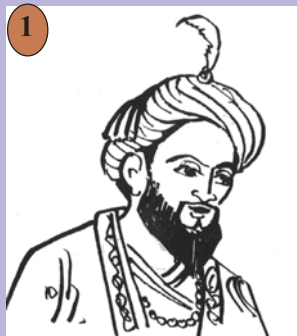




Landlords and Tenants under the British and the Nizam



The King collects tax from Zamindar



Zamindar collects tax from people and gives to king



Zamindar owns land, and had labourers



Peasant who owns land and pays tax

Zamindars and Peasants in Mughal Times

During the time of the Mughal emperors, the zamindars collected land revenue from the peasants on the behalf of the emperor. In return, they received a share of the revenue collected and sometimes also had the right to collect some small local taxes. They also had a small band of soldiers with horses and guns. Their houses were like small forts called *gadi* in Telangana. This enabled them to control the nearby villages. As revenue collectors, the zamindars often acted as the intermediaries between the government and the peasants. They often represented the problems faced by the peasants to the government and at the same time also tried to enforce the regulations imposed on the peasants by the government.

The zamindars also owned lands on which the labourers worked. This was called their 'self-cultivated' land or *Khudkhasht* lands. They also gave their land to peasants to cultivate in exchange for either a share of the produce or for a fixed rent. We call such landowners as 'landlords'; and the peasants who cultivate their lands as 'tenant cultivators'. Thus, the zamindars had two important roles – collection of land revenue from ordinary peasants and owning lands as landlords. There were two kinds of peasants: those who were independent landowning cultivators paying land revenue through the zamindar and those who were tenants of the landlords. Indian towns and villages had a large number of highly skilled artisans such as weavers, dyers, masons, metalsmiths and carpenters. They were engaged in craft production and services to support agricultural activity. In addition, there were workers providing personal and community services like washerfolk, basket-makers, barbers, butchers, shepherds and cattle herders and of course, agricultural workers. These artisans and service providers often belonged to 'backward' and 'low' castes. Some of them had small plots of land but mainly got their livelihood from providing services to the farmers and landlords.

- Did the zamindars own all the lands of the villages in the Mughal times?
- What did the zamindars do for the Mughal government and what did they get in return?

- Why do you think did the zamindars keep the soldiers and small forts?
- Do you think the zamindars would have helped the independent cultivators in any way? Give reasons for your answer.



Company collects tax from Zamindar



Zamindar gets more power, can collect more money



Zamindar decides what the peasant cultivates and the tax to be paid

Permanent Settlement: Changes introduced by the British

When the British gained control over India, they were keen to increase the land revenue as much as possible to finance their trade and wars. This led to the ruining of agriculture as farmers could not cultivate land under such conditions. There were great famines which killed millions of people. The British realized that they needed to have a system of land revenue which would also encourage agriculture. They were also keen that peasants should till more and more land and grow crops that were in demand in the market, especially cash crops that could be exported to England like cotton, indigo, sugarcane, wheat, etc. East India Company officials began to feel that investment in land had to be encouraged and agriculture had to be improved. How was this to be done?

After two decades of debate on the question, the Company finally introduced the Permanent Settlement in 1793 when Cornwallis was the Governor General. According to the terms of the settlement, zamindars were given the powers to collect the revenues agreed upon in auctions. Therefore, it was also called zamindari settlement. They have to pass on 90% of the amount to the Government retaining 10% as collection charges. The amount to be paid was fixed permanently, that is, it was not to be increased in future. It was felt that this would ensure a regular flow of revenue into the Company and at the same time, encourage the zamindars to invest in improving the land. Since the revenue demand of the state would not be increased, the zamindar would benefit from increased production from the land. The Zamindars, however, collected more revenue than agreed upon through auction. They continuously increased the revenue and changed the cultivators who did not meet the demand. This settlement inadvertently converted all the



Pay more tax, land was not cared for. If I don't produce as much as the Zamindar demands I have to vacate the land



Over the years Zamindar occupied all the land

peasants into tenants, and the zamindars collected rent rather than revenue from them. Since rent collected was much higher than the revenue, the cultivators could not pay the entire amount and sometimes deserted the lands. In the long run, the zamindars also suffered and became defaulters.

- How were the changes affected the position of the farmers who tilled the land for several generations?
- What is the difference between revenue and rent?
- Who do you think gained the most from the 'Permanent Settlement' – the British Government, the zamindars or the peasants? Give your reasons.

The result: The Company officials soon discovered that the zamindars were in fact not investing in the improvement of land. The revenue that had been fixed was so high that the zamindars found it difficult to pay it. There were no remissions of revenue in times of crop failure and famine. Anyone who failed to pay the revenue lost his zamindari. Numerous zamindaris were sold off at auctions organised by the Company. This created much instability in the villages and the old zamindars were rapidly replaced by the new ones.

By 1820, the situation changed. The prices of grains in the market rose and cultivation slowly expanded. This meant an increase in the income of the zamindars but no gain for the Company as it could not increase the revenue demand that had been fixed permanently.

Even then, the zamindars were not interested in improving the land. Some had lost their lands in the earlier years of the settlement; others now saw the possibility of earning without the trouble and risk of investment. As long as the zamindars could give out the land to tenants and get rent, they were not interested in improving the land.

Population was increasing rapidly and the zamindars could keep evicting peasants and giving the land to new ones at higher rents. On the other hand, in the villages, the cultivators found the system extremely oppressive. The rent they paid to the zamindar was high and their right on the land was insecure. To

pay the rent, they had to take loans from the moneylenders, and when farmers failed to pay the rent, they were evicted from the land they had cultivated for generations.

- In what ways did the zamindari system fail in the objectives with which the British had introduced it?
- How do you think was it possible for the zamindars to keep increasing their incomes without increasing investment in the land?
- Do you think the zamindars would have supported the British rule or opposed it? Give your reasons.

The Ryotwari system

By the early nineteenth century, many of the Company officials were convinced that the system of revenue collection had to be changed again. How could revenues be fixed permanently at a time when the Company needed more money to meet its expenses of administration and investments in trade?

The districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Kadapa and Kurnool were ceded to the British by the Nizam on account of debt in maintaining the British contingent. This area is known as Rayalaseema. Thomas Munro was appointed as the principal Collector of these districts in November 1800. At that time, the Ceded districts were in a complete anarchy. There were eight *palegars* or petty chiefs in this area. They resisted the imposition of British rule and indulged in constant war and looting. Munro first subdued the *palegars* and disbanded their armed followers. After restoring law and order, Munro commenced his work of survey and revenue settlement. He realized that there were no zamindars in the south like in Northern India. Instead, there were close-knit peasant communities in Andhra and Tamil country who held the land, cultivated it and paid revenue. Recognising the importance of the peasants, he devised the 'Ryotwari settlement' which was introduced in entire South India and later in Western India.

Ryot means a cultivator. The ryotwari means peasant tenure. It was decided to collect revenue from the actual cultivators/owners of the land who either worked on the land themselves



Under Ryotwari system, I produced more crop.



Company collects fixed tax from farmers.



Zamindar rented land to the tenants.

or got the lands cultivated by others. Under this settlement, the peasants cultivating the land were identified, their field was identified and a survey number was given to every piece of land fixing the legal ownership. The yield, price situation, market conditions and the crop cultivated was taken into account to decide the tax per acre. But, before the cultivation commenced in 1801-02, Munro made necessary advances to the ryots to purchase seeds, implements, bullocks and to repair old wells or dig new ones. He argued that the British government should act as a father figure protecting the ryots. This proved very effective and that year saw a bumper crop and very good revenue collection. This confirmed that Munro's approach was right.

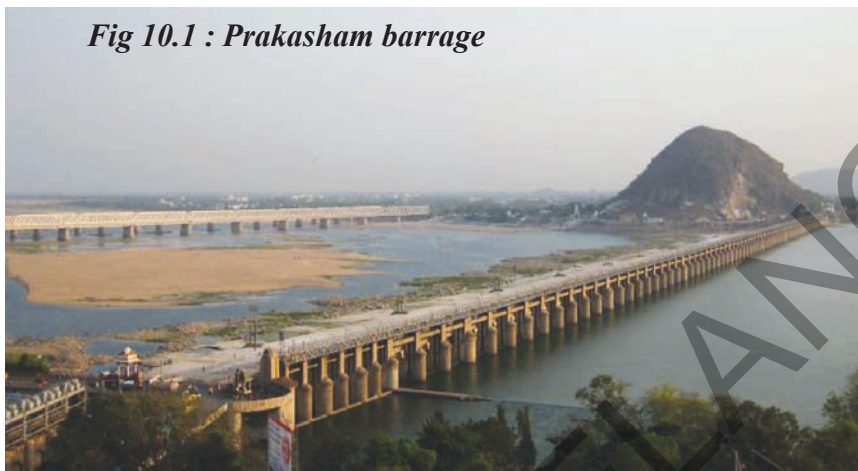


Fig 10.1 : Prakasham barrage

only small regions. Most parts of the country still continued to depend upon rainfall. The expectation that the zamindars and prosperous ryots would invest in smaller irrigation projects like wells and tanks did not materialize.

Developmental Activities

Some British administrators believed that it is the duty of the government to invest in large scale irrigation works. This would enable farmers to cultivate lands and grow high value cash crops. Due to the untiring efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton, an anicut across the Godavari river at Dhawaleshwaram was completed in 1849. It brought immediate prosperity to the district which had suffered acutely from severe famine in 1833. Similarly, an anicut was built over the Krishna river at Vijayawada in 1854 which brought prosperity to the delta areas. After 1857, the Kurnool-Kadapa canal was built to bring waters to the dry areas of Rayalaseema. These measures, even though significant, had a very limited impact as they covered

- When the 'Permanent Settlement' was introduced, there was no detailed land survey. Why do you think was it needed for the 'Ryotwari Settlement'?
- Why do you think was it necessary to defeat the *palegars* before the Ryotwari Settlement could be introduced?
- In what ways did the government invest in agriculture during the early British rule? Do you think it could have been done by farmers themselves?

- Who do you think would have benefitted from the Ryotwari Settlement – the farmers, the landlords or the British? Give reasons.

The result: Even in the Ryotwari areas, the land revenue was fixed at a very high level. Unlike the Zamindari areas, it was fixed for twenty to thirty years. After the expiry of the tenure period, the revenue was revised, taking the changed conditions into consideration. The land revenue was so high that in the beginning, it had to be collected by force. Soon, however, the prices rose faster than the land revenue and the ryots found it more profitable to employ tenants to cultivate their lands and receive rent from them. Soon, the ryotwari area too was full of landlords who rented out their lands to helpless tenants for very high rents. The tenants had to pay rent that was three to seven times more than the land revenue paid by the ryots to the government. (That is, if a ryot paid Rs. 100/- as land revenue for a piece of land to the government, he was able to get Rs. 300/- to 700/- from the tenants for the same land.) As a result, they were not interested in investing in improving agriculture but only in renting it out at higher and higher rates.

- Compare these actual outcomes with what you had predicted. How similar or different was it?
- Why do you think did the ryots not invest in improving agriculture or extending agriculture?
- Imagine and describe the condition of the landless tenants of the ryots.

Commercialisation and Money Lenders

Driven by the desire to increase the income from land, revenue officials fixed a very high revenue demand. Peasants were unable to pay these revenue and fled the countryside. Thus, villages became deserted in many regions. Optimistic officials had imagined that the new system would transform the peasants into rich enterprising farmers. But this did not happen due to the very high land revenue rates.

Peasants very often borrowed money from moneylenders in order to pay their land revenue. However, if they could not repay their loans on time, the moneylenders also went to court to get their land auctioned to recover the loan money. Due to this new British rule for collecting land revenue, many peasants fell into deep debt trap.

There was also another reason why their debts kept increasing. With an increase in the export of agricultural produce, the agricultural prices were determined by international market. For example, in 1861, there was a civil war in America and British factories turned to India for the supply of cotton. As a result, cotton prices soared high and farmers began taking loans to grow cotton in the hope of getting high prices. The civil war in the USA ended in 1865 and the demand for Indian cotton fell and so did its price. Cotton that fetched 12 annas per kilo in 1864 now fetched only 6 annas per kilo. The peasants suffered a lot as they could

not earn enough to pay back the loans they had taken. The moneylenders became richer and richer as more and more peasants came under their grip. The ryots of Ganjam who had pinned their hopes on reaping huge profits from cotton crop suddenly became paupers. Not only that, rice became scarce since cotton was grown on the fields where previously paddy was cultivated. The scarcity of rice hit all the sections of the population. Thousands of people died of hunger in the famine known as Ganjam Famine. Due to impoverishment, many people were forced to migrate to countries such as South Africa, Fiji, Mauritius, Burma, Malaysia and the Caribbean islands as indentured labourers and coolies as there was a need of work on the sugarcane and cotton plantations.

Labour transported abroad under force to work on plantations is called indentured labour.

- Why did the high revenue rates prevent zamindars and farmers from improving agriculture?
- How did the land revenue lead to peasants losing their lands to the moneylenders? What would the moneylenders have done with the land?
- Who ultimately profited from production for export market and why?
- Why did the war in America lead to increase in prices of cotton in India?
- Have you heard of any similar rapid rise or decline in prices of any agricultural products in our own times? Find out about its impact on the farmers.

The Zamindars' Exploitation of the Peasants

During the colonial period, the peasants were forced to do *vetti* (work without wages) on the personal land of the landlords. If they refused, the soldiers used catch hold of the peasants walking on the road and force them to do *vetti* in the zamindar's fields.

Many peasants could not cultivate their own fields properly. They could not improve their fields. Their plight can be understood through a government report written in 1878. The report says that the peasants did not try to dig well on their lands or irrigate it, nor did they try to bund their fields or dig drains or use fertilisers. "They do nothing to improve their land because they fear they can be evicted from their land at any time. If they improve their farming, the zamindar immediately increased the share he takes from them. But the zamindars also prevent the peasants from improving their fields because they are afraid that the peasants would then start asserting their rights over the land."

Countless Collections, Cesses and Payments

The zamindars also tried to extract as much money as they could from the peasants under a variety of pretexts. The peasants also had to regularly supply *ghee*, milk, vegetables, *Jaggery*, straw, cow dung cakes etc. free of cost to the zamindar's house. This situation was there in many provinces of India. Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh had many powerful zamindars. Each of them owned dozens or even hundreds of villages. The peasants kept trying to resist the excesses of these zamindars.

Doras and Peasants of Hyderabad State

In the Hyderabad State, under the Nizam rule, there were many forms of subordinate chieftaincies like Jagirdars, *Samsthanamdars* and Inamdars who ruled like independent chiefs. They collected revenue from the lands under them, and gave a small part to the Nizam as '*peshkash*' and kept the remaining with them. They were also responsible for the administration of their areas. In the Hyderabad state, there were about 1500 Jagirs spread over 6535 villages and 14 *Samsthanams* over 497 villages. About 1400 villages were directly under the Nizam as his personal jagir (called *sarf-e-khas*). The rest of the kingdom was administered as described below.

The Nizams who ruled Hyderabad state were under the British and had to follow their policies. In the first half of 19th century, they tried to collect maximum land revenue through *deshmukhs* and it resulted in desertion of lands by peasants and complete decline of agriculture. In view of this situation, the Nizam's government set up a new land revenue arrangement by which the government appointed district officials to collect land revenue directly. The old landlords were compensated with an annual payment called *rusum* and they were also given *patta* rights of full ownership over the land and the adjoining waste lands and forests. As the landlords realized that there was a large export market for several agricultural products like castor, groundnut etc. They brought more waste lands under

cultivation to grow these crops. But who would work on those lands? They expanded the scope of *vetti* or unpaid labour by forcing ordinary peasants and village artisan and service castes to work on landlord's lands. The large landlords were called '*Doras*'. The *Doras* lived in large fortified houses called '*gadi*' and had a large retinue of servants and soldiers. They had vast lands cultivated by tenants and also lands directly cultivated with forced labour. They acted as village moneylenders too. They also had judicial powers over the entire village. They settled all the village disputes and were usually partial towards the upper castes. Other village officials like *patwaris* and smaller landlords too had to abide by their orders. They forcibly ensured that the lower caste labourers worked for all the upper castes and especially the landlords. They enforced rules like no lower caste person could wear shirts or slippers or wear a turban, and had to always remain bent before the *doras* and address them as their masters.

In the erstwhile Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda districts, there were 550 *Doras* who owned more than a thousand acres of land. There were landlords who owned about one lakh acres like Visnuri Ramachandra Reddy and Jannareddy Pratapa Reddy.

- Why do you think were the peasants unwilling to invest in their lands?
- In what ways did the zamindars take away the produce of the tenants?
- Discuss the changes in the lives of

traditional crafts persons and village artists.

- How did the position of the revenue collectors change in the Nizam state?
- Among all forms of exploitation, the peasants hated 'vetti' the most. Can you explain why?
- How was a 'dora' different from an ordinary landlord?

Famines

Famines, or massive food shortages leading to acute distress, were a regular feature of the British rule. Due to high taxes and rents, the peasants had little reserves to face difficult seasons or crop failures. Further, foodgrains were exported out of the country in large quantities. This created scarcity situation in the entire country. In addition, the government often refused to interfere when powerful traders tried to create artificial scarcity by hoarding foodgrains.

Andhra, like the rest of the country, suffered from severe famines in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most severe famine commonly known as the Ganjam famine occurred during the years 1865-66. You read about it in the earlier section. Repeated famines occurred in the Rayalaseema districts due to lack of irrigation facilities. Not less than 11 famines occurred during the later half of the 19th century. Thousands of people died. Grain

riots occurred in many Andhra districts and troops were sent to quell the violence.

The Peasant Movements

We saw above that the peasants were deeply troubled by high land revenue rates, the oppression of the landlords and moneylenders. During the colonial period, the peasants in different parts of the country protested and fought against the landlords, merchants and state officials. The famous peasant movements were the Deccan riots of 1860s, Rampa *fiturias* and Moppila agitations which had taken organized forms. While in the 19th century, the movements took the form of open revolts, the peasants joined the national movement in large numbers in the 20th century. In 1920-22, the peasants of Awadh in Uttar Pradesh took out huge processions to protest against the zamindars who were extracting money from them. Many zamindars were socially boycotted and driven from the villages. The peasants also refused to till the fields of the zamindars who tried to evict their tenants or claimed too much rent from them. The peasants formed '*kisan sabhas*' to carry their agitation forward and demanded abolition of landlordism, reduction of land revenue and control over moneylenders. The British government helped the zamindars to suppress the revolts. You will read about the struggle of the Telangana peasants in a later chapter.

Keywords

1. Landlords

4. *Samsthanam*

7. Ryotwari

2. Moneylenders

5. Inamdars

8. Deshmukh

3. Jagirs

6. *Patta*

Improve your learning

1. Make simple questions based on each section of the chapter and ask them to your classmates. Check if the answers are correct.
2. Compare the condition of tenant farmers before freedom and farmers of today. What differences do you find?
3. During the freedom movement, some of the zamindars supported the British. Why?
4. What role did the moneylenders play in the lives of the peasants? In what way they were supported by the British government?
5. What were the similarities and differences between the *Doras* of Telangana and the zamindars of Awadh?
6. How did the Ryotwari settlement also give rise to the landlordism?
7. Why were famines caused under British rule? Do you think it was because of the failure of rains or floods?
8. In what way can a government help to prevent famines even in times of crop failure?
9. Imagine that you are giving a representation to a British Government Enquiry Committee. Write down the grievances of tenant farmers in the form of an appeal.
10. Locate the following in the map of India :
 1. Ganjam
 2. Awadh
 3. Hyderabad
 4. River Godavari
11. Read the paragraph under the heading 'Countless Collections, Cesses and Payments' and answer the following:

How do we pay taxes nowadays?



Projects :

1. Make teams of five students and interview five elders of the village to know more about how the life was during the British days. At least, two of them should be women, and at least, one person should be from the artisans community. Talk to them at length and prepare detailed reports about what they have to say.
2. Find out about famines in your area. What did people do in those times?
3. Find out about families that migrated to distant places like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia from your area.



National Movement - The Early Phase 1885-1918

The National Movement in India was an important epoch in the history of India as it helped to weld diverse people and sections of society into one nation. All the sections came together not only to fight against the British rule but also to build a new India.

Early Associations

In Class VII, you had read about the revolt of 1857 in which the soldiers, ordinary peasants, artisans and landlords and even princes joined the struggle against the British rule. While the movement was opposed to the British, it did not have any new vision of the country. It, in fact, wanted to restore the rule of the old kings and queens in India and also old social order.

After English education was introduced during the late nineteenth century, in some major cities like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, a new consciousness began to develop. The intellectuals of the time opposed the inequalities and injustices of the old social system. They wanted a democratic political order and at the same time, they wanted to point out the exploitation and injustice caused by the

British rule and fight to end it. This was the beginning of the national movement in India.

The seeds of a new consciousness were sown in the second half of the 19th century. The educated Indians, after understanding the nature of the British rule and its impact on India, became more and more critical of the British policies in India. They began to come together and discuss these issues and also formed associations for this. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the “East India Association” in London to discuss the Indian question. During 1866 to 1885, various leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, Justice M.G Ranade, Badruddin Tyabji, K. C. Telang and G. Subramaniam organised associations in Calcutta, Pune, Bombay and Madras to discuss the problems faced by Indians in those Provinces. These associations had nationalistic zeal and tried to unite the intellectuals. Though many of these associations functioned in specific parts of the country, their goals were stated as the goals of all the people of India, not those of any one region, community or class. They worked with the idea that the people should be sovereign – a modern



Surendranath Banerjee



Gopala Krishna Gokhale



Dadabhai Naoroji



*Fig 11A.1 :
Meeting at Surat*

consciousness and a key feature of nationalism. In other words, they believed that the Indian people should be empowered to take decisions regarding their affairs. Many of these intellectuals also led campaigns against some British policies like taxes on textiles, racial discrimination against Indians, repressive laws against Indian newspapers etc. They realised the importance of discussing the policies of the government and organising campaigns to change them.

- Do you know of any association in your village or town which discusses the problems faced by all the people? What do they discuss? What suggestions do they have for solving those problems? Discuss some examples in the class.

The Indian National Congress: The Moderate Phase - 1885-1905

All these provincial nationalistic intellectuals came together in the first session of the Indian National Congress

(INC) at Bombay in December 1885. The session was presided over by W. C. Banerjee and attended by 72 delegates from different parts of India. The early leaders – Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, W. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, G. Subramanyam Iyer among others – were largely from Bombay (Mumbai), Madras (Chennai) and Calcutta (Kolkata). A. O. Hume, a retired British official, also played an important role in establishing the Congress. The leaders of the Congress realised that the foremost task before them was to build a nationalist consciousness among the diverse people of India and unite them. At the same time, they realised that this unity could be built only by accommodating the special requirements of different regions and religious communities of India. They, therefore, decided to hold the Congress sessions in different parts of the country every year and not to pass any resolution which was objected to by any one religious group.



Fig 11A.2 : Delegates of the First Indian National Congress meeting, 1885

The second major objective of the early Congress was to create a common political platform or programme around which political workers in different parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities, educating and mobilizing people on an all-India basis. This was to be accomplished by taking up those grievances and fighting for those rights which Indians had in common in relation to the rulers. They studied the grievances of people and wrote appeals to the government and also used them to educate the people about their political rights.

The third major objective was to promote democratic ideals and functioning in India. The Indian National Congress functioned democratically, discussing all the issues and trying to create consensus or sometimes use voting also.

At this stage, the INC decided not to take up issues relating to social reform as it would divide the Indian people. Reform

was to be carried out through different forums.

In 1886, 436 delegates were elected to the Congress by different local organisations and groups indicating its popularity in one year. Hereafter, the National Congress met every year in December in different parts of the country. The number of delegates soon increased to thousands. Its delegates were mostly lawyers, journalists, traders, industrialists, teachers and landlords. There were very few women who participated in the Congress like Kadambari Ganguli who was the first woman graduate from Calcutta. Mostly, men from higher social background attended these sessions.

During the first 20 years, the Congress was led by the leaders who are known as Moderate Nationalists. The Moderates urged the Government to introduce a number of reforms. They demanded a greater voice for Indians in the government and in administration.

They wanted the Imperial Legislative Council to be made more representative, given more power, and introduced in provinces where none existed. They demanded that Indians be placed in high positions in the government. For this purpose, it called for civil service examinations to be held in India as well, not just in London. The demand for Indianization of the administration was part of a movement against racism, since most important jobs at the time were monopolised by the white Europeans.

Leaders like Naoroji, R.C. Dutt and Ranade studied the economic impact of the British Rule and concluded that the British were draining India of her wealth through taxes and other means and leaving her poorer and poorer. They drew attention to the problem of poverty and famines and blamed it on the British policies of excessive land revenue, export of grains etc. The Congress passed many resolutions on the salt tax, treatment of Indian labourers abroad, and the sufferings of forest dwellers caused by an interfering forest administration. The early leaders were convinced of the need for national industrial development to end poverty in India. However, the British rule was standing in the way of development as they were not only draining India of its wealth to England but also enabling selling of British goods at a cheaper rate in India and restraining Indian crafts and industries.

The Moderate leaders reached out to people in different parts of the country by holding lectures, meetings and tours. They believed that the British were committed

to freedom and justice and would accept the demands when expressed properly. They carried on their agitation through newspapers, public lectures. They passed resolutions and led deputations to submit petitions to the government. In short, it may be said that they adopted a policy of pray, petition and protest. Often, they were not able to persuade the government to change, but in the process, formulated Indian opinion on important issues. This was very important for the future growth of Indian national movement.

There were major famines in British India from the late 18th century to the Great Bengal Famine of 1943. They were triggered by bad harvests, but their consequences were devastating because of the policies of the colonial government. The government collected a huge part of the produce as tax which did not leave any buffer with the peasants even in the times of bad harvests. The government also did not intervene by controlling prices or supply of foodstuff during famines allowing traders to hoard and increase prices. All this led to the death of millions of people during the famines.

- Why did the early nationalists believe that the British were responsible for the poverty and famines in India ?
- Why do you think the early nationalists did not want to reestablish the rule of the old kings in India? Would it not have been better than the British rule?

Extremist Phase - 1905-1920 **(Swadeshi Movement)**

With the start of the *Swadeshi* Movement around 1903, the Indian national movement took a major leap

forward. Women, students and a large section of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became actively involved in politics for the first time. One major trigger for the movement was the proposal for the partition of Bengal into East and West Bengal in 1903 by Curzon. The Nationalists immediately saw this as a political act by the government to divide the Bengali people and also weaken the national movement. Even the ordinary people of Bengal were enraged by this act and took to streets to protest against it. There were massive protests, petitions and campaigns but they were not heeded to and the government partitioned Bengal in 1905. Several protest meetings were held and together they decided to boycott English cloth and salt. There was a tremendous mass response to this call. Boycott and public burning of foreign cloth, picketing of shops selling foreign goods became common in remote corners of Bengal as well as in many important towns and cities throughout the country. Women refused to wear foreign bangles and use foreign utensils, washermen refused to wash foreign clothes and even priests declined offerings which contained foreign sugar. This spontaneous unity of diverse social groups was the basis of Indian nationalism. The early nationalists were successful in germinating this nationalism.

There was also a call for boycott of all government institutions like schools, colleges, courts etc. People set up *Swadeshi* schools and colleges and parallel courts in which they settled their mutual disputes. The idea was to refuse to

cooperate with the government and in this way, undermine its position. The *Swadeshi* Movement gave tremendous impetus to Indian industry. In fact, beginnings were made in the manufacture of *Swadeshi* salt, sugar, matches and other products on a large-scale. The movement gave a stimulus to P. C. Ray's Bengal Chemical Works, and encouraged Jamshedji Tata of Bombay to open his famous Steel Plant in Bihar. The movement also created tremendous demand for indigenous goods. The textile industry of India, in particular received a great impetus from the *Swadeshi* movement.

The Moderates and the Extremists

In the next Congress session (1905), the extremist Nationalists led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajapat Rai were in favour of extending the movement to the rest of India and to demand for full fledged freedom or '*SWARAJ*'. Bal Gangadhar Tilak gave the famous slogan, "*SWARAJ* is my birthright and I shall have it." They wanted to move away from the earlier strategy of submitting petitions to government to the new strategy of mobilising the masses against the British rule and forcing the British to give up and go. They called the earlier strategy as 'mendicancy' (or begging for alms). The old leaders, called 'Moderate nationalists', wanted to continue on a more gradual pace of movement and felt that the masses were not yet not ready for a full scale movement for freedom and self rule. The difference between the two sections of leaders grew and eventually led to a split of the Congress into two in the Surat session of 1907. The extremist leaders like Tilak were



Lala Lajapati Rai



Bala Gangadhar Tilak



Bipin Chandra Pal



Annie Besant

forced to leave the Congress.

Soon, the government came down heavily upon the extremists and the activists of the *Swaraj* movement. Most of the leaders like Tilak were imprisoned and exiled. Gradually, the movement petered out. Many young *Swarajists* felt let down by these developments and thus targeted the unpopular British officials. They hoped to restrain the repression and oppression unleashed by the British in this way. Even though they did not succeed and were caught and hanged or imprisoned, they kept alive the spirit of nationalism and the idea of making supreme sacrifices for it.

The national movement revived again in 1915 when Tilak came back from his exile and joined hands with Annie Besant to launch a movement for 'Home Rule'.

The two factions of the Congress united again in 1916 through the Lucknow Pact.

- Imagine yourself as a student participating in a burning of foreign cloth. Describe what all would have happened on that day and your feelings at that time.
- If authorities do not agree to the just requests of people, what do you think should the people do?

The First World War : 1914–1918

The First World War broke out in 1914 with Britain, France and Russia on one side and Germany and its allies on the other side. It lasted for nearly five years till Germany was finally defeated. This caused unprecedented human suffering and destruction. As the war ended, an era of revolutions started in Europe. A socialist

On the day of the Partition of Bengal

On 16th October 1905, the day the partition of Bengal went into effect, was observed in Bengal as a day of mourning. Throughout Bengal, no cooking was done and shops and market places were closed. In Calcutta, a hartal was declared, people took out processions and bathed in the Ganges in the morning and then paraded on the streets singing "*Vande mataram*". People tied *rakhis* on each other's hands as a symbol of unity of the two halves of Bengal. Later in the day, Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee addressed two mass meetings attended by about 75,000 people.



Bankimchandra Chatterji

Krishna Patrika of Machilipatnam

Krishna Patrika was started in Machilipatnam in 1902. Mutnuri Krishna Rao was one of the founders of the paper and since 1902, was associated with it as its sub-editor. In 1907, he became its editor and continued to serve the journal, till he died in 1945. The *Krishna Patrika* carried on its publicity for all the phases of India's struggle for freedom, like, the



Mutnuri Krishna Rao

Vandemataram movement, the Home-Rule movement, the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Civil-disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movement. The *Krishna Patrika* influenced not only the urban educated elite but also the rural masses. Both the magazine and its editor faced the wrath of the British rulers several times.

conditions, when the discontent of the people was increasing and the British were getting more repressive. Mahatma Gandhi came back from South Africa and joined the Indian freedom movement.

- Find out more about the First World War and its impact on the lives of ordinary people.

- During that period, there were massive movements of people who opposed the war and asked their governments to cease fighting with other countries and restore peace. Do you think it was correct?

revolution took place in Russia in which peasants, workers and soldiers led by communists deposed the Emperor and abolished landlordism and private ownership of land and factories. They also advocated equality among nations and freedom for all the nations that were subjugated by colonial powers. In India, the war brought great suffering for the common people as the British tried to raise funds and resources for the war by raising taxes, exporting food and other necessities to the armies.

This increased the discontent among the people against the British rule. As the news of the Russian Revolution spread, it too inspired people that unjust rulers can be got rid of and a society can be built with equality and justice for all. Everyone expected that the British would accept the just demands for democratic rule in India and bring in the constitutional reforms. However, this was not to be and the British introduced harsher laws. It was under these

Keywords

1. Sovereign
2. Racial discrimination
3. Resolution
4. Moderates
5. Petitions
6. *Swadeshi*
7. Boycott
8. Picketing
9. *Swaraj*
10. Protest
11. Extremism

Improve your learning

1. Correct the false statements:

- In the early phase of Indian National Congress, it included only people from Bombay.
- Indian industrialists began to establish companies in different parts of India.
- People in India expected that India would become democratic after the First World War.



- Write an imaginary dialogue between the extremist and moderate activists of Indian National Congress in the context of their a) main demands; and b) mode of mobilisation.
- After reading this chapter, Mariamma thinks that the early phase of national movement was largely participated by educated Indians. And many of their ideas were of western origin. Would you agree with her? Give reasons.
- Why was it important to understand the economic impact of British rule in India?
- What do you understand by *swadeshi*? What were the major areas of its impact?
- How did different parts of the country and people respond to division of Bengal?
- Locate the following in the map of India:
1. Calcutta (Kolkata) 2. Madras (Chennai) 3. Bombay (Mumbai) 4. Lucknow
- Locate the following in the World map:
1. Britain 2. France 3. Russia 4. Germany
- A few leaders like Gandhi, Tilak, Subhash Chandra Bose and Bhagat Singh sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation.

What would have happened if they did not do so?

10. Are there any movements that have taken place in your region recently? Why?

Project:

- Collect photos of national leaders who participated in the freedom struggle and prepare an album. Make a report on it and present in the class.

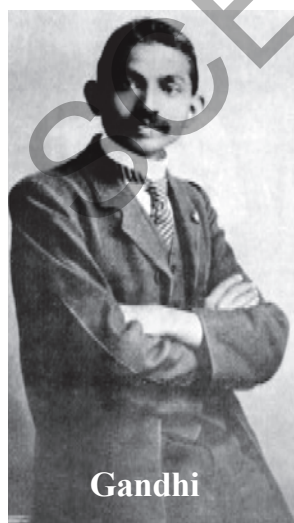


National Movement - The Last Phase 1919-1947

Arrival of Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi arrived in India in 1915 from South Africa. Having led Indians in that country in non-violent struggles against racist restrictions, he was already a respected leader and known internationally. His South African campaigns had brought him in contact with various types of Indians: Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians; Gujaratis, Tamils, North Indians; and merchants, lawyers and workers.

Mahatma Gandhi spent his first year in India travelling throughout the country, understanding the people, their needs and the overall situation. His earliest interventions were in local movements in Champaran and Kheda where he led peasants in their struggles against unfair terms and excessive taxes. In Ahmedabad, he led a successful millworkers' strike in 1918. In these two movements, he also



Gandhi

came into contact with many leaders who were to be his lifelong associates – people like Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhai Patel. Let us now focus on the movements organised between 1919 and 1922.

Rowlatt Act and Jalianwala Bagh Massacre

Mahatma Gandhi did not associate himself with any specific faction of Congress. He built his own political programme and space in nationalist politics. He launched Champaran campaign in 1917, Kaira protest movement in 1918 and participated in Ahmedabad textile workers agitation in 1918. He became the most popular leader and the central figure of political activism. In 1919, Gandhi gave a call for *satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act that the British had just passed. The Act curbed fundamental rights such as the freedom of expression and strengthened police powers. Any person who was suspected by the police of being a terrorist could be arrested and kept in prison without trial. Even when tried, it would be a secret trial in which even the tried person could not see the evidence against him or her. Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and others felt that the government had no right to restrict people's basic freedoms. They criticised the Act as "devilish" and tyrannical. Gandhiji asked the Indian people to observe 6 April 1919 as a day of non-violent opposition to this Act, as a day of "humiliation and prayer" and *hartal* (strike). *Satyagraha Sabhas* were set up to launch the movement. The Rowlatt *Satyagraha* turned out to be the first all-India struggle against the British

Communalism and Communal Organisations

Communalism believes in the promotion of the interest of a particular religious community and not the general interests of all. It also believes that the state and government should be run keeping in mind the interest of that particular religious group. This is in contrast to nationalism which believes that the nation is above individual communities and represents the interests of all people including those who may not have any religion at all. This view is also called 'Secular' as it holds that the government should neither interfere in the affairs of a religion nor allow any religion to interfere with the government. It should treat all religions equally without favouring any one religion. As you can see, this secular view is opposed to the communal view which seeks to promote the interests of one religion over the others and insists that governments abide by the needs of particular religions.

Communal organisations sprang up in India in the early years of 20th century as the tide of nationalism too was rising. A group of Muslim landlords and nawabs formed the All India Muslim League at Dhaka in 1906. The League supported the partition of Bengal. It desired separate electorates for Muslims, a demand conceded by the government in 1909. Some seats in the councils were now reserved for Muslims who would be elected by Muslim voters. This tempted the politicians to gather a following by distributing favours to their own religious groups.

Hindu Mahasabha was formed in 1915 with the objective of uniting Hindus and reconverting those who had converted to other religions. It was headed by leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. They tried to counter the Muslim League and the influence of other religious groups in India.

government although it was largely restricted to cities. In April 1919, there were number of demonstrations and *hartals* in the country and the government used brutal measures to suppress them. The worst example of these atrocities was the firing on a meeting of unarmed people at Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar in Punjab by General Dyer on 13 April, in which about 400 people were killed and thousands injured. On learning about the massacre, Rabindranath Tagore expressed the pain and anger of the country by renouncing his Knighthood given to him by the British government.

During the Rowlatt *Satyagraha*, the participants tried to ensure that Hindus and Muslims were united in the fight against the British rule. This was also the call of

Mahatma Gandhi who always saw India as a land of all the people who lived in the country – Hindus, Muslims and those of other religions. He was keen that Hindus and Muslims support each other in any just cause.

Indian nationalists, strove for building unity of all people of India, reform of Indian society, bringing democratic form of government and self rule for India.

- Do you think it is right to give the police such powers to suppress revolts ?
- Why do you think were people against such laws during the freedom movement?

Khilafat agitation and the Non-Cooperation Movement

The *Khilafat* issue was one such cause. In 1920, the British imposed a harsh treaty on the Turkish Sultan or *Khalifa*. People were furious about this as they had been about the Jalianwala Bagh massacre. Also, Indian Muslims were keen that the *Khalifa* be allowed to retain control over Muslim sacred places in the erstwhile Ottoman Empire. The leaders of the *Khilafat* agitation, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, now wished to initiate a full-fledged Non-Cooperation Movement.

Gandhiji supported their call and urged the Congress to campaign against “Punjab wrongs” (Jalianwala Bagh massacre), the *Khilafat* wrong and demand *swaraj*. In the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1920, Gandhiji was acknowledged as the leader of the Congress. In this session, the objective of the Congress was changed to the achievement of *Swarajya* by all legitimate and peaceful means. Non-Cooperation was accepted as the means to get *Swarajya*.

The Non-Cooperation Movement gained momentum throughout 1921-22. Thousands of students left the government controlled schools and colleges. Many lawyers such as Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari and Asaf Ali gave up their practice. British titles were surrendered and legislatures were boycotted. People lit public bonfires of foreign cloth. The import of foreign cloth fell drastically between 1920 and 1922.

To this, Gandhi added a campaign for people to spin their own cotton on a *charka* (this cloth is known as *Khadi*). This spread the desire in every house to make the country self reliant.

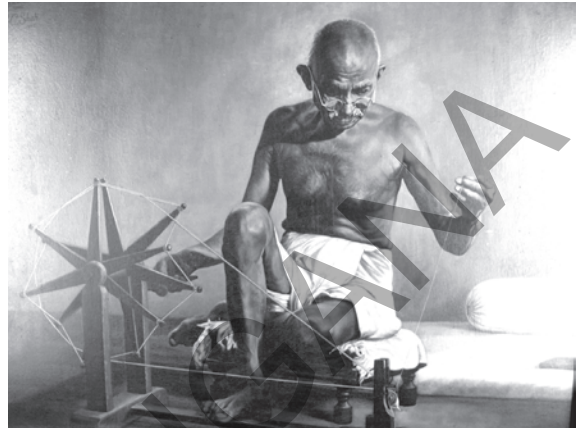


Fig: 11 B.1 : In the late phase of Indian National Movement Gandhiji adopted Charka as a symbol of Swadeshi

But all this was merely the tip of the iceberg. Large parts of the country were on the brink of a formidable revolt. For example, let us see what was happening in the Andhra region.

Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh was at the centre of nationalist activity and the participation was widespread including not only students, but also merchants and peasants in the villages. A highlight of the non-cooperation movement was the famous Chirala Perala movement. The government decided to convert this town into a municipality and forced high taxes. About 15,000 people of the town, led by Duggirala Gopala-krishnayya, refused to pay the taxes and migrated to a new settlement called Ramnagar and remained there for eleven months. There was a powerful movement of non-payment of land revenue by the peasants and mass

resignations of village officers. People said, *“Gandhiji’s swaraj is coming and we will not pay taxes to this government.”*

Another major development was the Forest Satyagraha in Andhra Pradesh Palnati taluqa of Guntur district and in Rayachoti taluqa of Kadapa district. Peasants began sending herds of cattle into the forests without paying grazing fees to the forest department. In many villages of Palnadu, people declared Gandhi Raj and attacked police parties. People were convinced that the colonial rule was coming to an end and the forests would be back in the control of the village people. In the two taluqas the forest administration had to virtually close down during the agitation period.

We can see from the above that sometimes people thought of Mahatma Gandhi as someone who could help them overcome their misery and poverty. Gandhi wished to build class unity, not class conflict. Yet, peasants could imagine that he would help them in their fight against zamindars. Agricultural labourers believed that he would help them to get their lands. At times, ordinary people credited Gandhi with their own achievements. For instance, at the end of a powerful movement, peasants of Pratapgarh in the United Province (now Uttar Pradesh) managed to stop illegal eviction of tenants. But they felt it was Gandhi who had won this demand for them. At other times, using Mahatma Gandhi’s name, tribals and peasants undertook actions that did not conform to Gandhian ideals.

- Find out more about Chirala Perala Movement and the Forest Satyagraha. Prepare a skit and enact it in the class.

The Happenings of 1922-1929

Mahatma Gandhi, as you know, was against violent movements. He abruptly called off the Non-Cooperation Movement when, in February 1922, a crowd of peasants set fire to a police station in Chauri Chaura. Twenty two policemen were killed on that day. The peasants were provoked because the police had fired on their peaceful demonstration.

Once the Non-Cooperation movement was over, his followers stressed that the Congress must undertake constructive work in the rural areas. Other leaders such as C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru argued that the party should fight elections to the councils and enter them in order to influence government policies. Through sincere social work in villages in the mid-1920s, the Gandhians were able to extend their support base. This proved to be very useful in launching the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930.

Two important developments of the mid-1920s were the formation of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu cultural organisation and the Communist Party of India. These organisation had very different ideas about the kind of country India should be. Find out more about their ideas with the help of your teacher. The revolutionary nationalist Bhagat Singh too was active in this period.

Civil Disobedience Movement: Salt Satyagraha (1930-32)

The Indian National Congress met at Lahore in 1929 under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. In this session, Congress declared that the attainment of “*Purna Swaraj*” was its ultimate goal and it resolved to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement to achieve Purna Swaraj. The Leftists within Congress took lead this time giving a national goal and programme. The Congress Working Committee decided with enthusiasm that 26th January should be observed as the day of “*Purna Swaraj*”.

On March 12th, 1930 Mahatma Gandhi decided to break the government salt laws (making salt very expensive for the common people) by manufacturing salt at Dandi, a small village on the Gujarat sea-coast. The next morning Gandhi and his 78 companions began the 375 km trek, from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi. This March was completed in 24 days. Day after day, newspapers reported his progress, his speeches and the impact on the people. Hundreds of village officials on his route

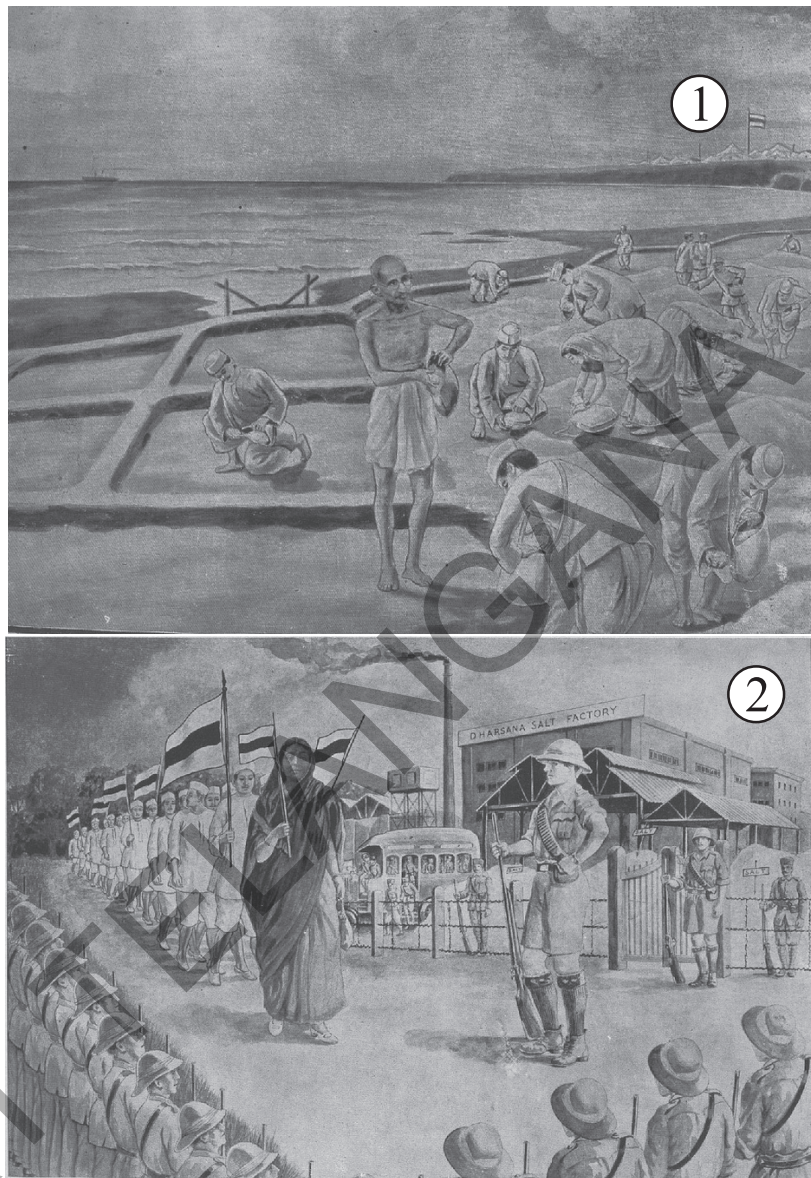


Fig 11 B.2 : Two posters printed during freedom struggle: 1. Gandhiji at Dandi collecting salt, 2. Sarojini Naidu marching in front of Darshana Salt factory.

resigned their jobs. On 6th April, 1930 Gandhi reached Dandi, picked up a handful of salt and broke the salt law as a symbol of the Indian people’s refusal to live under the British made laws and therefore, under the British rule.

A wave of enthusiasm swept the country. Salt laws were broken at many places and even women took part in the

Civil Disobedience Movement. In Delhi alone, 1600 women were imprisoned. This Movement was not confined to the Salt *Satyagraha* alone. Foreign-cloth shops and liquor shops were picketed and burned. Hand spinning was taken up as a movement. British schools, colleges and services were boycotted. The people joined in this movement in large number.

The government replied with ruthless repression, lathi charges and firing on unarmed crowds of men and women. Over 90,000 *Satyagrahi*'s including Gandhi and other Congress leaders were imprisoned. 110 persons were killed and over 300 wounded in police firing. Restrictions were imposed on press. The British attempted to divide the Indians by winning over the Muslims, zamindars and other minorities to its side. But the leaders took up constructive programme throughout the country like wearing *Khaddar*,

removal of untouchability to bring social cohesion in the movement. In response to the call of Gandhi, a number of women broke *purdah* and participated in the movement.

The combined struggles of the Indian people bore fruit when the Government of India Act of 1935 prescribed **provincial autonomy** and the government announced elections to the provincial legislatures in 1937. The Congress formed governments in 7 out of 11 provinces. In September 1939, after two years of Congress rule in the provinces, the Second World War broke out. Critical of Hitler, Congress leaders were ready to support the British war effort. But in return they wanted that India be granted independence after the war. The British refused to concede the demand. The Congress ministries resigned in protest.

Quit India Movement – 1942 ‘Do or Die’

World War II (1939–45)

Germany led by Hitler and his Nazi party wanted to gain control over the whole world and declared war on Britain, France, USSR, and other countries. USA joined on the side of England, France and USSR (called Allied Countries). Germany was supported by Japan and Italy. One of the worst wars in human history broke out in 1939 and lasted till 1945 when USSR's armies captured Berlin and the USA dropped atom bomb over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. Most people who cherished the values of democracy and freedom opposed Hitler and supported the Allied Countries in the war. However, in India it created a dilemma as Indians were at the same time fighting the British.

Britain wanted to use the Indian people and money for the Second World War. Congress demanded that in return for support in the war, India should be given self-rule. But the British Government was in no mood to accept this demand. Congress Working Committee met on 8th August 1942 at Bombay and passed a resolution stating clearly that “British Rule in India must end immediately”. The evening after the Quit India

Resolution was passed; Mahatma Gandhi addressed these memorable words to the Indian people: *“Every one of you should from this movement onwards consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free... I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. We shall ‘do or die’. We shall either free India or die in the attempt.”*

In the early hours of August 9th, 1942, the Government arrested most of the Congress leaders viz., Gandhi, Patel, Nehru, Maulana Azad, Acharya Kriplani, Rajendra Prasad and others. The people protest with hartals, strikes, processions all over the country. Unfortunately, the movement turned violent. The working class in the factories boycotted the work and students attacked the police stations, post offices, railway-stations and other public places. They cut off Telegraph and Telephone wires and railway lines. They burnt government buildings, vehicles, military vehicles, railway carriages. Madras and Bombay were the most affected in this respect. The British authority disappeared in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar,

Odisha, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh. In Midnapur, people set up parallel government during 1942-44. As a result of this movement, ten lakh pounds worth of property was destroyed. Thirty police personnel and ten army men lost their lives; many people were killed, thousands were arrested in the

Subhash Chandra Bose and INA

Subhash Chandra Bose had been a *Swarajist* and a radical nationalist. He organized the Indian National Army (INA) with the cooperation of Rash Bihari Bose in Burma and Andamans. The INA consisted of more than sixty thousand soldiers. He received the help of the Japanese in this fight. On 21st October 1943, the provisional Government of Independent India (*Azad Hind*) was set up in Singapore. On March 18, 1944 the INA crossed the frontiers of Burma and entered India with a slogan *“Dilli Chalo”* - (on to Delhi).

In March 1944, the Indian Flag was hoisted in Kohima. But, with the change of fortunes in the war, the launching of a counter-offensive by the British in the winter of 1944-45 and the final defeat of Japan in the Second World War the INA movement collapsed. On August 23rd, 1945, Subhash Chandra Bose is reported to have lost his life in an air crash while going from Bangkok to Tokyo.



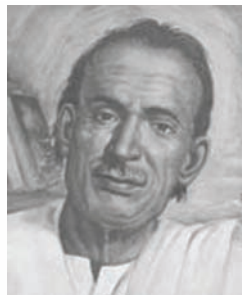
Fig 11 B.3: (left) INA soldiers, (right below) Jhansi regiment in action, (right top) Post mark



Bhagat Singh



Subhash Chandra Bose



J.B. Kripalani



Abdul Kalam Azad

Government suppression. By the end of 1943, over 90,000 people were arrested, and around 1,000 killed in police firings. In many areas, orders were given to machine-gun crowds from airplanes. The rebellion, however, ultimately brought the British Raj to its knees.

Towards Independence and Partition

Meanwhile, in 1940, the Muslim League had moved a resolution demanding “Independent States” for Muslims in the north-western and eastern areas of the country. Why did the League ask for an autonomous arrangement for the Muslims of the subcontinent? From the late 1930s, the League began viewing Muslims population as a separate “nation” from the Hindus. In developing this notion, it may have been influenced by the history of tension between some Hindu and Muslim groups in the

Years of Radical Organisations

The period after 1940 was characterised by intensive activities of radical organisations like the Communist party, trade unions, women’s organisations, *kisan sabhas* and dalit organisations. They mobilised the poor and marginalized peasants and workers, tribals and dalits not only against the British but also against the local exploiters like moneylenders, factory owners and upper caste landlords. They were keen that, in the new independent India, their interests should be properly represented and their long years of suffering should end and they should get equal rights and opportunities. The national movement which was till then dominated by upper class people gained a new dimension and energy which eventually helped to throw out the British rule. The poor, particularly the outcastes and labourers in eastern India, actively participated. The under-tenants in Malabar, tenants in Tebhaga, *vetti* castes and cultivators in Telangana were the active participants in the movements of 1940s. The food shortage and demand for land had driven them to historic post-Second World War movements. The Congress was not in a position to advance these movements as it actively indulged in negotiations for independence. The Communists who were active in All India Kisan Sabha, a peasant front and intelligentsia through All India People’s Theaters Association and All India Students Federation led these movements from the background.

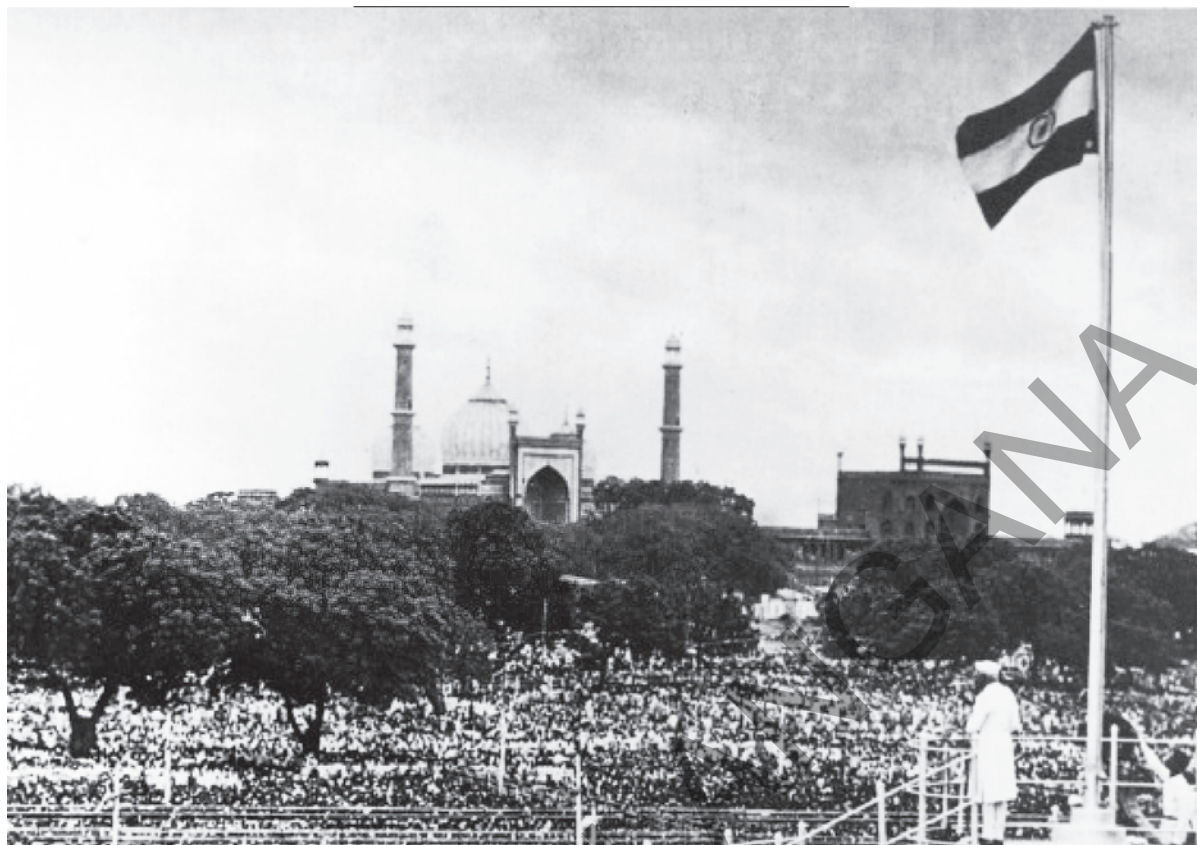


Fig 11B.4 : Jawaharlal Nehru addressing at Red Fort after Independence

1920s and 1930s. More importantly, the provincial elections of 1937 seemed to have convinced the League that Muslims were a minority, and they would always have to play second fiddle in any democratic structure. It feared that Muslims may even go unrepresented. The Congress's rejection of the League's desire to form a joint Congress-League government in the United Provinces in 1937 also annoyed the League.

The Congress's failure to mobilise the Muslim masses in the 1930s allowed the League to widen its social support. It sought to enlarge its support in the early 1940s when most Congress leaders were in jail. At the end of the war in 1945, the British opened negotiations between the

Congress, the League and themselves for the India is independence. The talks failed because the League saw itself as the sole spokesperson of India's Muslims. The Congress could not accept this claim since a large number of Muslims still supported it. Elections to the provinces were held again in 1946. The Congress did well in the "General" constituencies but the League's success in the seats reserved for Muslims was spectacular. It persisted with its demand for "Pakistan". In March 1946, the British cabinet sent a three-member mission (Straford Cripps, Pethick Lawrence and Alexander) to Delhi to examine this demand and to suggest a suitable political framework for a free India. This mission suggested that India should remain united

and constitute itself as a loose confederation with some autonomy for Muslim-majority areas. But it could not get the Congress and the Muslim League to agree to the specific details of the proposal. Partition now became more or less inevitable.

As the proposal of the Cabinet Mission failed, the Muslim League decided on mass agitations in support of its demand for Pakistan. It announced 16th August 1946 as “Direct Action Day”. On this day, riots broke out in Calcutta, lasting several days and resulting in the death of thousands of people. By March 1947, violence spread to different parts of northern India.

Louis Mountbatten, who was appointed as Viceroy in early 1947, was not able to resolve the differences between the Muslim League and the Congress Party. Consequently, it was agreed that India would be split into Muslim-controlled Pakistan, and Hindu-dominated India. India became independent on 15th August 1947, while Pakistan celebrates its independence on 14th August. Even after partition, lakhs of people were killed and numerous women had to face untold brutalities. Lakhs of people were forced to flee their homes. Torn as under from their homelands, people were reduced to being refugees in alien lands. So, the joy of our country’s independence from British rule came along with the pain and violence of Partition.

Keywords

1. Nationalism
2. Secular
3. Moderates
4. Extremism
5. *Satyagraha*
6. Non Co-operation
7. Civil disobedience
8. *Swarajya*

Improve your learning



1. Create a table to show the various efforts of Gandhiji in national movement.

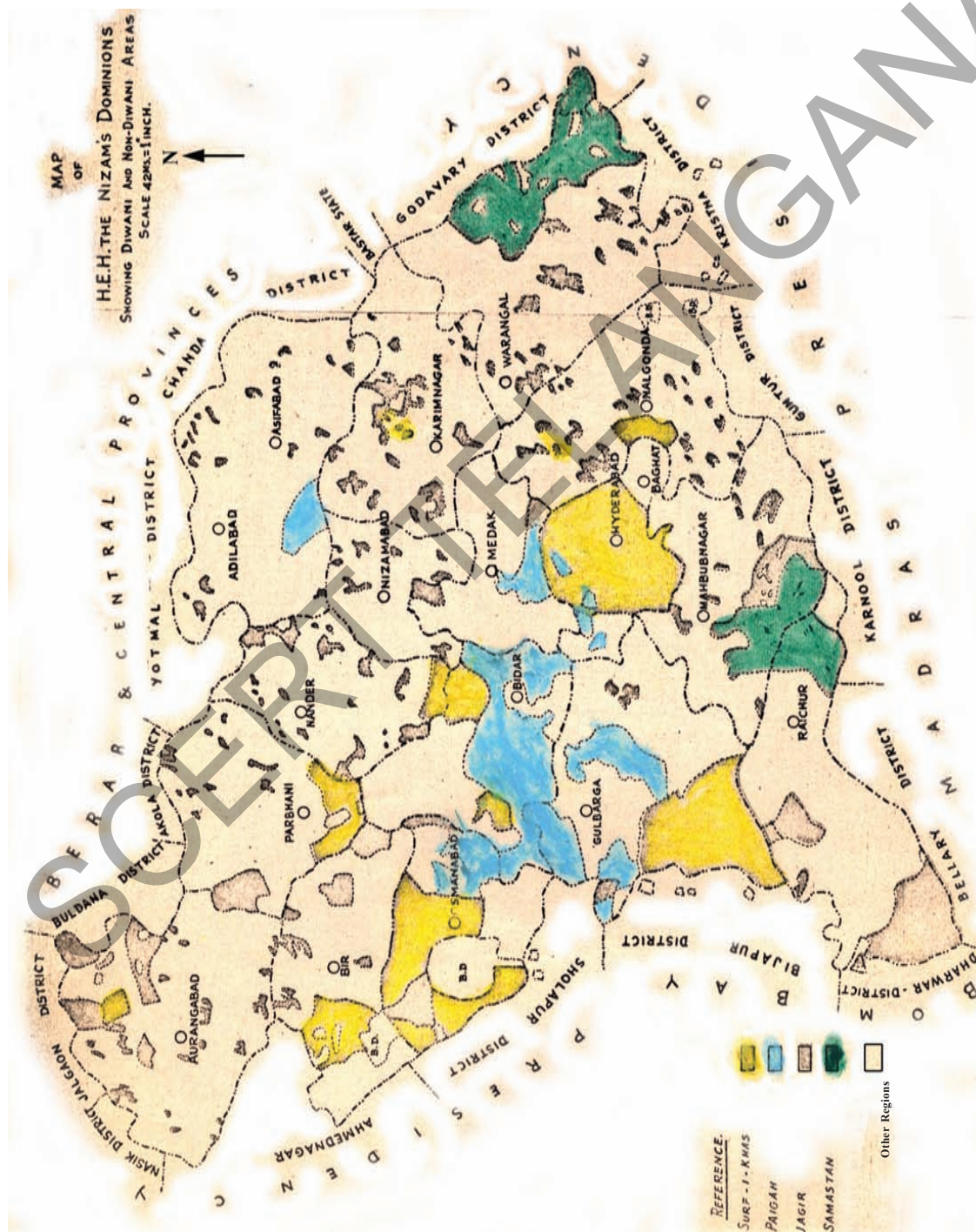
Event	Gandhiji's role

2. The national movement fought against all attempts of the British government to deny democratic freedom and rights of the people. Give examples of the rights which the government tried to curtail and the movement launched against it.
3. To what extent was the Salt satyagraha successful in its objectives? Give your assessment.
4. Which of the following were parts of the national movement:
 - a. Picketing shops that sell foreign clothes
 - b. Hand spinning thread to weave clothes
 - c. Burning imported clothes
 - d. Wearing khaddar
 - e. All the above
5. What were the different events that led to the partition?
6. Read the first paragraph under the heading 'The Happenings of 1922-1929' and answer this, 'Gandhiji called off the movement after the violence'. How do you support it?
7. Why did Quit India Movement become popular?
8. Prepare a timeline chart of the Freedom Struggle from 1885 to 1947.
9. Did the fruits of sacrifices of many great leaders of Independence movement reach all the people? Share your opinion.



Freedom Movement in Hyderabad State

Hyderabad was an important princely state under the British paramountcy in Deccan. It was ruled by the Nizams who were allied with the British Viceroys and had to adhere to the policies decided by them. The Viceroys appointed Residents in Hyderabad who supervised



Map 1: Hyderabad state map showing Nizam's Diwani and Non Diwani areas

the policies of the state and also interfered in the administration from time to time. In this chapter, we will read about the condition of the people of this state under the British-Nizam rule and how they fought for freedom. The Hyderabad state comprised of regions in which Marathi, Kannada, Telugu and Deccani Urdu were spoken. In this chapter we will look at mainly the Telugu and Urdu speaking districts which form Telangana state in the present day.

Early years of Nationalism

In October 1888, in Hyderabad, a small committee of influential people circulated handbills and placards for holding a meeting to popularise Indian National Congress. Aghoranatha Chattopadhyay was the initiator of nationalism in Hyderabad. The Congress attracted a large section of the educated classes in Hyderabad. Mulla Abdul Qayyum of Hyderabad became a great champion of the Congress. He attended the Congress meetings and appealed to Muslims to actively participate in it. He attacked the nobility, and opposed the special favours granted to them in the Nizam state. He was also responsible for organising *Anjumen-e-maref* which aimed at developing social, intellectual and

economic life of the people. Various newspapers were published from the state indicating the extent of nationalist influence. Papers like *Hyderabad Telegraph*, *Deccan Standard*, *Musllism-I-*



Mulla Abdul
Qayyum

Safiq etc. propagated the ideology of nationalism and reforms. Many of them supported the nationalist cause.

The missionaries like Rev. Gilder of the Chaderghat Methodist Episcopal Church also supported Congress. Thus, Congress had gained roots in Hyderabad and served as an important channel in awakening the people on the questions of independence, economic development and forms Government with representative institutions.

In the year 1892, Arya Samaj was established in Hyderabad. Arya Samaj served as a training ground for workers in constructive activities and helped to rouse public opinion and build socio-religious awareness. It has been credited many leaders to the nationalist movement in Hyderabad. The National movement was a mixture of religious fervour and political aspirations during this period.

Feudal system of the state

The Nizams were initially provincial governors of the Mughal emperors. They ruled with the help of hereditary *jagirdars* and subordinate 'kings' of Samsthanams. The important Samsthanams in Telangana were Wanaparti, Gadwal, Domakonda, Sirnapalli, Kollapur, Palwancha, Atmakur and AllaDurgam. *Jagirdars* were given control of dozens and even hundreds of villages which they ruled as they desired and collected taxes from the people. The rest of the kingdom was ruled directly by the Nizam with the help of '*deshmukhs*' about whom you read in an earlier chapter.

The Nizams wanted to retain the old system in which the king and his nobles controlled all the resources and ruled as they willed. They did not allow any

democratic systems like local bodies or legislatures. The VII Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan, opposed the Congress-led nationalist movement and passed several '*firmans*' or royal orders curtailing its political activity in the state. They had a network of police and spies who kept a close watch on people.

Language and Religion

The Nizam rulers of Hyderabad state were Muslims who spoke *Deccani Urdu*. However, the majority of the people of the state were Hindus who spoke Telugu, Kannada and Marathi. Urdu was the official language and more than 90% of all high officials were Muslims. Urdu was the medium of instruction from primary school to university degree. Even technical textbooks were translated and made available in Urdu.

The Nizams were slow in setting up schools in their kingdom. Many *jagirdars* did not even allow setting up of schools in their areas. The Nizams were also suspicious of private schools that they thought would become centres for

propagation of anti-Nizam ideas. They actually discouraged the setting up of private Telugu medium schools and did not allow those students to join Osmania University. As a result, even by 1941, only 9.3% people of the state were literate (only 4.3% women were literate). In contrast, other princely states like Travancore had 47.7% literacy rate, Baroda had 23% and Mysore had 12.2%. During militant nationalist period under Balagangadhar Tilak, national movement has taken a religious turn and that influenced Hyderabad also. Language and religion became major issues during this period. Urdu was the official language of the State. Telugu linguistic movement has become the Telangana people's concern.

- Do you think the problems faced by the people of Hyderabad state were in some ways different from those faced by people living in British ruled states?
- Was there any difference between the attitude of the British and the Nizams when it came to democracy?



Fig 12.1: Arts College, Osmania University

The Last Nizam (1911-1948)

Mir Osman Ali Khan, the last ruler of Hyderabad State, tried to modernise the administrative system under the influence of the British. The colonial masters exercised control to develop agriculture and industry for colonial needs. Reservoirs, big irrigation projects like Nizam Sagar, Ali Sagar etc. were designed by the famous engineer Sir M Vishveshwarayya.

Nizam introduced separate railways, roads, airways, and electricity departments. An Industrial Trust Fund was created with a capital of one crore rupees for the industrial development of the state. The important industries of Nizam period included; Singareni Collieries, Nizam Sugar factory, Azam Jahi Mills, Sirpur Paper Mills etc. All these industries played a vital role in the State's economy and provided employment opportunities for the people in Hyderabad State.

In 1941, the Nizam founded the *Hyderabad State Bank* (now State Bank of India) as the state's central bank, which managed the Osmania Sikka, the currency of the Hyderabad state. It was the only state which had its own currency, the Hyderabad rupee, which was different from the rest of India.

Important public institutions like the Osmania General Hospital, Osmania University, High Court, Central State Library, Unani Hospital, Jubilee Hall, Town Hall now known as *Assembly Hall*, Hyderabad Museum, now known as *State Museum*, Hyderabad House in Delhi were built during his time. To protect the

historical monuments, the Archaeological Department was established in 1914. This relative development had taken place in colonial political situation but it also helped the rise of middle class in Hyderabad and to initiate new political ideas.

Mir Osman Ali Khan was also ambitious and wanted to continue to rule Hyderabad as an independent king after the British left India in 1947. This ran counter to the wishes of the people of the state who wanted to become part of Independent India. Let us see how their wishes were fulfilled.

Andhra Jana Sangham - Library Movement

In the early 20th century, a large number of books were printed in Telugu in the Andhra region and circulated through libraries that had been set up in Telangana towns and villages. In 1901, Sri Krishnadevaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam was established in Hyderabad by Komarraju Lakshmana Rao along with Nayani Venkatarangarao and Ravichettu Ranga Rao, which continues to this day. However, Telugu remained discriminated in the Hyderabad state. In 1921, in a meeting in Viveka Vardhini College in Hyderabad, a person was insulted for bringing up a resolution in Telugu rather than in English or Urdu. Telugu speaking people felt greatly offended by this incident and were motivated to fight for the rightful place of Telugu. During this period, the linguistic debate entered in to the Hyderabad nationalist discourse.

In 1924, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and others formed the Andhra Jana Sangham to establish libraries and reading rooms, encouraged students and scholars. They collected and circulated Telugu manuscripts to promote Telugu literature. They published small booklets and held meetings in the villages to set up libraries. Some of these booklets spoke of the problems faced by small traders, peasants, labourers and the poor people. They also set up over 4,000 schools, many of which had to be closed down due to the opposition of the government. Nevertheless, the movement grew in momentum as more and more people - women, students, singers etc. participated in it.

- What are the languages spoken in your area?
- What is the medium of teaching in schools and colleges today in our state?
- Do you think all teaching should be done in one's mother tongue?
- Why do you think it is important to publish books in mother tongue?

Andhra Maha Sabha

The leaders of various sections decided to unite into one large organisation and thus Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) was formed in 1930. Among its founders were Madapati Hanumanta Rao, Ravi Narayana Reddy, etc.



Fig 12.2: A Colonial officer as well as an Indian official from Nizam's court meeting people at Keslapur in Adilabad.

Its initial objectives were creation of more educational facilities. They submitted prayers and requests to the government seeking the establishment of schools and redressing grievances of the people. In its annual conference in 1935, the following demands were identified:

1. Compulsory primary education should be implemented.
2. Mother tongue (Telugu) should be the medium of instruction.
3. The legitimate rights of the people in *Jagirs* should be protected.
4. Child marriages should be discouraged.
5. Local self Government should be introduced.
6. Untouchability should be eradicated and the untouchables should be given due place in the society.

You can see that they combined both educational and social reform objectives. The AMS activities spread rapidly all over Telangana and libraries and cultural centres were established even in remote villages. Peasants and labouring people came to

them to learn to read, listen to the news from a newspaper and discuss current topics, as well as their own problems with regard to the Nizam government and *doras*. Night classes and discussions were held in these centres. People read books written by social reformers like Veeresalingam and nationalists like Gandhi, Nehru etc. They also wrote new books on local problems. As Editor of the Golconda Patrika, Suravaram Pratapareddy inspired nationalistic fervour amongst the people. Kaloji Narayana Rao, Dasarathi Krishnamacharya, Dasarathi Rangacharya are some of the literary luminaries who fought for the freedom of Hyderabad State.

As more and more poor people joined the movement, they began to expect that their issues would be taken up by the AMS along with education. The Nizam government subjected these centres to a lot of harassment as they were becoming centres of new radical thinking. By 1940, many communists had joined the AMS and they insisted on taking up other demands of the rural people like end to *vetti*, land reforms, oppression by *doras* etc. Some of the old leaders of the AMS disagreed and wanted it to continue as educational and literary forum.

- Is there a public library in your village or locality?
- If you have ever been to a public library, describe what happens there in your class.
- Why do you think did the libraries become the centres of anti-Nizam and anti-landlord movements?

- Why do you think were the Nizams and jagirdars not in favour of Telugu medium schools?

Hyderabad State Congress

The Indian National Congress only functioned in British India and did not function directly in the princely states. However, the common people faced more oppression and injustice in these princely states and they wanted to join the larger freedom movement of India. In such states, the nationalists formed 'state congress' to fight for democratic rights, reforms, representative government etc. This happened in Hyderabad too.

The Hyderabad state congress was formed in 1938, seeing the rising tide of nationalism in Hyderabad, the Nizam banned the singing of 'Vandemataram', the popular nationalist song. This caused a mass reaction and the students in schools and colleges took part in agitations by singing that song. The Nizam responded by closing down the colleges and forcing many students to go to other states to continue their studies.

Enthused by the response of the youth of the state, the Nationalists of Hyderabad, who were sympathetic to the Congress movement in the country, set up the



Swamy Ramananda
Tirtha



Madapati
Hanumantha Rao

Hyderabad State Congress in 1938. Its prominent leader was Swami Ramananda Theertha. Several young leaders like B. Ramakishan Rao, Jamalapuram Kesavarao, K. V. Ranga Reddy, J. V. Narasinga Rao were top leaders of the movement. Young Congress leaders like Dr. M. Chenna Reddy later became the Chief Minister of the then Andhra Pradesh and P.V. Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister of India. The State Congress demanded that fundamental rights should be conferred upon the people. They wanted the scrapping of circulars restricting the freedom of speech, association, press and right to hold religious processions. They also demanded the rule of law for the state to be made by elected representatives and not the Nizam.

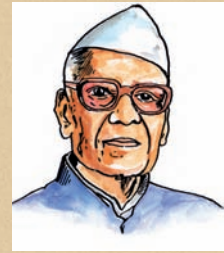
In 1942, they started *satyagraha* in tune with the All India Quit India Movement. It was also banned and its leaders were arrested. In 1946, when the independence of India was imminent, the Hyderabad State Congress began a campaign for the merger of Hyderabad state with the Republic of India to put an end to the rule of the Nizam.

- Find out more about the song – *Vandemataram*.
- Find out about the life of Swami Ramananda theertha.

The Telangana Armed Struggle (1946-51)

You read about the *deshmukhs* (*doras*) and *jagirdars* of the Hyderabad state in Chapter 10. Recall the problems faced by

Konda Lakshman Bapuji began to become popular as a leader against caste ridden rural discrimination. The Vetti exploitation in Armoor taluq of Nizamabad had drawn his attention to a reality of profession/caste based labour/material extraction.



Konda Lakshman Bapuji

Bapuji wanted even armed action to overthrow the Nizam's regime and trained people in art of throwing bombs to even physically eliminate the Nizam. He was a practicing lawyer, defended the victims of different cases against Visunuru Ramachandra Reddy. He closely associated with the Communists to the extent that they fight for the people's rights in democratic manner. His life is a message of homogenization of diverse political strands for democratic co-existence.

the peasants and service castes of the Telangana region.

From 1929, Ryot sangams were established at Nalgonda, Pillalamarri, Karimnagar, etc. to fight against the exploitation by the *Patels*, *Patwaris*, *Deshmukhs*, Revenue and Police officials. AMS was also active in this area, establishing libraries and night schools. The Communists working in AMS and Kisan Sabhas took leadership positions in the AMS in 1946. They gave a radical programme against *vetti* and put forward the demand of land to the tillers. The AMS then spread to the then Nalgonda, Karimnagar, and Warangal districts. The AMS set up village level branches, which were known as *Sanghams*. The Communist Party gave leadership to the *Sanghams*. Initially, the main demands of the peasants were limited to fight against illegal feudal exactions,

levy system, excessive land rent, eviction of tenants, and for abolition of *vetti*. It was meant to draw all sections of the rural society (small landowners, landlords and service castes) into the struggle against the *doras* and the Nizam.

The AMS petitioned the government about the misdeeds of Visunuru Ramachandra Reddy opposing the collection of levy. When the officials came for inquiry, a sort of commotion developed. Ramachandra Reddy tried to become violent so that no inquiry would take place and the misuse of grain levy by him would not come to the notice of the officials. The Andhra Mahasabha activists led by Doddi Mallaiah, were passing through the Gadi and Miskeen Ali, the follower of Visunuru Ramachandra Reddy, shot from a hole in the wall assuming that they were attacking the gadi. That hit Doddi Komuraiah, who died instantly. It happened on 4 July, 1946 and this was supposed to be the beginning of the armed struggle. This incident sparked off the famous Telangana Armed Struggle. *Sanghams* were set up in village after village and processions were taken out singing songs of Doddi Komuraiah. The



Doddi Komuraiah

deshmukhs (*doras*) and Nizam tried to violently suppress the movement. This forced the *Sanghams* to build squads of armed fighters. They began to drive away the *deshmukhs* and set up their rule through village Panchayat.

Guerrilla squads were formed to defend the villages and Gram Raj committees were set up to resolve villager's problems. Cultural groups were formed to sing *Burrakathas* with the message of the struggle and went from village to village to arouse people.

Nalla Narasimhulu set up squads to arm the people's movement recruiting people mostly from Vetti workers. Under the guidance of the squads, the *Sanghams* established parallel



Nalla Narasimhulu

governments and "People's courts". In this manner to the then Nalgonda and Warangal districts were broke from Nizam's rule and established Sangham rule in its place.

Wherever they established their power, *vetti* was abolished, eviction of tenants was stopped, rents were reduced, wages of workers increased and excess lands of the landlords were redistributed to the landless. The people burnt the records of the village officials and moneylenders and seized the grains hoarded by the landlords and the merchants.

The movement was transformed into a broad anti-Nizam and anti-feudal struggle demanding the merger of Hyderabad with independent India. To broaden the scope of the movement and integrate various sections into it, the demand was raised to merge Telangana with the other Telugu speaking regions to create *Vishal Andhra*.

The fanatic Muslim enthusiasts formed *Ittehadul Muslimeen*, an organisation to protect the 'Muslim domination' of Hyderabad state and Nizam rule. They set up a force of volunteers called *Razakars*. They first attacked the Muslim intelligentsia who were fighting for democratic political set up in the state. They acquired weapons to fight the democratic political parties and spread communal attacks. They also began to fight the peasant *sanghams* of Telangana and the communist militants. Seeing this, they were supported by the landed gentry and *doras*. There was a bitter struggle between the Communists led peasants and *Razakars* supported by the *doras*. After India attained independence, the *razakars* started attacking the political movement that was started for the integration of the Hyderabad into Indian Union. They ruthlessly attacked the villages to create panic so that Hyderabad remain independent of India. The *razakars* burnt villages, taking

women hostages to create fear psychosis among the general public. In an incident, a person called Battini Mogilaiah was killed by *razakar* gang while hoisting the national flag in Warangal Fort. In another incident of communal frenzy of the *razakars*, a large number of people were shot dead in Biranpally village of Siddipet District.

The Nizam did not intervene and silently watched the situation. In 1948, the independent Indian government merged Hyderabad with India through police action. The Telangana Armed Struggle continued even after the merger to enforce land reforms and protect the peasants from the *doras*. The *Sanghams* distributed about ten lakh acres of land to their rightful owners. In this battle, about four thousand villagers lost their lives and many more were arrested and imprisoned. However, it was suppressed by the Indian armed forces and it gradually declined by 1950.



Ravi Narayana
Reddy

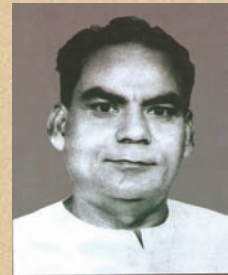
Ravi Narayan Reddy was a prominent leader who participated in a movement against the Nizam and the proposed constitutional reforms in 1936. He was instrumental in turning the Andhra Mahasabha towards left politics and played an important role in Telangana peasants struggle. He was a founding member of the Hyderabad branch of Communist Party of India and Telangana freedom struggle. He connected the peasants struggle with democratic movement to dislodge the Nizam's government.

Mukhdum Mohinuddin was one of the early radicals in Hyderabad city intellectual circles. He was a member of Comrades Association formed by the teachers and students of Osmania University. He also became the secretary of CPI in Hyderabad, coordinated the village struggles with trade unions in Hyderabad Municipality and Praga tools.



Mukhdum
Mohinuddin

Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, a prominent communist leader was born in 1917 in Chandupatla village, Present Suryapet District. He came into contact with Indian nationalism and joined reformist movements. He was one of the earliest to go underground to build the people's movement in Telangana. He established Communist Party in rural areas recruiting the AMS workers. He published a number of booklets on Vetti and atrocities of Doras on people. He has taken militant stand within the Andhra Maha Sabha paving the way for armed struggle. He strongly advocated that Telangana people's movement against feudal oppression began much earlier than usually believed to have begun in 1946.



*Devulapalli
Venkateswara Rao*

Shaik Bandagi struggle would point to the people's upsurge. Bandagi's share of his land was challenged by his brother (Abbas Ali) who was a supporter of Visunuru Ramachandra Reddy (Visunuru Deshmukh). When the matter went to the court Bandagi won the case. It was felt that this was the defeat of Visunuru Deshmukh as he encouraged his brother Abbas Ali, therefore, he became restless. Visunuru Deshmukh's goondas killed Bandagi. This incident angered the people of the surrounding villages. The villagers participated in building a memorial for him and Bandagi became a symbol of people's struggle and the people's movement grew stronger in the villages.

In those days, the landlords were actively evicting small peasants and taking over their lands to give them to new tenants at a higher rent. The sanghams became active to resist this. A notorious Deshmukh like Visunuru Ramachandra Reddy tried to forcibly take over the land of a washerwoman, Ilamma. This was resisted effectively by the Sangham.



Chakali Ilamma

Arutla Ramachandra Reddy showed his revolutionary attitude during his student career itself. During his student days in Osmania University, he used to participate in the political activities of Andhra Maha Sabha, State Congress and Arya Samaj. When the Nizam government forcibly collected the taxes and the doras seized the crops, he resisted such attempts. He organised attacks on the rice mills, looted food grains at Bhuvanagiri, Mundrai, Jangao and distributed food grains to the needy. He was thus instrumental in organising the Sanghams around Kadivendi and Palakurti.



*Arutla
Ramachandra
Reddy*

Baddam Yellareddy was one of the earliest nationalist leaders who participated in salt satyagraha in 1930. He had taken up Harijan upliftment programme in Hyderabad. Later, he became a prominent communist leader and worked in the Telangana Armed Struggle. Bheemireddy Narasimha reddy was influenced by the leftist ideology and became a communist. He organised anti-vetti struggles against the landlords and government officials. He worked as an underground activist and became a leader of dalam. Bommagani Dharmabiksham joined the political activity as a student. He established a hostel in Suryapet for the poorer children. He later became a prominent communist leader in Nalgonda district.

- What role do you think was played by the AMS in making the Telangana Armed Struggle possible?
- Was Telangana Armed Struggle only for removal of the grievances of the peasants or did it have other aims?
- Why do you think the *doras*, who were Hindus, helped the *Razakars*?

Merger with India

When India became Independent in 1947, Mir Osman Ali Khan, the last Nizam wanted Hyderabad to remain an independent State. The common people and the political groups of the state wanted the Nizam's rule to end, so that Hyderabad would become part of Independent India. A large number of campaigns were organised by the Hyderabad State Congress led by Ramananda Theertha in 1947. The Razakars attacked them too. Then, the Indian government decided to end this anarchy and the then Home Minister Sardar Vallabhai Patel sent armed forces to Hyderabad. Hyderabad was finally integrated into the Indian union on September 17, 1948. The Nizam, however, was asked by the



Fig 12.3: Osman Ali Khan and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

government of India to continue as the ruler till the transition to democratic setup was complete. The Nizam was forced to abolish the Jagirdars and Deshmukh *watans* and initiate democratic processes of elections. When the Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950, the Nizam rule came to an end but Mir Osman Ali Khan continued to be the *Rajpramukh* of Hyderabad (head of the state). But, he had



to act on the advice of the Government of India. Elections were held in 1952 and an elected government was formed in Hyderabad state. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao was the first Chief Minister of the Hyderabad state. The Nizam continued as *Rajpramukh* till 1956.

- Why do you think was the Nizam allowed to retain power even after the merger?
- Why do you think did the Nizam agree to pass the *firmanas* abolishing the feudal system?
- Why do you think did the Nizam's rule end on 26 January 1950?

With the formation of Andhra Pradesh, merging Andhra and Telangana regions, the *Rajpramukh* was replaced by a Governor appointed by the President of India. Thus the Nizam's rule over Hyderabad state ended. The establishment of the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 was based on the Gentlemen Agreement with Andhra. Subsequent to the formation of the new state, the provisions of the Agreement were

violated by the then government. It caused discontentment among the people of Telangana Region. Likewise, the discrimination shown by the ruling parties in the fields of irrigation, education and employment further accentuated the call for a separate state of Telangana. You will learn more about on how it led to the Telangana Movement in higher classes.

Women in the Telangana Struggle

Women suffered the most under the rule of Nizams and *dora*'s domination in villages. They were constantly harassed. They not only had to work for the landlords but also to serve the visiting officials. Many women were made *adabapas* (slaves) of the landlords. Such women attended the night schools of Andhra Maha Sabha and decided to join the



Fig 12.4: Women Guerrilla squad

Sanghams and the Communist Party. Some of them took arms and fought the *Razakars*, some of them sang songs and inspired people, some of them acted as doctors and nurses. But they had to make supreme sacrifices for the sake of the movement. Read the following interview given by one such woman:

“My name is Kamalamma. I come from the village in Manukota Taluqa. Ours was a bonded labour family... My mother was a slave in the house of some landlords... My father died when I was fifteen. The Telangana struggle had started then. The *dorasani* wanted to send my sister as a slave to one of her daughters... The *dorasani* used to beat my husband. That was the life of a bonded labourer, [who] graze buffaloes, collect dung, one had to do everything. They even used him as a goonda. Unable to bear the trouble in these landlord's houses we came into the struggle...

First, my brother became a squad commander... My husband and I also joined the Communist Party... My work was in the cultural squad. My voice was good; I used to sing songs, and travel to several places... We worked in the forest and helped the Koya tribal women... I was also in a hospital centre and learned first aid and to give injections... then my son was born in the forest... Then the comrades told me, ‘The boy will cry and all of us will get caught because of this child. You give him away to someone or leave him somewhere...’ But no one would take him. I walked for two days and left him with a coal miner... After that neither my body, nor my mind stayed in my control. There was one torrent of tears from eyes to the earth...”

Keywords

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Firmans | 2. <i>Vetti</i> | 3. Feudal System |
| 4. Subordinate kings | 5. Legitimate rights | 6. Guerilla Squad. |
| 7. Jagirdars | 8. Representative Government | |

Improve your learning

1. Why do you think was the literacy rate in Hyderabad state was lower than other princely states?
2. Describe the activities of the Andhra Maha Sabha for the promotion of education.
3. What were the demands of the Hyderabad State Congress and how many of them were fulfilled after 1948?
4. Do you think that the Telangana Armed struggle helped to end the rule of the Nizam? Give your reasons.
5. Read the paragraphs under the heading 'Feudal System of the State' and answer the following: Do you support the Feudal system of the Nizams? Why?
6. Many movements were led against the rulers in the past. Do you find any movements taken up nowadays? If yes, what are they?
7. What questions would you ask the librarian to know about the library of your area?
8. Locate the following places of Nizam's rule in the India map.
a) Aurangabad b) Warangal c) Raichur d) Gulbarga
e) Hyderabad f) Khammam
9. Collect the pictures of leaders of the Telangana armed struggle.





The Indian Constitution

For centuries different parts of our country were under the rule of kings and queens. However, when our leaders fought against the British colonial rule, they wanted the future government of India to be democratic and not monarchic. They wanted India to be ruled by the people themselves with the help of elected representatives.

- Why did not the leaders who fought for freedom want India to be ruled by kings and queens? Discuss.

When India gained freedom from colonial rule, it was decided to put together basic principles for which we stood and principles and procedures by which our country would be ruled. These were written down in a book called the ‘Constitution of India’.

A Constitution is a set of rules about how the country should be governed – how the laws that run it would be made or changed, how the government should be formed, what would be the role of the citizens, what would be their rights, etc. Above all, the Constitution sets before the country the goals for which the country has to strive.

- If you and your classmates were asked to formulate five goals for the country – what would they be? How

would you arrive at those five goals? Discuss in the class and work with the help of your teacher.

Making of the Indian Constitution

The Indian Constitution was drafted under very difficult circumstances. The country had been controlled by Britain for about 200 years and its institutions had been designed to suit their needs. The country had just been partitioned due to communal conflicts. A large part of the country was

ruled by Princely states (like the Nizam of Hyderabad). Apart from social and cultural diversity, there were huge differences between rich and poor, upper and lower castes, men and women. The leaders were concerned about keeping the country together and not allowing it to break up any further. This meant that all the diverse people should feel that they have an effective role in the running of

the country. Our national movement was not merely a struggle against the foreign rule. It also sought to end inequalities, exploitation and discriminations in our society. Literacy levels and education were very low. There was acute poverty and lakhs of people had died of famine and epidemics.



सत्यमेव जयते

The country was dependent upon foreign nations even for its basic needs like foodgrains. It was necessary, therefore, to set out the vision of the future society and design a strong framework for achieving it.

- Find out from your grandparents or old neighbours who were there at the time of independence about how things were at that time and what they felt about the future of the country.

There were sharp differences of opinion among the leaders of the national movement about how we could make a better society after Independence. Yet most leaders agreed that independent India would be governed according to the principles of democracy in which:

- i. every one will be equal before law and will have certain fundamental rights guaranteed to them,
- ii. the government would be formed by general elections based on the principles of 'universal adult franchise' or right of every adult citizen, irrespective of gender, caste, religion, education, or wealth to vote in elections.

Early Drafts of Constitution

Even before independence, in 1928, Motilal Nehru and eight other Indian National Congress leaders drafted a Constitution for India. In 1931, the resolution at the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress dwelt on how independent India's Constitution should look like. Both these documents were committed to universal adult franchise, right to freedom and equality.

- Can you list out some of the inequalities and discriminations prevalent in our society at the time of Independence?
- Here is a set of statements that is put in pairs, but some of it has wrong information. Can you correct them?
 - a) A model constitution was drafted - Motilal Nehru
 - b) Leaders agreed that illiterate people should not vote - universal adult franchise
 - c) Provincial legislature - Constitution adopted some colonial laws
 - d) Partition - large number of people were killed and forced to migrate
 - e) Restriction on women voting - commitment to social reform in India



Fig 13.1: India celebrates Republic Day on 26th January every year. This is a photograph of NCC cadets marching as part of the celebrations.



Fig 13.2: The President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar greeting each other.

- What were the sources of inspiration and ideas for framing our Constitution?

First of all, they were inspired by the struggle waged by the diverse kinds of Indian people and their aspiration for a better world to live in. They knew that it was their sacred duty to help build an India in which all these diverse kinds of people may realise their aspirations. They were also deeply influenced by the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders.

Secondly, many of our leaders were inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution, the practice of parliamentary democracy in Britain and the Bill of Rights in the USA. The socialist revolution in Russia and China had inspired many Indians to think of shaping a system based on social

and economic equality. All these factors influenced the making of our Constitution.

Moreover, the British too had introduced some basic institutions of democratic rule in India. However, only certain categories of people could vote in the elections. British had introduced very weak legislatures. Elections were held in 1937 to

Provincial Legislatures and Ministries all over British India. These were not fully democratic governments. But the experience gained by Indians in the working of the legislative institutions proved to be very useful for the country in setting up its own institutions and working in them. That is why the Indian Constitution adopted many institutional details and procedures from colonial laws.

The Constituent Assembly

The Constitution was drafted by an assembly of elected representatives called the Constituent Assembly. Elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in July 1946. Its first meeting was held in December 1946. With the partition of the country in August 1947, the Constituent Assembly was also divided into the Constituent Assembly of India and that of Pakistan. The Indian Constituent Assembly



Sarojini Naidu



Durgabai Deshmukh



N.G. Ranga



T. Prakasam

had 299 members. The Assembly adopted the Constitution on 26 November 1949 but it came into effect from 26 January 1950. To mark this day, we celebrate January 26 as Republic Day every year.

The members of the Constituent Assembly were elected mainly by the members of the existing provincial legislatures formed during the British rule. Some of the members were nominated by the kings ruling over some parts of the country. Its members came from all the regions of the country. The Assembly was dominated by the members of the Indian National Congress party and there were very few members of other parties like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Even though most members were from the same party, most of them held very different views on most issues. There were very few women, just about fifteen. Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh was one of them.

- Why do you think were the kings allowed to nominate members to the Constituent Assembly?
- Why do you think were there very few women members? Do you think it would have been better if there had been more women members?

First, some basic principles were decided and agreed upon: that India will be a Sovereign Republic; that it will have within several states with autonomous powers; that it will be democratic; that it will secure justice, equality and freedom to all citizens; that the interests of minorities, tribals and depressed classes will be safeguarded; and that India will work for world peace and welfare of all mankind. This is called the 'Objectives Resolution' and it was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India. These became the guiding principles for drafting the Constitution.

Then, a Drafting Committee chaired by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar prepared a draft Constitution for discussion. Several rounds of thorough discussion took place on the Draft Constitution, clause by clause. There were intense debates on all important provisions. They were examined from different points of view and finally, decisions were taken by majority vote. More than two thousand amendments to the Draft Constitution were considered. The members deliberated for 114 days spread over three years. Every word spoken in the



Fig 13.3 : All Constituent Assembly members signed an illustrated version of the constitution. Here, you can see Jawaharlal Nehru signing the Constitution.

Constituent Assembly has been recorded and preserved. These are called **‘Constituent Assembly Debates.’**

- Which of the guiding principles in the Objectives Resolution do you think is the most important? Give your reasons for it. Do other students have a different opinion about this?

The Dream and the Promise

Let us begin by understanding the overall philosophy of what our Constitution is all about. We can understand it by reading the views of some of our major leaders about our Constitution. But it is equally important to read what the Constitution says about its own philosophy. The Preamble of the Constitution states its philosophy.

Some of you may have noticed a name missing from the sketches of the makers

of the Constitution: Mahatma Gandhi. He was not a member of the Constituent Assembly. Yet there were many members who followed his vision. Writing in the magazine *Young India* in 1931, he had spelt out what he wanted the Constitution to do:

I shall strive for a Constitution which will release India from all thralldom and patronage... I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of the intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men... I shall be satisfied with nothing else.

- Mahatma Gandhi

This dream of an India without inequality was shared by Dr. Ambedkar, who played a key role in the making of the Constitution. But he had a different understanding of how inequalities could be removed. In his concluding speech to the Constituent Assembly, he stated his anxiety very clearly:

On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote

one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril.

- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Finally let us turn to Jawaharlal Nehru giving his famous speech to the Constituent Assembly at the stroke of midnight on August 15, 1947:

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

- Jawaharlal Nehru

Read the above three quotations carefully.

- Can you identify one idea that is common to all these three?
- What are the differences in their ways of expressing that common idea?

Preamble of the Constitution

The values that inspired and guided the freedom struggle formed the foundation for India's democracy. These values are embedded in the 'Preamble' of the Indian Constitution, which is a short statement of

its basic principles and objectives. They guide all the provisions of Indian Constitution.

Let us read the preamble of our Constitution very carefully and understand the meaning of each of its key words. Think of some examples in the context of each of the terms mentioned here.

If you read it carefully, there is one basic sentence here:

“We the people of India, having resolved to constitute India into a Republic and to secure to all its citizens Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity give ourselves this Constitution.”

- The people of India decided ('resolved') to achieve two objectives. What were these?
- What did they do in order to achieve these objectives?

WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA: The Constitution has been drawn up and enacted by the people through their representatives, and not handed down to them by a king or any outside powers. This is an assertion of the democratic nature of our Republic.

REPUBLIC: The head of the state is an elected person and not a hereditary position as in a kingdom.

SOVEREIGN: India will have supreme right to take decisions on internal as well as external matters and make her own laws. No external power can make laws for India.

SOCIALIST: Wealth is generated socially by all through their work and it

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,
having Solemnly resolved to
constitute India into a
SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST,
SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC and to secure to
all its citizens:
JUSTICE, Social, economic
and political;
LIBERTY of thought,
expression, belief, faith and
worship;
EQUALITY of status and of
opportunity;
And to promote among them
all FRATERNITY
assuring the dignity of the
individual and the unity and
integrity of the nation;
IN OUR CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY This
twenty-sixth day of
November, 1949, do HEREBY
ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO
OURSELVES THIS
CONSTITUTION.

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

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

should be shared equally by all. The country should strive to reduce and end all kinds of inequalities.

SECULAR: The government will not be run on the basis of any religion. Citizens will have complete freedom to follow any religion or no religion at all. Government will not favour any religion.

DEMOCRATIC: A form of government where people enjoy equal political rights, elect their representatives to make laws and run the government and hold the representatives accountable.

JUSTICE: All citizens should get what is their due; in determining what is due to them no discrimination will be made on account of their birth (into a particular caste, tribe, community or sex) or beliefs (religion, political opinions etc.) or wealth (rich or poor) or status. The government, however, may take special steps to protect those who have been historically wronged (due to caste or gender or communal discrimination).

EQUALITY: Our Constitution does not promise equality in all respects (like income or property) but it seeks to ensure that all people will enjoy the same status – that is, every one will be governed by the same laws. Secondly, it promises equality of

‘opportunity’. This means that all public offices shall be open to all, irrespective of caste or religion. If an office requires special qualification, access to that qualification too will be made equal to all.

LIBERTY: There will be no unreasonable restrictions on the citizens in what they think, the religion they wish to follow or not to follow, how they wish to express their thoughts and the way they wish to follow up their thoughts in action or come together to form associations or parties.

FRATERNITY: To build a sense of bonding and unity among all people. No one should treat a fellow citizen as inferior or as an alien stranger.

Besides the Preamble, our Constitution has a section called “Directive Principles of State Policy.” This lays down some specific tasks before the government of India. These are : universalising literacy and education, protection of environment, reducing income inequality etc. These are principles which should guide the government, though we cannot file cases in courts if we feel that the governments are not following them.

To ensure that these ideals become real for all people, the Constitution has a Chapter guaranteeing Fundamental Rights to all citizens – you will study about them in Class IX. Unlike the Directive principles, citizens can take help from courts in case their fundamental rights are denied or violated.

The System of Government

The Constitution also provides institutional arrangements for ruling the

country in accordance with the above ideals and values.

It provides for a Parliamentary form of government. The Parliament, consisting of representatives of the people, makes laws. The laws are implemented by a government formed from among the members of the Parliament and answerable to the Parliament. The country is governed by the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister and the entire government is headed by the President. (You will read in greater detail about this in the next chapter).

- Why is it necessary for an elected parliament to make laws? Why can’t they be made by learned lawyers and judges?
- Why do you think should the Prime Minister and his Cabinet get their decisions and actions approved by the Parliament and answer the questions raised by the members of Parliament? Will it be better if they were answerable only to the President?

Secondly, our country has a federal system. The entire country is considered to be a union of smaller states. Government functions are divided between the Central Government, which is answerable to the Parliament and the State Governments, which are answerable to their own State Assemblies. For example, the central government makes laws regarding and controls the army, railways etc. while the state governments make laws regarding police, road transport, schools etc.

The Central Parliament has two houses, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. While the Lok

Sabha is elected by all the people of India, the members of Rajya Sabha are elected by the state assemblies. Thus, the states have a role to play even in making laws in the central government.

- Some countries have a different structure in which there is only a central government which makes laws for the entire country and governs all the provinces or states. Do you think such a system is suited for India? Discuss in the class.

Moreover, our country has a three level democracy. At the country level, we have the Parliament, at the state level, we have the state assemblies and at the district level, we have the local government known as Panchayat Raj system. This is to ensure that people have maximum opportunity to participate in managing public affairs of the country.

In addition, the Constitution also provides for some independent institutions to guard the Constitution. These include the Judiciary (or the law courts), the

Comptroller and Auditor General who supervises the expenditure of the governments and the Election Commission which conducts free and fair elections. These are expected to function independent of the governments and report directly to the President.

- Discuss why the courts and judges should be independent of the state and central government authorities.
- Why should the Election Commission be autonomous?

Finally, the Constitution is a living and changing document. Those who made the Indian Constitution felt that it has to be in accordance with people's aspirations and changes in society. They did not see it as a sacred, static and unalterable law. So, they made provisions to incorporate changes from time to time. These changes are called Constitutional Amendments. The Constitution lays down procedures for changing or amending the Constitution itself. Till 2013, our Constitution has been amended 99 times.



Fig 13.4: The photo shows the following persons (from right to left): Jairamdas Daulatram, Minister for Food and Agriculture; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister; Dr John Mathai, Finance Minister; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and behind him Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister.

Keywords

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Monarchy | 2. Representative | 3. Discrimination |
| 4. Autonomous | 5. Constitution | 6. Sovereign |
| 7. Federal System | 8. Province | 9. Draft |
| 10. Republic | 11. Secular | 12. Fraternity |
| 13. Amendment | | |

Improve your learning

1. 'Damanpur' is ruled by its king based on a set of rules written down by the priest and ministers. He has also divided his kingdom into 16 provinces to which he appoints his officers as governors. Can we say that this is democratic country? Is it a constitutional country? Give reasons for your answer.
2. Which of the following statement is correct?
 - a. Constitution determines the relationship between people and government.
 - b. Democratic countries generally contain a Constitution.
 - c. To make a Constitution to a diverse country like India is an easy task.
 - d. All are correct
3. Read again the extracts from Nehru's speech and answer the following:
 - a. What pledge did he want the makers of the Indian Constitution to take?
 - b. "The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye." Who was he referring to?
4. What values are embedded in the preamble of the Indian Constitution?
5. "All are equal before law"—Explain this with examples.
6. Identify correct statements from the following:
 - a. The Constitution defines powers of the Legislative houses.
 - b. The Constitution cannot be changed under any circumstances.
 - c. Ideals that are in the preamble are reflected in the design of institutions.
 - d. Laws for the entire country are designed centrally.
7. On what occasions equal justice is seen? Mention with examples.



Project:

Compare the preambles to the Constitutions of the United States of America, India and South Africa.

- a. Make a list of ideals that are common to all these three.
- b. Note down at least one major difference among these.
- c. Which of the three makes a reference to the past?
- d. Which of these does not invoke God?

Preamble of Constitution of United States of America

We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Preamble of Constitution of South Africa

We the people of South Africa, Recognize the injustices of our past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the Supreme law of the republic so as to- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

May God protect our people.

God bless South Africa.



Parliament and Central Government

The Constitution provides for a Parliamentary form of government in the country in which the Parliament is the highest law making body. Last year, we learned about the law making bodies at the state level. We read that the Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) in each state make the laws for their state. Each State makes its own laws on certain aspects. There are executives at the state level who implement the laws and policies made by legislative houses. This year, we shall study about Parliament at the national level and its working.

Role of the Parliament

Among the many TV channels, you can also watch a channel called Lok Sabha TV. It telecasts the discussions taking place in the Parliament House in New Delhi. You can watch this channel to get an idea of the functioning of the Parliament.

Our Parliament has many important functions. Among them, making laws for the entire country is the most important. It also makes policies for the entire country – about forests, natural resources like mines, about education, about our relationships with other countries, about industries and agriculture etc. The governments are expected to implement programmes in accordance with those policies. For example, in 1986, the Parliament adopted a National Policy on Education, which guides the programmes relating to education till date. In the year 2009, the Parliament passed the ‘Right of children to free and compulsory education Act’ (or law) in order to ensure that all children get quality education.

- Find out about some important policies and laws made by the Parliament. Make a presentation about it in the class.



Fig 14.1: Indian Parliament House in New Delhi

The government which rules the country implements the laws made by the Parliament for the development and welfare. The government has to take approval of the Parliament for its actions. While discussions are going on in the Parliament, any of the members may ask questions for clarification on any of the issues and respective members from the government have to answer them. Thus, the government is answerable to the Parliament. The Parliament also approves the income and expenditure of the government. Every year, the government presents the annual budget for the approval of the Parliament.

- What do you think are the advantages of having a Parliamentary form of government? In which the government members are answerable to the Parliament?
- Should the Parliament only make laws and not control the government in its functioning? Discuss in the class.
- Find out if there are other kinds of governments where the government is not answerable to the Parliament or legislature.

The Houses of Parliament

There are two Houses of the Parliament - Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The members of the Lok Sabha (direct elections), while the Rajya Sabha members are elected by the members of the State Legislatures (indirect elections). The Rajya Sabha can have a maximum of 250 members. The

state Legislative Assemblies elect their representatives to the Rajya Sabha. This is in one way, a link between the State governments and the legislative process at the Centre. The Rajya Sabha members are elected for a term of six years. Every two years about one third of its members retire and new members are elected in their place.

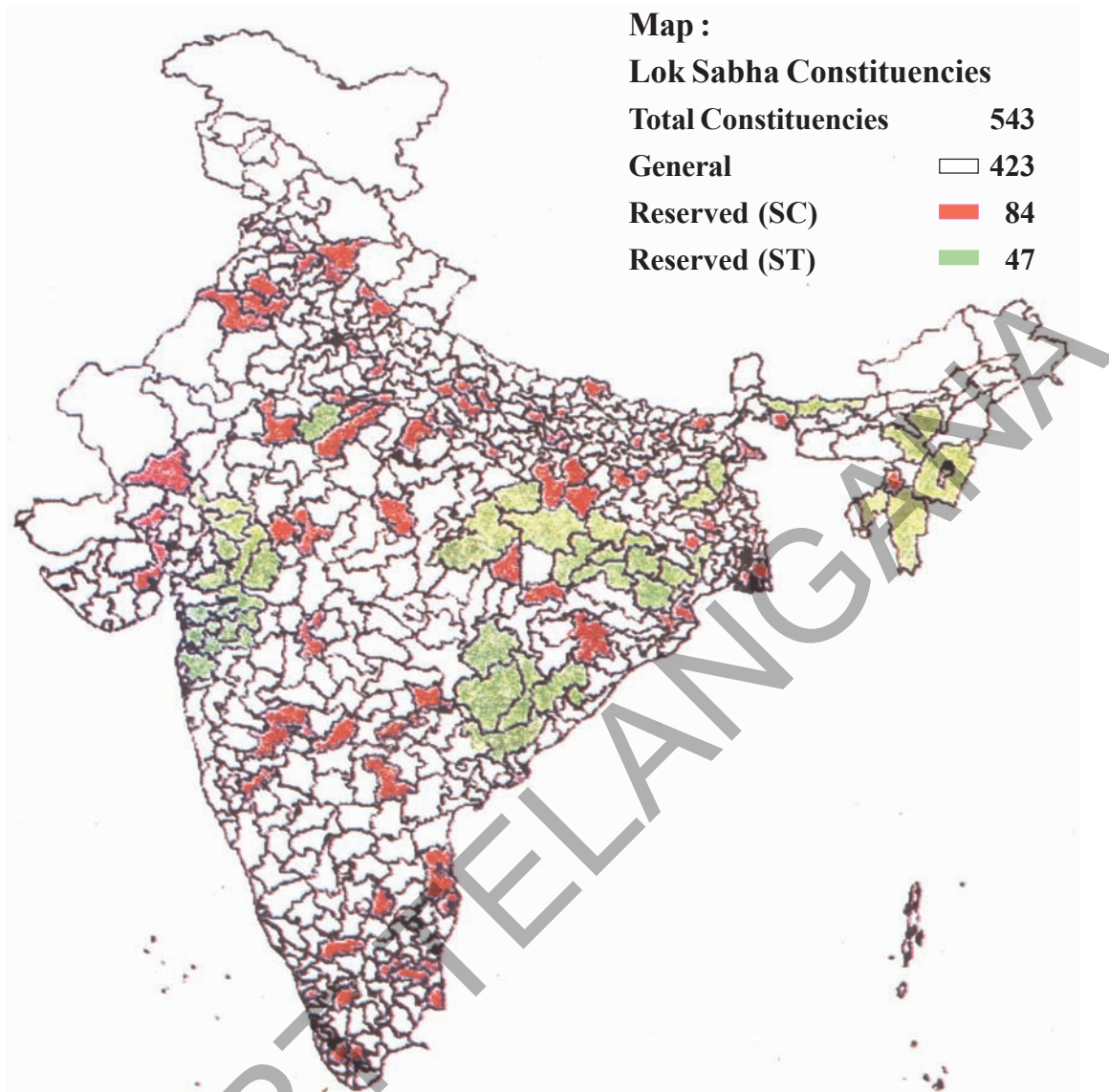
Powers of the Houses

According to the Constitution, for most matters, the Lok Sabha exercises supreme power. Let us see how:

1. Any ordinary law needs to be passed by both the Houses. But if there are differences between the two Houses, the final decision is taken in a joint session in which members of both the Houses sit together. As Lok Sabha has more members, it is likely that its view will prevail in such a meeting.

2. Lok Sabha exercises more powers in money matters. Once the Lok Sabha passes the budget of the government or any other money related law, the Rajya Sabha cannot reject it.

3. Most importantly, the Lok Sabha controls the Council of Ministers. Only a person who enjoys the support of the majority of the members in the Lok Sabha is appointed as the Prime Minister. If the majority of the Lok Sabha members say that they have 'no confidence' in the Council of Ministers, all ministers including the Prime Minister, have to quit. The Rajya Sabha does not have this power.



State	No.	State	No.	State	No.
Andhra Pradesh	25	Jammu & Kashmir	6	Odisha	21
Arunachal Pradesh	2	Jharkhand	14	Punjab	13
Assam	14	Karnataka	28	Rajasthan	25
Bihar	40	Kerala	20	Sikkim	1
Chhattisgarh	11	Madhya Pradesh	29	Tamilnadu	39
Goa	2	Maharashtra	48	Telangana	17
Gujarat	26	Manipur	2	Tripura	2
Haryana	10	Meghalaya	2	Uttarakhand	5
Himachal Pradesh	4	Mizoram	1	Uttar Pradesh	80
		Nagaland	1	West Bengal	42
Union Territories					
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1	Daman and Diu	1	Delhi(the NCT of Delhi)	7
Chandigarh	1	Lakshadweep	1	Nominated by the president of	
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	Pondicherry	1	India Anglo Indians	2

Table showing state wise Lok Sabha Constituencies

- Can you identify the basic difference between Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha?
- Azhar feels that it is better to give more powers to Rajya Sabha because they are mostly wiser people belonging to different political parties. Mumtaz feels Rajya Sabha should not be given any more powers because they are not directly elected by people. What do you think about their opinions?

Elections to Lok Sabha

Lok Sabha has been given this special position because it is directly elected by the people. Let us see how this happens.

Normally, elections to the Lok Sabha are held every five years. All citizens who are of 18 years or above can vote in the elections. It is also necessary that they register their names in the Constituency they live in. A person above the age of 25 years can contest in an election to become a member of the Lok Sabha. There are 545 Lok Sabha seats. The states and Union Territories in India are divided into Constituencies (seats) from which

members of the Lok Sabha are elected. States with a large population have more Constituencies than states with smaller population. Thus, Uttar Pradesh has 80 Constituencies while Meghalaya has only two Constituencies. Telangana has 17 Constituencies and the Union Territory of Chandigarh has one Constituency.

See the map and tables given on previous page and answer the following questions:

- What is the number of Lok Sabha Constituencies in your state and two neighbouring states?
- Which states have more than 30 Lok Sabha Constituencies?
- Why do so many states have such a large number of Constituencies?
- Why are some Constituencies small in area while others are very big?
- Are the Constituencies reserved for the SCs and STs evenly spread all over the entire country or are there more in some areas?

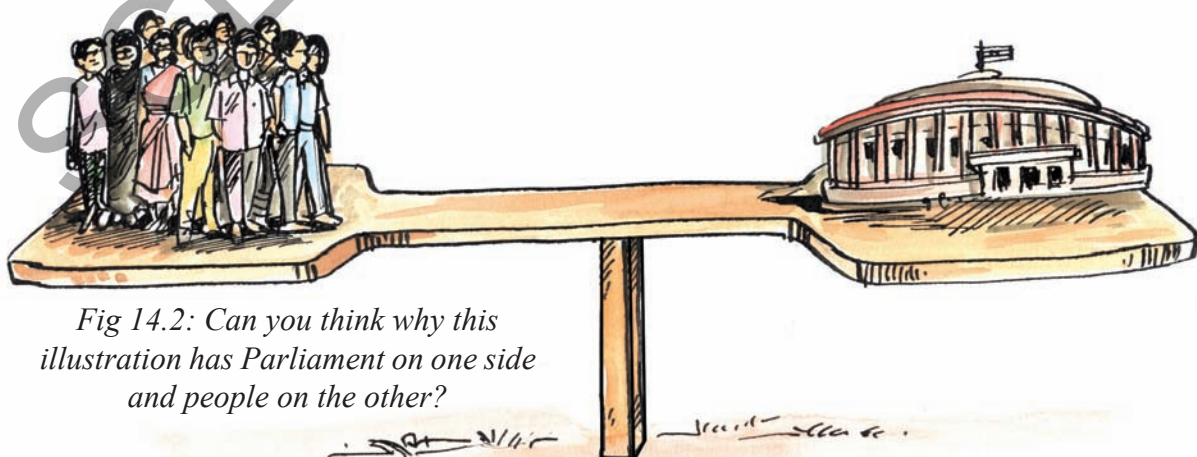


Fig 14.2: Can you think why this illustration has Parliament on one side and people on the other?

The First Elections to Lok Sabha

Elections are an important aspect of our current political lives. It is the occasion where we choose our representatives. For a nation like ours with such a large population, conducting elections is a big task. Let us take a case study of the first elections held in 1951-52 to understand this. It took four months to conduct these elections.

It was based on universal adult franchise, every citizen who was twenty-one years of age or older had the right to vote. At that time, there were more than 17,30,00,000 people who could vote. For most of them, this was their first opportunity to vote. Most of them were illiterate and lived in rural areas. There was one big question: “How will the people respond to this opportunity?”

- If you had been living in that time, which side would you have agreed with? Would you have considered it a good idea for India to try to have universal adult franchise and conduct elections? Give reasons.

An Election Commission was set up to conduct the elections in a free and fair manner. Making arrangements for the first elections was a large and complex task. First, a house-to-house survey was carried out to register the eligible voters.

People who contested elections belonged to political parties or were Independents. Election Commission gave a symbol to each of these candidates. These symbols were painted on the ballot boxes

in which the votes had to be cast. The voters had to put their ballot paper into the box of the candidate they wanted to vote for. Screens were set up so that the voting (ballot) was secret.

Over 2,24,000 polling booths were set up across the country. Over 25,00,000 steel ballot boxes were made. Nearly 62,00,00,000 ballot papers were printed. About 10 lakh officials supervised the polls. Nearly 17,500 candidates had contested the elections across the country. Finally, 489 people were elected to the first Lok Sabha. The elections were conducted in a fair, free, impartial and orderly manner, with very little violence.

The response of the people to the new opportunity was tremendous. They participated in the polls, fully aware that their vote was a prized possession. In many places, the people treated elections as a festival and a public celebration. They dressed up for the occasion in festive clothing. Women wore their silver jewellery. Poor and illiterate people demonstrated their ability to exercise their right to vote carefully, even though the voting procedures were complicated.

There was a large turnout of voters not only in the urban areas but also in the rural areas. There was a very high participation of dalits and adivasis. Another remarkable feature of the elections was the wide participation of women - nearly 40 percent of the women who were eligible, cast their votes. This was very high considering the

fact that many communities practiced *pardah* system under which women did not appear in public.

What was significant about these elections was that no other nation had ever conducted such a large scale election in which all citizens, including women, illiterate and poor, were given the power to vote. More than 46 percent of the eligible voters exercised their power to vote.

- Who is the Lok Sabha member from your area? Name a few other MPs from your state or neighbouring states.
- Find out which political parties they belong to.
- Discuss the meaning of the following with your teacher:
 1. Candidate 2. Constituency
 3. Ballot 4. EVM
 5. Election campaign 6. Election Commission
 7. Voters' List 8. Procedure of voting
 9. Free and fair elections
- Find out the symbols used by different political parties today.
- Why were the first elections a 'large and complex task'?
- Discuss with your teachers and parents to learn about how elections are conducted today.
- Write down some differences between the first elections and elections held today - ballot box and sheets, age of voting.
- Why should the voting be secret?



Fig 14.3 : Electronic voting machine

Challenges in conducting free and fair elections

In an ideal situation, every voter is expected to know about the different candidates and their policies and decide whose policies they would prefer and who according to them can represent their interests best in the Parliament and then choose whom to vote for. He or she should not be subjected to any pressure to vote for a particular candidate because her husband told her or her employer told her or her caste leader or religious teacher ordered her or someone paid money. Everyone should decide independently.

However, in actual practice, people vote based on other considerations like caste or religion or money or other gifts etc. Often, powerful local people terrorise people to vote for a certain candidate. Sometimes, the party in the government uses the government machinery to influence voters. The Election Commission has taken very strict measures in the recent times to control these illegal practices. Find out more about some of these measures.

There have been many Lok Sabha elections since the first one. The Table below gives the percentage (%) of people who voted in each election. Use this information to answer the following questions.

- How many Lok Sabha elections have been held till date?
- Why do you think is it important to look at the percentage of people who cast their votes? What does it tell us?
- Why do you think did not many eligible voters vote? Discuss the possible reasons.
- What were the opinions expressed by different people at the time of the first elections?
- As per the Survey conducted, during 1996 elections, 61% of illiterates and poor people voted whereas only 53% of graduates voted. Discuss the reasons for the difference in the voting percentage?

Table: Percentage of voters in various Lok Sabha elections

<i>Year of Lok Sabha election</i>	<i>Percentage of voters who voted</i>
1952	46 %
1957	48 %
1962	55 %
1967	61 %
1971	55 %
1977	60 %
1980	57 %
1985	64 %
1989	62 %
1991	56 %
1996	58 %
1998	62 %
1999	59 %
2004	58 %
2009	58 %
2014	66.4%

Some interesting facts about Lok Sabha Elections in 2014

Number of Parliamentary Constituencies	543
Total electors	83,41,01,479
Number of Candidates contested	8,251
Male candidates contested	89%
Women candidates contested	11%
Number of Polling Stations setup	9,30,000 (about)
Number of Candidates who lost deposit	7,000
Polling Staff deployed	1,00,00,000 (about)
Total Number of Political parties contested	464

- A survey showed that among the uneducated and poor, the percentage of people who voted in 1996 was 61%. However, it was only 53% among graduates. What could be the reasons for this difference? Discuss.

Not all laws are made in the Parliament, we will read more about this here.

The Central List: Subjects on which laws can be made only by the Parliament.

There are many subjects on which only Parliament can make laws. These laws apply to the whole country. For example, our country has a common currency - the rupee. So any law relating to money and banking can only be made by Parliament. Similarly, we must have common rules and regulations for the telephone and postal system. Another subject which is under the control of the Parliament is the country's defence. All the laws relating to military forces and defence can only be made by the Parliament.

The State List: Subjects on which laws can be made only by State Legislative Assemblies

On certain subjects, only a State Legislative Assembly can make laws. Hence, different states can have different laws on any of these subjects. For example, how much, people can afford for transportation of goods and people. Bus fares for both private and government buses is fixed by the state government. Each state has its own laws for the fixation and revision of transport charges.

It is the responsibility of the state to ensure proper connectivity of roads within its boundaries. Therefore, the construction and maintenance of all roads, other than national highways, is done by the state. Other important subjects that are the responsibility of the State Government are agriculture, irrigation, police and health care. They all come in the State List and the State Legislative Assemblies make laws relating to these subjects.

The Concurrent List: Subjects on which laws can be made by both Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies

There are certain subjects on which both Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies can make laws. For example, making education policy is the duty of both the Central and State Governments. In every state, you find schools run by the Central Government, such as the Kendriya Vidyalayas or Central Schools, as well as schools run by the Education Department of the State Government. Other important subjects on which both the Central Government and State Governments make laws are those related to factories or industries, electricity, labour etc. However, if both Parliament and a State Legislative Assembly make a law on a subject and these laws clash or contradict each other, the law made by the Parliament takes precedence over the law made by the State Legislative Assembly.

- Recall the laws about which we studied last year. Find out the new laws that were discussed in state legislative houses and Parliament during their last meeting.

The President and The Vice-President

The MLAs of all the states and the members of both houses of the Parliament elect the President. Both the Houses of the Parliament elect the Vice President. The Vice President chairs the Rajya Sabha meetings and also performs the functions of the President if the President is absent. After the laws are passed by the Parliament, they can come into force only after the President gives his or her assent by signing them.

● Correct the false statements:

- 1 The President and the Vice President are both elected by the same set of people.
- 2 Every voter in India elects the President.
- 3 All the MLAs of the Telangana participate in the election of the President.
- 4 All the MLAs of all the Assemblies including Delhi and Puducherry and all the MPs of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha elect the President.

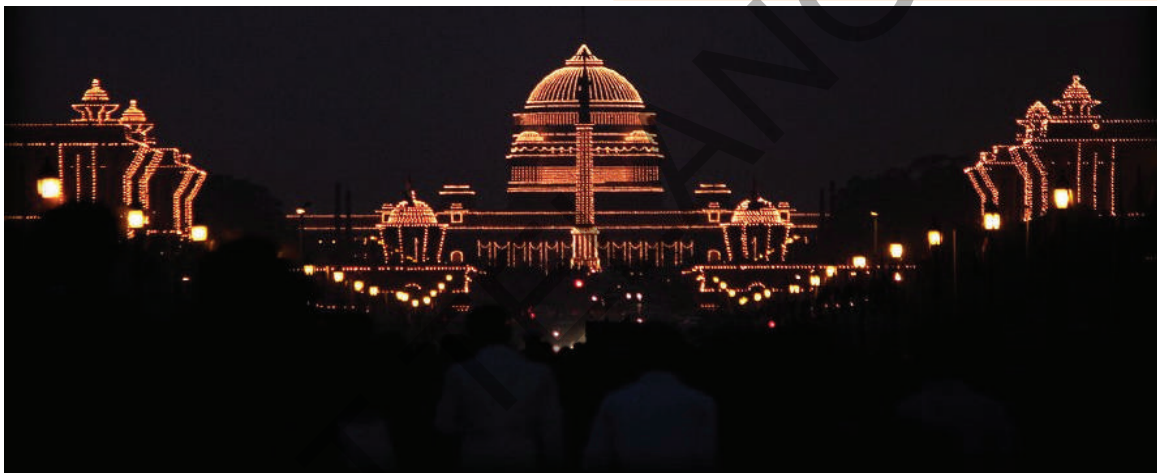


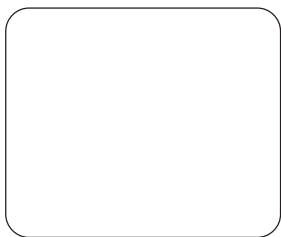
Fig 14.4: A night view of Rashtrapathi Bhavan on Republic Day

The Council of Ministers and Prime Minister

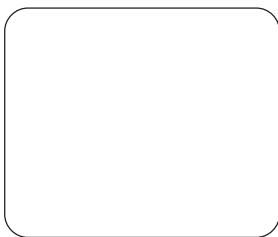
The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are chosen from among the members of Parliament (the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha). The role of Parliament is not only to make laws but also to ensure the appointment of suitable person to run the government according to the laws. Hence, it is said that India has a Parliamentary form of government. The Government has three major organs. One is called Legislative i.e. to make laws. The other is Executive, which is to implement the laws and decisions of the Parliament. The head of the Executive is the President. The third organ is judiciary about which you will read in the next chapter.

The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are in charge of a large number of ministries and they have a staff who work for them. From the large set of people who are members of Parliament, a small sub-group of people become ministers and take up the work of running the government. Let us see how this is done.

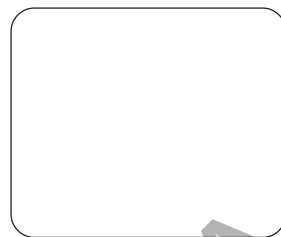
Collect the photos of the persons who are currently holding the following offices and paste them in the given boxes.



The President of India



Vice President



Prime Minister

All decisions of the Government of India are taken in the name of the President, who is the formal head of the country. However, the President acts according to the advice of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers.

You may recall how members of the Vidhan Sabha choose the Chief Minister. A Prime Minister is chosen similarly by the members of the Lok Sabha. The leader of the party (or coalition) that wins in the large number of Parliamentary constituencies (more than half the seats) in the Lok Sabha is invited by the President and appointed as the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister thus has the support of a majority of the members and can then select the other ministers to form the Council of Ministers.

The Cabinet functions as the executive wing of the government. It has to implement the laws and administer the country in accordance with the laws, plan programmes for development and implement them, prepare new laws and policies or make changes to old laws and policies and get them approved by the Parliament. The work of the government is divided into a number of areas like Finance, Foreign Affairs, Home (internal security), Defence, Railways, Industry, Agriculture, Education, Health, etc. Each of these areas is overseen by a ministry headed by a Minister. Apart from the Minister, the ministry has a large number of officials headed by a Secretary. The ministry handles the day to day work of the ministry, studies and prepares notes and proposals on various issues so that the Minister can take an informed decision on them. The implementation of these decisions is also the responsibility of the ministry officials.

- Who is the current Prime Minister? Can you name a few earlier Prime Ministers?
- Find out if there are any ministers from your state in the current central government.
- Identify few important ministries and who is in charge of them at the central government.

Which of the following is correct about formation of government

- Party or coalition that has support of the President forms the government.
- Party/ coalition with most number of seats in Parliament forms the government.

- Party or coalition with more than half the seats in parliament forms the government.
- Election commission selects the party that will form the government.
- The person who has won with the largest number of votes in the Lok Sabha election will be the Prime Minister.

Look at the following table and write the name of the party that could have formed the government after the first Lok Sabha Election:

The First Lok Sabha Elections, 1952	
Party	Seats won
Congress	364
Communists and allies	23
Socialists	12
Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party	9
Jan Sangh	3
Hindu Mahasabha	4
Ram Rajya Parishad	3
Other parties	30
Independents	41
Total	489

Keywords

1. Legislature
2. Lok Sabha
3. Rajya Sabha
4. Election Commission
5. Council of Ministers
6. Central List
7. State List
8. Concurrent List

Improve your learning

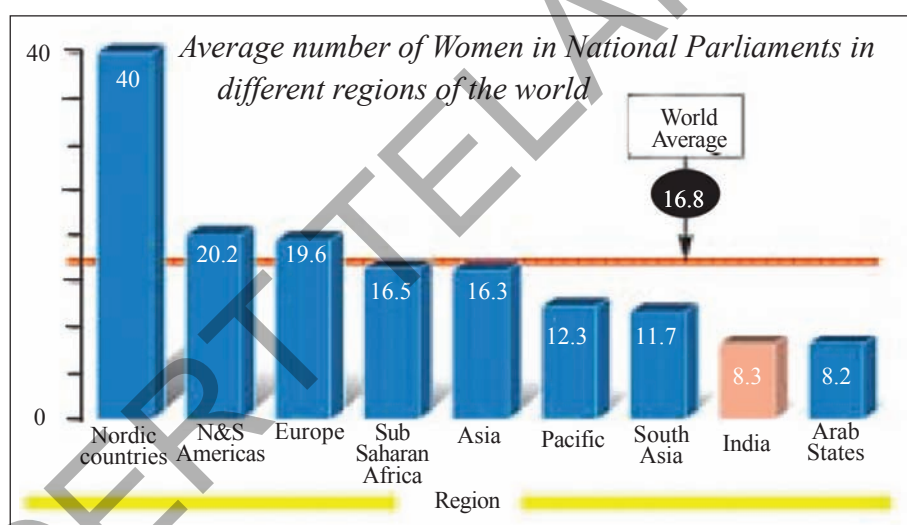
1. Why were the first elections difficult to conduct? List out as many reasons as you can.
2. Why do you think the elections need to be conducted free and fair?
3. For which of the following subjects can laws be made by the Members of Parliament, which by the members of state assembly, and which can be made by both : agriculture, railways, village hospitals, police, posts and telegraph, electricity, factories?
4. Name the two houses of the Parliament. Draw a table to show the similarities/ differences between them on the following aspects: term, number of members, more or less powerful, election process, voting for the President.
5. In the Parliamentary Elections of 2009, no single party won a majority. How was the government formed? Discuss with the help of your teacher and write a paragraph.
6. Who are responsible for making the laws that are applicable for the entire country?



7. There are some gaps in the information given in the Table below. Discuss with your teacher to find the missing information and fill in the blanks.

Position	Who elects	Length of term	Eligibility (min. age, res., etc)
MLA		5 years	
MP Lok Sabha			Minimum age: 25 years
MP Rajya Sabha			
Chief Minister	Members of each state majority Party		
Prime Minister			Must be an MP
President			Minimum age: 35 years

8. Do you think the parties should be made to include more women candidates for elections? Why?
9. Following is a study of women's representation in Parliament houses including that of India and other nations:



Based on the above information, write an essay analysing the following aspects:

- Is there an adequate representation of women in our legislative houses?
- How is the idea of representation important to the idea of democracy?
- What solution can be achieved for the above? How will you address this issue if you are a member of the Parliament? How have certain countries achieved better representation of women in Parliament?

Project : When the Parliament is in session, listen to the news on the radio or television or look at the newspapers and make a list of the events that take place. Write a page on any issue discussed in the Parliament. A mock Parliament can be conducted in the school.



Last year, we studied that laws are made by governments. We also briefly read about the role of executive in implementing laws. But what happens when laws are violated? In this chapter, we shall read about this.

A Dispute over Property

Ravi is a real estate businessman. He buys land and makes small plots of it and sells them. Ravi advertises in newspaper about the plots. The people who buy a plot have to pay Rs 5000/- per month for 5 years.



Samba is a support staff in a co-operative society. He saw the advertisement and decided to purchase a plot. He saved money from his income and paid all the instalments for a period of 5 years. After 5 years, Samba planned to build a house on the plot. But, then he learnt that Ravi sold the same plot to someone else.

Samba went to Ravi's house along with his son Kranthi. Samba demanded that his money for the plot to be returned. There was an altercation and Ravi beat up Samba and broke his hand.

As the news spread, a large crowd gathered. The village Sarpanch also arrived and tried to pacify Samba and Ravi. A little while later, Kranthi took Samba to the nearby town which was also the Mandal

Headquarter. They showed Samba to the doctor and got his hand plastered. Then, along with the doctor's certificate, they proceeded to the police station to file a case.

Filing the case

At the police station, Kranthi registered a complaint against Ravi.

The complaint contained the following particulars:

1. Addressed to SHO of Police Station
2. Details of complainant
3. Date, Time and Place of offence
4. Description of the incident
5. Name of the accused, gender, details address etc.



6. Name of witnesses (in whose presence the act was committed)
7. Prayer (to punish the accused according to law or section; if known the section number can also be mentioned)
8. Signature of the complainant, address and details.

The report based on the information given in the complaint. This is known as the First Information Report (F.I.R.). Kranthi signed the report and asked the writer, who is a Police Officer, "Please enter the report in your register and give us a copy as well". "I have to wait for the S.H.O. to come before I can enter the report in the register," the Writer replied. The head of a police station is formally known as Station House Officer (SHO). In this police station, Sub Inspector (S.I.) was the SHO. So, Kranthi waited until the report was entered in the register after the arrival of the SHO.

- Why did they wait for the SHO / S.I. to return? If you were to file such a report, what would you write in it?

- Can you write the imaginary details of Ravi and Samba as given above?
- Why do you think it is important for the person who makes an FIR to take a copy of the report?

- Every police station covers certain area. Find out under which particular police station's area (jurisdiction) does your house fall.

First Information Report (F.I.R.)

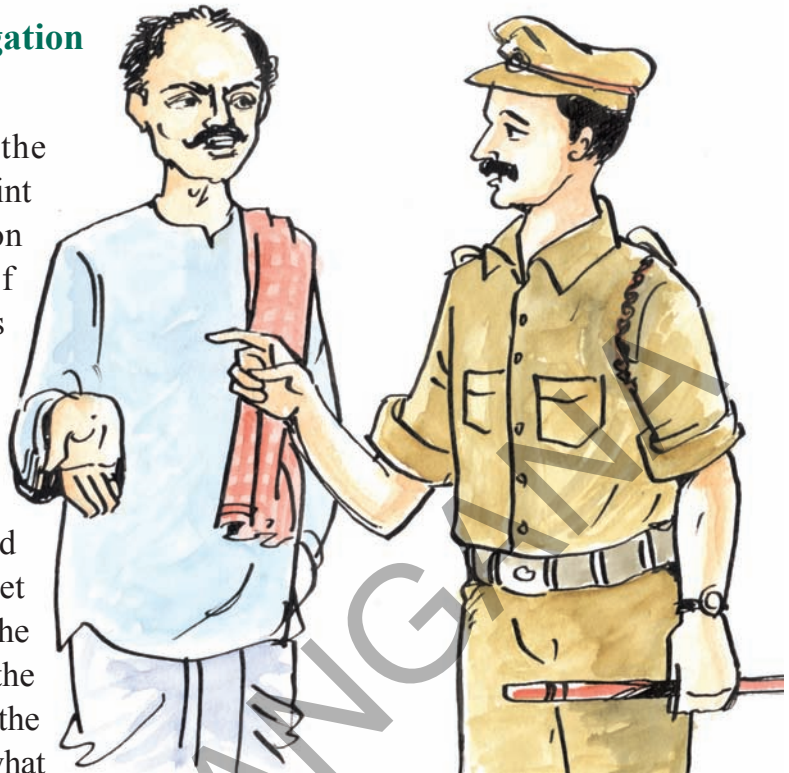
If you have to make a complaint to the police, it is necessary to file a First Information Report (F.I.R.) at the police station. After the First Information Report is filed, it becomes the duty of the police to investigate and solve the problem.

The SHO will then readout this recorded statement of the person and after approval, the person will sign it. The account of the offence/crime should be entered in the Station House Register on the basis of the FIR and a copy of the FIR given free of charge to the person making the complaint.

In case, the SHO refuses to file the report, the person can go directly to the DSP or Magistrate and file the case. The case can also be sent by post to them.

Role of the Police in Investigation and Arrest

One important function of the police is to investigate any complaint about the crime. An investigation includes record statements of witnesses and collect different kinds of evidence. On the basis of the investigation, the police are required to form an opinion. If the police think that the evidence points to the guilt of the accused person, then they file a chargesheet in the court. It is not the job of the police to punish the accused. It is the judges and judiciary who decide if the accused person is guilty or not and what punishment is to be given.



In this case, the S.I. went to the village and began his investigation by examining the injuries suffered by Samba. The report of the hospital doctor established quite clearly that the injuries were serious. Then he questioned Ravi's neighbours. The neighbours gave him a full account of the incident that had taken place. This established beyond doubt that Samba was assaulted and injured by Ravi.

The S.I. then went to Ravi's house and informed him that he was being arrested on the charge of causing grievous injury to another person. He arrested Ravi and took him to the Mandal Police Station and questioned him. Ravi flatly denied ever assaulting Samba. They tried hard to make Ravi accept his offence, but he stuck to his denial. Ravi was detained in the police lockup, so that he could be produced before the magistrate the next day.

- Who investigated the offence and how?
- What is meant by 'an accused'? In this story, who is the accused?
- What were the charges levelled against the accused?
- Samba thought that the SHO arrested Ravi to punish him for the crime. Was he right?

Civil and Criminal Offences

The next day, Ravi talked to the S.I., "I just want to get this over and done with. I will return the amount Samba remitted for the plot. Then, we can all forget this ever happened."

The S.I. answered, "You will have to pay that money anyway. But now you are arrested for beating him up. This is a criminal case now. If you had not

assaulted Samba, the police would not have been involved and Samba would have filed a civil case against you for not giving the plot. Then you could have returned his plot and paid compensation for the loss incurred by him. In that case, you would not have been sent to jail."

In the case of Ravi and Samba, there are two types of disputes. One is Ravi attacking Samba. This is a criminal offence. Theft, dacoit, adulteration, bribery, making spurious drugs etc are few other criminal offences. There is also a civil offence between them. Ravi did not give the plot or return the amount that Samba had paid.

Civil cases are related to people's rights over land, property, income and people's relationships with each other. In case of criminal disputes, people are often punished with a jail term whereas in civil

cases, they may not be sent to jail. A criminal case is always handled by the police and not by the person who suffered from the crime. On the other hand, a civil case is always lodged by a person who feels that he has suffered due to the cheating or breach of contract.

The police takes charge of the criminal case because it is a violation of law made by the government. In a civil case, the violation is of an agreement between two people.

- When Ravi sold Samba's plot to another person it was _____ offence. (criminal or civil)
- When Ravi beat up Samba it was a _____ offence. (criminal or civil).

Look at the following table to understand some of the significant differences between criminal and civil law:

No.	Criminal law	Civil law
1.	Deals with conduct or act that the law defines as offences. For example theft, taking dowry and murder.	Deals with any harm caused to a party due to breach of agreement by another individual. For example rent, purchase of goods and divorce.
2.	It usually begins with lodging of an FIR and police investigation. And then the case is filed in the court.	A petition has to be filed before the court by the person who has been offended, for e.g. in a rent dispute either the owner or tenant.
3.	If found guilty, accused can be sent to jail and also fined.	Court provides relief to the offended like a house may be vacated by the tenant or dues get paid.

Fill in the table given below based on what you have understood about criminal and civil law:

Description of Violation	Branch of Law	Procedure to be Followed
While walking to school, a group of girls are continuously harassed by a group of boys.		
A tenant who is being forced to vacate files a case in court against the landlord.		

Bail

Since Ravi's case is a criminal case, after being chargesheeted, Ravi was put in lockup. In criminal cases, an accused is kept in jail. But this is not a punishment. This is only to help in the process of investigation as well as to prevent him or her from tampering with evidence or threatening the witness etc. After some days in judicial custody, his family appeared in the court to get a bail for him. A person who is accused of serious crimes like murder, bribery, dacoity etc. may not get a bail. To get bail, certain sureties are to be given in the court. These sureties can be property or a person who will stand as guarantee or bond. The bond is a promise that offender will appear before the Court whenever asked for. The judge in the court can decide whether to give bail or refuse it.

Bail as right of the accused

Bail is a right of the accused. It will be granted basing on the gravity of the offence, possibility of threat to the witnesses. At the same time, the court will decide if the accused is released, whether there is any harm to the society, witnesses and complainant. In bailable

offences, only SHO can give bail. In case of non-bailable offences, the accused have to move bail petition before the appropriate court.

In a court, Ravi or Samba's case is argued by lawyers. Ravi will have to find his own lawyer. But Samba will get a Public Prosecutor, or Government Lawyer. Legal procedures are complicated and special knowledge is needed to discuss them.

Role of the Public Prosecutor

A criminal offence is registered as a public wrong. This means that a crime is committed not only against the victims but against society as a whole.

In court, it is the Public Prosecutor who represents the interests of the government. The role of the Prosecutor begins after the police has conducted the investigation and filed the chargesheet in the court. The Prosecutor has no role to play in the investigation. He/ she must conduct the prosecution on behalf of the government. As an officer of the court, it is his/ her duty to act impartially and

present the full and material facts, witnesses and evidence before the court to enable the court to decide the case.

Fair Trial

Samba's and Ravi's case was to be heard in the court of the judicial magistrate. Lawyers in black robes, people facing trial, and many other people who had come to attend the hearing of other cases were present in and around the court.

The rule of law says that everyone is equal before the law. Before deciding if someone is guilty, she/he will be allowed to a fair and impartial public hearing. Criminal prosecution starts with 'presumption of innocence' and the guilt must be proved beyond reasonable doubt.

The judge did not jump to the conclusion that Ravi was the criminal just because Samba was injured. It is to be proved that the injuries were made by Ravi.

- What is a fair trial? Is it necessary? Why? Discuss.

After a long wait, Ravi and Samba were called for the hearing. This was the first hearing of this case before the Judicial Magistrate.

The S.I. had given a copy of the FIR and the police report to Ravi's lawyer so that he could know the exact charges levelled against his client. From these reports, Ravi's lawyer could also know the kind of evidence that the police had collected against Ravi. All this information would enable him to prepare a defence for Ravi, who was the accused in this case.

In the first hearing, the judicial magistrate accused Ravi of inflicting grievous injuries to Samba. This offence, if proved, would entail imprisonment for 4 years. Ravi did not accept the charges. So, the magistrate ordered a second hearing of the case after 15 days.

- Which court was hearing the case of Ravi?
- What happened in the first hearing?
- What is the name of the officer who deals with the case on behalf of the government?

The first Hearing and the Lawyer

Samba and his son Kranthi, Ravi and the S.I. were all present at the Judicial Magistrate court. Ravi had engaged a lawyer. Public Prosecutor presented the case on behalf of the government.



What is the Role of the Judge?

The judge is like an umpire in a game and conducts the trial impartially and in an open Court. The judge hears the arguments of all the witnesses and any other evidence presented by the prosecution and the defence. The judge decides whether the accused person is guilty or innocent on the basis of the evidence presented and in accordance with the law. If the accused is convicted, then the judge pronounces the sentence. Depending on what the law prescribes, the judge may send the person to jail or impose a fine or both.

Separation of powers and independence

In an earlier chapter, we had read about the Indian Constitution. One of the central features of the constitution is the separation of the powers of Executive, Judiciary and Legislative. This means that the other branches - the Legislature and the Executive - cannot interfere in the work of the judiciary. The courts do not come under the government and do not act on behalf of the government.

The police is also not a part of Judiciary, they are part of the Executive. Last year, you had read about the district administration. At district level, just like the Collector, there is also a government police officer who is responsible for maintaining law and order in the district. Police department comes under the ministry of Home of the state government.

For the above separation to work well, it is also crucial that all judges in the High

Court and the Supreme Court are appointed with little interference from the other organs of government. Once appointed to court, it is also very difficult to remove a judge.

- Is there any scope for political power to influence the judgment? Why?
- What is an independent judiciary?
- Imagine that there is a big company cutting down forest and tribals cutting wood for fuel in your area. Debate.

The Evidence of Witnesses

Ravi had given names of some friends as his witnesses. Kranthi, who had filed the FIR for Samba also named some people as witnesses. While making his investigations, the S.I. had taken down the names of two neighbours of Ravi as witnesses. All these witnesses received summons from the magistrate to be present for second hearing of the case on the given date.

Fifteen days later, all the concerned people reached the court. After a long wait, this case began. To begin with, a woman who was a witness on behalf of the government was summoned. She narrated the events of the day of the crime. The Public Prosecutor and Ravi's lawyer asked her many questions. The magistrate heard the evidences from 3 more witnesses and recorded their evidence. The rest of the hearing was postponed to another day. In this way, at every hearing the evidence of one or two witnesses was heard and questioned, and the date was announced for the next hearing.

The hearings continued for many months. Ravi had to pay the fees of his lawyer. He also had to spend on travelling to the court and back. His business also suffered. A year dragged by. Finally, the magistrate announced the judgement that Ravi was guilty and sentenced him to 4 years of imprisonment.

- Discuss why is it necessary to hear the evidences given by the witnesses in any case.

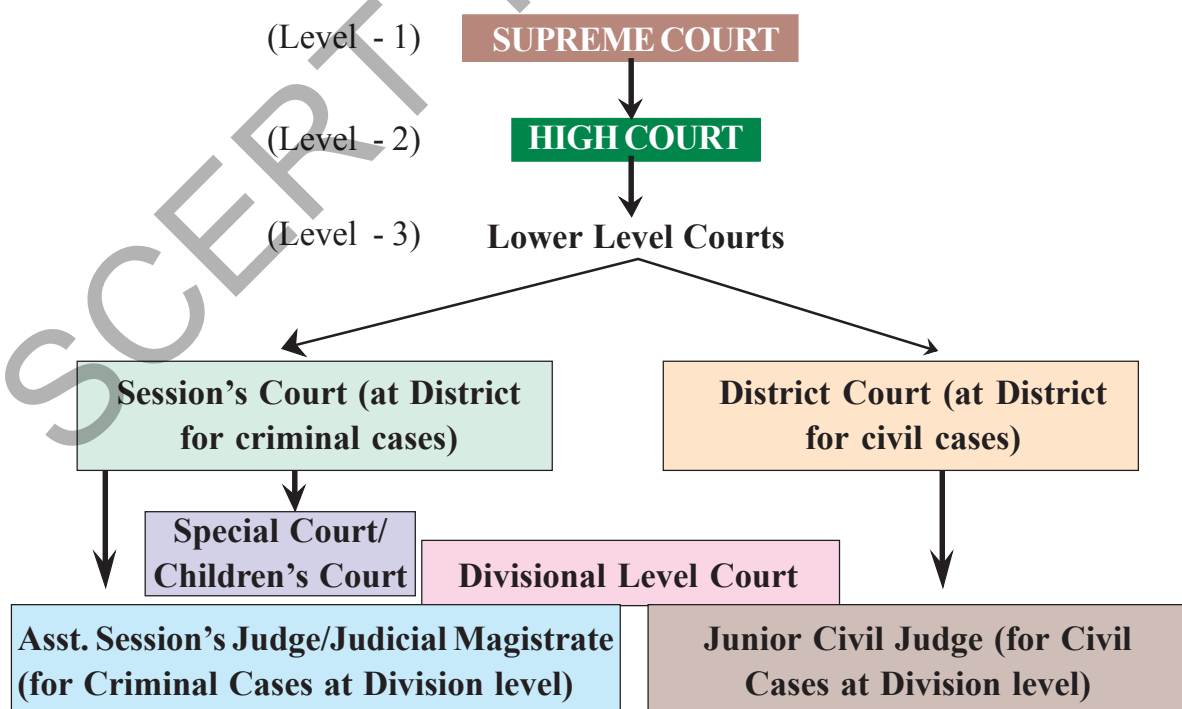
Appellate System

Ravi was unhappy with the judgment. He was very anxious about what would happen to his family when he was in jail. If one is dissatisfied with the lower level court judgment they can appeal in the higher level courts.

There are three different levels of courts in our country. There are several

courts at the **lower level**. The courts that most people interact with are called subordinate or District courts. These are usually at the District or Divisional level or in towns and they hear many kinds of cases. Each state has a **High Court** which is the highest court of that state. At the top is the **Supreme Court** that is located in New Delhi and is presided over by the Chief Justice of India. The decisions made by the Supreme Court are binding on all other courts in India.

- Identify the location of these courts for your area with the help of your teacher.
- The structure of the court from lower to highest level resembles a pyramid. Can you fill the information about them in a diagram?



Appeal at the Session's Court

Ravi's lawyer advised him to file an appeal in the session's court in the district headquarter: *"You can leave the task of the making the appeal to me. Of course you have to pay additional fees for this." This court has the power to change the decision of the lower court. Your punishment can be changed by that court.*

Ravi was still worried. He was thinking of the frequent hearings in the case. He said *"The District headquarter is quite far away. Travelling there with all witnesses etc. and back will need lot of work. How can I manage this?"* The lawyer assured him that the case in the session's court would require not more than one or two hearings in which Ravi would have to be present. The rest of the case would proceed on the basis of the file of the case.

Ravi's lawyer appealed to the session's court on his behalf. The session's court ordered a stay on the decision of the judicial magistrate. This meant that Ravi did not have to go to

jail immediately. In this court Ravi had to appear only once. Samba and their witnesses need not appear. The lawyer handled the rest of the hearings. The session's court took two years to announce its judgement. Ravi was held guilty but his punishment was reduced by a year.

- Can you think of the reasons why the session's court may have reduced Ravi's punishment?

The High Court

Ravi was not happy with the judgement of the session's court also. The lawyer told him that the decisions of the smaller courts can be challenged in the High Court, which is the highest court in the state. The High Court does not summon the accused or the witnesses to appear before it. It takes decisions on the basis of the case-file alone. *"If you want to try and appeal to the High Court to reduce your penalty further, we*



Fig 15.1 : Telangana and A.P. High Court

can certainly do that,” the lawyer added.

Ravi paid some more fees to his lawyer and asked him to appeal to the High Court. The appeal was made and after some months the High Court announced its verdict in which the decision of the Session’s court was upheld i.e. it agreed with the decision of the Session’s court. Ravi, therefore, lost the case in the High Court too and had to suffer the penalty given to him by the session’s court.

Now Ravi has only two ways; one is to go to jail and the other is to appeal to the Supreme Court. Ravi was quite tired and weary of the whole affair by now. So, Ravi’s case ended with the High Court.

- High Court does not summon the accused or witnesses before it. Why?
- Kranthi says “My father got justice but too late.” Do you agree with him?

In the dispute between Ravi and Samba, we have seen mechanisms of reporting, recording of evidence,

investigation and trial of offences at different stages of justice for adults. Now we shall read about the judicial processes that deals with the issues of children which is entirely different from adult Criminal justice System.

The Government has brought in a Special law, namely, The Protection of Children from Sexual Offence (POCSO) Act 2012. The POCSO Act 2012 is a comprehensive law to protect children from the sexual offences through child-friendly mechanisms. The child who faces abuse or the crime should bring it to the notice of their parents or a caring adult immediately. The parents or caretakers are required to report to the police (Special Juvenile police unit) which is a police for children available in each District or call 1098 for help. The special courts and judges appointed for this issue give great importance to the statement of the child victims.

Keywords

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Accused | 2. FIR | 3. Offence | 4. Investigation |
| 5. Arrest | 6. Summons | 7. Witness | 8. Fair Trial |
| 9. Judgement | 10. Appeal | 11. Breach of contract | 12. Client |
| 13. Public Prosecutor | | 14. Bail | 15. Magistrate |

Improve your learning

1. Correct the false statements

- An F.I.R. is filed in the court.
- Being arrested by the police is equal to being punished.
- A bail is given on the basis of sureties.
- Supreme Court is the apex court in the country.



2. Describe in the following table what happened in Ravi's case from its first hearing till the appeal in court.

Role of witness	Punishment given	Requirement of Ravi's presence

3. In the context of the differences between a criminal and a civil case, write a sentence each about (a) punishment and jail; b) government lawyers; c) filing FIR.
4. Can the Sessions or District court change the decision of a High Court? Why?
5. If someone is not satisfied with the decision of a Session's Court or a High Court, what can be done?
6. What are the differences between the role of the S.H.O. and the magistrate?
7. In your view, what should have been the verdict in Ravi's case?
8. A person confessed his crime at the police station and the police locked him in jail for 6 months. Is this the correct procedure? Explain your answer.
9. How should be the behaviour of elders towards children? Give you suggestions for good behaviour to ensure child safety?
10. Imagine a person is teasing you. Write a letter of complaint to the police stating all the particulars.

Discussion:

1. Why are there disputes in villages/families. What are the reasons for that? What sort of change in behaviour is necessary to avoid them ?
2. Discuss on the conditions of the families related to the criminals who experienced Jail life. Invite such persons and talk to them on Jail life and freedom.
3. Invite either a Police officer or an Advocate to your class room and conduct a discussion on different crimes and their punishments and how to get on without committing crimes.

Project:

In a town called Peace Land, the supporters of the Fiesta football team learnt that the supporters of the Jubilee football team in a city about 40 km away have damaged the ground on which the final match between both teams was to be held the following day. A crowd of Fiesta fans armed with deadly weapons attacked the homes of the supporters of the Jubilee football team in the town. In the attack, 10 men were killed, 5 women were gravely hurt, many homes were destroyed and over 50 people injured.

Imagine that you and your classmates are now part of the criminal justice system. First divide the class into the following four groups of persons:

1. Police
2. Public Prosecutor
3. Defence lawyer
4. Judge

Let each group pick the functions from the lesson that it needs to perform to bring justice to those who were affected by the violence of the Fiesta fans. In what order, will these functions be performed?

- Now, take the same situation and ask one student who is a supporter of the Fiesta football team to perform all the functions listed above. Do you think the victims would get justice if only one person performed all of the functions of the criminal justice system? Why not?
- State two reasons why you believe that different persons need to play different roles as part of the criminal justice system.



Rural Poverty at the time of Independence

When India became independent, the biggest challenge faced by the country was acute poverty, especially in the rural areas. It is estimated that more than half the rural population (55%) was very poor; that is, around 18.6 crore people. They did not have access to any resources like land, nor did they have education which could help them get some gainful employment. In fact, opportunities for employment were very few. The only employment open to them was the extremely low paid agricultural labourers. A very large proportion of peasants were landless. Some of them leased in lands belonging to landlords to whom they had to pay rent and do forced labour. Hunger constantly haunted them and famines and epidemics were frequent and devastating.

At the time of independence it was widely agreed that in order to end rural poverty, it was most important to give the poor access to land for cultivation. This could only be done by ending the zamindari system or landlordism. The agitations during British rule focused the attention on the problems, demands and hopes of the peasants. It was clear that the peasants wanted the government to reduce taxes and free them from the stranglehold of moneylenders and the terror of the

zamindars. They also demanded that the land should belong to the peasant who actually ploughed it. 'Land to the Tiller!' was the slogan.

- Do you think there was any other way to give gainful employment to the rural poor?
- How many acres of land does a family of four persons need to get a decent living in your area? (Give the figures separately for both irrigated and unirrigated land.)
- While the slogan 'Land to the Tiller' meant that the tenant will get the land, what will happen to the landless agricultural worker, who works for wages?

Abolition of Zamindari and other Intermediary Tenures

The law to abolish the zamindari system was passed in 1950s by all state governments. They also abolished all forms of forced labour like *begar* and *vetti*. This effectively ended one of the most important grievances of the rural masses.

Three types of control of the landlords were identified: firstly, collection of land revenue; secondly, control over cultivated land. This was further subdivided into those cultivated by recognised tenants and those lands which were under direct cultivation

of the landlords. Thirdly, control over forests and waste lands. Let us see how the Land Reform Acts addressed these issues.

i. First of all, laws were passed to end the system of revenue collection by zamindars. All land owners were to pay taxes directly to the government. Since the zamindars would lose this source of income, the government decided to compensate them by lumpsum payments. This compensation was about twenty to thirty times more than their annual income.

ii. The lands of zamindars which were cultivated by recognised tenants was taken over by the government and the tenants were declared the owners of the land. They had to pay tax directly to the government and not through any intermediaries. When the government found that it had spent a lot of money in paying compensation to zamindars, it made a rule that the tenants would be given land only if they paid some price for it. Those peasants who could pay, became the owners of the land and were freed from the burden of the landlord system. In all, about 2 to 2.5 crore tenants benefitted and became owners of the land they tilled. However, hundreds of thousands of poor peasants could not pay the price or did not have legal recognition as tenants. So, they remained landless sharecroppers or labourers and had to keep working in the fields of big peasants and former zamindars.

iii. The law also said that the zamindars would be the owners of their own *khudkasht* land which they cultivated directly either through sharecroppers or labourers. This provision actually enabled

most zamindars to retain control over most of the lands as they declared their tenants to be sharecroppers or labourers. They also evicted a large number of tenants to take over their lands for self cultivation. They used various loopholes in the law to retain control over large portion of land. This was because the Land Reform Acts did not set a limit to the amount of land a person could own.

iv. As per the new laws, the government took over the waste and forest lands held by zamindars. At that time, the zamindars tried to make the most of it by cutting down all the trees and selling them. In this way, large forest tracts were destroyed. However, the government gained control of large tracts of wastelands which it could use for development and redistribution to poor people.

- Some people feel that the land reform laws only tried to help the landlords. Do you agree with them?
- Some people feel that the land reform laws tried to transfer land and power to prosperous tenant farmers only. Do you agree with them?
- Some others feel that the laws tried to strike a balance between the interests of different rural groups in order to minimise internal conflicts. Do you agree with them?
- Who gained most and who did not gain at all? Do you think the landlords lost much?

Abolition of Jagirdari system in Telangana

In Telangana, the powerful movement of the peasants was under way when the Nizam state was merged with India. Even before Independence, in 1927, forced labour or *vetti* had been abolished but this law was not implemented. However, in areas where the Telangana armed struggle was strong, the practice was put to an end in 1948. In 1945, when the Telangana movement was beginning, the Nizam had made many laws to protect the tenants-at-will. This happened by registering them and giving them permanent rights to cultivate.

Immediately after the merger of Hyderabad state, the Nizam, who was still the head of Hyderabad government, issued a *Firman*, abolishing the *Sarf-e-Khas*, the personal freedom of the Nizam and all forms of forced labour like *vetti*. Through another *Firman* dated 15 August 1949, Jagirs (including *Samsthanams* and *Maktas*) which were like small kingdoms were abolished. The dominant sections of the cultivating communities of these jagirs got *patta* right on lands. As per the Hyderabad Jagirdar Abolition Act, large jagirs were taken over by the government within a few days. Rs.18 crores was decided as the compensation which was to be paid. Due to this Act, about 995 Jagirdars were removed and the land was given to the farmers cultivating it. Further, there was a reduction in land tax.

The new government appointed the Hyderabad Agrarian Reforms Committee primarily to look into the question of land concentration and aspects of increasing

production and also to study the aspirations of the farmers and tenants under the existing systems. The Committee made far reaching recommendations like removal of middlemen, ceiling on land ownership, taking away surplus lands from the landlords, protection to tenants etc. However, only some of its recommendations were implemented.

The famous Hyderabad Tenancy Act was passed in 1950 protecting all types of tenants. Tenants-at-will (who could be evicted at the will of the landlords) were made protected tenants. All the tenants who were in continuous possession of land for a period of six years were made protected tenants or *pattadars* after a little payment. Now they could not be evicted easily and could continue to cultivate the land for generations. Similarly, the Hyderabad Inam Lands Abolition Act was promulgated in 1955.

Bhoodan Movement

Telangana landlordism and the armed peasant rebellion caused much concern among people in the country. Sarvodaya leader Acharya Vinoba Bhave wanted to solve the problem of land concentration through peaceful means i.e. through *Bhoodan* Movement. *Bhoodan* means donating land to the landless. He wanted to take voluntary gifts of land from the landlords and donate it to the landless. On April 18, 1951 Vinoba started the *Bhoodan* Movement. It was hailed as a milestone in the history of land reforms. As part of the Sarvodaya movement Vinobaji came to Sivarampally near Hyderabad. He walked upto Pochampally

in Yadadri district. A prayer meeting was held under the *juvvi* tree near the tank. In that meeting 40 families belonging to the Scheduled Castes requested for land. During the meeting Vedire Ramachandra Reddy donated 250 acres of land in the memory of his father. The first person to receive the land was Maisaiah. Inspired by this Vinobaji took up *Bhoodan* movement and later converted into *Gramdan* movement. Vinobaji received 44 lakh acres of land as donation all over the country. However, this movement did not make any serious difference to the land problem in the country as landlords continued to hold large tracts of fertile land.



Fig 16.1 : Photos of Vinobaji, Vedire Ramachandra Reddy and Maisaiah

An amendment to the earlier Land Reform Act of 1950 was passed in 1954 which defeated the purpose of land reform by not bestowing the protected tenancy right over certain categories of cultivators. The Acts further recommended payment of crores of rupees as compensation in favour of the landlords. Thus, the independent country had to bear the cost of the dispossession of feudal system. Big buildings, cattle sheds and agricultural implements were left in possession of the erstwhile landlords. As there was no limit on land holding, thousands of acres of fertile land also remained with them as *khudkhast* lands.

Many of the laws were implemented tardily. Due to the delay in implementation, the large landlords used the situation to their best advantage. Using the loopholes in the Tenancy Act, the Zamindars regained control over the lands from the tenants. The Zamindars after abolition continued as big landlords claiming the land as their own. These lands were diverted to set up industries. For example, the Challapalli Zamindar showed 2650 acres under his sugar factory. But, eventually, they transformed as entrepreneurs in Andhra. But in Telangana, they continued their domination even into the twenty first century.

- Which sections of the peasants of Telangana

gained from the various reforms? In what ways did they benefit?

- To what extent did the landless service castes benefit from these reforms?
- To what extent did the landlords loose and to what extent did they manage to protect their interests?

Land Ceiling Act, 1972-75

The Zamindari abolition did not solve the problem of land concentration. As you can see from Table 1, after the land reforms were completed in 1955-56 more than half the peasant families had less than 2 hectares of land. Big landlords still

controlled about 38% of all cultivable land in the state. A vast number of landless dalit labourers were agitating for land. Kisan Sabhas became active agitating for further land reforms. This meant that the

government should set a limit to large landholdings and take over the surplus land and redistribute it to the landless labourers and small farmers.

**Table 1 : The Structure and Distribution of Landholdings in
Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, 1956-2006**

	1955-56		1980-81		2005-06	
	Share in no. of landholdings	Share in cultivated area	Share in no. of landholdings	Share in cultivated area	Share in no. of landholdings	Share in cultivated area
Small 0-5 Acres.	58%	18%	73%	29%	83%	48%
Medium 5-25 Acres.	32%	44%	25%	52%	16%	46%
Large above 25 Acres	10%	38%	2%	19%	1%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), Hyderabad.

Reading the table: Read the figures for the year 1955-56 carefully. It tells us that after the land reforms had been implemented, 58% of farmers were small farmers with less than 5 acres of land each. Even though they formed more than half of all the farmers, they had less than 20% cultivated land. On the other hand, you can see that large farmers or landlords, who made for only about 10% of the farmers, had about 38% of all cultivated land.

After the land ceiling was implemented in 1970s, notice the changes that took place. The number of small farmers who were% increased / decreased to %. Medium farmers now were less in number and controlled% more/ less land than before. Large landowners declined to less than % but still owned about % of land.

The situation was similar all over the country. Keeping this in mind, the central government initiated a second phase of land reforms to set a limit to the size of landholdings and redistributing land to the poor. Land Ceiling Acts were passed in most states for this purpose after 1972. The Land Ceiling Act was passed by the then Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council in September, 1972

which came into implementation since January, 1975.

The Act defined a family with 5 members as a unit. A family of 5 members can have a maximum of 10 to 27 acres of irrigated land and 35 to 54 acres of dryland. If a farmer had more land, it was declared surplus land to be taken over by the government. In Telangana and Andhra

Pradesh together, about 8,00,000 acres were declared surplus. Of this, 6,41,000 acres were taken over by the government and it distributed about 5,82,000 acres to about 5,40,000 families of landless and poor peasants. Actually, this was much less than what was required and what was possible. The Act could not be implemented properly due to machinations of the landlords and also lack of sufficient political determination on the part of the government.

Several landlords gave false declarations to the officers and did not reveal the real size of their excess land. Anticipating the Act, several landlords transferred their lands in the names of their close relatives, friends, and even farm servants. There were also instances where fictitious divorces were taken in law courts to show husband and wife as separate families. In this way, even those farmers who had surplus land as per the Act, protected their lands and did not show any surplus. Some of the surplus land that was taken over by the government was not fit for cultivation. If you look at Table 1, and figures for 2005-06, you can see that most of the farmers (83%) are small and they have nearly half of all cultivated land. On the other hand you will see that the number of large landlords is 1% , and the land with them is 6%. This is partly due to the fact

that most of the big landlords actually divided their holdings into small sizes and fraudulently distributed them among relatives and servants. This was more or less the situation in most of the states in India.

One of the states in which the Land Ceiling Act was more efficiently implemented was West Bengal. The West Bengal government acted with great determination and mobilized the landless and small peasants to participate in the implementation of the ceiling laws. As a result, about 12,94,000 acres of land were taken over by the government and 10,64,000 acres were distributed to about 26,51,000 families. This shows that political will can make these measures very effective and really enable the poor to get access to land resources.

- Why did the Land Ceiling Act become necessary?
- Some people think that it should have been implemented in 1950 while others feel that such a measure would have caused a lot of opposition. Discuss the two views in the class and decide which view you agree with.
- Compare the implementation of Land Ceiling Act in West Bengal and in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh and discuss how the Act could be effectively implemented.

Keywords

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Land Ceiling | 2. Jagirdari System | 3. <i>Firman</i> | 4. Tenancy Act |
| 5. <i>Bhoodan</i> movement | 6. <i>Sarf - e-khas</i> | 7. Land holding | |
| 8. <i>Begar/ Vetti</i> | 9. Compensation | | |

Improve your learning

1. When laws are passed in the Assembly, there is much discussion on it from different points of view. What would have been the different points of view regarding the Land Reform Act in 1950s? Which point of view would have been stronger?
2. What would have been the points of view in 1970s when the Land Ceiling Acts were passed?
3. Do you think the peasant women gained from these reforms in any way? Give your reasons.
4. Is vetti prevalent still in your region? If it is there, prepare a report?
5. Imagine that you are a tenant who got ownership over land when the Land Reform Act was implemented. Write down your feelings.
6. Imagine that you are a landlord at the time of the Land Reform Act. Describe your feelings and actions at that time.
7. Many people feel that the land reform actually harmed a large number of tenants-at-will. Do you agree with this view? Give reasons.
8. Though the governments made effective laws, why has the land Ceiling Act not been implemented effectively?
9. Locate Pochampally village in Nalgonda district in Telangana map.
10. Read the first paragraph under the heading 'Rural Poverty at the time of Independence' and answer the following: Have the conditions improved now? In what way?



Project:

Form groups of five students each. Discuss the experiences of elders of your area about the land ceiling. Find out whether the issue happened in that village as mentioned in the chapter. Prepare a report and submit in the class.

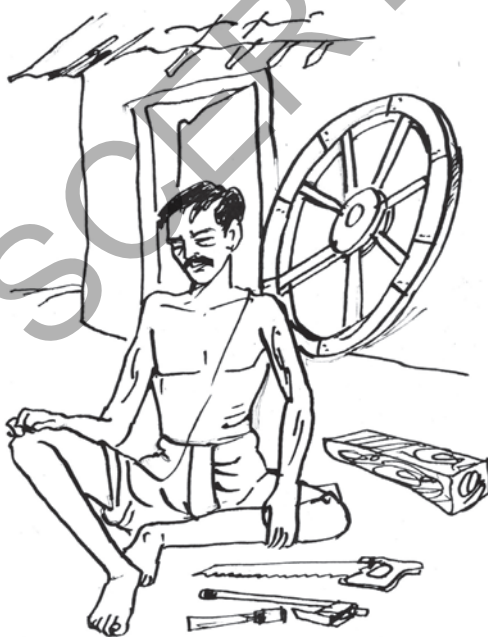


Understanding Poverty

Distress in rural areas

Ramachari worked as a carpenter in a village in Nalgonda district. He used to make tools and implements for the farmers in the village. He had no land or cattle. Though Ramachari was not a farmer, his well-being depended on the farming activities of his village.

Till a few years back, Ramachari would get around 40 clients, most of them farmers. They paid for his services with paddy. Each gave him 70 kilograms a year. Of the 2800 kg he got this way, he kept what his family needed and sold the rest in the market. He could get around Rs.375 for 70 kg of paddy. This was some years ago. After retaining what his family required, he could make Rs. 8000 in a year. With that, he looked for the family.



Trouble started when agricultural operations began to change. The entry of 12 tractors in the village reduced his work opportunity. Large and medium farmers were hiring tractors and there was less use of bullocks, as you would have read in an earlier chapter. However, that was not all. For many small farmers in the village, farming was getting more and more difficult. The canal had dried up, and there was no water for irrigation. To dig borewells and buy seeds, fertilisers and pesticides, farmers had to take loans at high costs. Repayment was difficult, more so, when the crops failed. In Ramachari's village, the villagers lost over 30 bullocks in distress sales. That meant less work for Ramachari who made various items linked with their use. There was no demand for Ramachari's implements as the farmers were not replacing their tools. The number of clients came down from 40 to 3 or 4 per year.

As the work in the village dwindled, Aruna, Ramachari's wife, started working in a chappal company in Hyderabad. "There was no choice," she says. "I had never been a migrant worker before. But there were no chances of finding work here." So, she migrates for one month at a time, leaving their three children with her husband. More than 250 workers migrated out of the village looking for work leaving the elderly and the young children behind.

While Aruna went to work in the city, the family would remain hungry many times. At times, Ramachari had to borrow from the neighbours even to buy some broken rice. Ramachari would often fall ill and keep poor health. He was not able to work in the same capacity as before.

- In what way was Ramachari's livelihood related to agriculture in the village?
- Do you think the hardships that the family faces were because of:
(a) Ramachari's lack of awareness and effort?
OR
b) the livelihood situation in the village?
- What do you think can be done so that Ramachari and his family get two square meals a day?
- How would you describe the exchange between Ramachari and the farmers in the village?
- How many kilograms of paddy would Ramachari retain for the family in normal years?
- Can we consider Rs. 8000 a year sufficient to cover the family's expenses (other than foodgrains)?

Chandraiah is a cart-puller. His family lives in the village while he works in the city market and lives in the city slums. At times, he earns Rs.100 and on some days, he doesn't earn more than Rs.40, depending on the number of trips he makes with his cart. During the day,

Chandraiah eats from one of the carts in the market selling *roti and dal*. Since he wants to save money to send to his family, he usually eats less than what would be adequate for the heavy manual work that he does. Towards the evening, he is very tired. All the cart-pullers who stay in the slums pool in money and take turns to cook the evening meal. Living and working for twenty years in this manner, without adequate nutrition, has sapped Chandraiah's energy and he looks much older than his age.

- Discuss what is common about Chandraiah's and Ramachari's lives.



Fig 17.1: Discuss the different living standards in the above urban picture

Poverty as Chronic Hunger

Situation of chronic hunger is widespread. Numerous people like Ramachari and Chandraiah across Indian villages and cities cannot afford enough food every day to be healthy and lead an active life. They may not always appear to be in the desperate situation that we find with homeless or old people living on the streets. These people may look normal to us but they do experience hunger and fatigue. They do not get sufficient food to eat. They are eating less than what they should. If this situation continues for a long time, it is called chronic or persistent hunger. They are usually tired, feel weak and often fall ill.

We need energy to move muscles, to walk, talk and do our routine work. We get this energy from the food we eat. This energy is measured in kilocalories (kcal). For example, one tea spoon of sugar gives us 40 kcal, one tea spoon of oil gives us 90 kcal. If you look at any packaged food, it usually indicates the total calories that one would get from it.

The national calorie standard was established as 2,400 and 2,100 kcal per day for rural and urban areas respectively. On an average, a person requires food that would provide 2100 kcal per day as a minimum energy intake to stay healthy. In rural areas, where manual work is more intense, the calorie intake requirement is higher at 2400 kcal per day.

Can you imagine that 80 percent of people in rural areas in India consume food that is way below the calorie standard? That is 4 out of 5 persons have food that is deficient in calories. Deficiency in

calories is not limited to people in the villages alone. In the urban areas too, 3 out of every 5 persons have food that is deficient in calories.

What is even more disturbing is that over the years, the calorie consumption of the poorest has been declining. When compared to the 1980s, while our country as a whole seems to have become more prosperous and we have many more goods and services than were available earlier. But among the poorest, hunger has increased. They actually consume less calories today than say 25 years back!

- What is the average calorie intake of persons in the top quarter in the country?
- By what percentage does the calorie intake of persons in the bottom quarter fall short of the daily calorie standard?
- Why do you think is the calorie intake of the people so low?

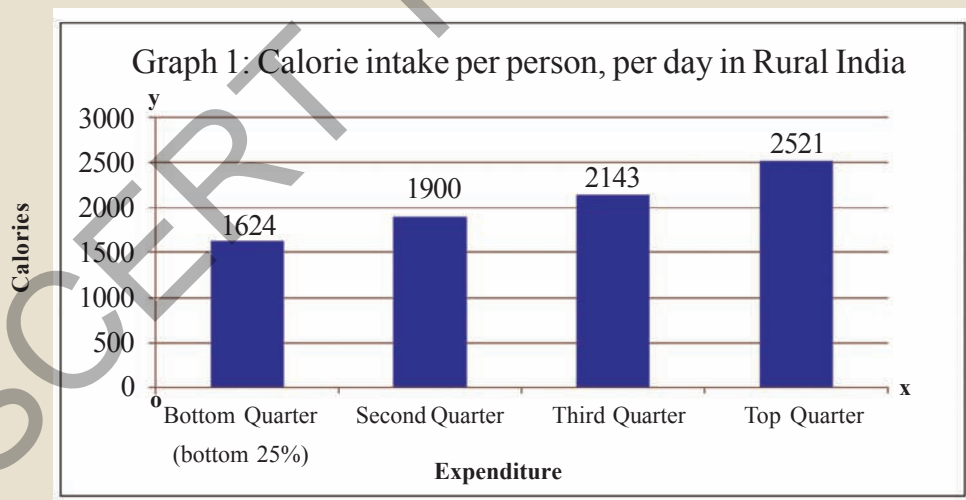
Hunger is not just painful to bear, it is also destructive. Chronic hunger and calorie deficiency is related to undernourishment. People who are chronically hungry do not have access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food and therefore are undernourished. Their undernourishment makes it hard to study, work or otherwise perform physical activities. Undernourished children do not grow as quickly as healthy children. Mentally, they may develop more slowly. Constant hunger weakens the immune system and makes them more vulnerable to diseases and infections. Mothers living in constant hunger often give birth to underweight and weak babies.

Food Inequality

Like scientists do experiments in the laboratories and generate data, for social sciences, surveys are a valuable source of data and constitute evidence for analysis. National Sample Survey is one such survey conducted by the government of India to know about the economic and social conditions of the people. Surveyors interview a large number of households across the country and compile this information on various items. This data is then used by researchers to understand what is happening to employment, spending capacity of people, schooling, health, access to drinking water etc. This data is particularly useful to know whether the government policies are moving in the right direction or not.

Graph 1 on calorie intake was drawn using information collected during National Sample Survey done in 2004. Researchers tried to look at the calorie intake per person and found that the calorie intake differs widely across the poor and the rich. People with very low income can spend very little (the poorest), and consume 1624 kcal on an average. As the incomes and spending capacity increases, the calorie intake rises. The calorie intake of the poorest continues to be much less than the calorie intake of the top quarter of the population, despite the poor needing more calories because of harder manual work.

For a very large percentage of people, their daily food intake doesn't meet the calorie requirement. All the people whose food/calorie intake falls below the calorie standard can be considered as poor.



Note: Expenditure here means spending on household items like food, clothing, footwear, education, medical care, fuel and lighting, house rent etc. In 2004, every person in the bottom quarter could spend less than Rs. 340 per month per person, i.e. even less than Rs. 12 a day on these essential items of living! Those in the second quarter were spending a little more and so on. As one goes further on the x-axis, the spending rises.

Activity

- One way to find out if we are properly nourished is to calculate what Nutrition Scientists call Body Mass Index (BMI). This is easy to calculate. Let each student in the class find out his/her weight and height. Take the weight of the student in kgs. Then take the height by drawing up a scale on the wall and measuring accurately with the head straight. Convert the height recorded in centimeters into meters. Divide the weight in kgs by the square of the height. The number you get is called BMI. Then look at the BMI for age table given in the last pages of the book. For example, if the girl student is 14 years and 8 months age, and the BMI is 15.2, then she is undernourished. Similarly, if the BMI of a boy aged 15 years and 6 months is 28, then he is overweight. Discuss the life situation, food and exercise habits of students in general without making any one feel ashamed in the class.



Fig 17.2: Measuring the height

$$\text{BMI} = \text{Body weight (in kgs)} \div \text{height} \times \text{height (in metres)}$$

Why Poverty? How can it be eliminated?

The most important contributor to poverty, as you would have guessed by now, is the lack of regular employment.

In the absence of employment opportunities, people lack the purchasing power (income) to fulfil their basic needs. Chronic hunger is one of the fallouts of this lack of minimum purchasing power.

Agriculture - Source of Livelihood

More than 50 percent of the people in India still depend upon agricultural activities for their livelihood. However,

agriculture contributes only 1/6th of the total income of the country. Limited employment opportunities in manufacturing and services have forced people to continue to depend upon agriculture. Most of them are small farmers and agricultural labourers. Besides, there are persons whose occupations are allied to agriculture like the carpenter Ramachari. Success of such non-farm workers like potters, leather workers, small-processing units workers in the village also depends on the state of agriculture. We saw how Ramachari and his family suffered when agriculture stagnated in the village. There

was no demand for tools and implements that Ramachari could make. Ramachari had little work and hardly any income. Like other poor households, the family possessed no land or cattle. The village could provide no opportunities for work as agricultural labourer in the fields in that year. Neither was there any non-farm work.

Since the well-being and livelihood of so many people is dependent on agriculture, it is very important that agriculture grows well. When agriculture prospers, it would normally generate employment and income for people in the rural areas. Also, when agricultural production is abundant, prices of food items are likely to be more affordable for people than they would otherwise be.

At present, there are a variety of problems plaguing agriculture. You have read in the Chapter Agriculture in Our Times in Class VI about how the small farmers suffer as a result of lack of water for irrigation, lack of loans at reasonable interest rates and lack of reliable seeds and fertilisers for cropping. (You might want to re-read and recall the case-studies of small farmers Ravi and Ramu in Venkatapuram.) The high costs of inputs, low yields and frequent crop failure have led to acute farmer distress. Most small farmers are also forced to work as agricultural labourers in order to make the ends meet. In fact, four out of five farmers in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are like Ravi and Ramu.

- Here are a few steps that the government must undertake to support agricultural growth and those dependent on agriculture. Can you

write a few lines on each? Why is it important? You could give examples from your own context.

1. Timely provision of seeds, fertilisers, pesticides by the government so that the farmer does not have to depend on middlemen/ traders. The government must ensure that these products are of standard quality and reasonably priced.
2. Small irrigation projects
3. Timely availability of bank loans at reasonable interest rate
4. Outlets or marketing the crops at a fair price for producers
5. Development of roads and transport system in the countryside
6. Assistance to farmers in case of crop failure

Other Livelihood Options

In Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, nearly two-fifths of all rural families are mainly agricultural labourers. These families are mostly landless and others cultivate very little land. The opportunities for work are very limited. The number of days of agricultural work that labourers can manage to get in a normal year varies from 120 to 180 days. There are long stretches of lean season when practically no work is available on the fields.

In years when the crops fail due to droughts, floods, pest attack or any other calamity, the number of days of agricultural work are further reduced. These are the times when large-scale migrations happen and acute distress and hunger strikes the countryside. What can be done to ensure that their livelihoods are protected in such circumstances?

The Right to Work states that everyone should be given the opportunity to work for a basic living. The Indian Constitution

refers to the right to work under the “directive principles of state policy”. Article 41 stresses that “the state, shall

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Gurantee Act (MNREGA)

Baleshwar Mahto, a resident of Bihar’s Araria district goes to Punjab every year in search of work to sustain his family. He had planned to go there this June as well. However, he got MNREGA employment in his own village, so he decided to stay back.

A large number of people from Araria are forced to look for work in Punjab, Delhi and Gujarat as employment is hard to find locally. What is available is very poorly paid, with wages varying from Rs.40 to Rs.60 a day during the harvest season. Otherwise, even less (Rs.25 to Rs.50 a day). Baleshwar takes up such employment only when he is forced to stay back in his village, for instance, owing to illness in the family.

However, in the cities, the migrant workers live in deplorable conditions, with no access to basic facilities such as shelter, sanitation or even safe drinking water. Women and children who are left behind face insecurity, and family relations often suffer.

MNREGA is a triple bonus for Baleshwar: apart from providing local employment, it enables him to combine this work with tending his own fields and spending more time with his family.

MNREGA lays down that any adult member willing to do unskilled manual work and who is looking for work must be given work by the government. A rural household can demand at least one hundred days of employment in a year for which they would be paid not below the minimum wages. The following are some sample activities taken up under MNREGA.

- ❖ *water conservation and water harvesting*
- ❖ *drought proofing (including afforestation and tree plantation)*
- ❖ *provisions of irrigation facility to land owned by households belonging to the SCs and STs*
- ❖ *renovation of traditional water bodies including desilting of tanks*
- With the help of your teacher, find out what the above works (given in italics) mean.
- Plan a visit to one of the sites in your village/ town where you can see public works in progress. Record your conversations.
- Why do you think the MNREGA places priority on provision of irrigation facility to land owned by households belonging to the SCs and STs?
- Why MNREGA is treated as a major breakthrough towards protection of rural livelihoods?

within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing right to work...” However, people have never being able to exercise these rights. The government could start public works and workers would be employed. But people generally could not demand work when they required or somewhere close to their homes.

After years of struggle by people’s groups, the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (MNREGA) was passed. It was a major breakthrough towards the protection of livelihoods in rural areas.

A Social Audit Report

The findings of the social audit team in Ishapalle, Nizamabad district in Telangana in Feb. 2009 show:

- payments were made correctly,
- the field assistant performed his function well,
- there were no contractors at the worksite,
- but the work quality is poor.

Besides, it found that :

Plantation and ploughing work has been done only in 5.6 acres, whereas the measurement sheet of this work shows that ploughing and plantation work has been done in 15 acres. So, money has been paid for the excess of 9.4 acres. Old Technical Assistant Rammohan is responsible for this issue.

As per the records, Ramadevi of Sindiket Nagar had to be paid Rs.400 for 6 days regarding Pebble Bunding work . But she has not been paid the amount.

You can access the information of social audit for your village at the website for The Society for Social Audit, Accountability and Transparency, Department of Rural Development, Government of Telangana www.socialaudit.telangana.gov.in

Access to Affordable Food

“From his granary, the king should set apart one half for the people in the countryside in times of distress, and use the other half and he should replace old stock for new.”

-Arthashastra (2.15.22-23)

by Kautilya, 4th Century B.C.

Alongside employment, the government has to ensure that everyone has access to affordable food. Employment and income cannot do much if the prices of essential items are very high. The major way in which the government tries to ensure that the essential items are affordable is to sell foodgrains through the ration shops at a “fair price”. The government buys foodgrains from farmers and supplies these to the ration shops. Ration shops keep stocks of foodgrains (and other essential items like sugar, pulses, kerosene oil for cooking) and these items are then sold to the people. Prices at the ration shops are meant to be lower than the prices in the market.

The system of ration shops distributing foodgrains and other essential items is known as the **Public Distribution System** (or **PDS** in short). **PDS** has existed in India right from the time of independence and has played a crucial role in making food to

Social Audit in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh

An often repeated complaint of government employment programmes has been about corruption. The benefits of the schemes, it is said, go to those who wield power and the contractors, whereas the poor receive much less than what is officially claimed. To reduce corruption, MNREGA introduced compulsory social audits.

Social audit is a process by which the community verifies (audits) the program and its implementation. It tries to find out whether the benefits of the project/activities reach the people for whom it is meant. The erstwhile Andhra Pradesh experience in this regard has been particularly noteworthy. The government has taken an active role in supporting this initiative from civil society.



1. A few energetic literate youth who usually belong to the families of MNREGA workers are trained in social audit processes.



2. These youth form teams go from door-to-door to verify muster rolls, check out worksites, record written statements of workers and conduct a series of meetings in each village.



3. Next, a massive public meeting is organized at the Mandal headquarters attended by people from every village, their elected representatives, the media, the MNREGA functionaries concerned, and senior government officers.



4. At this meeting, village-wise social audit findings are read out, workers testify and the officials concerned respond to the issues raised by giving an explanation about their actions under complaint.



5. Officials are also required to specify the nature of remedial action they will take and the time limit.
6. In the follow-up, social audit teams go back to their villages every 15 days after the Mandal public meeting to ensure that the decisions taken are actually enforced.

Large amounts of misappropriated funds have been recovered through social audits. On many occasions, errant officials have “voluntarily” returned money to workers at the Mandal public meeting itself. Action has been initiated against corrupt officials. In the process the awareness about the detailed provisions of MNREGA rose dramatically among labour.

available to everyone, both in the rural and urban areas. There were, of course, problems of functioning. In some places, the ration shops would not open regularly or on time. The foodgrain stocks would be adulterated with the intention that no one buys it. Ration shop owners would be found selling foodgrains to other shops rather than to the public. Many people including the poor would not receive ration. Performance of ration shops was not so good as expected in the poorest states and the poorest regions of India.

- Do you think that cash transfer scheme is an alternative to the PDS?

The problems of PDS require better implementation. Since PDS was working well in the Southern states of Kerala, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, it would certainly be possible to improve, if only everyone would try.

However, the Indian government had other plans. Around the year 1997, it decided that ration shops should cater mainly to the poor. From here on, the poor would be served by the ration shops, while the rest would buy foodgrains mainly from the market at a higher price.

To implement this new policy on the PDS, the government needed to know who the poor are. Thus, the panchayats in the villages were asked to conduct surveys called BPL (Below Poverty Line) surveys. These surveys take into account the family's income, means of livelihood, number of meals per day, clothing, housing, migration, debt etc. to decide whether the household is a poor household (BPL household).

Based on the survey results, three types of cards were issued.

The poorest families are issued Antyodaya cards. Next, whose situation is slightly better but still can be considered poor are issued BPL (White) cards. The remaining families are issued APL (Pink) cards.

Quantities and prices of ration given to each cardholder are different. For example, the Antyodaya cardholders are entitled to get 35 kgs of food grains (rice and wheat) per month per family. The BPL cardholders in Telangana can receive per month 6 kgs of food grains per head. The Annapurna Scheme card holders who are the poorest of the poor (Indigent senior citizens) get 10 kgs of rice free of cost.

- Do you think the poor will be served better now with new policy? Provide reasons in favour of your answer.
- Could you suggest some more ways of improving the PDS?

The Struggle towards “The Right to Life”

The new policy on PDS has been in the center of much debate. We know that about 4 out of 5 people in the rural areas consume less than the minimum required calories. And yet, not even 3 out of 10 families in the rural areas in India possessed BPL and Antyodaya cards, as per a recent National Sample Survey report. Thus, a large number of people who earlier benefited from the PDS were no longer covered by it. Many families of landless labourers did not have



Fig 17.3: Children eating mid day meal in school

BPL cards. Whereas, there were some reports of well-off families with BPL cards.

There are other contradictions too in the new PDS (Public Distribution System) Policy. The government of India often has huge piles of food stocks (i.e. foodgrains that it bought from farmers). There have been times when foodgrains rot in godowns and are eaten by rats. Since the ration shops sell foodgrains at a fair price only to BPL, Antyodaya and Annapurna card holders, there are unsold stocks at the ration shop too. And yet, there is a feeling that we are not able to provide food to all.

This is a clear violation of the fundamental right - the Right to Life enshrined in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. People have asked: how can life be possible without food? Why can't the government take responsibility? Why can't the government supply foodgrains for

free rather than have it rot? Is this a just situation? Over a period of time, a public campaign for Right to Food has built up. People have taken legal action. Civil rights groups have filed petitions in the Supreme Court against the government for violation of the Right to Life, of which the Right to Food is a part. They have sought that foodgrains at a fair price should be available for all families. Each family should be entitled to more foodgrains than they are getting presently.

Supreme Court rulings and continuous pressures from ordinary people have begun to make small but crucial changes in the workings of a number of programmes, including the PDS. But still much more needs to change.

- Ration shops are also called fair price shops. Can you guess why?

In this chapter, we have read about the Right to Work and Right to Food in the context of widespread persistence of hunger in India. Both the Right to Work and Right to Food are absolutely essential to escape from hunger and poverty. Escape from poverty and a life of dignity, however, means much more. It includes health and education, shelter and clothing, water and sanitation, pollution free air, energy and infrastructure, security, non-discrimination, democratic participation etc. These economic and social rights are again part of the Right to Life. It is this expanded understanding that the society has to work towards.

Keywords

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Undernourishment | 2. Agricultural growth | 3. Directive Principles |
| 4. Public works | 5. Social audit | 6. Below Poverty Line |
| 7. Public Distribution System | | |

Improve your learning

- Which of the following statement/ statements in the context of poverty as chronic hunger is true
 - having food only once a day
 - having food below the required calorie
 - person driving the harvester and person ploughing the field require same calorie of food
 - person ploughing the field requires more calorie than shop owner
 - hunger also affects the person's immune system
- Identify the major reasons for poverty as described in the chapter.
- What have been the major features of programmes like MNREGA and PDS? Which aspects of poverty do they try to address? Why are ration shops necessary?
- Read the first two paragraphs under the title "The Struggle towards 'the Right to Life'" on page 201 and 202 and comment on them.
- Write a letter to your District Collector on the functioning of P.D.S. programme in your village.



Project:

Visit the ration shop in your neighbourhood and look for the following:

- How is the timing of the ration shop convenient for agricultural and casual wage labourers?
- What are the items sold at the ration shop?
- Do you find the system of different card-holders?
- Can you compare the prices of rice and sugar from the ration shop (for families below poverty line) with the prices at any other grocery store? [Important: Ask for the ordinary variety rates at the grocery shop.]
- What do people think about the need for PDS?



Rights Approach to Development

The idea of Human Rights

Like the idea of democracy, the idea of 'Human Rights' has gained ground all over the world during the last 300 years. It is held that all human beings, irrespective of who they are – their caste, gender, religion, country etc. whether they are law abiding or criminals, have certain basic rights which cannot be denied to them. Two of these rights are very important in the context of poverty – the right to dignified life and the right to liberty and freedom. The right to life means that all human beings have a right to live in such a way that their human dignity is not compromised. The right to liberty and freedom means that they can do, believe and speak out what they want without fear (without causing loss of freedom for others) and live the life of their choice.



Fig 18.1: "The Monsoon Failed this Year"

Pavan is a boy of 13 years and lives with his mother. He lives in a temple town visited by a large number of pilgrims. Pavan stands outside the temple gate and begs in front of pilgrims for food by falling at their feet. Sometime, some of them give him stale left over food from their tiffin boxes. Sometimes, he carries heavy bags for them and is paid a small amount.

His mother works in a house as domestic help. She works for almost twelve hours everyday all through the month. She is constantly ordered about by her employers including young children. She is given left over food after everyone else has eaten. She is not allowed to sit before the employers, and has to always talk to them meekly. She is often insulted for some minor errors or delays and has to fight back her tears and anger lest she be thrown out of job.

- In the above example, do you think Pavan and his mother are able to live with dignity?
- What would give them a life with dignity?
- Are Pavan and his mother free to do what they want?
- Who is to blame for this kind of a life for Pavan and his mother? Are they responsible for their own condition?
- Whose duty is it to ensure that Pavan and his mother are able to live a life of dignity and freedom?

In the last chapter, we saw some aspects of poverty. It is not merely going hungry; it means lack of resources like land or education to make a living; it means lack of gainful employment; it means lack of access to some basic needs of life like health services, education, food, etc; it means lack of voice to be heard and ability to influence the formulation of policies or implementation of programmes by the government.

How can people rise above the poverty? How can they get the resources and the facilities needed to rise above poverty?

This can happen only when the government acts on their behalf. It is often believed that spending on the welfare of the poor is a charity and the resources for this is a burden for the government. However, when we recognise that it is the fundamental right of all people, it becomes the primary duty of the government to ensure these rights. Further, the resources spent on this will be seen not as a waste or as charity, but as necessary investment for the future of the country. So, it is important to pass laws which sanction the economic and welfare rights of all people.

When the United Nations was formed in 1945, all countries agreed that human rights relating to freedom and economic development are fundamental rights of all human beings. Many countries guarantee rights relating to freedom but not to economic wellbeing like employment, fair wages and right to access to education, health services, housing and food. In 1993 once again all countries agreed that both kinds of rights are essential.

What do we mean? When we say that people have a right to food, education, health, housing, employment, we mean that it is the duty of the government to provide these for all its people. The governments should be legally bound to ensure these to all its citizens and if they are not ensured then the people can go to court to enforce their rights. It also means that people like Pavan don't have to look at getting their food and other requirements as charity given by the well to do people, but as their fundamental right. They can demand food, education, housing, medical treatment, etc. as their rights.

This will only be possible if the government makes laws in accordance with these ideas. In the last few years, the government of India has also made many such laws. These laws relate to right to information, employment and school education. A law to ensure food security for all is also under preparation. Let us read about some of these laws in greater detail.

Need for Right to Information to fight corruption

The government system is a very large and complex system. It is difficult to ensure that the policies and programmes are implemented properly. Programmes which are undertaken to benefit the poor and remove poverty often do not reach the needy and the funds get diverted. A major reason for this is corruption. One major reason why corruption thrives is that the common people do not have proper information about the programmes and how they are being implemented.

The people had no way to verify how the money was spent by government or local body institutions. It was not possible to know how a building contract was allotted to a contractor by a municipality or panchayat, or what quality of bricks and cement were used, or how many days of labour was spent in the work. This information was not shared with the people. Yet in a democracy, it is the people's money that is used for their welfare and therefore, people have the right to know how it is being used. Earlier, it was assumed that the elected representatives alone could ask about this information in the legislative houses and check the corruption.

- Discuss how the information regarding a road construction or building of houses is maintained by contractors.
- Why do you think checking this information can help in improving accountability?

How the movement began

A group of people in Rajasthan organised themselves under the banner of *Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan* (MKSS) and demanded information. There was no legal provision to get the details of information as mentioned in the above paragraph from government to the people. Initially, these documents were collected with the help of officials. People evaluated these documents through public meetings.

Soon officials began to resist the idea of disclosing the information. This led to a people's movement, with rallies and marches for the next three years. People demanded that the information was crucial to their own welfare. They argued that:

- Information is crucial to the human development, and democratic rights. People can participate in government and ensure just development only if they have sufficient information in the form of official documents.
- Information will make governments more accountable in their functioning. It is possible to monitor the functioning and check possibility of corrupt practices. Information is crucial to the survival of the poor.
- In a situation where information has to be made public, arbitrary decisions by the elected representatives or the officials can be controlled.

After many years of struggle, a law, making it compulsory to give official information, was made in the state of Rajasthan in 1995. During the following years, many other states also adopted similar laws. And at the national level, The Right to Information Act (RTI) was passed by the Parliament in 2005. Today, the Right to Information is recognised within the Constitution under two Fundamental Rights as Freedom of Expression and Right to Life.

PROVISIONS UNDER RTI

Let us read about certain provisions given under RTI and see how it empowers the people. Law prescribes that any

JAN SUNVAYI : MKSS used to conduct meetings, called '*jan sunvayi*' (or people's hearings). It is true that many people cannot read the government documents themselves. But every person in a village would like to know what the documents say. Thus, these were read out and explained. A muster roll would give names of people for whom wages were paid for making a hand-pump. The villagers can identify if the people mentioned in the muster roll were present during those days or were migrants, or if they were paid the amount stated in the document. This would bring out the corrupt in practices. Through these events people brought in necessary action. Officials were also given opportunity to defend and talk about the details given in the documents. The district administration and panchayat officials also participated in these meetings. When corruption was identified, criminal cases were registered against the concerned persons.



Fig 18.2: Women participants at MKSS meeting

individual can get documents like government orders, reports, advices, log books, rules and regulation, attendance list, letters, etc. The person who wishes to get this information may have to pay a small amount that will meet the expenses like making a copy of the document. But if the person who is asking for the information

is below poverty line then he or she need not pay this amount.

Law also prescribes that in every government office there should be an officer incharge to respond to these questions. He or she is known as Information Officer. Above the Information Officer, there is another individual

appellate authority who is expected to make sure that due action is taken. Further, at the State and Central government level, there should be independent Information Commissions.

Law also prescribes how much time each department may take to provide the information requested. This ensures that departments don't withhold the information for a very long period. In case the information is not provided in the prescribed time, the person can complain to the concerned higher officer and then register cases at the State or Central Information Commissions.

(Fill with the concerned names and phone numbers related to your school)

RIGHT TO INFORMATION ACT - 2005.				
S.No.	INFORMATION OFFICER	NAME	DESIGNATION	PHONE NO
1	Public INFORMATION OFFICER		Head Master	
2	Asst. Public INFORMATION OFFICER		School First Asst.	
3	First Appellate Authority		D.E.O.	

Fig 18.3: Information as per the Right To Information Act, 2005

- With the help of your teacher, make a table of the orders, reports, advices, log books etc. that he or she received from the education department during the last one year. What documents does the school maintain to report to the education department? How is the record for mid-day meal kept?
- Why do you think is the word 'independent' important in the context of State Information Commission?
- Can you think of the questions you would want to ask the information officer in the Health department? (If necessary, read Chapter 9 again and formulate your questions.)

Under the RTI Act, it is also compulsory for every government office to declare certain information in public even without being asked by the people. You can identify them on the walls of these office buildings. Or if you have access to internet you will find that most government department websites also provide the information about basic aspects of their institutions under RTI column. Visit any of these government offices directly or their websites and note them down.

Rights Approach to improve the living conditions

In the previous chapter, we studied about Right to Food and Right to Employment. There has been a people's struggle to achieve them. Those who argue for the rights perspective point out that these rights help people to live with dignity. It is not just a question of governments being kind to the poor by providing them with opportunities of labour and providing access to food at reasonable rates so that their living conditions can be

improved. It also enhances the health and welfare of the entire society. Yet, it is true, as in the case of social audit of MNREGA you read about in the previous chapter, that citizens need to be active in monitoring the performance of the government system regularly, just as the elected representatives do.

Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009

You have read about the freedom movement and about the moderates like Gopala Krishna Gokhale. Gokhale in 1911 demanded from the British colonial government that they make a law for free and compulsory education for all children of the country. Of course, the British government did not agree. Unfortunately, such a law was not passed even after the attainment of freedom. Finally, in 2002, the Parliament recognised education as a fundamental right. The 86th Amendment of the Constitution that made education a fundamental right was passed in the year 2002. The 86th Amendment says that “the state shall provide free and compulsory

Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009

The RTE Act is meant for providing free and Compulsory Education to all Children in the age group of 6 – 14 years and came into force from 1st April 2010.

Important provisions of RTE Act

- Ensure availability of schools within the reach of the children.
- Improve School infrastructure facilities.
- Enroll children in the class appropriate to his / her age.
- Children have a right to receive special training in order to be at par with other children.
- Providing appropriate facilities for the education of children with special needs on par with other children.
- No child shall be liable to pay any kind of fee or charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing the elementary education. No test for admitting the children in schools.
- No removal of name and repetition of the child in the same class.
- No child admitted in a school shall be held back in any class or expelled from school till the completion of elementary education.
- No child shall be subjected to physical punishment or mental harassment.
- Admission shall not be denied or delayed on the ground that the transfer and other certificates have not been provided on time.
- Eligible candidates alone shall be appointed as teachers.
- The teaching learning process and evaluation procedures shall promote achievement of appropriate competencies.
- No board examinations shall be conducted to the children till the completion of elementary education.
- Children can continue in the schools even after 14 years for the completion of elementary education.
- No discrimination and related practices towards children belonging to backward and marginalized communities.
- The curriculum and evaluation procedures must be in conformity with the values enshrined in the constitution and make the child free of fear and anxiety and help the child to express views freely.

education to all children between the ages 6 and 14 through a law that it may determine.” This law was finally passed in 2009 and is called the ‘Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009.’

RTE law declares that all children of the age of 6 to 14 years have the right to free education and the state has to ensure the building of sufficient schools in all the neighbourhoods, appoint properly qualified teachers and make all necessary provisions

for quality education. It also declares that the education should ensure all round development of the children, learning through activities, discovery and exploration in a child friendly manner. It also states that children should be taught in their mother tongue and they should be free of fear, trauma and anxiety and be able to express their views freely.

In case free neighbourhood schools are not available, in case sufficient number of teachers are not available in the schools, or sufficient teaching learning materials are not available, or if a child is beaten or terrorised, or forced to study in unfriendly manner, such children can complain to the courts against the authorities.

- Do you think your school confirms to these norms?
- Find out the person you can complain to about the functioning of your school when necessary.

Keywords

1. Human Rights

2. RTI

3. RTE

4. Liberty

Improve your learning

1. Correct the false statement:
 - a) Welfare functions of the government need to be monitored.
 - b) People need to allow the elected representatives alone to monitor the implementation of programmes.
 - c) Information officers can withhold the information for indefinite period.
 - d) By looking at various documents one can identify if the programmes are implemented without malpractices.
2. Read the paragraph under the heading 'Need for Information to Fight Corruption' and answer the following:

Observe any of the government programmes and make a report of its implementation in your area.
3. Collect a few success stories with regard to Right To Information Act (RTI) from them newspapers and read them out in your class.
4. RTE is a boon to children. Explain.
5. Do you need any more rights? Why?
6. What information would you ask your Headmaster according to Right to Information Act?
7. How can you say that the Right to Information Act helps to face the corruption?



Discussion :

Collect the newspaper clippings of the recent raids by Anti Corruption Bureau (ACB) on corrupted officers and discuss them in the class room.

Social and Religious Reform Movements



The Indians through means of social reform have been correcting the orthodoxy and updating their perceptive world throughout history. They continue to imbibe new forms of knowledge from various ideas and practices which came to India and made them part of their cultural make up and social setting.

You may recall the main aspects of the Bhakti movement you read about in Class VII? You may remember that *Bhakti* saints criticised orthodoxy among both Hindus and Muslims and pointed out the oneness of God and equality of all human beings. These ideas were further strengthened in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Christian Missionaries and Oriental Scholars

Many Christian missionaries came to India along with the European companies to preach Christianity in India. They severely criticised the existing religious practices and beliefs and tried to persuade people to adopt Christianity. At the same time, they also established many educational institutions, hospitals and charity services to serve the poor and needy. This helped in spreading many new ideas among the people.

Soon, a lively debate ensued between the missionaries and the leaders of Hinduism and Islam as each tried to defend their own religious ideas. Such debates helped people not only to understand each others ideas but also encouraged them to enquire into the original and basic tenets

of their own religions. Several European scholars studied the ancient literature of India, translated them and published them as books. Since they not only studied books of the eastern countries but, were also influenced by them therefore they were called 'Orientalists'. Now, these books are available for all to study.



William Jones



Max Mueller

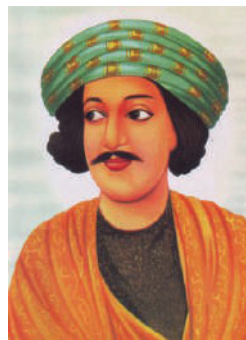
Orientalists, who translated the Sanskrit works into English

As the ancient Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Persian and Arabic books got translated into European languages; the rich and diverse cultural heritage of the country was recognized by all. This enabled the people to reinterpret their own religions better with the help of these new ideas.

The Europeans introduced printing press in India. It made the appearance of many newspapers and magazines possible. Books were also published in different Indian languages. This made books accessible to a large number of people at a very low cost. People could now carry on debates and discussions through these newspapers, magazines and books and easily reach out to a large number of people.

Brahma Samaj and the Religious Movements of Bengal

Raja Rammohan Roy was born in Bengal in 1772. He was a great scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and English language and also knew Arabic, Latin and Greek.



Raja Rammohan Roy

He also studied several religious philosophies like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Sufism. Having studied various religious books, he was convinced that there is only one God and that worshipping of idols and making sacrifices were incorrect. He was convinced that all great religions had the same common beliefs and it was incorrect to criticise the religions practiced by others. He also believed that we should accept a religious belief only if it is rational and if it is beneficial to people. He rejected the authority of priests and called upon the people to study the original books of their religions. He published his ideas in magazines and books using the new technology of printing to reach out to the maximum number of people.

In 1828, Rammohan Roy founded the *Brahma Samaj* - an assembly of all those who believed in a universal religion based on the principle of One Supreme God. After the death of Rammohan Roy in 1833, the Brahmo movement was led by Devendranath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen. They popularised their ideas by giving lectures all over India.

Keshav Sen's tour of Maharashtra led to the foundation of *Prarthana Samaj* in

Bombay in 1867. It was started by R. G. Bhandarkar, a famous scholar and M. G. Ranade with ideas similar, to *Brahma Samaj*. Sen also had a major influence upon Kandukuri Veeresalingam in Andhra who started a reform movement in South India. Veeresalingam founded *Brahma Samaj*. He concentrated all his efforts and energies on issues like widow remarriage and abolition of child marriage. He was a strong advocate of women's education which was forbidden in those days.



Kandukuri Veeresalingam

However, differences arose among the members of the *Brahma Samaj* and they broke into smaller organizations often quarrelling with each other.

Keshav Sen eventually became a disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahansa

who preached ardent devotion to goddess Kali.

Swami Vivekananda was also a disciple of Ramakrishna and he set up the *Ramakrishna Mission* with two objectives - to revive a reformed Hindu religion and to engage in social work and social service for national reconstruction.



Swami Vivekananda

He believed that Hindu religion was superior to all others.

He emphasized on the teachings of Upanishadas which were being translated and printed in large numbers. At the same time, he wanted Hindu religion to get rid of ritualism, superstitions etc. and adopt some of the positive qualities of European culture like freedom and respect for women, work ethic, technology etc. He wanted the Mission to set up hospitals, schools, orphanages and also work to bring relief in times of floods and famines. He injected modernisation into our minds through religion.

- How do you think were the early reformers influenced by European culture and Christianity?
- In what way do you think did printing help in the spread of these new ideas?

Arya Samaj in Punjab

Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) was a social reformer who rejected the orthodox ritualistic Hinduism and became a wandering sanyasi.

He studied the Vedas and was convinced that they contained the true religion and he rejected all later additions to Hindu religion like many gods and goddesses, idol and temple worship and Brahmanic priesthood and caste system.

He advocated worship of one Supreme God through simple rituals and recitation of Vedic mantras. He rejected all the other religions as false religions and wanted



Swami Dayananda
Saraswati

Hindus who had converted to other religions to return to Hinduism based on the Vedas. He set up *Arya Samaj* in 1875, to preach his ideas and also wrote a book, *Satyartha Prakash*, which was printed in large numbers and read widely by the educated class.

After his death in 1883, his followers in Punjab set up the Dayanand Anglo Vedic (DAV) School to educate children in modern subjects and at the same time, keep them in touch with their religion and culture. Some years later, there were differences within the *Arya Samaj* movement. Some people felt that they should only focus on teaching Vedic religion and not modern subjects and counter the influence of other religions. They set up Gurukul Kangri University in Haridwar.

- Compare the religious views of Rammohan Roy, Vivekananda and Dayananda and point out the similarities and differences among them.
- If you had to choose between a DAV school, Gurukul School and a government run school, which one would you prefer to go to and why?

Reform and Education among Muslims

Just as the reformist Hindus had to struggle against the orthodox practices, so too reformist Muslims had to struggle against their orthodox religious practices. The suppression of the revolt of 1857 had created a lot of bitterness between Muslims and the British. Most Maulvis were opposed to English education as they

felt that the teachings of modern science and philosophy were contrary to Islamic tenets.

However, many Muslims like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) were convinced that the bitterness between Muslims and the British must end. They believed that, in order to progress, Muslims should participate in government and get larger share in Government jobs.

This was possible only through modern education. Sir Syed tried to modernize Muslim community and propagated his ideas through his writings in a journal.



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Sir Syed started the Aligarh Movement for the spread of modern education and social reforms among the Muslims. He was in favour of women's education and the abolition of *purdah*. He wanted to interpret Islam and bridge the gap between religion, modern science and philosophy. In 1864, Sir Syed promoted a scientific society which translated many scientific works into Urdu and published them. His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental (MAO) College at Aligarh in 1875. It sought to teach English and science but in an Islamic atmosphere. In course of time, this became the most important educational institution for Indian Muslims. It later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. You may notice both the DAV and MAO institutions through teaching their respective religions updated their respective communities in knowledge suitable to the changed needs.

- You may have noticed that all the reformers tried to reinterpret the ancient religious books in order to defend their reformist ideas. Look at the examples of all the major reformers and see how they did this.
- Why do you think was there bitterness between Muslims and the British after 1857?
- Do you see any similarity between the DAV schools and the MAO college?
- Do you find any religious idea advocated by the above reformers which was not part of the *Bhakti* Movement?

Social Reforms and Women

Nowadays, most girls from middle class families go to school, and often study along with boys. On growing up, many of them go to colleges and universities and take up jobs. Women are free to pursue different kinds of careers just like men. They can travel to distant places and take up work.

According to law, if they are adults, they can marry anyone they like, from any caste and community, or not marry at all and widows can remarry too. All women, like all men, can vote and stand for elections and take part in public life. Even though women still face discrimination, they can fight against it and assert their rights.

Two hundred years ago things were very different. Most children were married off at an early age of five or six years. Both Hindu and Muslim men could marry more than one woman. In some parts of the country, upper caste women were burnt

along with the bodies of their dead husbands. This was called '*sati*'. The life of a widow who did not commit *sati* was one of hardship and ill treatment because people felt that such women were inauspicious and unprotected. They had to wear white saris and shave off their heads and not take part in auspicious activities. Women's right to property was also restricted. Besides, most women had virtually no access to education. In many parts of the country, people believed that if a woman was educated, she would not be stayed under the control of her husband or in-laws.

However, this was not the same for all the communities. Such treatment was more common in upper castes and powerful communities as compared to tribal societies and labouring communities.

Minimum Age of Marriage

In 1846, a law was passed to disallow marriage of girls below ten years. In 1891, this was raised to 12 years. In 1929, through the Sharada Act, the minimum age was raised to 14 years. Finally, the limit was raised to 18 years for girls and 21 years for boys in 1978.

Reformers like Rammohan Roy wrote about the way women were forced to bear the burden of domestic work, confined to the home and the kitchen, and not allowed to move out and get educated. He began a campaign against the practice of *sati* and tried to show that the practice of widow burning had no sanction in ancient texts. By the early nineteenth century, many British officials had also begun to criticise Indian traditions and customs. They were willing to listen to Rammohan and *sati* was officially banned in 1829. Another Bengali

reformer, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar fought for remarriage of widows, especially child widows. Finally, a law was passed allowing widow remarriage in 1855. Vidyasagar also fought against child marriage and the practice of men marrying many girls (polygamy). He was deeply involved in the movement for education of girls and despite severe opposition helped setting up schools for girls.

An observer described the first widow remarriage celebrated in Calcutta in 1856.

"I shall never forget the day. When Vidyasagar came with his friend, the bridegroom... the crowd of spectators was so great that there was not an inch of space... After the ceremony, it became the subject of discussion everywhere; in the bazaars and in the shops, in the streets, in the public squares, in students' hostels, in drawing rooms, and in distant village homes where even women earnestly discussed it among themselves."

Write a dialogue between supporters and opposers of widow remarriage.

- Why do you think was it important to get the government to pass laws for social reform?

Reform Movements in Nizam's Dominions

Nizam Dominions despite being a princely state under the British paramountcy was influenced by the ongoing reform movements in the country. Social reformers like Mohib Hussain started a journal Mullim-e-Niswan for writing on women's issues. He advocated education

for women and took stand against the pardah system. He was concerned about pardah that was confined to royal household earlier was spreading to Muslims of lower orders. His couplets were full of reformist fervor and criticism of traditions.

“ Our nation is most conservative and adamant in nature. It adheres to the oldest customs and habits ”.

Further advocated Sufi tradition of unity.

“ O Mohib, Those people, who work for disunity between Hindus and Muslims.

Are more dangerous than the deadly snakes ”.

You would have noticed in the above description that most of the people who fought for the rights of women were men. At that time, very few women were educated and were not in a position to participate in public activities. We shall now read about some outstanding courageous women who fought for the rights of women in such conditions.

Women Reformers

Savitribai Jyotirao Phule (1831–1897)

Savitribai Phule, along with her husband Jyotiba Phule, played an important role in improving women's conditions in Maharashtra.

Jyotiba set up a school for girls of 'untouchable' castes in 1848 in Pune. He trained Savitribai to become the first woman teacher.



Savitribai Phule

Despite facing severe opposition for educating lower caste girls, Savitribai continued to teach. After the death of Jyotirao Phule, Savitribai took over the responsibility of *Satya Shodhak Samaj*. She presided over meetings and guided workers. Savitribai worked relentlessly for the victims of plague, and organized camps for poor children. It is said that she used to feed two thousand children everyday during the epidemic.

Isn't a woman's life as dear to her as yours is to you? ... once a woman's husband has died, ... what's in store for her? The barber comes to shave all the curls and hair off her head, just to cool your eyes. ... She is shut out from going to weddings, receptions and other auspicious occasions that married women go to. And why all these restrictions? Because her husband has died. She is unlucky: ill fate is written on her forehead. Her face is not to be seen, it's a bad omen.

- Tarabai Shinde, *Stripurush Tulna*, 1882 (Tarabai was an associate of Savitribai Phule)

Pandita Ramabai Saraswati (1858–1922)

Ramabai was born in Maharashtra and her father educated her in Sanskrit scriptures despite orthodox opposition. After the death of her father, Ramabai and her brother wandered all over India including Kolkata in Bengal. She came to be known as Pandita



Pandita Ramabai Saraswati

Ramabai Saraswati in recognition of her learning.

“Men behave with us women like they behave towards animals. When we make efforts to improve our situation, it is said that we are revolting against men and that it is a sin. In fact, the biggest sin is to endure the ill deeds and not oppose them”
Ramabai Saraswati.

Ramabai devoted her entire life to helping women, especially widows. She travelled alone to England and America to learn about women's organisations. On her return to India, she started an *ashram* and school known as *Sharada Sadan* in Mumbai to educate widows. Women were taught many kinds of skills and vocations at this school so that they could stand on their own feet. It also provided housing, education, vocational training and medical services for many needy groups including widows, orphans and the blind. She often said that women bear everything silently because they have to depend on men and unless they became self-supporting they cannot assert their rights.

Education among Muslim women

From the early twentieth century, Muslim women like the Begums of Bhopal played a notable role in promoting education among women. Another remarkable woman, Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain started schools for Muslim girls in Patna and Calcutta. She was a fearless critic of conservative ideas, arguing that religious leaders of every faith accorded an inferior place to women.

As a result of the efforts of these social reformers, schools and colleges were opened for girls and many of them even

became doctors and teachers. However, there were many people who strongly resisted these efforts to spread education among girls. They felt that if girls became educated, they would not remain under the control of their husbands and would not do household duties. Parents who were courageous enough to send their daughters to school were socially boycotted. Nevertheless, many families began opting for social change and slowly, girls began to study in schools and colleges.

- Do you think equal importance is given to the education of girls today or the girls still face discrimination?
- What problems do girls face in getting educated which boys do not face?
- To what extent has the treatment of widows changed today?
- Do dalit girls and Muslim girls face special problems in education even today?

Social Reforms - Caste System

You have read about caste discrimination in the previous classes. The upper castes like Brahmins and *kshatriyas* treated the labouring groups at the bottom of the society as *shudras* or “untouchables”. They were not allowed to enter temples, draw water from the wells used by the upper castes, to learn to read or write or study scriptures. They were seen as inferior human beings whose only work was serving the upper castes. Rulers of those times enforced such caste discrimination by punishing those who did not follow the caste norms.