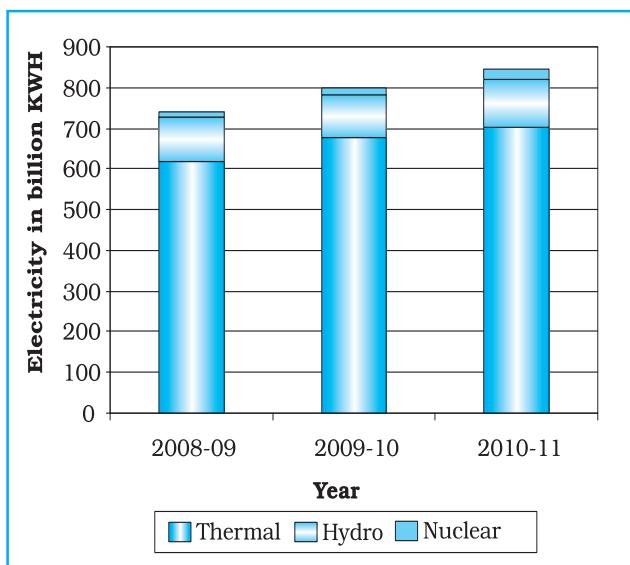


Fig. 3.7 : Gross Electricity Generation in India

$\frac{\text{Value of given State/Region}}{\text{Total Value of All States/Regions}} \times 360$

If data are given in percentage form, the angles are calculated using the given formulae.

$$\frac{\text{Percentage of } x}{100} \times 360$$

For example, a pie diagram may be drawn to show the total population of India along with the proportion of the rural and urban population. In this case, the circle of an appropriate radius is drawn to represent the total population and its sub-divisions into rural and urban population are shown by corresponding degrees of angle.

Example 3.7: Represent the data as given in *Table 3.7 (a)* with a suitable diagram.

Calculation of Angles

(a) Arrange the data on percentages of Indian exports in an ascending order.

(b) Calculate the degrees of angles for showing the given values of India's export to major regions/countries of the world,

Table 3.7 (b). It could be done by multiplying percentage with a constant of 3.6 as derived by dividing the total number of degrees in a circle by 100, i. e. $360/100$.

Table 3.7 (a) : India's Export to Major Regions of the World in 2010–11

Unit/Region	% of Indian Export
Europe	20.2
Africa	6.5
America	14.8
Asia and ASEAN	56.2
Others	2.3
Total	100

Source : Economic Survey 2011-12

- (c) Plot the data by dividing the circle into the required number of divisions to show the share of India's export to different regions/countries (Fig. 3.8).

Table 3.7 (b) : India's Export to Major Regions of the World in 2010-11

Countries	%	Calculation	Degree
Europe	20.2	$20.2 \times 3.6 = 72.72$	73°
Africa	6.5	$6.5 \times 3.6 = 23.4$	23°
America	14.8	$14.8 \times 3.6 = 53.28$	53°
Asia and ASEAN	56.2	$56.2 \times 3.6 = 202.32$	203°
Others	2.3	$2.3 \times 3.6 = 8.28$	8°
Total	100		360°

Construction

- Select a suitable radius for the circle to be drawn. A radius of 3, 4 or 5 cm may be chosen for the given data set.
- Draw a line from the centre of the circle to the arc as a radius.
- Measure the angles from the arc of the circle for each category of vehicles in an ascending order clock-wise, starting with smaller angle.
- Complete the diagram by adding the title, sub-title, and the legend. The legend mark be chosen for each variable/category and highlighted by distinct shades/colours.

Precautions

32

- The circle should neither be too big to fit in the space nor too small to be illegible.
- Starting with bigger angle will lead to accumulation of error leading to the plot of the smaller angle difficult.

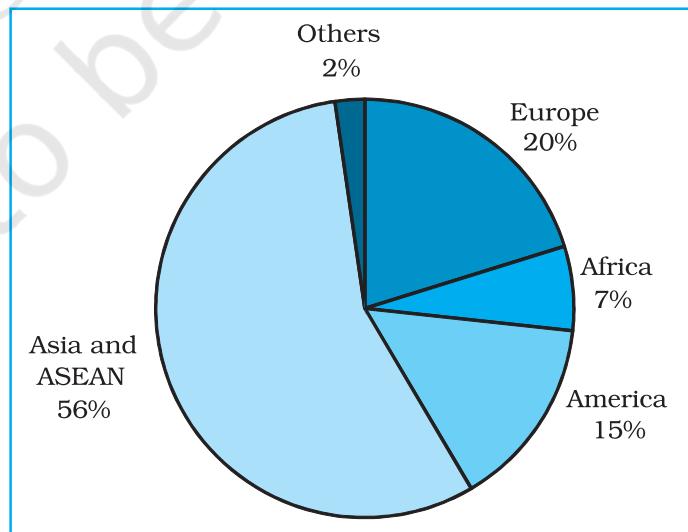


Fig. 3.8 : Direction of Indian Exports 2010-11

Flow Maps/Chart

Flow chart is a combination of graph and map. It is drawn to show the flow of commodities or people between the places of origin and destination. It is also called **Dynamic Map**. Transport map, which shows the number of passengers, vehicles, etc., is the best example of a flow chart. These charts are drawn using lines of proportional width. Many government agencies prepare flow maps to show density of the means of transportation on different routes. The flow maps/charts are generally drawn to represent two the types of data as given below:

1. The number and frequency of the vehicles as per the direction of their movement
2. The number of the passengers and/or the quantity of goods transported.

Requirements for the Preparation of a Flow Map

- (a) A route map depicting the desired transport routes along with the connecting stations.
- (b) The data pertaining to the flow of goods, services, number of vehicles, etc., along with the point of origin and destination of the movements.
- (c) The selection of a scale through which the data related to the quantity of passengers and goods or the number of vehicles is to be represented.

Example 3.10 : Construct a flow map to represent the number of trains running in Delhi and the adjoining areas as given in the Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 : No. of trains of selected routes of Delhi and adjoining areas

S. No.	Railway Routes	No. of Trains
1.	Old Delhi – New Delhi	50
2.	New Delhi-Nizamuddin	40
3.	Nizamuddin-Badarpur	30
4.	Nizamuddin-Sarojini Nagar	12
5.	Sarojini Nagar – Pusa Road	8
6.	Old Delhi – Sadar Bazar	32
7.	Udyog Nagar-Tikri Kalan	6
8.	Pusa Road – Pehladvpur	15
9.	Sahibabad-Mohan Nagar	18
10.	Old Delhi – Silampur	33
11.	Silampur – Nand Nagari	12
12.	Silampur-Mohan Nagar	21
13.	Old Delhi-Shalimar Bagh	16
14.	Sadar Bazar-Udyog Nagar	18
15.	Old Delhi – Pusa Road	22
16.	Pehladvpur – Palam Vihar	12

Construction

- (a) Take an outline map of Delhi and adjoining areas, in which railway line and the nodal stations are depicted (Fig.3.9).
- (b) Select a scale to represent the number of trains. Here, the maximum number is 50 and the minimum is 6. If we select a scale of $1\text{cm} = 50$ trains, the maximum and minimum numbers will be represented by a strip of 10 mm and 1.2 mm thick lines, respectively, on the map.
- (c) Plot the thickness of each strip of route between the given rail route (Fig. 3.10).

- (d) Draw a terraced scale as legend and choose distinct sign or symbol to show the nodal points (stations) within the strip.

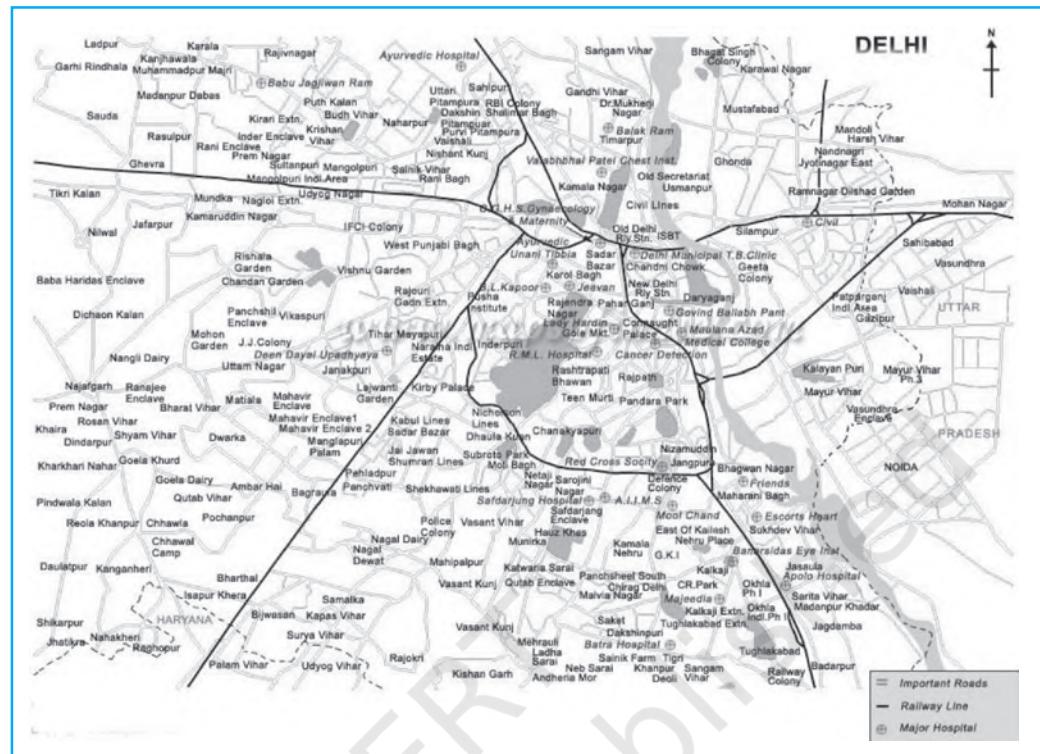


Fig. 3.9 : Map of Delhi

34

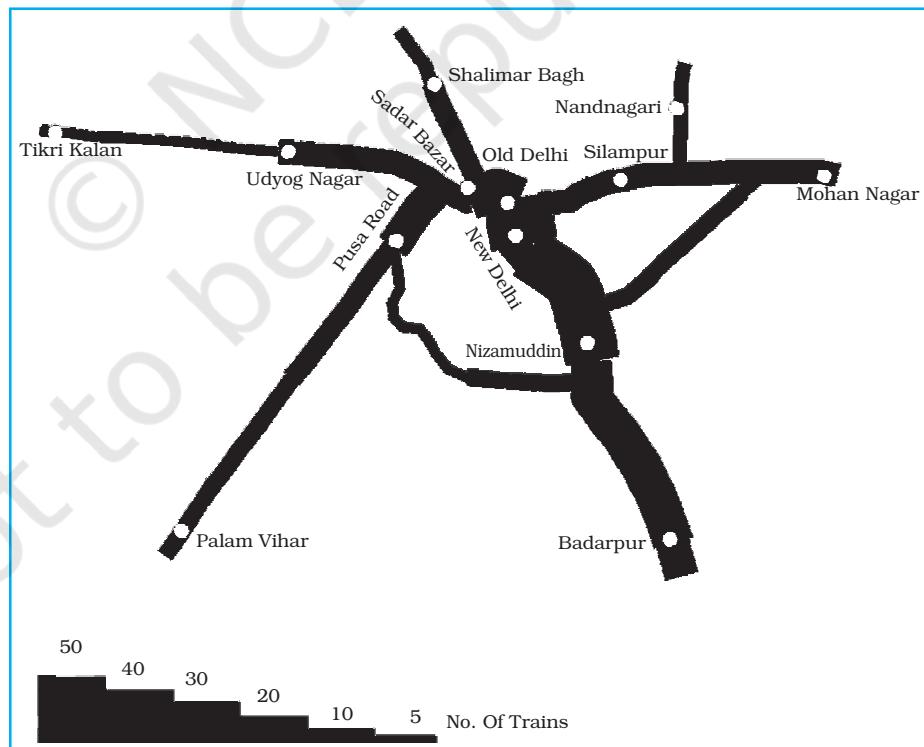


Fig. 3.10 : Traffic (Railway) Flow Map of Delhi

Example 3.11 : Construct a water flow map of Ganga Basin as shown in Fig. 3.11.

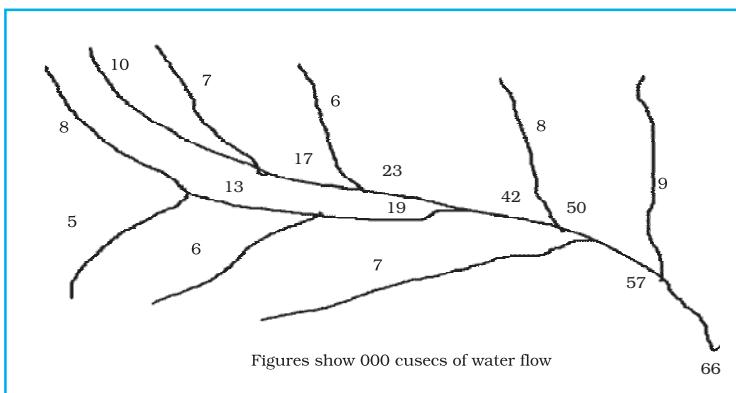


Fig. 3.11 : Ganga Basin

Construction

- Take a scale as a strip of 1cm width = 50,000 cusecs of water.
- Make the diagram as shown in Fig. 3.12.

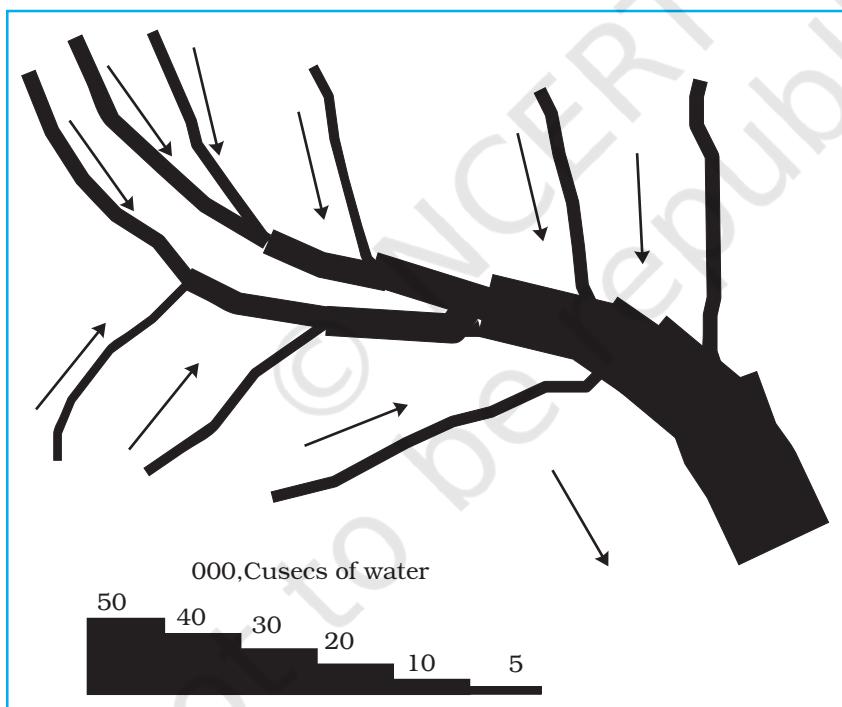


Fig. 3.12 : Construction of a Flow Map

Thematic Maps

Graphs and diagrams serve a useful purpose in providing a comparison between the internal variations within the data of different characteristics represented. However, the use of graphs and diagrams, at times, fails to produce a regional perspective. Hence, variety of maps may also be drawn to understand the patterns

of the regional distributions or the characteristics of variations over space. These maps are also known as the **distribution maps**.

Requirements for Making a Thematic Map

- (a) State/District level data about the selected theme.
- (b) Outline map of the study area alongwith administrative boundaries.
- (c) Physical map of the region. For example, physiographic map for population distribution and relief and drainage map for constructing transportation map.

Rules for Making Thematic Maps

- (i) The drawing of the thematic maps must be carefully planned. The final map should properly reflect the following components:
 - a. Name of the area
 - b. Title of the subject-matter
 - c. Source of the data and year
 - d. Indication of symbols, signs, colours, shades, etc.
 - e. Scale
- (ii) The selection of a suitable method to be used for thematic mapping.

Classification of Thematic Maps based on Method of Construction

The thematic maps are, generally, classified into quantitative and non-quantitative maps. The quantitative maps are drawn to show the variations within the data. For example, maps depicting areas receiving more than 200 cm, 100 to 200 cm, 50 to 100 cm and less than 50 cm of rainfall are referred as quantitative maps. These maps are also called statistical maps. The non-quantitative maps, on the other hand, depict the non-measurable characteristics in the distribution of given information, such as a map showing high and low rainfall-receiving areas. These maps are also called qualitative maps. It would not be possible to discuss drawing these different types of thematic maps under the constraint of time. We will, therefore, confine to discuss the methods of the construction of the following types of quantitative maps :

- (a) Dot maps
- (b) Choropleth maps
- (c) Isopleth maps

Dot Maps

The dot maps are drawn to show the distribution of phenomena such as population, cattle, types of crops, etc. The dots of same size as per the chosen scale are marked over the given administrative units to highlight the patterns of distributions.

Requirement

- (a) An administrative map of the given area showing state/district/block boundaries.

- (b) Statistical data on selected theme for the chosen administrative units, i.e., total population, cattle, etc.
- (c) Selection of a scale to determine the value of a dot.
- (d) Physiographic map of the region, especially relief and drainage maps.

Precaution

- (a) The lines, demarcating the boundaries of various administrative units, should not be very thick and bold.
- (b) All dots should be of same size.

Example 3.12 : Construct a dot map to represent population data of 2001 as given in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 : Population of India, 2001

Sl. No.	States/Union Territories	Total Population	No. of dots
1.	Jammu & Kashmir	10,069,917	100
2.	Himachal Pradesh	6,077,248	60
3.	Punjab	24,289,296	243
5.	Uttarakhand	8,479,562	85
6.	Haryana	21,082,989	211
7.	Delhi	13,782,976	138
8.	Rajasthan	56,473,122	565
9.	Uttar Pradesh	166,052,859	1,660
10.	Bihar	82,878,796	829
11.	Sikkim	540,493	5
12.	Arunachal Pradesh	1,091,117	11
13.	Nagaland	1,988,636	20
14.	Manipur	2,388,634	24
15.	Mizoram	891,058	89
16.	Tripura	3,191,168	32
17.	Meghalaya	2,306,069	23
18.	Assam	26,638,407	266
19.	West Bengal	80,221,171	802
20.	Jharkhand	26,909,428	269
21.	Odisha	36,706,920	367
22.	Chhattisgarh	20,795,956	208
23.	Madhya Pradesh	60,385,118	604
24.	Gujarat	50,596,992	506
25.	Maharashtra	96,752,247	968
26.	Andhra Pradesh	75,727,541	757
27.	Karnataka	52,733,958	527
28.	Goa	1,343,998	13
29.	Kerala	31,838,619	318
30.	Tamil Nadu	62,110,839	621

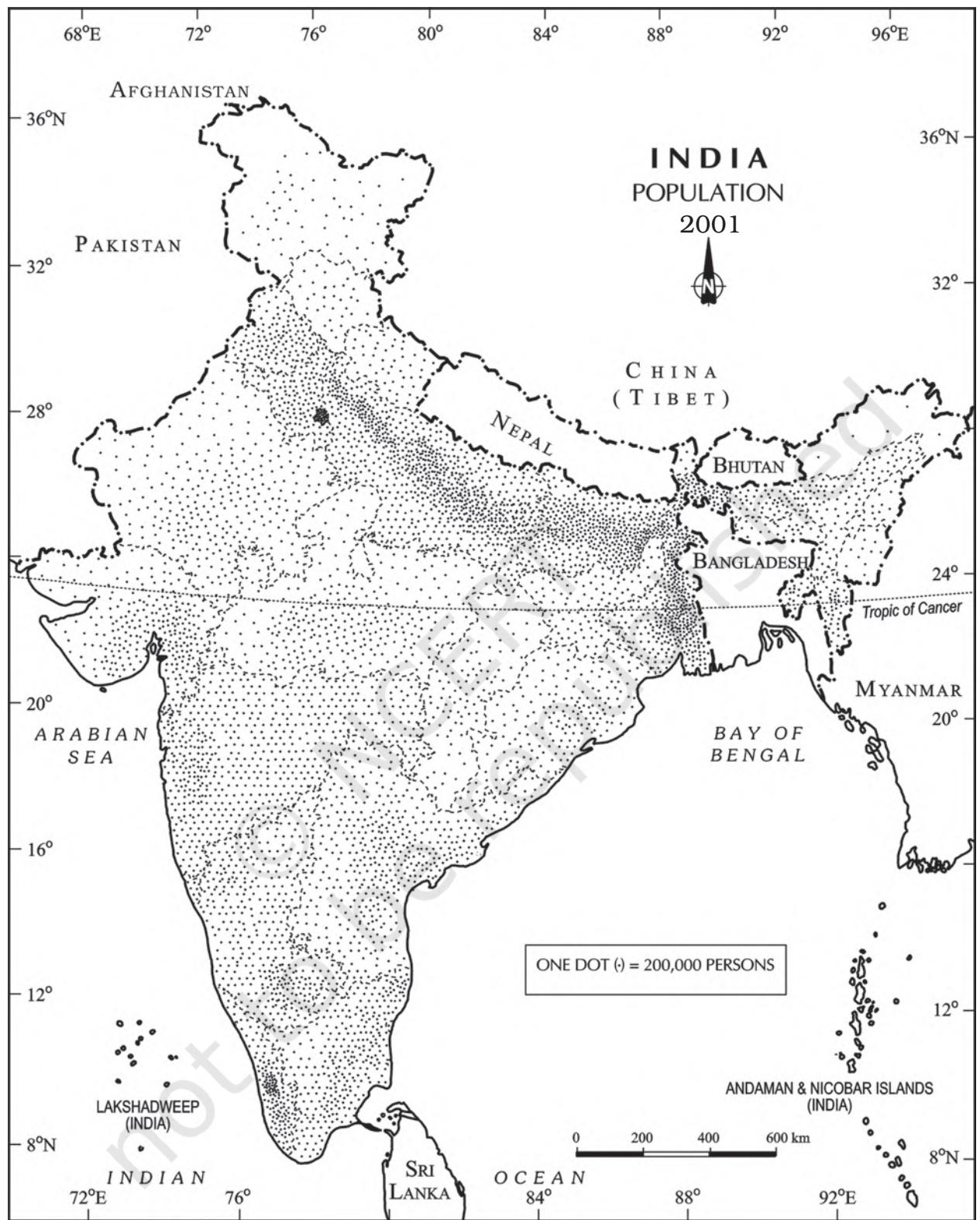


Fig. 3.13 : Population of India, 2001

Construction

- Select the size and value of a dot.
- Determine the number of dots in each state using the given scale. For example, number of dots in Maharashtra will be $9,67,52,247/100,000 = 967.52$. It may be rounded to 968, as the fraction is more than 0.5.
- Place the dots in each state as per the determined number in all states.
- Consult the physiographic/relief map of India to identify mountainous, desert, and/or snow covered areas and mark lesser number of dots in such areas.

Choropleth Map

The choropleth maps are also drawn to depict the data characteristics as they are related to the administrative units. These maps are used to represent the density of population, literacy/growth rates, sex ratio, etc.

Requirement for drawing Choropleth Map

- A map of the area depicting different administrative units.
- Appropriate statistical data according to administrative units.

Steps to be followed

- Arrange the data in ascending or descending order.
- Group the data into 5 categories to represent very high, high, medium, low and very low concentrations.
- The interval between the categories may be identified on the following formulae i.e., Range/5 and Range = maximum value – minimum value.
- Patterns, shades or colour to be used to depict the chosen categories should be marked in an increasing or decreasing order.

Example 3.13: Construct a Choropleth map to represent the literacy rates in India in 2001 as given in Table 3.10.

Construction

- Arrange the data in ascending order as shown above.
- Identify the range within the data. In the present case, the states recording the lowest and highest literacy rates are Bihar (47%) and Kerala (90.9%), respectively. Hence, the range would be $91.0 - 47.0 = 44.0$
- Divide the range by 5 to get categories from very low to very high. $(44.0 / 5) = 8.80$. We can convert this value to a round number, i.e., 9.0.
- Determine the number of the categories alongwith the range of each category. Add 9.0 to the lowest value of 47.0 as so on. We will finally get following categories :
47 – 56 Very low (Bihar, Jharkhand, Arunachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir)
56 – 65 Low (Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Meghalaya, Odisha, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh)

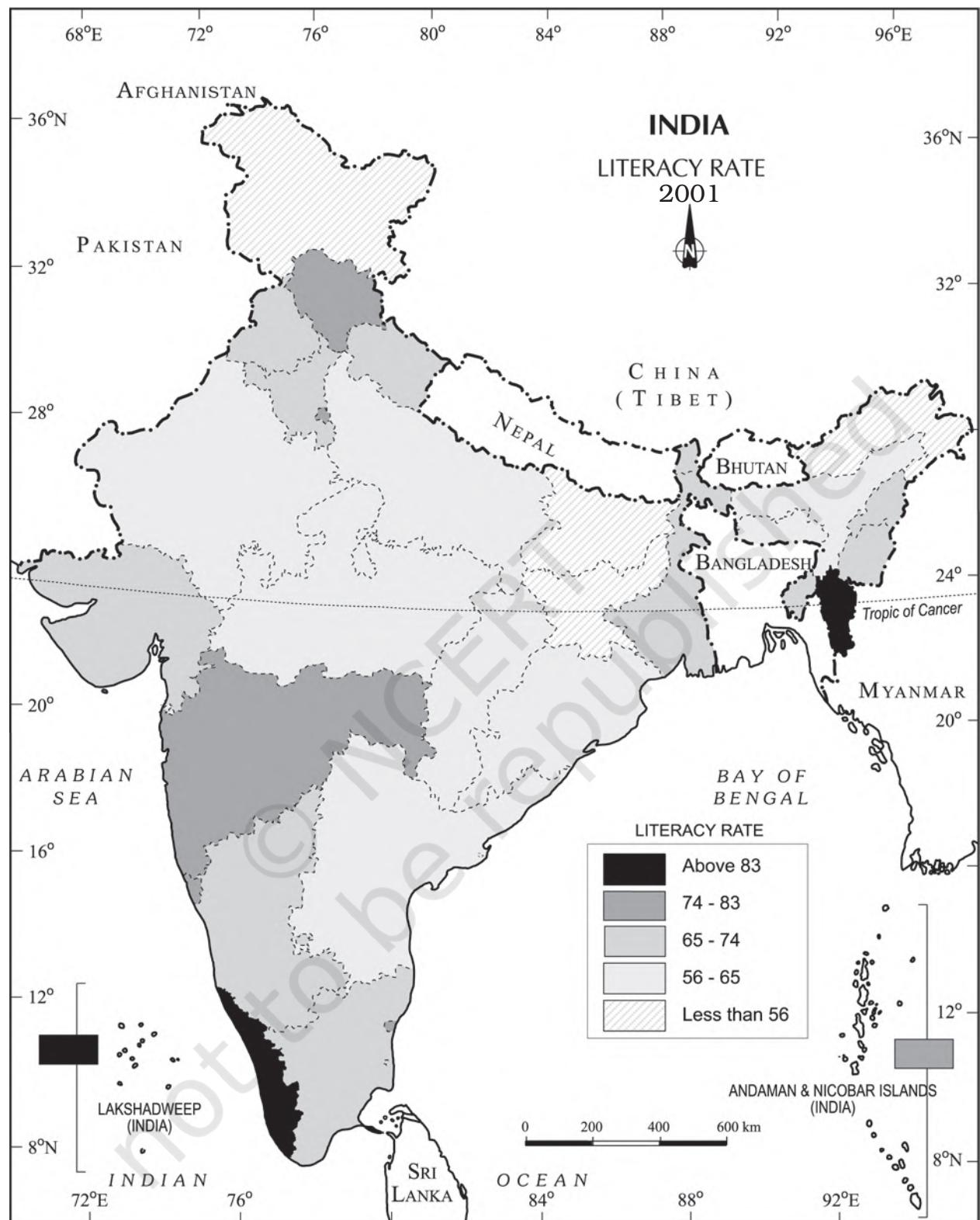


Fig. 3.14 : Literacy Rate, 2001

Table 3.10 : Literacy Rate in India, 2001

Original Data on Literacy in India			Data on Literacy in India as arranged in Ascending order		
S. No.	States / Union Territories	Literacy Rate	S. No.	States / Union Territories	Literacy Rate
1.	Jammu & Kashmir	55.5	10.	Bihar	47.0
2.	Himachal Pradesh	76.5	20.	Jharkhand	53.6
3.	Punjab	69.7	12.	Arunachal Pradesh	54.3
4.	Chandigarh	81.9	01.	Jammu & Kashmir	55.5
5.	Uttarakhand	71.6	09.	Uttar Pradesh	56.3
6.	Haryana	67.9	26.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	57.6
7.	Delhi	81.7	08.	Rajasthan	60.4
8.	Rajasthan	60.4	28.	Andhra Pradesh	60.5
9.	Uttar Pradesh	56.3	17.	Meghalaya	62.6
10.	Bihar	47.0	21.	Odisha	63.1
11.	Sikkim	68.8	18.	Assam	63.3
12.	Arunachal Pradesh	54.3	23.	Madhya Pradesh	63.7
13.	Nagaland	66.6	22.	Chhattisgarh	64.7
14.	Manipur	70.5	13.	Nagaland	66.6
15.	Mizoram	88.8	29.	Karnataka	66.6
16.	Tripura	73.2	06.	Haryana	67.9
17.	Meghalaya	62.6	19.	West Bengal	68.6
18.	Assam	63.3	11.	Sikkim	68.8
19.	West Bengal	68.6	24.	Gujarat	69.1
20.	Jharkhand	53.6	03.	Punjab	69.7
21.	Odisha	63.1	14.	Manipur	70.5
22.	Chhattisgarh	64.7	05.	Uttarakhand	71.6
23.	Madhya Pradesh	63.7	16.	Tripura	73.2
24.	Gujarat	69.1	33.	Tamil Nadu	73.5
25.	Daman & Diu	78.2	02.	Himachal Pradesh	76.5
26.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	57.6	27.	Maharashtra	76.9
27.	Maharashtra	76.9	25.	Daman & Diu	78.2
28.	Andhra Pradesh	60.5	34.	Puducherry	81.2
29.	Karnataka	66.6	35.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	81.3
30.	Goa	82.0	07.	Delhi	81.7
31.	Lakshadweep	86.7	04.	Chandigarh	81.9
32.	Kerala	90.9	30.	Goa	82.0
33.	Tamil Nadu	73.5	31.	Lakshadweep	86.7
34.	Puducherry	81.2	15.	Mizoram	88.8
35.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	81.3	32.	Kerala	90.9

- 65 – 74 Medium (Nagaland, Karnataka, Haryana, West Bengal, Sikkim, Gujarat, Punjab, Manipur, Uttarakhand, Tripura, Tamil Nadu)
- 74 – 83 High (Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Delhi, Goa)
- 83 – 92 Very high (Mizoram, Kerala)

- (e) Assign shades/pattern to each category ranging from lower to higher hues.
- (f) Prepare the map as shown in Fig. 3.14.
- (g) Complete the map with respect to the attributes of map design.

Isopleth Map

We have seen that the data related to the administrative units are represented using choropleth maps. However, the variations within the data, in many cases, may also be observed on the basis of natural boundaries. For example, variations in the degrees of slope, temperature, occurrence of rainfall, etc. possess characteristics of the continuity in the data. These geographical facts may be represented by drawing the lines of equal values on a map. All such maps are termed as Isopleth Map. The word **Isopleth** is derived from **Iso** meaning equal and **pleth** means lines. Thus, an imaginary line, which joins the places of equal values, is referred as Isopleth. The more frequently drawn isopleths include Isotherm (equal temperature), Isobar (equal pressure), Isohyets (equal rainfall), Isonephs (equal cloudiness), Isohels (equal sunshine), contours (equal heights), Isobaths (equal depths), Isohaline (equal salinity), etc.

Requirement

- Base line map depicting point location of different places.
- Appropriate data of temperature, pressure, rainfall, etc. over a definite period of time.
- Drawing instrument specially French Curve, etc.

Rules to be observed

- An equal interval of values be selected.
- Interval of 5, 10, or 20 is supposed to be ideal.
- The value of Isopleth should be written along the line on either side or in the middle by breaking the line.

Interpolation

Interpolation is used to insert the intermediate values between the observed values of at two stations/locations, such as temperature recorded at Chennai and Hyderabad or the spot heights of two points. Generally, drawing of isopleths joining the places of same value is also termed as interpolation.

Method of Interpolation

For interpolation, follow the following steps:

- Firstly, determine the minimum and maximum values given on the map.
- Calculate the range of value i.e. Range = maximum value – minimum value.
- Based on range, determine the interval in a whole number like 5, 10, 15, etc.

The exact point of drawing an Isopleth is determined by using the following formulae.

$$\text{Point of Isopleth} = \frac{\text{Distance between two points in cm}}{\text{Difference between the two values of corresponding points}} \times \text{Interval}$$

The interval is the difference between the actual value on the map and interpolated value. For example, in an Isotherm map of two places show 28 °C and 33 °C and you want to draw 30 °C isotherm, measure the distance between the two points. Suppose, the distance is 1cm or 10 mm and the difference between 28 and 33 is 5, whereas, 30 is 2 points away from 28 and 3 points behind 33, thus, exact point of 30 will be

Thus, isotherm of 30 °C will be plotted 4mm away from 28 °C or 6mm ahead of 33 °C.

- (d) Draw the isopleths of minimum value first; other isopleths may be drawn accordingly.

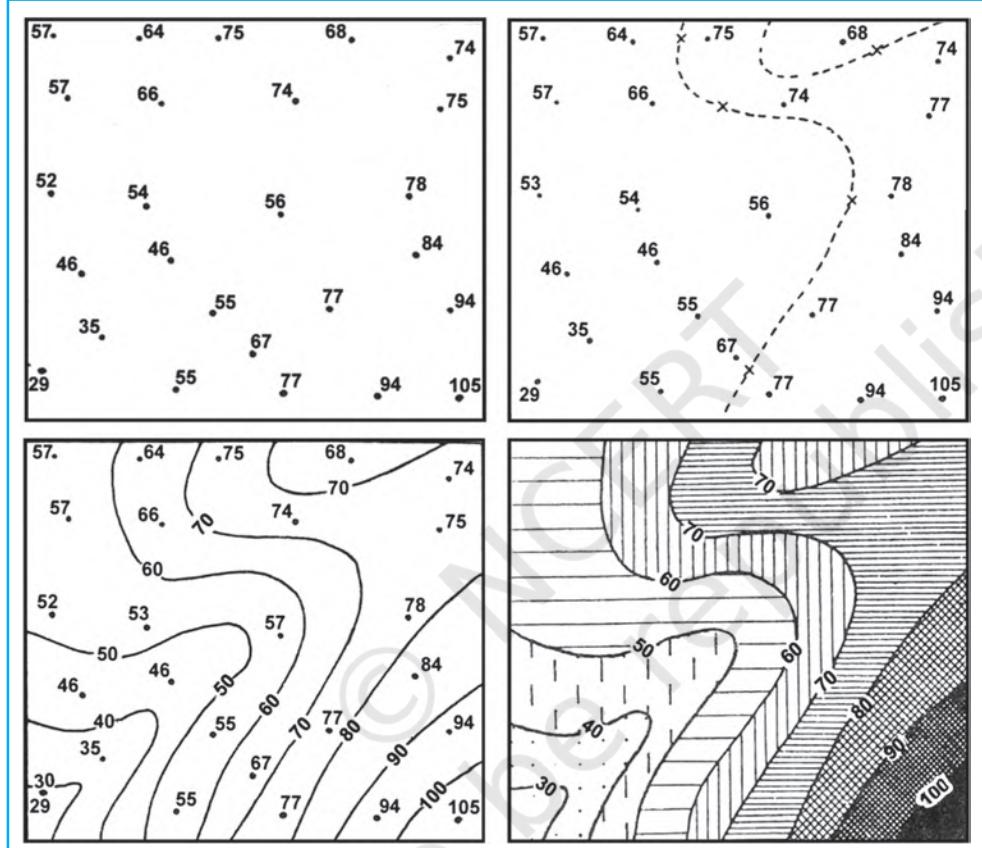


Fig. 3.15 : Drawing of Isopleths

Exercises

- (iii) Polygraph is constructed to represent:
- Only one variable
 - Two variables only
 - More than two variables
 - None of the above
- (iv) Which one of the following maps is known as "Dynamic Map"?
- Dot map
 - Choropleth
 - Isopleth
 - Flow map

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words:

- What is a thematic map?
- Differentiate between multiple bar diagram and compound bar diagram.
- What are the requirements to construct a dot map?
- Describe the method of constructing a traffic flow map.
- What is an Isopleth map ? How an interpolation is carried out?
- Describe and illustrate important steps to be followed in preparing a choropleth map.
- Discuss important steps to represent data with help of a pie-diagram.

Activity

1. Represent the following data with the help of suitable diagram.

India : Trends of Urbanisation 1901-2001

Year	Decennial growth (%)
1911	0.35
1921	8.27
1931	19.12
1941	31.97
1951	41.42
1961	26.41
1971	38.23
1981	46.14
1991	36.47
2001	31.13

44

2. Represent the following data with the help of suitable diagram.

India : Literacy and Enrolment Ratio in Primary and Upper Primary Schools

Year	Literacy Ratio			Enrolment Ratio Primary			Enrolment Ratio Upper Primary		
	Person	Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51	18.3	27.2	8.86	60.6	25	42.6	20.6	4.6	12.7
1999-2000	65.4	75.8	54.2	104	85	94.9	67.2	50	58.8

3. Represent the following data with help of pie-diagram.

India : Land use 1951-2001

	1950-51	1998-2001
Net Sown Area	42	46
Forest	14	22
Not available for cultivation	17	14
Fallow Land	10	8
Pasture and Tree	9	5
Cultivable Waste Land	8	5

4. Study the table given below and draw the given diagrams/maps.

Area and Production of Rice in major States

States	Area in 000 ha	% to total area	Production 000 tones	% to total production
West Bengal	5,435	12.3	12,428	14.6
Uttar Pradesh	5,839	13.2	11,540	13.6
Andhra Pradesh	4,028	9.1	12,428	13.5
Punjab	2,611	5.9	9,154	10.8
Tamil Nadu	2,113	4.8	7,218	8.5
Bihar	3,671	8.3	5,417	6.4

- (a) Construct a multiple bar diagram to show area under rice in each State.
- (b) Construct a pie-diagram to show the percentage of area under rice in each State.
- (c) Construct a dot map to show the production of rice in each State.
- (d) Construct a Choropleth map to show the percentage of production of rice in States.

5. Show the following data of temperature and rainfall of Kolkata with a suitable diagram.

Months	Temperature in ° C	Rainfall in cm
Jan.	19.6	1.2
Feb.	22.0	2.8
Mar.	27.1	3.4
Apr.	30.1	5.1
May	30.4	13.4
June	29.9	29.0
Jul.	28.9	33.1
Aug.	28.7	33.4
Sep.	28.9	25.3
Oct.	27.6	12.7
Nov.	23.4	2.7
Dec.	19.7	0.4



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4

Spatial Information Technology

You know that the computers enhance our capabilities in data processing and in drawing graphs, diagrams and maps. The disciplines that deals with the principles and methods of data processing and mapping using a combination of computer hardware and the application software are referred as the **Database Management System** (DBMS) and the **Computer Assisted Cartography**, respectively. However, the role of such computer applications is restricted to merely processing of the data and their graphical presentation. In other words, the data so processed or the maps and diagrams so prepared could not be used to evolve a decision support system. As a matter of fact, there are several questions that we normally encounter in our day-to-day life and look for satisfactory solutions. These questions may be: What is where ? Why is it there ? What will happen if it is shifted to a new location? Who will be benefited by such a reallocation? Who are expected to loose the benefits if reallocation takes place? In order to understand these and many other questions, we need to capture the necessary data collected from different sources and integrate them using a computer that is supported by geo-processing tools. Herein lays the concept of a **Spatial Information System**. In the present chapter, we will discuss basic principles of the **Spatial Information Technology** and its extension to the Spatial Information System, which is more commonly known as **Geographical Information System**.

What is Spatial Information Technology?

The word **spatial** is derived from **space**. It refers to the features and the phenomena distributed over a geographically definable space, thus, having physically measurable dimensions. We know that most data that are used today have spatial components (location), such as an address of a municipal facility, or the boundaries of an agricultural holdings, etc. Hence, the Spatial Information Technology relates to the use of the technological inputs in collecting, storing, retrieving, displaying, manipulating, managing and analysing the spatial information. It is an amalgamation of Remote Sensing, GPS, GIS, Digital Cartography and Database Management Systems.

What is GIS (Geographical Information System)?

The advance computing systems available since mid 1970's enable the processing of georeferenced information for the purpose of organising spatial and attribute data and their integration; locating specific information in individual files and executing the computations, performing analysis and evolving a decision support system. A system capable of all such functions is called Geographic Information System (GIS). It is defined as **A system for capturing, storing, checking, integrating, manipulating, analysing and displaying data, which are spatially referenced to the Earth. This is normally considered to involve a spatially referenced computer database and appropriate applications software.** It is an amalgamation of Computer Assisted Cartography and Database Management System and draws conceptual and methodological strength from both spatial and allied sciences such as Computer Science, Statistics, Cartography, Remote Sensing, Database Technology, Geography, Geology, Hydrology, Agriculture, Resource Management, Environmental Science, and Public Administration.

Forms of Geographical Information

Two types of the data represent the geographical information. These are spatial and non – spatial data (Box 4.1). The spatial data are characterised by their positional, linear and areal forms of appearances (Fig. 4.1).

Box 4.1 : Spatial and non-spatial data

Stock Register of a Cycle shop			Literate Population in States 1981		
Part No.	Quantity	Description	State	% Male	% Female
101435	54	Wheel Spoke	Kerala	75.3	65.7
108943	68	Ball Bearing	Maharashtra	58.8	34.8
105956	25	Wheel Rim	Gujarat	54.4	32.3
123545	108	Tyre	Punjab	47.2	33.7

Geographic Database : A database contains attributes and their value or class. The non-spatial data on the left display cycle parts, which can be located anywhere. The data record on the right is spatial because one of the attributes, the name of different states, which have a definite locations in a map. This data can be used in GIS.

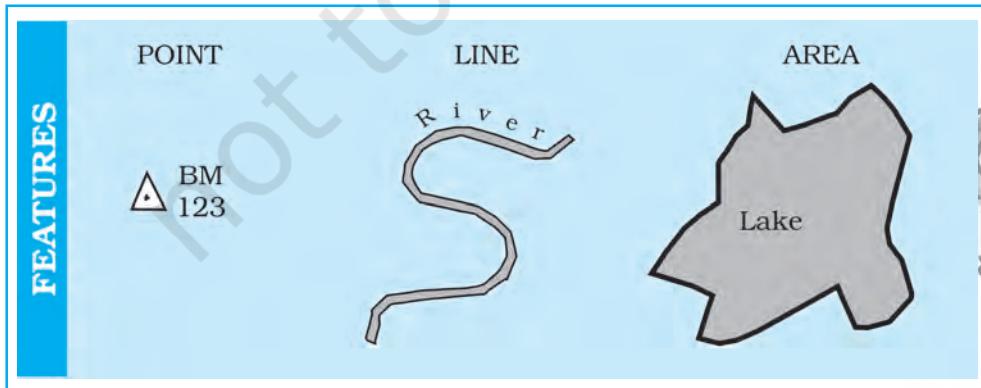


Fig. 4.1 : The Point, a Line and an Area Feature

These data forms must be geometrically registered to a generally accepted and properly defined coordinate system and coded so that they can be stored in the internal database structure of GIS. On the other hand, the data those describe the spatial data are called as **Non-spatial** or attribute data. The spatial data are the most important pre-requisite in a spatial or geographical information system. In a GIS core, it could be built in several ways. These are :

- Acquire data in digital form from a data supplier
- Digitise existing analogue data
- Carry out one's own surveys of geographic entities.

The choice of a source of geographical data for a GIS application is, however, largely governed by :

- The application area in itself
- The available budget, and
- The type of data structure, i.e., vector/raster.

For many users, the most common source of spatial data is topographical or thematic maps in hard copy (paper) or soft copy form (digital). All such maps are characterised by :

- A definite scale which provides relationship between the map and the surface it represents,
- Use of symbols and colours which define attributes of entities mapped, and
- An agreed coordinate system, which defines the location of entities on the Earth's surface.

48

Advantages of GIS over Manual Methods

The maps, irrespective of a graphic medium of communication of geographic information and possessing geometric fidelity, are inherited with the following limitations :

- (i) Map information is processed and presented in a particular way.
- (ii) A map shows a single or more than one predetermined themes.
- (iii) The alteration of the information depicted on the maps require a new map to be drawn.

Contrarily, a GIS possesses inherent advantages of separate data storage and presentation. It also provides options for viewing and presenting the data in several ways. The following advantages of a GIS are worth mentioning :

1. Users can interrogate displayed spatial features and retrieve associated attribute information for analysis.
2. Maps can be drawn by querying or analysing attribute data.
3. Spatial operations (polygon overlay or buffering) can be applied on integrated database to generate new sets of information.
4. Different items of attribute data can be associated with one another through shared location code.

Components of GIS

The important components of a Geographical Information System include the following:

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------|
| (a) Hardware | (b) Software | (c) Data |
| (d) People | (e) Procedures | |

The different components of GIS are shown in *Fig. 4.2.*

Hardware

As discussed in Chapter 4 the GIS has three major components :

- Hardware comprising the processing, storage, display, and input and output sub-systems.
- Software modules for data entry, editing, maintenance, analysis, transformation, manipulation, data display and output.
- Database management system to take care of the data organisation.

Software

An application software with the following functional modules is important prerequisite of a GIS :

- Software related to data entry, editing and maintenance
- Software related to analysis/transformation/manipulation
- Software related to data display and output.

Data

Spatial data and related tabular data are the backbone of GIS. The existing data may be acquired from a supplier or a new data may be created/collected in-house by the user. The digital map forms the basic data input for GIS. Tabular data related to the map objects can also be attached to the digital data. A GIS will integrate spatial data with other data resources and can even use a DBMS.

People

GIS users have a wide range from hardware and software engineers to resources and environmental scientists, policy-makers, and the monitoring and implementing agencies. These cross-section of people use GIS to evolve a decision support system and solve real time problems.

Procedures

Procedures include how the data will be retrieved, input into the system, stored, managed, transformed, analysed and finally presented in a final output.

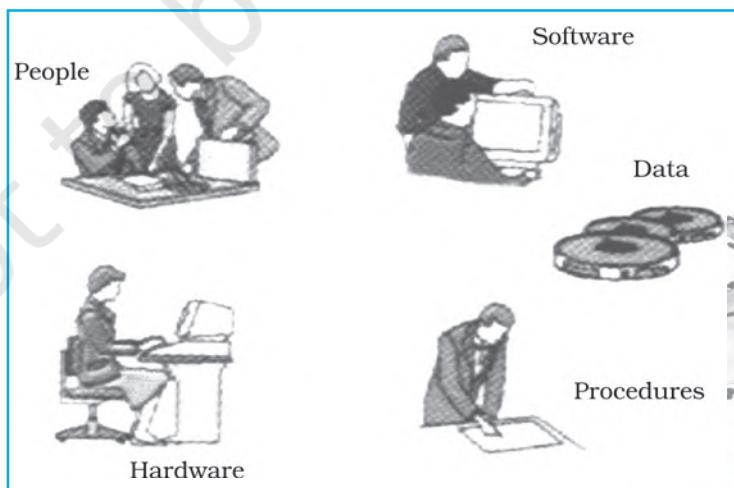


Fig. 4.2 : Basic Components of GIS

Spatial Data Formats

The spatial data are represented in raster and vector data formats :

Raster Data Format

Raster data represent a graphic feature as a pattern of grids of squares, whereas vector data represent the object as a set of lines drawn between specific points. Consider a line drawn diagonally on a piece of paper. A raster file would represent this image by sub-dividing the paper into a matrix of small rectangles, similar to a sheet of graph paper called cells. Each cell is assigned a position in the data file and given a value based on the attribute at that position. Its row and column coordinates may identify any individual pixel (Fig. 4.3). This data representation allows the user to easily reconstruct or visualise the original image.

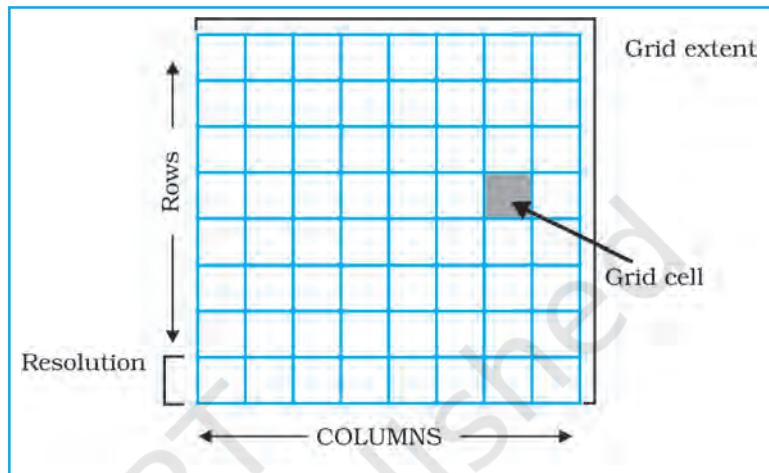


Fig. 4.3 : Generic Structure for a Grid

The relationship between cell size and the number of cells is expressed as the **resolution** of the raster. The effect of grid size on data in raster format is explained in Fig. 4.4.

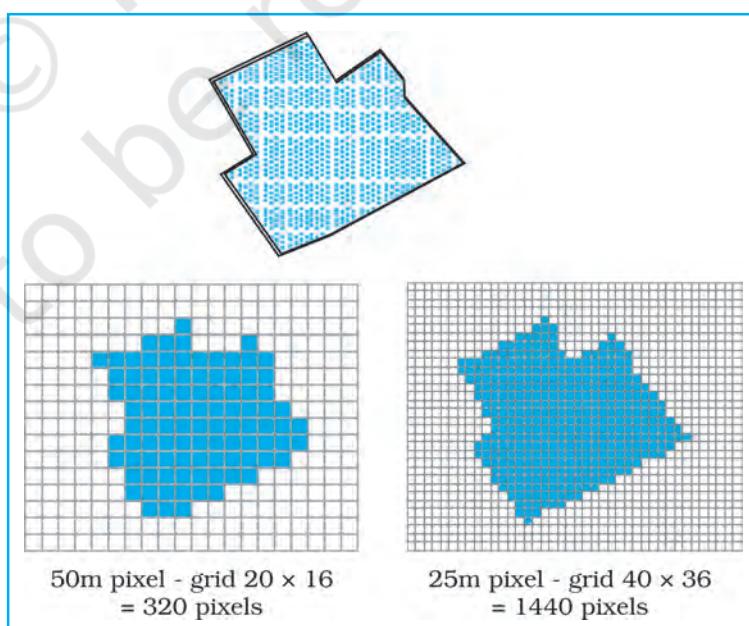


Fig. 4.4 : Effect of Grid Size on Data in Raster Format

The Raster file formats are most often used for the following activities :

- For digital representations of aerial photographs, satellite images, scanned paper maps, etc.
- When costs need to be kept down.
- When the map does not require analysis of individual map features.
- When “backdrop” maps are required.

Vector Data Format

A vector representation of the same diagonal line would record the position of the line by simply recording the coordinates of its starting and ending points. Each point would be expressed as two or three numbers (depending on whether the representation was 2D or 3D, often referred to as X,Y or X,Y,Z coordinates) (Fig. 4.5). The first number, X, is the distance between the point and the left side of the paper; Y, the distance between the point and the bottom of the paper; Z, the point's elevation above or below the paper. Joining the measured points forms the vector.

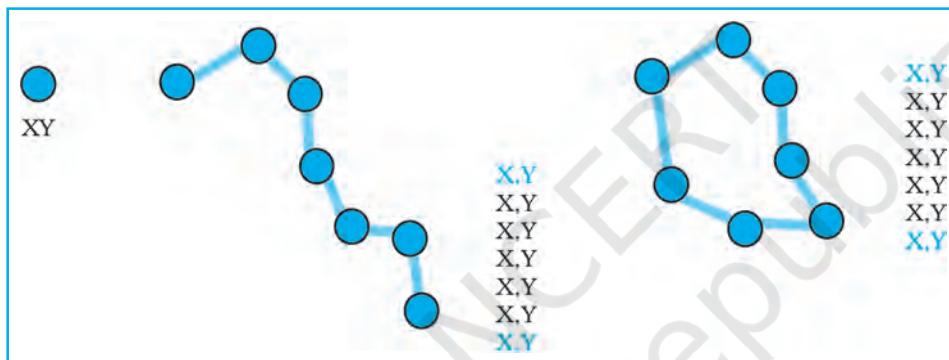


Fig. 4.5 : The Vector Data Model is based around Coordinate Pairs

A vector data model uses points stored by their real (earth) coordinates. Here lines and areas are built from sequences of points in order. Lines have a direction to the ordering of the points. Polygons can be built from points or lines. Vectors can store information about topology. Manual digitising is the best way of vector data input.

The Vector files are most often used for :

- Highly precise applications
- When file sizes are important
- When individual map features require analysis
- When descriptive information must be stored

The advantages and the disadvantages of the raster and vector data formats are explained in Box 4.2.

Box 4.2 : Comparison of Raster and Vector Data Formats

Raster Model	Vector Model
<p>Advantages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simple data structure • Easy and efficient overlaying • Compatible with satellite imagery • High spatial variability is efficiently represented • Simple for own programming • Same grid cells for several attributes <p>Disadvantages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inefficient use of computer storage • Errors in perimeter and shape • Difficult network analysis • Inefficient projection transformations • Loss of information when using large cells, Less accurate (although interactive) maps 	<p>Advantages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact data structure • Efficient for network analysis • Efficient projection transformation • Accurate map output <p>Disadvantages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complex data structure • Difficult overlay operations • High spatial variability is inefficiently represented • Not compatible with satellite imagery

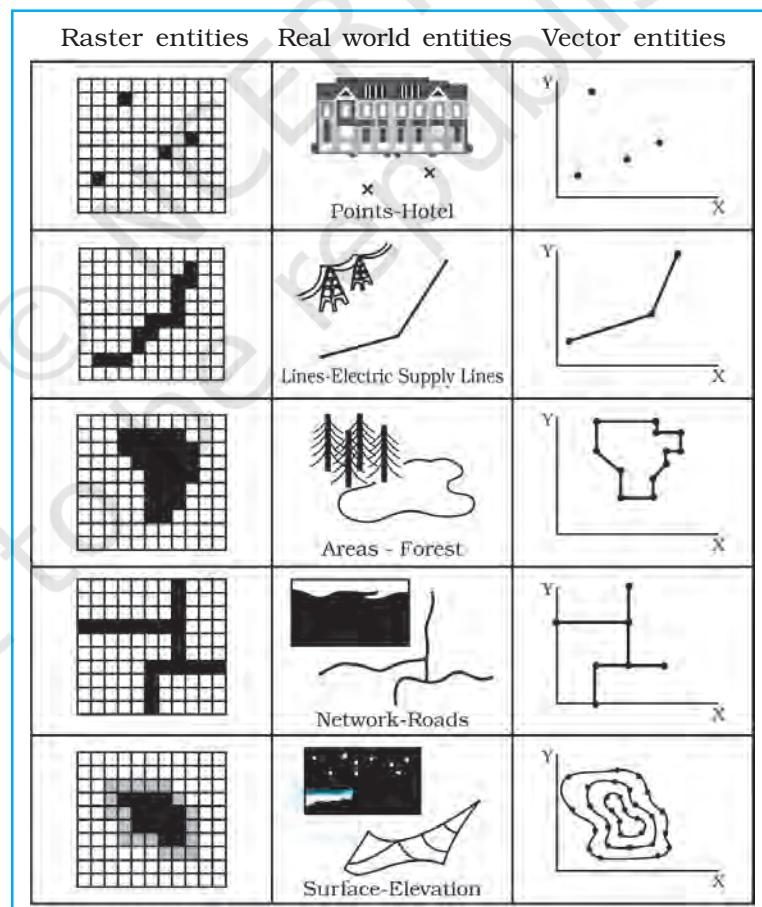


Fig. 4.6 : Representation of Spatial Entities in Raster and Vector Data Formats

Sequence of GIS Activities

The following sequence of the activities are involved in GIS-related work :

1. Spatial data input
2. Entering of the attribute data
3. Data verification and editing
4. Spatial and attribute data linkages
5. Spatial analysis

Spatial Data Input

As already mentioned, the spatial database into a GIS can be created from a variety sources. These could be summarised into the following two categories :

(a) *Acquiring Digital Data sets from a Data Supplies*

The present day data supplies make the digital data readily available, which range from small-scale maps to the large-scale plans. For many local governments and private organisations, such data form an essential source and keep such groups of users free from overheads of digitising or collecting their own data. Although, using such existing data sets is attractive and time saving, serious attention must be paid to data compatibility when data from different sources/ supplies are combined in one project. The differences in terms of projection, scale, base level and description in attributes may cause problems.

At a practical level, users must consider the following characteristics of the data to ensure that they are compatible with the application:

- The scale of the data
- The geo-referencing system used
- The data collection techniques and sampling strategy used
- The quality of data collected
- The data classification and interpolation methods used
- The size and shape of the individual mapping units
- The length of the record.

It must also be noted that where data are used from a number of sources, and particularly where the area of study crosses administrative boundaries, the difficulties in data integration are caused by different geographical referencing systems, data classification and sampling. Hence, the user needs to be aware of these problems, which are particularly prone when compiling inter-province, and inter-district data sets. Once, the compatibility between the data acquired from different suppliers is established, the next stage involves the transfer of data from a medium of transfer to the GIS. The use of DAT tapes, CD ROMS and floppy disks is becoming increasingly common for the purpose. At this stage, the conversion from encoding and structuring system of the source to that of GIS to be used is important.

(b) *Creating digital data sets by manual input*

The manual input of data to a GIS involves four main stages :

- Entering the spatial data.
- Entering the attribute data.
- Spatial and attribute data verification and editing.
- Where necessary, linking the spatial to the attribute data.

The manual data input methods depend on whether the database has a vector topology or grid cell (raster) structure. The most common ways of inputting spatial data in to a GIS are through:

- Digitisation
- Scanning

With the entity model, geographical data are in the form of points, lines and/or polygons (areas)/pixels which are defined using a series of coordinates. These are obtained by referring to the geographical referencing systems of the map or aerial photograph, or by overlaying a graticule or grid onto it. The use of digitisers and the scanners greatly reduce the time and labour involved in writing down coordinates. We shall, briefly, discuss how the spatial data are created in GIS core using a scanner.

Scanners

Scanners are the devices for converting analogue data into digital grid-based images. They are used in spatial data capture to convert a line map to high-resolution raster images which may be used directly or further processed to get vector topology. There are two basic types of scanners :

- Scanners that record data on a step-for-step basis, and
- Those that can scan whole document in one operation.

The first type of scanners incorporates a source of illumination on a movable arm (usually light emitting diodes or a stabilised fluorescent lamp) and a digital camera with high-resolution lamp. The camera is usually equipped with special sensors called Charged Coupled Devices (CCDs) arranged in an array. These are semi-conductor devices that translate the photons of light falling on their surface into counts of electrons, which are then recorded as a digital value.

The movement of either the scanner or the map builds up a digital two-dimensional image of the map. The map to be scanned can be mounted either on a flat bed, or on a rotating drum. With flatbed scanners, the light source is moved systematically up and down over the surface of the document. For large maps, scanners are used which are mounted on a stand and the illumination source and camera array are fixed in a position. The map is moved past by a feeding mechanism. Modern document scanners resemble laser printers in reverse because the scanning surface is manufactured with a given resolution of light sensitive spots that can be directly addressed by the software. There are no moving parts except a movable light source. The resolution is determined by the geometry of the sensor surface and the amount of memory rather than by a mechanical arm.

The scanned image is always far from perfect even with the best possible scanners, as it contains all the smudges and defects of the original map. The excess data, therefore, in a digital image must be removed to make it usable.

Entering the Attribute Data

Attribute data define the properties of a spatial entity that need to be handled in the GIS, but which are not spatial. For example, a road may be captured as a set of contiguous pixels or as a line entity and represented in the spatial part of the GIS by a certain colour, symbol or data location. Information describing the type of road may be included in the range of cartographic symbols. The attribute values associated with the road, such as road width, type of surface, estimated number of traffic and specific traffic regulation may also be stored separately

either as spatial information in the GIS in case of relational databases, or input along with spatial description with the object-oriented data bases.

The attribute data acquired from sources like published record, official censuses, primary surveys or spread sheets can be used as input into GIS database either manually or by importing the data using a standard transfer format.

Data Verification and Editing

The spatial data captured into a GIS require verification for the error identification and corrections so as to ensure the data accuracy. The errors caused during digitisation may include data omissions, and under/over shoots. The best way to check for errors in the spatial data is to produce a computer plot or print of the data, preferably on translucent sheet, at the same scale as the original. The two maps may then be placed over each other on a light table and compared visually, working systematically from left to right and top to bottom of the map. Missing data and locational errors should be clearly marked on the printout. The errors that may arise during the capturing of spatial and attribute data may be grouped as under :

Spatial data are incomplete or double

The incompleteness in the spatial data arises through omissions in the input of points, lines, or polygons/area of manually entered data. In scanned data the omissions are usually in the form of gaps between lines where the raster vector conversion process has failed to join up all parts of a line.

Spatial data at the wrong scale

The digitising at the wrong scale produces input spatial data at a wrong scale. In scanned data, the problems usually arise during the geo-referencing process when incorrect values are used.

Spatial data are distorted

The spatial data may also be distorted if the base maps used for digitising are not scale correct. The aerial photographs, in particular, are characterised by incorrect scale because of the lens distortions, relief and till displacements. In addition, paper maps and field documents used for scanning or digitising may contain random distortions as a result of having been exposed to rain, sunshine and frequent folding. Hence, transformation from one coordinate system to another may be needed if the coordinate system of the database is different from that used in the input document or image.

These errors need corrections through various editing and updating functions as supported directly by most GIS software. The process is time-consuming and interactive that can take longer time than the data input itself. The data editing is usually undertaken by viewing the portion of map containing the errors on the computer screen and correcting them through the software using the keyboard, screen cursor controlled by a mouse or a small digitiser tablet.

Minor locational errors in a vector database may be corrected by moving the spatial entity through the screen cursor. In some GIS, computer commands may be used directly to move, rotate, erase, insert, stretch or truncate the graphical entities are required. Where excess coordinates define a line these may be removed using 'weeding' algorithms. Attribute values and spatial errors in raster data

must be corrected by changing the value of the faulty cells. Once, the spatial errors have been corrected, the topology of vector line and polygon networks can be generated.

Data Conversion

While manipulating and analysing data, the same format should be used for all data. When different layers are to be used simultaneously, they should all be in vector or all in raster format. Usually, the conversion is from vector to raster, because the biggest part of the analysis is done in the raster domain. Vector data are transformed to raster data by overlaying a grid with a user-defined cell size.

Sometimes, the data in the raster format are converted into vector format. This is the case especially if one wants to achieve data reduction because the data storage needed for raster data are much larger than for vector data.

Geographic Data : Linkages and Matching

The linkages of spatial and the attribute data are important in GIS. It must, therefore, carefully be undertaken. Linking of attribute data with a non-related spatial data shall lead to chaos in ultimate data analysis. Similarly, matching of one data layer with another is also significant.

Linkages

A GIS typically links different data sets. Suppose, we want to know the mortality rate due to malnutrition among children under 10 years of age in any state. If we have one file that contains the number of children in this age group, and another that contains the mortality rate from malnutrition, we must first combine or link the two data files. Once this is done, we can divide one figure by the other to obtain the desired answer.

Exact Matching

Exact matching means when we have information in one computer file about many geographic features (e.g., towns) and additional information in another file about the same set of features. The operation to bring them together may easily be achieved using a key common to both files, i. e. name of the towns. Thus, the record in each file with the same town name is extracted, and the two are joined and stored in another file.

Hierarchical Matching

Some types of information, however, are collected in more detail and less frequently than other types of information. For example, land use data covering a large area are collected quite frequently. On the other hand, land transformation data are collected in small areas but at less frequent intervals. If the smaller areas adjust within the larger ones, then the way to make the data match of the same area is to use hierarchical matching — add the data for the small areas together until the grouped areas match the bigger ones and then match them exactly.

Fuzzy Matching

On many occasions, the boundaries of the smaller areas do not match with those of the larger ones. The problem occurs more often when the environmental data are involved. For example, crop boundaries that are usually defined by field edges/boundaries rarely match with the boundaries of the soil types. If we want

to determine the most productive soil for a particular crop, we need to overlay the two sets and compute crop productivity for each soil type. This is like laying one map over another and noting the combinations of soil and productivity.

A GIS can carry out all these operations. However, the sets of spatial information are linked only when they relate to the same geographical area.

Spatial Analysis

The strength of the GIS lies in its analytical capabilities. What distinguish the GIS from other information systems are its spatial analysis functions. The analysis functions use the spatial and non-spatial attributes in the database to answer questions about the real world. Geographic analysis facilitates the study of real-world processes by developing and applying models. Such models provide the underlying trends in geographic data and thus, make new possibilities available. The objective of geographic analysis is to transform data into useful information to satisfy the requirements of the decision-makers. For example, GIS may effectively be used to predict future trends over space and time related to variety of phenomena. However, before undertaking any GIS based analysis, one needs to identify the problem and define purpose of the analysis. It requires step – by – step procedures to arrive at the conclusions. The following spatial analysis operation may be undertaken using GIS :

- (i) Overlay analysis
- (ii) Buffer analysis
- (iii) Network analysis
- (iv) Digital Terrain Model

However, under the constraints of time and space only the overlay and buffer analysis operations will be dealt herewith.

Overlay Analysis Operations

The hallmark of GIS is overlay operations. An integration of multiple layers of maps using overlay operations is an important analysis function. In other words, GIS makes it possible to overlay two or more thematic layers of maps of the same area to obtain a new map layer (Fig. 4.7). The overlay operations of a GIS are

Overlay Operation : $x + y = z$

where

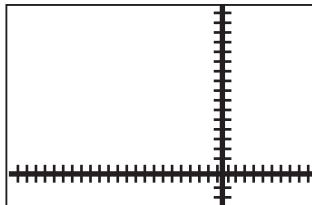
x = Road map
 y = Rail map
 z = Transportation Map
+ = The spatial overlay operation ‘union’

Graphical representation

Road map



+ Rail map



= Transportation map

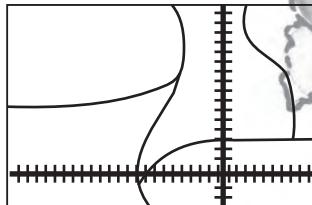


Fig. 4.7 : Simple Overlay Operation

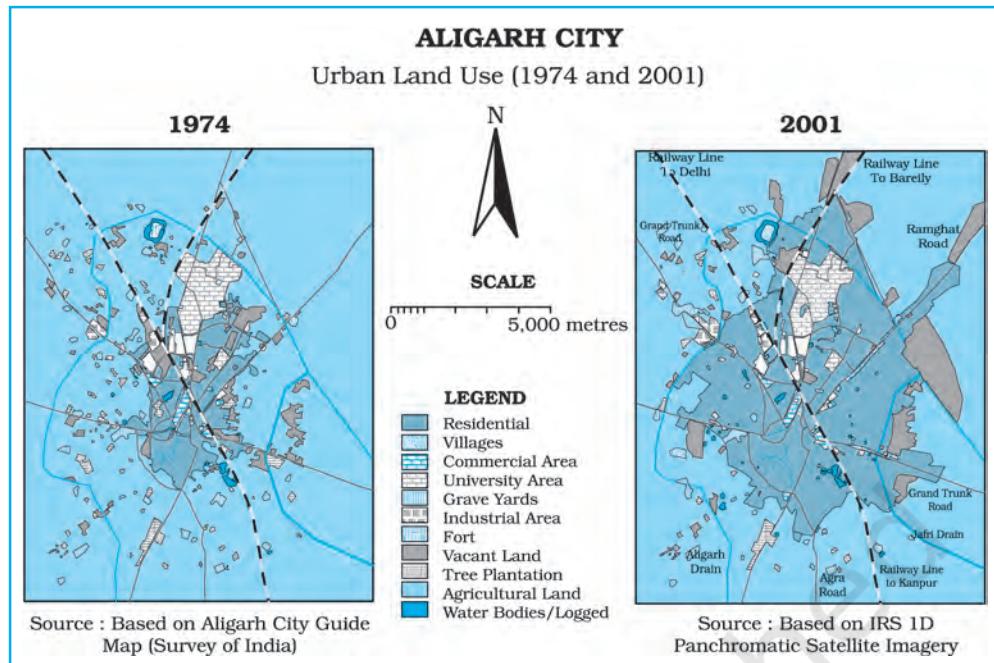
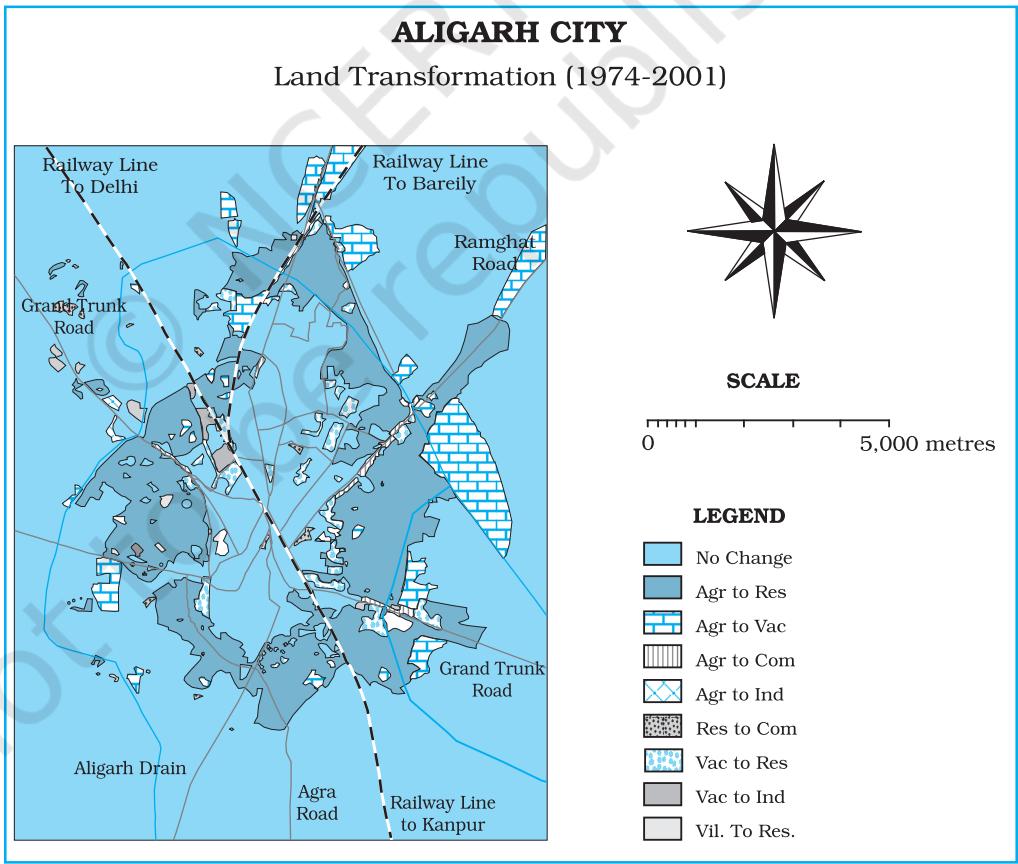


Fig. 4.8 : Urban Land Use in Aligarh City, Uttar Pradesh during 1974 and 2001



similar to the sieve mapping, i.e., the overlaying of tracing of maps on a light table to make comparisons and obtain an output map.

Map overlay has many applications. It can be used to study the changes in land use/land cover over two different periods in time and analyse the land transformations. For example, *Fig. 4.8* depicts urban land use during 1974 and 2001. When the two maps overlaid, the changes in urban land use have been obtained (*Fig. 4.9*) and the urban sprawl is mapped during the given time period (*Fig. 4.10*). Similarly, overlay analysis is also useful in suitability analysis of the given land use for proposed land uses.

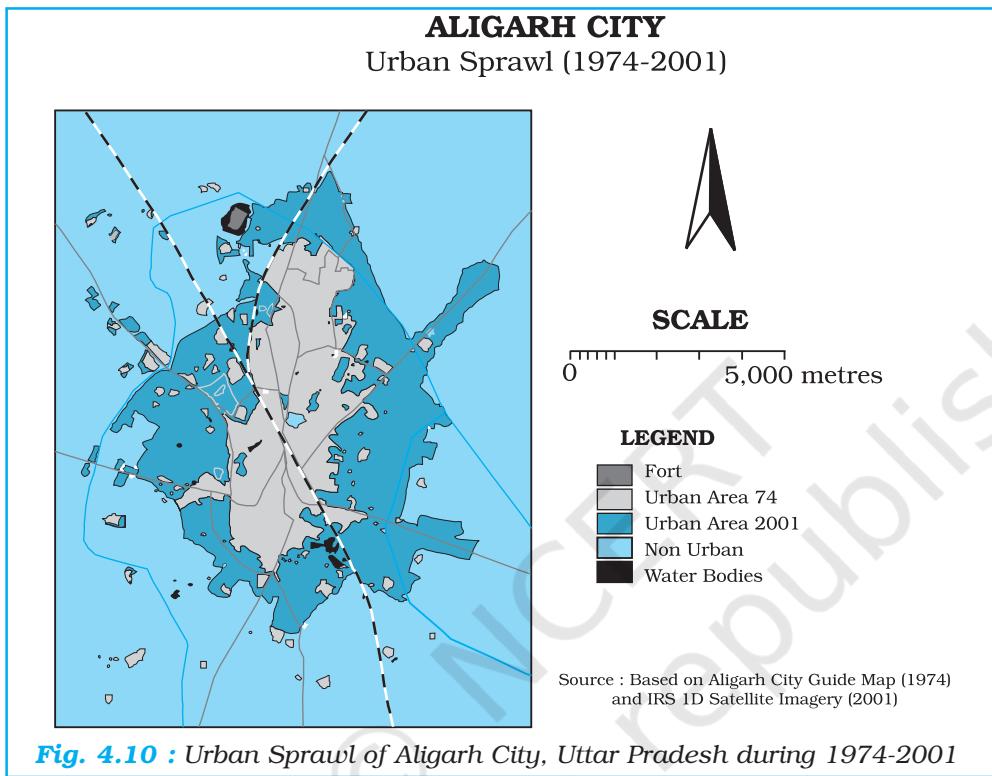


Fig. 4.10 : Urban Sprawl of Aligarh City, Uttar Pradesh during 1974-2001

Buffer Operation

Buffer operation is another important spatial analysis function in GIS. A buffer of a certain specified distance can be created along any point, line or area feature (*Fig. 4.11*). It is useful in locating the areas/population benefitted or denied of the facilities and services, such as hospitals, medical stores, post office, asphalt roads, regional parks, etc. Similarly, it can also be used to study the impact of point sources of air, noise or water pollution on human health and the size of the population so affected. This kind of analysis is called proximity analysis. The buffer operation will generate polygon feature types irrespective of geographic features and delineates spatial proximity. For example, numbers of household living within one-kilometre buffer from a chemical industrial unit are affected by industrial waste discharged from the unit.

Arc View/ArcGIS, Geomedia Quantum GIS free opensoftware and all other GIS softwares provide modules for buffer analysis along point, line and area features. For example, by using appropriate commands of either of the available software, one can create buffers of 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 kilometres around the cities having a major hospital located. As a case study, point location of Saharanpur,

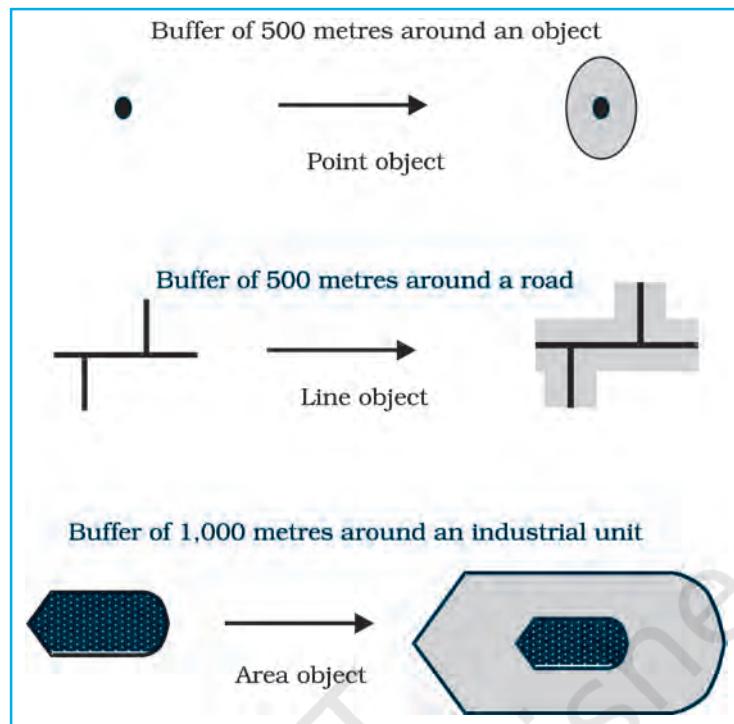


Fig. 4.11 : Buffers of Constant Width Drawn around a Point, Line and a Polygon

Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Ghaziabad, Gautam Budh Nagar and Aligarh has been mapped (Fig. 4.12) and the buffer have been created from the cities where major hospitals are found. One can observe that the areas closer to the cities are better served, people living away from the cities have to travel long distances to utilise the medical services and their areas that are least benefitted (Fig. 4.13).

60

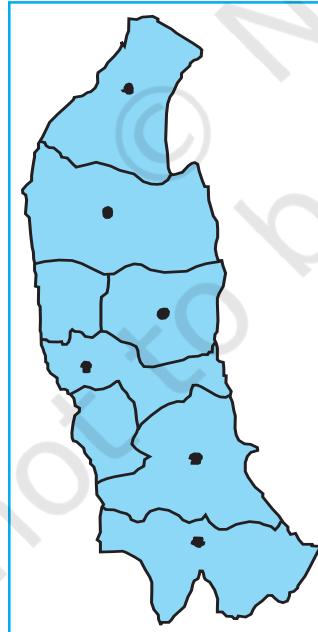


Fig. 4.12 : Location Map of the Cities of Western Uttar Pradesh

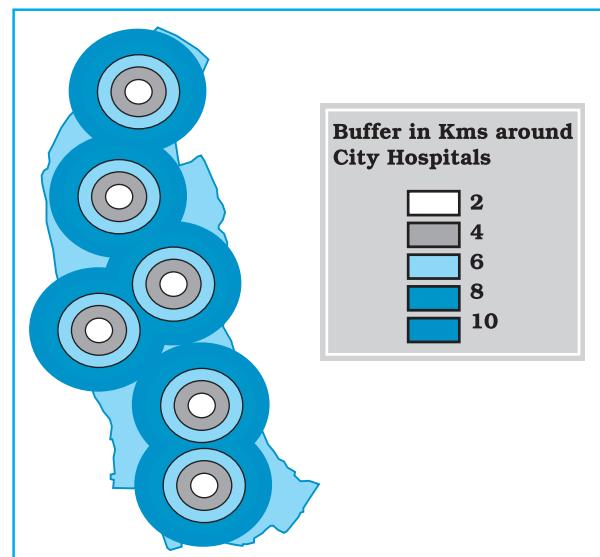


Fig. 4.13 : Buffers of Specified Distances around Hospitals

Internet sources to learn more:

- schoolgis.nic.in
- bhuvan.nrsc.gov.in
- www.iirs.gov.in

Exercises

1. Choose the right answer from the four alternatives given below :

- (i) The spatial data are characterised by the following forms of appearance :
 - (a) Positional
 - (b) Linear
 - (c) Areal
 - (d) All the above forms
- (ii) Which one of the following operations requires analysis module software?
 - (a) Data storage
 - (b) Data display
 - (c) Data output
 - (d) Buffering
- (iii) Which one of the following is disadvantage of Raster data format ?
 - (a) Simple data structure
 - (b) Easy and efficient overlaying
 - (c) Compatible with remote sensing imagery
 - (d) Difficult network analysis
- (iv) Which one of the following is an advantage of Vector data format ?
 - (a) Complex data structure
 - (b) Difficult overlay operations
 - (c) Lack of compatibility with remote sensing data
 - (d) Compact data structure
- (v) Urban change detection is effectively undertaken in GIS core using:
 - (a) Overlay operations
 - (b) Proximity analysis
 - (c) Network analysis
 - (d) Buffering

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words :

- (i) Differentiate between raster and vector data models.
- (ii) What is an overlay analysis?
- (iii) What are the advantages of GIS over manual methods?
- (iv) What are important components of GIS?
- (v) What are different ways in which spatial data is built in GIS core?
- (vi) What is Spatial Information Technology?

3. Answer the following questions in about 125 words :

- (i) Discuss raster and vector data formats. Give example.
- (ii) Write an explanatory account of the sequence of activities involved in GIS related work.

Glossary

Bar Graph : A series of columns or bars drawn proportional in length to the quantities they represent. They are drawn on a selected scale. They may be drawn either horizontally or vertically.

Central Tendency : The tendency of quantitative data to cluster around some value.

Choropleth Maps : Maps drawn on quantitative areal basis, calculated as average values per unit of area within specific administrative units, e.g. density of population and percentage of urban to total population. Distribution of a given phenomenon is shown by various shades of a colour or intensity.

Class Intervals : The difference between the lower and upper limits of any class of a frequency distribution is known as its class interval.

Correlation Co-efficient : A measure of the degree and direction of relationship between two variables.

Cumulative Frequency : The measurement of distribution of values in the different class intervals expressed as a percentage of the total frequencies either above or below specified value.

Dispersion : The degree of internal variations in the different values of a variable.

Flow Maps : Maps in which the “flow” or movement of people or commodities is represented by riband whose thickness is proportional to the quantity of goods or the number of people moving along different routes.

Histogram : A graphical representation of a frequency distribution, such as seasonal frequencies of rainfall.

Mean Deviation : A measure of dispersion derives from the average of deviations from some central value. Such deviations are taken absolutely, i.e., their signs are ignored. The central value is generally mean or median.

Median : It is the value which divides the number of observations in such a way that half the value are less than this value and half of them are more. If the values of a variable are arranged in either ascending or descending order, the median is the middle value.

Mode : The mode is that value of a variable which occurs maximum number of times.

Pie Diagram : A circular diagram in which a circle is divided into sectors for presenting data in percentage.

Standard Deviation : The most commonly used measure of dispersion. The standard deviation is the positive square root of the mean of the squares of deviations from the mean.

Tabulation : The process of putting raw data into a systematically arranged tabular form.

Variable : Any characteristic which varies. A quantitative variable is a characteristic which has different values; the differences of which are quantitatively measurable. Rainfall, for example, is a quantitative variables, because the differences in its different values at different places or at different times are quantitatively measurable. A qualitative variable on the other hand, is the characteristic; the different values of which cannot be measured quantitatively. Sex, for example, is a qualitative variable, it can be either male or female. A qualitative variable is also known as an attribute.

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