

## 10. LANDLORDS AND TENANTS UNDER THE BRITISH AND NIJAM



1 *The King collects tax from Zamindar*



2 *Zamindar collects tax from people and gives to king*



3 *Zamindar owns land, has labourers*



4 *Peasant who owns land and pays tax*

### Zamindars and Peasants in Mughal Times

During the time of the Mughal emperors, on behalf of them the zamindars collected land revenue from the peasants. In return they received a share of the revenue collected and sometimes also had 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 land on which the labourers worked. This was called their 'self-cultivated' land or *Khudkhasht* lands. They also gave their land to peasants either for a share of the produce or a fixed rent. We call such landowners as 'landlords'; and the peasants who cultivate their lands as 'tenant cultivators'. Thus the zamindars had two aspects – 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 villages also had a large number of artisans and service castes who used to provide skilled and manual labour. Many of them were considered to be of low and untouchable status. Some of them had small plots of land but mainly got their livelihood from providing services to the farmers and landlords.

- Did the zamindar 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 the zamindars kept the soldiers and small forts?
- Do you think the zamindars would have helped the independent cultivators in any way? Give reasons for your answer.

### Permanent Settlement: Changes Introduced by the British



*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*



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



*Over the years Zamindar occupies all the land*

When the British gained control over India, they were keen to increase the land revenue as much as possible to finance trade and wars. This led to ruin of agriculture as farmers could not cultivate land under such conditions. There were great famines which killed thousands 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. By 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 peasants into the 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 and sometimes deserted the lands. In the long run

the zamindars also suffered and became defaulters.

- How the changes would have affected the position of the farmers who tilled the land for several generations?
- What is difference between revenue and rent?
- Who do you think gained 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. 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 did not have an interest 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 he paid to the zamindar was high and his right on the land was insecure. To pay the rent he had to take loan often from the moneylender, and when he failed to pay the rent he was evicted from the land he 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 it was 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



*Under Ryotwari system, I produced more crop.*



*Zamindar rented land to the tenants.*



*Company collects fixed tax from farmers.*

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 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**

### 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 only a limited impact as they covered only small regions. Most parts of the country still continued to depend upon rains and the expectation that the zamindars and prosperous ryots will invest in smaller irrigation projects like wells and tanks did not materialize.

- When the 'Permanent Settlement' was introduced there was no detailed land survey. Why do you think it was needed for the 'Ryotwari Settlement'?
- Why do you think it was necessary to defeat the *palegars* before the Ryotwari Settlement could be introduced?
- If you live in the 'Ceded Districts' find out about the *palegars* who fought with the British.
- 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 in the Zamindari areas it was fixed for twenty to thirty years. After 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 as 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 too did not have any interest 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 the ryots did 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 too high a revenue demand. Peasants were unable to pay 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 civil war in America and British factories turned to India for 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 sections of the population. Thousands of people died of hunger in the famine known as Ganjam Famine. Many people migrated to south Africa, Mauritius, Fiji and other distant places as *coolies*.

- 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 produce 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 to force them to do *vetti*. The soldiers would even catch peasants walking on the road and force them to do *vetti* in the zamindar's fields.

The peasants were forced to work on the zamindars' fields and many peasants could not cultivate their own fields properly. They could not improve their fields. Their plight can be seen in a government report written in 1878. The report says that the peasants do not try to dig well on their lands or irrigate it, nor do 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 increases 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, *gur*, straw, cow dung cakes etc. free of cost to the zamindar's house. This was the situation in many provinces of India. Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh had many big and 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 which 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 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 will 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 village disputes and were usually partisan 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 such rules like no lower caste person could wear shirts or slippers or wear a turban, and always remain bent before the *doras* and address them as their masters.

In the Telangana region in Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda districts there were 550 *Doras* who owned more than 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 the peasants were not willing to invest in their lands?
- In what forms 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. This created scarce situation in the entire country. In addition, often the government refused to interfere when large 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 above. Repeated famines occurred in the Rayalaseema districts due to lack of irrigational facilities. Not less than 11 famines occurred during the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 *fituries*, Moppila agitations which have taken organized forms. While in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the movements took the form of open revolts, the peasants joined the national movement in large numbers in the 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

### Key words

1. Landlords 2. Moneylenders 3. Jagirs
4. *Samsthanam* 5. Inamdars 6. *Patta*
7. Ryotwari 8. Deshmukh

## Improve your learning

1. Make simple questions based on each section of the chapter and ask one another. Check if the answers are correct. AS<sub>4</sub>



2. Compare the condition of tenant farmers before freedom and farmers of today. What differences and similarities do you find? AS<sub>1</sub>
3. During the freedom movement the zamindars normally supported the British. Can you explain why? AS<sub>1</sub>
4. What role did the moneylenders play in the lives of the peasants? In what way do you think they were supported by the British government? AS<sub>1</sub>
5. What were the similarities and differences between the *Doras* and the zamindars of Awadh? AS<sub>1</sub>
6. What kind of measures did the British take to improve agriculture? Did it have the desired impact? Give your reasons. AS<sub>1</sub>
7. How did the Ryotwari settlement also give rise to landlordism? AS<sub>1</sub>
8. Why were famines caused under British rule? Do you think it was because of failure of rains or floods? AS<sub>1</sub>
9. In what way can a government help to prevent famines even in times of crop failure? AS<sub>1</sub>
10. 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. AS<sub>6</sub>
11. Locate the following in the India map: AS<sub>5</sub>
  1. Ganjam 2. Awadh 3. Hyderabad 4. River Godavari
12. Read the paragraph under the heading 'Countless Collections, Cesses and Payments' and answer the following:  
How are we paying the taxes nowadays? AS<sub>2</sub>

### Projects

1. Make teams of five students and interview five elders of the village to know about how things were during the British days. At least two of them should be women, and at least one person should be from the artisans. 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, Saudi Arabia from your area.

# 11A. NATIONAL MOVEMENT - THE EARLY PHASE

## 1885-1919

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

### Early Associations

In Class VII you have 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 and also the same caste based society.

With the growth of English education 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 to the inequalities and injustices of the old social system. They wanted a democratic political order and they wanted at the same time 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.



Surendranath Banerjee



G.K. Gokhale



Dadabhai Naoroji

The seeds of new consciousness began in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The educated Indians after studying 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 get 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,



Fig 11A.1 : Meeting at Surat

K. C. Telang and G Subramaniam organized 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 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 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 problems faced by all the people (not just of one caste or community)? 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. It was presided over by W. C. Banerjee and attended by 72 delegates from different parts of India. The early leaders – Dadabhai Nouroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, W. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Ramesh Chandra Dutt,

S. Subramania 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 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 issues and trying to evolve consensus or sometimes 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 on through different forums.

In 1886, delegates to the Congress numbering 436 were elected 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 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 Indianisation 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 not only were draining the wealth of India to England but also enabling cheap selling of British goods 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, led deputations to submit petitions to the government. In short, it may be said, 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.

- 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 of 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 partitioning 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 a call was given for boycotting 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 and 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 is the basis of nationalism. The early nationalists were successful in germinating it.

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 to run it 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

#### On the day of Partition of Bengal

On 16<sup>th</sup> 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*

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 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 as 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 in 1907 Surat session into two. The extremist leaders like Tilak were forced to leave the Congress.



*Lala Lajapati Rai*



*B.G. Tilak*



*Bipin Chandra Pal*

*Annie Besant*

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 began to turn to terrorist attacks on 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 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 the people should do?

### The First World War : 1914–1919

The First World War broke out in 1914 with Britain, France, 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 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 nations 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.

### **Krishna Patrika of Machilipatnam**

*Krishna Patrika* was started in Machilipatnam in 1902. Mutnuri Krishna Rao was one of the founders of the paper and from 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 publicity for all the phases of India's struggle for freedom, like, the *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 courted the wrath of the British rulers several times.



Mutnuri Krishna Rao

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 will 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 conditions when the discontent of the people was increasing and the British were getting more repressive that 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?

### **Key words**

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: AS<sub>1</sub>
  - a. In the early phase of Indian National Congress it included only people from Bombay.
  - b. Indian industrialist began to establish companies in different parts of India.
  - c. People in India expected that India will become democratic after the first world war.
2. 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. AS<sub>1</sub>
3. After reading this chapter Mariamma thinks early phase of national movement was largely participated by educated Indians. And many of their ideas were of western origin. Will you agree with her? Give reasons. AS<sub>2</sub>
4. Why was it important to understand the economic impact of British rule in India? AS<sub>1</sub>
5. What do you understand by *swadeshi*? What were the major areas of its impact? AS<sub>1</sub>
6. How did different parts of the country and people respond to division of Bengal? AS<sub>1</sub>
7. Locate the following in India map: AS<sub>5</sub>
  1. Calcutta (Kolkata)
  2. Madras (Chennai)
  3. Bombay (Mumbai)
  4. Lucknow
8. Locate the following in the World map: AS<sub>5</sub>
  1. Britain
  2. France
  3. Russia
  4. Germany
9. A few leaders like Gandhiji, Tilak, Subhash Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation. What would have happened, if they did not do so? AS<sub>6</sub>
10. Are there any movements taken place in your region recently? Why? AS<sub>4</sub>

### **Project:**

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

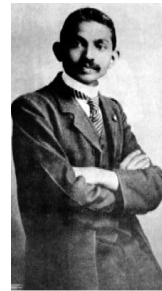
# 11B. NATIONAL MOVEMENT - THE LAST PHASE

1919-  
1947

## Arrival of Mahatma Gandhi

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



GANDHI

## Rowlatt Act and Jalianwala Bagh Massacre

Mahatma Gandhi did not associate with any Congress faction. 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 centre of political activity. In 1919 Gandhiji 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 know 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 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**.

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.

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

## 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 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 reconvertng 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.

### **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 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 through 1921-22. Thousands of students left government controlled schools and colleges. Many lawyers such as Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari and Asaf Ali gave up their practices. British titles were surrendered and legislatures were boycotted. People lit public bonfires of foreign cloth. The imports 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*). In every house this spread the desire to make the country self reliant.

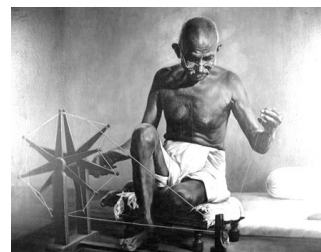


Fig: 11 B.1 : In the late phase of

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 Andhra region.

Guntur district was at the centre of nationalist activity and the participation was very 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 Gopalakrishnayya 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 Palnati taluqa of Guntur district and also in Rayachoti taluqa of Kadapa district. It is also called as Pullari Satyagrah. 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 taluqs the forest administration had to virtually close down during the agitation period.

- The Pullari Sathyagraha led under the leadership of Kanneganti Hanumanthu.

We can see from the above that sometimes people thought of Gandhiji as someone who could help them overcome their misery and poverty. Gandhiji wished to build class unity, not class conflict. Yet, peasants could imagine that he would help them in their fight against zamindars, and agricultural labourers believed, he would provide them land. At times, ordinary people credited Gandhiji 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 Gandhiji who had won this demand for them. At other times, using Gandhiji'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.

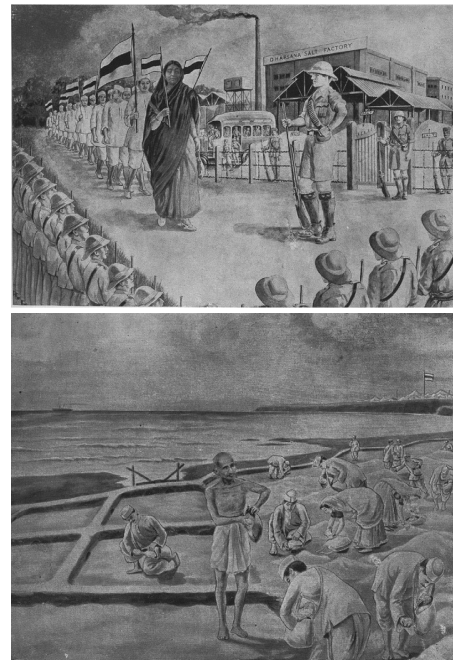
### The Happenings of 1922-1929

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, Gandhiji's 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 organisation and the Communist Party of India. These have very different ideas about the kind of country India should be. Find out 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)



*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.*

The Indian National Congress met at Lahore in 1929 under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. In this session, the Congress declared that the attainment of “Purna Swaraj” was its goal and resolved to launch Civil Disobedience Movement to achieve it. The leftists within congress took lead this time giving a national goal and programme. The



Congress working committee with this enthusiasm decided that 26<sup>th</sup> January should be observed as the day of “*Purna Swaraj*”.

On March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1930 at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, Gandhiji 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 Gandhiji and his 78 companions began the 375 km trek, from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi. This was covered 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 resigned their jobs. On 6<sup>th</sup> April, 1930 Gandhiji 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 were burned. Hand spinning was taken up as a movement. British schools, colleges and services were boycotted. The people joined in large number in this movement.

The government replied with ruthless repression, lathi charges and firing on unarmed crowds of men and women. Over 90,000 *Satyagrahi*s including Gandhiji 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 Gandhiji, 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.

### **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.

### **Quit India Movement – 1942 ‘Do or Die’**

Britain wanted to use the people and money of India 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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; Gandhiji 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.*”

On the early hours of August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1942 the Government arrested most of the Congress leaders viz., Gandhiji, 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 effected 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 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 Raj to its knees.

### **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 21<sup>st</sup> October 1943, the provisional Government of Independent India (*Azad Hind*) was set up in Singapore. On March 18<sup>th</sup>, 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 23<sup>rd</sup>, 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) Surrendered INA soldiers, (right below) Jhansi regiment in action, (right top) Post mark

### 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 has driven them to historic post-second world war movements. The Congress was not in a position to advance these movements as it was 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 below. They were a force to reckon with, which has hastened the British to come to negotiations and quit India.

### Towards Independence and Partition



Bhagat Singh

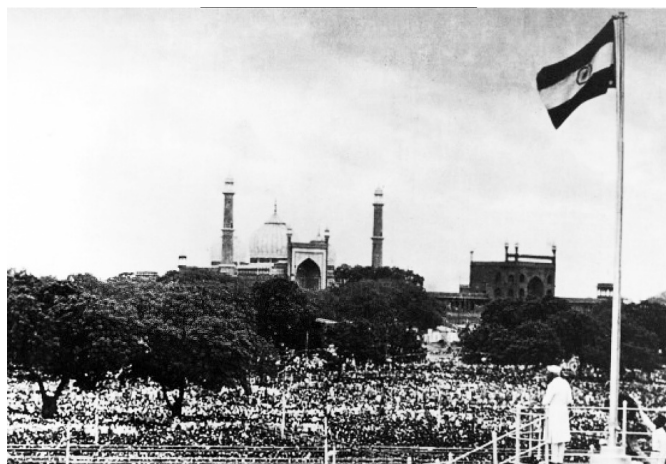
Subhash Chandra Bose

Abdul Kalam Azad

J.B. Kripalani

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. The resolution did not mention partition or Pakistan. Why did the League ask for an autonomous arrangement for the Muslims of the subcontinent? From the late 1930s, the League began viewing the Muslims 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 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.



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

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 independence of India. 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 again held 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, 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 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 agitation in support of its demand for Pakistan. It announced 16<sup>th</sup> 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 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 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, while Pakistan celebrates its independence on 14<sup>th</sup> August. Even after partition, many lakhs of people were killed and numerous women had to face untold brutalities. Lakhs of people were forced to flee their homes. Torn asunder from their homelands, they were reduced to being refugees in alien lands. So, the joy of our country's independence from British rule came mixed with the pain and violence of Partition.

### Key words

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

### Improve your learning

1. Create a table to show the various efforts of Gandhiji in national movement. AS<sub>3</sub>

#### Event

#### Gandhiji's role

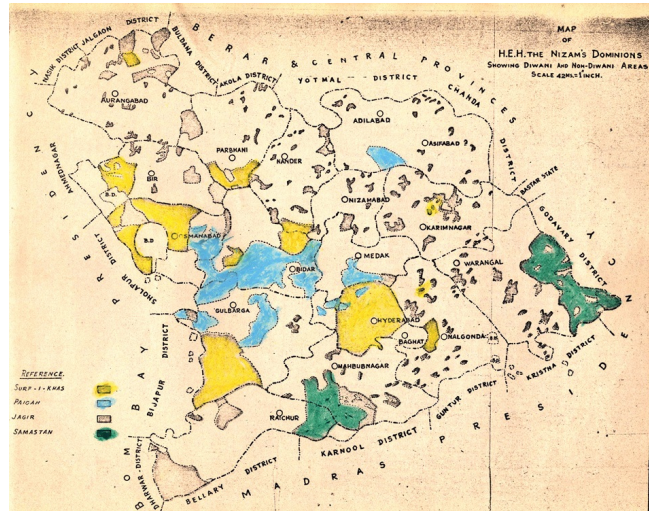
2. The national movement fought all attempts of the British government to deny democratic freedom and rights of the people. Give examples of the rights which the government tried to curtail and the movement

launched against it. AS<sub>1</sub>

3. To what extent was the Salt satyagraha successful in its objectives? Give your assessment. AS<sub>2</sub>
4. Which of the following was part of national movement: AS<sub>1</sub>
  - 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? AS<sub>1</sub>
6. Look at the India map and fill colours in Pakistan and Bangladesh which are our adjacent countries. AS<sub>5</sub>
7. 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?' AS<sub>2</sub>
8. As a part of Non Co-operation movement, what incidents took place in our state? AS<sub>1</sub>
9. Write a brief note on Quit India Movement. AS<sub>1</sub>
10. Prepare a timeline chart on Freedom Struggle from 1885 to 1947. AS<sub>3</sub>
11. Did the fruits of sacrifices of many great leaders of Independence movement reach all the people? Mention your opinion on this. AS<sub>6</sub>

## 12.FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN HYDERABAD STATE

Hyderabad was an important princely state of South India under the British paramountcy. It was ruled by the Nizams who were allied with the British Viceroys and had to adhere to policies decided by them. The Viceroys appointed Residents in the princely states who supervised the policies of the state and also interfered in the administration from time to time. In this chapter we will learn 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 consider mainly the Telugu and Urdu speaking parts which form the Telangana districts.



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



*Ravi*

## Early years of Nationalism

In October 1888, in Hyderabad a small committee of influential persons circulated handbills and placards for holding a meeting to popularise Indian National Congress. The Congress attracted a large section of the educated classes. 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 *Anjuman-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*, *Musllim-I-Safiq* etc. propagated nationalism. Many of them supported the nationalist cause.

The missionaries like Rev. Gilder of the Chaderghat Methodist Episcopal church supported the Congress. Thus Congress had gained roots in Hyderabad and served as a factor in awakening the people on the questions of independence, development and forms of the 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 credited many leaders to the nationalist movement in Hyderabad.

## 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. *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 ‘*doras*’ 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 resources and ruled as they willed. They did not allow any democratic system like local bodies or legislatures. The Nizams opposed the Congress led nationalist movement and passed several '*firman*s' or royal orders curtailing 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 the university. Even technical text books 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 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%.

- Do you think the problems faced by the people of Hyderabad state were in some ways different from those faced by 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: Nizam College

### Andhra Jana Sangham

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century a large number of books in Telugu were printed in the Andhra region and libraries had been set up in 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 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.

In 1924 Madapati Hanumanta Rao and others formed the Andhra Jana Sangham to establish libraries and reading rooms, encourage students and scholars and collect Telugu manuscripts and 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 other 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 tongues?



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

### Andhra Maha Sabha and the Library Movement

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. Its initial objectives were



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 in even remote villages. Peasants and labouring people came to them to learn to read, listen to newspaper, discuss current topics, and also their own problems with the Nizam government and *doras*. Night classes and discussions were held in these centres. People read books by social reformers like Veeresalingam and nationalists like Gandhiji, 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. Soon the radical elements gained leadership and a new movement of the peasants started.

- Is there a public library in your village or locality?
- If you have been to a public library describe what happens there to your classmates.
- Why do you think the libraries became the centres of anti-Nizam and anti-landlord movements?
- Why do you think the Nizams and jagirdars were not in favour of Telugu medium schools?

### Hyderabad State Congress

The Indian National Congress only functioned in the 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.

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 students in schools and colleges took part in agitations singing that song. The Nizam responded by closing down the colleges 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 had set up the 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 Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and P.V. Narasimha Rao became Prime Minister of India. The State Congress demanded that fundamental rights should be conferred upon the people. They wanted the circulars restricting the freedom of speech, association, press, religious processions, etc, be cancelled immediately. They also demanded that laws for the state be made by elected representatives and not the Nizam.

In 1942 they started *satyagraha* in tune with the national Quit India Movement. It was banned and its leaders arrested. In 1946, when the independence of India was imminent, the Hyderabad State Congress began a campaign for 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 *doras* and *jagirdars* of the Hyderabad state in Chapter 10. Recall the problems faced by 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 finally captured the AMS in 1946. They have given a radical programme against *vetti* and put forward the demand of land to the tillers. The AMS then spread to Nalgonda, Karimnagar, and Warangal districts. The AMS set up village level branches, which were known as *Sangham*. The Communist Party too actively gave leadership to these *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.

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 zamindar Visnuri Ramachandra Reddy tried to forcibly take over the land of a washerwoman, Ilamma. This was resisted effectively by the *Sangham*. In retaliation the *zamindar* fired upon a demonstration of peasants in Kadivendi village and killed Doddi Komaraiah in July 1946. 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 Komaraya. The *doras* and Nizam tried to violently suppress the movement. This forced the *Sangham* to build squads of armed fighters. They began to drive away the *zamindars* and set up their rule through village Panchayat.



Ilamma

Guerrilla squads to defend the villages and Gram raj committees to resolve villagers' problems were formed. Cultural groups were formed to sing *Burrakathas* with the message of the struggle and they went from village to village to arouse people.

The *Sanghams* tried to establish a parallel government and to establish "People's courts". 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 movement was transformed in 1947-48 into a broad anti-Nizam and anti-feudal struggle demanding merging of Hyderabad with independent India. The people burnt the records of the village officials and moneylenders and seized the grains hoarded by the land lords and the merchants. 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 bitter struggle between the Communist led peasants and *Razakars* supported by the *doras*. After India attained independence the *razakars* started attacking the political movement that was for the integration of the Hyderabad into Indian Union. They ruthlessly attacked the villages, people to create panic so that Hyderabad remain independent of India. The *razakars* burnt villages taken 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 national flag in Warangal Fort. In another incident of communal frenzy of the *razakars* was a large number of people were shotdead in Biranpally village of Janagoan Taluq.

The Nizam did not intervene and just watched the situation. In 1948 the independent Indian government took action and merged Hyderabad with India. The Telangana Armed Struggle continued even after the merger to enforce land reforms and protect the peasants from the *doras*. However, it was suppressed by the Indian armed forces and it gradually declined by 1950.

- 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, Osman Ali Khan, the Nizam wanted Hyderabad to remain as an independent kingdom. The common people of the state wanted to join Independent India and a large campaign was organized by the Hyderabad State Congress led by Ramananda Theertha. The *Razakars* attacked them too. Then the Indian government decided to end this anarchy and sent armed forces to Hyderabad. Hyderabad was finally integrated into Indian union in September 1948. The Nizam however was asked by the government of India to continue as the ruler till the transition to democratic setup was complete. The Nizam was forced to abolish the feudal system 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 Osman Ali Khan continued to be the *Rajpramukh* of Hyderabad (head of the state). But he had to act on the advice of Government of India's officials. 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. 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 ended the Nizams rule of over Hyderabad state.



Fig 12.3: Osman Ali Khan and Sardar Vallabhai Patel

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

### Women in the Telangana Struggle

Women suffered most under the rule of Nizams and *doras*. They were constantly harassed. They not only had to work for the landlords but also to serve the visiting officials. Many women were made slaves of the landlords. Such women attended the night schools of Andhra Maha Sabha and decided to join the *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 below an interview given by one such woman



Fig 12.4: Women Guerrilla squad

*"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, 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..."*

### Key words

1. Firmanas
2. Vetti
3. Feudal System
4. Subordinate kings
5. Legitimate rights
6. Guerrilla Squad.
7. Jagirdars
8. Representative Government

### Improve your learning

1. What aspects of the Nizam rule would you consider to be 'undemocratic'?
2. Why do you think the literacy rate in Hyderabad state was lower than other princely states?
3. Describe the activities of the Andhra Maha Sabha for the promotion of education.
4. What were the demands of the Hyderabad state Congress and how many of them were fulfilled after 1948?
5. Do you think the Telangana Armed struggle helped to end the rule of the Nizam? Give your reasons.
6. 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?
7. Many movements were led against the rulers in the past. Do you find any movements taken up nowadays? If yes,

what are they?

8. What questions the librarian should be asked to know about the library of your area?
9. Locate the following places of Nizam's rule in the India map.  
a) Aurangabad b) Warangal c) Raichur d) Gulbarga e) Hyderabad
10. Collect the pictures of leaders of the Telangana Armed Struggle.

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

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.

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- सत्यमेव जयते

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 made to suit them. 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 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. 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 give a framework for achieving it.

- 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:

- ## Early Drafts of Constitution

- Can you list 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?

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



*Fig 13.1: India celebrates Republic Day on 26<sup>th</sup> 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.*

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 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.

Thirdly, 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 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.



**Sarojini Naidu   Durgabai Deshmukh   N.G. Ranga   T. Prakasam**

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

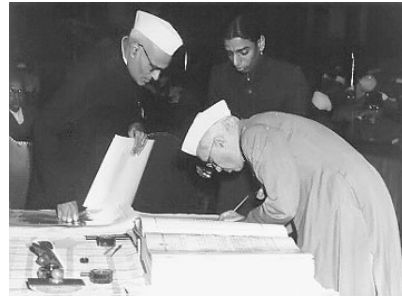
First, some basic principles were decided and agreed upon: that India will be a Sovereign Republic; that it will have within it



several states with autonomous powers; that it will be democratic; that it will secure to all citizens justice, equality and freedom; that the interests of minorities, tribes 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 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 Constituent Assembly has been recorded and preserved. These are called '**Constituent Assembly Debates.**'

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



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

### **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 on 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 example in the context of each 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, 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.**

**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 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' that is 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 the Prime Minister and his Cabinet should 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.

Thirdly, our country has a three level democracy. At the level of the country we have the Parliament, at the level of the states we have the state assemblies and at the district 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.

Fourthly, 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 2011 our Constitution has been amended 97 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.*

### Key words

1. Monarchy
2. Representative
3. Discrimination
4. Autonomous
5. Constitution
6. Sovereign
7. Federal System
8. Provisional
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 also has divided his kingdom into 16 provinces to which he appoints his officers as governors. Can we say this is democratic country? Is it a constitutional country? Give reasons for your answer. AS<sub>1</sub>
2. Which of the following statement is correct? AS<sub>1</sub>
  - 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 not an easy task.
  - d. All are correct
3. Match the following leaders with their roles in the making of the Constitution: AS<sub>1</sub>
  - a. Motilal Nehru i) President of the Constituent Assembly
  - b. B. R. Ambedkar ii) Member of the Constituent Assembly
  - c. Rajendra Prasad iii) Chairman of the Drafting Committee
  - d. Sarojini Naidu iv) Prepared a Constitution for India in 1928
4. Read again the extracts from Nehru's speech and answer the following: AS<sub>2</sub>
  - 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?
5. Here are some of the guiding values of the Constitution and their meaning. AS<sub>1</sub>  
Rewrite them by matching them correctly.
  - a) Sovereign i) Government will not favour any religion.
  - b) Republic ii) People have the supreme right to make decisions.
  - c) Fraternity iii) Head of the state is an elected person.
  - d) Secular IV) People should live like brothers and sisters.
6. What values are embedded in the preamble of Indian Constitution? AS<sub>1</sub>
7. "All are equal before law"— Explain this with examples. AS<sub>1</sub>
8. 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.
9. 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.

# 14. PARLIAMENT AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

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

## Role of the Parliament



Fig 14.1: Indian Parliament House in New Delhi

Among the many TV channels you can also watch a channel called Lok Sabha TV. It telecasts daily the discussions taking place in the Parliament House in New Delhi. Watch this channel sometime 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 – how to use our forests, natural resources like mines, about education, about our relations 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 till today guides the programmes relating to education. 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.

The government which rules the country implements the laws made by the Parliament for the development and welfare. 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 government where the government is not responsible to the Parliament or legislature.

## The Houses of Parliament

There are two Houses of Parliament - Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The members of the Lok Sabha are directly elected by the people while the Rajya Sabha members are elected by the members of the State Legislatures. The Rajya Sabha can have a maximum of 250 members. The state Legislative Assemblies and Union Territories elect their representatives to the Rajya Sabha. This is one way a link is established 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 the 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:

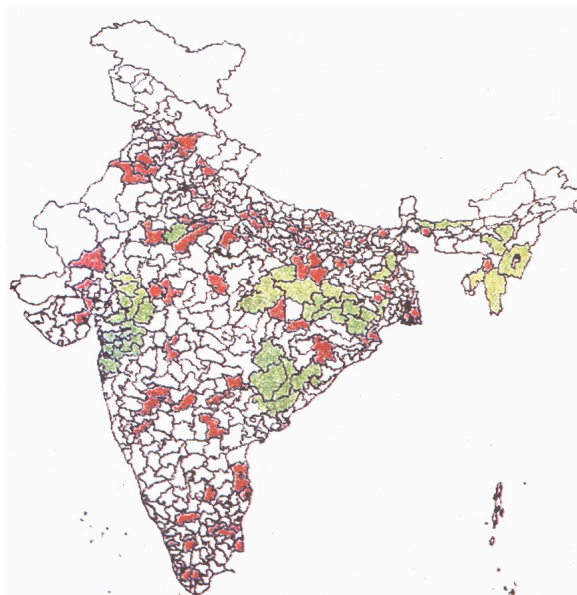
1. Any ordinary law needs to be passed by both the Houses. But if there is a difference between the two Houses, the final decision is taken in a joint session in which members of both the Houses sit together. As Lok Sabha has more members, it is likely that its view will prevail in such a meeting.

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 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.

- 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 feelings?



**Map :Lok Sabha Constituencies**

**Total Constituencies 543**

**General 423**

**Reserved (SC) 79**

**Reserved (ST) 41**

*Table showing state wise Lok Sabha Constituencies*

STATE	NO
Andhra Pradesh	25
Telangana	17
Arunachal Pradesh	2
Assom	14
Bihar	40
Chhattisgarh	11
Goa	2
Gujarat	26
Haryana	10
Himachal Pradesh	4
Jammu & Kashmir	6
Jharkhand	14
Karnataka	28
Kerala	20
Madhya Pradesh	29
Maharashtra	48
Manipur	2
Meghalaya	2
Mizoram	1
Nagaland	1
Odisha	21
Punjab	13
Rajasthan	25
Sikkim	1
Tamilnadu	39
Telangana	17
Tripura	2
Uttarakhand	5
Uttar Pradesh	80
West Bengal	42
UNION TERRITORIES	

Andaman and Nicobar Islands 1



Chandigarh	1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1
Chandigarh	1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1
Daman and Diu	1
Lakshadweep	1
Pondicherry	1
Delhi(the NCT of Delhi)	7
Nominated by the president of India Anglo Indians	2

## 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. Andhra Pradesh has 25 Constituencies and the Union Territory of Chandigarh has one Constituency.

See the map and tables given in the 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 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?

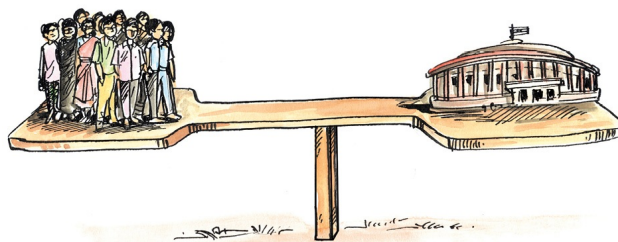


Fig 14.2: Can you think why this illustration has Parliament on one side and people on the other?

## 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 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?”

Some people said, “The elections are ‘a leap in the dark’, not suitable for a country like India. India is a caste-based society in which many people do not accept the idea that everyone is equal. So it won’t be possible to have a democratic election.”

There were other people who were very hopeful. They said, “Indians have participated in the National Movement to gain freedom from the British. They want to elect a government of their own choice. They want the government to work towards creating a society where everyone is treated equally. They also want the government to improve the living conditions of the people. Thus everyone should have an equal opportunity to elect a government of their choice.” To such people, the elections were ‘an act of faith’.

- If you had been living at 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, 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 is 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?

### Challenges in conducting free and fair elections

In an ideal situation, every voter is expected to know about the different candidates, their policies and decide whose policies they would prefer and who they think can represent their interests best in the Parliament and then vote. He or she should not be subjected to any pressure to vote for this or that 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 in recent times has taken very strict measures to control these illegal practices. Find out 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?
- Why do you think it is important to look at the percentage of people who cast their votes? What does it tell us?
- Why do you think many eligible voters did not vote? Discuss the possible reasons.
- What were the opinions expressed by different people at the time of the first elections?

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 %

#### Some interesting facts about Lok Sabha Elections in 2009

Number of Parliamentary Constituencies	543
Total electors	71,69,85,101
Number of Candidates contested	8,070
Male candidates contested (93.1 %)	7,514
Women candidates contested (6.9 %)	556
Number of Polling Stations setup	8,34,919
Number of micro observers deployed	1,39,284
Polling Staff deployed	46,90,575
Number of videographers deployed	74,729
Number of digital cameras deployed	40,599
Number of Special trains deployed	119
Number of Helicopters deployed	55

- 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 can see this here.

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

There are many subjects for 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 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, Sales Tax is charged on the sale and purchase of goods within a state. This is a major source of revenue for the State Governments. Each state has made its own law for the collection of this tax. Hence there are differences between states in the list of things which are taxed and also in the rates at which they are taxed.

It is the responsibility of the state to ensure proper road communications within its boundaries. Therefore the construction and maintenance of all roads, other than national highways, is done by the state. 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 the laws are those relating 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 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 are being 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 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 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 Vidhan Sabha of Andhra Pradesh participate in the election of the President.
- 4 All the MLAs of all the Vidhan Sabhas and Delhi and Pondicherry and all the MPs of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha elect the President.

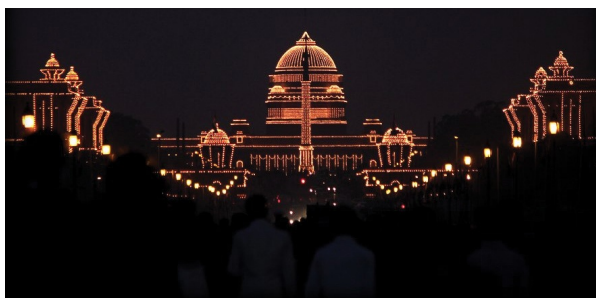


Fig 14.3: A night view of Rashtrapathi Bhavan on Republic Day

### 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 provide members who run the government according to the laws. Hence it is said that India has a Parliamentary form of government. These two roles are separate. 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 Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are in charge of a large number of ministries and they have a huge staff of government employees who work under them. Thus, 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.

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 a majority (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.

Collect the photos of the current one's of the following and paste in the given boxes.

*The President of India*

*Vice President*

*Prime Minister*

- 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.

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 or policies or 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 who handle the day to day work of the ministry, study and prepare 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.

#### 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 forms the government.
- Party or coalition with more than half the seats 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 down which party could have formed the government after 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
<b>Total</b>	<b>489</b>

### Key words

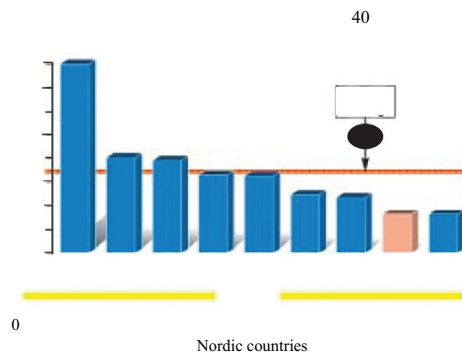
- |                        |                         |                 |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Legislature         | 2. Lok Sabha            | 3. Rajya Sabha  |
| 4. Election Commission | 5. Council of Ministers | 6. Central List |
| 7. State List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

### Improve your learning

- Why were the first elections difficult to conduct? List as many reasons as you can. AS<sub>1</sub>
- Why do you think elections need to be free and fair? AS<sub>1</sub>
- For which of the following subjects can laws be made by the Members of Parliament, which by the state assembly, and which can be made by both - agriculture, railways, village hospitals, police, posts and telegraph, electricity, factories? AS<sub>1</sub>
- 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 AS<sub>3</sub>
- In the 2009 Parliamentary Elections, no single party won a majority. How was the government formed? Discuss with the help of your teacher and write a paragraph. AS<sub>1</sub>
- Who is responsible for making the laws that are applicable for the entire country? AS<sub>1</sub>
- 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. AS<sub>3</sub>

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

- Do you think the parties should be made to put up more women candidates for elections? Why? AS<sub>1</sub>
- Following is a study of women's representation in Parliament houses including that of India and other nations: AS<sub>3</sub>



*Average number of Women in National Parliaments in different regions of the world*

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 idea of democracy?
  - What solution can be achieved for above? How will you address this issue if you are member of the Parliament?
- How do you think certain countries have 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 in the newspapers and make a list of the events that take place. Write a page on any issue discussed in the Parliament, or draw a picture of the scene in Parliament when it is being discussed.



*T*

- Parliament elections held in 2014. Collect the information based on above data and present in your classroom.

Americas

Europe

Sub Saharan Africa

Region

Asia

Pacific

South Asia

World Average

India

Arab States

## 15.LAW AND JUSTICE -A CASE STUDY

During the last year we studied that laws are made by governments. We also briefly saw 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 peon 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 Sushil sometime ago.

Samba went to Ravi's house along with his son Kranthi. Samba demanded Ravi 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 big 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 report.

### Filing the report

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



The complaint should contain the following particulars:

1. Shall be addressed to SHO of Police Station
2. Details of complainant
3. Date, Time and Place of offence
4. What happened/ case
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 writer wrote out 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, "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 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 report.

In case the SHO refuses to file the report, the person can go directly to the DSP or Magistrate and file the report. The report 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 recording statements of witnesses and collecting 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 that decides 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 there. 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 Samba 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 take 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. party due to breach of agreement by another individual. For example theft, taking dowry, murder. goods, divorce.	Deals with any harm caused to a For example rent, purchase of
2.	It usually begins with lodging of an FIR and police investigation. the court by the person who has been offended, And then the case is filed in the court. the owner or tenant.	A petition has to be filed before for e.g. in a rent dispute either
3.	If found guilty, accused can be sent to jail and also fined. offended like a house may be vacated by the tenant or dues get paid.	Court provides relief to the

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 the investigation as well as 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 him a bail. 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 see if the accused is released whether there is any harm to the society, witnesses, 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 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 State. 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 State. 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.

### 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. On the other hand, Assistant Public Prosecutor was handling the case on behalf of the government.

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 injury 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 lawyer who deals with the case on behalf of the government called?

### 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 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 read about the Indian Constitution. One of the central features of the constitution is to separate the powers of Executive, Judiciary and Legislative. This means other branches - like the Legislature and the Executive - cannot interfere in the work of the judiciary. The courts are not under the government and do not act on behalf of government.

The police is also not part of Judiciary, they are part of the Executive. During the last year you had read about the district administration. At district level just like the Collector there is also government police officer who is responsible for maintaining law and order in the district. Police department is 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 as well as the Supreme Court are appointed with very little interference from these other branches of government. Once appointed to this office, 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 tribal cutting wood for fuel. Is impartiality a good thing? 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.

15 days later all the concerned people reached the court. After long wait this case began. To begin with a woman who was the 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 imprisonment of 4 years.

- Discuss why it is 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?

(Level - 1) **SUPREME COURT**

(Level - 2) **HIGH COURT**

(Level - 3) **Lower Level Courts**

**Session's Court (at District for criminal cases)**  
**District Court (at District for civil cases)**

**Divisional Level Court**

**Asst. Session's Judge/Judicial Magistrate (for Criminal Cases at Division level)**  
**Civil Cases at Division level)**

**Junior Civil Judge (for**

### 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



Fig 15.1 : A.P. 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 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 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?

### Key words

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 AS<sub>1</sub>

- 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 highest court in the country.

2. Describe in a table what happened in Ravi’s case from its first hearing and session court. AS<sub>1</sub>

**Role of witness**

**Punishment given**

**Requirement of Ravi’s presence**

3. In the context of differences between a criminal and a civil case write a sentence each about (a) punishment and jail; b) government lawyers; c) filing FIR. AS<sub>1</sub>
4. Can the Session’s or District court change the decision of a High Court? Why? AS<sub>1</sub>
5. If someone is not satisfied with the decision of a Session’s Court and High Court, what can be done? AS<sub>1</sub>
6. What are the differences between the role of the S.H.O. and the magistrate? AS<sub>1</sub>
7. In your view, what should have been the verdict in Ravi’s case? AS<sub>2</sub>
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. AS<sub>1</sub>
9. Can you identify different roles of the Executive and Judiciary given in this chapter? AS<sub>1</sub>

### Project:

In a town called Peace Land, the supporters of the Fiesta football team learnt that the supporters of the Jubilee football team in the city about 40 km away have damaged the ground on which the final between both teams is 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

### Roles

### Functions

Police

Hear the witness  
Record the statements of the witness  
Take photographs of burnt homes  
Record evidence

Public Prosecutor

Arrest the Fiesta fans  
Write the judgement  
Argue the case for the victims

Defence lawyer

Decide for how many years the accused will be put in jail  
Examine the witness in the court  
Pass the judgement

Judge

Get the assaulted women medically examined  
Conduct a fair trial  
Meet the accused persons

The column on the right provides a list of functions. Match these with the roles that are listed on the left. Have each group pick the functions 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 Club 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.

1. [Untitled-1](#)