

RARE SECTION

HYDERABAD'S

CONSTITUTIONAL

PROBLEMS

V 225 : 2. N 3

BY

Syed Mohamed Ahsan

AND

Mir Hasnuddin

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

Rai Madan Mohan Lal, B.A., LL.B.,

High Court Pleader.

*Foreword
and
criticism*

Foreword.

My friends, Ahsan and Hāsnuddin, have contributed two very thought-provoking articles on a subject which requires close attention in Hyderabad. I deem it a great privilege to be asked to write a foreword to this brochure.

With the rest of India, Hyderabad is also craving for freedom. If paramountcy is restricted to foreign affairs and the general defence of India, Hyderabad, as a political unit, would attain the freedom to which she is entitled.

The question, as to how Hyderabad would utilise the freedom that she would thus gain, is a matter entirely for Hyderabadies to decide. Imperialism has no constitutional right to suggest that British intervention or supervision would not cease, unless a particular form of Government is establishing in Hyderabad.

If the kind of Government obtaining in any province or state were the determining factor in persuading British Imperialism to loosen its clutches in that particular area, then H. E. H. the Nizam's Historical announcement regarding the grant of full provincial autonomy to Berar, in the event of rendition, would have succeeded in re-establishing His Exalted Highness' hegemony in that lost province. But that was not to be.

When, therefore, British Imperialists talk of the possibility of Paramountcy being defined, in case responsible Government is conceded, it is because they know full well that responsible Government can never be

conceded by the Princes as long as Paramountcy remains Paramount. The recent declarations of the Dewans of Travancore and Cochin have made this point clear beyond the shadow of a doubt.

The first and foremost demand of the people of Hyderabad should, therefore, be regarding the definition of Paramountcy. It is only then that people will begin to see things in their true perspective and the Ruler free to accede to the wishes of his subjects, in the light of the present conditions of the world and in consonance with modern democratic ideas; otherwise the State Block in the Federal Assembly of India is bound to prove a stumbling block in the path of Nationalism.

These are the fundamentals of Hyderabad politics, without a correct appreciation whereof no public movement can ever hope to be truly Nationalist or really useful.

The enlightened public of Hyderabad should thank the writers of these two articles, as they have set the ball rolling in the right direction. It is possible that many will differ with the writers in some of their ideas; for instance, the question of the communal mindedness of the Hindoos, or the interpretation of the word Sovereignty; but by mutual discussions, mis-understandings can be cleared up and common ideas and formulae for the welfare of all Hyderabadies could be evolved. I earnestly hope that, with the co-operation and goodwill of all, this knotty problem will be solved by the sons of the soil.

4-MADAN MOHAN LAL.

HYDERABAD & FEDERATION

People's attitude towards Constitutional problems

By SYED MOHAMAD AHSAN, B. A., LL. B.

(Member of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation.)

HIS Exalted Highness, in his recent Banquet speech, has been pleased to declare that Federation, as an ideal, would appeal to all who are working for the creation of a greater India. In this connection, the Ruler of Hyderabad very naturally stressed the need for safeguarding the sovereignty of Hyderabad and her treaty rights.

As a humble public worker, who can claim to know the mind of his fellow subjects, I wish to declare that the views expressed by His Exalted Highness are shared by his people as well.

It might be asked here: Why then do the people oppose Hyderabad's accession to the Federation as adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935? It is to answer this question that I feel called upon to clarify the popular point of view.

Hyderabad's Constitutional Position.

Hyderabad was an independent sovereign State when the East India Company got in touch with her. With the passage of time, their relations developed into

friendship and mutual alliance. Treaties were concluded, Hyderabad ceding a portion of her territories to the East India Company for the maintenance of troops for the benefit of Hyderabad. The course of events helped the East India Company to gain greater and greater power, without instilling into the minds of the Asaf Jahi Rulers any suspicion against their allies. When the East India Company's administrative powers were transferred to the Government of British India, Queen Victoria gave a solemn assurance regarding the sanctity of treaties. This assurance has been reiterated by all Her successors.

Yet treaty rights have been respected more in breach than in observance. Lord Reading wrote an obnoxious letter to His Exalted Highness propounding theories which can only be upheld by military sanctions, with the result that the constitutional position of Hyderabad does not remain what it should; while His Majesty's Government have throughout acted as though Might alone was right.

We, the people of Hyderabad, resent this state of affairs, although we know that we cannot resist it today.

Our Faith and Hope,

Now that India is undergoing constitutional changes and relations between Great Britain and India are being re-adjusted, may we not hope that Britain, in recognition of a friendship that has stood the test of time and in vindication of the implicit faith that Hyderabad has chosen to place in her, will concede to Hyderabad the independence that is her due?

If we are told that independence is not conceded but is won, then our outlook will perforce have to undergo a change, which even if it does not bring us success, will add to the troubles already existing in this hoary land of ours. But the fact remains that we have been taught to believe that Britain is well disposed towards Hyderabad and will not hesitate to recognise her just demands. We are clinging to this faith. Let us hope that it will not be rudely shaken.

Wanted 'A Change of Heart'

If now I am asked: What exactly do the people of Hyderabad want? My first reply would be: A change of heart on the part of His Majesty's Government.

Britain must begin to trust the Nizam and recognise him as the sovereign ruler of Hyderabad. It would be for the Nizam to decide how he will use his sovereign powers. More than once has His Exalted Highness declared that he wishes to rule in consultation with the representatives of his own subjects. If, God forbid, it so happens that his subjects are justifiably dissatisfied with the Government of the State, it will be for the people to apply the necessary corrective and, we hope, that the term paramountcy would not again be exploited to interfere with our affairs.

Federation.

Now comes the question of Federation. We believe that the future Government of India cannot but be

Federal in its structure. Hitherto the Government of British India had usurped the functions of the Government of India to the detriment of the interests of Indian India. This anomaly should cease and the States must find their due place in the composition of the Government of India.

For a country like India, defence must be a federal subject. Hyderabad has already, as has been stated above, not merely transferred its right and obligation in that behalf but has also made adequate financial provisions for the same, by ceding vast territories.

Foreign relations and foreign affairs must also necessarily be a federal subject. Hyderabad has transferred even this right and privilege to the centre.

Our Reservations.

As regards the other subjects in the federal list, it is open to doubt and discussion whether Hyderabad should accede to any or all of them. From what I know of the popular feelings on this subject, we do not wish to accede in matters of post, currency and coinage and railways. This desire on our part ought not to vitiate the federal scheme itself; firstly because uniformity is not what we are aiming at, and secondly because no two federations in the world are alike. Instances are not wanting where many of the subjects included in the Indian federal list are administered by the units themselves in other federal regimes.

If, however, it is proved to our satisfaction that the vital interests of India, as a whole, demand a sacrifice on

our part, Hyderabad would not be found lagging behind. But she would, in no case, agree to a sacrifice that is not demonstrably in the interests of a united India, the burden of proving the need of a sacrifice lying on the shoulders of the Indian nationalists.

No More Burdens.

As regards accepting further financial burdens, either in the shape of direct or indirect taxes or in the shape of subventions, the popular view-point is that Hyderabad has more than played her part in contributing to the all-India expenditure and that she is already being taxed indirectly to the limit of her capacity. In fact, we believe that if an independent tribunal were set up to examine Anglo-Hyderabad financial and territorial transactions, the verdict of such a tribunal would add to the resources of Hyderabad, instead of depleting them.

There is one other consideration that weighs heavily with us. We have no desire to alienate the sympathies of the people of British India. The theory, that the relationship of Hyderabad is directly with the British Crown, has been pronounced to be anti-national, and no less a man than Professor A. B. Keith has declared that this theory would militate against India attaining full dominion status. If this is so, it would be quite natural that some of us should insist on breaking away from this "Direct Relationship" theory.

Hyderabad And The Congress.

We are told that, if the Government of India Act is amended to satisfy the India nationalists, or that if we

are to negotiate with the Congress regarding the terms of our accession to Federation, Hyderabad would stand to lose. We do not entertain any such misgivings. Congress, we know, does not tolerate individual autocracy but it can, on no account, seek to deprive the people of Hyderabad of such powers as they wish to retain. Nizam's sovereignty is his peoples' sovereignty. Hyderabad's treaty rights are peoples' rights. On this basis, the Congress, consistently with her ideals, need not fight shy of recognising either Nizam's sovereign rights or Hyderabad's treaty rights.

Hyderabad is already on the threshold of a popular regime. And since the Nizam and his Government mean well by the people, they need entertain no fears from the Congress side. As things are, His Exalted Highness is more or less a constitutional ruler. The form of Government will soon have to change. The only obstacle in the path of an early establishment of responsible Government in Hyderabad is the communalism of the majority community. The Hindus may have good reasons to work on communal lines in the garb of nationalism, but they do not realise that, by so doing, they are defeating their own object of expediting responsible Government.

Muslim Attitude.

In any case, the Muslims of Hyderabad have accepted the goal of responsible Government. Whether that rule will be just or tyrannical, it is for the future to decide. In her external relations also, Hyderabad, as a

whole, is willing to trust the Federal Government of the future, which will again be composed of the Hindu majority. But since, according to the nationalist declaration embodied in the Nehru Report, our treaty rights would have been recognised, any infringement of those rights by the centre would have to be taken cognisance of either by the Federal Court or the supreme Court or some other independent tribunal. The fear, therefore, that Hyderabad stands to lose in negotiating its terms of accession with nationalist India is baseless.

We are not Anti-British.

In conclusion it is necessary to make it clear that Hyderabad is not Anti-British. It is certainly anti-Imperialist and pro-Nationalist. To expect otherwise, would be insulting Hyderabad.

If the above statement clarifies the standpoint, of the people of Hyderabad, its publication would be amply justified.



Paramountcy must be Defined.

Responsible Government
Or will remain a dream.

By Mir Hasnuddin, B. A., LL. B.

(High Court Pleader.)

THE Special Correspondent of the Times of India has, in the course of an article, entitled "Hyderabad and Federation," (published in its issue of the 26th January 1938.) attempted to analyse the people's point of view on the question of Federation. He speaks of anti-Federationists. Let me assure him that nobody in Hyderabad is opposed to Federation as such, for, to quote Lord Lothian, "Federation is the only system whereby unity and national Self-Government can be combined with local diversity and autonomy in so vast a country as India."

Wrong Notion of Paramountcy.

Our main contention is that the term 'Paramountcy,' if it is to continue to exist at all in the political parlance of India, ought not to connote more than the obligations arising from the willing, formal and explicit transfer to the Government of British India by the Asaf Jahi rulers of certain attributes of their sovereignty viz. foreign affairs and defence. The current conception that Paramountcy exists apart from treaties or that it is not

amenable to definition, ought to undergo a radical change, if His Majesty's Government are willing to concede that Sovereign States can exist without forces of their own to resist any encroachments on their independence;

Democracy In British India Welcomed.

Hyderabad's relations with the Government of British India being of a contractual and bi-lateral nature, our next contention is, that any differences between the two Governments should be settled by reference to independent tribunals. Since that is the nature of the mutual relationship envisaged by us, far from viewing with suspicion or alarm any change in the constitution or personnel of the Government of British India, we would welcome it. For it is obvious that if the sanctity of treaties is duly guaranteed and if it is further recognized that the constitutional relationship of Hyderabad with the Central Government in British India will be subject to the surveillance of Inter-Statal law, then Hyderabad need not fight shy of party politics in British India.

Federalise Paramountcy.

This relationship, it will be agreed, is more or less of a Federal nature, with this defect that the States have at present no voice in the formulation of policies affecting the whole of India, which will be removed if Hyderabad is allowed to accede to the Federation in respect of subjects already transferred to the British Indian centre by treaties. Such a step would mean that Paramountcy itself would be federalised and the criti-

cism levelled against the States that they are a party to the creation of an Ulster in India to serve as a stronghold of British Imperialism, would also lose all weight.

Our Political & Economic Rights must be safeguarded.

Whether Hyderabad should accede to the Federation in respect of any other subject in the Federal list, depends on how strong a case can be made out by British Indian nationalists. But present usage, which contravenes treaties, cannot be quoted as an argument against us, because Hyderabad, if she can help, would refuse to legalise existing illegalities. If we are convinced that the interests of nationalist India as a whole demand sacrifices on our part, Hyderabad may be expected to rise to the occasion, provided by so doing she does not barter away the vital political or economic interests of the peoples of the State.

Paramountcy's 'Impossible' Stand.

To characterise the demand for the definition of Paramountcy as "impossible" or to suggest that "far from intensifying the exercise of Paramountcy, Federation will tend to delimit that indefinable power," will cut no ice. The assumption that the Paramount Power has a right to be satisfied that "a particular State possessed a system of administration requiring little, if any, supervision" is based upon an exaggerated notion of what Paramountcy ought to mean in respect of Treaty States, at least.

Power must be transferred to Hyderabaddees through the Nizam.

A word now about the slogan, "Hyderabad for Hyderabaddees". The basic principle of the Government of India Act is the autonomy of the units. Madrasis are in power in Madras, Punjabis in the Punjab, Bengalis in Bengal but non-Hyderabadis in Hyderabad. The reason for this anomaly is that Paramountcy cannot always pick out with ease Hyderabaddees who would carry out the behests of the British Resident at the sacrifice of the State's vital interests. If the Nizam were allowed to choose his own ministers from among those who command the confidence of his subjects, things would begin to cheer up.

A few Home-Truths.

The special Correspondent of the "Times of India", is perfectly right when he represents on our behalf that "The State does not in fact enjoy conscious autonomy," that "the State Government operates under the vague ægis of Paramountcy rather than re-acting to direct influences in Hyderabad" and that "this militates against the development of indigenous genius."

A Lasting Solution.

If the Government of British India were to confine their attention to settling their differences with their own people and leave the people of Indian States to settle theirs, if any, with the Princes, then India would soon be on the right path to progress and prosperity.

Who will command State Block in Federal Legislature?

Lord Lothian, in his statement, has characterised the present Federal Scheme as an attempt to "marry" democratic British India and Feudal Princeloms. Let me bring it to the notice of His Lordship that the people of Hyderabad strongly resent the term "Feudal Princelom" in respect of their own State. As to who would command the votes of the Princes' nominees in the federal legislature, the answer is obvious. So long as paramountcy remains paramount, the votes of the princes' nominees will be in the pockets of the Political Department.

Power begets responsibility. The Princes today are powerless, and their Governments are responsible to the British Resident. Unless the Political Department of the Government of India divests itself of all ill-gotten power, true responsible Government in Indian States will ever remain a dream.

How to Placate the Congress?

If, therefore, Lord Lothian is really anxious to placate the Congress, he should make an honest effort to convince His Majesty's Government that the policy of spreading the tentacles of paramountcy in the State ought to be abandoned. The rulers of treaty States like Hyderabad, should be recognised as sovereign ruler of their States. In that case, the ruler's nominees in the Federal Legislature will give no cause to their British Indian compatriots to repent the federal wed-loc

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HINDUS IN HYDERABAD

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SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

BY

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new

With a Foreword by

Nawab Dost Mohd. Khan Bahadur

Jagirdar and Member

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AT EXPECTATION

AN EXPOSITION
OF THE PROBLEMS OF HYDERABAD
FROM THE PEOPLE'S POINT OF VIEW

(A series of Leaders published in "The Hyderabad
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Foreword

It must be obvious to all seekers after truth that the Mussalmans, having made India their home, devoted their best energies for the advancement of India's culture and prosperity. The fact that India can boast of several monuments of Muslim culture and civilisation, is a proof of the patriotic fervour of Indian Muslims. The part played by the Muslims in glorifying the history of the Deccan from the time of the Bahamani Kings down to the Asafjahi reign is an évent unto itself. The impartial benevolence that has characterised the reign of the Asafjahi monarchs and particularly the spirit of progress and broadmindedness that has distinguished the present reign will be evident from the facts and figures that have been compiled by my able friend, Mr. Sayed Mohd. Ahsan, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader, and member of the Municipal Corporation. It gives me real pleasure to have to write this foreword to his little brochure. Mr. Ahsan has rendered a service to Hyderabad by presenting a correct picture of the position that the various communi-

ties enjoy in our State. He has incidentally nailed to the counter the malicious untruths that are being spread by certain journals and institutions against Hyderabad, with a view to terrorise and blackmail the State authorities. The real object of all agitation against the Hyderabad Government seems to be to harm the Muslims and dislodge them from their present position, without any cause or provocation.

As a member of the Jagirdar class, which is not used to thinking in terms of Hindu or Muslim, and which is free from all trace of communalism, I can say with authority that the communal trouble in our State is a mere reflection of the troubles in British India.

I am of opinion that this plague has not taken deep roots nor spread widely in our State. It can easily be eradicated, if government strike at the basis of this agitation and prove to the civilised world by facts, and figures that the agitators are merely trading in false propaganda.

A study of this pamphlet will convince any right thinking man that economically, our Hindu brethren hold the key position in the State. Besides, they

enjoy full religious freedom, social equality and equal educational facilities. If, however, our Hindu compatriots still have any grievances against the State, they can easily obtain redress by the usual constitutional means. I fail to understand what exactly are the measures and programmes, calculated to benefit the masses, which our government are unwilling or unable to undertake. If we compare the position in Hyderabad with that obtaining in the contiguous Congress provinces, we will find that in the matter of revenue remissions and Taqawi loans, our government is far more generous and prompt. Besides, the incidence of Taxation in Hyderabad is very low. If the state of affairs had not been as described above, then I am sure that all right thinking Muslims, would have been the strongest supporters of the popular grievances.

I have seen in the villages that the Hindu peasants are far more contented than the Muslims who work as land serfs. If truth must be told, the truth is that the Hindu Patels and Patwaris, as also the Hindu Sahukars and Komtis, are the greatest exploiters of the village dwellers.

The Hindu subjects of my August Master have good reasons to be far more contented than the inhabitants of other provinces and States. I hope that the perusal of this pamphlet will remove many misunderstandings and lead to real Hindu-Muslim unity.

DOST MOHAMAD KHAN .

Economic Position of Hindus in Nizam's State

They predominate in every walk of life.

(By Syed Mohammed Ahsan, B.A., LL. B.)

Hyderabad administration seems to be a penchant for the communalist press in British India. While the Muslim papers sing its praise day in and day out, the Hindu papers condemn it equally violently, from an altogether different point of view. As it happens in all such cases, neither the fulsome praise nor the wholesale condemnation is really justified. The truth lies just midway.

I am no apologist of the Hyderabad Administration, because I know its failings and faults only too well. There is scope for improvement in the administration all around. The top heavy expenditure on establishment has to be curtailed, red-tapeism and nepotism have to be rooted out and the budget has to be recast in such a way that more money is made available for nation-building activities.

Above all, the administration itself has to be liberalised, giving the representatives of the people a voice in the formulation of Governmental policies. All this, I admit, has to be done and probably is being done to some extent; but even these failings do not justify the pernicious propaganda that is being carried on in British India against Hyderabad.

Inadequate Publicity

As the British Indian public is unaware of the correct position in the State and as the Hyderabad Bureau of Public Information is very shy and slow in doing its work, Hindu communalists have taken advantage of this situation to paint Hyderabad in the darkest of colours.

I propose to place certain facts and figures before the British Indian public to enable it to draw its own conclusions. It will be seen that among the faults of the Hyderabad Administration, communalism is certainly not one. We are, I confess, still passing through comparatively mediaeval times in this part of India, and are, therefore, prey to all the evils of mediaevalism. But, communal considerations have never weighed with the Government

of Hyderabad and Hindus and Muslims have always lived like brethren under the paternal care of the Asaf Jahs. The following article is merely intended to throw light on the position of the various communities in the State. It is not intended to be a commentary on all aspects of administration.

Before describing the social and economic conditions of H. E. H. the Nizam's subjects, their representation in the State services (both higher and subordinate), the educational facilities which have been provided for them and the religious freedom which they enjoy, it would be more convenient for a proper understanding of the various factors to glance at a statement of the relative numerical strength of the different communities inhabiting the State, their division into urban and rural areas and their distribution among productive occupations. Such a classification is not only necessary to obtain a correct perspective but is also helpful in overthrowing fallacious conclusions drawn from partial and distorted representation of facts.

Population Figures

According to the census of 1931, the numerical strength of the different major communities inhabiting the State is as follows:-

Hindus	9,699,615	{ Urban 803,502-8.3 p. c. Rural 8,896,113-91 p. c.
Adi-Hindus	2,473,230	{ Urban 195,299 Rural 2,277,931
Mohammadans	1,534,666	{ Urban 506,944-33 p. c. Rural 1,027,722-77 p. c.
Others	726,537	{ Urban 47,824 Rural 680,713

In the city of Hyderabad, the Hindus numbered 172,738 in 1931 as against 153,497 in 1921 thereby showing an increase of 12½ p.c. The Adi-Hindus, in the corresponding decade, increased from 58,092 to 79,839, while the Muslim population of the City rose from 174,526 to 192,343. Besides, the City of Hyderabad, there are four other cities, 118 towns and 21,708 villages in the Dominions. Taking the population of the State as a whole, the Hindus form 67.2 p.c., the Muslims 10.5 p. c., the Adi-Hindus 17.3 p.c. and the rest of 5 p. c.

An extract from the table of the Census Report shows the distribution of Hindus and Mohammadans according to occupation as follows:-

S. No.	Description.	Total persons occupied	No. of Hindus	No. of Muslims	Percentage Hindus	Percentage Muslims
1.	Production of raw material	6,947,913	6,081,713	581,748	87	7
2.	Industry	1,711,837	1,578,299	89,973	92	5
3.	Transport	193,083	153,159	24,119	79	12
4.	Trade	1,218,696	1,030,307	152,578	85	13
5.	Public Force	226,222	166,286	49,565	74	22
6.	Public Administration	335,459	218,679	105,949	65	32
7.	Professions & liberal arts	201,411	143,063	46,589	71	23
8.	Domestic services	344,503	234,568	87,758	68	25
9.	Insufficiently described occupations.	942,877	795,109	92,105	84	10

Hindus Predominate in Every Walk of Life

It will be seen from the above statement that Hindus forming a majority of the population naturally predominate in every walk of life, but whereas their proportions are higher in the purely economic fields, they are not so high in the categories of public administration, professions and liberal arts. There are

two main reasons for this. In the first place, relatively speaking a much larger proportion of Hindus live in rural areas as compared with Mohammadans, with the result that they prefer agricultural and other pursuits to such occupations as will force them to leave the land. The urban inhabitants among Hindus similarly give preference to trade, banking and sometimes the legal profession. On the other hand, the City dwelling Muslims, at least the more educated among them, have for generations depended solely for their means of livelihood on liberal professions and administrative posts. The comparative value which the two communities attach to higher administrative posts is seen from the fact that among the applicants of the Hyderabad Civil Service in 1926, 162 were Mohammadans and only 20 Hindus; while in 1937, the corresponding figures are 15 Hindus and 54 Muslims. The same tendency is revealed with regard to the applications for Asiatic and European scholarships submitted by candidates belonging to the two communities. The paucity of the Hindu candidates is also marked when the periodical selection of probationary Tahsildars is made and in the departmental examinations for non-gazetted service. There is, however, no

lack of Hindu candidates aspiring for entry into the legal profession. For example, the number of Hindu candidates that appears for the local pleaders' examination is more than double the number of Muslim candidates.

Tell-tale Tables

The following tables show the number of candidates in the above mentioned examinations from both the communities:—

Table 'A' Pleaders' Examination.

Year.	Total No. of Applicants	
	Hindus	Muslims
1927	607	219
1928	610	227
1929	638	278
1930	704	327
1931	608	267

Table 'B' Scholarships (European)

Year	Muslims	Hindus	Christians	Parsees	Total No. of applications.
1932	39	17	—	1	57
1933	38	8	3	1	50
1934	24	1	—	—	25
1935	14	3	2	1	20
1936	6	2	1	1	10
Total.	121	31	6	4	162

Table 'C' Departmental Examination (Revenue)

Years.	Total No. of applicants.		Total No. Passed.	
	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.
1927	14	104	2	16
1928	13	62	-	2
1929	7	55	2	11
1930	8	24	-	1
1931	6	31	1	2
1932	13	47 (Parsees 2)	2	5
1933	17	53 („ 2)	1	6 (Parsi 1)
1934	12	62	2	9
1935	9	54 (Parsees 1)	4	20 (Xian 1)
		(Xian 1)		
1936	10	49 (Parsees 1)	5	9 (Parsi 1)

Table 'D' Departmental Examination (Customs)

Years.	Total No. of Applicants.		Total No. of Passed.	
	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.
1927	15	59	1	3
1928	3	25	1	1
1929	4	42	-	2
1930	4	43	-	4
1931	5	79	-	5
1932	151	237 (others 3)	27	27
1933	155	246 „ 3	38	71 (others 2)
1934	107	180 „ 2	29	36
1935	74	159 „ 2	8	27
1936	58	138 „ 3	15	26

Table 'E' Hyderabad Civil Service

Years.	Total No. of Applicants Registered.		Total No. of Nominations for competitive Exam.	
	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.
1928	4	55	4	31
1929	22	49	16	37
1930	17	42	8	20
1931	12	41	5	20
1932	9	39	6	23
1933	25	54	7	30
1934	12	23	6	14
1935	12	27	6	19
1936	19	37 (Parsi 1)	9	20 (Parsi 1)
1937	15	54	7	23

The relative keenness of the two communities for State Service is strikingly illustrated by the number of candidates from each who come forward to compete in the annual Civil Service Examination. By rule 50 p. c. of the gazetted ranks are reserved for Hyderabad Civil servants, the remainder being filled by promotion from below or otherwise. Once a year all candidates who possess the prescribed qualifications are required to appear before a board of high officers. After taking into consideration the candidates's college record, academic qualifications, family claims, social status and his general personality, the Board decides

whether he should be permitted to appear in the competitive examination that follows. It is needless to say that the most scrupulous fairness is observed in granting such permission. The final selection depends entirely on the ability of the candidate to secure the necessary number of marks, which would include him in the first five or six candidates to be chosen.

It is evident from the above, that 'not only for the Hyderabad Civil Service and the European Scholarships, but for the departmental examinations, Mohammedans come forward in larger numbers than the Hindus.

In Rural Areas

This, however, does not apply to the relative position of the two communities with regard to administrative offices in the villages where out of 99,184 village officers 2,514 are Mohammadans and 95,259 Hindus. Nor does it apply to their relative proportions amongst the numerous holders of pattas, Inams, Rusums, Religious Jagirs and Cash Grants. The following statement gives the numerical strength of the two communities in the above mentioned categories:—

	Pattadars	Inamdars	Rusumdars	Religious grants. Jagirs	Cash.
Hindus.	1,006,275	70,382	3,351	46	1,156
Moham- madans	67,217	11,354	197	47	886

Some Educational Statistics

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government spends more than a crore of rupees a year on the education of the people. Primary education in the State is free and is imparted in the mother tongue of the pupils, according as it happens to be Hindustani, Telegu or Marathi. Adequate provision also exists in secondary schools for teaching of the vernaculars. Recently, Government has announced its intention to introduce a bill to make primary education compulsory in selected areas. The popularity of Government and aided schools amongst members of all communities may be gauged from the following tables:—

Table Showing Caste and Creed of Scholars

Mohammádans.	1,20,555
Brahmans.	28,921
Non-Brahmans.	84,982
Others Hindus.	1,07,910
Anglo Indians.	1,035

HINDU RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Indians Xians.	6,121
Parsets.	339
Sikhs.	212
Jains.	1,272
Indigenous Tribes.	371
Depressed Classes.	10,432
Total....	3,62,150
Total Population.	1,44,36,148
Mohammadans.	1,20,555
Hindus.	2,21,813

Population of Hindus to the total school going population is 61 %.

do do of Mohammadans do do 33%

Dual System maintained for the sake of Hindus

There are two sets of schools in the state :—

(a) those affiliated to the Osmania University and (b) the high schools preparing students for the H. S. L. C.

In the former, Hindustani forms the medium of instruction for all subjects, while English is taught as a compulsory subject. In the latter, English has been retained as the medium of instruction for the benefit of those who still prefer to receive their education through that language. Similarly,

in the field of higher education, the dual system has been maintained. While the colleges affiliated to the Osmania University impart instruction through the medium of Hindustani, retaining English as a compulsory subject, the Nizam College affiliated to the Madras University offers instructions through English.

More Hindus in Osmania University than in Nizam College

The growing popularity of the Osmania University among all communities may be seen from the fact that though the alternative of receiving education through English is always open to all students, yet they prefer more and more the courses of studies provided by this University. The total strength of the University and affiliated colleges has reached a maximum of, 1800 pupils. In recent years, though there has been a general increase in the rate of admission for all students, yet comparatively, the number of Hindu students has increased at a faster rate than that of the Mohammadans.

This is as it should be, for Hindustani is not the language of any one community or

province. It is the product of the co-mingling of two great cultures in India viz. that of the Hindus and the Muslims. The history of the language, as of its literature, is full of revered names representing both communities, who have contributed to its development and enriched its prose and poetry. It is not only the common language of the whole of India but has the additional advantage in the Dominions of being the official language of the State. Hence there should be nothing surprising if Hindus as well as Mohammadans are desirous of receiving higher education through a language which by right belongs equally to both. Ample provision has been made in the University for the teaching of other chief languages of the State like Telegu Marathi and Kanarese as also for instruction in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The policy underlying the whole educational system is not only to evolve the common language and culture inherited from the past but to preserve the culture, languages, and philosophies of the different communities inhabiting the State.

Education for All

In Hyderabad, as in British India, Education is imparted to all classes and communi-

ties through common institutions. There are no class, caste or religious disabilities attaching to any section. Thus Caste Hindus and the depressed classes, Muslims and Christians, Parsees and Sikhs all receive instruction in the same school and colleges, though in boarding houses, out of regard for the religious prejudices of certain sections, separate arrangements are made for food etc. for the Hindus and Muslims.

While the depressed classes have not been separated for purposes of education, as some persons have wrongly asserted, a few schools have been opened for them in view of their deplorable condition and their particular needs for employment. The object of these schools is to teach children of these classes manual arts and crafts so that they may be able to earn a living. A majority of them, however, still receive education through the common schools like all other communities.

Some Ecclesiastical Statistics

Not only through education but in various other ways, Government aims at regulating and harmonising the relations of different communities in the State. From the coffers

of the States 11,355 Hindu and 5,024 Muslim religious institutions receive aid in the shape of cash grants ; while churches are allowed Rs. 14,760/- annually for their maintenance, the corresponding amount on Hindu institutions is Rs. 1,12,870/- The income of scattered plots of land and māmools dedicated to the maintenance of the Hindu temples or institutions goes up o Rs. 4,66,946/- annually Over and above this, there are entire villages consisting of Jagirs endowed both for Hindu and Muslims Institutions. For instance, a temple called Sita Ram Bagh situated in the City of Hyderabad has got a Jagir yielding an yearly income of Rs. 50,000. It would be interesting to record that nearly 125 Muslims institutions such as Mosques, Tombs etc. are managed by Hindus who hold ma'ash grants for their services, which are rendered by proxy. It will thus be seen that the State tries to protect and preserve all religious institutions in the State without trying to interfere with the religious performances of any creed. It seeks to ensure that the grants are applied to their legitimate purposes.

The Ecclesiastical Machinery

Besides Royal grants, about 1,100 properties endowed by private individuals yielding an annual income of 3½ lakhs have been registered by the Ecclesiastical Department, which looks after their proper use. At the lowest rung of the Ecclesiastical service, stand the village patels who number 29,586, out of whom 27,310 are Hindus and 2,272 Muslims. Tahsildars, Taluqdars and Subedars, irrespective of their caste or creed are vested with ecclesiastical powers. Above the Subedars, a bifurcation takes place, administrative matters going to the Director, Ecclesiastical Department, while quasi-judicial cases go to the Nazim Atiyat. The Nazim-Atiyat is selected from among the senior Revenue officers, regardless of his caste or creed. During the last 8 years, a Kayaisth, a Bramin and a Muslim sat successively on the bench of the Atiyat Court, where the Hindu Nazim decides the rights of Muslim Mutawallies and the Muslim Nazim hears the cases of Pujaris. The appeals of the Nazim's decision are filed in what is known as the Atiyat Committee which consists of two member of the Execu-

tive Council, the Chief Justice sitting on it as an ex-officio member. The decisions of these tribunals are enforced by the Ecclesiastical Department, whose non-communal constitution, as outlined above, inspires confidence among all right-thinking citizens.

Non-Communal Laws

As stated before, there are thousand of Royal grants, in the shape of cash and lands, to religious institutions, many of them being in writing. Intricate questions of law sometimes arise as to their interpretation and rules of succession under them. Therefore a volume of law has grown up in the shape of Firmans, Gashties and rulings of the Atiyat Committee, which in Atiyat cases holds a position similar to that of a High Court. The most remarkable feature of this law is that it is non-communal and affects all grants equally. If the rule of succession is determined by personal law, since there is adoption among Muslims, the rights of Muslim Muttawallies dying heirless escheat to Government; while under similar circumstances, Hindu grants devolve on the adopted heir.

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Religious Freedom for All

All religions are free to preach their tenets, with this proviso that no person acts in a manner so as to hurt the feelings of others. With regard to all such activities, the State maintains a strictly impartial attitude. Were it not for this spirit of toleration, the Christian population of Hyderabad would not have risen during the last 40 years from 21,000 to 153,000. Muslim preachers and Hindu pujaries are appointed to teach their co-religionists their respective tenets. Besides pujaris, 54 Shastris and 56 Bajhan preachers receive State grants.

The Moharrum and Dasera sometimes coincide. The former being an occasion of mourning for Muslims and the latter one of rejoicing for the Hindus, the question of regulating them in a manner calculated to avoid friction, has been rather important. Eighty-seven years ago, when such an occasion arose, it was decided that in the interests of public peace there should be no music at certain places under certain conditions. Fifty-Four years ago similar contingency arose. Government appointed a committee of four jagirdars, three Hindus and

one Muslim, which upheld the previous practice that holds good even today.

Music and Processions

The rules relating to religious processions, which were sanctioned by Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, lay down that police must be previously intimated to as regards the routes of procession. They aim at preventing conflicts and are based on the same spirit of tolerance which permeates other legislation of the kind. The orders for stopping music before mosque were promulgated forty years ago and modified lately by a committee consisting of Mr. Armstrong who was then Director General of Police, Justice Girirao, Raja Bahadur Venkatrama Reddy, the then Commissioner of Police, Raza Nawaz Jung, Subedar, and Zulcadar Jung, Home Secretary. This committee laid down that within a distance of forty paces from the mosque the playing of music in houses and other places of worship should be stopped at stipulated periods, the rule applying to all religions.

Government's Impartiality

The construction of all places of worship is also subject to previous sanction so that

occasions for conflicts may be eliminated. It has happened that permission has been denied for mosques or temples in the interest of public peace. The mosque near Amera Motor Garrage was converted into a school and library, as it was too close to a temple. Similarly, a Muslim Idgah which was too close to a Sikh Gurudwara was shifted to another place in Nanded. During the decade ended 1344 F., permission was granted to construct 166 new temples and to repair 885 old ones. Besides numerous churches, sixteen thousand temples and 4000 mosques are flourishing in the Dominions. A few years ago, a dispute broke out between the Muslims and the Sikhs relating to the boundaries of Maltekri Nanded Gurudwara within the Dominions, which is looked upon by the whole Sikh community of India as its most sacred place. The State invited Mr. Justice Cumming from Bengal to settle the same, so that the decision may inspire confidence in the Sikh community of the whole of India. He decided the case against the Musalmans and his decision was enforced. The corpse of a Muslim saint was exhumed and buried else where. These are the ways and methods adopted in the State to settle the communal disputes.

Out of deference to the sentiments of his Hindu subjects, His Exalted Highness has commanded that there shall be no cow sacrifice on Bakrid occasions.

It will now be readily conceded by all impartial readers that the Hindus are economically better off than the Muslims, educationally, their Community Provides 61 percent of the total number of Scholars in the State; they enjoy the fullest religious freedom, consistent with public peace; their religious institutions receive larger donations and subsidies than Muslim institutions; and in all other matters, they are treated with the utmost consideration and fairness

Such being the state of affairs, is it fair and proper that Hindu journals and institutions should indulge in false and malicious propaganda against the State?

3

हैद्राबाद संस्थानांतील लोकस्थिति



प्रकाशक—आ. कृ. वाघमारे, जौरंगाबाद द.
मुद्रक—शंकर नरहर जोशी, चित्रशाळा प्रेस, १०२६ सदाशिव
पेठ, पृष्ठे २

किंमत आठ आणे

निवेदन

हैद्राबाद संस्थानांतील लोकस्थितीचा अभ्यास करित असतांना, हैद्राबादसरकारने प्रसिद्ध केलेल्या कागदपत्रांतून मी कांहीं टिपणें घेतलीं होतीं. अभ्यासू कार्यकर्त्यांना त्यांचा उपयोग होणार असून सामान्य जनतेलाही तीं उद्बोधक ठरतील असें वाटल्यावरून तीं प्रसिद्ध करित आहे. हा अशा प्रकारचा प्रयत्न कार्यकर्त्यांना व सामान्य जनतेला कितपत योग्य वाटतो हें पाहण्यासाठीच कांहीं महत्त्वाचीं टिपणेंच आज प्रसिद्ध करित आहे. छपाईचें काम बाहेर गांवीं करावें लागल्यामुळें त्यांत बऱ्याचशा चुका राहिल्या असण्याचा संभव आहे, तरी वाचकांनीं त्याकडे क्षमेच्या दृष्टीनें पहावें ही विनंति आहे.

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औरंगाबाद
ता. १ जानेवारी १९३७ }

67

आ. कृ. वावमारे

अनुक्रमणिका.



	पृष्ठांक
हिंदुस्थानांतील निरनिराळ्या प्रांतांची लोकसंख्या	१
हैद्राबादेंतील जिल्हानिहाय क्षेत्रफळ, शहरें, खेडी व घरे	२
” ” लोकसंख्या	३
” ” शहरांतील लोकसंख्या	४
” ” खेड्यांतील ”	५
” महत्त्वाच्या भाषानुरूप ”	६
” प्रमुख शहरांतील प्रमुख जातींची लोकसंख्या	”
” ” भाषा बोलणारांची जिल्हानिहाय लोकसंख्या	७
” जातिपरत्वे लोकसंख्या	८
” प्रत्येक दहा हजारांत जातींची संख्या	
” जिल्हानिहाय प्रमुख जातींनुरूप शहरांतील लोकसंख्या	९
” ” ब्राह्मण लोकसंख्या	१०
” सर्वधर्मांची लोकसंख्या व विवाहित (वयपरत्वे).	११
” सर्वधर्मांचे अविवाहित आणि विधुर व विधवा ”	१२
” वयपरत्वे हिंदु लोकसंख्या व विवाहित	१३
” ” ” अविवाहित व विधुर आणि विधवा	१४
” ” ” हरिजन लोकसंख्या व विवाहित ✓	१५
” ” ” अविवाहित आणि विधुर व विधवा	१६
” ” ” ख्रिश्चन लोकसंख्या व विवाहित	१७
” ” ” अविवाहित आणि विधुर व विधवा	१८
” ” ” मुसलमान लोकसंख्या व विवाहित ✓	१९
” ” ” अविवाहित आणि विधुर व विधवा	२०
” ” ” ब्राह्मण विधुर व विधवा	२१
” वरिष्ठ सरकारी नोकऱ्यांची जातींनुरूप विभागणी ✓	
” वय व प्रांतपरत्वे अविवाहित ब्राह्मण	२२
” ” ” ” विवाहित ”	२३
” साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण व साक्षरता-सर्व धर्म	२४
” साक्षरता (हिंदु व हरिजन)	२५

हिंदुस्थान व निरनिराळे प्रांत आणि मोठी संस्थाने यांची
लोकसंख्या व तीत झालेली वाढ.

	सन १९३१	सन १९२१	शें. वाढ
हिंदुस्थान	३५,२८,३७,७७८	३१,८९,४२,४८०	१०.६
बंगाल	५,०१,१४,००२	४,६७,०२,३०७	७.३
मुंबई	२,१९,३०,६०१	१,९३,४८,२१९	१२.३
बिहार व ओरिसा	३,७६,६७,१४६	३,३९,९६,१५४	११.०
मद्रास	४,६७,४०,१०७	४,२३,१८,९८५	१०.४
सी. पी. व व्हाड	१,५५,०७,७२३	१,३९,१२,७६०	११.५
पंजाब	२,३५,८०,८५२	२,०६,८५,४७८	१४.०
यू. पी. आग्रा-			
अ. औध	४,८४,०८,७६३	४,५३,७५,०६९	६.७
बडोदा	२४,४३,००७	२१,२६,५२२	१४.९
ग्वाल्हेर	३५,२३,०७०	३१,९३,१७६	१०.३
जम्मू व काश्मीर	३६,४६,२४३	३३,२०,५१८	९.८
मैसूर	६५,५७,३०२	५९,७८,८९२	९.७
त्रावणकोर	५०,९५,९७३	४०,०६,०६२	२७.२
हैद्राबाद	१,४४,३६,१४८	१,२४,७१,७७०	१५.८

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जिल्हानिहाय क्षेत्रफळ, शहरें, खेडी व घरे

जिल्ह्याचें नांव	क्षेत्रफळ चौरस मैल	शहरें	खेडी	घरे	
				शहरांत	खेड्यांत
हैद्राबाद शहर	५३	१	१,१६,८०७
अत्राफवल्दा	२,६५१	२	९३२	२,३४८	१,२६,५२३
वरंगल	७,९४४	७	१,४४३	२२,१३४	२,१०,२०६
करीमनगर	५,७२२	११	१,२१७	१७,८९०	२,४६,७२९
आदलाबाद	७,२९४	९	२,०६८	८,९८७	१,४८,४५१
मेदक	३,१९८	८	९३८	१२,४९२	१,५६,०३९
निजामाबाद	३,२६५	१०	८५७	२४,१७६	१,३५,१२०
महबूबनगर	५,३२६	३	१,३७३	७,८९३	२,१७,१४६
नळगोंडा	६,०४९	३	१,२३६	६,४२३	२,३१,३७०
औरंगाबाद	६,२१२	५	१,९५३	२७,५२९	१,९७,८४२
बीड	४,१३२	८	१,०३९	१२,३३२	१,४२,४६०
नांदेड	३,७७१	८	१,३९४	२१,७१६	१,६८,६५०
परभणी	५,१२५	१२	१,५६६	२४,७५६	१,६१,५८५
गुलबर्गा	६,९७५	१२	१,६९८	३०,७११	२,६७,८६०
उस्मानाबाद	३,५२६	७	८१३	१५,४६०	१,४१,१६३
रायचूर	६,६३०	१६	१,७४८	२७,३९०	१,७५,४७०
बीदर	४,८२५	११	१,४२२	१६,४६८	१,९०,१२६
एकूण	८२,६९८	१३३	२१,६९७	३,९५,४८२	२९,१६,७४०

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जिल्हानिहाय लोकसंख्या

	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
हेद्राबाद शहर	२,४७,६२३	२,१९,२७१	४,६६,८९४
अत्राफनवदा	२,५३,९७५	२,४५,६८६	४,९९,६६१
वर्गल	५,७५,८१९	५,४१,८७४	११,१७,६९३
करीमनगर	६,३४,४१६	६,०६,९८९	१२,४१,४०५
आदलबाद	३,८९,७५४	३,७२,२७६	७,६२,०३०
मेदक	३,७३,४७५	३,६५,१९०	७,३८,६६५
निजामाबाद	३,१३,५५६	३,०९,६६९	६,२३,२२५
महबूबनगर	४,९४,०६१	४,७७,५५५	९,७१,६१६
नळगोडा	५,८०,८९७	५,५२,५१२	११,३३,४०९
औरंगाबाद	४,८०,४९८	४,६४,२९५	९,४४,७९३
बीड	३,२५,३९६	३,०८,२९४	६,३३,६९०
नांदेड	३,६७,१७०	३,५४,९११	७,२२,०८१
परभणी	४,३४,७७७	४,१८,९८३	८,५३,७६०
मुलबर्गा	६,२१,६८७	६,०३,३२१	१२,२५,००८
उस्मानाबाद	३,५७,४८९	३,३३,५७९	६,९१,०६८
रायचूर	४,७३,१६१	४,६४,३७४	९,३७,५३५
नीदर	४,४६,२५६	४,२७,३५९	८,७३,६१५
एकूण	७३,७०,०१०	७०,६६,१३८	१,४४,३६,१४८

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जिल्हानिहाय शहरांतील लोकसंख्या.

	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
हैद्राबाद शहर	२,४७,६२३	२,१९,२७१	४,६६,८९४
अत्राफवल्दा	५,९३५	५,९०३	११,८३८
वरंगल	६२,४८२	५५,०९७	१,१७,५७९
करीमनगर	४१,८८३	४०,९३५	८२,८१८
आदलाबाद	२४,२७२	२३,८१२	४८,०८४
मेदक	२५,८१८	२५,९६५	५१,७८३
निजामाबाद	३२,४४८	३२,१५१	६४,५९९
महबूबनगर	१६,३७७	१६,०५४	३२,४०१
नळगोंडा	१२,९२५	१२,७७७	२५,७०२
औरंगाबाद	४१,६५२	३८,२६६	७९,९१८
बीड	२९,५८३	२८,१६८	५७,७५१
नांदेड	५१,००६	४७,३०६	९८,३१२
परभणी	३५,६८४	३४,१७९	६९,८६३
शुलबर्गा	७४,३८७	७१,३८६	१,४५,७७३
उस्मानाबाद	३८,८७९	३५,३३२	७४,२११
रायचूर	५९,२३७	५८,६९८	१,१७,९३५
बादर	३६,७१३	३४,८०७	७१,५२०
एकूण	८,३६,८७४	७,८०,१०७	१६,१६,९८१

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जिल्हानिहाय र्हेड्यांतील क्षेत्रसंख्या.

पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
२,४८,०४०	२,३९,७८३	४,८७,८२३
५,१३,३३७	४,८६,७७७	१०,००,११४
५,९२,५३३	५,६६,०५४	११,५८,५८७
३,६५,४८२	३,४८,४६४	७,१३,९४६
३,४७,६५७	३,३९,२२५	६,८६,८८२
२,८१,१०८	२,७७,५१८	५,५८,६२६
४,७७,७१४	४,६१,५०१	९,३९,२१५
५,६७,९७२	५,३९,७३५	११,०७,७०७
४,३८,८४६	४,२६,०२९	८,६४,८७५
२,९५,८१३	२,८०,१२६	५,७५,९३०
३,३१,४८६	३,२०,७३२	६,५२,२१८
३,८३,७७१	३,७१,६७७	७,५५,४४८
५,४७,३००	५,३१,९३५	१०,७९,२३५
३,१८,६१०	२,९८,२४७	६,१६,८५७
४,११,९२४	४,०५,६७६	८,१९,६००
४,०९,५४३	३,९२,५५२	८,०२,०९५
एकूण	६२,८६,०३१	१,२२८,१९,१६७

संस्थानांतील महत्त्वाच्या भाषानुरूप लोकसंख्या व तिची घट-वाढ.

सन	मराठी	कानडी	तेलंगी	उर्दू
१८८१	३१,४७,७४५	१२,३८,५१९	४२,६६,४७०	१०,३८,३०५
१८९१	३४,९३,८५८	१४,५१,०४६	५०,३१,०६९	११,९८,३८२
१९०१	२८,९८,७३८	१५,६२,०१८	५१,४८,०५६	११,९१,०४७
१९११	३४,९८,७६३	१६,८०,००५	६३,६८,६२६	१३,४१,६२२
१९२१	३२,९६,८५८	१५,३६,९२८	६०,१७,३४६	१२,९०,८६६
१९३१	३७,८६,८३८	१६,२०,०९४	६९,७२,५३४	१५,०७,२७२

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प्रमुख शहरांतील प्रमुख जातींची लोकसंख्या इ. स. १९३१.

	हिंदु	हरिजन	मुसलमान	ख्रिश्चन	एकूण लोकसंख्या
१ हैद्राबाद-शहर	१,७२,२७९	७९,८३९	१,९२,३४३	१६,१२३	४,६६,८९४
२ वरंगल-	३५,१९९	११,३३६	१४,४६०	७४८	६२,११९
३ औरंगाबाद-	१५,५२०	३,२१२	१६,१०४	७८८	३६,८७०
४ गुलबर्गा-	१७,५०९	३,४२८	१९,७९२	१४५	४१,०८३

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संस्थानांतील प्रमुख भाषा बोलणारांची
जिल्हानिहाय संख्या

	तेलंगी	मराठी	कानडी	उर्दू
हैद्राबाद श.	१,७३,३५७	१६,३४४	३,५२१	२,१८,२०६
अत्राफवल्दा	३,९७,६१२	१७,९०३	१९,८६५	५५,७५५
वरंगल	९,४९,४८८	१३,६८९	३६०	६०,६९८
करीमनगर	११,६८,०६२	९,५५४	२९८	५२,८९०
आदलाबाद	४,६३,५५८	१,५९,५०९	१०,४०४	४१,७०२
मेदक	६,३९,३५०	८,५४९	५,२९६	७६,१४५
निजामाबाद	५,४५,१८८	८,३६५	५,७६१	४५,७३०
महबूबनगर	८,२१,९०२	१२,१८७	२०,२५०	७५,२७६
नळगोडा	१०,२९,५०६	३,६४६	९५०	६१,६४२
औरंगाबाद	१६,४५२	७,४०,६१४	६,३३७	१,२५,६३२
बीड	४,६०९	५,५२,६४२	२,२५५	५६,६७१
नांदेड	१,२०,४७७	४,५०,६२१	३८,१५५	५,२८५
परभणी	१३,८५०	७,०८,७२०	५,९११	९४,३९६
गुलबर्गा	२,३९,७९६	१,९८,९५०	६,०४,४०९	१,६५,८६३
उस्मानाबाद	१७,९९४	५,४६,७४९	३७,०३०	७३,०३८
रायचूर	२,३७,५५३	११,२५८	५,९८,५१०	७९,९२७
बीदर	१,३३,७८०	३,२७,५३८	२,६०,७८२	१,३८,४१६
एकूण	६९,७२,५३४	३७,८६,८३८	१६,२०,०९४	१५,०७,२७२

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जातिपरत्वे लोकसंख्या.

जाति	१९२१	१९३१
हिंदु	८३,१६,७६१	९६,९९,६१५
आदि-हिंदु	२३,३८,९८९	२४,७३,२३०
आर्य	५४५	३,७००
ब्रह्मोज	२५८	१८२
जैन	१८,५८४	२१,५४३
मुसलमान	१२,९८,२७७	१५,३४,६६६
ख्रिश्चन	६२,६५६	१,५१,३८२
पार्शी	१,४९०	१,७८४
बुद्धिस्ट	१०	५२
ज्यू	४	२७
शीख	२,७४५	५,१७८
अनिमिस्ट	४,३०,७४८	५,४४,७८९

प्रत्येक दहा हजारांत जातींची संख्या व तिची घट-वाढ.

सन	हिंदु	ख्रिश्चन	मुसलमान
१८८१	९,०३३	१४	९४०
१८९१	८,९४१	१८	९८७
१९०१	८,८६०	२१	१,०३७
१९११	८,६९३	४०	१,०३२
१९२१	८,५४४	५०	१,०३२
१९३१	८,४३५	५०	१,०३२

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जिल्हा निहाय मसुख जातीनुसार शहरातील लोकसंख्या

शहर	हिंदु	मुसलमान	आदि हिंदु	ख्रिश्चन
हैद्राबाद शहर	१,७२,२७२	१,९२,३४३	७९,८३९	१६,१२३
अनाफाशहर	६,७४०	२,८४१	१,७७०	११
वरांगल	६५,३०६	२२,३०३	२२,०१९	१,८१५
करिमनगर	५६,८०२	१४,६७७	१०,१८२	९३६
आदलाबाद,	३२,०७४	१०,९१८	४,०२८	२५०
मेदक	३३,७२३	११,८५४	४,८७२	१,२३१
निजामाबाद	४१,७४९	१३,६९९	७,६९१	२६२
महबूबनगर	२२,३८९	६,४८३	२,४५४	२१५
नळगोंडा	१३,८७१	७,५५६	३,८६३	२७३
औरांगाबाद	३९,७०८	२९,७७५	६,४५२	१,६४७
बीड	३६,५००	१५,११८	४,५९९	१२
नांदेड	३८,५४५	२०,६११	८,८८५	२१०
परभणी	५७,४६२	३१,५७४	७,३३०	३७०
गुलबर्गा	७१,४५५	५६,७४१	१४,६३५	९५९
उस्मानाबाद	४४,०७३	१८,९२६	१०,१२७	२६
रायचूर	७४,२८५	३०,४९०	११,०३५	६६६
बीदर	३४,६४०	२८,३७२	६,४२१	१,२५५
एकूण	८,४१,६००	५,१४,२८१	२,०६,२०१	२६,२६१

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जिल्हा निहाय ग्रामहण लोकसंख्या.

जिल्हा	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
हैद्राबाद शहर	१०,२८२	१०,००५	२०,२८७
अत्राफखेदा	६,६८०	६,५१८	१३,१९८
वरंगल	१०,१०४	८,२८१	१८,३८५
करिमनगर	९,०३८	९,१८८	१८,२२६
आदलाबाद	७,४६९	७,०८८	१४,५५७
मेदक	६,२४१	५,९२५	१२,१६६
निजामाबाद	७,३४७	६,३४४	१३,६९१
महबूबनगर	८,१६२	७,७७०	१५,९३२
नळगंडा	९,८२३	७,३८७	१७,२१०
औरंगाबाद	२०,७३३	२०,५११	४१,२४४
बीड	१२,६१३	१२,३८४	२४,९९७
नांदेड	१०,१९०	८,१३३	१८,३२३
परभणी	१६,७२२	१५,३००	३२,०२२
मुलबर्गा	१७,३५१	१५,४८१	३२,८३२
उस्मानाबाद	१२,८८०	१२,१०६	२४,९८६
रायचूर	१९,१४६	१७,८४८	३६,९९४
बीदर	११,८६६	९,५४५	२१,४११
एकूण	१,९६,६५४	१,७९,८१४	३,७६,४६८

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वयपरत्वे लोकसंख्या सर्व धर्म.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	११,५८,८२९	१२,६९,३९०	२४,२८,२१९
५ ते १०	९,१४,८५३	८,४३,१६०	१७,५८,०१३
१० ते १५	८,२७,२१३	७,४८,२६८	१५,७५,४८१
१५ ते २०	६,३८,७८९	६,५५,६०१	१२,९४,३९०
२० ते २५	६,७३,२१५	६,८७,७३०	१३,६०,९४५
२५ ते ३०	६,३५,४०७	६,२४,३५१	१२,५९,७५८
३० ते ३५	५,५३,७९९	५,०६,५७०	१०,६०,३६९
३५ ते ४०	४,७४,६००	४,१५,२४१	८,८९,८४१
४० व वर	१४,९३,३०५	१३,१५,८२७	२८,०९,१३२
एकूण	७०,६६,१३८	७३,७०,०१०	१,४४,३६,१४८

विवाहित सर्व धर्म

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	५१,५७४	९०,६२०	१,४२,१९४
५ ते १०	१,२६,५३७	२,७६,८४४	४,०३,३८१
१० ते १५	२,०५,२०७	४,२२,४४२	६,२७,६४९
१५ ते २०	३,५५,९२८	५,७२,४९९	९,२८,४२७
२० ते २५	४,८९,०३३	६,१३,८७२	११,०२,९०५
२५ ते ३०	५,४८,२०१	५,३५,४६८	१०,८३,६६९
३० ते ३५	४,९१,८४९	४,०७,६२५	८,९९,४७४
३५ ते ४०	४,२०,२९९	२,८५,४००	७,०५,६९९
४० व वर	११,८९,७३४	५,५८,६५२	१७,४८,३८६
एकूण	३८,७८,३६२	३७,६३,४२२	७६,४१,७८४

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अविवाहित सर्वे धर्म.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	११,०४,९१२	११,७३,४०४	२२,७८,३१६
५ ते १०	७,८४,२७८	५,५५,२७०	१३,३९,५४८
१० ते १५	६,१६,२८५	३,०९,८७८	९,२६,१६३
१५ ते २०	२,७३,३१५	५५,२५३	३,२८,५६८
२० ते २५	१,६८,६२८	३१,९८८	२,००,६१६
२५ ते ३०	६५,३७४	१९,६१७	८४,९९१
३० ते ३५	३६,७००	१४,८५३	५१,५५३
३५ ते ४०	१९,७४४	११,१२१	३०,८६५
४० व वर	५४,८३०	२८,४३८	८३,२६८
एकूण	३१,२४,०६६	२१,९९,८२२	५३,२३,८८८

विधुर व विधवा सर्वे-धर्म.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	२,३४३	५,३६६	७,७०९
५-१०	४,०३८	११,०४६	१५,०८४
१०-१५	५,७२१	१५,९४८	२१,६६९
१५-२०	९,५४६	२७,८४९	३७,३९५
२०-२५	१५,५५४	४१,८७०	५७,४२४
२५-३०	२१,८३२	६९,२६६	९१,०९८
३०-३५	२५,२५०	८४,०९२	१,०९,३४२
३५-४०	३४,५५७	१,१८,७२०	१,५३,२७७
४० व वर	२,४८,७४१	७,२८,७३७	९,७७,४७८
एकूण	३,६७,५४२	११,०२,८९४	१४,७०,४३६

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वयपरत्नैः लीकसंख्या-हिंदु

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	७,४७,८७०	८,४१,९३४	१५,८९,८०४
५ ते १०	६,१०,१६९	५,६०,७१९	११,७०,८८०
१० ते १५	५,५९,२५१	५,०५,२३४	१०,६४,४८५
१५ ते २०	४,३१,५७२	४,४१,०९८	८,७२,६७०
२० ते २५	४,५७,५८९	४,५९,५७०	९,१७,१५९
२५ ते ३०	४,३२,८७२	४,१६,५६६	८,४९,४३८
३० ते ३५	३,७६,९२२	३,४०,९३७	७,१७,८५९
३५ ते ४०	३,२१,१४६	२,७९,१७३	६,००,३१९
४० व वर	१०,११,०१७	९,०५,९४६	१९,१६,९६३
एकूण	४९,४८,४०८	४७,५१,२०७	९६,९९,६१५

विवाहित-हिंदु

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	३४,६६१	६६,३१९	१,००,९८०
५ ते १०	८९,६१५	२,०७,२७७	२,९६,८९२
१० ते १५	१,४९,४२९	३,०६,५३८	४,५५,९६७
१५ ते २०	२,४९,७२०	३,८१,६९६	६,३१,४१६
२० ते २५	३,३७,१५३	४,०९,९३४	७,४७,०८७
२५ ते ३०	३,७२,९३७	३,५४,०६१	७,२६,९९८
३० ते ३५	३,३२,४३०	२,७०,९११	६,०३,३४१
३५ ते ४०	२,८२,७४०	१,८७,२३५	४,६९,९७५
४० व वर	७,९२,७५४	३,७०,८९३	११,६३,६४७
एकूण	२६,४१,४३९	२५,६२,८६४	५२,०४,३०३

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अविवाहित-हिंदु.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	७,११,४३१	७,७१,५४२	१४,८२,९७३
५ ते १०	५,१७,४२२	३,४४,६०९	८,६२,०३१
१० ते १५	४,०५,३९९	१,८६,१८७	५,९१,५८६
१५ ते २०	१,७४,३३८	३०,७०९	२,०५,०४७
२० ते २५	१,०८,४७३	१८,९६३	१,२७,४३६
२५ ते ३०	४३,५८९	११,९७९	५५,५६८
३० ते ३५	२५,८३५	९,३०७	३५,१४२
३५ ते ४०	१३,६९०	७,२४६	२०,९३६
४० व वर	३९,६३८	१८,८८६	५८,५२४
एकूण	२०,३९,८०५	१३,९९,४२८	३४,३९,२३३

विधुर व विधवा—हिंदु.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	१,७७८	४,०७३	५,८५१
५-१०	३,१४२	८,८८३	११,९७५
१०-१५	४,४२३	१२,५०९	१६,९३२
१५-२०	७,५१४	२०,६९३	२८,२०७
२०-२५	११,९६३	३०,६७३	४२,६३६
२५-३०	१८,६५७	५०,५५६	६९,२०२
३०-३५	२४,७१६	८४,६९२	१,०९,४०८
३५-४०	१,७८,६२५	५,१६,१६७	६,९४,७९२
एकूण	२,६७,१६४	७,८८,९१५	१०,५६,०७९

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वयपरत्वे लोकसंख्या-हरिजन-

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	२,२१,१४०	२,२८,७७४	४,४९,९१४
५ ते १०	१,५७,५९१	१,४८,१६९	३,०५,७६०
१० ते १५	१,३७,८८२	१,२६,१३२	२,६४,०१४
१५ ते २०	१,०१,१३९	१,११,२६५	२,१२,४०४
२० ते २५	१,०७,९३८	१,१७,७२४	२,२५,६६२
२५ ते ३०	१,०४,५९३	१,१०,६७३	२,१५,२६६
३० ते ३५	९१,४३६	८९,४०७	१,८०,८४३
३५ ते ४०	८०,४३७	७२,६४६	१,५३,०८३
४० व वर	२,५०,४९५	२,१५,७८९	४,६६,२८४
एकूण	१२,५२,६५१	१२,२०,५७९	२४,७३,२३०

अविवाहित हरिजन

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	२,१२,०८३	२,१२,९०८	४,२४,९९१
५ ते १०	१,३५,९३४	९९,५२९	२,३५,४६३
१० ते १५	१,०३,४१५	५१,३०१	१,५४,७१६
१५ ते २०	३९,३२७	८,७०७	४८,०३४
२० ते २५	२०,५५०	५,९२०	२६,४७०
२५ ते ३०	६,६६३	४,२५९	१०,९२२
३० ते ३५	३,५२८	२,९८३	६,५११
३५ ते ४०	२,३६४	२,१८०	४,५४४
४० व वर	६,५६७	४,९१८	११,४८५
एकूण	९,२३,१३६	५,३०,४३१	३,९२,७०५

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विवाहित-हरिजन

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	८८३४	१५,०९४	२३,९२८
५ ते १०	२१,१२३	४७,२७३	६८,३९६
१० ते १५	३३,६१४	७२,७१०	१,०६,३२४
१५ ते २०	६०,६९६	९८,०८८	१,५८,७८४
२० ते २५	८५,५२२	१,०५,३४२	१,९०,८६४
२५ ते ३०	९५,१७५	९५,६९७	१,९०,८७२
३० ते ३५	८४,५५१	७३,१८२	१,५७,७३३
३५ ते ४०	७२,२९५	५१,३४३	१,२३,६३८
४० व वर	२,०४,४८९	९८,६६५	३,०३,१५४
एकूण	६,६६,२९९	६,५७,३९४	१३,२३,६९३

विधुर व विधवा-हरिजन.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	२२३	७७२	९९५
५-१०	५३४	१,३६७	१,९०१
१०-१५	८५३	२,१२१	२,९७४
१५-२०	१,११६	४,४७०	५,५८६
२०-२५	१,८६६	६,४६२	८,३२८
२५-३०	२,७५५	१०,७१७	१३,४७२
३०-३५	३,३५७	१३,२४२	१६,५९९
३५-४०	५,७७८	१९,१२३	२४,९०१
४०-४५	३९,४३९	१,१२,२०१	१,५१,६४०
एकूण	५५,९२१	१,७०,४८०	२,२६,४०१

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वयपरत्वे लोकसंख्या.—स्त्रिश्चन.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	१२,२०८	१२,६४३	२४,८५१
५ ते १०	९,३०५	८,३१९	१७,६२४
१० ते १५	९,१८७	७,३१९	१६,५०६
१५ ते २०	७,३७६	६,७११	१४,०८७
२० ते २५	८,०७३	७,१८६	१५,२५९
२५ ते ३०	७,२२८	६,३९६	१३,६२४
३० ते ३५	५,७७४	५,४०४	११,१७८
३५ ते ४०	४,८१०	४,५३७	९,३४७
४० व वर	१५,४८३	१३,४२३	२८,९०६
एकूण	७९,४४४	७१,९३८	१,५१,३८२

विधवा व विधुर—स्त्रिश्चन.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	११	२०	३१
५-१०	९	६०	६९
१०-१५	३५	७७	११२
१५-२०	६६	१५०	२१६
२०-२५	१११	२४१	३५२
२५-३०	२१५	४७५	६९०
३०-३५	२८९	५८८	८७७
३५-४०	३५५	९५५	१,३१०
४० व वर	२,३४७	६,४९०	८,८३७
एकूण	३,४३८	९,०५६	१२,४९४

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विवाहित-स्त्रियन

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	३२२	४०२	७२४
५-१०	८४६	१,६४६	२,४९२
१०-१५	१,७६१	३,१८२	४,९४३
१५-२०	३,५२५	५,३३०	८,८५५
२०-२५	५,२०४	६,२२७	११,४३१
२५-३०	५,७५९	५,६०८	११,३६७
३०-३५	४,९९६	४,५६८	९,५६४
३५-४०	४,२६३	३,४०१	७,६६४
४० व वर	१२,६५६	६,४३४	१९,०९०
एकूण	३९,३२२	३६,७९८	७६,१२०

अविवाहित-स्त्रियन.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	११,८७५	१२,२२१	२४,०९६
५-१०	८,४५०	६,६१३	१५,०६३
१०-१५	७,३९१	४,०५०	११,४५१
१५-२०	३,७८५	१,२३१	५,०१६
२०-२५	२,७५८	७१८	३,४७६
२५-३०	१,२५४	३१३	१,५६७
३०-३५	४८९	२४८	७३७
३५-४०	१९२	१८१	३७३
४० व वर	४८०	१००	५८०
एकूण	३६,६	३६,६	७३,२

(१९)

वयपरत्वे लोकसंख्या-मुसलमान

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	१,२२,०३५	१,२६,९६३	२,४८,९९८
५ ते १०	९५,०४८	८७,९०६	१,८२,९५४
१० ते १५	८६,४३९	७८,२४१	१,६४,६८०
१५ ते २०	७५,३८४	७१,७८४	१,४७,१६८
२० ते २५	७४,६२६	७६,७९१	१,५१,४१७
२५ ते ३०	६६,२३८	६६,८०६	१,३३,०४४
३० ते ३५	५८,८३७	५२,३००	१,११,१३७
३५ ते ४०	५०,२९२	४४,४९६	९४,७८८
४० व वर	१,६२,५३६	१,३७,९४४	३,००,४८०
एकूण	७,९१,४३५	७,३४,२३१	१५,३४,६६६

विवाहित-मुसलमान.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	५,४२६	५,३४७	१०,७७३
५-१०	११,१७५	१४,०१२	२५,१८७
१०-१५	१४,५६४	२७,६५८	४२,२२२
१५-२०	३०,९७३	५८,५४५	८९,५१८
२०-२५	४४,०६३	६८,५०२	१,१२,५६५
२५-३०	५३,४९६	५८,६३५	१,१२,१३१
३०-३५	५१,२६०	४२,८२९	९४,०८९
३५-४०	४४,६१०	३२,१८०	७६,७९०
४० व वर	१,३४,५८२	६०,५७६	१,९५,१५८
एकूण	३,९०,१४९	३,६८,२८४	७,५८,४३३

(२०)

अविवाहित-मुसलमान.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
०-५	१,१६,३७१	१,२१,२५०	२,३७,६२१
५-१०	८३,६२९	७३,२८८	१,५६,९१७
१०-१५	७१,५९०	४९,६३३	१,२१,२२३
१५-२०	४३,८०३	११,२१९	५५,०२२
२०-२५	२९,४४७	४,५९१	३४,०३८
२५-३०	१०,८७४	२,०६४	१२,९३८
३०-३५	५,२६२	१,६९१	६,९५३
३५-४०	२,७८२	१,०११	३,७९३
४० व वर	६,४५३	३,०५२	९,५०५
एकूण	३,७०,२११	२,६७,७९९	६,३८,०१०

विधुर व विधवा-मुसलमान.

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	२३८	३६६	६०४
५-१०	२४४	६०६	८५०
१०-१५	२८५	९५०	१,२३५
१५-२०	६०८	२,०२०	२,६२८
२०-२५	१,११६	३,६९८	४,८१४
२५-३०	१,८६८	६,१०७	७,९७५
३०-३५	२,३१५	१७,७८०	१०,०९५
३५-४०	२,९००	११,३०५	१४,२०५
४० व वर	२१,५१०	६४,३१६	८५,८१७
एकूण	३१,०७५	१,०७,१४८	१,३८,२२३

(२१)

वय व प्रांतपरत्वे ब्राह्मण विधुर व विधवा

वय	प्रांत	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ६	महाराष्ट्र	१३	५७	७०
	तेलंगण	१०	३३	४३
७ ते १३	महाराष्ट्र	५६	३६४	४२०
	तेलंगण	२६	७५	१०१
१४ ते १६	महाराष्ट्र	१३४	४६६	६००
	तेलंगण	८९	१९७	२८६
१७ ते २३	महाराष्ट्र	८८९	१,५३३	२,४२२
	तेलंगण	२७५	३७५	६५०
२४ ते ४३	महाराष्ट्र	३,३०१	४,२५०	७,५५१
	तेलंगण	२,२०८	३,२८६	५,४९४
४४ व वर	महाराष्ट्र	६,४९६	४,६८५	११,१८१
	तेलंगण	५,४१६	५,२४०	१०,६५६
एकूण	महाराष्ट्र	१०,८८९	११,३५५	२२,२४४
	तेलंगण	८,०२४	८,२०६	१६,२३०
एकूण		१८,९१३	१९,५६१	३८,४७४

संस्थानांतील वरिष्ठ सरकारी नोकऱ्यांची जातीनुरूप विभागणी

जाति	सैन्य	इतर	एकूण
हिंदु	३९	२२३	२६२
ख्रिश्चन	३८	१११	२,०९४
मुसलमान	४५९	१,६३५	१४९
एकूण	५३६	१,९६९	२,५०५

(२२)

वय व प्रांतपरत्वे अर्विवाहित ब्राम्हण

वय	प्रांत	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ६	महाराष्ट्र	१६,५००	१४,२२९	३०,७२९
	तेलंगण	१२,१४९	१०,१०६	२२,२५५
७ ते १३	महाराष्ट्र	१२,०७१	१०,९९३	२३,०६४
	तेलंगण	८,८०६	७,०४६	१५,८५२
१४ ते १६	महाराष्ट्र	९,४७०	६,३८०	१५,८५०
	तेलंगण	३,१२३	४,८१५	७,९३८
१७ ते २३	महाराष्ट्र	४,४७८	२,५६२	७,०४०
	तेलंगण	३,००५	१,५५८	४,५६३
२४ ते ४३	महाराष्ट्र	३,४२१	१,३६५	४,७८६
	तेलंगण	१,८५५	४४२	२,२९७
४४ व वर	महाराष्ट्र	१,८०२	७०९	२,५११
	तेलंगण	५७९	५२२	१,१०१
एकूण-	महाराष्ट्र	४७,७४२	३६,२३८	८३,९८०
	तेलंगण	२९,५१७	२४,४८९	५४,००६
एकूण		७७,२५९	६०,७२७	१,३७,९८६

(२३)

वय व प्रांतपरत्वं
विवाहित ब्राह्मण.

वय	प्रांत	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ६	महाराष्ट्र	८४	१६०	२४४
	तेलंगण	६०	२०८	२६८
७ ते १३	महाराष्ट्र	१९८	२,१७९	२,३७५
	तेलंगण	१७६	२,१५८	२,३३४
१४ ते १६	महाराष्ट्र	४६३	९,४३७	९,९००
	तेलंगण	५४५	५,१६६	५,७११
१७ ते २३	महाराष्ट्र	६,१६०	९,०८६	१५,२४६
	तेलंगण	३,०९२	७,९७१	११,०६३
२४ ते ४३	महाराष्ट्र	३५,६९४	२६,३८२	५२,०७६
	तेलंगण	२०,८४४	११,३५६	३२,०००
४४ व वर	महाराष्ट्र	२०,२७१	१६,४७१	३६,७४२
	तेलंगण	१२,८९५	८,९५२	२१,८४७
एकूण	महाराष्ट्र	६२,८७०	६३,७१५	१,२६,५८५
	तेलंगण	३७,६१२	३५,८११	७३,४२३
एकूण		१,००,४८२	९९,५२६	२,००,००८

(२४)

साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण.

सर्वसाधारणपणें संस्थानांतील साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण शेंकडा चार-
वर आहे.

संस्थानांतील पुरुषांत साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण सात आहे.

संस्थानांतील स्त्रियांत साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण शेंकडा एकपेक्षांहि
कमी आहे.

संस्थानांतील मुसलमानांत साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण शेंकडा दहा आहे.

संस्थानांतील हिंदूंत साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण शेंकडा तीन आहे.

संस्थानांतील ब्राह्मणांत साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण साडेचवतीस आहे.

संस्थानांतील ब्राह्मणतरांतील साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण शेंकडा तीन
आहे.

संस्थानांतील हरिजनांत साक्षरतेचें प्रमाण दोनशेंला एक असें
आहे.

साक्षरता-सर्वधर्म.

१९३१

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५			
५ ते १०	३५,३२७	७,५०८	४२,८३५
१० ते १५	५८,८०१	९,३६२	६८,१६३
१५ ते २०	८७,२७९	१२,९७९	१,००,२५८
२० व वर	३,४६,१८७	३८,१९०	३,८४,३७७
एकूण साक्षर	५,२७,५९४	६८,०३९	५,९५,६३३
एकूण लोकसंख्या	७३,७०,०१०	७०,६६,१३८	१,४४,३६,१४८

(२५)

साक्षरता—हिंदु.
१९३१

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५			
५ ते १०	२३,१८१	३,८३९	२७,०२०
१० ते १५	४०,८५९	४,४५७	४५,३१६
१५ ते २०	६२,४४०	७,२२९	६९,६६९
२० व वर	२,२८,८७८	२०,४३४	२,४९,३१२
एकूण साक्षर	३,५५,३५८	३५,९५९	३,९१,३१७
एकूण लोकसंख्या	४९,४८,४०८	४७,५१,२०७	९६,९९,६१५

साक्षरता—हरिजन
१९३१

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	०	०	०
५ ते १०	१,०७६	२४९	१,३२५
१० ते १५	१,४५४	२७२	१,७२६
१५ ते २०	२,००२	३२०	२,३२२
२० व वर	७,६१६	८९१	८,५०७
एकूण साक्षर	१२,१४८	१,७३२	१३,८८०
एकूण लोकसंख्या	१२,५२,६५१	१२,२०,५७९	२४,७३,२३०

(२६)

साक्षरता—मुसलमान
१९३१

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	०	०	०
५ ते १०	७,९३२	२,३८८	१०,३२०
१० ते १५	१२,८७७	३,२६४	१६,१४१
१५ ते २०	१९,५३९	३,८९७	२३,४३६
२० व वर	९७,०६२	११,९००	१,०८,९६२
एकूण साक्षरता	१,३७,४१०	२१,४४९	१,५८,८५९
एकूण लोकसंख्या	७,९१,४३५	७,४३,२३१	१५,३४,६६६

साक्षरता—ख्रिश्चन १९३१

वय	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
० ते ५	....	....	....
५ ते १०	२,४९०	७६४	३,२५४
१० ते १५	२,७१३	१,०६०	३,७७३
१५ ते २०	२,१३४	१,१६३	३,२९७
२० व वर	७,५३७	३,८३३	११,३७०
एकूण साक्षरता	१४,८७४	६,८२०	२१,६९४
एकूण लोकसंख्या	७९,४४४	७१,९३८	१,५१,३८२

शैक्षणिक खर्चाची शाळा व विद्यार्थ्यांच्या संख्येसह वर्गवारी.

	१३३० फसली			१३३९ फसली		
	शाळा	विद्यार्थी	खर्च	शाळा	विद्यार्थी	खर्च
कॉलेजेस	२	३८४	२,६१,२७८	९	१,१७९	९,३०,०७१
दु. शाळा	१३५	३२,४५७	११,११,५३३	१६३	४६,८८७	२२,७०,७५५
प्रा. शाळा	४,१२६	१,९८,५०३	१३,५२,४३०	४,०२८	२,३९,५२६	२२,९५,६५२
स्पेशल शाळा	२४	३,१६१	२,१३,६८२	५६	४,३३८	३,६२,७६९
अप्रत्यक्ष खर्च व्यवस्था वगैरे		२३,६८,०३८	३२,३७,८३६
	४,२८७	२,३४,५०५	५३,०६,२६१	४,२५६	२,९१,९३०	९०,९७,०८३

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शिक्षणसंस्था व विद्यार्थी यांची घट-वाढ.

	इ. स. १९०१		इ. स. १९११		इ. स. १९२१		इ. स. १९३१	
आर्ट्स कॉलेजस	२	५२	१	८४	१	१३७	५	७५७
ओरिएंटल ,,	१	१२७	१	४२	१	२४६	....	....
टेकनिकल ,,	...	....	....	....	....	....	३	८१
दुय्यम शाळा	७०	१३,८२६	८८	१६,३२६	१२४	२८,९२३	१७३	५१,५८२
प्राथमिक ,,	७६६	४३,१४९	९२१	४८,११३	३,८३५	१,८४,६२८	४,०४१	२,४२,४२२
स्पेशल ,,	२	३७६	२	३६२	७	७१८	९	३४०
इतर ,,	६	४४२	२३	१,५५७	१८	१,९३१	५२	४,४०१
एकूण सरकारी शाळा	८४७	५७,९७२	१,०३६	६६,४८४	३,९८६	२,१६,५८३	४,२८३	२,९९,५८२
खाजगी शाळा	१,८४०	३९,५५४	१,२५९	२८,४७५	४,०५३	७६,६५४	१,०४९	२९,२७७
एकूण शाळा	२,६८७	९७,५२६	२,२९५	९४,९५९	८,०३९	२,९३,२३७	५,३३२	३,२८,८५९

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(२९)

सरकारी नोकऱ्यांची संख्या व वर्गवारी

सैन्य	इम्पीरियल आर्मी	४,०८१
	स्टेट—	”	२१,५२७
पोलिस	पोलीस	१६,७७४
	जागळे (Village watchmen)	१०,२१५
इतर	इम्पीरियल सर्व्हिस	....	....	....	१,८४८
	स्टेट—	”	....	....	४५,०८१
	इंडियन व फॉरेन स्टेट्स	....	....	....	४९
	म्युनिसिपल अॅ. लोकल	....	....	....	११,४४६
	पार्टील कुलकर्णी व इतर	....	....	....	२७,१९५
एकूण	....	....	....	....	१,३८,२१६

संस्थानांतील किरकोळ सरकारी नोकऱ्यांची जातीनुरूप विभागणी

जाति	सैन्य	इतर	एकूण
हिंदू	६,४९५	१६,८७३	२३,३६८
मुसलमान	५४,१४९	५८,५८८	१,१२,७३७
ख्रिश्चन	२,७७७	८८९	३,६६६
एकूण	६३,४२१	७६,३५०	१,३९,७७१

(३०)

उद्योगधंदे व उदरनिर्वाहाचीं साधनें-ब्राह्मण

	पुरुष	स्त्रिया
Exploitation of Animals veget.	२१,३४६	५,६५१
„ Minerals मालक, अधिकारी	३५७	....
„ „ मजूर	६३	१४५
Industry मालक, अधिकारी वगैरे	१,४३५	२
कारागिर व मजूर	१,२४०	८४६
वाहतूक, मालक, अधिकारी	२९४	....
„ मजूर	२८४	१८६
व्यापार	६,७६४	३९५
फौज - अधिकारी	११	....
„ इतर	८१४	....
सरकारी नोकरी - अधिकारी	१३८	३
„ इतर	७,४३२	५१
Profession liberal धार्मिक	१८,९९७	२०,६३८
„ वकील, डॉक्टर, शिक्षक	५,०५६	६७९
„ इतर	२,६६८	६७
स्वतःच्या उत्पन्नावर जगणारे	२,५४७	५३७
घरगुती नोकर	७,९१७	३४८
मुत्तेदार, कारकुन, वगैरे	१,१७६	७३
Labourers unspecified	१,१४१	४२४
एकूण मिळवत्यांची संख्या	७९,६८० +	३०,०४५
परावलंबितांची संख्या	१,११,९२६ +	१,४७,७२८
परोपजीवी-भिकारी, भटके, वारांगना, गुन्हेगार इत्यादि.	५,०४८ +	२,०४१
	१,९६,६५४ +	१,७९,८१४
एकूण	= ३,७६,४८८	

(३१)

उद्योगधंदे व उदरनिर्वाहाची साधने-हरिजन

		पुरुष	स्त्रिया
1.-) Exploitation of Animals & Vegetables		१,३२,८०९	१,५७,२८०
„ Minerals	मालक		
„ „	मजूर	९,१२४	८,८८५
Industry	मालक	४०	३२
„	मजूर	७६१	९४१
वाहतूक	मालक	८०६	
„	मजूर	२,४०६	२,९३२
व्यापार		५,५७४	३,२३१
फौज	अधिकारी		
„	इतर	८१६	२४
सरकारी नोकर	अधिकारी		
„	इतर	४९६	६१५
Profession and business	धार्मिक	१,५४१	४०२
„	वकील	१७१	४७
„	इतर	१४७	१९३
स्वतःच्या उपन्नावर		१,७९३	१५६
घरगुती नोकर		२,६१,३४१	१,०८,७७६
गुत्तेदार, कारकून वगैरे		२७७	
Labour Unspecified		८,४२४	११,५७२
एकूण मिळवत्यांची संख्या		४,२६,५२६	२,९५,०८६
परावलंबितांची संख्या		७,३७,१७९	८,२७,५९१
परोपजीवी-भिकारी, भटके, वारांगना		२८,१२४	४३,१२५
		११,९१,८२९ + ११,६५,८०२	
		= २३,५७,६३१	

एकूण

(३२)

उदारनिर्वाहाची साधने व उद्योगधंदे—मुसलमान.

शेती	२,२०,४१३ +	१,४९,९९४
खाणी:—मालक, मॅनेजर	६८६ +	८४
” ” मजूर	१०,८८३ +	२,९४१
उद्योग, मालक, मॅनेजर	३,८४५ +	९८५
” कारागीर मजूर	४६,४५४ +	४,०२७
वाहतूक मालक, मॅनेजर	२,३१८ +	१६०
” मजूर	६,८९८ +	६२६
व्यापार	५५,३१२ +	५,३२२
फौज अधिकारी	४५९ +	
” इतर	५३,८२९ +	३२०
स. नोकर अधिकारी	४५९ +	३१
” ” इतर	५७,०२३ +	१,५६५
धर्म	२,७४३ +	५२२
वकील डॉक्टरस,	८,८९९ +	५१७
इतर	४,५८२ +	९४७
स्वतःच्या उत्पन्नावर	८,२०६ +	३,८९१
घरगुती नोकऱ्या	४५,७९३ +	१९,८०२
गुत्ते	१३,४०७ +	१,१८८
मजूर	६,२८३ +	१,८१०
एकूण:—कमावते	५,४९,६३७ +	१,९४,७३२
भणगा भटके वगैरे	११,४७८ +	१०,१३९
परावलंबी	२,३०,३२० +	५,३८,३६०
एकूण	७,९१,४३५ +	७,४३,२३१
एकूण		१५,३४,६६६

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उद्योगधंदे व उदरनिर्वाहाची साधनें-स्त्रिधन.

शेती	२०,४२० +	१६,८०७
खाणी मालक	६३ +	
„ मजूर	६१८ +	९१४
उद्योग मालक	२९४ +	८
„ मजूर	१,२८१ +	२५५
बाहतूक मालक	४५९ +	१०८
„ मजूर	५१३ +	४१५
व्यापार	६०९ +	३२७
फौज अधिकारी	३८ +	
„ इतर	२,७३६ +	४१
स. नोकरी अधिकारी	८२ +	२९
„ „ इतर	७५० +	१३९
धर्म	६५० +	६६०
वकील	४७२ +	४८८
इतर	६८१ +	७५३
स्वतःच्या उत्पन्नावर जगणारे	१,१९८ +	१५६
घरगुती नोकर	२,३२२ +	३,३२३
शुते वगैरे	१०८ +	८३
मजूर	१५७ +	३२०
एकूण कमावते	३३,४५५ +	२४,८२६
भणग, भटके वगैरे	१,२०८ +	२,३२२
परावलंबी	४४,७८१ +	४४,७९०
एकूण	७९,४४४ +	७१,९३८
एकूण		१,५१,३८२

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गेल्या दहा वर्षांतील आयात (रुपयांत) निर्यात.

इ. स.	आयात	निर्यात	एकूण
१९२१	१८,७७,१४,०००	८,५७,१७,०००	२७,३४,३१,०००
१९२२	१६,८९,४८,०००	१६,४५,३८,०००	३३,३४,८६,०००
१९२३	१९,१२,३५,०००	१७,१०,१२,०००	३६,२२,४७,०००
१९२४	१९,८७,८१,०००	१९,५४,२५,०००	३९,४२,०६,०००
१९२५	२१,६५,६२,०००	१५,७८,३१,०००	३७,४३,९३,०००
१९२६	१४,६०,१६,०००	१५,८५,७६,०००	३०,४५,९२,०००
१९२७	१३,८८,९५,०००	१२,४८,१२,०००	२६,३७,०७,०००
१९२८	१८,५३,४४,०००	२०,५६,३४,०००	३९,०९,७८,०००
१९२९	१९,०५,५३,०००	२०,८२,१३,०००	३९,८७,६६,०००
१९३०	१९,०२,४७,९००	१९,९०,२८,०००	३८,९२,७५,०००

इ. स.	खार्णीतून काढलेला कोळसा—टन	सरकारी कर रुपये—हाली शिफा
१९१२-१३ (१३२२ फ.)	५,५२,१३२	६२,११५
१९१३-१४ (१३२३ फ.)	५,५५,९९१	६२,५४८
१९१४-१५ (१३२४ फ.)	५,८६,८२३	६६,०१८
१९१५-१६ (१३२५ फ.)	६,१५,२९०	६९,२२९
१९१६-१७ (१३२६ फ.)	६,८०,६२९	७६,६४६
१९१७-१८ (१३२७ फ.)	६,५९,१२१	७३,२९६
१९१८-१९ (१३२८ फ.)	६,६२,१९५	७४,७५५
१९१९-२० (१३२९ फ.)	६,९४,०७९	७८,४३१
१९२०-२१ (१३३० फ.)	६,८८,७२२	७८,०१४
१९२१-२२ (१३३१ फ.)	६,४२,८८०	७२,८०५

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दर एकरी कराचें सरासरी प्रमाण.

	कोरडवाहू		पाणभरू	
	१३२२ फ.	१३३१ फ.	१३२२ फ.	१३३१ फ.
गिरंगाबाद	०.१३.२	१.१.६	४.४.०	४.१४.२
डि	०.११.६	०.१४.८	३.९.११	३.१३.७
रिभणी	०.१३.६	०.१५.२	३.४.१	३.६.९
गिंदेड	१.३.६	१.३.९	५.१३.७	६.३.८
लवर्गा	०.१३.५	१.१.६	८.११.६	९.१.९
पयचूर	०.११.४	०.१४.६	७.८.२	८.०.०
स्मानाबाद	०.१०.४	०.१३.४	२.१२.९	३.५.१०
पेदर	०.१४.३	०.१४.२	५.२.९	५.०.१०
हाराष्ट्र:-सरासरी	०.१३.१०	१.०.१	५.०.९	५.८.४
पेदक	१.०.७	१.१.३	१६.०.९	१६.१३.८
निजामाबाद	०.१४.२	०.१४.६	१८.१०.९	१९.३.९
महबूबनगर	०.७.१०	०.८.५	१०.३.३	१०.५.१
नळगोंडा	०.९.१०	०.९.९	९.०.०	९.७.७
वरंगल	०.१२.३	०.१३.६	८.५.९	८.१४.५
करीमनगर	१.०.४	१.०.५	९.११.७	१०.१.०
आदलाबाद	०.१०.१०	०.११.५	११.१०.८	११.१.८
तेलंगण:-सरासरी	०.११.११	०.१२.५	११.१.३	११.६.७
एकूण संस्थान:-	०.१३.२	०.१४.७	९.८.६	१०.०.२

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पट्टेदार, जोड़पट्टेदार व शिकमीदार		जमीनीयों सरासरी		प्रमाण		
कोरडवाह		कोरडवाह		पाणपखरू		
फ़.	फ़.	फ़.	फ़.	फ़.	फ़.	
१३२२	१३३१	१३२२	१३३१	१३२२	१३३१	
७४,८३०	८०,६२२	२९.७	२८.२	१.०	०.९	
५८,३८४	५५,५९८	२७.७	३०.०	०.९	०.९	
७४,५३०	७७,५१५	२७.१	२६.१	०.६	०.७	
६४,२०६	७९,७२८	२२.७	१८.६	०.५	०.४	
५४,७०१	५७,६९५	२०.७	१९.८	०.८	०.८	
९६,३७६	१,०४,६९३	२१.८	२०.३	०.३	०.३	
१८,०६०	१९,००८	३३.६	३४.४	१.१	०.६	
३३,६०४	३३,८२९	२७.६	२७.९	०.५	०.६	
४,७४,६९१	५,०८,६८७	२५.६	२४.२	०.७	०.६	
मेटक	५४,२७५	८.९	९.६	२.०	१.८	
निजामाबाद	५३,७३५	७.९	८.५	१.७	१.९	
महबूबनगर	४०,९३३	२२.०	२१.४	२.५	२.३	
नळगाडा	१,०७,४१५	१६.८	१९.६	१.८	१.९	
वरंगल	६९,२११	१८.६	१४.९	२.७	२.३	
करीमनगर	८८,३३३	१३.२	१३.१	२.५	२.५	
आदुलवाद्	९०,४४७	११.६	१४.६	०.३	०.४	
एकूण- तेलंगाण	५,०३,५१२	१४.१	१४.८	१.८	१.९	
एकूण- संस्थान	९,७८,२०३	१०,३५,१४१	१९.८	१९.४	१.३	१.२

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	सरकारी क्षेत्रफळ	वहतिविधायक क्षेत्रफळ	परमपेक
	एकरांत	एकरांत	
चौरीगावावद	२७,६७,२९६	२३,४४,४९९	४,२२,७९७
बीड	१९,१८,९८६	१७,२७,७८७	१,९१,१९९
परभणी	२३,१०,६७१	२१,०३,९०९	२,०६,९६२
नांदेड	१७,९९,८२१	१५,०७,०२०	२,९२,८०१
गुलबर्गा	१५,३७,७४२	१२,०३,७१६	३,३४,०२६
रायचूर	२५,०४,३८०	२१,७९,७१५	३,२४,६६५
उस्मानावावद	७,०६,१२४	६,७१,८००	३४,३२४
बीदर	१०,६८,८९७	९,८७,०८७	८१,८१०
एकूण-महाराष्ट्र	१,४६,१४,११७	१,२७,२५,५३३	१८,८८,५८४
मैदक	११,४१,२३८	८,४३,४७८	२,९८,४६०
निजामावावद	१७,३०,१७७	६,७२,९६३	४,५७,२१४
महबूबनगर	१७,२७,१९६	१५,००,३८९	२,२६,८०७
नळगोडा	३०,३९,५०२	२४,८८,०९३	५,५१,४०९
वरंगल	२६,९२,०१७	१७,९५,९८५	८,९६,०३२
करीमनगर	२२,७०,४६३	१५,६७,३००	७,०३,१६३
आदलवावद	३०,८७,५६६	१८,७८,४२३	१२,०९,१४३
एकूण-तैलाण	१,५०,८८,८५९	१,०७,४६,६३१	४३,४२,२२८
एकूण-संस्थान	२,९७,०२,९७६	२,३४,७२,१६४	६२,३०,८१२

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१९१९ च्या खानेसुमारीत नोंदलेली निरनिराळ्या प्रकारची
हो संस्थानातील जनावरे

	गोठे	बैल	गाई	वासरें	हले
हैद्राबाद शहर	४९७	७,१५१	३,४४०	२,७९९	६४९
अत्राफवल्दा	४४,८३०	१,१२,७४४	९७,३७२	९४,६८५	२९,१४२
वरंगल	९९,३०९	१,९३,६६३	२,९२,४२७	२,३१,२६५	७४,७७८
करीमनगर	१,००,५३६	२,४७,७१५	१,९३,२९०	१,६६,१८९	७०,७२१
आदलाबाद	५२,११८	२,१३,३१७	२,५२,१६३	१,७०,६०१	२६,०२३
मेदक	६१,९३२	१,३४,४१२	१,११,९०९	९८,८३७	४२,४५२
निजामाबाद	५०,७६६	१,२३,४७८	१,००,५८६	८४,९७२	२८,३९२
महबूबनगर	१,०२,५२७	१,९५,२६७	२,१८,५५१	१,६०,४९०	६३,१२०
नळगोडा	१,०९,६६१	१,८०,२१९	२,०७,९३९	२,०५,१५०	८८,६५९
औरंगाबाद	४१९	२,३९,८९२	१,०२,५६३	१,१७,१७४	९,३६७
बीड	४१०	१,९२,८९०	१,०४,९६६	१,३१,७०४	५,२९६
परभणी	७,७९३	२,३५,६६९	१,३६,०००	१,४७,४८६	११,४५६
नांदेड	३,४४५	१,७५,३०२	१,३३,६३१	१,५५,९८२	१०,३९१
गुलबर्गा	१४,८९६	२,९४,१२३	१,६९,०९२	१,५७,४८२	३४,७००
रायचूर	५७,९४१	२,२६,७५६	१,३७,०४०	१,०९,७६१	२२,३११
उस्मानाबाद	७५०	२,८९,४२८	१,४२,०३७	१,४८,५६४	१७,११९
बीदर	५,८२५	३२,७६८	१,७२,१६७	१,७५,५४१	१८,५५३
एकूण	७,१२,६५५	३२,९४,७९४	२५,६५,१७३	२३,५८,६८२	५,५३,१३३

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१९१९ च्या खानेसुमारींत नोंदलेलीं भिरानेराब्या प्रकाएचीं
हे० संस्थानांतलिल जनावरें

म्हशी	वासरें	शेळ्या	बकरे	खेंवर	सेट
हैद्राबाद-शेहर	४,१७२	१,८९०	५,७२३	२८८	४७
अन्नाफवल्दा	४५,७०६	३८,८०७	१,१४,६२९	३३१	८३
वरंगल	१,४८,७९४	१,१७,०८६	१,५५,९६३	१८	१
करीमनगर	८७,०६०	९०,७४९	१,५९,६५९	४	७
आदलाबाद	७६,१११	५०,०१९	१,१०,१५८	९१	१११
मेदक	४७,९००	३८,३२८	१,२१,६०६	३१	३
निजामाबाद	४४,६६९	४३,७०२	७८,९१०	८	३
महबूबनगर	६४,९०४	५३,०२१	२,५१,७५८	२८	१४
नळगोंडा	१५,८१२	१,०४,८८०	१,९८,९६८	९५	३२
ओरंगाबाद	३९,७०६	२३,२११	१,२७,८०९	२७	१८
बीड	३४,४८०	२१,००१	९४,५७५	१५	९४
परभणी	६९,४०६	४०,४५०	१,००,३००	१२३	५९
नांदेड	८७,२४३	५३,२५३	९१,२९६	७४	२६६
शुलवर्गी	८४,००२	६०,८६४	१,८३,७४९	३७०	९१४
रायचूर	८५,७५३	६१,८६९	१,४८,३२९	९३	४७
उस्मानाबाद	५७,६१८	३७,२८८	८५,२३६	११०	९१
बीदर	१,०४,६८८	६८,४३२	१,०४,०६९	३०१	५६७
एकूण	११,८८,८२४	९,०३,८५०	१८,६४८,२१,२७,५२९	१९२७	२३५७

हैद्राबाद सरकारच्या उत्पन्नाच्या कांहीं दोबल बाबी. (रुपयांत)

इ. सन	शेतसारा	कॅस्टम-जकात	मादक पदार्थ	जंगल	स्टॅम्प्स-रजिस्ट्रेशन	टपाल
१९१२-१३	२,५२,६३,०००	७४,६३,०००	९५,५२,०००	१२,०७,०००	११,७२,०००	४,३६,०००
१९१३-१४	२,६६,४०,०००	८७,९७,०००	१,०४,८१,०००	१२,७५,०००	१३,७६,०००	४,९५,०००
१९१४-१५	२,९३,८०,०००	७०,३७,०००	१,१३,४०,०००	११,१४,०००	१३,७५,०००	५,१९,०००
१९१५-१६	२,९३,१३,०००	७९,२९,०००	१,१७,३५,०००	११,३०,०००	१३,७८,०००	५,५४,०००
१९१६-१७	२,९४,४५,०००	७०,४४,०००	१,१५,३७,०००	११,८६,०००	१२,८९,०००	५,५८,०००
१९१७-१८	३,००,०२,०००	५९,५६,०००	१,२०,७७,०००	१०,७७,०००	१४,४५,०००	५,६७,०००
१९१८-१९	२,२५,४५,०००	७०,४७,०००	१,२८,०६,०००	९,९४,०००	१४,५३,०००	६,०८,०००
१९१९-२०	२,६६,०५,०००	९९,७८,०००	१,३६,३९,०००	१०,६०,०००	१६,७९,०००	६,४६,०००
१९२०-२१	२,०६,७४,०००	६५,८४,०००	१,३३,६८,०००	८,१४,०००	१७,२१,०००	६,९०,०००
१९२१-२२	३,०२,५०,०००	१,२९,६९,०००	१,५१,२८,०००	९,५७,०००	१७,६५,०००	७,३६,०००

हैद्राबाद सरकारच्या खर्चाच्या कांहीं ठोकळ बाबी (रुपयांत)

	मुख्य उत्पादक खात्यांचा खर्च	न्याय, पोलीस, शिक्षण इत्यादि	निजामसाहे- बाना वतन	पेन्शन्स व अलौसिस	लोकोपयोगी कामें	सैन्य
१९१२-१३	७०,६६,९०९	९५,३८,८२९	५०.००,०००	४८,७५,६८२	६७,०५,३४९	५२,२४,०२४
१९१३-१४	७८,१७,८२५	९७,३४,८८२	५०,००,०००	५०,७३,२९५	६९,९०,४१९	५२,३५,६७०
१९१४-१५	८५,०२,३६२	१,०३,६९,१०९	५८,८५,८१७	५१,४७,३११	७४,३०,५३४	५०,७२,४६८
१९१५-१६	९२,४९,९४४	१,०९,४०,४१६	५०,००,०००	५५,९५,७६७	८७,०४,४२८	४८,९४,३९५
१९१६-१७	९८,२०,३२६	१,१८,८९,७९९	५०,००,०००	५१,९८,३०३	८२,९७,१८४	४८,३३,९९४
१९१७-१८	८७,०७,४६९	१,३४,७२,६०५	५०,००,०००	५३,७१,३०८	१,०७,६९,२३६	५२,६८,९१६
१९१८-१९	७८,९७,४९७	१,४४,०३,३६४	५०,००,०००	५४,८३,५१२	९३,४०,०६१	५०,९२,१८४
१९१९-२०	८०,५८,७४१	१,६१,०२,३१०	५०,००,०००	५१,०७,७४४	१,०७,७३,४६८	५३,५४,६८५
१९२०-२१	८५,४९,५५७	१,७४,२०,८६४	५०,००,०००	५५,४४,८४१	१,१७,२५,५०५	६३,२२,६९५
१९२१-२२	१,९८,८८,७४५	२,०६,४५,७९६	५०,००,०००	५८,७८,०००	९९,४४,२८३	६२,३४,९६०

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इ० स० १९२१ ते १९३० या काळांतील जिल्हानिहाय
जन्म-मृत्यु

जिल्हे	जन्म	मृत्यु
हैद्राबाद शहर	७४,३८१	६,३६,६९६
अन्नाफवल्दा	३०,२०४	५८,५२१
वरंगल	५६,६०२	५९,१८१
करीमनगर	८६,७३१	७५,४१७
आदलाबाद	६७,१३२	६५,११७
मेदक	६७,९३२	६७,७९६
निजामाबाद	५५,७६२	६७,२४२
महबूबनगर	६२,६३७	५९,०८९
नळगोंडा	१,०२,५२३	८६,०९१
औरंगाबाद	८६,०६३	८८,९४०
बीड	५३,६४१	५९,९३२
नांदेड	५९,१८१	९०,३२१
परभणी	९४,१३८	९९,६३९
गुलबर्गा	९१,६४९	७८,९७६
उस्मानाबाद	६६,४६२	८०,८७१
रायचूर	७२,३१९	६९,४२९
तेलंगण	६,०३,९०४	६,३६,६९६
महाराष्ट्र	५,३९,७२८	६,४२,९८३
एकूण	११,४३,६३२	१२,७९,६७९

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कापड-मार्गांची जिल्हावार संख्या

जिल्हा	१९२१	१९३१
हैद्राबाद शहर	४५५	२,५७६
अत्राफबल्दा	२,७०१	५,६२२
वरंगल	७,०७६	५,२१०
करिमनगर	१४,५८१	२०,२१९
आदलाबाद	१४,०५२	५,१३९
भेदक	१०,०४१	१२,५५६
निजामाबाद	४,०८९	५,९४२
महबूबनगर	१२,३४४	९,०७९
नळगोडा	५,६६७	११,७१५
औरंगाबाद	२,४३०	१,७६०
बीड	१,०९७	१,६४२
नांदेड	३,६१६	२,६९९
परभणी	७८८	२,२०५
उस्मानाबाद	१९,३८०	१२,९६३
रायचूर	७५८	८१३
बीदर	११,६९०	८,१०५
गुलबर्गा	४,६६९	३,७५३
एकूण	१,१५,४३४	१,११,९९८

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परगुती भंडे.

माग रूत	९३,४२२
॥ रेशीम	४,१८३
॥ लोकर	१४,१९३
चरसे रूत	१,६९,८९१
रोगाच्याची तुकाने	१,१८७
खडी छापणारीची तुकाने	७७४
कापूस बड्याच्या हातमशी-रा	२,५५६
तेजाचे माणे	६,३४९
उसाचे चरक	१,५९५
दऱ्याच्या मशी-रा	१,०१३
शिवकामाची तुकाने	२,७९४
शिवक-भंडे	९,६९६
खेडाराचे कारखाने	४,२२०
कुंभाराचे "	४,९६९
सुताराचे "	५,२८४
दंडे	१६०
खेडार	२,०७२
दुधभंडे	७३
खेडी काढण्याच्या मशी-रा	१०८

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स्थानाबाहेरील ज्या शिक्षणसंस्थांना हैद्राबाद सरकार मदत देते,
त्यांची यादी सन १३४४ फ.च्या अंदाजपत्रकाच्या पृष्ठांक
४०३ वर खालीलप्रमाणे दिली आहे.

(उस्मानिया विद्यापीठाच्या अधिकारांत)

१) महिला विद्यापीठ पुणे	७०० रु.
२) युनिव्हर्सिटी ब्युरो ऑफ ब्रिटिश एम्पायर	३७७ ,,
३) इंटर युनिव्हर्सिटी बोर्ड	१,८६७ ,,
४) महाभारताचे प्रकाशन (१३५१ फ.पर्यंत)	१,१६७ ,,
५) इस्लामिया कॉलेज दिल्ली	१४,००० ,,
६) जर्नल ऑफ इंडियन हिस्ट्री	२३४ ,,
७) उर्दूचा कोश तयार करण्यासाठी मौ. अब- दुलहकसाहेब यांना	१२,००० ,,
८) युनिव्हर्सिटी क्लब	४,००० ,,
९) ऑल इंडिया ओरिएंटल कॉन्फरन्स	५८४ ,,
१०) आवश्यक प्रकाशन घेण्यासाठी	५,००० ,,
११) करंट सायन्स या मासिकासाठी	३०० ,,
१२) मुस्लिम युनिव्हर्सिटी अलिगड (डायरेक्टरांच्या अधिकारांत)	७०,००० ,,
१३) मदरसे निस्वान इस्लामिया अलिगड	२,१०० ,,
१४) मदरसे हिदायतुल इस्लाम मालेगांव (धर्म खात्याच्या क.)	७०० ,,
१५) मदरसे मुफ्दि-उल-इस्लाम कडप्पा	७०० ,,
१६) मदरसे इस्लामिया बरेली	२,८०० ,,
१७) मदरसे मुतला उल-उल्लस रामपूर	७०० ,,
१८) मुस्लिम हायस्कूल अंबाला	२,८०० ,,

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(१९) इस्लामिया हायस्कूल कटक	७०० रु.
(२०) मदरसे तकरीत-उल-इस्लाम फरखाबाद	७०० ,,
(२१) अंजुमन रोशनिया पंजाब	१,४०० १२
(२२) मदरसे इस्लामिया करनूल	७०० ११
(२३) मदरसे इस्लामिया एलिचपूर	७०० ११
(२४) मदरसे शैब महमदिया इस्लामिया आग्रा	१,७५० ११
(२५) मदरसे सत-मुल-जमाअत	२,८०० ११
(२६) वाकियात-मुल-सालेहात मद्रास	७०० ११
(२७) खवातीन इस्लाम मद्रास	७०० ११
(२८) दायरे-मुल-आरफ डॉ. एकवाल	२,३३४ ११
(२९) हलीम मुस्लिम हायस्कूल कानपूर	७०० ११
(३०) हायस्कूल नागपूर	३,५०० ११
(३१) इस्लामिया हायस्कूल सहारनपूर	१,५०० ११
(३२) मदरसे नुरपूर कांगडा	७०० ११
(३३) अंजुमन इस्लामिया रामदास अमृतसर	१,४०० ११
(३४) मदरसे उस्मानिया मद्रास	७०० ११
(३५) इस्लामिया स्कूल मद्रास	१,४०० ११
(३६) पर्शियन भाषेचा कोश पूर्ण करण्यासाठी रिक्तवर्षे	१०,००० ११
(३७) पर्शियनचा कोश	३,४८० ११
(३८) मद्रास विद्यापीठाला मोबदला	७०० ११
(३९) मुस्लिम हायस्कूल पानिपत	३,००० ११
(४०) एकदम मदत देण्यासाठी	३०,००० ११
(४१) किरकोळ	४,००० ११

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१,५३,२६४ रु.

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हैद्राबाद सरकारकडून प्रतिवर्षी धार्मिक संस्थांना देण्यांत येणाऱ्या मदतीची यादी स. १३४४ फसलीच्या बजेटावरून खाली दिली आहे.

धर्मखात्याच्या मुल्यांच्या अधिकारांत.

(१)	अंजुमन आवराक मुतबरिका	रु.	६००
(२)	काजी लोकांच्या मुलांच्या शिष्यवृत्त्या व पुस्तकांसाठी	,,	६,२००
(३)	धार्मिक कार्यासाठी	,,	६,०००
(४)	निजामिया शाळेंतील विद्यार्थ्यांच्या कपड्यासाठी	,,	९२३

ढायरेक्टर यांच्या अधिकारांत.

(५)	प्रोटेस्टंट चर्च	,,	४,५००
(६)	रोमन कॅथॉलिक चर्च	,,	६,०००
(७)	मेथॉडिस्ट चर्च	,,	१,८००
(८)	फ्रेंड-इन-नीड सोसायटी	,,	४८०
(९)	रेव्हरेंड ब्राऊन	,,	१,५००
(१०)	मदरसे दीनियात, नांदेड	,,	३,०००
(११)	देऊळ—गवळीपुरा	,,	१,८००
(१२)	मदरसे फखरीदया, मक्का शरीफ	,,	२,८००
(१३)	,, सुलतिया ,,	,,	२,८००
(१४)	,, हादिस शरीफ, रामपूर	,,	१,७५०
(१५)	,, दीनियात देवबांद	,,	१४,१३३
(१६)	,, दीनियात अजमीर शरीफ	,,	१६,८००
(१७)	एक आणा फंड लखनौ	,,	७००

(१८)	मशीद	अमरावती	रु.	७००
(१९)	आतिस कुदा	पार्शियान	"	६००
(२०)	अंजुमन	सौफिया मद्रास	"	७००
(२१)	मदरसे	जडचरला	"	१,२००
(२२)	"	मजहर उलूम सहारनपूर	"	२,८००
(२३)	नदोतुल उलमा	लखनौ	"	४,२००
(२४)	महमदिया स्कूल	मद्रास	रु.	७००
(२५)	मदरसे	शमशुल उलूमबदायुन	"	१,७५०
(२६)	"	सुभानिया मुरादाबाद	"	१,४००
(२७)	कोल्हापूर स्कूल	मुंबई	"	२,८००
(२८)	अंजुमन	इस्लामिया गोरखपूर	"	१,४००
(२९)	"	" मुंबई	"	७००
(३०)	मदरसे	लतीफा एलोर	"	१,४००
(३१)	दारुल मुत्तफीन	आजमगढ	"	४,२००
(३२)	मदरसे	नगानिया "	"	७००
(३३)	"	फिरंगीमहाल लखनौ	"	१,४००
(३४)	"	इर्षादुल उलूम रामपूर	"	१,४००
(३५)	अंजुमन	इमादतुल इस्लाम लाहौर	"	४,२००
(३६)	मदरसे	नुमानिया दिल्ली	"	७००
(३७)	"	उस्मानिया मदिने-मुनोरा	"	४,२००
(३८)	वजायफ	अबदुल हकाम व अबदुलमुकयम	"	६००
(३९)	मदरसे	यनुशाल उर्वा-नामपल्ली	"	६००
(४०)	रेसिडेन्सी	बाजार ई. च. कं.	"	१,२००
(४१)	मदरसे	कादरिया ब. मु. कु. खाना	"	३,५००
(४२)	"	मजहबी अंबाला	"	१,४००
(४३)	खानखा	रहमानिया बदिवान	"	७००

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(४४)	दारूल इशाअत रहमानिया	रु.	७००
(४५)	अंजुमन खातीन इस्लाम	,,	१,२००
(४६)	दवाखाने डॉ. अबदुल रहमान	,,	६,३००
(४७)	इस्लामिया सोसायटीज	,,	६०,०००
(४८)	सिरतुल नबी	,,	२,८००
	पोलिटिकल खात्याच्या अधिकारांत		
(४९)	लंगरखाना बलुचिस्थान	,,	११,६७
(५०)	इ. अंजुमन इ. यतीमखाना गुलबर्गा	,,	१,२००
(५१)	रास्तइजरार्ई म. खाना बोलारम	,,	४३५
(५२)	अंजुमन इमोयतुल इस्लाम फिरंगी महल लखनौ	,,	३,५००
(५३)	मशीद-बदिवान	,,	५८४
(५४)	मदरसे इस्लामिया गरिबाजामे मशीद आलिगढ	,,	१,४००
(५५)	अंजुमन इस्लामिया मुंबई	,,	७००
(५६)	मुस्लिम लिटरेचर	,,	१७,५००
(५७)	वजायफ बराय यादगार फजीयादजंग	,,	६००
(५८)	मदरसे निजामिया फिरंगीमहेल लखनौ	,,	१,४००
(५९)	हकीम इमामबक्ष म. निजामिया	,,	६००
(६०)	मदरसे वराय हिफाज	,,	२,२८०
(६१)	,, इफाज खुलताबाद	,,	२,१६०
		रु.	<u>२,९१,०७२</u>

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हैद्राबाद सरकारने आपल्या जुन्या सिव्हिल अधिकाऱ्यांची सीनियारिटीप्रमाणे एक यादी गॅझिट ता. ३० फरवरी १३४४ फसलीमध्ये प्रसिद्ध केली आहे. तिजवरून बराच बोध घेण्यासारखा असल्यामुळे ती खाली दिली आहे.

फर्स्ट बॅच १९१३ ते १९१५

- (१) मि. मीर महमूद अलीखां [मरहूम]
(२) ,, सय्यद आहमदुल्ला
(३) ,, कुतुबुद्दीन हुसेन [मरहूम]
(४) ,, सय्यद हाशिम आली
(५) ,, मीर मुस्तफाअली
(६) ,, मिरजा हुसेन आहमद बेग
(७) ,, अबदुल कैतखान
सेकंड बॅच १९१४ ते १९१६
(८) ,, गुलाम महमूद कुरेशी
(९) ,, सय्यद बडुद्दीन
(१०) ,, हसमुद्दीन [मरहूम]
(११) ,, आहमद मोहीउद्दीन
थर्ड बॅच १९१५ ते १९१६
(१२) ,, महंमद लियाकतुल्ला
(१३) ,, जैनुलबुद्दीन
फोर्थ बॅच १९१६ ते १९१८
(१४) ,, सय्यद फजलुल्ला
(१५) ,, अबदुल हमीदखां
(१६) ,, धर्मकरान
(१७) ,, कादस हुसेन
(१८) ,, सय्यद गौस मोहिउद्दीन

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(१९) ,, आफसर यारजंग [मरहूम]

(२०) ,, शमशुद्दीन हैदर

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(२१) ,, सय्यद युसुफअली

(२२) ,, अबदुल रजाक

सहावी बॅच १९१८ ते १९१९

(२३) मि. अमीर अलीखा

(२४) ,, आहमद मोहिउद्दीन अन्सारी

(२५) ,, गुलाम मोहिउद्दीनखां

(२६) ,, महंमद अजीज अब्बास

(२७) ,, हबीब महंमद

सातवी बॅच १९१९ ते १९२०

(२८) ,, ख्वाजा मोश्नुद्दीन अन्सारी

(२९) ,, महबूब अलीखां

(३०) ,, महंमद अबदुखाक

(३१) ,, अबदुल हाफिजखान

(३२) ,, ,, सतार

(३३) ,, मोहिउद्दीन आहमद राजुरी

नवीन सिव्हिलियन्सची यादी, फर्स्ट बॅच-१९२६ ते १९२७

(३४) ,, महंमद मीरखान

(३५) ,, ,, मुखतार अलीखां

(३६) ,, हमीदुद्दीन महंमद

(३७) ,, जमीर आहमद

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(३८) ,, जहिरुद्दीन आहमद

- (३९) ,, गुलाम हैदर
(४०) ,, महंमद गौसुद्दीन
(४१) ,, अफझुल हुसेन फारूकी
(४२) ,, सय्यद जमाल हुसेन
(४३) ,, गाझीउद्दीन आहमद
(४४) ,, सय्यद हमीदुद्दीन आहमद

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- (४५) ,, अबदुल निसार फतेउल्ला (मरहूम)
(४६) ,, रजिउद्दीन आहमद
(४७) ,, सय्यद गुलाम अफझुल
(४८) मि. सय्यद कलीमुल्ला कादरी
(४९) ,, मीर सुल्तानअली
(५०) ,, नागेशरी परशाद

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- (५१) ,, लक्ष्मीनागायण गुप्त
(५२) ,, सय्यद महंमद करमन (मरहूम)
(५३) ,, ,, मोहसन रजवी
(५४) ,, स्वाजा निजामुद्दीन हसन
(५५) ,, सय्यद उस्मान जाफर
(५६) ,, मुर्तजाखां
(५७) ,, मीर अजीजुल्ला
(५८) ,, नुरूल हक

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- (५९) ,, महंमद फरवरुद्दीन मसूद
(६०) ,, एन् कुमरग्या

- (६१) ,, मीर आवेद अलीखां
(६२) ,, शिव कुंवरलाल
(६३) ,, सय्यद युसुफुद्दीन
(६४) ,, अश्रफुद्दीन आहमद सिद्दीकी
सहावी वेंच १९३१ ते १९३२
(६५) ,, हमीदुद्दीन आहमद
(६६) ,, महंमद अब्दुल्ला
(६७) ,, हबीबुद्दीन
(६८) ,, मेहदीअली सिद्दीकी
(६९) ,, महंमद फारूक
(७०) ,, ,, कुतुबुद्दीनखान
सातवी वेंच १९३२ ते १९३३
(७१) ,, सय्यद मजीदुल्ला
(७२) ,, महंमद महमूद दाफी
(७३) ,, नगेंद्र बहादुर
(७४) ,, अब्दुल कयूम
(७५) ,, आहमद फारूख बेग
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(७६) ,, महंमद बाकरहुसेन कुरेशी
(७७) ,, सय्यद जैनुलाबुद्दीन
(७८) ,, महंमद अबदुल रशीदखां
(७९) ,, मर्ज आहमद खान्
(८०) ,, चंद्रकांत गोडसे
(८१) ,, महंमद सदीफी
(८२) ,, ,, नजमुद्दीन अन्सारी

(५६)

हैद्राबाद सरकारच्या अंदाजपत्रकांत (स. १३४४ फ.)
वाचनालयाच्या मदतीसाठी ठेवलेल्या १५,०४० रुपयांची विभागणी
खालीलप्रमाणे केली आहे.

(१)	आलबर्ट रीडिंग रूम	रु.	१२०
(२)	ग्रामरस्कूल वाचनालय	,,	१८०
(३)	अंजुमन उस्मानिया औरंगाबाद	,,	१५०
(४)	दायरे-उल-मारूफ	,,	६,०००
(५)	अंजुमन हिमायतुल इस्लाम कानपूर	,,	३५०
(६)	समरे-उल-अदब	,,	३००
(७)	नदूह-उल-उलमा	,,	१,२००
(८)	,, ,, मुसलमान म्हांदी महबूब	,,	१८०
(९)	दारूल-उलूम-सोसायटी लायब्ररी	,,	१८०
(१०)	खुदाबक्श खां लायब्ररी	,,	७००
(११)	म्युनिसिपल गॅझेट लाहोर	,,	१,४००
(१२)	अंजुमान तरकी तालीम मुसलमानान अमृतसर	,,	३,५००
(१३)	,, ,, ,, उर्दू हनमकौडा	,,	३००
(१४)	उस्मानिया लायब्ररी करीमनगर	,,	३००
(१५)	टीचर्स असोसिएशन लायब्ररी हैद्राबाद	,,	१८०
	एकूण		१५,०४०

लहान प्रमाणावरील उद्योगधंद्यांना उत्तेजन म्हणून हैद्राबाद सर-
र प्रतिवर्षी कांहीं कारखानदारांना यंत्रें विकत घेण्यासाठी, कारखाने
घण्यासाठी व इतर कांहीं आवश्यक कामांसाठी कर्जाऊ रकमा देतें.
तपार व उद्योगधंदे खात्याच्या स. १३४३ फसलीच्या रिपोर्टांत त्या
शिखेरीस कर्ज येणें असलेल्या कारखानदारांची यादी दिली आहे. ती
नेक दृष्टीनें उद्बोधक असल्यामुळे खाली दिली आहे.

(१)	मि. सय्यद मिरम	रु.	२,०००
(२)	" आहमद अली	"	१,४५०
(३)	" अनवरूलहक	"	१०,०००
(४)	" शहाबुद्दीन	"	२,२५०
(५)	" झुरफकार हुसेन	"	२,९१६
(६)	" इक्रामुल्लाखान	"	१०,०००
(७)	" आहमदुल्ला हुसेनी	"	६,०००
(८)	" सय्यद अमीर अली	"	१०,०००
(९)	" के. निझामुद्दीन	"	३५,०००
(१०)	मि. इ. एच्. तारापुरवाला	"	१,८००
(११)	मि. सय्यद अब्दुल वाहब	"	२,०००
(१२)	" कारदी Sio मारदी	"	३,०००
(१३)	" महबूबखान	"	१,०००
(१४)	" सय्यद उमर	"	४००
(१५)	" राजन्ना	"	२,०००
(१६)	" सय्यद फैजुद्दीन	"	२,०००
(१७)	" महंमद याकूब	"	१३,६००
(१८)	" महबूबखां	"	४,६६६
(१९)	" अबदुल है	"	२,०००
(२०)	" अबदुल हनीफ	"	१,०००

(५८)

(२१)	॥ उमतुल वाहेब कुलसूम	॥	२५,०००
(२२)	॥ अबदुल हमीदखां	॥	७,०००
(२३)	॥ महंमद हुसेन शरीफ	॥	२,०००
(२४)	॥ सय्यद इस्माइल	॥	१०,०००
(२५)	॥ शेख महबूब	॥	३,५००
(२६)	मि. मोहन रेड्डी	॥	८,०००
(२७)	॥ एम्. ए. आजीज	॥	५०,०००
(२८)	॥ म. इमासुद्दीन	॥	८००
(२९)	॥ आगय्या सिदराम	॥	३,०००
(३०)	॥ अमीर अली	॥	४००
(३१)	॥ तसद्दुक हुसेन	॥	१,३०४
(३२)	॥ सिदराम आप्पा	॥	५,०००
(३३)	॥ अब्दुल रहमान	॥	२,४००
(३४)	॥ एम्. ए. रहीम	॥	४४३
(३५)	॥ मु. रूहीनखां	॥	६००
(३६)	॥ ए. आर. आहमद हानीफ	॥	४,६६६
(३७)	॥ आलीहसन एंजिनियर	॥	५,०००
(३८)	॥ एल्ला एल्लय्या	॥	५,०००
(३९)	॥ अरीफुद्दीन	॥	१२,०००
(४०)	॥ नारायणस्वामी	॥	१५,०००
(४१)	॥ व्यंकट नारायण रेड्डी	॥	२०,०००
(४२)	॥ अजीमुद्दीन	॥	४,८००
(४३)	॥ अबदुल अजीज	॥	२,०००
(४४)	॥ स्वामीराव देसाई	॥	२५,०००
(४५)	॥ पेस्तनजी दत्ताराय	॥	३,०००
(४६)	॥ मिरजा सादिक आली बेग	॥	५००
	एकूण		<u>३,२९,५७६</u>

हैद्राबाद सरकारच्या सन १३४४ फ.च्या अंदाजपत्रकांत घृष्टांक १०४ व ४०५ वर दवाखाने व वैद्य यांना देण्यांत येणाऱ्या मदतीची ही यादी देण्यांत आली आहे, ती खालीलप्रमाणें आहे.

(१)	दवाखाना लेडी हार्डिज	रु.	७,०००
(२)	डॉ. अबूद अजिज साहेब अजमीर शरीफ	,,	२,२००
	” ” ” ” (हंगामी)	,,	२९२
(३)	दवाखाना यादगार किंग एडवर्ड		
	सिकंदराबाद	,,	१२,०००
(४)	ट्रॉपीकल स्कूल कलकत्ता	,,	५,८३४
(५)	अखरा जात-सगे-गजीद-गान	,,	३,५००
(६)	दारुल मजुमीन, डिचपल्ली	,,	३६,०००
	” ” ” (शिपायासाठी)	,,	३८४
(७)	जिल्ह्यांतील दवाखाने (सात्याच्या शिल्केपैर्की)	,,	२४,०००
(८)	सिंगरणी कॉलरीज	,,	१२,६००
(९)	हकीम सय्यद महमद कासीम	,,	४,८००
(१०)	शाफाखाना रहमानी मुतालिका हकीम सय्यद अबदु शकूर	,,	१,५००
(११)	हकीम महमद इमतेयाज हुसेन	,,	१,२००
(१२)	हकीम सय्यद फाजल	,,	४२०
(१३)	हकीम सय्यद महमद युसफ (जि. बीड)	,,	१,२००
(१४)	हकीम सय्यद आबास	,,	४२०
(१५)	हकीम मिरझा वाजत आलीबेग	,,	१,२००
(१६)	हकीम महमद महमुद आली	,,	१,२००
(१७)	हकीम सय्यद हिदायत आलीखां	,,	६००

(६०)

(१८)	हकीम महमद हुसेन खां	॥	६००
(१९)	हकीम अबदुल अबु खुदा महमद अहमद	॥	६००
(२०)	हकीम सय्यद नवाब बहादुर	॥	१,२००
(२१)	॥ नारायणदास	॥	६००
(२२)	हकीम अबदुल हॉफीज म्हैसूरी	॥	६००
(२३)	हबीब उल्ला सिधोरी	॥	६००
(२४)	दलील उल-आशा कादरी	॥	६००
(२५)	युसुफनिसा बेगम	॥	१,२००
(२६)	इमदाद गैर मुनकिस्म शुदा	॥	४५०
(२७)	सिमारनि कॉलरिज	॥	१०,२००
	एकूण	रुपये	<u>१,२४,८०००</u>

हैद्राबादसरकार आपल्या शाळाखात्याच्या बर्तनीं उच्च शिक्षणा-
साठी युरोपीयन व एशियाटिक स्कॉलरशिप्स व कर्जाऊ रकमा
देत असते. या शिष्यवृत्त्यांसाठी उमेदवार निवडण्याचें धोरण कमीअधिक
प्रमाणांत अगदीं अचल असेंच आहे. त्याची नीटशी कल्पना यावी
म्हणून १३३७ फसलींत (इ. स. १९२७-२८) ज्यांना या शिष्य-
वृत्त्या व कर्जाऊ रकमा मिळाल्या त्यांचीं नांवां शाळाखात्याच्या त्या
वर्षीच्या रिपोर्टांवरून खालीं दिर्शि आहेत.

युरोपियन शिष्यवृत्त्या.

(१) मि.	अरफाक आहमदखान	(वैद्यकीसाठी)
(२) ,,	हरिश्चंद्र स्वामी	(शिक्षण ,,)
(३) ,,	आहमद हसनखान	(वैद्यकी)
(४) ,,	सय्यद काजिम	(खनिज शिल्पशास्त्र)
(५) ,,	मीर आहमदअलीखां	(कायदा)
(६) ,,	दामोदर रड्डी	(अकॉउन्सी)

एशियाटिक शिष्यवृत्त्या.

(१) ,,	अलिउद्दीन आहमद	(व्हेटर्नरी सायन्स)
(२) ,,	सय्यद महंमद अलीखां	(रिसर्च इन फिजिक्स)
(३) ,,	मिर्झा खालिद बेग	(म्युजियम वर्क)
(४) ,,	मीर अमीर हुसेन	(पेंटिंग)

कर्जाऊ रकमा.

(१) ,,	मीर अकबरअली मूसार्वी	रु.	१,५००
(२) ,,	सी. ए. सुंदरराज	"	३,०००
(३) ,,	खाजा महंमद रहमतल्ला	"	१,०००
(४) ,,	सय्यद मेहदी अली	"	५,०००

(६२)

(५)	॥	क्रे. एच्. अत्रे	॥	३,०००
(६)	॥	महंमद फरहतुल्ला	॥	३,०००
(७)	॥	सय्यद आहमद जमालुल्ला	॥	४,०००
(८)	॥	गुलाम रसूल	॥	६,०००
(९)	॥	महंमद बहाउद्दीन	॥	१०,०००
(१०)	॥	डी. आर. शेंदरकर	॥	३,०००
(११)	॥	सय्यद आबिद हुसेन	॥	१०,०००
(१२)	॥	महंमद अतार	॥	४,०००
(१३)	॥	काजी सय्यद कलीमुल्ला हुसेनी	॥	१०,०००
(१४)	॥	महंमद बशरतुल्ला	॥	७,०००
(१५)	॥	अबु ताहिर युसुफुद्दीन	॥	५,०००
(१६)	॥	मीर अमीर अलीखां	॥	३,०००
(१७)	॥	नादीर खुर्शिद मिर्जा	॥	१०,०००
(१८)	॥	खाजा महंमद युसुफुद्दीन	॥	५,०००

एकूण रु. १,१५,८३३

INTRODUCTION

On receipt of the news that the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council, Hyderabad, had received a high honour from the University of Oxford, "The Hyderabad Bulletin", an English Daily published in Secunderabad;—Deccan, wrote a leader on 1st, July, 1937, under the Caption "Great Expectations", giving expression to the expectations entertained by the public that Sir Akbar, who had recently been elevated as President of the Council, would speed up the progress of the State. On the 2nd August, 1937, a day prior to Sir Akbar's return to Hyderabad from England, "The Bulletin" announced that it would publish a series of articles suggesting the directions in which reforms could be effected. The twelfth article of the series appeared on the 11th August.

It was on the 22nd September that the Rt. Hon'ble the President of the Council announced to the Legislative Council the appointment of

a Committee to inquire into Constitutional Reforms. The text of the announcement will be found published in this book. On the next day, "The Bulletin" published the last article of the series on "Great Expectations".

It may be added here that the scope of the Constitutional Reforms Committee was subsequently defined by the Government to mean the reform of the Legislative Council, and that on account of the unrepresentative character of the Committee and its restricted scope, the people of Hyderabad appointed a Convention to inquire into and report on constitutional reforms. The Convention Report has just been published.

The Publishers of this little book are much obliged to the Editor and Proprietor of "The Hyderabad Bulletin" for permission to reproduce the articles which are admittedly the most able and fair-minded survey of the problems that face His Exalted Highness's Dominions.

Great Expectations

Never before within living memory feelings keyed up to such a high pitch of expectancy as today, and never before did it happen that they were shared by the British Government, the Government of His Exalted Highness and the people of the State. In an India that is moving fast without an exact appreciation of its destination, and in circumstances that are kaleidoscopic, Hyderabad finds herself the cynosure of all eyes. Ideas of progress, emanating from British India but engendered primarily by world conditions, have for some years now been percolating into the State, and the insularity, "splendid" or otherwise according to one's fancy, of but a decade ago threatens to become an anachronism that is negatory of modern conceptions. The Congress, the greatest and almost as certainly the most disturbing political Party in the country, has assumed office with a determination to accelerate the pace of progress, and it is inevitable that the birth-throes of a New India should create and find echoes in sequestered Hyderabad.

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, the President of the Executive Council, has arrived in Bombay from an important mission to England; he has had a great reception, as befits one who has received high honours from more than one nation; he will arrive to-morrow in Hyderabad where the reception will be no less cordial

It is as well that the public of the State should realise the importance of the occasion for the diplomatic mission that he has discharged is surely of less moment than the mission on which he now embarks. Sir Akbar was the second officer who, not belonging to the local nobility, was singled out by His Exalted Highness for the great office of the Presidentship of the Executive Council; he has succeeded one who, under two Rulers, has been the most beloved and revered personality of the State; and he knows that incomparably more is expected of him than was expected of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur. Sir Akbar has a three-fold responsibility, each so heavy and yet so delicate that it would unnerve a smaller man; a responsibility to the British Government with regard to the most feasible scheme yet devised for evolving a homogeneous Indian nation; a responsibility to His Exalted Highness's Government that the Sovereign rights of the Ruler and the State should not be sacrificed in the interests of Federation; and a responsibility to the people of the State that their progress should not be whittled down or delayed by extraneous distractions.

Time presses. The suspense has already been inordinately long and bears no protraction lest it should result in stagnation. Circumstances are also none too congenial; suspicions and misconceptions, here and elsewhere, prevail instead of intelligent understanding and willing sympathy. The one fact that should strengthen him is His Exalted Highness's guidance; another is his own supreme statesmanship. Hyderabad is in the melting pot, and no power can avoid or retard its transition:

what emerges from it will be gold or tinsel, such as cannot be predicted at present, but the people are reassured because they *know* Sir Akbar's alchemy. An era calls for its hero, the time is bound to find the man.

And Sir Akbar is the man of destiny and Hyderabad will rise or fall as its President uses his circumstances and as circumstances are created for his use. It has fallen to him to wear a triple crown, and proportionately uneasy must he be that he is not only the friend of the British Government but the counsellor of His Exalted Highness and the custodian of the people's welfare. The calls are different, even opposed, but they have to be reconciled and harmonised in order that he should serve the Motherland, the Ruler and the people.

The problem of an All-India Federation he has so consistently supported has diverted Sir Akbar's attention from the numerous problems of Hyderabad. Some of the Princes threaten to resile from their original attitude, some others have surrendered themselves to vacillation or drift, while the Congress sees in the Federation a Machiavellian machination to give the Princes the right of interference in matters that do not concern them. Hyderabad seems to favour the Federal conception, but expects its *quid pro quo*. To recall Sir Akbar's words in the last Budget Note: "The State had to be ready not only to be able to say whether Hyderabad could federate or not, but what is more, it had very carefully to consider, if Federation was agreed to at all, what reservations and safeguards would be necessary to ensure to Hyderabad

complete financial stability, non-interference in day-to-day administration of Federal and non-Federal subjects, and preservation of such prized insignia of Sovereignty as Currency and Post Office." Naturally enough, the public of Hyderabad are anxious that they should have a voice before a decision is reached. It was only a few days ago that Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, not a political busy-body, published a statement advocating the convening of a "Hyderabad Round Table Conference" for considering among other subjects the Government of India Act and the Federal literature. How far and under what conditions should the views of the public be consulted before Hyderabad makes up her mind? We cannot say. Is Federation of advantage to Hyderabad or not? We cannot say. Full information is not available on the nature of the negotiations still under progress, but we are inclined to think that as Sir Akbar will never agree to a sacrifice of the rights of the State, Federation will help the growth of larger nationalism, equipping Hyderabad to take her place in the life of the country and enabling India to take her place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We would only urge that matters strictly foreign should not be permitted to impede the progress of the State, and it seems to us that a definite decision must be reached early on the issue of the Federation.

Great is the urgency for the internal development of Hyderabad, and in his famous Delhi speech and his speech to the Hyderabad Civil Service Association two years ago, Sir Akbari Hydari has indicated that he is alive

to its urgency. A comprehensive programme will include what affects the State in its entirety and what affects special interests, the immediate and the remote, the important and the seemingly trivial. It will have to satisfy the unlettered and the intelligentsia, the masses and the classes; it will have to placate different schools of thought. From his intimate contact with British India and progressive States, Sir Akbar can adjudge to a nicety the magnitude and the nature of the work that awaits him at home. For the internal development of Hyderabad is no more and certainly no less than what is being done elsewhere in the country.

The village is the basis of national life, the bull the symbol of national prosperity, and the progress of the villager is the measure of the progress of the State. He wants more and better food, a better standard of living; he has to be redeemed from hereditary indebtedness and enfranchised from economic and social serfdom. The Co-operative, Agricultural and Veterinary Department have to work as a team for securing to the villager cheaper loans, better crops and more adequate livestock. Assisting the agriculturists to increase their meagre income by two rupees is a greater benefaction and a more stupendous achievement than the purchase of the Railways, the establishment of the Osmania University or the entry of Hyderabad into the All-India Federation. Irrigational schemes like the Tungabhadra have to be expedited and great amenities for health, education, transport and Local Self-Government have to be provided. The scheme for rural reconstruction, announced but hitherto unattended,

must be brought into effect with a determination to work it and the various rural problems studied from every angle. The remarkable success of the Congress is due to its appeal to and interest in the masses, and Hyderabad cannot press forward without the peace and contentment of its ryots. And with the agricultural classes go the commercial and the industrial. From meretricious "modernism" that is spectacular but little else, attention should be diverted to subjects that will increase the economic resources of the State, and if the Government give indications of their earnestness and sympathy, the capitalist classes will not fail to help the State and themselves.

No programme can be complete if it does not reckon with the aspirations of the educated classes. As Local Self-Government should pave the way for political self-government, the Hyderabad Corporation should be more thoroughly democratised, the Municipal Wards more equitably distributed and the Government should grant greater powers and financial support to the Corporation. And as Hyderabad, responsive to the democratic urge of the age, aspires to take her place in the affairs of a United India, it is time that the Legislative Council should be expanded on the lines of Mr. Vaidya's Bill or of analogous measures elsewhere, so that, broadening down from precedent to precedent, the people may learn the rudiments of responsible government. If India is the brightest jewel of the British Crown, the premier State is, as it were, the brightest facet of the jewel, and the birth of democratic institutions, making for both rights and responsibilities, cannot wisely be delayed.

But just as civics precede politics, civil liberties should come before the political. Writing with a due sense of our responsibility, we cannot help expressing our conviction that the rights of free worship, free speech and free press have generously to be recognised. The modification of the rules framed by the Ecclesiastical Department for the regulation of religious processions, larger grants to non-Islamic institutions and the appointment of a responsible Hindu officer to the Ecclesiastical Department will go some way to ease communal friction; mass conversions undertaken by misguided enthusiasts must be rigorously deprecated; and authorities and the leaders of the various communities should devise a formula by which each community is free to follow its own religion. "All peoples are the same to me," graciously observed His Exalted Highness during the Silver Jubilee celebrations, and Sir Akbar has to strengthen religious tolerance and communal harmony. The ubiquitous Gasthi No. 53, which gags the public, is a reflection on the loyalty of the people of the State in which not one man has ever been convicted for sedition, and constitutes an insuperable obstacle to the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of the public. The Hyderabad Press, partly because it is subsidised and partly also because it has passed the stage of infancy, is anxious to rise to its full stature, interpreting the Government to its readers, focussing public opinion on matters of moment and serving the State without fear or favour. A press Act has long been overdue, and the President of the Executive Council will, we hope, realise how the Government have suffered in the past for want of enlightened public opinion and

make it possible for the public and the Press to support the Government and serve its ends out of their own unfettered free-will. Noteworthy among other subjects is the appointment of a Public Service Commission to do justice to the claims of the Hindus for a due representation in Government Service. "So far as I am concerned," Sir Akbar had said on being appointed President of the Executive Council, "there will be no Hindu or Mussalman, no elevated or depressed classes, but all will be equal." And we appeal with confidence for the fulfilment of this great promise.

A formidable task; but no man who has the good of the State at heart but will pledge his loyal support to any scheme of reforms that Sir Akbar will take in hand. To the reactionary who resents change because he cannot understand it, we would say that Hyderabad cannot, and indeed, dare not, cling to its medieval traditions and institutions; to the radical who is impatient and over-zealous, we would say that thorough-going reform cannot be effected in a day. Sir Akbar needs time, and needs public support. We like to think of a day on which Hyderabad, better educated, more prosperous and enjoying greater freedom, takes her proud place in the vanguard of national progress; and we cannot think of anyone who is better qualified to make the vision of the patriot a practical reality than the distinguished President of the Council.

Preliminary Observations

In considering the fabric of the Government with a view to suggest its re-construction, it is perhaps natural to begin with, and concentrate attention on, major issues, like its policy to other Governments, questions of outstanding constitutional importance like its own administrative machinery, and a re-orientation of its attitude towards its people, like representative public institutions. But ambitious statesmanship cannot rest content with indications about the frame-work, a picture is bald and unattractive if the minor details are left out, and a harmonious development of an organisation is jeopardised if creative enthusiasm is not pressed into service for the particular as well as for the general. If, under Sir Akbar Hydari's enlightened guidance, the Promised Land is to be reached, not only "external relations" like the Federation, constitutional questions like the expansion of the Legislature and "fundamental" rights like freedom of speech and association, but every activity of the Government that affects the happiness and prosperity of the people has to be reviewed, scrutinised and re-shaped in order that the pace of progress may be accelerated and the progress itself may be enduring.

Too long, far too long, have the public of the State been under the delusion that it is the duty of the Government and of the Government alone, to bring about progress, and that to this work, the paramount urgency of which admits no dispute, the public are not under an obligation to make their own contribution. Their apathy has to a large extent

been justified and rendered inevitable by a variety of circumstances over which they have had no control; in a place in which no device has yet been found for the association of the people with the Government for the achievement of objects that are common to both, "politics", by reason of its vagueness and comprehensiveness, has been taboo; the inherent right of every citizen to suggest to the Government what should or should not be done for the commonweal has conveniently been forfeited; and the public have been relegated to the unhappy position of disgruntled critics, whose "criticism" is neither well-informed nor calculated to be of any use to the authorities. Such an attitude would have resulted in no harm to the State a hundred years, or even in a generation, ago; to-day, with insurgent Democracy knocking at her doors, Hyderabad cannot afford to be oblivious to the necessity for public opinion and the Government cannot afford to forego public support. United, we stand; divided, we fall.

Patriotism, it seems to us, is like a diamond with two facets, different but harmonious; it lies in the selfless service of the State by the public; it lies, conversely, in the selfless service of the people by the Government; and it therefore follows that if its usefulness is recognised, there is no reason to apprehend that a divergence of opinion between the official and the non-official points of view is necessarily undesirable. To those who have no interests other than the interests of the State, loyalty to the Ruler and service of the people are complementary and identical. And just as an officer is the more loyal because he remembers his duty to the

people, a member of the public is a greater citizen because he discharges his duty to the Ruler. It may be that this view is somewhat new to the State and is liable to misconstruction, for what is new is often imagined to be revolutionary. But as it is our sincere conviction that nothing will, or can in very nature of things, be given unless it is asked for and that a repetition of the request will itself expedite the conferment of the gift, we feel impelled to indicate generally the preliminary steps that may be taken with advantage and with no serious opposition for making Hyderabad a better richer and more progressive State.

We do not pretend to be in the confidence of the Government, we do not know for certain that reforms are being contemplated, nor are we in a position to predict their exact nature. But there have been some significant indications that the Hon'ble the President of the Executive Council is determined that Hyderabad shall not lag behind the other Indian States and British India in matters that count. There was first of all his memorable speech on assumption of office as the Hon'ble the President, there has again been the more recent function at the University, in which the Hon'ble the Political Member and the President himself "almost" revealed a Cabinet secret. The political awakening in British India, intensified as it has been by the acceptance of office by the Congress, has not been without its repercussions in Hyderabad: to quote the Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur's words, "political changes of great moment are taking place in India." And there is, last of all, the supreme

fact that Sir Akbar's genius is essentially constructive and that it can never be happy unless it makes what is retrogressive progressive, what is good better. It does not need much political prescience to say that Hyderabad is on the threshold of a new era, new and splendid such as only a great statesman like Sir Akbar can envisage and usher in.

These signs notwithstanding, it is possible to argue that public opinion, which has never counted for much in Hyderabad, cannot aspire to count for much by the mere proximity of impending reforms and that in consequence there is no need for the public to express their view, for there is no knowing that it will be considered. We refuse to surrender ourselves to such a counsel of despair. We recall with pleasure that there have been several occasions in the past on which public opinion has carried weight with the Government; we may be pardoned for mentioning that, when the Mackenzie Committee was instituted, our views on the method of conducting the enquiry and on the salient features of the educational problem, like the medium of instruction and the retention of the Nizam College, appear to have commended themselves to the authorities. We feel encouraged to think that if the enlightened section of the public possess the courage and patriotism to voice their grievances and aspirations, their efforts will not go altogether in vain. It may be conceded that there is no assurance—there can possibly be no such assurance—that suggestions will be accepted in their entirety, for their acceptance will depend on their usefulness, on the one hand, and their

practicality, on the other. But we do feel that the public should not lose a rare opportunity to translate their patriotic sentiments into the practical service of their State and that they should think deeply and act wisely.

This is our excuse, if one were needed, to advert to a subject that we had considered very generally on July 31. Hyderabad is *qui vie* with "great expectations", and our anxiety to realise the expectations and strengthen, it may be, Sir Akbar's hands in their realisation, tempts us to discuss the Subject in some detail. The subject can be approached in more than one way, the problems that challenge solution are admittedly of varying importance and urgency, it is not possible to appreciate to a nicety the nature of the factors that impede progress, and nothing more than a general survey of the whole problem is feasible at present. But we propose to take our stand on the belief that the good of the people is the good of the Government, that when the claims of the majority and the counter-claims of the minority clash good Government will prefer "the greatest good of the largest number," and that what is immediately possible, however restricted its scope, should take precedence over what belongs to the distant future, however ideal it may be. Education, Federation, Commerce, Industries and Banking, Representative Institutions, Rural Economics: subjects such as these should take their place in any scheme of reforms for Hyderabad, and we shall have the pleasure of discussing them from day to day.

Education

Asked what should be done to bring Swaraj to the people of India, Dadabhoy Nowroji, 'the Grand Old Man of India', used to say some fifty years ago, 'Educate, educate, educate'. The depressing backwardness of Hyderabad is directly attributable to the lack of progress in education, and the future of the State depends on no single factor so much as on the speeding up of education. "Sultan-ul-Uloom" is one of the most cherished titles of His Exalted Highness, and his abiding interest in the subject is evidenced by the crore of rupees that is annually spent on Education. An educated subject is an enlightened citizen, combining in himself loyalty to the Ruler and patriotism to the State: an uneducated subject is an unthinking slave, incapable of helping himself or helping the State. We can conceive of no better investment for the generations to come than a liberal expenditure on an educational scheme that will afford lasting satisfaction to all sections of the public, and we place education in the forefront of a programme of reforms.

There are occasions on which the suppression of truth is tantamount to disloyalty to the State, and the present is one of such occasions. Were it possible to serve education by a conspiracy of cowardly silence, we would gladly have done so, but honesty compels us to discuss the question in a somewhat outspoken manner. The Government are not unaware of a remark made by an ex-Viceroy that the success of the Osmania University would be adjudged by its serviceableness and accept-

ability to all communities; and the remark applies to education in general. The distinctive feature of the University is its adoption of the principle of vernacularisation: its inherent weakness is its exaltation of a minor vernacular to a place of predominant importance, thereby perpetrating a grave injustice to the principal vernaculars. The fact cannot be denied—we quote from the latest Census Report—that of the 14,436,148 people of the State, Telugu is the mothertongue of 6,972,534; Mahratti, of 3,786,836; Kanarese, of 1,620,094; and Urdu, of only 1,507,272, or about 10 per cent of the people. The adoption of Urdu as the medium of instruction has had two consequences: the speakers of an unimportant language have a decided advantage in entering Government Service, for Urdu is also the State language; while 90 per cent of the people are handicapped by their ignorance of that language in the race for official loaves and fishes.

The handicap would not have been so severe if bi-lingualism prevailed in the State, but fifteen years of the present policy of ignoring non-Urdu languages and popularising Urdu in all possible ways have not perceptibly improved matters. The Census Commissioner, in adding Table XV to Part II of his Report, states: "This Table is new and gives for the State the number of persons who use other languages besides their mother-tongue" and it is significant that he chooses the word "use" which is not synonymous with literacy. To "use" a few words of Pidgin-Urdu is not to be proficient in it, such as is necessary for University education or for

employment in Government Service; and non-Urdu speaking people who "use" Urdu number only 413,557.

It is perhaps too late in the day to re-open the question whether Urdu should continue to be what is ambiguously called the "State language": but the question arises whether the aim of education is merely the production of "literate", as Macaulay intended a century ago. Whatever be the official language, should not the medium of education be in fact the mother-tongue of the peoples, and should not the question be viewed in a large-hearted spirit that does justice to all the languages and the peoples who speak those languages? All that it involves is to retain Urdu as the medium in educational institutions frankly intended for aspirants to Government Service but to make provision for other languages when education is recognised to be intrinsically of greater value.

As the people of Hyderabad speak four important languages, it is a manifest absurdity to suggest that students should be compelled to study all of them, or that, in the alternative, there should be four Universities, each catering to one of them and thus entailing huge duplication. But the acuteness of the present discontent can be relieved by a little tactful readjustment. The present policy of the Government is to have the mother-tongue as the medium in primary schools—although complaints are not lacking in the districts that this rule is more honoured in its breach than in its observance and to follow Urdu as the medium, with English as a compulsory second language, in the subsequent stages of

education. There is nothing that prevents the Government from making a generous concession to public opinion by deciding that when the strength of students justifies it, the medium of instruction in secondary stages should be the language of that locality, Urdu and English being taught as compulsory second languages. The majority of students drop out on the completion of the secondary course, and this tendency will be accentuated by the Mackenzie Report that deprecates literary education and encourages the practical. The adoption of our suggestion will be a real blessing to students who are unable to pursue collegiate education: it has also the added merit that, as Urdu and English are retained in the secondary stage in addition to the vernacular, the students will have no difficulty in pursuing their collegiate education in Urdu

We know that it is difficult to dislodge an "accomplished fact", or undo what has turned out to be a mistake but we would like to point out to them how the artificial importance given to a minor language has had regrettable results, affecting the public in spheres other than that of education. It has resulted, in the first place, in preventing Hindus from entering Government Service in proportion to their numerical strength—for we refuse to believe that the Government have deliberately been discriminating against them—and it has, unfortunately but inevitably, led to communal jealousies such as should be the object of the Government to avoid. It has resulted, in the second place, in the Muslim officers, whose *entree* is due to their greater proficiency in that language and not to greater

intellectual acumen, neglecting local vernaculars with impunity and thus arousing very legitimate complaints from the districts, especially with regard to the Judicial Department. We therefore suggest that apart from the question of the medium of instruction, the language of the locality should be a compulsory language in all secondary schools, if only because it will help the administrative machinery of the Government and indirectly promotes good feeling among the various peoples.

The same policy has been responsible in a very noticeable manner for depriving non-Muslim women from the benefits of secondary and higher education. It may be that men, compelled to earn their bread in Government offices, will take to Urdu, for they have but Hobson's choice: in India, and especially so in Hyderabad, women have not taken to education for purposes of seeking employment, but when they can have culture only on clearing the hurdle of a foreign language, they forego it altogether. We have not heard of a single non-Muslim lady who has taken her degree from the Osmania University, while, in shining contrast to this sorry fact, lady students flock to the Nizam College in such large numbers that several are being refused admission every year. Girls' schools that do not subscribe to the policy of Urdu-isation are not even recognised and despite this discouragement, the immense popularity that they enjoy should be an eye-opener to an unbiassed mind. We implore the Government therefore that, in the interests of women the medium of instruction in all girls' schools should be the mother-tongue, from the Primary to the University

stages. We cannot contemplate without emotion the huge waste of educational endeavour, and urge with all the emphasis at our command the immediate revision of the policy regarding the medium of instruction.

There are other matters relating to education which are more fortunate because they are not open to serious controversy. To start with, an earnest attempt has to be made for the liquidation of illiteracy. While the percentage of literates in India is 9.5, it is only 4.9 in Hyderabad: unlike India, literacy has not made any appreciable progress at all, for in 1881 it stood at 3.7 and ten years later at 4.4. The expenditure, however, has gone up from Rs. 2,29,220 and Rs. 3,03,292 respectively in those years to the present figure of about one crore. These figures make out an unassailable case for compulsory primary education, and we regret we do not share the Hon'ble the Education Member's pessimism that compulsory primary Education Bill will not be a success. If the chief reason for opposition to such a Bill is the lack of funds, the top-heavy expenditure, to which Mr. K. S. Vaidya has referred in his Presidential Address to the People's Educational Conference, can be reduced, or an educational cess levied in the areas selected for the experiment.

The Gasthi that restricts Private Schools has always been a sore point with the public; and whatever be the motives that prompted its promulgation, the results have been tragic in the extreme. As Mr. Vaidya has pointed out, two years after the Gasthi came into operation, the

number of private schools went down from 4,053 to 1,082 and the strength of scholars from 76,654 to 41,784. These were the statistics ten years ago, and it will not be surprising if only a handful of private schools are eking-out an unhonoured existence today. In a State in which illiteracy is rampant, the need is the greater for welcoming private endeavour, and we do not see why the Government should be a party to a policy that has disastrous consequences on the education of the people. Related to the subject of private schools is the question of grant-in-aid. When schools are discharging a commendable duty, the Government should help them by liberal grants, for charity should begin at home, and there is no logic in giving munificent grants to educational institutions outside the State, when they are neglected in the State itself. A flagrant instance is the Girls' High School of Sultan Bazaars, now conducting also collegiate classes.

The question of awarding Government scholarships, whether minor or major, also calls for a few remarks. The sole justification for a scholarship is to encourage merit, particularly when it goes with poverty: the only way to adjudge merit is by a competitive examination, as is done for the Hyderabad Civil Service; and the present impression that scholarships are the monopoly of the sons of officers should be removed. A study of the scholarships awarded during the last ten or fifteen years reveals that they bear improvement in a more equitable distribution to all communities. And as women, Harijans and other backward classes need more encouragement

than others, we plead that their education right up to the highest class should be absolutely free.

There are questions, too, that are peculiar to the rural people and that can be solved by adult schools, libraries, cinema and radio, none of which has been seriously taken in hand. No village with a population of a hundred people should be without an adult school, aided by the Government and following the language of the place; libraries, both stationary and itinerant, should be established in the larger villages, popular literature being supplied periodically at Government cost, educational films should be pressed into service; and radio, functioning through community receivers and choosing subjects and languages understandable to the people, can provide the ryot with amusement and enlightenment. No consideration of education will be complete without a reference to the Mackenzie Report, and though there are features in it that have not met with the approval of the public, it provides ways for a re-consideration and in so far as the formulation of practical courses and the differentiation between rural and urban schools are concerned, the Mackenzie Report bears no delay, and we trust that the Government will take immediate steps, as recommended by Para 8. The edifice of education is architectonic, each part related to the other in a vital manner, and the future of Hyderabad can only be safeguarded if both policies and programmes now current are thoroughly revised.

Federation

To turn from education to Federation is to plunge from the known to the unknown, to soar from the *terra firma* of well-known fact to the exhilarating stratosphere of speculation; and the element of adventure does not make sufficient amends for the attendant perils. Education itself, when faced fairly and squarely, assumes a "political complexion": how much more so will Federation, involving as it does not only the rights and relations of Hyderabad with the Government of British India but the rights and relations of His Exalted Highness with the British Crown? Federation frankly belongs to the domain of politics: indeed, it belongs to "higher politics," meaning issues that affect rights of Sovereignty and Paramountcy such as even Government cannot consider without reticence and deep deliberation. But the adventurous journey has to be undertaken, for by a curious psychological process a certain section of the public, numerically weak but vociferous and insistent—hitherto indifferent to the most elementary aspects of public work—has suddenly awakened to the "dark" dangers of Federation. This school of opinion is in no mood to waste time on any programme of internal development for the State: it demands that the Federal issue shall be clarified first and foremost; and it will judge Sir Akbar Hydari's success as an administrator, primarily and almost exclusively, by what he secures for the State from what is really an adventitious circumstance.

To federate or not to federate—that's the question. But how can the question be discussed without adequate

knowledge of what it will mean for Hyderabad and, it may be added, without adequate experience in the discussion of political matters? It has been unfortunate that His Exalted Highness's Government have not encouraged political thought on any question; they have no institution that, by providing democratic representation, will facilitate such discussion, they have not realised how possible opposition to Federation can be silenced by timely information; and the information that they have given has been meagre. There have been indirect and brief references to Federation, it is true, in some official speeches and Government Reports; but so protracted have been the negotiations on the subject that the authorities would have done much better to have issued compendious communiques at the conclusion of each definite stage, instead of reserving them for one final publication. In a statement published by us on September 25, 1935, the present Secretary of Constitutional Affairs had said: "The question, involving as it does certain important matters which still form the subject of delicate negotiations between the two Governments concerned is in its very nature such as to necessitate reticence, as it would be against the best interests of this State for details of such matters to be made public at this Stage."

We grant this: but our opinion is that there could have been no conceivable harm in indicating the general lines of the negotiations from time to time. It may be pointed out, for instance, that it is now nearly two years since Mr. Mirza Ali Yar Khan's statement appeared; and it seems to us that "reticence" has been carried

far when official lips continue to be sealed for so long a period. A Constitutional Affairs Secretariat has in the meantime been constituted, the Hon'ble the President of the Executive Council has just returned from a visit to England, the duration of the visit and the fact that he was accompanied by the Secretary of the Constitutional Affairs, naturally give rise to the inference that the visit was not unconnected with Federation. And it seems to us that it is no longer reasonable for the authorities to maintain that "misunderstandings on what constitutes such a fundamental principle of the proposed Constitution can only be attributed to insufficient knowledge of the very structure under discussion."

There is no denying that public interest has touched fever-heat and neither lack of experience in political matters nor inadequate information regarding Federation can legitimately be urged against them. Their concern is that the rights of the State should not be jeopardised, and that, in particular, the Sovereignty of their Ruler should not in one single minor particle be surrendered for any reason whatever. To this extent, they deserve all commendation; and even if the public are unable to make a practical contribution to the problem, no contribution that ignores the profound patriotism of the people will be found acceptable to them.

Considerations of space preclude an examination of aspects other than the one that has agitated the local public. Their doubts have been expressed, and answered seriatim by Mr. Ali Yar Khan, in our issues of 25, 26

and 28 of September, 1935, to which those interested in further information are referred. The present position may be clarified by a resume of the conclusions reached, and the assurances given, by the Government. Defence and Foreign Relations are included among Federal subjects and will not involve the State in any further financial burden, Residuary Powers will be vested in the State; its rights in the matter of Postage, Currency, Railways and Customs will undergo no change, the entry into the Federation will not necessarily imply the imposition of any income-tax; and the State need not contribute to pre-Federation debts. It has also emerged that the Corporation Tax will not be levied before the lapse of ten years from the inception of Federation; and that the Government have put forward a claim for the proper judicial interpretation of the Commercial Treaty of 1802, "so that it may be possible to arrive at a correct appraisal of the total rights arising therefrom as a necessary preliminary to some suitable adjustment."

There remain the more important questions of Treaties and Paramountcy. The Government have pointed out that the acknowledgment of the inviolability and sanctity of the Treaties has not been included in the Government of India Act, for the reason that Federation will have no concern with the Treaties, and matters arising from Treaties should not be brought within the pale of the Federal Court. With regard to Paramountcy, it has been pointed out, first, that "the establishment of Federation will in itself tend to the disappearance of Paramountcy in so far as Federal matters are concerned";

and, secondly, that in the non-Federal sphere, "any attempt to define it would result in weakening the sanction behind the Treaties and cannot but have injurious effect on the future of the State. While His Exalted Highness's Government have supported the suggestion that justiciable matters arising from Treaties require for their adjudication an impartial judicial machinery, they are unwilling to extend the scope of such machinery to cover points of personal contact between His Exalted Highness and the Representative of His Majesty. Similarly, the question of the relations of the State with the Crown of Great Britain is one concerning His Exalted Highness himself." We are not aware if the local public have expressed further doubts since this categorical and authoritative reply was issued, but it seems to us that on all questions of importance the Government have met the public half-way and disarmed criticism that will do no good to the best interests of the State. As against this, Hyderabad's position as the premier Indian State has been safeguarded by stipulating that she shall receive five seats in the Federal Council and no less than 16 seats in the Assembly.

But the question cannot be viewed in its proper perspective if the local public wish to get everything for nothing and if their proverbial parochialism blinds them to the benefits of nationalism. Federation is the one principle which, on the one hand, satisfies a long-felt demand on the part of the States with regard to matters of common concern, and, on the other hand, while preserving the peculiar characteristics of the different units, brings into being a central institution of a kind of which th

country has stood in paramount need. Hyderabadis have not only a duty to their State but to India, for opposition to Federation will condemn them to inglorious insularity. We regret to have to remark that a generous allowance has to be made for personal factors, which invariably contribute to political controversies, and that the opposition, the importance of which is exaggerated, has been neither rightly conceived nor rightly expressed. The vision of obscurantists has been clouded by issues not germane to the discussion and the motive-power appears to be ebullient emotionalism rather than a realisation of the scope, and the limitations on the scope, of practical politics. To recall our words, "Federation will help the growth of larger nationalism, equipping Hyderabad to take her place in the life of the country and enabling India to take her place in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The opposition would have been intelligible if it had emanated from motives such as the Congress in British India plainly avows. The Congress has as its political objective a state of things which can never be contemplated by the people of Hyderabad; it wants to "tear" and "burn" the Federation partly because it gives Indian States a voice in the affairs of India without conferring on British India a voice in the affairs of the State; and it resents—and who can say that the resentment is not natural?—that the progress of British India should be hampered by the representatives—nominated and therefore not really representative—of the States which are admittedly backward and even reactionary. Or, viewed

from another angle, with the enhanced power and strength that radicalism will gain in British India, is it possible for the people of this State to prevent the onslaughts of extreme political conceptions and even attempts at interference, direct or indirect, unless the State enters Federation, attains security by a direct association with the Government of All-India, and is able to nip the mischief before it is contemplated? Lastly, will not the advent of Federation induce His Exalted Highness's Government to democratise the administrative machinery and give the people some opportunities for achieving progress? It seems to us, then, that if the local public play into the hands of the Congress, it will not only be the height of folly, it will amount to political suicide.

Be it remembered that Sir Akbar Hydari and his colleagues have most loyally and meticulously carried out His Exalted Highness's commands in every particular; that the slightest deviation from the commands will never be sanctioned by the Ruler; and the fact that a Yellow Book is promised indicates a genuine desire to receive public support before a final decision is taken. What must be done now is to publish the Yellow Book and set about ways and means for its consideration. We are not enamoured of Mr. Mir Akbar Ali Khan's advocacy for a "common platform". Mr. Fathulla Khan has given a convincing rejoinder to it. Sir Akbar has conducted the negotiations all these years without the assistance of public men and the marvellous success he has scored is a tribute to his consummate skill in diplomacy, his deep

loyalty to the Ruler and his abiding interest in the welfare of the people

We would suggest the immediate formation of a Committee of ten or twelve non-official members, representative of all sections of the people and all schools of opinion, and urge that Government members should join the Committee in examining the Yellow Book, so that doubts may be cleared and the most thorough-going oppositionist may be convinced that Hyderabad has more to gain than to lose by Federation. And on the basis of these deliberations, the Government may submit their decision for the sanction of His Exalted Highness, who, in this as in other matters, should be the sole and supreme judge.

Where Hyderabad leads, the other States will follow, for without her Federation is a myth; and if Hyderabad, as befits its premier rank, its distinguished President and its enlightned Ruler—"the Faithful Ally of the British Government"—take the flood at its height by entering Federation, their subordination of trivial claims to the promotion of the common good will stamp them with the seal of the highest statesmanship. When the political history of India comes to be written, Sir Akbar's name will stand foremost by reason of the extraordinary pains he has taken to develop Hyderabad and give her an honoured and prominent place in the life of the nation. Federation is an ideal that only one gifted with large political vision and the deepest devotion to the cause of the country can envisage and achieve, and we appeal to him

that no time should be lost in setting the crown of fulfilment on his career as India's greatest political architect.

Representative Institutions

It is an axiom of political science that Local Self-Government paves the way for Responsible Government. A modest beginning, so modest that it can hardly be noticed, has been made in Hyderabad with the former, but the latter is conspicuous by its absence. For weal or woe, the impact of the West with the East has contributed to the trans-plantation of Parliamentary institutions in India, and although there seems to be no doubt that a benevolent form of Monarchy is better than a soulless Democracy—the excesses of Dictatorship, ultimately deriving its authority from the will of the people, demonstrate the inherent dangers of the rule of the many—Government, especially in India, has from times immemorial favoured the association of the public with the Ruler in the administration of the country. With British India in the grip of democratic institutions and exulting in the intoxication of their power and with most of the States succumbing to the infection, the time has arrived for Hyderabad to experiment boldly with representative institutions in its Legislative and Municipal bodies.

The change will not be revolutionary, for it is not new. Students of Indian History are familiar with the autonomous nature of the village, originating from the Hindu times and carefully developed by the Muslim

uers, with panchayats and rural Self-Government as its distinguishing features. It speaks much for the wisdom of ancient and medieval India that the De-Centralisation Commission of 1908 recommended the revival of the panchayats, that Bihar and the Punjab have passed Panchayats Acts, and that Mr. Gandhi, who knows what is good for the villager by an instinct that is almost infallible, has advocated it. But the trappings of Democracy have an irresistible lure. Municipal legislation in British India goes back to 1842, followed eight years later by the Municipalities Act that set up a large number of Municipalities in all Provinces. Legislation passed in 1883-4 liberalised them by altering their constitution, powers and functions, increasing their elective element and conferring on them independence to elect their chairmen. In the Municipalities to-day, more than half the total members are elected, ex-officio members being 7 per cent and nominated 25 per cent: the non-officials outnumber the officials by nearly six to one. The same anxiety to give the maximum representation to the public is discernible in the District Boards, only 11 per cent. of their members being officials. In almost all Provinces the development of Village Self-Government is proceeding apace, Indian States have not lagged behind, and if progress has not been striking, it is due to the insignificant powers and insufficient grants allowed to Municipal bodies.

The Hyderabad Municipality has a hoary existence, but it was only with the passing of Act of XII of 1342 F. four years ago that His Exalted Highness's Government introduced the elective principle. Proposals in this behalf

had been pending for over 30 years before they could be accepted, and the first elections were held in October, 1934. If the facts relating to British India are borne in mind, and it is remembered that even the President of the City Corporation is a non-official elected member, the extremely conservative nature of the Hyderabad Act becomes clear. The Corporation consists of an ex-officio President who is the Hon'ble the Political Member, a Commissioner who is also ex-officio, and 36 Councillors including the Vice-president, who is elected. Of these 36 Councillors only 13 are elected by the voters, the rest are not elected. The Government nominates 13 members, one being a Parsi, one a Christian and one a member of the Depressed Classes. The remaining 10 seats are distributed to what may be called "special interests": one each to the Sarf-i-Khas Department, Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur's estate, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur's estate, Jagirdars and Bankers and merchants, and 3 to the Paigahs. The special interests do not conduct, and have no need to conduct, elections; and as in a House of 37 Members only 13 are elected, the proportion of popular representatives is 35 to 65, and their voice in the Municipal administration of the City has no weight unless it is backed up by official and nominated members. It has to be remarked that soon after this gesture for the elective element was made, the Government reduced their grant to the Corporation by a lakh of rupees annually, while the powers of the members have not been conceived in a generous spirit. It is not altogether without significance that the present Vice-President is an official,

whose election to that post has been made possible by the over-whelming strength of the official and nominated members, and that only a couple of days back a correspondent complained in our columns that a Government officer is standing for the ensuing Elections. The information relating to the District Boards, even more recently constituted, is meagre, but we believe that all members are nominated without exception, although the Taluqdar has it in his discretion to nominate a few non-officials.

An examination of the present composition and powers of the Legislative Council is even more depressing. We have had a recent opportunity to examine the question at some length in connection with Mr. K. S. Vaidya's Draft Bill for the expansion of the Council, and we invite the attention of the Government to the views that we have expressed on 18, 20 and 23 of March and 27, 28 and 29 of April, 1937. The present Act was passed 37 years ago, and that the Government themselves realised its unserviceableness is clear from the fact that a Committee was appointed in 1327 F. to consider the expansion of the Council. Nothing has been heard of the labours of the Committee during the last 19 years. The Council consists at present of only 20 members, 4 of whom are supposed to be elected, 2 from the Jagirdars and 2 from the Vakils, but in the case of the Jagirdars no elections have ever been held, the system adopted being one of selection. Mr. Vaidya seeks to provide for the election of 44 members, of whom 5 will represent special interests, 2 sahuikars, merchants and factory-owners, 2 jagirdars

and one graduate; there will be 7 ex-officio members; the Government shall nominate 10 members, 5 being officials and 5 non-officials, and of the latter one shall be a representative in succession of the various Paigahs, one of Jagirs and Samsthans and the remaining 3 of minority communities and Depressed Classes; and the Government will also nominate 2 Extraordinary Members. This will make the total strength of the Council 63, with a definite majority of elected members.

A commendable feature of Mr. Vaidya's Bill is its ambition to increase the powers of the Council and enable it to transact business in a more satisfactory manner. The Council is to have the right to discuss the Budget, but the Privy Purse of His Exalted Highness and other items are excluded. It will have the right of interpellation "regarding matters of public concern", but the relations of the Government to the British Indian Government are removed from its purview. The members, who "shall enjoy freedom of speech and voting", will have the right to move resolutions "in the interests of the subjects of the State". And, lastly, the Council is to meet at least once in three months and its term shall be three years, instead of two as at present. The most gratifying feature of the Bill is its deliberate discouragement of communal electorates, and this is in keeping with the intentions of the authorities, who have avoided such electorates for the purposes of the Municipal Act.

We have been at pains to establish how, measured by the standards of the Legislatures now functioning in

British India and progressive Indian States, Mr. Vaidya's Bill is "so hopelessly restricted in its scope that it will not serve any useful purpose in enabling the State to fall in line with the rest of India in the matter of the composition and powers of its Legislative Council." Even if a unicameral Legislature is to be preferred to the bicameral generally in vogue, the strength of the Council that Mr. Vaidya contemplates, in the first place, is so small that it provides no opportunity for an adequate representation of the people. In the second place, the representation he gives to Paigahs and Samsthans (which are not directly affected by the activities of the Council) can only be defended as a concession to the existing system and as an evil that cannot well be avoided. In the third place, we are anxious that, instead of leaving it to the Government to nominate representatives for the minorities and the Depressed Classes, the representative character of the Council should be strengthened by their election, and Women and Labour, who have escaped Mr. Vaidya's attention, should find representation. Our opinion is that "notwithstanding several drawbacks in detail the Bill has the supreme virtue of furnishing a ground-work for the reform of the Council, not adequate to the State or to the times, it is true, but so essential that it cannot be disputed and so moderately conceived that it pleads its own sweet reasonableness."

These are the data available with regard to the existing representative institutions in Hyderabad, and they are themselves suggestive of the changes that have to be made for making the "representation" real. The Hyderabad

Corporation needs to be improved in a variety of ways. The Wards which have received the right of electing representatives have to be equitably distributed in order that the existing "pocket boroughs" may be eliminated. The allocation of 13 seats to the people and 10 to special interests is indefensible in view of the fact that most of the latter do not come within the Municipal jurisdiction or contribute to the Municipal funds, and not unless the elected members get at least 75 per cent representation can the Corporation be claimed to be democratic. The Government should also be more generous in their financial grants, not merely restoring the "cut" but substantially increasing the grant so as to enable the Corporation to undertake works of public utility like education and medical relief. No Government officer should be permitted to stand for election, for apart from the influence he may exercise by reason of his official status he should not encroach on a right that is primarily intended for the public. The election of the Vice-President cannot be real until it is confined to elected members. As the Corporation has, by its experiment with democracy during the last three years, amply justified the rights conferred on it by the Government, the City should have an elected Mayor and a full-time Commissioner, as in other Indian Cities, and when the weightage given to special interests and the official bloc is taken away, representation should be given—by election and not by nomination—to Women, Labour and other interests that are unrepresented at present.

Hyderabad aspires to send its representatives to the Federal Legislature, taking their place on terms of equality

with those accustomed to Parliamentary institutions. How can they make good unless the seeds of such institutions are sown here with no further loss of time? The reform of the Corporation and the Legislature has been in contemplation for decades past. That the work has not been undertaken militates against the prestige that should belong to Hyderabad. Both the City Corporation and the District Municipalities should forthwith be brought under the control of elected majorities, and Mr. Vaidya's Bill, which has received unanimous support, may well form the basis for a thorough overhauling of the Legislature. Too long have the Government taken upon themselves the work that should be both the privilege and the responsibility of the public. There is probably no reform as urgent as that of the Legislature, for with the establishment of a popular Legislative Council, the salvation of the people, their progress on steady constitutional lines, will largely be in their own hands. We know that it needs a large measure of courage to part with power, but the history of British India shows that such courage has always been justified. We do not think that Sir Akbar Hydari will lack it.

Commerce and Industries

As an A-1 Nation cannot be built with a C-3 people, a scheme of reforms for Hyderabad will be like the Dead Sea fruit unless, in addition to culture and enlightenment, it brings about a perceptible improvement in the economic life of the people. The penalty of civilisation is its multiplicity of wants, and its criterion is its capacity to

satisfy them. In common with the rest of India, Hyderabad is now in a stage of transition from a purely agricultural to a commercial and industrial life, and her prosperity will be determined by the progress that her Commerce, Industries and Banking will achieve with a view to making the State self-sufficient as far as possible. The factor that has contributed most to the development of trade in India has been a powerful and intelligent sense of nationalism, on the one hand, animating both the people and the commercial classes, and a readiness on the part of the authorities, on the other hand, to satisfy their sense by the alteration of the tariff to ensure a reasonable balance of trade. Progress in Hyderabad is out of the question without these two feelings.

The maximum trade in recent years was touched in 1929-30 when India's imports amounted to Rs. 1,890 lakhs and exports Rs. 2,630 lakhs. The figures available for the last year were Rs. 1,340 and Rs. 1,640 respectively, the balance of trade in India's favour being Rs. 300 lakhs. As the total population of the country was 325 crores, the trade *per capita* in the last year was about Rs. 8-4-0. A comparison of these figures with the statistics relating to Hyderabad provides room for satisfaction. According to the Trade Statistics for 1343 F. (1933-34) the total trade of the State has been steadily on the increase, the figures being Rs. 2,343 lakhs in 1341 F. Rs. 2,566 in 1342 F. and Rs. 2,667 in 1343 F. The Customs Department Report for 1345 F. (ending 5th October 1936) states that the total value of imports, including commodities passed free of duty, was Rs. 1,375 lakhs and of exports about

Rs. 1,440 lakhs, the favourable balance being Rs. 65 lakhs. The *per capita* trade was thus about Rs. 19. Put in other words, the volume of trade of the State has increased from Rs. 2,434 in 1341 F. to Rs. 2,815 in 1345 F., the total improvement in four years being Rs. 381 lakhs.

But these gratifying features are somewhat discounted by the nature of the trade of the State. A country that exports what it does not need and imports what it cannot produce is on a different footing from one that exports what it needs and imports what it can produce, or, exports its raw commodities and imports them in a finished condition, thus suffering an economic loss in both ways; industrial potentialities lie in these directions, and trade cannot be divorced from industry. One item will serve for purposes of illustration. In 1345 F. Hyderabad exported cotton of the value of Rs. 529 lakhs and imported cotton goods of all descriptions of Rs. 266 lakhs. Viewed at even from the needs of agriculture, the imports of the State in rice and paddy alone amounted to Rs. 54 lakhs. Thus becomes apparent the need, not only of agricultural improvement but of the adjustment of tariff for stimulating industry. In 1934 the Government of India had to pass, in the interests of protection, five principal Acts relating to wheat, salt, textiles, sugar and matches. The present weak position of Hyderabad lies in her inability to adopt similar changes, for the Commercial Treaty of 1802 prohibits the levy of more than 5 per cent Customs duty on imports. It is therefore gratifying to learn that the Government have forwarded a claim for the proper judicial interpretation of this Treaty

so that it may be possible to arrive at a correct appraisal of the total rights arising therefrom as a necessary preliminary to some suitable adjustment. It is not surprising that, as matters are to-day, the Commerce and Industries Department's Annual Report are devoted exclusively to Industries and are silent with regard to Commerce.

The State is fortunate in some respects. For one thing, it has immense natural resources; for another, the Industrial Trust Fund, started in 1339 Fasli with a promised corpus of a crore of rupees as State aid to industries and which owes its existence to the foresight of His Exalted Highness, is capable of fulfilling its objects if favourable conditions are created; the absence of income-tax, added to the recent scheme entrusted to the Railway for setting apart industrial areas is designed to facilitate development; and, lastly, the intense patriotism of the people can be harnessed to a practical purpose. In opening the Cottage Industries Institute six years ago, His Exalted Highness was pleased to observe: "I am convinced that the increasing competition from both inside and outside the State can easily be beaten if the richer classes of my subjects give preference, as I do, to products of home industries that are generally better and cheaper."

It is disappointing that notwithstanding this fact no appreciable progress has been made. When Mr. B. A. Collins was at the head of the Commerce and Industries Department, he initiated a number of surveys into products like paper, sugar and glass, which possessed bright

potentialities. In Bulletin No. IV published by the Department in 1932, entitled "A Report on the Prospects of Paper Manufacture in Hyderabad State," it was pointed out that "in view of the unusual facilities at hand and the comparatively low cost of production, it should not be difficult to capture the Indian market"; that the initial expenditure for starting a paper mill would be about Rs. 50 lakhs but that "in view of the very considerable profits that must necessarily accrue to the Government, the proposal deserves serious consideration". It is five years now since experts appointed by the Government made these observations, and it is a matter for regret that nothing has transpired since then.

Not only has the Industries Department failed to carry out these schemes so carefully studied, but it has ceased to undertake new surveys since 1342 F. It may be argued, of course, that when the surveys that have been made and which have been admitted to be of a profitable nature, await action, there is no use in undertaking surveys into other products, but we are inclined to think that such surveys at least serve the purpose of enlightening the public on industrial prospects. An examination of the Exports and Imports Statements appended to the Customs Department Report each year will reveal various industries that bear exploitation, and we cannot help regretting that the natural resources of the State are not only not tapped but not even studied.

The Industrial Trust Fund is another subject that calls for careful attention. The present Secretary of Constitutional Affairs had written appreciatively of "the

State aid given by an organisation such as the Industrial Trust Fund, which finds no parallel in British India." The Administration Report for 1342 F, however, points out that the actual sum provided for the purpose was Rs. 72 lakhs and it mentions the large-scale industries in which the corpus had been invested. We feel, however, that its aid to small-scale industries has been meagre. According to the Commerce and Industries Department Report for 1344 F, "the total outstandings against all loan holders at the end of the year amounted to" about Rs. 2,78,000. Rs. 16,000 was given for the development of small industries, the two Industrial Schools at Aurangabad and Nizamabad had a total strength of 96 students and the Cottage Industries Institute, 94 students, no scholarships were awarded to students for receiving technical education outside the State and the Cottage Industries Institute Depot, to which the Report devotes a large amount of space, had sales amounting to "Rs. 25,458-8-5, which is the highest on record during the last five years of the life of the Depot." We are aware of the work done by the Industrial Laboratory, Industrial Engineering Section and Textile Section, but cannot help feeling that they have not succeeded in giving a direct impetus to industrial development.

It is true of course, that the public cannot be absolved from their share of the responsibility for the present backwardness. The more enlightened section have started a few projects, the most important of them being the Textile Industry, but there is no denying that the authorities are considerably handicapped by the

shyness of capital. The question involves an important principle of policy, for while we are opposed to State monopoly that competes with private enterprise—as in the matter of the Railway Buses—we are equally anxious that industries must be stimulated by the State itself taking the initiative in collaborating with the public for the financing of large industrial projects. In other words the Government should inspire public confidence by subscribing the major part of the capital needed for large-scale industries and work them with a strong Board of Directors under a competent Managing Director, such as has been decided upon for the Nizam Sugar Factory. This policy will have to be implemented in the matter of small-scale industries by the liberalisation of the policy now governing the Industrial Trust Fund. When money is thus found, the men needed for the work should be trained at Government expense, in British India in the first few years but in institutes to be started in the State itself in due course. The carrying out of the Mackenzie Report will serve a useful purpose in the matter. And the patriotism of the public should be captured by the Government and the official classes preferring Mulki products as a matter of principle.

We admit that if the State has to take seriously to a policy of industrialisation, it is not possible to expect the Government to provide the major part of the capital. This leads to a consideration of the banking facilities that are required. We refer the authorities in this connection to the Hyderabad Banking Enquiry Report. Mr Collins had remarked that “it is difficult to see why

a special Industrial Bank established in the State would do any better than the Imperial and the Central Banks. The provision of current finance for what may be described as pure commerce, at the various centres in the Province, also presents great difficulties." The answer to these doubts lies in the establishment of a State Bank, which, as Sir Akbar Hydari has observed in his last Budget Note, "has now become imperative for Hyderabad to seek help in the solution of its banking problems." We beg to share his optimism that the difficulties involved in the management of such a Bank can be overcome by one who knows the intricacies of finance in their minutest detail. Such a Bank will serve a variety of purposes, not the least of which will be the development of industries by providing the necessary credit such as the existing Banks are not prepared to do.

We think, then, that the problem of commerce cannot be divorced from that of industries, and that the Government have primarily to work in two directions, the preparation of ground by scholarships to students and initiation of surveys, and the financing of schemes so as to provide an opportunity to the industrialists to serve their country. The question of hydro-electric power for purposes of industrialisation may well be considered, and whether the Commercial Treaty of 1802 is to be revised or not, industrial enterprise must be intensified by the attraction of private capital in schemes that do not entail heavy initial outlay. Simultaneously with this policy, we would urge that the corpus at the disposal of the Industrial Trust Fund should be increased to the maxi-

mum, and, if it be found necessary, the Government should not hesitate in floating loans for the financing of industrial schemes, a process that is easy of accomplishment in view of the extremely high credit that the Government command in the world markets. We may be permitted in this connection to remark that industrial enterprise cannot be assured of success unless the interests of Labour are safeguarded. Labour Legislation is practically absent in Hyderabad, and we fear that the authorities are inclined to think that the absence of Legislation in favour of the 54-hour week or the Workmen's Compensation Act should act as an inducement to capitalists. The duty of the Government is not only to the richer classes: it also extends to industrial workers. These are facts that have to be borne in mind, and if, in view of the spade-work already done, a bold policy of developing the existing potentialities is pursued, we see no reason why there should be any delay in the advent of an Industrial Hyderabad.

The Village

The man who grows two blades of grass where one grew is the greatest benefactor of humanity, said Carlyle. The heart of India is in the village and the problem of the country is the problem of the village. Other problems are like the limbs of the body politic, and if the heart is sound national welfare is assured. The total number of inhabited villages and towns in Hyderabad is 21,830, and their total population 14,436,148, of these, 21,732 are villages with a population of less than

5,000, and their total population is 12,955,221. In other words, nearly 90 per cent of the people live in villages. Looked at from the viewpoint of revenue, the land revenue demand alone accounts for one-third of the total receipts of the Government, while the villager contributes to other heads as well. It has happened, however, not in Hyderabad only but throughout India, that the urban classes have received a more favoured treatment than the rural, for nothing can possibly be given unless it is asked for, and the villager, steeped in poverty and ignorance, does not know where he has to turn for succour.

The villager is slowly coming into his own during the past two years. opposites have met by a happy coincidence, and both the Viceroy and the Congress have been manifesting an amount of interest in rural problems that has been unusual. It should not be thought that nothing has been done in Hyderabad. In addition to the activities of the Agricultural Department, other Departments like the Veterinary, Co-operative and Medical have for some years past been interesting themselves in the work, though, in the absence of co-ordination, the brunt has naturally fallen on the Department of Agriculture. It is not possible to survey their work in the brief space at our disposal: but the conviction cannot be resisted that they have hardly touched the fringe of the problem. This could not well be otherwise, as the policy of the authorities all over the country has been to regard the village as an ornamental, and at times inconvenient, appendage to the metropolis.

There have been three exceptions that must be noticed in this place: the economic investigations by Prof. S. K. Iyengar, the Central Board of Rural Reconstruction under Mr. S. M. Bharucha's guidance and Mr. S. M. Fazlulla's Note, published by us on June 8. It is now over six years since the Government directed Mr Iyengar to study the economic conditions prevailing in representative towns and villages in the State, and his pains-taking labours were incorporated in four illuminating volumes. The expectations that something would be done at last to tackle the problem of the villager were dashed to the ground and Mr. Iyengar's work was shelved. The Rural Reconstruction Board, the outcome of Cap. Patavel's Report and Mr. K. S. Sivaswamy's Note, was constituted two years ago, but no earnest attempt has been made to carry it out into practical action. It is not clear whether Mr. Fazlulla's Note is in supersession of, or supplementary to, the Rural Reconstruction Board: and our request to the Government to clarify certain doubts we had expressed so long back as the 16th June has had no result. We are therefore unable to state whether the matter is still in the stage of futile speculation or has entered the further stage of practice.

The problem of the villager is in its essentials two-fold: how to add to his meagre income, so that he may keep his body and soul together, and how, when this has been done, to provide him with a few amenities so as to bring him some happiness. The first is of greater importance and urgency than the second, for the villager has a right to live, like the richest subject of His Exalted

Highness; and when his economic resources are strengthened, he will be emboldened to claim the right to be happy as far as his circumstances permit. To quote Mr. Fuzlulla : "The whole scheme of rural uplift would be based on the fundamental principle that material and economic development should precede social and cultural progress."

In attempting to suggest steps for adding to the income of the villager, the preliminary question arises whether the scale of land revenue in vogue is reasonable. Reliable figures that help a comparison with British India are not readily available, but we believe that the assessment, especially on wet cultivation, is higher in Hyderabad, that the scale has been settled so long ago that it has to be revised in view of the heavy fall in the price of agricultural commodities during the last five or six years; that Mr. Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy's Bill regarding the cultivation of lands under well-irrigation is only one aspect of the problem; and that, as Hyderabad has in its Customs and the exceptionally high Abkari demands, sources of revenue not available elsewhere, it is equitable to undertake a thorough investigation into the question and reduce the and revenue in consonance with the reduce means of the agriculturist. The principle of land revenue should be governed, not by the extent of the land but by the actual crop each season, and if the principle is accepted, more alleviation will be brought to the countryside than spectacular "rural reconstruction schemes". In the second place although the Government have not been slow to grant remissions on a generous scale and start famine-relief works,

there has hitherto been no definite policy with regard to them, and complaints have been made that the remissions benefit the large landholder. Thirdly, partly because of debts of which his ancestor has been guilty, the agriculturist is helpless to resist the process for fragmentation of his holding, more noticeable in Hyderabad than anywhere else, a subject that Mr. S. K. Iyengar has painted in lurid colours, and as the process makes not only for individual impoverishment but for the ultimate neglect of agriculture, it should be arrested by the consolidation of holdings, such as will deprecate absentee landlordism and encourage the holder to take a personal interest in his holding. Fourthly, nothing has been done to bring relief to the agriculturist from the incubus of his inherited indebtedness: some provinces in India have already stolen a march over Hyderabad in this direction, and the accession of the Congress to power is bringing to the fore a discussion of a moratorium that will cut at the root of the trouble. Nowhere in India is the evil so rampant as in Hyderabad, and, it is necessary to undertake legislation that prevents usury.

We do not share the view that the village 'bania' is necessarily a pest: he supplies funds when there is no other agency that does it, he faces serious risks and is accommodating in a large measure. But we agree that his methods should be made more humane, partly by legislation and partly also by the Government themselves taking up a share of his work. It was, we have no doubt, with the best of intentions that the Government passed a law for the restraint of land alienation; but the step

was taken without consulting public opinion or considering its full implications, and while it certainly has had the effect of restraining alienation in the areas in which was enforced, it has had serious consequences in depriving the villager of the funds that he could borrow from the Sahukar for his essential needs. The hardship could have been mitigated by extending the benefits of Co-operative Credit, but Co-operation can hardly be pronounced to have become popular, it has just faced an anxious period of world-wide economic depression, and a suspicion prevails that, as matters are at present, its help is primarily designed for the well-to-do agriculturist. The creation of Land Mortgage Banks has long been under consideration, a Committee of officials and non-officials has been engaged in studying its possibilities, but it has failed to become an accomplished fact. The result has been that the availability of cheap and ready credit remains as remote as ever. the villager is condemned to the tender mercies of the Sahukar and to look askance at the Co-operative Movement that has done little to promote his welfare.

Matters are no better with regard to agricultural produce. We gladly place on record our appreciation of the work being done by the Agricultural Department by means of its propaganda, demonstration farms and research, but its Budget is so limited that it can hardly be held responsible for its inadequate work. As against about Rs. 85 lakhs for the Military, Rs. 65 lakhs for the Police and Rs. 14 lakhs for the Religious, the total budget for Agriculture is Rs. 9 lakhs, and yet the land

revenue demand alone is Rs. 325 lakhs. If more funds are earmarked for the Department, it can help the villager with better varieties of seeds, a larger supply of animals and more modern implements: what is being done at present is only to help the large land-holder, educated enough to understand scientific developments and rich enough to dispense with Government help, to grow richer at the expense of the petty agriculturist. A suitable financing agency has to be set up, and better facilities provided for the marketing of produce. It may also be considered whether the existing Markets Act has not fallen short of its purpose by reason of over-officialisation.

The villager is subjected to spells of idleness between the seasons, and means have to be created in order that he may add to his income by means of small industries that are not beyond his means or ability. Much is expected from the vocational bias to education that the Mackenzie Report will give, and the leadership that rural areas stand in dire need of and a partial solution to the problem of the educated unemployed, will be furnished by students who realise that it is not a matter for humiliation but for pride that they should go back to their lands and build up the backbone of the country. We do not know, too, why the large tracts of land that have not been brought under the plough have not been thrown open for exploitation by young men specially trained and partly aided by the Government.

Lastly, the agriculturist to-day is largely the victim of the vagaries of the monsoon. It is to the credit of

the Government that, perhaps more than anywhere in India, huge irrigational projects have been undertaken at enormous expense. We would urge in this connection that, as far as circumstances will allow, the discussions on the Thungabhadra Project should be expedited, and that when a final understanding has been arrived at, the scheme should immediately be taken in hand, for it will promote the economic welfare of the peoples of three districts now subject to periodic famines. There are various problems of minor importance that concern the villager, and we can only invite the attention of the Government to the proceedings of the Andhra and the Mahratta Conferences.

The second, a subsidiary but not unimportant, aspect of the rural problem, is the provision of amenities to the villager so as to reconcile him to his lot and instil in him some pride of his citizenship. Notwithstanding His Exalted Highness's commands, the system of compulsory and gratuitous labour known as "Yetti" continues to prevail in the villages. Mr. S. K. Iyengar has pointed out how conditions bordering on serfdom have been left unchecked, an impecunious peasant selling himself and his children to a rich landlord for a petty loan which carries such exorbitant interest that it can never be paid up. The agricultural propaganda should be intensified, and journals and pamphlets published in the local vernaculars. Temperance should not merely be preached but conditions created for its practice. Medical relief and sanitation have to be extended to the villages, co-ordinating the allopathic with the Unani and the Ayur-

vedic systems until not a town of one thousand people is without a free Government Dispensary. While adult schools and libraries and educational films should provide chances for rudiments of literacy, the radio should be used primarily for recreation. The establishment of District Municipalities should be based on the Panchayat System and intended to subserve the ideal of Village Self-Government. And if the Central Board of Rural Reconstruction is to be a success, the over-officialisation of the Board, the District Councils and the Taluq Councils has to be avoided, for the gulf that divides an officer from a villager is very real and great. The reconstruction of the life of the State implies the reconstruction of the life of the village, for it is in the village that 90 per cent of the people live—condemned for centuries to poverty, ill-health, ignorance and misery.

“The Upper Ten”

Steeped in medievalism, a faithful replica of Moghal traditions, Hyderabad knows only two classes, the upper-dog and the under-dog, the rich and the poor, the man of influence and the man who does not count. There is no public opinion that makes for a common endeavour and the abolition of distinctions, because there is no middle class to interpret the one to the other, and bridge the gulf between the two extremes. “The Upper Ten” are represented by Paigahs, Samsthans and Jagirs, which may be referred to for convenience as “Jagirs”; and “The Upper Ten Thousand” by the officers, from the Hon’ble the Members of the Executive Council to the

humble village Patel. And fourteen million people look up to them for guidance, mould their lives on the lead they give them, and count their happiness by the sympathy that they manifest.

Hyderabad cherishes traditions. His Exalted Highness has made no secret of his partiality to the scions of the landed aristocracy. Replying to the addresses presented to him during the recent Silver Jubilee celebrations, he avowed his special interest in Jagirdars, advised them to look to the welfare of the people and felt that Deshmukhs and Zamindars can do much good. The history of Hyderabad reveals only two exceptions to the invariable rule that the Prime Minister of the State should be a nobleman by birth. But it is significant that both the exceptions have been made during His Exalted Highness's rule, and they indicate that deep-rooted tradition, even in Hyderabad, is giving way to the onward march of Democracy. Even to-day, there are three representatives of the aristocracy on the Executive Council, and it is abundantly clear that the policy of the Government is to honour the Jagirdars, as far as circumstances permit, by their association in the administrative work of the State.

Aristocracy has its virtues. It can legitimately take pride on its instinctive loyalty to the Ruler, its splendid record of faithful services, its thorough understanding of the peculiarities of local problems, and its considerable experience—gained from the management of its own jagirs—in the matter of administration. But a decadent aristocracy, as in the history of France and Pre-War Russia, is a potential source of danger, not only to itself

but to the State, and when it refuses to change with the times and exercises its influence to oppose the change, it tends to precipitate a crisis. An enlightened and intelligent aristocracy, on the other hand, is a distinct asset, for it is a set-off to thoughtless radicalism, it moderates the pace of progress, eases the throes of transition and lends weight and dignity to the Government.

No information is available for an adequate discussion of the conditions prevailing in Jagirs. His Exalted Highness's Government has, naturally, been silent on the question, and it is hardly in the interests of the Jagirdars to publish Annual Administration Reports, as the Government does. But we believe we are right in our opinion that one-third of the total area of the State is occupied by Jagirs, numbering about 1,167, and that therefore the Jagirs claim a population of about five millions and an annual income of about Rs. 4 crores. The status to which they are entitled, the great influence that they can exercise, are clear from these meagre statistics. If on some distant day a bicameral legislature is to be established in Hyderabad, we think that the Jagirdars will practically fill up the Upper Chamber.

Complaints occasionally reach the Press on the conditions that prevail in the Jagirs. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons to his Bill for securing uniformity in the Revenue administration of the Jagirs, published by us on June 15, 1937, Mr. K. Venkataranga Reddy says: "Each jagir has its own system (of revenue administration), with officers of varying grades and qualifications. There is no incentive to improve the

administration of the jagirs, and the ryots have no incentive to improve their lands.”.

Institutions devoted to public work have tried what little they can to focus attention on the problems of Jagirs. “Jagirdars have not realised the importance of education to the people under them,” observed Mr. K. S. Vaidya, presiding over the People’s Educational Conference in November last. “The only remedy is that the Government on the request of the people must move in the matter and help the poor people by creating the much-needed facilities.” “Revenue Settlement and Survey have not been made in many of the jagirs, and it is complained that even where settlement has been made, the revenue rates are higher than in the Khalsa villages,” observed Mr. K. Venkataranga Reddy in his Presidential Address to the Andhra Conference in December, 1936. “Facilities such as schools, dispensaries and Local Funds do not generally exist.” The Conference adopted a resolution that the police administration in the Jagirs should be controlled by the District Police authorities of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Government. The Maharashtra Conference, held in June last and presided over by Mr. Govind Rao Nanal, passed a resolution requesting the Jagirdars to adopt the Khalsa scale of land-tax and abandon the collection of other taxes.

These brief references are sufficient to indicate the low level at which the administration of the Jagirs stands to-day. There are, of course, shining exceptions, but they only bring into greater relief the apathy which Jagirdars betray in the welfare of their people. In

striking contrast to the great progress that the *Khalsa Ilaqa* has made during the last 25 years, the Jagirs have not moved a step, while many of their holders indulge in personal extravagance, involve their estates in heavy debts, and inflict on them the manifold evils of absentee landlordism.

The difficulty in effecting any radical improvement is obvious, for the Jagirdars are jealous that their sanads with the Ruler should be scrupulously honoured and resent interference in the internal affairs of their Jagirs. There are again Jagirs of varying importance, at least one of which has an "army" of seven military and will not willingly part with its "army". The position of His Exalted Highness's Government *vis-a-vis* the Jagirs is analogous to the position of the Government of India *vis-a-vis* the Indian States. But, even admitting this, occasions will arise when interference by the superior power seems to be inevitable and justified. To quote a historic pronouncement of 1926, "the sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them, and it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India." We venture to submit that these remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Jagirs of the State.

If this be so, is it not time for the Government to bring home to the Jagirdars the necessity to improve their administration in a line with that of the State?

Already an educational cess is being levied in the Jagirs, and we are emphatic that an extension of this policy will be helpful both to the people of the Jagirs and the Jagirdars themselves. For, whatever may be the susceptibilities of the landed aristocracy, they should not be tolerated when they act as a clog on general progress. The Jagirdars Association can do much to awaken its members to the necessity for modernisation, but it is idle to expect that any perceptible change will come from within. It has to be super-imposed from without, and we suggest that His Exalted Highness's Government should set up some organisation to control the general policy of the Jagirs with a view to improving their standard of administration and alleviating the plight of their people.

Nowhere is a policeman's helmet a greater passport to public esteem or a greater symbol of the awe and majesty of Law than in Hyderabad, for officials dominate life, and a non-official has not only no place in the scheme of things but is "suspect" by reason of his exclusion from the charmed circle. It is as well that the "steel-frame" of the Government should be strong, honoured and influential, and the local officers occupy, a position that their confreres in other parts of India may well envy. Nowhere are the salaries so generous; nowhere are the pensions so liberal; and nowhere are the holidays so numerous. There are hereditary *Mansabs* and *Vazifas* unknown to British India; there have never been "cuts" in salaries and "reductions" in staff, too well known to British India. And in the matter of

recruitment, much weight, as Sir Richard Chenevix Trench says, is given to "family claims" and "the personal asset".

What are the ideals of public service? The question has come very much to the fore with the acceptance of office by the Congress, and a new orientation to the old ideals is being given. "Ministerships", Mr. Gandhi has observed, "are avenues of service". "I may be the Chief Minister of the Government, but I claim to be the chief servant of the people," has remarked Mr B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay. "People are not only the masters of Ministers but also of the Services". "I appeal above all to my brothers in Services", has observed Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras. "I want the entire Service including the Police, to look on me as a friend and brother in a common enterprise."

It is a far cry from British India to Hyderabad, but we believe that the same ideals of public service should animate our official classes. "We have to cultivate not only the soil but the soul of the people", said Mr. Mahomed Ahmedulla on the Commemoration Day of the Hyderabad Civil Service Association on August 10, 1936. "We should change our old notions of prestige and power for those of sympathy and influence and love". And the Hon'ble the Political Member added on the same occasion: "Remember the people whom you serve, the people of Hyderabad, who furnish all the money with which the Government is run, as your masters. It is by faithfully serving these people that you will best serve the State." Replying to congratulations on his elevation

to the Presidentship of the Executive Council, Sir Akbar Hydari said on the 10th March, 1937: "I think that our work will not be sufficiently complete if we do not train up our young men and give them the opportunity of serving the State and its Master from the lowest to the highest appointment. Qualify yourselves by lines which are open to you, through the exercise of patience, character and zeal and of loyalty, devotion, industry and unswerving honesty,"

These words are a clarion-call to the officials of the State, who should evince more active sympathy towards the people, on the one hand, and a keener interest in enhancing the efficiency of the administration, on the other. There are, happily for Hyderabad, no racial barriers between the ruling classes and the ruled; and they are, or should be, one, as Sir Akbar Hydari recently remarked. We have pleasure in noticing that in recent years the official classes are readily interesting themselves in work that is not strictly official, but we believe that there is still considerable room for the enhancement of efficiency. Only the other day the Maharashtra Conference adopted a resolution that Government Departments should pass orders on the applications of the public within seven days of their submission. Justice delayed is often justice denied, and one of the factors that makes for delay and the consequent dissatisfaction is the interminable length of red tape, leading to duplication of work, lack of centralised supervision, interference by a multiplicity of departments and a tendency to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day. It may well

be considered whether the staff and salaries of officers are not ill-suited to times of economic depression. British India has practised economy in this direction, and the Congress is enforcing it in an unprecedented manner. The Osmania Graduates' Conference has registered a protest against the extensions that are given to officers, by which qualified young men are condemned to unemployment. Would it not be better that unless extraordinary circumstances justify a departure from the rule, an officer should generally retire on the completion of 25 years' service or on reaching 55 years of age? *Noblesse Oblige*. Not unless the Jagirdars and the official classes are able to appreciate the grievances of the people can the administration of the State be rendered more progressive or efficient, for a privilege, whether of birth or of office, has no meaning in these days of Democracy if it refuses to see itself as others see it.

Mighty Atoms

Physical science has yet to discover a method for releasing the latent energy in the atom and utilise it for the promotion of human welfare; political science has yet to discover a device for releasing the latent potentialities in negligible facts, each infinitesimal but susceptible of tremendous cumulative effect, and harness them to the service of the State. It is the conglomeration of details that makes the picture, the small link that gives the chain its strength. It may be that minutiae have at first sight no place in an ambitious scheme of reforms, but we think that the purpose of any change should be to bring more happiness

to the people, and that happiness extends far beyond the political, educational and economic spheres: it is determined even more intimately by the inalienable rights of humanity. The Government stands *in loco parentis* to the governed, and the more helpless a child is to voice its grievances, the greater is the duty of the parent to anticipate and redress them.

A change, comparable to that wrought by the proverbial Alladin's Lamp, has come over the women of India, and the women of Hyderabad, free as honoured Motherhood should be of racial, communal and social prejudices, have awakened to their glorious place in the life of the State. The epoch-making address delivered by Her Highness the Princess Durre Shehvar of Berar at the last Annual Conference of the Hyderabad Women's Association has sent down its echoes to the remotest part of the world, and her plea for women's "right to add to the honour of their nation and the ethos of their people" reverberates again and yet again in ears that can hear.

The women of Hyderabad: in this land of chivalry, where the Hindu and Islamic cultures have blended and contributed to the exaltation of women, can there be a man, educated or uneducated, official or non-official, who does not sympathise with the age-long grievances of women? Their educational disabilities, their right of representation in Municipal and Legislative bodies, we have already discussed: but women will not reach their full moral stature, they cannot be invested with the dignity

and happiness that is their "divine right," if their social advancement is not actively promoted. Women to-day refuse to be pawns in a game of life arranged for them by their men: they claim their right to be arbiters of their own destiny. To quote Her Highness's words, "Let your deepest concern be for the health of your minds and bodies. Let your persistent thought be for your goal in life which is the reason of your being"

Under the existing circumstances neither the bodies nor the minds of women are their own, and half-measures will not do. The Government is either for social reform or it is not; if it is, as we hope it is,—for no progressive Government can be otherwise and claim to be progressive—the history of social legislation in British India and Indian States will indicate the steps that constitute the irreducible minimum. Women do not wish to be compelled to premature widowhood—or worse. If monogamy is to be practised, why should not men do it like woman? If a widower can remarry, why not a widow, and if his rights in property are not jeopardised by his matrimonial adventures, why should hers be? If man can cut the knot of marriage, why not woman? And why should she suffer the ills of early motherhood, economic serfdom and the veil that is the badge of social ostracism? The women of Hyderabad want no privileges which men do not enjoy, they crave for no boons that they do not deserve: all that they want is a frank, broadminded recognition of the equality of their status as citizens, and if the Government does not give them their rights, it will fail to satisfy half the total population

of the State—and a half that is more capable of moulding the future than men.

“The industrialisation of Hyderabad” involves attention to the claims of Labour. In his illuminating statement on Federation, to which reference has already been made, the present Secretary of Constitutional Affairs observed that Sir H. P. Mody of the Employers Federation had complained “of the advantage enjoyed by the State’s industry by way of the absence of legislation in favour of the 54-hour week or the Workmen’s Compensation Act”. We hope that Government is not seriously of the opinion that the absence of Labour legislation is an “advantage”, for we cannot conceive of a Government openly approving of the exploitation of workmen by their employers. The importance of the question will be appreciated by a reference to the statistics furnished by the Census Report. If under the heading “Commerce and Industries” we include the exploitation of minerals, industry, transport and trade, the total number of earners, male and female, following them as their principal occupation is 1,842,812; add to it 293,624 who follow them as subsidiary occupations, and Commerce and Industries account for a total of 2,136,436 people, being second only to workers engaged in “exploitation of animals and vegetation” who number 4,412,069. How can the interests of two millions be ignored?

A brief reference to the progress of Labour in India will be found illuminating. The first Factory Labour Commission was appointed in 1907, and the International

Labour Organisation brought into being by the Treaty of Varseilles led to the Washington Conference and a general recognition of the principle that "humane conditions" should be adopted. Then followed in India a series of measures, including the Factories Act of 1922, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 the appointment of a Royal Commission on Labour, the first Asiatic Labour Conference, the Payment of Wages Act, etc. In contrast to this rapid progress of Trade Unionism in India, we find that such legislation as has been taken in hand in Hyderabad is thoroughly inadequate. In his Report on the Administration of Factories and Boilers Inspection Department for 1343 F., about three years ago, the Chief Inspector had begged the Government to "please expedite the enactment of the Workmen's compensation Act" and to appoint a Special Magistrate to dispose of "a greater number of prosecutions (under the Factories Act) than was done hither to". The only institution of its kind in the State is the Railways Employees' Union, and the relief it has brought to the employees, notwithstanding innumerable obstacles, is a proof that Labour legislation will bring relief to workmen. We suggest, however, that before any piecemeal measures are undertaken, a Commission should be appointed to enquire into the existing conditions, study the legislation in force in other parts of the country, and assure the labourer of a fair measure of wages, standard of life, hours of work and conditions of employment. Provincial Governments now include Ministers in charge of Labour, and Trade Unionism has come to stay in India. It would be more statesmanlike

to obviate the evil day of a revolt by Labour against Capital than to put it off by futile temporising.

It was on the 8th September, 1921, that a Firman was issued directing that "a political meeting, or any meeting calculated to bring about political results, should not be held without the permission of the Executive council"; and the Firman was elaborated on the 21st November, 1929, by Gashthi No 53, which proceeded a step further by laying down that the previous permission of the authorities will be necessary for *every* public meeting, and that is only when the meeting is not *prima facie* political and there is no likelihood of political results being brought about, that permission need be dispensed with. As the man is not yet born who can define with satisfactory precision exactly what "politics" means, the Gashthi has been invoked to penalise every public activity, educational, social and even pseudo-official. The Andhra Conference had to go out of existence for a long period, and the fact that its main concern was rural work did not secure exemption for it. The People's Conference was similarly banned, although it is exclusively concerned with education, and it had to compromise with its principles by agreeing to humiliating conditions. So comprehensive are the provisions of the Gashthi and so rigorously are they enforced that no public meeting can possibly be held, not even for congratulating the Government on some commendable step.

The Gashthi has produced two regrettable results: incentive to public work is killed and the State is

reduced to a Sleepy Hollow: and what cannot be done openly and in an honourable manner is driven to be done subterraneously, by means of meetings to which admission is by invitation. The scope of the Gashthi was so unreasonably extended that even Akhadas, gymnasia for the cultivation of physical culture, were supposed to be political hot-beds and have been so viewed since the 20th May, 1935. May we venture to submit that His Exalted Highness's Firman was issued at a time when apprehensions were felt that the Non-Cooperation Movement in British India might take unhealthy roots in Hyderabad? The swing of the pendulum has filled the Cabinets of the British Indian Governments with those who have spent years behind prison-bars for their "political" crimes, and as the conditions that placed the Gashthi on the Statute Book have ceased to exist, should not the dead past bury its dead? Not one man has ever been found guilty of sedition in the State, and the provisions of the Asafia Penal Code are elastic enough to meet every contingency.

As fundamental as the freedom of speech and association is the right of a "Free Press". "From its commencement the Press was jealously watched by the authorities, who put serious restraints upon its independence and pursued a policy of discouragement and rigorous control. Government objected to news of apparently the most trivial character affecting its servants". Thus says a Year-Book, which adds: "Before 1835, all printing of books and papers was subject to licence by the Governor-General-in-Council, and the licences were issued or refused

at the discretion of Government." This is the year of grace 1937, but conditions that prevailed a century ago in British India continue to prevail in Hyderabad to-day. What harm can there be if the Government follow a more liberal policy towards an institution that, if tactfully and sympathetically handled, will render immense services and will educate the public and fill them with the highest ideals of patriotism and loyalty such as the Government with all its resources cannot? The Press Act in India, which was abolished in 1922, was bad enough: conditions are much worse in Hyderabad, where the establishment and publication of a newspaper are subject to no rules other than the executive will of the Government.

It cannot be said that the Government is not alive to the usefulness of the Press. Almost the first thing that the Hyderabad Delegation to the Round Table Conference did was to secure the goodwill of the British Press: almost the most important thing that the Government did during the recent Silver Jubilee Celebrations was the publicity it secured in the British Press. It subsidises most of the local papers very considerably, but the largesses are so recklessly distributed that the Press is either silenced altogether or is encouraged by the very nature of the gift to be more raucous in its criticism. Exposed to the trials of Tantalus, *faced by the dangers of Damocles, a journalist in Hyderabad needs the heroism of an Hercules. No wonder then that the local Press cannot bear comparison with British Indian Press. In 1932, Madras, with a population of 47 millions contained 1,838 printing presses and published 1,334 news

papers and periodicals and 3,406 books; in the same year, Hyderabad, with a population $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions, contained 145 presses and published 8 journals and 559 books. Comment is superfluous.

We think that financial support is of much less moment than moral support, which implies a reasonable amount of freedom to offer constructive criticism, and the right to challenge the orders of the Government in a Court of Law. It is becoming increasingly clear also that the Information Bureau has gradually resolved itself into a clearing-house for communications of a purely routine nature, and that it is doing nothing more to-day than what was being done before it was brought into existence. Several Congress Ministries have opened a portfolio for Information, with a Minister presiding over it, and a definite policy of studying public opinion and being guided by it in day-to-day administration. There have been various occasions in the past when an enlightened public opinion would have strengthened the hands of His Exalted Highness's Government as nothing else could have done; but how can there be such an opinion without an enlightened Press, and how can there be an enlightened Press when its very thoughts are suspected?

Communal Relations

"It is the duty of every Government that they should protect the life, property and sacred places of the subjects of different religions", said His Exalted Highness in a gracious Firman he issued in connection

with the Gurudwar at Nanded on the 12th Shehrewar, 1338 F. (1929). "This has been the policy of my ancestors, and inasmuch as I have been following their footsteps, I have adopted the same policy. *A Ruler of the country had never shown any partiality towards any religion, whatever be his personal religion*" (italics ours). "Since the time of my ancestors," he said in reply to the address presented by his subjects during his Silver Jubilee celebrations, "it has been the tradition of my House that the Ruler has always had deep love for his subjects, and *irrespective of their race or religion, has considered their welfare as the highest aim of his life*" (italics ours). "I am happy to see that the ancient Hyderabadi tradition of inter-communal concord and friendship is a living reality among the women of our Dominions", remarked Her Highness the Princess Durre Shehvar of Berar on the 30th October, 1936. "I trust that this spirit will continue to grow, manifesting itself in greater and truer appreciation of one another's creeds, cultures, beliefs". And she added: "Every religion was born to lead us upon the rightful path of evolution, to endow us with faith and fortitude and save us from the ignominy of ignorance."

These admirable sentiments are in keeping with the traditions of the Ruling Family and the State. It was said of Mahboob Ali Pasha of imperishable memory that he held the Hindu religion in as much veneration as he held Islam, and the legend, even if it be apocryphal, exalts a Ruler whose name the Hindus of his generation have proudly given to their children and whom they count among the saints of their own religion. His glorious

example has been followed by Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, who knows no distinction between a Muslim and a Hindu. Nothing redounds more to the credit of Hyderabadis than the simple fact the Prime Ministers of the last century included no fewer than five Hindus. Raja Rai Rayan Shamraj, Maharaja Chandulal, Raja Ram Bux, Raja Ganesh Rao and Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur. And the fact that the Maharaja Bahadur's house holds the Peshkari, the most honoured place in the State ranking next only to Members of the Ruling Family, proves as no eulogy can that the Rulers of Hyderabad have never discriminated against any community for its religion.

We are approaching a ground that angels fear to tread, and the greatest care has to be exercised in studying the changes that have recently come about and in diagnosing them in the light of past history. We would not have adverted to a subject that arouses passion so readily and offends susceptibilities without reason but for our conviction that all other problems pale into insignificance before the compelling need of communal harmony. For if the lancet of truth is not boldly laid to the pestering sore, the cherished traditions of the State will be at stake. The need of Hyderabad is the need of India, and as Hyderabad solves the problem of communal relations will she be an example to the rest of the country.

What is the religion of Hyderabad? Has the Government, in other words, a religion? Had not misconceptions so universally prevailed, the question would be absurd,

for a country or a Government has no religion · its functions are purely secular, and its ecclesiastical functions are secondary and incidental. Kashmir, with a Hindu Ruler and a Muslim majority of subjects, furnishes a study in contrast to Hyderabad; and its unhappy history should forewarn the loyal subjects of this State against confounding the religion of the Ruler with the religion of the State. It is because of his deep religious bent that His Exalted Highness possesses a remarkable measure of catholicity, which is evidenced by his interest in the Shia creed and his verses in connection with the Nowroj of Parsis, the Holy of Hindus and Sikhs and the Nativity of Christ.

The communal bitterness of India is due partly to political and partly to economic factors: religion is an adventitious circumstance that has been exploited by interested opportunists. There is no political feeling in Hyderabad and on questions like the retrocession of Berar, the expansion of the Legislative Council and the accession to Federation, it has not run on communal lines. It is the economic factor that contributes the lion's share to communal bitterness. Human nature being what it is, happens on occasions that some people in authority feel that they owe their position to religion; it also happens that when non-Mulkis are imported into the State in large numbers, they feel that they have to justify their presence by out—Heroding Herod; they are blind to the tradition of the local Hindus and Muslims, and some of them feel that it is a service to the State to engender a "Pan-Islamic" feeling; and in the face of these circumstances, it is small blame if a handful of local Muslims are infected

by their example. To their Jaundiced eyes, the Andhra, the People's Educational and the Maharashtra Conferences appear political organisations bent on an anti-Muslim campaign. They cannot understand that the Hindus, who are in the over whelming majority, and entitled to as much consideration as the minority, and that the strict impartiality to the Government on religions matters cannot be departed from without disastrous consequences.

The Government are well aware that the Hindus of the State feel aggrieved that they do not enjoy elementary rights and privileges in the practice of their religion such as are enjoyed by their Muslim brethren. The Hindu Subjects Standing Committee and other organisations have made repeated representations on the matter, and although some of their publications have been banned, the Government are in full possession of the facts. It will suffice our purposes if we make a brief reference to some of these grievances. The Circular issued on the 13th Aban, 1326 Fasli, directs that when the Dasara coincides with the Moharrum, the Hindus should perform their worship without any kind of music; Circular No. 4 of 1329 Fasli prescribes that no religious celebration should be held without the previous sanction of the Ecclesiastical Department; Circular No. 4, dated the 28th Azar, 1310 Fasli, says that no music should be played in front of a mosque or within a distance of three hundred paces from a mosque; the Circular dated the 24th Shehrewar, 1308 Fasli says that where the population of the followers of Islam is considerable, the existing temples and mutts should not be extended or improved; another Circular

dated the 3rd Khurdad, 1318 Fasli, begins with the words that "this is an Islamic State"; and there is yet another Circular which lays down that no procession can be conducted without previous intimation to the authorities. As each year passes by, the Circulars get more numerous in number and more obnoxious in their nature to non-Muslims.

A Memorial submitted to the Government on the 9th April, 1933, mentions facts and figures from Government Reports in support of the contention that heavy grants are given to Islamic institutions to the exclusion of Hindu institutions. A few figures relating to 1340 Fasli bear reproduction. Rs. 3,89,075 was spent on Kazis, etc.; Rs. 23,000 on pilgrims to Mecca (it increased to B. G. Rs. 44,804 in 1343 F.); Moharrum and other festivals, Rs. 75,995; Mamuldars, etc., Rs. 3,06,509, religious charities, Rs. 3,16,374, mosques, etc.; Rs. 14,747. B. G. Rs. 1,00,000 has been given for repairs to the Afzal Mosque in Palestine; Rs. 50,000 to the Hilal Ahmed Association of Turkey; Rs. 1,00,000 to the Jumma Masjid at Delhi, and Rs. 10,00,000 to the Muslim University at Aligarh. The expenditure on the Ecclesiastical Department has more than doubled itself, from Rs. 6,70,670 in 1325 Fasli to Rs. 14,02,400 in 1346 F. The decennial report of the Department for 1344-42 F. reveals that although the Department spends directly Rs. 8,54,382, the total grants to six Hindu institutions in Hyderabad State was only Rs. 5,449.

When the Ecclesiastical Department costs Rs. 14 lakhs to the tax-payer, it is only fair that the interests

of the majority of the people should be borne in mind. The question of mass conversions may also be commended to the notice of the authorities in this connection, with the hope that the open propaganda carried on by persons who ought to know better should be rigorously controlled, lest an impression should be formed that the Government connives at it. Pandit Ramchander Delhavi was externed from the State for less reason, and what applies to an Arya Samajist missionary should no less apply to a Moslem. We have no inclination to labour what is obvious, namely, that the policy hitherto pursued by the Ecclesiastical Department should be thoroughly revised.

Religious tolerance should be, as it were, an instinct, and the best time to instil it is the childhood. In the Greater Hyderabad that awaits birth, it is the children of to-day that will be the standard-bearers. The text-books followed in schools should be re-written in a broad spirit of nationalism, so that Shivaji is not depicted as a murderous "mountain-rat" or Aurangzeb as a "religious fanatic". The greatness of all Prophets, the essential unity of all religions, should be brought home to students, and Akbar and Asoka should be painted as heroes of the nation, not stalwarts of communalism. Are not His Highness the late Nizam, the Maharaja Bahadur, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Lt. Mahomed Hussain names to be conjured with by all Hyderabadis, be they Hindus or Muslims, and would not the State be poorer but for their contribution to her traditions? The work may well be extended to Inter-School competitions and functions organised by public institutions, so that sectarianism may

be fought and religious brotherhood advocated. Denominational institutions, like a "Hindu" or "Islamic" school or club, should be deprived of their grants, and all Government and public institutions should be thrown open to all people. Greater vigilance should also be exercised over publications and speeches, and those who indulge in the lucrative communal game should be brought to book and be made to realise that their religion will not secure immunity for them.

Apart from these preliminary steps, there are directions in which the work can be undertaken with far-reaching results. In other parts of the country Hindus and Muslims participate in one another's religious festivities, study their significance, extend their co-operation and help the abolition of narrow communal barriers. This work was tentatively started in Hyderabad some years ago, but unfortunately received a set-back last year. We appeal as much to the Government as to the public leaders that the easiest way to prove their enlightenment is to participate in the religious functions of their brother-citizens. We notice with pleasure in this connection that the Commissioner of City Police is to take the chair to-morrow at a function arranged by the Hindus to celebrate Sri Krishna's Birthday. Heroism is the antidote to fanaticism, just as nationalism is the antidote to parochialism, and if bigotry is to be overcome, with all its multifarious evils, the various communities should vie with each other in the celebration of national festivals. Public holidays like the Independence Day and His Exalted Highness's Birthday and Accession Day should appeal to the loyalty of all sections of the

public, and the inhibitions of fanatical teaching resisted by nationalising even religious function

“There is no religion higher than Truth,” says the creed of the Theosophical Society, and Sir Akbar Hydari has echoed the words in a recent pronouncement. There are unhappy signs that the foul contagion of communalism is spreading fast to Hyderabad. It is fortunate that as such a juncture the Ecclesiastical Department is under one who is a life-long apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity, and whose deep scholarship and breadth of mind are peculiarly adapted to right a wrong. It is fortunate, too, that so earnest is Sir Akbar to endow the State with honour and prestige that he will not permit communal relations to continue strained. And we feel emboldened to appeal to them to exercise their influence and make it possible for all communities to be free to follow their religions and establish the attitude of the Government beyond a trace of partiality to one community or of prejudice against another. Non-Moslems want nothing more than what His Exalted Highness has always promised them: they await the redemption of the promise, for a nation is built of all its communities and the Hindus are the bulwark of the State.

Public Service Commission

“I have ever kept in view”, graciously observed His Exalted Highness in words reminiscent of Queen Victoria’s Proclamation, “the measures that promised to secure the happiness and prosperity of my beloved subjects in whose contentment and advancement my interest

is paternal and abiding". On the auspicious occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations, he was pleased to add: "My life is dedicated to the welfare of my beloved people. To be their servant is a source of pride and distinction to me. I pray to God that my beloved subjects may live in peace and prosperity, and that this State, which I look upon as a solemn trust, will by His grace and with the prayers of its well-wishers and their united efforts, long continue to prosper". And the President of the Executive Council has with pleasing reiteration referred to the subject in terms equally encouraging. "So far as I am concerned," said the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari on the 10th March, 1937, "there will be no Hindu or Muslim, no elevated or Depressed Class, but all will be equal". Replying to a deputation of the Hindu subjects on the 15th April, 1937, he said. "Merit and not religious belief will be the criterion for employment in Government Service." And on the 5th of this month, he proudly exclaimed that "in Hyderabad there is no difference between the Rulers and the Ruled. They have identity of ideals. They are one."

Communal relations, as we remarked yesterday, are determined by political and economic factors, and if they are not as cordial to-day as they were a generation ago, the reason is that the struggle for existence has become accentuated. In the absence of a re-orientation to the educational policy, Government Service continues to be the natural fulfilment of the aspirations of the educated classes, more especially so in a State like Hyderabad where the official classes carry an amount of influence

that is inconceivable elsewhere. If in addition to the religious disabilities under which they labour the Hindus are further handicapped in entering Government Service it is crystal-clear that communal relations cannot be harmonious. That they are not more embittered than they are at present is a tribute to the patience of the Hindus and their forlorn hope for better times: that they have not resulted in open clashes is a compliment to the Argus-eyed vigilance exercised by the authorities, but it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the Hindus are content with the existing order of things. There is a limit to endurance, and we fear that the limit has been reached.

What are the facts? According to the Census Report of 1931, there are 122 lakhs of Hindus and 15 lakhs of Muslims in the State. And according to the Civil List of that year, the following was the strength of Muslim and Hindu gazetted officers respectively in the various Departments: Executive Council, 11 and 1; Secretaries, 54 and 16, Finance Department, 26 and 15; Revenue Department, 7 and nil; Taluqdars, 196 and 20; Judicial Department, 136 and 12; Police and Jails, 40 and 13; Education Department, 183 and 53; Medical Department 41 and 45 and Miscellaneous, 126 and 40. In other words, the total number of Muslim officers was 820 and of Hindus 215; and it was not in numbers alone that Muslims predominated, for their total monthly salaries and allowances amounted to Rs. 70,904 as against Rs. 19,950 of the Hindu officers. Hindus who outnumber Muslims by 8 to 1 in population, are outnumbered by Muslims in Government Gazetted Service by 4 to 1. ✓

The proportion of the representation of the two communities has not materially altered since 1931: in fact, matters have so far worsened that by the 18th September, 1935, the number of Muslim officers in Judicial Department went up to 173, and that of Hindus to 17. Matters are no better for Hindus in the Subordinate Service. Among the resolutions proposed to be placed before the Hyderabad Hindu Subjects' Conference in 1933 but could not be placed as permission was refused to the Conference, the following additional facts are cited: Muslim commissioned gazetted officers in Public Force, 459 and Hindus 39, Muslim subordinate officers in Public Force, 53,829 and Hindus 5,890, Muslim gazetted officers in Public Administration, 1,635 and Hindus 223; and Muslim subordinate officers in Public Administration 58,588 and Hindus 15,831. These figures are compiled from Government Reports, the Government themselves have admitted that they "do not dispute the substantial accuracy of the above figures", and they speak for themselves.

What are the reasons for this inadequate representation of Hindus in Government Service? Replying to a controversy on the subject published in our columns in February 1932—a controversy that was precipitated by the participation of Government officers—the Information Bureau issued two interesting communiques, one with reference to the Hyderabad Civil Service Examination and the other general in its application to all Government Services. The first stated that the Hyderabad Civil Service Committee "are usually more lenient towards

the Muslim candidates in deciding upon nominations" and that "Hindus are themselves to blame if by not fulfilling the preliminary conditions they apply in a number disproportionate to their population, and when nominated, do not come up to the mark in the final selections by failing to secure positions in the Competitive Examinations." The Hyderabad Civil Service is only one branch of Public Services, and it is not worth while to reply to these remarks, although it may be added that facts and figures would have been more illuminating than generalisations and that we cannot see why any special leniency should be shown towards the Hindus.

The second *communiqué*, published by us on the 8th March of the same year, deserves more notice, for it seems to throw some light on the policy of the Government. In judging the strength of the Hindus, it ingeniously excludes the Adi-Hindus from the Hindus, and separates the rural from the urban population. It then explains, the present proportion of the Hindus and Muslims in Government Services by adducing two causes. First, "the urban Mahomedans are by temperament and historical tradition more drawn towards Government employment than their Hindu fellow-citizens. Forming, as they do, a comparatively poor community with little capital behind them and few business openings of which to take advantage, they not unnaturally look to such employment as an honourable means of livelihood. The Hindus' interests appear to lie more in other directions." Secondly, "Mahomedans in Hyderabad have more aptitude for examinations of this nature (*i. e.* H. C. S.) than Hindus.

His Exalted Highness's Government are well aware of the stock explanation offered of the paucity of Hindu candidates and of their comparative failure to hold their own in the examination field, namely, that Hindus are handicapped by the system of education in force in the Dominions which makes Urdu or English the medium of instruction in all Middle and Secondary Schools and Colleges. They are not impressed by it." As regards subordinate cadres of Public Service, the Information Bureau says that figures are not available, but that does not deter it from adding that "it can confidently be stated that they enjoy a greater representation there than they do in the higher official hierarchy" And the argument is clinched by the imposing declaration that "village officers are almost exclusively Hindus" and that they "possess in the districts an enormous cumulative influence and power".

Considerations of space forbid a detailed examination of this remarkable *communiqué*, and we can consider only a few of its points. Is it true that Muslims are "by temperament and historical tradition more drawn towards Government employment" than Hindus? Has the representation of Hindus always been disproportionately low in Hyderabad? A memorial submitted to the President of the Executive Council on the 31st July, 1935, gives the figures for 1295 Fasli, fifty years ago, and they show that while the number of Hindus in Government Service stood at 4,949, the number of Muslims was only 2,882. So much for "temperament and historical tradition". In the second place, if the Muslims do not take to business openings, should it be the special charge of the Government

to reserve Government Services for their monopoly? We fear we cannot subscribe to such an opinion, for to do so would be to imply discrimination by the Government in conferring its loaves and fishes and we would rather think that the Government is not openly committed to a policy of discrimination. In the third place, what seems to be "a stock explanation" to the Information Bureau goes to the very root of the matter, for so long as Urdu forms the medium of instruction and the official language,—the reference to English is irrelevant—the Hindus are handicapped, for their inadequate knowledge of the mother-tongue of the Muslims condemns them to a failure in "securing positions".

It was not in this supercilious, illogical and oracular manner that the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari replied to the representations of the Hindu subjects on the 16th April, 1937. "It is true," he is understood to have admitted, "that a few instances of preferences and favouritism could be pointed out with regard to the Public Services, but they were prompted by personal or private considerations. It could not be denied that in most of such instances, the Muslims had gained an advantage. He disapproved of the short-sightedness of officers who imported such considerations into their work and he promised to be more vigilant in future." Sir Akbar expressed himself as being opposed to communal representation in Public Services and "pointed out to the deputationists that during the Round Table Conference he had opposed the demand of the Muslim League for communal electorates and had urged on them to accept joint electorates."

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are to be protected by proportionate representation in Public Services, why should not the interests of the 85 per cent of the people of Hyderabad be similarly protected? It is a pity that so reasonable a request appears to the Information Bureau to be "clearly part and parcel of an open political campaign now being directed against the administration."

Facts are stubborn, inconvenient things, and cannot be ignored. The Hindu subjects do not ask for 85 per cent representation, as their numerical strength justifies all that they request is that their representation in the State Service "high and low, Civil, Military and Police should be at least equal to that of the Muslims during the next five years, which can be achieved by filling all future vacancies by the appointment of Hindus." The request is as reasonable as the remedy is not feasible. Let the Government be committed by all means to its opposition to communal representation, but we submit that this policy should not be so interpreted and carried out that it perpetuates an injustice to the Hindus. Nothing short of the immediate appointment of a Public Service Commission will meet the ends of justice, and in order that it may serve some purpose, it is preferable that it should be composed of a majority of European officers. Let the Commission examine the question in full detail, the claims of the Hindu majority and the counterclaims of the Muslim minority, and let the Commission suggest steps that will bring redress to the Hindus within a specific period. The majority community has by a conspiracy of unfortunate circumstances been reduced to the plight

of a minority, and "a solemn trust", after all, can only be discharged by promoting the greatest good of the largest number.

Conclusions

As we draw to a conclusion of our labours we feel that an excuse is perhaps needed for the unusual step we have taken in discussing some of the outstanding problems of Hyderabad. We cherish a passionate conviction that if only the State makes up its mind, it can easily take its place in the vanguard of national advancement, for it enjoys extremely favourable circumstances. His Exalted Highness is admittedly the most enlightened Prince in India, as great in power and rank as he is in very truth "the father of his people", and the marvellous progress the State has achieved in the last 25 years is but a happy augury of the glorious future that awaits it. In the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari there is at the helm of affairs the greatest statesman of the age, whose international outlook lifts him over pigmy politicians and places him among the great builders of the nation. The official classes of Hyderabad, rich in their traditions of loyalty to the Ruler and service to the people, throb with a burning desire to make their own contribution to the heritage of the State. Do not these circumstances arouse "Great Expectations"?

Great expectations, indeed: and we have been unable to resist a temptation to express them at some length and look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the day of their realisation. There is no Hyderabad so low but

feels elated at the contemplation of the Greater Hyderabad that is being born : none so short of vision but will welcome the immense prestige that the State will gain. It may be that the fervour of our enthusiasm has deflected us from the straight and narrow path of sobriety, and that our discretion has been apt to be over-run by the intensity of our patriotism. Writing from day to day on some of the outstanding questions and in an atmosphere electrified by expectations such as, to our knowledge, have never before been felt, a point may have been over-stated, a figure mis-quoted, what would have been better left unsaid touched upon : if this be so, we express our regret in all sincerity and seek extenuation in the fact that the occasion warranted a categorical reference to the directions in which progress is imperative.

A glance at the progress already achieved itself shows how much more progress the State will embark upon to achieve. It is hardly necessary to refer in detail to the splendid work of Departments like the Irrigation and the P.W.D., Education and the City Improvement Board : even comparatively minor Departments like Broadcasting, Aviation and the Information Bureau—the last of which suffers from various handicaps in the discharge of its work and which nonetheless labours to be of assistance to the Press—have been hard at work to modernise Hyderabad, and examining the picture in its proper perspective, Hyderabadis feel immensely proud of their Government and their State. With an Executive Council that represents a “Ministry of all Talents”, with no less a distinguished statesman

than Sir Akbar to preside over it, and with His Exalted Highness in charge of the State, progress has not only been rapid in the past but is bound to be more rapid in the future. But it is by an examination of weakness that strength can be secured, and it is for this reason that we have had to refer to subjects which we have always scrupulously avoided—like alleged religious disabilities and representation in the Public Service. Anything that savours of communalism or that entails the rivalry of one class, interest or community against another is abhorrent to us, but the citizens are the sons of the Ruler and it is their privilege to ask, just as it is his privilege to give. The speculations that have kept us busy for the past few days have afforded us pleasure, and if even only a few of our suggestions find favour, we shall feel amply recompensed for our labours. Our long history should convince any dispassionate observer that we yield to none in our loyalty to His Exalted Highness, friendliness towards his officers and sympathy to his subjects, and these sentiments have actuated us to take the course that we have taken.

A survey such as this has also been necessitated by an extraneous circumstance. It is only a few days ago that the loyal public of the State were shocked to learn of the attempt being made in certain interested quarters in British India to concern themselves with the affairs of our State. We had the honour, not once but twice, to deprecate these attempts and warn the local public against being inveigled by them. Patriotism demands that every single Hyderabadi should bend all his energies

to the promotion of the welfare of the State, and even if he is over-emphatic in some of his pronouncements or actions, it is a failing that is redeemed by his citizenship: but loyalty, of all sentiments unquestionably the most supreme, no less demands that under the Ruler's paternal guidance the official and the non-official classes should work together as brethren and co-ordinate their intelligent effort for the greater glory of their State. If the public entertain aspirations—and the public of the most democratic country in the world are not free from them—it is for them to express them and His Exalted Highness to fulfil them. Hyderabad is for Hyderabadies, and outsiders have, and should have, no concern with them. Progress should be wrought from within, and overtures from outside have to be repelled, for that way lies suicide

It is clear that both loyalty and patriotism call upon the local public to consider how best they are to co-operate with the Government in the inauguration of a scheme of reforms. The work entails much thought, daring beyond the ordinary and infinite patience, for a scheme, in order that it should be satisfying, has to be as comprehensive as life itself: it involves the reconstruction of the life of the State in all its varied spheres, educational, economic and even constitutional, and affects all classes and communities. Never was the hour more opportune for a builder of the State, for one who has a simple but purposeful plan for the construction of its edifice from its deep foundations to the lofty superstructure. And never in the history of Hyderabad has there

been a greater builder than the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

How should a scheme of reforms be inaugurated with a reasonable measure of assurance that it shall be both practical and successful? How is the order of urgency or importance to be determined? Is educational reorganisation, for instance, to come before a decision on the issue of Federation? It is not for us to say: the Government are in possession of fuller data and are better qualified to decide the matter. Are there no questions other than those to which we have referred? We dare say there are, and we do not belittle their importance: but again we say that, having respectfully invited attention to some questions, we are content to leave the others to the more competent judgment of the Government. Our sense of duty to this great State has impelled us no more than to indicate generally the directions in which there seems to be room for progress; but we claim no infallibility for our views, we know that on every public question there will be honest differences of opinion, and we have perfect confidence in the wisdom of the authorities. Ours is to suggest, not to decide: "they also serve who only stand and wait."

The effectuation of an ambitious scheme of reforms such as we have envisaged is dependent on two factors—money and men; and our discussions will not be complete without a few remarks on this practical aspect of the problem. So far as money is concerned, Hyderabad is perhaps in the most enviable position among the nations

of the world. Sir Akbar has laboured hard and long to ensure her financial strength, even accession to Federation will not impair it, and if additional funds are needed, they may be found, first, by the effecting of economy by way of retrenchment in supernumerary staff, by enquiry as to whether non-development departments like the Army do not admit of a reduced allotment, and by the retirement of "extended" officers in favour of qualified young men, who will start service in the initial grade; and, secondly, by tapping new sources of income. Sir Akbar's genius has ever been more than a match to the most depressing financial outlook, and it may safely be predicted that no scheme of reforms will be delayed by reason of want of funds.

The human element, however, is not so readily forthcoming or available in such plenty. The public should not think that their duty is done by sitting in judgment over the Government or individual officers—and that it does not extend to co-operating with them at the sacrifice of their time and labour. It is both easy and possible for the Government to present a programme of reforms as a gift, chalked out entirely by themselves and conferred from their own volition, like any other administrative measure; but is it not much better that the public, who are to be benefited by the reforms, should ask for opportunities to share a part of the burden—which, to an understanding citizen, is a labour of love and *not* a burden—and prove by their capacity for hard work and statesmanship that they deserve the reforms? Should such public-spiritedness be betrayed, we

think that the Government will not only agree to such co-operation but cordially welcome it.

Our suggestion is that non-officials should be invited to join officials in deliberations on the scheme, and we would venture to indicate some more steps that will win over non-official support. As the scheme is by its nature likely to be very broad, it would be advisable that each separate aspect of the work should be entrusted to an *ad hoc* Committee composed of officials and non-officials in about an equal proportion but small enough to facilitate work, its strength not exceeding, say, half a dozen members, and presided over by the Secretary or a senior officer of the Department concerned: a Committee enquiring into the establishment of representative institutions can have no better person for its chairman than the Secretary of the Political Department. As anything in the nature of a thorough enquiry is rendered impossible by considerations of time, a date may be prescribed within which written statements from the public interested in the question will be received, and the Committee may, on the basis of the material so collected and on its own information, submit its report to the Government. While the official members of each Committee will naturally be recruited from officers having expert knowledge of the subjects to be considered, it has to be remembered that the selection of non-official members will present some difficulty, for there are no means to scrutinise their claims and no assurance that their selection will meet with the approval of the general public. But this circumstance need not in our opinion deter the Government, for

their determination to inquire into the feasibility of reforms is itself an assurance that they will select only the best available for the purpose, known for their sympathy to public aspirations, knowledge of the subject, sense of responsibility and sobriety of opinion. Procrastination is the prolific parent of misapprehension, and a mandate should be given to each Committee that it should complete its work within a prescribed time of two or three months. And as each Committee completes its labours, the External Relations Committee of the Executive Council may scrutinise the various reports—with due attention to the need of despatch—and submit the general scheme for the gracious orders of His Exalted Highness.

That a scheme of reforms is not only arduous in its formulation but provocative of vehement controversy is a foregone conclusion: that it needs time for its fruition is obvious enough. Not the most reasonable and progressive step has at any time been taken in history without arousing the sullen animosity of obscurantists, on the one hand, and the deep disappointment of radicals, on the other: the opportunism of democratic politics is peculiarly susceptible by compromises and accommodations to the acceptance of solutions admittedly inferior to idealistic conceptions. A statesman has to stop if he has to conquer: he has to remember that no prophet is honoured in his country or in his own time; and it needs the vision and the courage of a prophet to change the old order and usher the new. But it seems to us, as indeed it has seemed to Sir Akbar himself, that a change is inevitable sooner or later, and better sooner

than later, and that, in a State of historic traditions, it will have no disruptive consequences. "So little time, so much to do." was a favourite phrase of Cecil Rhodes, whom the President of the Executive Council so much resembles in his dynamic energy, his political vision and his determination for something attempted, something done. And in this great work that awaits him, we pledge our fullest, most sincere and consistent support. To us, as to him, there is no religion higher than Truth, and to a publicist, Truth is service to the State.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;

Where knowledge is free. . . ,

Where the mind is led forward into ever-widening thought
and action—

Into that Heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country
wake."

The Fulfilment

Alive as we have always been to the need of the pace of constitutional progress being moderated to existing circumstances, we very much regret that we cannot develop any enthusiasm for the announcement made yesterday by the Rt. Hon'ble the President of the Executive council in his speech to the Legislative Council. An achievement is measured by the expectations that are entertained of it: there are no disappointments when there are no expectations; and there is no achievement when it does not meet the expectations. Our submission is that the announcement made yesterday not only falls short of the expectations of

the public but of the expectations aroused by the recent pronouncements of the Rt. Hon'ble the President of the Executive Council himself. Confining ourselves for the present to a recent one, his speech at the Nizam College on the 5th of this month, we may recall his observations: "I know what great expectations are entertained of me I also know what a heavy and responsible task it is to fulfil even a part of the great expectations that are entertained of me."

It is not unreasonable to infer from Sir Akbar Hydari's remarks that he, and therefore the Government, are thoroughly conversant with the aspirations of the general public. Notwithstanding the considerable risk attendant on a frank statement of facts in the somewhat peculiar circumstances in which the Press is situated to-day, we felt it our duty, both to the public and the Government, to suggest directions in which reforms can be introduced for the benefit of the Ruler and the ruled. So far as the public are concerned, they too have been engaged in making representations to the Government on numerous problems, either in the shape of memorials or at public conferences. The more zealous section of public leaders had availed themselves of our hospitality during the last few days to draw attention to specific questions with a lastminute hope that the Government would be pleased to consider them. It cannot therefore be contended that the expectations were not justified or that the Government were unaware of their precise nature.

The only redeeming feature of the function held yesterday is the gracious message of His Exalted Highness,

In an age in which, to quote Sir Akbar's words, "change is the essence of life and a society which is static must be held to be dead", the hopes of the people have always rested in the wise statesmanship of His Exalted Highness. He has been pleased to observe that since the last eighteen years he has been anxiously considering "the problem of increasing the association between my people and my Government by the creation of a body or bodies representing the main interests in my State". As His Exalted Highness is fully aware, the story of reforms in Hyderabad is a story of procrastination and wasted effort, and he has therefore been graciously please to emphasis the need of expedition, so that whatever progress is to be made, however restricted in its scope and halting in its nature, will have the saving grace of being made early. We express our deep gratitude to His Exalted Highness for his gracious message and commands.

Sir Akbar's speech to the Ligislative Council is admirably conceived. It opens with interesting observation on the Hyderabad Legislature and concludes with an unexceptionable reference to the immunity that the State enjoys from political and economic storms. There are, so far as we can see, three distinct announcements that it makes. first, that the Hon'ble the Education Member is shortly to place before the Legislative Council a Bill regarding Compulsory Primary Education; secondly, that a Draft of a Press Regulation is similarly to be placed before that Council; and thirdly, that a Committee is to be instituted for the "association of the different interests in the State with the Government". The first two are of

secondary importance and have, in fact, been known to the public for some time. The last is of an importance of the first magnitude: and it calls for examination from three different points of view, its terms of reference, its personnel and the procedure for adopting or rejecting its recommendations. We believe that the Committee will meet with public disappointment from any point of view.

The terms of reference of the Committee are defined as follows:—"Keeping in view the conditions in and the requirements and circumstances of the State, to investigate and report on all suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the defferent interests in the State with the Government whereby the latter may be placed in continuous possession of their needs and desires." And Sir Akbar explains that "these terms have been kept wide deliberately so that the Committee might be unhampered in a comprehensive study of the problem". But we apprehend that the terms of referenee are so wide that their exact implications cannot be easily grasped. Our difficulty may be illustrated. We take it that the terms are to be read with and interpreted in the light of, His Exalted Highness's message; and the message opens with the recalling of his commands in 1338 Hijri for 'a scheme of reform and expansion of the Legislature consistent with the educational and moral progress of my people". The commands were therefore confined to the expansion of the Council. His Exalted Highness's message yesterday, however, proceeds to deal with "the association between my people and my Government".

These words are reproduced with minor modifications in the terms of reference.

Is the work of the committee, then, restricted to a consideration of the expansion of the Legislative Council? Obviously not; for the terms of reference make no specific mention of that Council at all, and although it is clear that "the more effective association of the different interests in the State with the Government can directly and materially be brought about only by such a step, it does not follow that other methods cannot be suggested. This is especially so because it is explicitly stated that the object of such "association" is to place the Government "in continuous possession of their (i. e., "of the different interests") needs and desires." Such a restricted purpose can be fulfilled as much by a representative Legislative Council as by Committees of various interests, as for example, the Shahukars Committee, by conferences or even by periodic representations. The first defect of the terms therefore seems to lie in the obscurity of language resulting from a desire to be comprehensive; and on the interpretation of the word 'continuous' will depend the nature of the body or bodies to be suggested. Another minor defect is the divergence in the words used in His Exalted Highness's message and in the terms of reference: in the former, the "association" is to be with "the main interests", in the latter with "the different interests", and the distinction between them is so clear that it needs no elaboration. The gravest of the defects is that, as the terms are framed, there is no assurance that even when the Government are "placed in continuous possession of

their needs and desires", whether on the floor of the Legislature or by other means, the people will be assured that they will be met: in other words, the body or bodies to be suggested by the Committee will be purely consultative or advisory: it is made clear, even before they come into existence, and with no room for the Committee to make its suggestions on the subject, that they may not have a real voice in shaping the policy of the Government by methods well-known to democratic institutions.

It is with the greatest reluctance that we have to observe that the personnel of the Committee leaves much to be desired. Let us first consider the necessity for official representation. It is said that the Constitutional Affairs Committee felt that it "would be considerably assisted, in a matter which so closely concerns the public, if it has before it also the view of an independent and experienced body, consisting of officials and non-officials alike". It is clear therefore that the proposals for the association of the different interests with the Government are virtually and eventually to be formulated by the Constitutional Affairs Committee, and that the new Committee now appointed is only to be of "assistance" to it. The first possible objection to the representation of officials on the Committee is that there is no need for it, for the official view-point is assured of consideration and over-weighing importance at a later stage, when the report of the Committee reaches the Constitutional Affairs Committee. It is difficult, moreover, to understand how officials, so long as they retain their official character, can be expected to be "independent" (whatever may be

their "experience") when the accepted official view differs sharply from the non-official during the deliberations of the Committee. This is the second objection to the presence of officials on the Committee.

In the second place, serious exception can be, and has already been, taken to the non-official representatives on the Committee. The people owe their thanks to the Government for having eschewed communal representation on the Committee, and we are particularly pleased with it, for we think that the proposals to be formulated by the Committee will now follow this excellent lead: we have always been definitely opposed to communal representation on any representative institution or on any body engaged in such work. But we are at a loss to understand the basis on which the non-official members have been selected. We are prepared to concede that in the absence of an enlightened public opinion, it is exceedingly hard for the Government to ascertain who are "public leaders", but we venture to think that if a satisfactory alternative to communal representation had to be sought, it was surely possible for them to do so on a linguistic basis. About 90 per cent of the entire population of the State is made up of the speakers of three different languages, and the work of selection of members to the Committee is facilitated by the existing Andhra, the Karnataka and the Mahratta Conferences: they have Standing Committees and, if so approached, could have jointly suggested three names from amongst themselves. As it is, unfortunately happens that of the three non-official members on the Committee, only Mr. Kasinath Rao Vaidya can claim an adequate

representative character—a claim which is further justified both by his “independence” and “experience”, whether in legislative matters or by reason of a close contact with the people’s views, such as is prescribed by His Exalted Highness’s message as the standard for the selection of the members of the Committee.

Apart from the vague terms of reference and a personnel to which reasonable objection can be taken, the value, in the last place, of such work as the Committee *can* do is whittled down in advance by the super-imposition of several restrictions. It is not yet known on what material the Committee is to make its recommendations, whether from the evidence of witnesses or on its own initiative, but, in either case, its report is directed to be confidential unless the Government exercise their discretion otherwise, and the result will be that the people will have no opportunity to ascertain the nature of the report or focus their opinion on it before it is submitted to the authorities. It is further stated that although the Government will give the report their “most careful and sympathetic consideration”, they “cannot obviously bind themselves in advance to accepting its recommendations.” These various reservations seem to show that even if the Committee should make unanimous recommendations, their acceptance in entirety is wholly at the discretion of the Government.

We are ready to appreciate the generous motives that have led to the institution of the Committee, and we wish the public to appreciate this generosity. There

are two ways in which any progressive measure can be introduced: either by the Government themselves *sonu moto* and in their own discretion, or through a non-official body whose opinion is accepted by the Government. In the former case, it becomes an executive act and is denuded of democratic glamour; in the latter, it is expected to satisfy the public. We realise how easy it was for the Government to have dispensed with the institution of a semi-non-official Committee and to have the scheme formulated entirely by the Constitutional Affairs Committee: that they have not done so is praiseworthy; but in order that the Committee could have done any useful purpose, the three aspects on which criticism is bound to be levelled, namely, the terms of reference, the personnel and the scope and procedure of the work of the Committee, could have been conceived in the same liberal spirit in which the institution of the Committee has been undertaken.

The people had looked for the dawn of a new era in the constitutional history of the State: the announcement amounts to no more than the setting up of a Committee probably for the expansion of the Legislative Council; and there is therefore some measure of disappointment. But we would urge upon them to remember that there is no reason to suppose that the other aspirations they have entertained will not be fulfilled: it would certainly have gone a long way in placating public opinion if the announcement had made this clear; but their omission to do so cannot surely mean that other reforms are not contemplated. His Exalted Highness has made it abundantly clear that

the auspicious Silver Jubilee year should witness substantial progress over the existing order of things; and we hope that the Government will take the earliest opportunity to re-assure the people that progress will be attempted and achieved in *all* directions. the fulfilment of our "Great Expectations" has not materialised; only one of them is being attempted; but we sincerely trust and hope that "a scheme of reforms consistent with the educational and moral progress of the people" will be taken in hand before the completion of the Jubilee year.



Administrative Reforms in Hyderabad

H. E. H. the Nizam's Gracious Message

The President's Address

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council:

This is the first occasion when I have the honour to address you as your President and, following as I do a great servant of the State in the person of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad who for so many years worthily upheld the traditions of the great office which I have the honour now to hold, it is not unnatural that I should feel conscious for the great responsibility which has now been placed on my shoulders. I hope, however, that in so far as it relates to you, I shall through your co-operation find the strength to fulfil it worthily. I hope also that there will be many future occasions on which I shall be able to participate in your deliberations.

Task of the Law-maker

I consider your task, namely, legislation, to be a most important one. Good laws are the foundations of good Government and, in so far as it falls to your share of business as an organ of the constitution of the State

to examine or frame legislation, I am sure that you will always, in the light of your knowledge of the different needs of the people of the State, bear in mind the principles which go to the making of stable, equitable and progressive laws. Absence of laws from any particular sphere of life of an organised society is a great defect which needs constant rectification, particularly as it lays on the executive an excessive burden of discretion and responsibility. The increasing complexities of modern life and the problems that they create cause a degree of strain on administrators and legislators unknown to previous generations and the task of the law-maker, just as that of the administrator, is becoming day by day more difficult and complex. A system of organised administration, based on an identity of interests between the Ruler and the ruled, has given to the State a variety of legislation derived from the laws of its different communities, from its own calculation of the needs of its people and from other laws, in force in British India, which have with judicious care been adapted to the requirements and circumstances of the State. Progress in different directions, however, constantly creates fresh fields for legislation and I am confident that in covering those fields, while you will not fail to take advantage of the experience of other countries, you will at the same time not allow the sense of blind imitation to mar your own insight into the particular requirements of our people to whom such legislation will be applied.

Avoidance of Unnecessary Delay

Another and an equally important task is yours, namely, to assist the Government in adapting existing

legislation to the needs of an evergrowing and progressive society such as ours. Change is the essence of life and a society which is static must be held to be dead. And if laws are to have constant relation to the realities of the life of the people—they are bad laws which have no longer such relation—they must undergo periodic though careful revision. Your functions also include the examination of draft Bills prepared and send to you by the Government for opinion. It will now be my increasing endeavour as far as possible to avoid forms of legislation which do not bear the impress of your opinion and, whenever such forms are found in cases of urgency to be necessary, to define the occasions or confine their application to a definite period within which your opinion in regard to them should be sought. While recognising, however, that legislatures all over the world have to undergo considerable and patient drudgery in the critical examination of laws that are placed before them, I would urge upon you the necessity for simplifying procedure in such a way as to avoid unnecessary delay. Remember that the longest Bill in the history of the British Parliament, I refer to the Government of India Bill as it then was, consisting of over 600 clauses, was fully discussed clause by clause, criticised, explained and amended, passed through three successive readings in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, with amendments introduced practically in each reading in each House, and received the signification of His Majesty's Assent within 7 months of its first introduction in the House of Commons. Remember also that each of the two Houses of Parliament is about 30 times as large as your present Council and that the Bill

contained perhaps the most complicated piece of legislation which it has ever fallen to the lot of any single legislature to enact.

Legislators Congratulated

I must congratulate you here on some of your achievements in the last session, particularly in so far as social legislation is concerned, for example, your Bill dealing with the re-marriage of Hindu widows. Social legislation of a kind affecting the religious laws of a particular community is difficult for any Government to introduce and the difficulty can only be solved if a community desirous of such legislation initiates it by agreement among itself and then suggests its adoption to Government. Whenever such legislation is introduced it would be a wise and fair convention if other communities not affected by it were to refrain from voting on its issue. I must, further express my satisfaction at the interest you have taken in subject like Compulsory Primary Education. Government are in the fullest sympathy with the principles underlying the Bills which you requested leave to introduce in this House, and if that leave is being withheld it is because, firstly, it was felt that the financial implications of compulsion had not been fully dealt with in the Bills proposed and, secondly, because Government have themselves been contemplating the introduction of a measure on the subject. My Hon'ble colleague, the Education Member, has assured me that his Bill will be ready in due course and I hope it will not be long before it is placed before you for opinion. Among legislation which will similarly be placed before you will be the draft of

a Press Regulation which, I hope, will embody a considerable measure of advance on the present position. The remarks I have so far made are only introductory to the main object of my visit to you to-day. I have the honour to be the bearer of a Message from our August Sovereign to you and I am sure that the present occasion will, on account of that Message, long be remembered in the annals of this House. (I request you to pay to it the respect that is its due and to receive the Message standing).

H. E. H. 's Gracious Message

His Exalted Highness has commanded me to convey to you the following:—

To my beloved people my earnest prayers to Providence for their happiness and welfare !

“I had in my Firman, dated the 14th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1938 Hijiri, directed the then President of my Council to collect data which would enable me to devise a scheme of reform and expansion of the Legislature consistent with the educational and moral progress of my people. I have since then given constant and anxious thought to the problem of increasing the association between my people and my Government by the creation of a body or bodies representing the main interests in my State from which my Government could derive adequate and constant knowledge of the needs and desires of my people. Upon seeking the views of my Executive Council in this regard, I have received encouragement by the opinion tendered by them and have

resolved that preparatory steps may be taken in this direction before the close of my Jubilee Year. I have entrusted the task of formulating proposals on the subject to the Constitutional Affairs Committee of my Council but I and my Ministers feel that in formulating proposals that Committee would be considerably assisted, in a matter which so closely concerns the public, if it has before it also the views of an independent and experienced body, consisting of officials and non-officials alike. I have communicated my detailed instructions regarding the composition and the terms of reference of this Committee to my President of the Executive Council who is also your President and the bearer of this, my Message to you to-day. It is my wish that the work entrusted to the Committee should be completed within the shortest possible time and that the results should be submitted to my Government within a period not exceeding six months. I am confident that the Committee will realise the responsibility of the task entrusted to it and will discharge it in a manner worthy of its importance. 'I can only endeavour, but it is with God to dispose.'

. Personnel of the Committee

The Committee thus appointed by His Exalted Highness consists of the following members:—

(1) Dewan Bahadur Aravamudu Aiyangar whom His Exalted Highness has been pleased to nominate as Chairman and who will have a casting vote.

(2) Mr. Ghulam Mahmood Qureishi, H. C. S.,

- (3) Professor Qadir Mussain Khan,
- (4) Mr. Kashinath Rao Vaidya,
- (5) Mr. Mir Akbar Ali Khan,

Mr. Syed Yusuf Ali, H. C. S., is being specially detailed to act as Secretary to the Committee.

Terms of Reference

As you will see, there are three non-officials on the Committee, including the Chairman himself, and only two officials. The terms of reference of the Committee have been defined as follows:—" Keeping in view the conditions in and the requirements and circumstances of the State, to investigate and report on all suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the different interests in the State with the Government whereby the latter may be placed in continuous possession of their needs and desires." These terms have been kept wide deliberately so that the Committee might be unhampered in a comprehensive study of the problem. Its report will be confidential and while Government cannot obviously bind themselves in advance to accepting its recommendations, they can give the fullest assurance that they will be given the most careful and sympathetic consideration.

Hyderabad's Great Heritage

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council we are meeting at a time of unprecedented changes all over the world. Dictatorships on the one hand and liberal systems on the other are engaged in a conflict of ideologies the outcome of which remains yet to be seen. Economic distress, too, has had its share in upheavals which have rent the world asunder. The sky is also heavy with the clouds

of war and conflict. Yet, while we have not isolated ourselves from the rest of the world at a time when the barriers of space and the difficulties of communication are breaking, we have been fortunate in being spared the troubles and the distress, both political and economic, which have in recent years been the lot of less favoured nations. I claim that the reason for it lies in the unbroken peace and prosperity which we the subjects of this State have enjoyed under His Exalted Highness. This contrast with the conflicts and distress in other parts only teaches us that in covering the stages of progress we should jealously guard the great heritage which we here enjoy in common. The achievement itself would not have been possible but for the existence of an absolute identity of interests between the Ruler and the ruled and the inspiration of one State and one Sovereign which has been at the root of the accord existing between the different sections of the people of this State. It is the same identity of interests and the supreme desire to maintain, indeed, to enhance it, that has resulted in the gracious Message which I have conveyed to you to-day and I am sure that all sections in this Council, in this great City and throughout the Dominions, will welcome with gratitude the lead given by His Exalted Highness in the direction of creating methods of consultation between his Government and the public. Let me make on behalf of all of us assembled here the following reply to the Message which I have had the honour to convey to you:—

Reply to the Message

“The Legislative Council has heard with profound respect and satisfaction the gracious Message of the Sovereign

conveyed through the President. It wishes respectfully to express its gratitude to the Sovereign for this signal act of statesmanship which will throughout be remembered as marking the Jubilee Year of a most benevolent rule. The Council begs respectfully to assure the Sovereign of its whole-hearted co-operation in the task undertaken by him and hopes that the method of work laid down and its results will open a new era of progress and prosperity in the State. It is confident that in submitting this reply it is interpreting the sincere wishes and feelings of all sections of the subjects of the State."

Special Committee's Report

Publication at Government Discretion

A communique issued by the Information Bureau this afternoon says:—

In pursuance of His Exalted Highness's Message to the Legislative Council to-day and of the terms of the President's speech, letters of appointment have been issued to-day to the Chairman, the Members and the Secretary of the Special Committee. The letter to the Chairman follows closely the terms of the Message and of the relevant parts of the President's speech and supplements the latter by the statement that, although the proceedings and the report of the Committee must, for the present, be regarded as confidential in order that the Committee may carry on its deliberations in an unbiassed and calm atmosphere, Government reserve to themselves the right to publish the report at any time and that such publication is not altogether unintended.

HYDERABAD

ADMINISTRATION

BY

MR. M. S. ANEY, M.L.A. (Central)

Mr. Aney presents a critical survey of Hyderabad Administration with special reference to the religious, cultural and educational disabilities of Arya Samaj and Hindus in the State.

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M. S. ANEY.

B A., B.L., M.L.A. (Central)
President All India Aryan Congress
Sholapur.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
delivered by
MR. M. S. ANEY,
at
All India Aryan Congress
SHOLAPUR, 25th Dec. 1938.

Introduction:

I thank you for the great honour you have done in electing me to preside over this All India Aryan Congress. Not being an Arya Samajist myself, I would have ordinarily declined to accept this invitation of the Reception Committee, with thanks. But on a closer study of the present-day situation, I felt that it was not a mere formal and ceremonial offer, but a call to duty, the performance of which I ought not to shirk. I, however, stand in need not merely of the indulgence and kindness, but of the active co-operation of all the delegates assembled here, in conducting the proceedings of this huge gathering and arriving at wise decisions on problems that may be presented to us for discussion and solution, I feel confident that I will get it in ample measure.

**Services rendered by Arya Samaj, Aspects
of its Teachings and International Outlook.**

The services rendered by Arya Samaj to the Hindu Nation are too wellknown to need any mention in this address. Some writers describe it as the Protestant Church of the Vedic Religion. Arya Samajists regard that the mission of the sect founded by Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati is to restore Hinduism to its pristine glorious position of simplicity, purity and sublimity, as seen and understood by them to be in the Vedas. Attempt at definition of big movements in one short sentence is very seldom successful in giving a correct and comprehensive conception of the various aspects of any dynamic and complex organisation. Each of the two definitions given above emphasize some of the most important aspects of the Arya Samaj movement; while one points out to the reformative tendencies and the essentially rationalistic and comparative method of discussion adopted by the founder and the first teacher of this New Church in the Satyarth Prakash, the other clearly vindicates the supreme and unchallengable position which Vedas occupy in the teachings of the Samaj. The activities of the Samaj are controlled by the teachings of the

Vedic Rishis, interpreted in a rationalistic spirit. But in my opinion this definition, though good and admirable by itself, is still incomplete. It has to be supplemented by an additional characteristic. Vedic teachings interpreted in a rationalistic spirit are further applied in solving problems of life on a nationalistic basis. Religion is preached and studied to foster the spirit of Nationalism and Nationalism thus fostered, tends to broaden the vision and the outlook of the followers. Religious spirit feels satisfaction not merely in the faithful observance of the rituals and the ceremonies, but in the selfless service of the Nation and the millions of brothers and sisters, who have been suffering from pain, penury and poverty. The large number of institutions for the educational, moral and physical progress of the people of India that have been started and controlled and financed by the Arya Samajists during the last few years are, in my opinion, sure index of the spirit of Nationalism, which pervades through the teachings of the Arya Samaj.

It stands for inclusiveness as contradistinguished from the spirit of exclusiveness which seems to be the dominant feature of Hinduism generally practised by the learned Pundits of India. It has

imported in Hinduism a missionary spirit which manifests itself in manifold forms of service to the ingorant, the poor and the backward in an organised form. It has revived the propaganda to convert the followers of other religions to the Vedic religion.

This New Church is imbued with an inspiration that the followers of Vedic religion have a message for the salvation of humanity and a mission to fulfil in the evolution of the human race. Impelled by this conviction, and feeling confident in the righteousness of the noble cause, the Arya Samajists have been carrying on their work, not merely in India, but in almost all the civilised countries. It has in a way become an International movement. Everywhere the movement has served to create better understanding between the followers of the Vedic religion and those of the other faiths. It has thus been serving as an instrument to popularise the cult of Universal Brotherhood all over the civilised world, spreading the tenets of Vedic faith and demonstrating the essential unity of the fundamental principles underlying all the religious systems. The Aryas have by laborious research work carried on by a number of scholars for more than two generations

demonstrated that the Vedic religion is the fountain head of all the religious teachings one finds in Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

Vedas, Upanishads and works on religious rituals and philosophy have been translated, in the vernaculars of India and made accessible even to the man of moderate means. It has pulled down the walls of caste system, and brought all the followers to sit and eat on a common carpet. This spirit of equality is the most remarkable and the most distinguishing feature of the Arya Samaj movement. It has helped them to admit in Hindu fold persons belonging to other religions, as they had no difficulty in treating the converts on terms of equality with themselves in every way.

Arya Samajists have sent a band of very good workers in the South and some of them have settled in the Hyderabad State for a number of years. They have been doing in that State a very useful work in preaching the principles of Vedic Religion to a large number of people.

Late Pundit Keshaoarao, the Judge of the High Court of Judicature of Hyderabad became an Arya-Samajist and worked as the President of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha till the end of his life.

What better proof than this can be adduced to show that the methods pursued and the means adopted by the Arya Samajists in preaching the truths of Vedic religion were clean and not clumsy. There was absolutely nothing sinister, sordid or suspicious about them.

Bird's Eye View on Conditions of the People in Hyderabad.

Before proceeding further with the story of the Arya Samajist activities in the Hyderabad State, it will not be inappropriate to take a bird's-eye view of the conditions of the people in that State.

Hyderabad State is the second biggest State in India. It is next to Kashmir in size. Kashmir is under the rule of a Hindu Sovereign with an overwhelming majority of Mohemedan population and a small minority of the Hindu population. Hyderabad on the other hand has a Mohemedan ruler, with an overwhelming Hindu population and a small minority of the Mohemedan population. Out of the total population of a little over 1,44,36,000 according to the latest census report only a little over 15,34,000 are Mohemedans i.e., about 10.5 per cent only. The Hindus who

number 1,22,03,500 and the animists 5,44,789 together constitute more than 88 per cent of the total population. Christians, Zoroastrians and Jews in all total less than 1,60,000 hardly even one per cent of the total population.

Hyderabad State consists of two parts, Territories known as Diwali Ilaqa, which are under the Government administration comprising 3,09,62,000 acres of land and the remaining territories known as Sarfikhas, Paiga and Jagirs. The proportion of the Government land to the land coming under the latter class is 58.5 to 41.5. The State has a kind hierarchy of feudal lords who have not merely large property to own but great powers to rule the people living on their estate. Feudal systems have at all times proved a great source of strength to the autocratic sovereign everywhere. Feudalism vanished in the last period of the dark ages in Europe. The gradual introduction of British institutions of administration of justice and particularly of education in British India after the days of the War of Independence of 1857, has practically demolished the tottering and delapidated edifice of the Feudal system in British India. The establishment of salaried servants partly recruited in England and

partly in India placed in charge of the work of justice, police, land revenue collection etc.; left no work worth the name for the feudal lords in British India. The rise of the educated middle class holding power in hand as Government officers threw them in the back ground and there the old aristocracy gradually crumbled to dust unnoticed, except perhaps in Oudh, Bihar and Bengal, where the big Talukdars and the land-lords are still enjoying considerable income from their estate by way of rent and other charges and exercising in some places quasi-judicial and executive jurisdiction over the people on their soil.

In Native States modern education and the British institutions were not at all introduced for a considerable length of time. They are of very recent growth, and the Sovereigns of the State take great care in devitalising them even when they make a tardy beginning of the same. *Therefore, the States are even now the breeding ground of medieval Feudalism which is so incompatible with the modern condition of life and modern conception of a civilised state.*

Obligations of State towards its Subjects.

According to notions recognised in all democratic constitutions submission to the Sovereign

authority has always implied obligations on the State towards its subjects. Some of which are indicated below:—

That the State authority makes no distinction in different sections of its population on the grounds of caste, creed or colour in the promulgation, application and administration of the laws of that State. The agency of various services through which the laws of the State are administered, is not nominated by the members of a class to which the Sovereign for the time being belongs. In fact the State can not recognize, much less encourage, the idea of a ruling class among its subjects.

That the State gives equal opportunities to the different sections of its subjects for observance of their religions, ceremonies, customs and social usages and for the promotion of their respective cultural institutions.

That the State puts no handicaps on its subjects in the matter of the study of their own language and literature and gives necessary facilities to carry on their literary activities in that direction.

That the State in its corporate capacity has no religion of its own and makes no discrimination

in its treatment of the religious institutions of one faith and another.

That the State is run on the principle of a temporary trust with the Sovereign as the Trustee for its people to whom the powers possessed for the time being by the Sovereign in the name of the State have to be transferred and that the State will, in order to achieve that end in view, establish representative institutions and within a reasonable time invest them with real powers of control and administration in the affairs of the State.

That the State makes an honest and ceaseless attempt to maintain the standard of educational progress and constitutional advance on the same level if not higher, as is attained by their brothers and sisters in the neighbouring British territories.

That the State guarantees to the people of all castes and creeds the elementary rights of a free Press, free Association and free Speech.

**Indifference of Indian States towards Their
People, Hyderabad which is Ruled by an
Enlightened Ruler is no Exception.**

I am fully aware of the fact that most of the Indian States are indifferently treating their

people and show little signs of being conscious of their obligations towards them. There are some honourable exceptions no doubt. But even in those States the recognition of the rights of the subjects to an effective share in the administration of the State is very slow and its progress tardy and hesitating. *But I have no hesitation to say that judged by the tests above, Hyderabad State can have no pretensions to be ranked as a civilised and progressive State.*

Foreign travellers who are generally State guests and sumptuously fed and lavishly entertained at the expense of the taxpayers, the subsidised press in this country and outside and some prominent personalities that are invited on special occasions by the State authorities now and then, are sometimes profuse in their praises of the administration of that State. The administration reports of the various departments of the State are frequently reviewed very favourably by the leading Anglo-Indian papers. A propaganda is being consistently carried on to give out an impression abroad that this State administration is highly progressive, efficient and entirely run in the interests of the population.

No doubt that there are fine roads, convenient

communications by railway and buses, palatial buildings to accommodate Universities and Courts of Justice, big Engineering works like Nizam Sagar, and the splendid arrangements for the preservation of Ancient Archæological monuments like Ajanta and Ellora Caves, which annually attract a large number of visitors from distant parts of the world. Our thanks are due to the advisers of H.E.H. the Nizam for all these improvements and achievements. But let it not be forgotten that these are only ornaments that beautify the body of the State. They have little relation to its inward nature and character.

There is a type of people who are very hospitable towards guests and strangers but who are unjust in dealing with their brothers, near-relatives and dependents who have a kind of moral and legal claim on them for fair, just and equitable treatment.

I am deeply pained to observe that the State of Hyderabad ruled no doubt by an enlightened Ruler like H. E. H. The Nizam and advised by an Executive Council with a liberal Statesman of great reputation like Sir Akber Hydari, as its President, is found to be hopelessly indifferent and criminally negligent to the rights of subjects indicated above.

I only desire to categorically invite the attention of the authorities of that State to a few facts which I have selected at random, out of many of which I have got the information, just to illustrate my point.

Hyderabad Administration: Meagre Share of People.

The administration of the Hyderabad State is run by a machine which is not merely archaic but anti-diluvian. The political machine known as the State has 5 important functions to discharge. The first moved like a mill turning out laws, rules and regulations. This part is known as Legislature. The next important part is one which administers the territories, looks after the general requirements of the people including the maintenance of law and order. This is mainly made up of Police and Tax Collecting services. The third is required to interpret the laws and dispense justice. This is known as its judicial part. The fourth is intended for the training of the subjects, and is known as educational; fifth for defence and maintenance of relations with Imperial Power and foreign affairs. Defence department and Political and Foreign office are in charge of these functions.

The following brief statement will show that in

none of them, the people of the State are properly represented and the whole machine is controlled by a particular class. His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his Executive Council, consisting of six members and presided over by the Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, the Prime Minister. Minister's office is in the gift of H. E. Highness and the Council rules by the authority of the 'Firmans' which are in the nature of Ordinances.

Legislative Council is composed of 21 Members of which only 6 are non-officials. 2 of them are elected by Jagirdars with an annual income of Rs. 6,000/- and above and 2 by the Members of the High Court Bar of Hyderabad. The remaining two are nominated by the Prime Minister from among the subjects of whom one is a nominee of the Paiga (Big Jagirdars).

The Council meets twice or thrice a year only for a day or two. It is not necessary that every law before its promulgation must be passed by the Council. It is practically an official body with a sprinkling of the representatives of the aristocracy and the High Court Bar. The middle classes and the poor millions are represented by one nominee. It is impossible to understand why such a legislature is set up. It cannot in any sense be a body

that reflects and responds to enlightened public opinion and can afford no platform to the public to ventilate their grievances fearlessly.

The doors of the legislature are thus practically closed to the common people and the toiling millions in the Nizams' Dominions.

**Representation in State of Services:
Muslim Majority Everywhere.**

The following table which I reproduce from page 15 of a book "A peep into Hyderabad" published by the Secretary, Indian States Peoples' Conference, Bombay' some months before, leaves no doubt how the services have have been overwhelmingly crowded with Mohmedens and the Hindu population is kept in a state of negligible minority in the Gazetted State Services.

Department.	Hindu.	Mohme- dens.	Parsi-	Chris- tian.
Secretariat.	16	54	2	3
Finance.	15	26	2	1
Revenue.	20	196	4	2
Police & Jail.	13	40	1	4
Medical.	45	41	8	16
P.W.D.	34	62	4	7
Miscellaneous.	40	126	9	11
	183	545	30	44
	Total.....802			

I have not included in this table the figures for Judicial and educational departments, which I propose to give separately in dealing with the condition of justice and education in Hyderabad. Among the 802 Gazetted post mentioned above, more than 68 per cent are occupied by Mohmeddang who are hardly more than 10.5 per cent of the entire population. Parsis and Europeans who together are less than 1 per cent have to their share 74 which is equivalent to 9.2 per cent of the total posts. The Hindu gets only 183 i.e. 22.5 per cent, although they constitute 88 per cent of the population.

If we exclude from the above table the figures for Medical and P. W. D. and compare the percentages of the Hindus, Mohmedens and Parsis and Europeans in what may be truly described as Executive and Administrative services, the position of the Hindus is simply negligible.

Out of a total of 585, Mohmedens have 442 i.e. 75. per cent Hindus get 104 i.e. 17.4 per cent and Parsis and Europeans 39 i.e. 6.6 per cent.

The elements of the population which are so meagerly and miserably represented in the higher services can hardly have any protection from the petty tyrannies and *Zoolum* of the bureaucratic

despots and administering the laws of the State.

The Judicial posts in all are 190 out of which 107 are Munsiffs and 83 belong to the higher grades of the cadre, beginning from the additional District Judges at the bottom and reaching the High Court Judges, Judicial Secretary, Judicial Member at the top. Among the 83 high salaried and responsible posts in the judicial line, only six are held by the Hindus and 77 by the Mohmedans which is 92.7 percent. The remaining 6 posts held by the Hindus are only 7.3 percent of the total number of higher posts. Including the posts of the Munsiffs which number 107 in the Judicial posts which then reach the figure of 190, Hindus have 17 in all and the rest are occupied by the Mohmedans. It means that the distribution of the posts between the Hindus and Mohmedans is 8.9 and 91.9 percent respectively.

Consistent Deterioration of Hindu Position in Services.

Judicial service is practically monopolised by the Mohmedans in the State. Thirty years ago I venture to submit that the position, though probably somewhat favourable to the Mohmedans was not so palpably and glaringly unjust to the Hindus.

It is said that the preponderance of the Mohmedans in the cadres of the gazetted services of the Hyderabad State during the last quarter of a century is due to the greater advance made by that community in higher education than the rest. I may even concede the fact that the Mohmedans have made greater advance than the remaining elements, specially the Hindu element of the population. But this abnormal phenomenon requires an explanation from the State. How is it that the Mohmedan who is generally found to have no greater aptitude for letters than his Hindu brother in British territory is showing greater enthusiasm for the same in the Nizam's Dominions? The Mohmedan in Nizam's territory also was within the memory of the elderly men of the present generation, notorious for his aversion for penmanship of any kind. He has suddenly changed to such an extent that he has left his Hindu brother far behind in the race. The following figures of literacy for the Hindus and Mohmedans in the year 1931 will very vividly show the comparative progress of education in the two communities of the State.

Literacy Figures.

Out of a Hindu population 1,21,76,727 in 1931

only 4,05,614 are literate. This means 33.3 persons in a thousand Hindus are literate. As against this 1,58,859 persons in a Mohmedan population of 15,34,666 are found to be literate. This gives us the figure of 103.5 for every unit of thousand Mohmedans as literate.

Definite Educational Policy : Mother Tongue Neglected.

I make myself bold to say that this result is brought about by the State consciously and deliberately by pursuing a definite educational policy. While every facility is given by the State for the study of Urdu in the primary and secondary schools, as well as collegiate stages, the study of vernacular languages such as Marathi, Telgu and Kanarese which are the mother tongues of 85 percent of the population is consistently neglected, if not actively debarred. Even in primary schools maintained at the cost of the State, the young child has to commit to memory the Urdu words, phrases and scribble on his slate the alphabets in Arabic character. The guardian has to make his own arrangements to teach the boy his own mother tongue and writing in Balbodh, Telgu or Kanarese script. Private enterprise to establish educational institutions is positively dis-

couraged. Rules seem to aim at prevention rather than preservation of private schools.

Urdu Medium of Instruction.

Urdu is the medium of instruction practically from the primary schools to the collegiate classes. Hindu boys are thus kept at a disadvantage from the beginning in the pursuit of knowledge and it is not, therefore, surprising that the Mohmedans can compete with them successfully and leave them behind. On a careful study of the facts placed before me, I don't think that I am in a position to contradict the accusation that is made against the Nizam's Government that the State has pursued this policy to debar the Hindu element from the services of the State as far as possible and keep them a close preserve for the Mohmedans only.

Specimen of Hyderabad Civil Service.

Educated persons are the recruiting grounds for State services. Hence greater care is bestowed on the education of that section of the population whom the State desires to offer its coveted posts. We the people of Central Provinces and Berar get some opportunities to come in closer contact with a few members of the Hyderabad Civil

Service almost every year, as under rules of the State, some of them have to take a training in the British Courts under the supervision of District Magistrates for a year or two. It will be unjustifiable for me to make any general remark about the members of that service from what I have been able to observe while only a few selected officers were going through their period of training in Berar. But I can say this much that the specimens seen by me did not impress me very favourably. The graduate of the British Indian University, apart from his greater proficiency in the English language, shows a greater aptitude for general knowledge and an accurate appreciation of the world-events than the members of the service whom I had the privilege to meet in Berar. I must say, however, in fairness to two of them that they were thorough gentlemen and cultured.

In British India adequate provision is made by the State to help the boys to study their vernaculars upto the end of the middle course, medium of instruction is also vernacular. Facilities are given to the Mohmeden boys to study Urdu by the establishment of Urdu Schools everywhere. In C. P. and Berar some Urdu middle schools and High Schools are being maintained by the State

at its own expense and liberal grants are given to those that are started by private enterprise.

Text Books in Schools tend to Instil Contempt for Hindu Culture and History.

The Nizam's State does not seem inclined at all to do anything for the study of the vernaculars spoken by its subjects. Some of the great Indians who visited Hyderabad on invitation by the State, were captivated by the spectacle of the displacement of the English Medium by the Urdu Medium. But great poets like Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore who live apart like a star from the world below can hardly realise the fact that to 85 percent of the population of Hyderabad State, the Urdu with a strong mixture of Persian and Arabic vocabulary is as alien as the Latin and Greek. The object of insistence on the medium of Urdu is not to familiarise every Hindu with Hindi which some rightly describe as the *lingua franca* of the—Indian Nation, but to stuff the intellect and imagination of Hindu boys from their childhood with imageries and ideologies of Persia, Bagdad and Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. Lessons in the Text Books of the school have the tendency to instil in the minds of the boys at this period of receptivity, contempt for the

ancient Hindu ideals and their history, culture, and literature. It is a great denationalising force, the progress of which must be checked at any cost by those who have a living faith in them of the sublimity and supernatural grandeur of the Vedic culture which is the nectar spring that has been sustaining the structure of the Hindu religion, and Hindu Society for thousands of years. I, of course, insist that Mohmedan boys should be given facilities to study Urdu language and literature.

Muslim Teachers as Propagandists of Islam.

It is not merely the medium of Urdu that is a stumbling block in the path of the Hindu boys and girls, but the teacher who is generally a Mohmedan that feels no sympathy for their religious and cultural customs and usages is almost an insurmountable obstacle. He is not merely a teacher who gives lessons to the young boys and girls in three R's, but very often considers himself a preacher and propagandist of Islam.

In the list of the Gazetted officers for the year 1931, belonging to the educational service of the Hyderabad State, the total number of posts is shown at 269 distributed in the following manner.

Mohmedens 183, Hindus 53, Europeans 29 and Parsis 4. Hindus have less than 20 percent, Mohmedans 66.6 percent and the Europeans and Parsis 12.2 percent. I am reliably informed that in the appointments of teachers and educational officers below the rank of Gazetted officers. the situation is worse.

**Consciousness of Muslims as Ruling Class
and its Consequent Results.**

I think that this is sufficient to give an idea of the dominant part which one community which is hardly 10.5 percent of the population plays in the affairs and activities of the State. The official machine from the top to the bottom is mainly manned and controlled by servants belonging to one class of the population. Such a situation by itself is always congenial to the development and growth of a consciousness in that community, that it is a ruling class. The effects of the growth of this feeling cannot be easily counteracted. They are drastic and disastrous. They are positively detrimental to the establishment of harmonious relations among the different sections and communities of the population. There is a feeling of superiority for his own community as against the other large community. Power has

this demoralising tendency and every wise Ruler has, therefore, to judiciously distribute the offices which are smaller or greater centres of administrative authority among the different sections of the population with due regard to their numerical strength and efficiency. Fitness of its members ought to be tested and proved by some independent body like the Public Service Commission. It is not surprising therefore that the Mohmeden brothers in Hyderabad State have been obsessed with the idea of being the members of a Ruling Class who have consequently a right to occupy a privileged position in that State. A land which is so ploughed and manured was the best soil for the seed of Pan-Islamism to germinate, grow, blossom and fructify.

Vision of Pan-Islamism and Growth of Communalism.

The wave of Pan-Islamism, originated first in Egypt, gained considerable momentum and strength in India when the Khilaphat in Turkey was in jeopardy. The combined efforts made by the Hindus and Mohmedens in defence of the Khilaphat under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi and late Ali Brothers, has among other things helped the consolidation of the forces of Islam in India in

a systematic manner. All these big movements going on in the distant parts of the world as well as the neighbouring British territories have had their effects on the receptive minds of the Mohmedeh population in Hyderabad State. It served to strengthen the consciousness more and convert it into a band of devotees, who have a special duty to perform in the service of Islam. These repercussions could have been anticipated and the strong tendency towards the development of communalism in one class could have been checked if those who were in charge of the affairs of that State were not indifferent to it.

Ecclesiastical Department.

The result of this deplorable development is most markedly discernible in the increased activities of the Ecclesiastical department of the State. In a budget of 842 lacs, nearly 12½ lacs are allotted to the Head Religion. It has risen from Rs. 6 lacs in 1916 to 14 lacs, in 1937. The extravagant nature of this expenditure can be easily demonstrated by comparing the amount allotted to the ecclesiastical department by the Government of India in the annual Budget of 1,22,27,72,000. It is 32,19,000 in the Budget for

1938-39. This amount includes 775 thousands to be spent in England. There is practical unanimity among the elected Indian representatives that even this expenditure is not only extravagant but wholly unnecessary. While the resources of the Hyderabad State are 15 times less than those of the Government of India, its expenditure on ecclesiastical department is only $2\frac{2}{3}$ times less. Government of India spends 2.9 percent of its income, Nizam's Government spends 1.5 per cent of its revenues on the ecclesiastical department. British Government spends less than 4 annas per head of its Christian population for religion. But the Nizam's Government spends more than $13\frac{1}{2}$ annas per head of its Mohammedan population.

Mohmedens in Hyderabad State definitely regard it as article of their faith that they constitute a ruling class and that the Islam is a State religion. The policy pursued by the State in the composition of its chief representative body such as the legislature, the recruitment of public services, the constitution of an ecclesiastical department that vigilantly looks after all the religious and charitable institutions of the Mohammedans and the entire educational policy, have contributed to

the growth of the two conceptions mentioned above.

Hyderabad as Baghdad of Islamic World.

As a corollary to these two, followed the third that Hyderabad is the centre of Islamic culture and a seat of Islamic learning. I have heard some young Mohmedens speaking of Hyderabad, the capital of State as Baghdad of the present day Islamic world. This may be overlooked by some as a mere poetic expression. But there is certainly much in this phrase to give rich food for reflection. There is certainly much more in it than meets the eye and the ear. I certainly don't like to draw on my imagination, but I don't like people running away through fear, nervousness or over cautiousness from what looks like an obvious inference.

Nizam Sovereign of Islamic State in India.

The entire Indian Mohmeden community is being trained to look upon H. E. H. the Nizam as something more than a mere Moslem Sovereign of a State. They are trained to look upon him as the Sovereign of an Islamic State in India. Difference between the two does not require any elaborate explanation. The Hindu

King of the Kashmir State with a preponderating Moslem population and the Moslem Ruler of Hyderabad with an equally overwhelming Hindu population were both looked up by me till very recent times as the two symbols of an abiding Hindu Muslim Unity. The feeling of loyalty to the Royal family among the population even now is true, sincere and genuine. But that was sustained by the general policy of the State making no difference in its treatment between member of one class or another in any respects. Hindu King had the privilege to have a Muslim Minister and adviser and even private Secretary, while the Muslim Ruler of Hyderabad had as his Prime Minister a Hindu Sardar. Description of Hyderabad as a Baghdad gives a rude shock to the communal unity symbolised in the persons of their Sovereign and shatters all his hopes of a true unity of the two people formed on that foundation. Those whose hearts long for Hindu-Muslim unity cannot deeply deplore the fact that the Hyderabad State authorities permitted through the pursuit of wrong policy the growth of a strong communal spirit in its services as well as the common people.

His Exalted Highness privy purse is 50 lacs

Rs. per annum and that of the Princess 16 lacs annually. Besides the Revenue from Sarf-i-Khas territory allotted for his private expenses is above 2 crores per annum. H.E.H. is sometimes described as the richest man of the world. All these big annual tributes are entirely at his disposal. Any expenses made by him for any cause are not to be accounted for and can never be known.

Thus in Hyderabad today we find three forces combined i.e. Political Power, Wealth and an enthusiastic section of the population inspired by the ideals of Islam.

In this State of things religious toleration can be a very rare virtue even among the most cultured individuals. The movement of the Muslim League bringing all the Muslims of India under the flag of Islam has its own effects on the minds of the Muslims living in Native States also.

Constitutional Reforms in British India and Communal Cleavage.

The problem of constitutional reforms in British India have unfortunately served to disturb the harmony between the two great communities in British India since the days of Morley-Minto Reforms. At each successive

stage of reforms the bifercation became more and more marked and at the last instalment of the same introduced in the Government of India Act of 1935, the cleavage has now been perpetuated in the form of a Communal Award with a strong tendency to widen still further. All attempts at unity made during the last 18 years have miserably failed. Although, the Indian National Congress is struggling hard to retain its position of being representative of all people of India, of all castes and creeds, still barring the gallant Pathans in the North West Frontier Provinces under the lead of my friend Khan Abdul Gafar Khan, known as Frontier Gandhi, who are all new recruits, the majority of the Mohmedens in every other part of British India have foresaken the Congress. Muslim League challenges the right of the Congress to represent the Mohmedens of India, and to speak in their name. Congress with all its best intentions to make sacrifice in the interest of communal unity and to accommodate their disgruntled brothers had to suspend the negotiations for the present. Muslim League claims to govern the two major Provinces in British India, Punjab and Bengal. There is a ceaseless fussle going on between the

*Congress and the League in Assam and Sindh
and N. W. F.*

**Slogan of 'Muslim a Nation by Themselves'
and its Effects.**

The latest slogan is that Mohmedens are not mere citizens of India following Islam but they are a Nation by themselves. India thus according to these wholehoggers consists of two nations, Hindus and Mohmedens and the future polity of India is not a Federation of provinces and states with a fixed Hindu Muslim population, but a Federation of two Nations, Hindus and Mohmedens. With these notions preached in broad-day light by some of the most distinguished leaders of Muslim opinion in British India, Muslims in State like Hyderabad become more and more conscious and convinced of their separateness from the rest of population and the necessity of retaining the advantages and privileges which they had so far enjoyed, without allowing them to be shared by the majority population.

Every person who keenly feels the need of solving the problems that are rising in the Hyderabad State must bear in mind all these considerations. It is an atmosphere intensely charged with communalism. There are two redeem-

ing features, however, on which we can certainly depend in course of time for the improvement of the situation. The tradition of religious neutrality and religious toleration coming down from a long time in the Royal Asafjahi family as well as the broadminded statesmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari will, I hope, ultimately triumph over the communal prejudices which are the results of extraneous influences during the past few years, and the cause of the people will succeed in the near future

The subjects of the Indian States submitted to the autocratic authority without complaint for a long time. Theirs was to suffer and not to reason why ? But in the nature of things such a state of things could not be expected to continue long. The problem of constitutional reforms and the definition of people's elementary rights of citizenship generally known as Civil Liberties, have been engaging the attention of the prominent public men in the States during the last 20 years. Various State Conferences are being held all over India. Very few of them are, however, permitted to be held inside the boundaries of the State. The Hyderabad State is adamant and unmoved in its attitude towards those who want to enlighten public opinion and strive by constitutional means

to urge on the State and the Sovereign to bring about Reforms. First Hyderabad State Peoples' Conference was held at Cocanada in the year 1923 when the sessions of the Indian National Congress was convened there. I had the privilege to preside over it as Saubhagyavati Sarojini Naidu, the talented poetess and patriot, herself a subject of Hyderabad State was unable to do so, owing to health and engagements. Since then the Conferences are being held in different towns in the neighbouring provinces of British India, such as Bombay presidency and Berar. I was also present at one of its sessions held at Akola.

Civil Liberties.

In these conferences a few points were stressed that the State should establish a representative Legislative Council, with a view to introduce Responsible Government there and grant Civil and Religious liberties to the people. There is no freedom of Association, freedom of speech, freedom of Press, freedom of observance of religious ceremonies and customs and freedom of building or repairing or improving places of worship.

Ban on Newspapers and Literature.

Newspaper and Literature coming from outside the State which generally criticise the State

administeration are prohibited indiscriminately. Books of religious and social nature published by persons or firms which do not deal with Mohmedan religion or Islamic culture are forfeited.

Every attempt at expression of opinion is ruthlessly suppressed. It has, however, been frequently asserted by those who know the state of things more intimately that the Mohmedan preachers and propagandists of Islam enjoy unrestricted liscence and liberty in carrying their propoganda in the State.

Active Tabligh Movement in State.

Tabligh movement (conversion to Islam propaganda) is very actively working in the State.

Even in Jails the propagandist of this movement carries on its preaching and conversion, whenever possible. There is a report that on the last birthday of H. E H. the Nizam i.e. 18th August 1938, a Hindu prisoner was converted to Islam. Instances can be multiplied to show that many officials in the employ of the State are interested in this movement. Ecclesiastical department of the State is wielding considerable influence over those who are engaged in Tabligh

at any rate the State has been conniving at their activities. It is a betrayal of the trust reposed in the State by non-Islamic subjects. Schools are being used as centres of conversion propaganda. And the boys of the Harijan class are being converted. Instructions are issued to exempt boys from fees if they embrace Islam, while books dealing with Indian history and Vedic religion are being frequently proscribed. Literature most offensive to the feelings of Hindus and other non-Muslims is being allowed to be widely circulated and read. I give here only a few names of such books to illustrate my point.

Khoon-ke-Ansu, But Shikin, Kufr Toi, Muqqi Quasin, Daiya Islam and Sarwar-i-Alam.

I am not a student of Urdu or Persian: but I am informed reliably that the books mentioned above are calculated to engender feelings of hatred towards Hinduism and Hindus. Hindu names of the towns are being consistently changed into Muslim names. Bidar is Mahmedabad and Indur is Nizamabad. Amba Jogi is Mominabad and Tandoor is Bashirabad. These changes are brought about under official orders. Is it not a direct attempt to Islamise the State in form and spirit.

A state of things of this nature is bound to have a reaction. The Hindus of the State who are desirous of retaining their liberty to follow their religion and culture feel oppressed under the restraint that are being imposed and the open encouragement given by some of the enthusiastic State officials to the propaganda carried on to efface the Hindu religion and Hindu culture. For the Hindus it is a question of life and death, "to be or not to be" as the poet has said. It looks like a challenge thrown. I am glad to see that the Arya Samajists and the Hindus have now awakened and are prepared to pick up the gauntlet. The situation has become too oppressive and insulting to be tolerated any longer.

**Ban on Pt. Ram Chandra Dehlvi's Entry
into Hyderabad.**

The Arya Samaj and the whole of India became alive to the state of religious intolerance in Hyderabad State by the prosecution of Pandit Ramchandra Dehlvi. It created a great sensation, as the Pundit is respected for his learning, deep scholarship and gift of persuasive oratory in defence of Hinduism throughout the country. It was in 1933. Arya Samaj movement was an effective antidote against *Tibligh* and other con-

version propaganda carried on by the Mohammedans through open or secret agencies. Therefore the State officials were seeking for an opportunity to give a death blow to their representatives. Prosecution of Pt. Ramchandra Dehlvi was the first step taken. It was later on dropped and orders banning his entry in the State were issued. The struggle since then began in right earnest. It must be admitted that the Samaj and the Hindus in the State have been adopting all peaceful and constitutional means to attract the attention of the State authorities to their grievances, political, religious and cultural.

Memorial Submitted to Nizam's Government.

In 1934 Shri Mahatma Narain Swami, the President of Arya Samaj submitted a closely reasoned memorial to the Nizam in which the principal grievances under which the Samajists suffered in the State were narrated briefly and without exaggeration.

I give below an extract therefrom which clearly indicates the points on which the Samajists were keen in demanding redress.

‘ We respectfully beg that —

(1) Instructions may be issued to the Police

in clear and unequivocal terms that the Aryas have as much right to conduct their legitimate religious work unhampered and unharassed as the Muslims, Christians and the followers of other faiths, so that subordinate officials may not be able, through misconception or otherwise, to misconstrue or misapply them.

(2) There may be no restrictions upon the free entry of Aryasamaj preachers in the State,

(3) The religious processions of the Arya-Samaj may be permitted on the same terms as procession of the followers of other religions are permitted.

(4) Religious and theological literature may not be forfeited without proper enquiry and the right of appeal to the judiciary should be permitted.

(5) No discrimination may be made against the Arya Samaj in the matter of permission to hold public meetings and conduct public debates, the right of free speech and right of propaganda being the unalienable right of all subjects of the State including Aryas.

(6) The Arya Samaj temple may be regarded as inviolate as the Muslim mosque and the

Christian Church and the right of free congregation therein at all times fully recognised.

(7) The orders of externment previously passed on Arya Samajist preachers may be revised by a competent tribunal and in future such orders should be subject to a similar revision.

A good deal of correspondence took place between Nizams' Government and the office bearers of the Arya Samaj. A paper reply was sent by the Political member of H. E. H. the Nizams' Government on 19th September. In a communique issued at a later date, the Government instead of clarifying the position on certain points touched in the letter of the Secretary of the Arya League, insinuated that in the agitation worked up in connection with Pandit Ramchandra's exclusion from the Nizams' Dominions. Methods of propoganda have been resorted to, which besides distorting facts, are also calculated to create racial and communal hatred".

This Communique brought forth a vigorous rejoinder from the League in which it vehemently repudiated the charges made against the methods of propoganda pursued by the Arya Samajists.

The matters were the subject of a long and

neverending representation on the part of the Samaj.

Increase of Religious Disabilities.

Difficulties in hoisting Om Flags carrying procession, performing sacrifices, establishing Havan Kundas, holding congregations went on increasing. Members were harassed and persecuted. In some cases brutal and even murderous assaults were made on some members of the Samaj in the presence of Police officers who showed supreme indifference and culpable callousness in preventing the assaults when they occurred and carrying on investigation to trace and arrest the proper culprits and place them before an impartial tribunal for trial.

I don't want to tire the patience of the audience by narrating in detail the various incidents of injustice, oppression, tyranny and atrocities that are being perpetrated in the State against those who stand for freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom of association.

Hindu and Arya Samaj Deputation Waited on the Prime Minister Hyderabad State.

In March 1936 a deputation consisting of influential Hindus and Arya Samajists waited at

Delhi, on H. E. the Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, the then Prime Minister of H. E. H. the Nizam. I had the honour to lead that deputation. It urged on the Nizams' Government mainly the following 4 points on which immediate relief was needed.

(1) Removal of the ban on Pundit Ram Chandra Dehlvi, (2) freedom of religious association and full enjoyment of civic rights by the Hindus in general and Arya Samajists in particular, (3) setting aside the order of forfeiture of books and journals and Magazines dealing with Hindu Religion and Hindu Society, as well as the favouritism shown in permitting the circulation of highly objectionable books by Urdu writers like Deendar, (4) absence of any favourable reference to Hindu culture in text books.

The deputation was cordially received by H. E. the Prime Minister and given a patient hearing. But the subsequent events which followed since then did not show signs of improvement in the situation or any change of policy.

Indifference of State Authorities and Its Baneful Effects on Muslim Masses.

Stultid indifference of the State authorities to

grievances of the Hindus and the Arya Samajists in spite of repeated efforts on their part to approach them for redress had its baneful effects on the minds of the Muslim masses. Mass mentality is always a combustible element. When it is fed with fuel of religious fanaticism it suddenly flares up into a burning flame soon developing into a conflagration spreading all round.

Murder of Arya Preachers Inhuman Treatment to Hindus.

Murder of Veda Prakash under circumstances that sent a thrill of horror revealed that the lives of the Hindus and particularly of the preachers of the Arya Samajists were not safe. Similarly the murders of Manikrao, Bhimrao Patel and his aunt at the village Hupla showed that there was no protection to be expected by the Hindus from the police against the fanatic Muslims. Stories of insults, humiliation and inhuman treatment of the Hindus at the hands of the Muslim mob and some time at the hands of the Muslim officers are frequently reported in the office of the Aryan League. During the last riots which broke out in the city of Hyderabad, Muslims beat and looted Hindus, Government Police did very little to protect the Hindus from the Mohmedan, Goondas and

Hooligans. On the other hand they issued a communique holding the Arya Samajists responsible for the trouble. The result was that the infuriated fanatics numbering about 10,000 mustered strong, became uncontrolled, ran amock and attacked the house of Pundit Vinayakrao Barrister the president of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Nizam's State. Can any one believe it ? Yet it is an undeniable fact.

**Retrospect of Whole Situation by Aryan League
and Formulation of Demands.**

It was therefore inevitable for the All India Aryan League to take stock of the whole situation and decide upon some line of action to fight this growing evil of religious intolerance and fanaticism in the Hyderabad State. It met at Delhi on the 30th April 1938 and adopted the following resolution.

“That this meeting of the Working Committee of the International Aryan League strongly condemns the atrocious treatment meted out to the Aryas by the Nizam's Government in Hyderabad State and expresses its sympathy towards all those who have suffered and are still suffering as a result of this oppression.

"This League, is deeply pained to learn that inspite of repeated assurances given by the high officials of the Nizam's Government, that justice will be done to the Aryasamaj, those assurances have been flagrantly violated by them, and thereby worsening the situation.

In the opinion of this League, the situation in regard to the Aryasamaj in Hyderabad territory has become so acute that it can no longer be ignored and disregarded. This League therefore demands an early settlement on the following points :—

1. Circular No. 53, prohibiting public meetings should be cancelled.
2. Restrictions regarding religious ceremonies should be removed
3. Laws, prohibiting the opening of 'Akharas' should be repealed,
4. Circular prohibiting the opening of private schools should be cancelled.
5. Cases relating to communal disturbances should be investigated by an impartial tribunal.
6. Restrictions imposed on religious workers from outside should be removed. If any worker acts contrary to the established law of the State,

he may be tried in a court of law. Bans on religious workers should be lifted.

7. Books should not be proscribed without scrutiny.

8. Restrictions on the publication of Aryan newspapers should be removed.

9. There should be complete freedom for the observance of Hindu and Arya festivals when these coincide with Muslim festivals.

10. Circular, requiring Aryas to obtain permission for the installation of Havankund, should be withdrawn.

11. Hindu prisoners in the State prisons should not be converted to Islam and the Aryas may be allowed to impart religious teachings to such prisoners.

12. No victimisation of Aryas in State service should be allowed.

13. Aryas should have complete freedom for hoisting and flying Om Flags on their houses and Aryasamaj temples.

14. Cases already started against the Aryas in Gulburaga, Nizamabad and Hyderabad should be investigated by any impartial tribunal,

“Whereas the assurances given to this League, till now, by the Nizam’s Government have not been fulfilled, this League proposes to hold in Central Provinces or in Maharashtra at a suitable place on the borders of Hyderabad State, an All India Aryan Congress to consider and discuss particularly the Hyderabad problem in view of the recent developments in respect of Arya Samaj situation in the State.

“This League declares that if State officials are not going to alter their policy in respect of Arya Samaj, then the entire community shall be called upon to undertake all peaceful and legitimate means including Satyagraha to defend their religious rights.

“This League also calls upon the Aryan Defence Committee to take early steps to organise the All India Aryan Congress in compliance with this resolution and also to make stupendous efforts to protect the religious rights of Aryas in the Nizam’s State”.

I have no doubt that no reasonable man, whose head is on his shoulders and whose reason is not overpowered by communal blindness, can fail to see that the demands are perfectly reasonable and

modest; most of the grievances in the 14 points are grievances of the Hindus, Sikhs and other non-Muslim communities also. Some Muslims who are not communally minded and have a sense of public spirit do labour under some of these disabilities.

The information Bureau of the Nizam's Govt. has issued a pamphlet in reply to these demands of the Arya Samajists of which they were kind enough to supply me with a copy on the 23rd of December.

On reading it I confess that I did not find in it anything to satisfy the critics. It is true that Gushti Circular 53 is cancelled but their substitutes have almost paucity likeness with the defunct one. The order relating to the prohibition of the use of music by the Hindus, if their festivals like Dussehra, Holi, Janam Ashtami, and Rama-Navmi coincide with Moharram are justified on the grounds of peace and order. Why should it be impossible for the State to prevent the unruly element from committing breach of peace, it is difficult to understand. Nothing but sheer unwillingness to do so can explain the conduct of the State Authorities in promulgating such circulars. I, however, wish that the subjects committee

should take the replies given in this pamphlet into their considering in framing their resolutions.

Arya Samaj Movement Joined by other Hindus.

Although the fight with the constituted authority was first begun by the Arya Samajists, other Hindus of the State have also joined the forces now. Senapati Bapat of Poona had worked hard to acquaint the whole of Maharashtra with the horrible conditions of the Hindus in the Hyderabad State in particular and now there is a strong feeling throughout Maharashtra to support the fight which the inhabitants of the State have launched.

Hyderabad State people have awakened and they feel that their position is extremely degrading and disgraceful. They have been deeply stirred. The stories of the fight which the residents of smaller States like Rajkot, Dhaknal, Travancore and other have also made up their minds to start a Civil Disobedience campaign under the auspices of the State's People Congress.

State peoples' Fight : Representative Government in States.

I feel that the fight of the States' people has received great encouragement from the schemes

of Federation to which the representatives of some of the bigger States at the Round Table Conference has given their approbation. The representation of the States in the Federal legislature is a matter in which the subjects of the Native States as well as the people in British India are equally concerned. Politicians in British India have expressed themselves against the Federation in its present form. But the Government of India has been steadily pursuing their efforts and piling one brick on the other to raise this monument of the Bankruptcy of British Statesmanship. The British Indians strongly resent the representation of the States through nomination by the Ruling Chiefs. So also the States' people are anxious to assert their right to be represented by some elected method and not to permit the Ruling Chief to exercise his right of nomination in this matter. All popular parties are unanimous in wishing the States' people complete success in securing some kind of representative Government in their States. The combination of autocratic States and democratic British Indian Provinces is most unnatural and therefore unstable. The Government of India must see the force of this argument. Lord Lothian has expressed his opinion unreservedly on the point.

The States must abandon all hopes of reliance on the support of the Imperial power in this matter. Under these circumstances with the strong moral support of the British Indian brothers, the success of the States subjects is sure and certain in the long run.

**Principles on Which the Fight be
Concentrated.**

There are a few principles on which this fight must be concentrated.

(1) Full religious freedom to followers of all religions to observe their worship, perform their ceremonies and carry on their processions as part of their ceremonies without any restrictions and molestation.

(2) Establishment of responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam.

(3) Formation of a Legislature with adequate representation to all the people based on broad franchise. The popularisation of the local bodies by the elimination of nominated members and increasing the number of elected members.

(4) Recruitment to public services by an impartial Public Service Commission and the pre-

vention of the domination of it by the members of a minority class as it is at present.

(5) Cancellation of all circulations that restrict the rights of civil liberties of the population and promulgation of clear and unambiguous orders granting liberty to the subjects.

I do not want to deal at length with iniquitous and arbitrary nature of the numerous circulars and Firmans such as Gushti circular by which civic rights have been altogether denied to the public. They have already been commented upon in detail in the Press.

All Forces to be Combined Against Autocracy in Deccan.

These are some of the principles for which the fight has begun. No cause is nobler than that of Liberty. Even religious freedom cannot be achieved unless the political power in the State be res. possible to the representatives of the people. All the three forces which are storming this citadel of autocracy in the Deccan must now be combined. The success of the cause can be insured only in the three lines of attack are directed by a common command. In this fight, the groups which are dispatching the volunteers batches must regard

themselves as being in the position which the allies occupied during the last Great European war. The British Army fought against the Germans. But it was under the command of a French Field Marshall and Commander-in-Chief. There is no possibility of co-ordinated action aiming at a definite common objective unless the fighting units are working and moving under the command of one General. If it is not possible for the Hindu Mahā Sabha, Aryan International League and the State's people Congress to bring their forces under the command of any one of them, then they should send their representative leading men to meet together and try to evolve a combined Council of action to lead direct and control the operations of their campaign. It would be a pity if the valient fighters will not be able to sink their differences, even on the battle field, where they are being strenuously opposed by their common opponent. If these differences be not bridged up and forces not brought under a common command, it will be difficult for your resourceful and powerful opponent to use means to demoralise the rank and file. I, therefore, earnestly entreat all those who have assembled here to give their serious consideration to this suggestion.

**Truth and Non-violence Essential Factors in
Satyagraha Campaign.**

The second point which I will like to urge is that the Satyagraha campaign is what Tatia Saheb Kelkar has once rightly described as the iron-mouth piece of the arrow of non-cooperation. Truth and non-violence are the soul of this movement. Its success or failure will depend on the spirit of truthfulness and non-violence shown by those who are actively engaged in the fight as also those who were guiding it from behind. There is no scope for malice or hatred even for those whom it is the lot of the Satyagrahi to oppose and fight. No tentative gain or strategic advantage ought to deter us from the path of truth and non-violence.

**Success of Freedom Movement in States
Depends on Fighting Capacity of States'
Subjects Themselves.**

The third point is that the success of the movement of freedom in the Native States must largely, if not exclusively depend on the strength and the fighting capacity of the subjects of the Native States. Outside help may work as a stimulant to give impetus to the latent fighting

capacity of those people. Therefore the main attempt should be to awaken the States' people themselves and prepare them for the fight. The success achieved on the strength and solely with the help of others will be short-lived. The strength to retain Swarajya is derived from the exertions made in winning it. The Karma of fight creates a Punya that stands in good stead in enjoying the fruit of the success.

It is true that to convert hot milk into curd one has to put some sour juice from outside. But it must be remembered that the quantity must be very small and not more than a table spoonful. If the milk is good and well-heated, the whole of it is turned into a tasteful and delicious curd which we all like so much and relish. The resolution which the Working Committee of the Congress has passed at its last meeting at Wardha gives in my opinion a very right and correct lead to all those who are directly and indirectly concerned in the titanic struggle on which the States' peoples have entered in a number of States, including the Premier State of Hyderabad. Imperial power is rightly given a warning not to use its influence and strength to curb the aspirations of the people of the Native States. No political

power outside the State should run to the help of the ruling authority of the State in a fight for civil liberties and internal reforms between the ruler and the ruled in a State. It is gratifying that His Majestys' Government has declared once more that its policy shall be one of non-intervention in such a struggle.

Although the British Indians and even Congressmen are perfectly justified to run to the aid of our suffering countrymen in the States individually even under the Congress resolution of Haripura and the subsequent resolutions adopted by the Working Committee, still it is our duty in the larger interest of the cause which we have at heart, to recognise the limits within which organisationally the fight of the States' people should be actively helped from outside by the institutions.

Need of Guidance and Lead.

The States' people stand in need of our guidance, direction, advice and lead as this is their first attempt. They have very few among them who have any experience of a civil disobedience campaign. All these factors, I am sure, will weigh with you when you sit down to deliberate and arrive at decision on the problem of civil disobedience fight in the subjects Committee.

I, for myself believe, they are blessed who enjoy the fruit of liberty.

They are twice blessed who succeeded in winning liberty by entering the fight at the last stages.

But they are thrice blessed who worked from the beginning and fought all along and left their physical remains on the battlefield to enjoy the glorious life in the other World.

Theirs is the blood of the Martyrs.

It is not merely the cement of the Church but it is the salt of the Universe.

It is the stuff of which *Gods* are made and the essence of the basic unity on which the structure of religion of the Shrutis, the faith of Universal love stands.

Death in a fight for a noble cause means nothing but an opening into the world of eternal blessings.

Bhagvat Gita says —

यदृच्छया चोपपन्नम् स्वर्गद्वारमपावृत्तम् ।

सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥

The sacrifice of one heroic soul done in a spirit of perfect humility and submissiveness to the will of the One Who rules over the Universe, kindles

the flames in the hearts of thousands and millions. What is deemed insuperable and impossible only a short time before, becomes an actually accomplished fact. This is the Law of Nature and no miracle as I see it. I, therefore, wish my brothers and sisters to purge their minds of all pettiness and make them pure and true and sublime so as to be worthy objects of sacrifice for the great cause which moves us all.

If you fight in this spirit of supreme dedication there is nothing that can stand in the way of your success. The battery of pure fighting souls will carry almost everything instantaneously before it.

**Noble Example of Raja Sahib of Aundh
And a Warning to other Princes.**

Before concluding my observations I desire to draw the attention of all the Ruling-Chiefs and Princes of India to the noble example set by H. H. Raja Sahib of Sausthan Aundh. It is a small State, no doubt. But he has shown the way which it will be wise for the Rulers of the bigger States to follow as quickly as possible. The old Indian policy required every Ruler to voluntarily abdicate the throne in favour of the

heir apparent after administering it for some years and then take to the third Ashram or enter on the third stage of his duties as man. I think that the Rulers should recognise that the time for returning the State authority to the people who are the real heirs apparent has now arrived. There should be no hesitation on their part to recognise this fact and do it gracefully as did the Raja Saheb of Aundh. The whole country has expressed its admiration and appreciation of the noble act of self-surrender done by that great Prince. Is it too much to hope that the other members of that Noble Order will not be slow to play their part and perform their duty to their subjects in the same noble, heroic and generous manner. Let us hope they will. If not, there is no doubt they will have to sooner or later. Even H; E H. the Nizam will have to submit to the inevitable and part with his authority in favour of his subjects who have served his Royal family for three hundred years at great sacrifice and with utmost loyalty.

Now in conclusion I give my blessings to those who are at present engaged and will are long be engaged in this fight for liberty and the rights of the States' people to follow their religion unres-

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tricted and unmolested in the words of the Vedas:—

अस्माकम् वीराः उत्तरेभवन्त्वस्मान् ऊ देवा अवताह्वेषु ॥
(ऋग्वेद)

May our heroes be successful. May Gods
protect us in the fights.

ॐ.शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

Yeotmal,

21st. December 1938.

APPENDIX

Resolutions Adopted at the All India Aryan Congress, Sholapur.

Held on 25, 26, 27 December 1938.

Resolutions 1—3 pertain to Condolence.

Resolution No. 4.

The Arya Samajists, of the whole of India and abroad, being deeply interested in the religious, social and cultural liberty of their co-religionists in the dominions of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam, wherein the Hindus in general and the Arya Samajists in particular, are undergoing disabilities and untold sufferings inflicted openly or otherwise, in this Congress assembled, declare in clear terms the following to be the demands of the elementary rights of their co-religionists in Hyderabad State.

(1) There should be full freedom for due performance of religious rites and ceremonies.

(2) There should be full freedom for religious preaching, reciting of Kathas, delivering of sermons and lectures, taking out of Nagar Kirtans and processions, building of Arya Samaj Mandirs, Yagnashalas and Havankandas, hoisting of OM flags, opening of new Arya Samajes and publishing of literature bearing on Vedic religion and culture.

(3) The State should neither take part nor encourage and the State servants should be forbidden from taking part in, Tablig [proselytising] movement. No conversion to Islam of Hindu prisoners inside the jails and of Hindu children in Schools should be allowed. Hindu orphans should not be handed over to the Muslims.

(4) The Ecclesiastical Department should be abolished, or at least it should have no control over the temples of and affairs concerning the Hindu and Aryas.

(5) There should be no distinction made between Muslim newspapers and publications and those of the Hindus and Aryas.

(6) There should be no ban imposed on the entry of Arya missionaries and the existing bans should be removed.

(7) The unjust and distinctive treatment meted out generally by the State Police and other officials to Aryas and Hindus in comparison to Muslims should cease.

(8) The education of Hindu and Arya boys and girls in primary and secondary standards at least, should be in their mother tongue and not necessarily in Urdu.

(9) There should be no restriction imposed on the starting by the Hindus and Aryas, of private gymnasiums [Akhadas] and private Educational Institutions, such as Schools and Colleges for boys and girls, libraries, reading rooms etc.

Resolution No. 5.

IMMEDIATE ISSUE.

(a) Whereas repeated representations made by the International Aryan League and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Nizam State, during the last six years, with a view to seek redress of the various grievances underlying the demands made in Resolution No. 4, have failed to achieve the object and whereas the Arya Samajists and the Hindus of the Nizam's Dominions and the whole of India feel strongly in the matter, this Congress is of opinion that the only remedy left now to secure the redress of their grievances is to resort to a campaign of suffering and self-sacrifice in the form of non-violent Satyagraha.

(b) This Congress, therefore, authorises Mahatma Narayan Swamiji Maharaj to form a Satyagraha Committee with himself as its first Dictator, to organise and conduct a campaign of Satyagraha and calls upon all Aryas and Hindus throughout India to give their whole-hearted support to the movement.

(c) This Congress for the speedy attainment of the aforesaid demands directs the Committee to concentrate, for the present, its fight on items mentioned below:-

(i) Absolute freedom for the practice and preaching of the Vedic religion and culture, with due regard to the feelings of the followers of other faiths.

(ii) Full freedom for starting new Arya Samajes and building of new Arya Samaj Mandirs, Yagnashalas

Havankundas and the repairing of the old ones without obtaining any permission from the Ecclesiastical or any other department of the State.

Provided that the authority to call off the Satyagraha shall vest ultimately in the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha.

Resolution No. 6.

METHOD OF FIGHT.

In view of the false and malicious propaganda which is being carried on as regards our method, this Congress unequivocally declares that the purity of our cause demands absolute adherence to truthfulness and non-violence. And for the success of their cause, the Congress considers it imperative to impress upon the Volunteers who are to take part in the struggle the necessity of remaining truthful and non-violent in thought, word and deed, even when subjected to untold torture and suffering.

Resolution No. 7.

NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT.

Being anxious to dispel all misapprehensions which might exist in any quarter, this Congress hereby declares that the present fight of the Arya Samaj in Hyderabad is neither political nor communal, but is simply confined to the attainment of religious and cultural liberty as is evident from the very nature of our Demand. In fact, the Congress considers that they are fighting against the most powerful and organised communal forces.

Resolution No. 8.

This Congress desires to make known to the Govern-

ment of H. E. H. and to H. E. H. himself, if they be in any doubt about it, as also to the outside world, that innumerable instances of mal-treatment, false cases started by the Police, heavy sentences passed by the Judiciary on flimsiest of evidence, have brought about the only result it can, namely, that the faith of the Hindus and Aryas in the Police and other Executive Departments is gone and that in the Judiciary is fast disappearing.

Resolution No. 9.

From the last letter of Pandit Shyamlal, Vice President of the Nizam State Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, received from Bidar Jail, complaining of mal-treatment, from the unusual procedure adopted by the Jail authorities in obtaining an assurance of exoneration before allowing the dead body to be taken out of the Jail, from the examination of the dead body by Doctors at Sholapur and other relevant circumstances, this Congress feels justified in entertaining reasonable misgivings that the death of Pandit Shyamlal was the direct result of mal-treatment meted out to him inside the Jail, and in demanding an open inquiry by eminent Jurists from outside Hyderabad commanding the confidence of all concerned.

Resolution No. 10.

This Congress hereby expresses its sense of appreciation and gratitude for the unique sacrifices made by so many men, women and children and congratulates them on their zeal for Vedic Dharma.

Resolution No. 11

This Congress considers the turning out of certain

It is evident by the activities of Omania University, as a result of which about 500 students had to leave their studies for the sake of their singing "Bande Mataram" song which they think to be a part of their prayer, in the Prayer Hall reserved separately for them, as unjust and improper interference in religious liberty.

This Congress congratulates all those brave students, who for the sake of religious liberty, have sacrificed their studies and undergone suffering bravely.

Resolution No. 12.

Whereas the Indian National Congress has guaranteed in its famous Karachi Resolutions on fundamental rights, to all citizens of India including those of the Indian States, full liberty of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise their religion subject to public order and morality and whereas the Congress has declared more than once, in its resolutions, that the Congress stands for full personal, civil and democratic liberties in the whole of India including the States, and whereas the Arya Samajists are at present involved in a serious and non-violent struggle for the protection of their elementary religious and cultural rights in the Hyderabad State, this Congress trusts that the Indian National Congress will extend its sympathy and support to the struggle carried on in the Hyderabad State as well.

This Congress also confidently expects that all Democratic Institutions e.g. Hindu Maha Sabha, Sanatan Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, as well as the State Subjects Conference

and the Democratic Swarajya Party, the Liberal Federation and the Civil Liberties Union, Congress Nationalist Party etc, which stand for religious and cultural liberties of the people, will give their support to fight of the Arya Samajists in Hyderabad State.

This Congress further hopes, that every fair-minded man irrespective of caste and creed, who loves justice and equality, will also extend his moral support to the movement.

Resolution No. 13.

In the opinion of this Congress, time has arrived when an appeal be made to the Paramount Power in the name of all the Aryas throughout India and abroad for the protection of the Aryas and their most elementary religious and social rights in the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam, as all sorts of representations hitherto made to the Government of H. E. H. have failed in securing such protection, this Congress hereby authorises the Sarva-deshik Sabha to move in the matter.

Resolution No. 14.

This Congress considers the transportation (Kalapani) without any Judicial enquiry or trial of Pandit Narendrajī, the enthusiastic preacher of Arya Samaj, as an act of tyranny, and congratulates him for his services and sacrifice.

Resolution No. 15.

This Congress resolves that all the Arya Samajists in India and elsewhere should celebrate 22nd January 1939

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as Hyderabad Day: by holding public meetings, and creating public opinion by placing before them full facts about the Nizam's State, and affirming the resolutions No. 4 and 5 passed by this Congress and extending full support to the carrying out of the programme.

5-A

THE

Hyderabad State Political Conference.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

R. S. Naik Esqr., M. A.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

V225:51p, 113

AKOLA,

27TH AUGUST 1931.

With best compliments
from
R.S. Naik, M.A., Barrister-at-Law

Presidential Address

BY

R. S. NAIK Esq., M. A , BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Delivered on Thursday the 27th August 1931,
AT AKOLA.

*Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee,
Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen!*

Allow me to thank you for the great honour you have done me by asking me to preside on this, the First Political Conference of the subjects of Hyderabad. I had very little time to prepare this speech and I could not possibly prepare anything worthy of you or of the occasion, and in the hurry, if some mistakes have crept in, I hope you will forgive me for the same.

I think this is a very important occasion in the history of Hyderabad when the subjects have gathered together to discuss and devise means to make the future of Hyderabad a very bright one, in keeping with the position of the State and dignity of its enlightened Ruler. It is most unfortunate that we had to leave our jurisdiction and come here for this noble and good cause. One consolation is that we have not come to absolute strangers nor had we to go beyond the legal limits of our State. You all know that Akola at one time was part and parcel of Hyderabad and for all we know it may have been some unknown force, the result of our old associations, that made us decide on this place, and seek help from the people of Akola which they have so readily given. Of course we cannot say what the future is going to be and whether we are going to be fellow subjects again or not, and when and under what conditions; but this much is certain that in the future history of the Political advance-

ment of Hyderabad this event will be an important one and we will gratefully remember the help given by the people of Akola to us in this hour of our need. It is very unfortunate that the people of any State or country should have to go outside their jurisdiction to express their grievances and claim their rights from the Government, and especially people like Hyderabadis who are so peace-loving and loyal. It is really a hint to the Government that something is seriously wrong and if not attended to immediately, things will take a serious turn, causing more and more estrangement between the people and the Government which cannot be for the good of the State. I have no doubt that due note will be taken of this event and matters will be mended in such a way as to make it unnecessary for the people of the State to go out of it again or to be obliged to disobey the orders of the Government—a recourse which is absolutely foreign to their nature and against the traditions of the people of the State. I know a good deal of misunderstanding has been purposely created regarding the object of this conference. But for that misunderstanding we would have had many more people come here. But even as it is and in spite of all the difficulties in our way, I think we have every reason to congratulate ourselves upon the large number of people that have come all the way here to attend this Conference. We have heard of other People's Conferences, but I think this is an extraordinary occasion when people of this State have come out of the State in a body as they were not allowed to express their ideas in their own territories. It speaks a lot for our law-abiding nature. I hope, as a result of this Conference, we shall succeed in removing all misapprehension from the mind of the Government about our real intentions and that the Government will be proud of such a body of people who are so anxious to serve their State and to raise the dignity of their Ruler; and that we shall have no occasion to go out of the State hereafter and will have full liberty of speech and writing in our own territory.

Liberty of speech and association are elementary rights of the people. In Hyderabad nothing has caused more dis-

satisfaction than the so-called Police Gashti (circular) under which no Public Meeting can be held unless ten days' previous notice is given to the Police Commissioner in Hyderabad and the Collector in the districts and their permission is obtained. No doubt in some States such orders have been issued, but in Hyderabad we feel it most because Hyderabadis maintain that they are exceptionally law-abiding people. When there was trouble all over India, and other Native States, Hyderabad was particularly peaceful and law-abiding. When there was freedom of speech the people of Hyderabad said or did nothing which necessitated such a Gashti. In fact the Hyderabad people have repeatedly challenged the Government to show anywhere more law-abiding and loyal people. As a proof I can refer you to the reply given to the Minto Circular by His late Highness, where His Highness pointed out that his subjects were, as a rule, contented, peaceful and law-abiding and that His Highness had to thank his ancestors for this blessing, who, His Highness said were singularly free from all religious and racial prejudices and had employed men of all religions alike in carrying on the administration of the State. His late Highness further pointed out how he was following in the footsteps of his ancestors by enumerating the names of the people of different religions holding responsible and high posts under him. The people, free from any racial prejudice, gratefully remember up to this day the great services rendered to the State by the then officers, Mr Hankin of the Police Department; Mr. Dunlop of the Revenue Department and Sir George Casson Walker of the Finance Department. Similarly our present Ruler H. E. H. the Nizam has also been rightly able to declare that the people of Hyderabad almost worship their Ruler. In the face of these facts the issue of such a Gashti has made the Hyderabadis very sore about this indignity and to add to it, inspite of the protest of the people on every occasion, the Government have become obstinate and shown the least regard for public opinion. Perhaps they think that to yield to public opinion would be considered a sign of weakness; whereas I respectfully beg to point out that it would afford proof of their love for the

people. I would once more beg of the Government to cancel this Gashti and give scope for the people to develop and thus remove this blot on their intelligence and loyalty. This studied disregard by the Government is bound to react and the people will also lose their regard for the Government which shows so little sympathy for its people's rights and aspirations. As a result of this we were obliged to take this step and have come here to express our ideas from the point of view of those who really love Hyderabad and who would like to see Hyderabad attain that high position which is its due.

If we look at Hyderabad from the point of view of its size, it is bigger than Great Britain and the population is about one crore and a quarter. From the geographical point of view it is a very fertile country. It has so many big rivers like the Godavary, the Krishna, the Bhima and the Tungabhadra running through its territory. Its climate is very moderate. There are thick jungles. Iron, Copper, Coal and other minerals are also to be found in abundance. The people of Hyderabad have not to deal with a country which is without tradition. It can boast of such historically important cities like Bidar, Daulatabad, Aurangabad, Warangal. It contains numerous big lakes like the Pakhal lake. There are plenty of big Temples and Mosques. The Ellora and Ajanta caves are known all over the world. Golconda diamonds were also well-known at one time. The Kohinoor diamond is now decorating the crown of His Majesty the Emperor of India. It is not only a place rich in natural resources, but the people also of the place were well-known all over India. It could produce religious men of the type of Ramdas, Eknath, Gayaneshwar, Hazrat Burhanuddin Awlia, Baba Sharfuddin, Hazrat Muhammad Hussain and Guru Govind Singh. As for statesmen, we had men like the brothers Akanna and Madanna some centuries ago and recently Raja Chandulal and Sir Salar Jung, to the latter of whom belongs the credit of creating order out of chaos in this State. It is not merely exceptional men like these but the people as a whole were known all over India to be

cultured and hospitable and people from all over India used to come here and had their talents recognized. It is not enough for us merely to think of the past of Hyderabad but let us consider the present and more particularly the future.

Among the standards by which the progress of a country is judged are :—

1. Education
2. Industries
3. Religious toleration
4. Popular voice in the Government
5. Administration of justice
- and 6. Culture of the people.

Let us examine Hyderabad from these standards and see how we can develop the State on these lines.

I. EDUCATION:—Though the Government is spending as much as Rs. 78½ lakhs, the percentage of the educated people is only 3½. A good lot of the money is being spent in trying an experiment by imparting education in a vernacular language (Urdu) though the mother-tongue of the majority of the subjects is not Urdu. The heads of the expenditure are not proportionate. Most of the money is spent in the Capital City and for the payment of high salaries and in renting buildings, and in translating books etc. Even these high salaried officers are imported from outside. In fact those who know anything of Hyderabad know that the Educational Department is the least in touch with the people, whereas it ought to have the greatest sympathy with and should consist mostly of the people of the State.

✓The method followed in awarding scholarships is a standing scandal. People have ample reason to point out that the very object of giving scholarship is lost and most scholarships are given to students whose parents are very well placed and have other sources of income; whereas really speaking

scholarships are not meant for such people at all. Again scholars are sent out of the country for studying subjects such as law etc., when there are already plenty of men available who have been to foreign countries at their own cost and have obtained the necessary degrees. Again the complaint is that in spite of there being so many foreign returned scholars, places are not provided for them and less qualified people are imported from outside because of their connections with the influential officers of this State. Sufficient provision is not made for the teaching of the vernaculars even in the Primary Schools.

Primary Schools do not exist in:—

- 11 villages of 2000 to 3000 population;
 - 115 villages of 1000 to 2000 population;
 - 2988 villages of 500 to 1000 population.
- No account is taken of the villages below 500.

To add to it the circular against the starting of private schools is the greatest obstacle in the spread of education. It has created difficulties which have caused a serious reduction in the number of schools. The people of the State rightly look upon it as a slur on their loyalty and intelligence. The real object of the circular seems to be to swell the number of Osmania University Schools and to show to the Government how successful the innovation has been. Outwardly the reason given is that people cannot be trusted with management of private schools. Every other country in the world is encouraging private citizens to take the education of the people in their own hands; whereas this Premier State actually prohibits the people from taking part in such activities. Thus the people of the State are not given a chance to serve their fellow subjects and to try to develop the good traits of human nature. There are no High Schools for girls whose mother-tongue is not Urdu and these constitute about 85 per cent of the population. Even in the capital itself though there are three Government High Schools for girls, not even one of

them makes provision for the teaching of Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese, the principal vernaculars of the State to the would-be mothers. As a result of all this, inspite of the enormous increase in the expenses of the Educational Department, the number of literates has not increased. There ought to be provided a sufficient number of Primary Schools and a law passed for the compulsory and free education of boys and girls of school-going age. Even for adults, schools must be started on the lines adopted by Turkey and other countries of Europe; thus giving every youth a chance to educate himself and to enable him to make the best use of his abilities.

The funds needed for this work are believed not to be wanting and even if more funds be needed they could be found by imposing suitable taxes for this purpose. The money set apart for the building of costly University buildings ought to be diverted to the making of Primary Education free and compulsory and the numerous big places in the city which are now practically deserted, ought to be used for housing the University for the time being. The Curricula of studies should be materially altered; subjects which are needed most and are most useful should be given prominence. The people's Educational Conference has been asking for a Commission to be appointed to inquire into the working of the Educational Department and suggest necessary changes; and even H. E. the Viceroy during his last visit gave a hint that H. E. H. the Nizam's Government should devise means to make education agreeable to all their subjects. No steps have been taken by the Government as yet in this direction. The future of the country depends upon its education, and if any department has to be attended to first, I think it is the Educational Department. The education of the State ought to be controlled by a Board, half the members of which should be representatives of the public to begin with, the remaining half being nominated by the State. The decision of this Board must be binding, unless overruled by a special resolution of the Council.

2. PUBLIC HEALTH :—The health of the people is sadly neglected. The number of people dying of consumption is daily increasing. Plague and Influenza pay almost yearly visits, the death rate is on the increase, there is scarcity of hospitals and dispensaries, there is no adequate provision of maternity homes. No doubt, there is a Director of Physical Culture with the required Staff but they do not appear to have spread their activities much outside the capital city. Some of the evil customs of the society such as early marriage also tend to reduce the standard of public health and the State ought to pass legislation to put an end to these customs so injurious to the public and thus come in a line with the more advanced States in India. We should have Physical Culture Institutions all over the State. Child Welfare Centres should be started just as they have done in the Residency Jurisdiction at the initiation of the wives of different Residents. The noblemen of the place could easily start such institutions and have children's parks all over the important towns, each named after a noble-man who will have donated a sufficient amount for this purpose.

3. ADMINISTRATION :—It is impossible that one could keep the Hyderabad public from their natural right of taking part in the administration of the State ; nor is it healthy to do so. If the necessary changes are not introduced in time, that will cause great dis-satisfaction among the public and may lead to events likely to cast a slur both on the people and the Government alike and bring in its train a lot of avoidable trouble. How is it possible to expect Hyderabadis to behave any differently from others when they live in the same atmosphere and are influenced by the same ideas, and what more, is it anything to be proud of for any Government that they keep down their own people. Every Government is for the good of the people and should desire the people to take their legitimate share in the administration. In short every Government ought to have a living body to govern and not a dead one. The criterion by which the advancement of a State is judged, is the share taken by the people in the

administration thereof. I admit that it should be a gradual advancement, but what I want is that it should begin immediately. In fact it should have begun years ago. Even smaller States in India have been advancing rapidly and if we do not take immediate steps we will be reduced to a third class State and there is a danger that there will not remain that harmony between the Government and the people which has been the pride of Hyderabad.

Once the people know that they can influence the administration and that they can be a force for the improvement of the State then they will be ready to work and sacrifice for the State, otherwise there cannot be sufficient enthusiasm shown by the public for the development of the State. We know that the modern tendency is to have a system of Government where the greater number of minds, knowing the most about the State and having the fullest opportunity of knowing the same have control over it. Our Ruler recognized this as long as 12 years ago when he issued a Farman in which he stated that he no longer finds it advisable to have a mere personal rule in his State and therefore formed an Executive Council to help him in this work. And what more he put his ideas into practice and we find he now rarely interferes with the decision of the Council. But the object of the Ruler will not be gained unless the Council contains some representatives of the people and is made subject to the control of the Legislature. No doubt, we have at present some very experienced, energetic and popular members in the Council; but there being no one to place the people's view before them and there being no Legislative Council whose opinion counts for anything, they make mistakes even with the best of intentions and they cannot improve matters as much as they would like to. In fact in some respects things are going from bad to worse in spite of all sincere attempts to improve them. On principle, the Executive Body must be responsible to a popular Legislature. At present our Ruler is giving more and more powers to the Executive Council, but it does not contain even a single representative of the public. They

must devise methods of finding out real public opinion and the officers must be made to feel that they can maintain their position only by the good opinion and the support of the people.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL:—Soon after the first Farman our Ruler was graciously pleased to issue another Farman, wherein he felt the necessity of allowing his subjects to have a direct hand in the Administration of the State and for this purpose he ordered that the Legislative Council be enlarged on a broad basis so as to make it an important part of the Government. This is one of the crying needs of Hyderabad. Even in small States Legislative Councils have already come into existence and some small States have even advanced so far as to frame popular constitutions for their Governments; and our Government cannot therefore afford to neglect this subject any longer. The Hyderabad State Reform Association has submitted a Scheme which is before the Government. Broadening of the Legislative Council with some control given to the public over the Executive is one of the immediate needs of Hyderabad, and I believe this object could be easily achieved by making the above scheme the ground work of reform in this direction.

FEDERATION :—Of course it is too early to say anything on the question of Federation, but I would like to say this much that in case the idea of a Federated India materializes in the Second Round Table Conference, the people of the State also should have their own representatives in it.

FINANCE :—Finance of any individual or State or country is the most important factor in these days. Modern tendency is not to acquire any more land or country but to acquire financial influence over other countries. The responsibility of the Finance Department does not end with only the balancing of the Budget but they have to see how much wealth there is in the country. Hyderabad at one time was very rich indeed. Some of the noble-men of the place could

be classed with some of the native Princes in British India. They had abundance of jewels and cash but today most of it is gone.

The present day administration is costing much more than it ought to. The number of officials is increasing and their pays are also increasing. Besides there are a number of allowances allowed to them and I think the financial condition of Hyderabad cannot long remain sound at this rate. Every-where retrenchment is being resorted to whereas in our State we find increments in salaries in every department and that too for high officers who are already drawing big enough salaries. Officers are paid increments on the score that they do the work of other Departments even though the total number of their working hours remains the same. Then there are people who are retired on pension and are taken back again into Government service and given full pay besides the pension which is against even the State regulation. Thousands of rupees go out of the State to help foreign individuals and institutions; whereas very useful institutions in the State conducted at great sacrifice by the public are starved for want of funds. In short, there is great room for retrenchment and it is necessary to have some control over the finances of the State by the people. If nothing else the people should have for the present, the right to put interpellations and make general suggestions on the Budget through the Legislative Council.

BANKING & BUSINESS:—There is not much business to speak of in the State. We find young people are more anxious to get into Government services than to enter into business. To my mind one of the many reasons, is that, business people have not much respect and power in the State; We find that even the very few Banking and Business Firms, are more anxious to do business in the Residency jurisdiction, than in the State limits. I think this is a matter for serious consideration of and investigation by the Government. All modern Governments are anxious that people should invest their Capital in the State concerns. The wealthy people are

a great asset for the Financial stability of the State. I hope steps will be taken to see that business people are encouraged and sufficient attention and respect is shown to them by giving them every facility, otherwise State people will go out and invest their Capital in foreign concerns.

There are State Banks in Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin etc, but this premier State has no Bank of its own; with the result that lakhs of rupees every year go to fill the coffers of foreign banks. An expert Committee should be appointed with some public men on it to go over this important question and they should also be directed to take up the question of Industrial Banks, Agricultural Banks etc.

MILITARY & POLICE:—As for the Military, I think the modern tendency is not to depend on the standing army alone but to encourage the people to form volunteer corps. This will not only save a lot of expense but create a healthy atmosphere among the younger generation and do away with the feeling of estrangement between the military and the civil population. Besides it will encourage an intimacy and fellow feeling between all classes and communities of which there is great need.

For the Police Force recruitment should be more and more from people of education and character, irrespective of their caste or creed and that the real subjects of the State should always be preferred to men from outside.

AGRICULTURE:—I think this Department is entitled to the greatest attention of the State and by an irony of fate it gets the least attention. Agriculture practically supports the State, and the percentage of the people living on agriculture is 80. When we scrutinize the amount spent on agriculturists, we find that as a class they are generally neglected. Though we spend so much on education, agriculturists as such get very little share of it and similarly the Department of Public Health pay much less attention than they deserve. The roads and other needs of the villages

require much attention. The water supply in the villages is the crying need of the people. In short the farmer must be changed from an ignorant and superstitious man, to an intelligent and proud worker. The law concerning his rights and responsibilities must be printed in brief in all the vernaculars and steps be taken that these are explained to them so that they may not easily fall into the clutches of any unscrupulous lawyer and usurious money-lender or be the victim of a high-handed and selfish officer.

INDUSTRIES :—The only way of relieving the great burden on the land and Agriculture is to encourage industries. In fact in modern days industries are a great source of power. They are more important than were the armies or navies of the past. It is not enough to have an Industrial Department or high officials therein. We cannot deny that the present Head of the Industrial Department is doing a great deal in the cause of Industries by starting an Industrial School, a Government Depot for the sale of indigenous articles and by encouraging the Glass Factory and other Industries; but I have no doubt that with the co-operation of the people he will be able to do much more. Like the Educational Department there should be the predominance of the people's opinion in this Department. Special attention should be paid to the different towns and villages where skilled workmen are to be found. The Revenue officers of the State should be particularly informed that their promotion and merit would be determined by the number of industries successfully organised by them. Industrialists should be specially honoured and titles should be conferred on those who guide and control big industries. Every one should be taught from his childhood to take pride in using State-made things and this should particularly be mentioned in text-books for children. High Officials and Jagirdars should set an example to the people. On State occasions like the birthday of H. E. H. the Nizam it should be made compulsory for every Hyderabad to wear a dress of State made materials; and similarly all Government Officers and Departments must be compelled to use no outside things

where State-made things giving equal service can be obtained. It should be compulsory for the local newspapers to advertise local industries at very moderate rates. There should be local bodies in the districts especially in the Industrial Areas whose functions should be to collect all sorts of informations about industries and to guide local industries in their affairs. The funds placed at the disposal of the Industrial department should be under the control of a Board, at least half the members for which should be representatives of the public. It is also necessary that the Government should avoid making any interference in the affairs of private industrial concerns as far as possible.

MUNICIPALITIES AND LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT:—In every modern State Municipal Administration is entirely in the hands of the public and in the nature of things it ought to be so. That is the right and duty of a true citizen and that is how people begin to love their country and each other; and that is the legitimate means of spending a portion of their time and energy. No amount of officers and staff can make up for the want of public interest and I think if Municipal affairs were entrusted to the public, there will be less of Influenza, Plague, Cholera and other epidemics, besides the improvement in the village affairs and the status of the local people. Full powers must be given to the Public in managing their Municipal matters. No doubt they will make mistakes in the beginning but the way they can learn is by experience. This will enable them to manage more important matters later on.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION:—When we see what troubles are being caused in the name of religion and even educated and otherwise sensible people lose their heads over petty things and that communal quarrels have been so common in India that Indians have to put their heads down in shame and have become the laughing stock of the civilized world, I think it is high time, this question was tackled in all seriousness. Among the means that may be suggested for rooting out this evil, I would suggest that no religious book

which tends to create this communal feeling should be taught in any public school. But instead the good and high principles of all religions should be collected in one book and that should be made a text book for religious and moral education.

Another suggestion towards the same end would be to do away with sports clubs run on Communal lines and specially the quadrangular cricket matches should be put a stop to. If children are brought up on these lines we will have the future generations free from communal and racial prejudices. Meantime, we can not afford to ignore the force of religious sentiments in India. All those who have anything to do with these questions should carefully study and inform themselves of the religious sentiments of different communities and see that every one is free to follow his ideas as long as he does not hurt the feelings of others. I am sure this understanding and the desire to accomodate and respect each other will solve the problem to a great extent and also contribute a lot to the happiness of the people and advancement of the country.

THE PRESS :—The press is one of the acknowledged means of education and it acts as a check on the officials and keep them within their bounds. In the whole of Hyderabad State to my knowledge there are only 15 papers and periodicals, 10 Urdu, 3 Marathi, and 2 Telugu. In other parts of the world for such a big State there are hundreds of papers and periodicals. There is not a single paper or a periodical for Canarese people even though they number about 15 lakhs in the State. When permission was asked for starting a paper in Canarese, it was refused on the plea that there was no necessity for it. Similarly permission was refused for starting a paper in Hindi.

The press must be used for creating public opinion and help us in our development. It is a powerful means of rousing public opinion, ventilating public grievances, helping both the public and the Government to put more and more energy in their work. The complaint in Hyderabad is that there is favoritism and only certain papers are helped by

the Government; whereas the Government policy ought to be either to help all or none at all. The condition of the press is bad enough in British India; but in Hyderabad it is much worse. They are asked to stop publication at a moment's notice without assigning any reason whatsoever. I need not describe what harm this procedure causes and the amount of dis-satisfaction it produces. Instead of encouraging the public to start more and more papers, this high-handed method of dealing with them deprives the people of one of the best means of advancement.

EXCISE AND CUSTOMS:—Excise and Customs are great sources of Revenue in Hyderabad, Excise alone yields 175 lakhs per year, and the Customs about 157 lakhs. No doubt it is a large amount, but it has to be remembered that Excise is not a source of income of which any Government could be proud nor is it any criterion of the financial strength of the State. In fact the income from Excise is an indication of the pitiable extent to which people have become addicted to these evil habits and that there is great need for Reform, in this direction. As for Customs, I think no tax should be collected which interferes with the development of the State Industries. Taxes may be imposed in such a way as to protect the local industries.

JUSTICE:—The civilization of a country is to be judged by the kind of justice obtained therein more than anything else. This department is the one which acts as a corrective to all the other Departments. Weaknesses of the other Departments can be corrected by this Department. But if there be weaknesses in this Department in any State then that State can never hope to progress. The independence of the Judiciary is the key-stone of all the civilized Governments and care should be taken that this high ideal is never allowed to be lowered. Qualifications of the judges must be in consonance with the requirements of modern times as laws are developing very rapidly owing to the manifold activities of the present time. The judges must be above corruption,

which does not mean merely that they should refrain from taking bribes but that they should be above any kind of influence. That can only be, when the Judicial officer's appointment does not depend merely upon the good will and favour of the executive officers.

In our Judicial Department sufficient attention is not paid to the knowledge of the vernaculars. Officers must know sufficient vernaculars to be able to take down the depositions of the witnesses in the local vernaculars. In our State we find, cases take a long time to be decided. There are instances where the cases have been dragging on for scores of years, though I must say sincere attempts are being made now-a-days to expedite the work. I think some drastic measures have to be adopted to tackle this question. I would like to bring one fact to the notice of the Government and that is the present arrangement of the Judicial Committee, the highest Judicial tribunal of the State. Appeals from the High Court go to the Judicial Committee but the Judges of the High Court are also the Judges of the Judicial Committee and it often happens that the judgment, of the three senior-most and experienced judges of the High Court, is upset by the three most-junior judges of the same Court only sitting in a different place. We must have permanent judges fully qualified and experienced for the Judicial Committee. Again the office of the Legal Adviser and that of the President of the Judicial Committee, the highest Tribunal in the State, are combined in one and the same person. This is an anomaly, which should not be allowed to continue any longer. The same person cannot advise and be a judge at the same time.

The Atiyat law (i. e. Law about Government Grants) must be codified on a uniform and satisfactory basis as there are at present a lot of conflicting decisions involving enormous waste of public time and money.

JAGIRDARS:—In this State we have got about two thousand Jagirdars and about one third of the state

area is covered by the Jagirs; and some of the Jagirdars are of such importance that they can be equal to many of the princes in British India as far as their income is concerned. And as a class they can be compared, to their advantage, with any other nobles of British India. They are dignified, intelligent, and above all true to the State and its Ruler. The State can expect a lot from them. Their fore-fathers had done meritorious service to the State and had fought to preserve the dignity and integrity of it. They had earned these Jagirs in return, and I am sure that their children in whose veins the same blood runs are equally anxious to serve the State. But as a class they are not encouraged on the proper lines. Most of the Jagirdars' children are such fine young men as could do honour to any family or State. Up to now the policy of the Government was to encourage these young men by providing suitable posts in the State; whereas now-a-days more and more people are brought from outside the State, to fill the important places.

I think it should be impressed on these Jagirdars that fortunately they have not to fight the battles their forefathers had to do; but they have to fight equally glorious, though more difficult, battles of the present day, to enable the State to maintain the position which is its due. They have to go out to foreign countries and specialise in Research etc. Each Jagirdar must take pride that his family is contributing so much for the good of the State and the titles should be so conferred as to indicate the services they are rendering on the lines suggested.

CONCLUSION:—Every one has his bent of mind and opportunities and if every citizen makes a small contribution in his own way, the total gain to the State will be enormous indeed, and the country is bound to advance. We should harness every man and every power for the service of the State. I appeal to the people of the State to do away with personal jealousies and to cultivate and maintain that unity and fellow-feeling which has been the pride of Hyderabad. Do away with the evil customs prevailing among us and

let us all be equal, no one oppressed or depressed as a class, all working in unity for the good of the State and the good name of its Ruler, My appeal to the Government officers is to be true to their position of trust and remember that the good of the State is in the happiness of the people and that the best officers are those who regard themselves as the servants of the people. I appeal to the Jagirdars to realise that by their position and wealth they have the best opportunity of working for the welfare and service of the people and the State.

Last, but not least, to our Ruler, whose extraordinary ability and capacity for hard work and whose simple habits are recognised by every one and are the pride of his people, whose Reign has been made glorious by the construction of various public buildings and huge Reservoirs and who has given liberal grants for many other objects of public utility and who has put a stop to various injurious customs in the State, my respectful and humble appeal is that he may graciously be pleased to order that immediate steps be taken for the inauguration of the Legislative Council on modern lines and thus lay the foundations of a representative form of Government which will further contribute to the happiness of his beloved subjects and make his Reign still more glorious and such as will gratefully be remembered and honoured by posterity.



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THE
**Hyderabad State Political
Conference**

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

M. R. RY. S. SATYAMURTI, B.A., B.L.,

ADVOCATE, MADRAS.

V 225:51 p. 134

BOMBAY,
26th October 1934.

THE
Hyderabad State Political Conference, 5.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

M. R. RY. **S. SATYAMURTI**, B.A., B.L.,
ADVOCATE, MADRAS.

Delivered on Friday 26th October 1934,

AT BOMBAY.

I deem it a great privilege and honour to be called upon to preside over the fifth session of the Hyderabad State Political Conference. I wish it had been possible for you to hold this Conference, within the precincts of the State. But it is as well that you are meeting in Bombay, one of the nerve centres, for many years, of political life in this country. I myself hail from an Indian State, and I can claim to speak with some intimate knowledge of the feelings, the aspirations, the hopes, and the fears of the people of Indian States.

“ I think the time has arrived when the Indian National Congress must include, within its scope, the affairs of the Indian States as well. There may be a fear on the part of some Indian Princes and their friends that such inclusion of the affairs of the Indian States in its scope by the Congress may adversely affect their position or their status. But I venture to emphatically state that the Indian States have nothing to fear from the Indian National Congress; and the Indian Princes will find the leaders of India at least as friendly to them, as the

Government of India. Moreover, you cannot build a china wall, between Indian States and British India. Swaraj in British India is bound to come, and the new awakening in British India cannot but affect deeply the people of the Indian States." These were the words which I uttered on the 26th of December 1927, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India States Subjects' Conference, at Madras. Much water has flown under the bridge since those days. A scheme for an All-India Federation including British India and Indian States is now on the anvil. Those words, therefore, apply with redoubled force to the present position.

The Indian States cover roughly an area of 686,000 square miles, and contain a population of 62,500,000, or nearly 70 millions now. Their total revenue will be about 15 millions sterling. Counting them all, there are nearly 700 of them. These facts, by themselves, give them an importance which British India cannot ignore. The question, however, remains both for British India and the Indian States to consider, whether they should plump for a federation immediately, or whether there may not be an intermediary stage when British India may become a self-governing unit, and the Indian States may have a confederation among themselves, and the representatives of the two political entities meet to confer together for agreed and common purposes.

✓ My own personal view is that the time is not yet ripe for an All-India Federation. The most important reason is that, neither from the point of view of historical

experience, nor from the point of view of political theory, is it possible or desirable to have a Federation of units whose political advancement and government are so different, as they are to-day in British India and several Indian States. I believe that the *sine quo non* of a real Indian Federation is that the Federal Legislature should consist of representatives elected by the people of India and by the people of the Indian States in some agreed proportion, that there should be fundamental rights of citizenship guaranteed by statute to all people of the Federation, which rights shall be capable of being enforced through a common Federal Court that the writ of the Federal Government should run throughout the Federation, and that its laws and taxation measures should apply uniformly throughout the territories forming the Federation, subject to some agreed limitations.

The Federation, as adumbrated in the White Paper proposals of His Majesty's Government, does not satisfy any of these tests. From this point of view, it is not altogether unsatisfactory to know that the Federation idea has now been relegated to the limbo of the distant future. There is only one criticism which I need answer in this connection. There is a fear on the part of the Indian States that their sovereignty will be affected by a real Federation. But the Butler Report says that Paramountcy must remain paramount which once for all disposes of the claims of Indian States, to anything like real sovereignty. Indeed there can be no future for autocratically governed Indian States in a Federation.

I venture to suggest to their Highnesses and also to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad the following reforms.

To put it in one phrase, the most immediate need is to substitute the rule of law for personal rule in all the Indian States.

A clear distinction must be drawn and permanently maintained between the private fortunes of the Chief and the public revenues of the State. A civil List of fixed amount must be assigned to the Chief, and the rest of the revenues must remain available for public purposes only through appropriation by constituted authorities.

There must be permanent security for the observance of established laws, rights and usages, and the laws must only be altered by suitable legislative machinery.

Provision must be made for the judiciary, independent of the civil and criminal courts, and justice must be dispensed by regularly constituted tribunals.

The assessment and collection of the revenues must be made under fixed rules; all rights in the land must be defined and maintained, and no fresh taxation imposed, except in accordance with law.

The ruler must take no personal part in the Executive Government of the State, which must be entrusted to a Minister or Ministers appointed by him, but responsible to an elected Legislature.

Personal liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of religious worship must be guaranteed to the subjects of the Indian States. '

I invite the Indian Princes to themselves inaugurate these democratic reforms in their States. I want them to remember that, to-day, they have no moral right to exist or rule, unless their rule is broad-based on the good-will

of the people. They do not have the qualifications of the ancient or mediaeval Indian States who fought for their existence and survived because they were fit to survive. To-day, the naked truth is that these Indian States are kept up by the British bayonets. It is a position undignified at once to the ruler and to his subjects; and when Indian States fight among themselves or against the British Government, the position is quite clear. Therefore, the only dignified course for them is to prove that they have a moral right to exist by bringing themselves into line with the modern State whose one purpose is to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number, not according to the notions of the rulers, but according to the notions of the people themselves.

I have neither the time nor the equipment to deal with the problems of the Hyderabad State in detail. But I am glad to notice that, at the previous Conferences, you have passed resolutions asking His Exalted Highness the Nizam to issue a firman proclaiming the establishment of full responsible Government under the Asafia dynasty. I whole-heartedly associate myself with that request. Nobody can stand against the march of time. Responsible Government is becoming the order of the day in modern states, in one form or other. Hyderabad can be no exception to the general rule. But let me tell you that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. You cannot get responsible Government, by merely passing a resolution in Bombay asking for that. You must go back to your State, organize your people, and use all legitimate and peaceful means consistent with loyalty to the House of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, to enforce your demands. I have

no doubt that, sooner than later, His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his advisers will see the reasonableness of your request to establish responsible Government.

There is one peculiar feature of Hyderabad State to which I should like to invite your attention. The population is chiefly composed of Hindus and allied sects, who form 90 per cent of the total population, and the Muhammadans are only 10 per cent. The territory has been for more than 600 years under Muslim rule, and it has been generally free from religious intolerance and cruelty. The Muslim Rulers have generally been treating the Hindu subjects kindly and impartially. It is up to His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and his advisers to see to it that the traditions of the State are kept up. I notice there are several grievances pointed out by several subjects of the Hyderabad State about the partiality in recent years to the Muslims, and against the Hindus. Moreover, I understand that education is very poor in the State, that primary schools do not exist in many villages, that the health of the people is sadly neglected, and that the people are very little associated with the Government. It is, also, a point to be examined carefully whether the administration of the Hyderabad State is not top-heavy. These are problems which should be examined by the people of the State, and brought to the notice of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his advisers, and public opinion should be generated with a view to get these problems solved on right and constitutional lines. Personally speaking, His Exalted Highness the Nizam has shown an example of simple living which must command the devotion and the interest

of the people. I respectfully submit to His Exalted Highness the Nizam that His Exalted Highness' personal qualities must be made more available in the service of the people. It can be done only by his associating the people and their representatives generously, and in an increasing measure, with the administration of his State.

Referring to the problem of education in the State, I should like to say one word about the Oosmania University. I know there is a strong feeling in the State that too much money is being spent on this University, and not enough on primary and secondary education. I am all in favour of increased expenditure on primary and secondary education in the State; but I am all in favour of adequate expenditure on the Oosmania University. It is a bold and epoch-making experiment, with a view to making it possible for higher education in India being given through an Indian language Hindustani, whether you call it Hindi or Urdu, is the future language of India. Therefore, I think all right-minded Indians should sympathise and co-operate with the authorities of the State, in making the Oosmania University the success that it deserves to be.

Apart from responsible Government, I think that the immediate need in the State is for the establishment, on a sound and unassailable basis of the fundamental rights of the citizens viz, freedom of speech, freedom of press and association, religious freedom, and freedom of person and property. The present rule that public meetings should be held only with the previous permission of the Police Commissioner cannot be justified on any ground whatever.

I also believe that Hyderabad City should have a municipal Council of its own, and that the people of Hyderabad and of other cities in the State should be trained in the responsible and useful art of civic self-government. I also commend to His Exalted Highness' Government the establishment of Village Panchayats, in order to improve the social and economic conditions of the villages.

I now invite you to proceed with the deliberations of your Conference. I wish you all success in those deliberations. But, as I have said already, let me repeat once more that, after all, in this world in most matters, we get what we deserve, and deserve what we get. If the people of the Hyderabad State are really serious about responsible government, about the securing of fundamental rights of citizenship, and about improving the educational, economic, and industrial status of their country, they should organize the people and create and maintain public opinion at a high level, and exert continuous, legitimate, and peaceful pressure on the Government. Let me assure you that, in your endeavour to achieve these objects, you will have the sympathy and co-operation of all right-minded and patriotic Indians.

VANDE MATARAM.

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The Hyderabad People's Educational Conference

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Presidential Address

DELIVERED AT

The Third Conference

BY

Kashinath Rao Vaidya, M. A., LL. B., Advocate.

Member, Legislative Council

T. 275, N 36

20th Nov. 1936
16th Dai. 1346 F.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very much thankful to you for the great honour you have done me, by asking me to preside over the deliberations of the Third People's Educational Conference of Hyderabad. I do realise that this honour is, in fact, unique, as I find that the persons, who presided over the previous Conferences, were men of high eminence and great fame. Our first President was Mr. Hridayanath Kunzru, a man of international fame well known for his scholarship and sobriety of thoughts. Dr. Tripathi who presided over the next Conference is a gentleman who has devoted all his life for the cause of education. I am conscious of my own short-comings and I would not have dared to accept this honour, if I had not been confident of your full co-operation and support, and also because I could not but accede to your request.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we meet today under the shadow of a great tragedy, with our eyes full of tears, due to the death of our revered leader, Mr. Vaman Ramchandra Naik, to whose untiring energy and deep sympathy this Conference owes its origin. He was very actively connected with it, since its inception and shouldered the heavy responsibilities, once as Secretary, and also as Chairman of the Reception Committee. He has done yeomen service to the country in general and to the cause of education in particular. His princely charity towards educational institutions is too well known in the State. In his death, we lose, not only a stalwart among the public workers, but the greatest advocate of Compulsory Education. I cannot but also mention the name of the other great star, in the public life of the State, that has set about three years ago; I sadly refer to the late lamented Pandit Keshavrao whose interest in public life and education was abiding. His earnestness in matters connected with the good of the public is so widely known that it needs no mention. I also miss today some of my friends, the late Mr. Digambardas Chowdhary and

Mr. Moulavi Mohamed Ali Fazil, to whose co-operation and counsel we owe, to a great extent, the success of our previous Conferences.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we meet here today after a lapse of six years, since the holding of the 2nd Conference and I congratulate the Secretary and Members of the Standing Committee, who have surmounted all the difficulties in their way of holding the Conference and have given us an opportunity to meet and confer upon the most important question of education in the State. We are meeting today in the capital city, of a great premier State, of Hyderabad, covering an area of 82,698 sq. miles, and having a population of 1,44,36,148. This State has been populated mainly by the people, whose mother tongue is Telugu Marathi, Kanerese, and Urdu, having a population of 69,72,534; 37,86,838; 16,20,094 and 15,07,272 respectively. From the view point of languages the territory has been divided into three main divisions known as Telingana, Marathwada, and Kannada. We have here amongst us today, the representatives of all these three divisions and I have great pleasure in saying that all these people have great and glorious traditions behind them. The Telingana in former times was a great kingdom with Warangal as its capital. The Kanerese speaking people, too, had a great kingdom, which gradually shifted its capital to Vijayanagar. The history of the Marathas is equally glorious and an era of Shalivahan is still current in the name of the great Shalivahan, who ruled at Paithan, in Aurangabad District. All these peoples have imbibed a great culture and the languages they spoke were highly advanced during these periods under Royal patronage. Although Urdu is the least spoken language in the State as compared with the other three, it is not without its traditions; and it is claimed that the earliest writers of repute in Urdu had sprung in our State. Scores of names of litterateurs of all these languages could be cited, but I refrain from doing so for want of time.

It is a fact that the fathers of Telugu, Marathi and Kanerese literatures were born in the territory now occupied by the State. You should legitimately be proud of this, but at the same time you must not forget the high responsibility that is cast upon you, on account of

great heritage. When a man takes pride in his ancient culture and traditions, he must always try to live upto them.

Brother delegates, though the literacy conditions in the past were very satisfactory, as we look to things at present, they do not seem to be quite encouraging.. Although the Government is spending nearly a crore of rupees on the education of their subjects and in spite of the fact that there are a great many facilities available at present, we find that the three languages viz. Telugu, Marthi and Kanerese have not made any progress in the State. With a population of nerally seventy lakhs, Telugu has only one bi-weekly paper in the State. Similarly, there is a single weekly paper for the Marthi speaking population of thirty eight lakhs and Kanerese has not even one. This is a very serious problem and deserves your careful consideration. The main reason, why the papers in the vernaculars have not made satisfactory progress, is that literacy of the non-Urdu speaking population in the State is very low and they are very backward in education. We must therefore find out means for the spread of education in all classes. Literacy in the Hyderabad city extends to 137 out of one thousand, but on the whole we find that only 85 males and 12 females out of every thousand are literate in the Dominions. The following Table will give us a correct idea of how our State compares with the different provinces in British India and Indian States in literacy.

Provinces	Male per mille	Females per mille
Bengal	188	22
Madras	219	25
C. P. & Berar	110	11
Bombay	149	23
Travancore	408	168
Mysore	174	33
Baroda	331	79
Hyderabad	85	12

Our State is the premier State in the whole of India, yet we are extremely backward in literacy.

The following Table will give us a correct idea of the progress made by the State in literacy.

Year	No. of literates per thousand	Expenditure.		
		Rs.	as.	ps.
1881	37	2,29,220	0	0
1891	44	3,03,292	12	3
1901	34	7,48,665	0	0
1911	32	10,19,787	0	0
1921	33	68,29,902	0	0
1931	48.5	90,97,083	0	0

Looking to these figures, Gentlemen, we will have to hang down our heads in shame. You are all quite aware of the fact that no nation can progress without education, especially in the present age. In order to conquer illiteracy serious attempts should be made both by the Government and the public, for the spread of education in the masses. The comparatively high figures of literacy for the year 1881 and 1891, with relative low expenditure on education is, to my mind, due to the fact, that the public used to take a very extensive part in the spread of education. In those days every literate man considered it his sacred duty, to impart his knowledge to the youngsters and several schools were being held in private houses, temples, mosques, and even under the trees. No fees were charged for education, but the teachers were often paid in kind. On account of the Government taking larger interest in education, the people perhaps thought that the responsibility was shifted to the Government. It must be remembered that for the purposes of education the subjects should never depend wholly on the endeavours made by Government. No country in the world has depended on Government Schools and private enterprise has always played an immense part in the spread of education. It has been so in all the countries which have attained

a very high standard of literacy. In order to attain that object, sincere attempts should be made both by the Government and the public. Large donations of recurring nature should flow from wealthy and philanthropic persons for opening institutions for the education of boys and girls. It is a tenet of Hindu religion that charity given for education is of the noblest type and similar are the tenets of other religions. If literacy has to spread, primary education should be specially attended to, by the Government and proportionately a large amount should be spent on it. Primary education is the birth right of every child in the country and facilities should be provided for obtaining primary education : " It must spread; it must be like sunshine available to all; available alike to rich and poor" as H. I. H. the Princess Durrus Shahewar said the other day. " I believe every citizen in the land should have free primary education " said the Chief Minister of Madras in his recent speech at Trichy " so that he will be able to discharge his responsibilities to the country correctly."

Without education, we cannot make any progress in our arts, sciences, commerce and industries. Now the question is, how to reach this desired goal of spreading literacy to a large extent in the State. I think that in order to achieve it, we will have to find out methods such as compulsory education and adult education. My revered friend the late Mr. V. R. Naik, had applied for permission to introduce a Bill for Compulsory Primary Education in the Local Legislative Council. Mr. Akbar Ali Khan has also submitted another Bill of the same nature. It is necessary that the Bill for Compulsory Primary Education should be passed by the Legislative Council and that it should find a place on the Statute Book of the State. The principle of compulsory education has been accepted all over in civilised countries and also in British India. Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, a person of a very high culture and the Political and Education Member of the Executive Council, who is deeply interested in the advancement of the State, was pleased to express his views in the Teachers' Conference, very recently and it is evident that he also accepts the principle of compulsory education. He was pleased to remark that it was attended with many difficulties, such as provision of

sufficient finances etc. This means that the Government of His Exalted Highness is in favour of introducing compulsory education provided sufficient finances are available.

The question of compulsory education has been since long drawing attention of the educated people here and resolutions have been passed in public meetings to that effect, from time to time. The city of Hyderabad enjoys an enviable position of being the fourth largest city in India, having a total population of 4,66,894. There does not seem to be any cogent reason why a beginning should not be made in this great city. Nobody wants that compulsory primary education should be introduced all at once, in the whole of the State; the advocates of compulsory education have definitely said that it should be introduced gradually. It is really high time for introducing it in this city, where we are holding our Conference today. If we take the age for compulsory education from 5 to 9 or 6 to 10 the approximate number of boys and girls of this age is about 57830 and 55540 respectively, making a total of about 1,13,370. It is just possible that even in the city of Hyderabad, provision for all these students cannot be made in the first year. I would therefore suggest that some of the important wards of the city may be selected for trial and that in a period of about three years it should be spread throughout the whole city.

Provinces	No of areas under compulsion in 1933-34		
	Urban areas	Rural areas	No. of villages in rural areas under Compulsion.
Madras	26	7	104
Bombay	10	2	150
Bengal	1	.	...
United Provinces	35	24	351
Punjab	57	2908	6238
Central Provinces.	25	431	431

The above figures of the year 1332 - 33 F. will show the number of Local Fund Bodies and the Municipalities of the different provinces, which have made education compulsory in specified areas.

The provincial enactments in British India have varied in their scope and character, but it is clear that India as a whole has realised that the goal of universal primary education cannot be attained without the adoption of the principle of compulsion. The majority of the legislative enactments in the provinces have left the adoption of compulsion to local option. The Bombay Primary Education Act, however, invests the Government with powers to enforce the adoption of compulsion by local boards in cases in which Local Boards have thus failed to initiate compulsion and where Government thinks that the time is ripe for compulsion. The principle of option is almost complete inaction on the part of local bodies and it is therefore complained that in British India the option given to Local Boards or Municipalities does not attain the desired effect of removing the vast illiteracy of the subjects. However, the adoption of the principle of compulsion has greatly helped the spread of primary education and the following statement will illustrate the point more clearly.

Provinces.	1922-1923		1933-34	
	Institutions	Pupils.	Institutions	Pupils
Madras	36275	1546785	43988	2349830
Bombay	12622	798508	12849	987969
Bengal	47783	1435906	45442	2790549
United Provinces	16840	832940	19215	1167299
Central Provinces	4133	260412	4243	313083
British India	160072	6310451	163880	8396968

We need not go far away to provinces in British India, but let us see the condition of the four districts of Berar viz. Akola,

Amaravati, Buldhana and Yeotmal. The total number of primary schools for boys in these four districts was 1516 in 1934, with 98550 pupils on the roll. As compared to it the total number of schools for boys in the whole of our Dominions is 3595 with 2,12,508 scholars. I shall leave it for you to decide in whose favour the comparison works, especially, when you remember that the above figures are only for four districts.

Ladies and gentlemen, this question of compulsory education is of vital importance especially to us, in view of the low figure of literacy in the State and you will pardon me, if I take a little more of your time. Compulsory education is the crying need of the day, and I hope that this important question will not be neglected by our benign Government any more, on the ground of finances and relevant difficulties. So long ago as the year 1340 Fasli a band of zealous workers highly qualified for the purpose had prepared a scheme regarding compulsory education on behalf of an Association named the Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Hyderabad. It included men of high standing and Mr. Ali Yar Khan, a person of advanced views, who is now the Director of information Bureau and Secretary of Constitutional Affairs Committee, had taken a leading part in the preparation of that scheme. It was suggested in the said scheme, that a regular programme should be chalked out in such a manner, that in a period of ten years education should be made compulsory in the whole of the State, so that a high percentage of literacy may be achieved. Many suggestions were made as how to meet the financial difficulties and an educational cess was also recommended. I do not want to enter into the details at this stage regarding finance and the period of compulsion etc., because this can be better done by persons in charge thereof. These are the matters of details and they can be solved gradually.

The major impediment in the way of compulsion is that of the finance required for the purpose, and that is why a number of municipalities and local boards in British India have not made education compulsory in their areas. But I think that the Government of His Exalted Highness will not find this an insurmountable difficulty, so long as the Right Honourable Nawab Sir Hyder Nawaz Jung

Bahadur, the great statesman and politician, and an expert in finance is at the helm of financial affairs. When other provinces are groaning under deficit budgets, the Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari owing to his supreme wisdom and farsightedness manages to have surplus budgets. He is a man of indomitable courage and during his time, I believe no financial difficulty will be put forward, in the way of compulsory education and his great experience and sagacity will devise methods to meet the necessary expenditure. When the Osmania University scheme was proposed, it was feared that the State budget would not be in a position to meet the vast expenses required for the purpose, but Sir Akbar looking to the utility of the university found out means to meet the same. Being convinced of the principle of compulsion and the immense good it will do to the subjects, I am sure that the munificent Government of His Exalted Highness will try to overcome all the difficulties in the way of compulsion and shall have the gratification of seeing that our State will not lag behind other provinces in literacy and education. The Government has taken a lead by starting a university, with Urdu as the medium of instruction and much to the astonishment of educationists and statesmen in British India, carried the experiment to success, to a large extent. There seems to be no reason, why our Government which has always the interest of its subjects at heart and has done so much for them, even without their asking, will hesitate to enforce compulsion in the State at an early date.

The principle of compulsion was introduced in the year 1907—1908 by the Education department in Baroda State, in the sweet memory of the most glorious occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. None of us will be surprised if His Exalted Highness, our most beloved sovereign, realising the importance of education, declared the adoption of compulsion in the State at the most auspicious occasion of the Silver Jubilee, which will be celebrated in February next. His Exalted Highness is a prince of letters, a poet of very high eminence and takes deep interest in matters of education. Of his own accord he had issued a gracious Firman, that primary education should be given free to the children of the land. It will therefore be in the fitness of events and circumstances, if the Silver Jubilee of His Exalted Highness will be commemorated by the

introduction of compulsory education in the State, as nothing else would be a better commemoration of this most auspicious occasion. This event will be written in gold letters in the history of Hyderabad and generations would remember the name of His Exalted Highness with the greatest gratitude.

The acceptance of the principle of compulsory education entails the acceptance of another principle, that primary education should be given free. This principle is already accepted by our Government, according to the gracious Firman of His Exalted Highness. The total number of boys and girls, who would be required to take compulsory education in the State will be about 17,00,000 and if the cost per pupil be assumed as Rs. 10/-, the total expenditure will amount to Rs. 1,70,00,000. The Department at present spends nearly Rs. 23,75,000 as will be seen from the report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1341 F (1931-32) which is the latest published report of the Department. The Government spends about Rs. 40,00,000/- on colleges, high schools and middle schools and when compared with the expenditure in other provinces and States, this seems to be a little higher, as compared with the amount spent on primary education. There is some scope for reduction in the expenditure on higher education, and the amount thus saved, can be very well utilised for the purpose of compulsory primary education. Large amounts are spent every year by way of donations to foreign educational institutions and this amount can be very well taken up for our present purpose. The State has founded its own university, where education is imparted in almost all the branches of learning and there seems to be no justification for giving donations to outside institutions. Similarly, allowances and stipends are given to persons, outside the State and there is scope for large economy in that direction. If the State is not able to meet its urgent need, and compulsory education is primarily one of them, it will not be out of place, if reductions in charity flowing out-side the State is suggested.

This experiment of compulsory education should be made first, in the city of Hyderabad and as I have said above, the number of children coming under compulsory education will be about

1,10,000, the total expenditure for the purpose amounting to Rs. 11,00,000, only. The Hyderabad Municipal Corporation should be entrusted with compulsory education and the Government should see that it is brought into practice. A definite amount should be contributed by the Government and the Corporation should levy an education cess on house owners. A cess should also be levied in connection with entertainments, motor cars, hotels, liquor shops etc. The cess should be borne mainly by the rich class, as it is the duty imposed on them, to educate their poor brethren. The rich people should compensate them in some manner, because most of their wealth is the outcome of the labour of the poor classes.

All the areas are not to be brought under compulsion immediately. The number of towns in the State having population of 5000 and above is 98 and the towns having a population of more than 2000, but less than 5000 is about 35. These towns do not include the bigger cities like Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Gulbarga and Warangal. The Urban population is roughly 11 %, the actual number being 16,16,981 according to the latest Census report. If 15 % of this population is taken as children of school going age, this number will be about 2,43,000, and the expenditure on their score will be Rs. 24,30,000/-. I would therefore suggest that primary education should be made compulsory in the urban areas, within the next five years and the rural areas may be brought under compulsion within five years after that.

The Local Fund Committees in the districts and Taluqas, should see their way to meet the finances, required for compulsory education. The agriculturists and farmers are not in a position to bear any further tax and therefore the Inamdars, landlords, jagirdars, merchants and professional men should be made to pay towards the funds, required for compulsory education. I would not worry you with all the details on this point because I believe, that necessity is the mother of invention and officials and non-officials in charge of the scheme will find out methods to secure necessary finance.

In this connection, I would like to propose that the Government should encourage private enterprise in matters of education. It should

be the declared policy of the Government, and the public should be given clearly to understand that the Government want the people to come forward and share their burden in imparting education. The rules regarding private schools should be immediately annulled, because they have created serious doubts in the minds of the public, regarding the policy of Government. The rules were enforced in the year 1334 F, when the number of private schools was 4053 with a strength of 76654 pupils, and a couple of years afterwards, the number of private schools was reduced to 1082 with 41384 pupils on the rolls. The fall in the number of private schools has not been made up even now. May be, that the private school buildings may not be quite sanitary and the staff not quite competent. If the Government say that they cannot spend any more for primary education, how then are the children to be educated? All people cannot get nourishing food which would be approved by medical men, but that does not mean that people, who do not get such food, should remain without it. It cannot be justified that private schools should be closed or should not be allowed to be opened if certain tests required by the Government are not satisfied by them.

Education in private institutions is found to be comparatively cheaper than in Government schools. The policy of the Government, regarding private enterprise, should be more sympathetic and inviting, as to encourage private individuals to open schools. The public also should realise its responsibility of educating their own children and if the Government and the public will work in perfect co-operation, this question will be solved very easily.

Another method for removing illiteracy is the adoption of Adult Education. For this purpose, private classes and schools should be opened after working hours in labour areas. This work has to be taken up by the public, who have leisure, after their own work in schools and offices is completed. Such people should not expect any remuneration for their services but should come forward voluntarily to educate their brethren. For this purpose, Societies in different localities should be formed and they should shoulder the responsibility of educating the adults. Societies organised by workers, such as Workers'

Educational Associations in England and similar organisations elsewhere are doing this very successfully. There are university settlements for social and educational work amongst industrial workers. In British India sporadic attempts have been made to encourage night classes, lantern lectures, village libraries etc, but very little has been achieved. A systematic attempt should be made by us in the State and we should give a lead to the people in British India, in this matter. The graduates of the Osmania University have formed several associations at different places and it would be a great service to the country, if they pay attention to adult education. At present, there are a few adult schools in the city of Hyderabad and other places doing some satisfactory work, but looking to the vast illiteracy of the masses their work falls very short of the need.

Now, we shall go to the next question regarding the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. In this connection, it will not be out of place, if I give a brief history of education in the State. Before the establishment of a separate Department of Education, indigenous schools of the ordinary Indian type were found in several places where the (3 Rs.) reading, writing and Arithmetic were taught and the teacher was generally paid in kind. The first English school was opened at Hyderabad in 1834 A. D., by a clergyman of the Church of England, followed shortly after by a Roman Catholic School. An Arabic and Persian school was also founded in the city of Hyderabad about the same time. Education was taken up for the first time, by the State in 1854 when a school called Dar-ul-Uloom was founded in the city of Hyderabad. In the year 1859 orders were issued directing that 2 schools, one Persian and the other vernacular, should be opened in each Taluqa and in the District towns. Committees were appointed to supervise these schools, consisting in case of Taluqa schools of 2 patels and 2 Patwaris, with the Tahsildar as President, and for the District schools a Patel, a Patwari, a Tahsildar, a Police Inspector formed a committee with the Third Taluqdar as its President. The revenue officers had to examine and inspect schools during their tours and education was thus in the hands of the revenue authorities. In 1868 education was transferred to the assistant Minister of the Miscellaneous Department. Teachers, before-

being appointed had to go through a training at the Darul-ulum and obtain certificates. In 1881 a Director of vernacular education was appointed but the actual management remained in the hands of revenue officials as before. In 1872 there were 16 schools in the city and suburbs and English was taught in one of them. The districts contained 125 vernacular schools. The years 1871 to 1880 saw a great development in educational matters. In 1875 revenue officials were relieved of the inspection work and deputy inspectors were appointed for the districts. In 1877 the Anglo-Vernacular school in the city of Hyderabad was abolished and Chaderghat school was founded. An Anglo vernacular school was founded at Aurangabad in this year. In 1873 payment of fees was made compulsory in the district schools, from which it appears that no fees were charged prior to it. In 1880 the Chaderghat High School was affiliated to the Madras University, as a second grade college and in 1881 it was raised to the rank of a first grade college.

The system of education in the State was on the lines of the British Indian system. Education in the primary schools was given for four years and then the boys were promoted to the English section. At the end of five years, an examination was held by the Government known as Middle School Examination. There was a two years' course after the examination and the boys were sent up for the Matriculation Examination. The medium of instruction in Primary Schools was the mother tongue of the boys and information subjects in the English branch up to 3rd standard were taught in the vernacular of the boys; English was adopted as medium of instruction from the 4th standard onwards. This system of giving education through the medium of English was found unsatisfactory by the educationists and it was found necessary that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue of the boys. By adopting English as a medium of instruction throughout the course, the purpose of education was not fulfilled.

The educationists in Hyderabad realised the situation and thought of founding a university for giving instruction even in colleges, through the medium of vernacular. The matter was placed before His Exalted Highness and sanction was obtained to found a University

at Hyderabad, having Urdu as medium of instruction. The only recommendation for selecting Urdu as medium of instruction was that it was the official language of the State.

Now, we have to see how far this medium of instruction has served the desired object. The Osmania University stands for the principle, that education should be given to the students in their mother tongue and not in a language foreign to them. Education through one's mother tongue is always compared to the mother's milk, which assimilates in the body easily. A foreign tongue is like a wet nurse. If this principle is driven to its logical conclusion, one finds that the language selected for the medium of instruction, is the one spoken by 15,07,272 people out of 1,44,36,148. This means that it is the mother tongue of merely $\frac{1}{9}$ of the population. The advocates of Urdu say that although Urdu is not the mother tongue of a vast majority of the subjects, it is a very widely known language. This statement, too, is not quite correct. Urdu is widely known, no doubt, in the great cities of Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Gulburga, Bidar and other places which were seats of Government in olden times, of the Mohammadan Rule in the Deccan. At the most, it can be said that it is a language known to the people living in urban areas, who form about $\frac{1}{11}$ per cent of the total population of the State. In rural areas, even Mohammadans are found to speak the local vernacular as their mother tongue.

I want to make it clear, that my friends and I are not against learning Urdu nor have we any prejudices against it. Simple Urdu or Hindustani is the language widely known in Northern India and is of great use to us. Hindi and Hindustani are the only two languages which claim to become the lingua franca for the whole of India and I will not enter into the controversy as to which is the better of the two. Advocates of both have volumes to speak in their favour, but this controversy has assumed a tinge of communalism and that is the reason why I want to be aloof therefrom. Anyhow, I feel that the difference between the two is not great. If a large number of Sanskrit words are taken away from Hindi and Arabic and Persian words from Urdu, there will be no difference between the two except of script. Hindi script is really very easy. Prejudices apart, the question

of script can be solved easily, but current controversies make it impracticable. The only way out of it, seems to me, is the adoption of Roman characters which has a great advantage of being a script of the European nations, Turkey has adopted it. Our children have of course to learn Roman characters for the study of English and there should be no difficulty in its adoption. It is a script, foreign both to Hindus and Mohammadans and therefore they have no prepossessions or prejudices either for or against it.

My suggestion regarding the acceptance of Roman script is merely an alternative, in case of the non-acceptance of Persian or Nagri scripts as common. I would request you all, to carefully consider this question and come to some definite conclusion. Personally, I would submit that both the Persian or Nagri scripts should be learnt by all the pupils who live in the State, Hindi and Urdu are the two main languages in India and the literature in both the languages is making rapid progress. As Urdu is the official language of the state, students have to learn the Persian Script. The Devanagri Script is practically the same as that of Marathi and other sister languages. Karnatak people here, generally know this script and the only difficulty will be regarding the people whose mother tongue is Telgu or Urdu. In the Madras Presidency a serious attempt is being made for the spread of Hindi and remarkable success has been achieved in that direction. The Hindi script is very simple and perfectly phonetic. When the alphabets and prefixing and suffixing of vowels is learnt, there can never be mistakes in spelling. Telugu scholars, who read books on religion in original, generally know this script and the Telugu population will not be unwilling to learn this. A large number of Mohammadans in Northern India also learn the Devanagri Alphabet. If they want to know the culture of the Hindus, it is essential that they should learn this script, and get a peep into the wealth of Hindu Literature. If a person were to make a serious attempt for a couple of months, at the most, he will be able to master the characters thoroughly. In order to have co-operation and friendly feelings between Hindus and Mohammadans, it is absolutely necessary that they should be thoroughly acquainted with the culture of each other and the easiest way of achieving it is, that the Hindus should learn

the Persian Script and the Mohammadans the Devanagri Script, so that the Hindus may take advantage of the Urdu literature and the Mohammadans of the Hindu literature. What I respectfully submit is, that both Hindi and Urdu should be the common languages in Hyderabad so far as social relations are concerned. The policy of all of us must be, not to suppress any language or script, but to encourage it so far as we can. To try to suppress any one of them, in any way, is wrong and harmful.

The simple, common language of the people is always limited to about 1500 words and they are sufficient for expressing the every day needs and activities of ordinary life. But as we begin to discuss any problem, political, economic, social or cultural, this limited number of words does not help us. We have to go outside this range to discover the requisite words and phrases to express uncommon ideas. Inevitably the speaker has to take recourse to Persianised or Saanskritised words. It cannot be gain said, that we want a rich and varied language, drawing for its sustenance and vitality from the classical languages, as well as the modern languages of the world. We must not try to stop the growth of the languages, because of our limited knowledge. The real thing to be objected to, is the tendency both in Urdu and Hindi for a certain courtly and elaborate method of expression, which has little vitality and can never reach the masses. If we think and speak and write in terms of the masses, our speech and writing will tend to simplicity and gain force. This is the way to check the extravagant conceit, as well as separatist tendencies of Urdu and Hindi.

Simple Hindi or simple Urdu, as I have said above, is almost the same and it can very well be used as a vehicle for conveying ideas and thoughts, in a country where four different languages are being spoken. It is a very difficult task to know all the four languages and it is almost impossible for any individual to express his ideas fully in all these languages. It is therefore necessary that one common language has to be adopted for common meetings, where people of all languages assemble. But this does not mean that this language, however simple it may be, can be a 'just substitute for the

mother tongue. To know a language is one thing and to get information and knowledge through the medium of such a language is quite another. Knowledge received through the medium of one's own mother tongue easily assimilates, but, knowledge received through the medium of a language, other than the mother tongue lies in our mind, in the form of parcels heaped upon one another. A man generally thinks in his own mother tongue and therefore when he gets knowledge through a foreign tongue, he has to translate it, in his own mother tongue and then only he will be able to digest it fully. Students, whose mother tongue is other than Urdu, may not find it very difficult to translate in their own mother tongue the knowledge and learning received through the medium of Urdu; I mean the process of translation may be easier as compared with English but the process has to be followed. I have said above that about 11 per cent of the population in the Urban areas may be familiar with Urdu language, but it cannot be proved that Urdu is commonly understood in the State. Thus this argument cannot stand and much wind is taken out of the sails of the advocates of Urdu.

The other point pressed in favour of Urdu is, that it is the official language, but this claim is also based on a weak argument. Because a particular language is an official language, that does not entitle it, to be the medium of instruction for all the boys and girls in the State. If this argument is correct, English being the official language in British India, it would be said, that medium of instruction in schools and colleges should be English. But the British Government has never put forward such a proposition and almost all the Universities in British India have accepted the principle, that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue and instruction also is being imparted in High Schools through the mother-tongue of the boys. The Universities also allow the students to answer all the papers, except English, in the vernacular of the boys. Strong attempts have been made in the countries of Europe even, to enforce a foreign language, and one glaring instance is that of the German over the Poles. There was a time, when it was considered a crime to teach Gaelic in Ireland. To-day, Irish is being taught in all the schools of Ireland and the language has come to its own. People in Wales had forgotten

Welsh, but its revival has been attempted now and great development has since been made there.

Now, let us examine how far Urdu is the official language in the State. The Government Circular No. 20 of 1301 H, requires that the village records and the Office of the patels and patwaries in the villages should be in the local vernacular, by which it is meant that it should be Telugu in Telingana, Marathi in Marathwada and Kanarese in Kannada. This means that Urdu is not the language of the rural areas, the population of which is about 89 per cent of the total population. Of course in the Revenue and Judicial Departments Urdu is used as the Official Language, but this system is not, also of a very long standing. We find that judgements and decrees given before 1300 H, were in the vernacular of the provinces. The records of Survey and Settlement Department were in Marathi and similar is the case with the Customs Department in the districts. The Departments under Finance, Commerce and Industries, Agricultural and Education are even now using English to a large extent. These facts tend to show that the claim of Urdu as an official language does not lie on sound foundation.

In this connection, I would like to invite your attention to the fact that even in the old Mohamedan kingdoms in the Deccan the official records were in the provincial vernacular, Marathi was used in the days of Gulbarga Rulers, The Golconda kings took great interest in Telugu literature and one of them took pride in composing verses in Telugu. In those days much of the Government work was done in the local vernaculars; and therein lay the secret, why the Mohamedan rulers, with a comparatively small number as their followers, could rule over a vast majority of the subjects, who had very little in common with them, then. The then rulers used to pay great regard for the sentiments and culture of their subjects. The system prevailing in those days is still to be found in the State and I would earnestly request the Government of His Exalted Highness to continue the same policy in future.

I have already said that even though a language may be widely known, it cannot be the medium of instruction. Real education can only

be given to the growing child in the home language and script. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Irawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur has, so long ago as december 1925, remarked in his Convocation address to the graduates of the Punjab University at Lahore in the following terms ;—

“ If you asked me what in my opinion constitutes the chief weakness of our present educational methods, I should reply without the slightest hesitation, that it is the employment of a language other than the student's mother tongue, as the principal medium of instruction. Proficiency in a foreign tongue—by which term I merely mean a language other than the boy's mother tongue, without importing into it any other idea—is set before the youth of India as the main objective and the mark of education. The Waste of mental energy, the double strain upon the young minds, entailed by the process of instruction in a foreign language is enormous and irreparable, since it is imposed on boys at the most receptive and impressionable age; they will never learn so readily again, as they learn at the age of highest receptivity, when in our present system a foreign language is interposed between them and the knowledge they have to acquire. The student studies it and masters it, with a histrionic skill, which has little to do with learning and has no connection whatever with the country's needs. He acts up to the language, as it were, assumes a mentality not his own, and thus obscures his natural genius his only gifts. He regards the subject of instruction itself as of relatively small importance, Thus, no student can ever hope to express the vital atmosphere of his mentality, of his thoughts or of his perceptions in a foreign language; and to burthen his thinking at this early and vital stage, with a language over which he has no command and which comports a mentality foreign to his own, is to make that delicate correspondence between thought and expression impossible, upon which alone sound thinking can be based. A lamentable distortion is the inevitable result”.

These remarks will hold good in the case of such students as are also being educated through the medium of Urdu, but whose mother tongue is either Telugu, Marathi or Kanerese. We therefore most

humbly and respectfully beg of the Government of His Exalted Highness to apply the same principle of giving instruction in the mother tongue of the boys, whether their mother tongue is Urdu or otherwise.

It is said that one university cannot adopt all the four languages in the State as the medium of instruction, because of the financial difficulties in the way. So far as the other languages are concerned, no Translation bureau will be required for translating books into Telugu, Marathi or Kanarese, as much work has been done on that line in the adjoining provinces of British India. But keeping aside the question of the medium of instruction in the university, to which I would come a little later, There is no cogent reason why the provincial languages should not be used as the the medium of instruction in the middle and and high schools. In Bombay and Madras Presidencies, as also in Mysore, all the subjects, except English, are taught through the medium of the mother tongue of the boys and text-books for that purpose have already been prepared and the same therefore would be of great use to us also. This means that the Government will not be required to spend anything for translation and preparation of the necessary text-books for high schools.

At times, it is said, since the State has four languages including Urdu, provision for all the languages as medium of instruction cannot be made at the same time in one and the same province. This difficulty of languages is not peculiar to Hyderabad State only, but in the adjoining provinces also the position is the same. There are several districts in the Bombay Presidency whose local language is Marathi and others have Kanarese. The districts of Gujrath have Gujrathi and Sindhi is the local language of Sindh; similarly Tamil, Telugu, Malaya'lam and Kanarese are the four languages spoken in the presidency of Madras. In spite of the plurality of languages in both these provinces, provision is made for instruction through the medium of the mother tongue of the boys, option being given to adopt English as medium of instruction, if they so desire. Our request to the Government of His Exalted Highness is, that similar provision should be made in the High Schools in the State. It is said that in one town we can-

not have four High Schools for four languages, but we most respectfully submit that they are not at all required at one and the same place. Our demand is that in the High Schools located in the Marathwada Marathi should be the medium of instruction; similarly Telugu in Telingana and Kanarese in Kannada. We never want a Kanarese or Telugu school at Aurangabad or a Marathi or Kanarese school at Warangal. There are certain districts on the borders of Marathwada, Telingana and Kannada where Kanarese are spoken, such as the districts of Nizamabad, Adilabad and Bidar. A careful examination of these places will show that in the same district all the Taluqas have not all the languages, but each Taluqa ordinarily has got one language. Our proposal, therefore, is that middle and high schools in the districts should have the provincial language as the medium of instruction.

So far as primary schools are concerned the principle has been accepted by the Government that instruction should necessarily be given in the mother tongue of the boys. Article 216 of the Education Code of His Exalted Highness' Government is clear on the point, and runs as follows: "Instruction should be given through the medium of the local vernacular and with this object wherever the number of people speaking Urdu, or the other local provincial language is sufficient for this purpose parallel classes (sections) should be formed". It is complained by many that this principle is not strictly followed in several primary schools. Even though the complaint may be true, the deviation is an isolated instance and not the policy of the Government. It is the duty of the people to bring it to the notice of the educational authorities wherever there is a deviation from the rule and get it rectified. Nawab Mehadi Yar Jung Bahadur, the Hon'ble Member in charge of education, has clearly declared the policy in his address at the teachers' Conference in 1935, in very clear terms and has assured us, that such deviation would be immediately rectified. It is now for the people to bring such cases to the notice of the authorities and not sit quiet, merely complaining about them. Article 168 is also quite clear: "In the primary departments of all middle and high schools, the medium of instruction should be the same, as that in the primary schools of the locality". Here again it is complained, that in many of

the primary departments of middle and high schools instruction is given through the medium of Urdu from the 3rd class which is against the policy of Government. Specific instances have to be brought to the notice of the authorities and they should be rectified. In this connection, I would like to propose that if any instances are known to the delegates, where the principle enunciated in the above two articles, 168 and 216 is being dishonoured, they should invite the attention of the Government for the rectification of specific instances.

We have so far discussed what should be the medium of instruction in primary, middle and high schools. Now, we have to see what should be the medium of instruction in the university. The standing committee of this conference have proposed in their statement, submitted by them to the committee appointed for the reorganisation of education in the Hyderabad State, that English should be the medium of instruction in the University, and in view of all the circumstances, I also agree with the proposal. Some of the witnesses, officials as well, as non-officials, who were examined by the re-organisation committee, have expressed their view, that English should be the medium of instruction in University courses. University career is meant only for intelligent boys, who are above the average. They aspire every day to acquire knowledge in arts and sciences and their thirst for knowledge cannot be quenched by second hand information. They always like to reach to the original and will not be satisfied with translations. In modern days new theories are invented and exploded making room for fresh theories. It is not possible to translate all this literature and make it handy to the students. Urdu cannot be compared with English, in its wealth of literature on several subjects. The fact is, that there are very few original books on scientific subjects in Urdu and the students in the Osmania University, have to rest content with translations. The scientific terms used in English are universal terms and most of those who are in favour of having Urdu, as medium of instruction in the University, also accede to the proposition that the scientific terms of English being universal in character should be used in Urdu also. Thus so far as scientific subjects are concerned, there should not be any difficulty in having English as medium of instruction. Even now in the Osmania,

University, English is taught through the medium of English. Subjects like Philosophy will be best learnt in the language in which they are written. It is very difficult to translate the words carrying a particular idea in an other language, because the idea itself is foreign to it. English is a language known all over the British Empire and in the whole of America and in view of our relations with the British Empire and the world, its importance need not be over-looked. English language will keep us acquainted with the culture and the progress which the British are making every day. In the Universities of Japan and Germany, bilingual University courses have been adopted and if Hyderabad aspires to be a world force and establish world-intercourse, she might do well to follow the lead of these and other European countries, where English is to-day, the accredited medium of commercial intercourse.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to invite your attention to your responsibility in opening schools and colleges for the education of your children. Looking to the present number of private institutions, you will find that the public have not yet realised their duty to their younger generation. I am very sorry to remark, that there is not a single college in the Dominions conducted by a private body. The condition of our adjoining provinces will show that colleges conducted by private bodies are greater in number than those run by Government, Similar is the case of High and Middle Schools. In almost every district you will find more than one high school conducted by private agencies, but in our State the number of private High Schools is also very low. We have to pay our special attention to this question and the wealthier class must come forward with large donations. People, not placed in such circumstances but have sincerity at heart, must sacrifice their comforts for the cause of education. I need not draw your attention to the bigger colleges in Bombay and Madras Presidencies, where immense work has been done by enthusiastic workers, who have sacrificed their pleasures and comforts, and receive very small remuneration for their services. I believe that the attention of the public has been attracted to this question and a beginning is likely to be made on a larger basis, if the policy of the Government will openly be, in favour of such institutions. In the Bombay Presidency

the educational department has been trying to close its institutions and give larger donations to private bodies carrying on the work of education. You will be surprised to hear that in a place like Poona, which is considered to be the centre of education, there is not a single High School or a College conducted by Government. A Government High School and a College, which had high traditions behind them, had been closed down by the Government. The policy of the Government there seems to be to help the private institutions by giving them donations on a large scale out of the amount allotted for education. In the small province of Central Province there are nine colleges, out of which five are private. In Berar there are two colleges, one at Amaraoti and the other at Wardha. The private institutions are flourishing in these provinces by the encouraging attitude of Government. Our most humble request to our Government is, that their policy regarding private institutions should be similar. At times, it is complained here that the local headmasters of the schools in the districts consider private institutions as their rivals and attempts are made to create difficulties in their way. If it is found that in a particular place there is a private institution having competent staff, capable of giving the necessary education, the department of education should give preference to the private institution and save the money spent on the local Government school, for being utilised at some other place. I would like to refer to the instance of the private school at Mominabad, in this connection. The private body in charge of this institution is prepared to satisfy all the requirements of the department and is actually coaching students up to the IX standard, in the hope that the Government will give them the necessary permission. The Department was in full possession of the facts. However, it raised the local middle into a high school. In view of the fact that the curriculum was the same, this institution would have served the purpose of Government very well. The strength of students in this private

school is large which is a surer proof of the popularity of the institution. Such an action taken by the Government is likely to create misunderstandings in the minds of the public and the country, which in itself is not very serious and enthusiastic on this question, prefers inaction.

One important factor is that the cost of education to the Government on private institutions is very low. Looking to the figures published in the latest report of the Educational Department, it is found that in a Government English High School the cost per pupil is Rs. 128/12/3 and in an aided school it is Rs. 12/1/2 per pupil, i. e. the former costs 10 times what a private school costs per pupil. Similarly, the cost to Government in Osmania High Schools was Rs. 54/14/11 per pupil and it is Rs. 28/13/9 per pupil in aided schools. The cost per pupil in the English High Schools is less than in Osmania High Schools, because English High Schools are largely required by the pupils and private bodies are conducting these institutions even without much help from Government. Thus, there will be a great economy for the department, if an endeavour is made for opening and encouraging private institutions, as much of the Government money will be saved.

In the City of Hyderabad and in some other places, the Government schools have had to refuse admission to the candidates, because the maximum which could be accommodated in the schools was full, and if private schools are not opened at such places, many of the boys will be deprived of further education. The classes are full and the students from long distances such as Aurangabad have got to come to a place like Hyderabad, if they want to prosecute their studies for the H. S. L. C. Examination. Even in colleges the number is limited, because provision for larger number of students is not made. There is a great rush for admission in the Nizam College and although the students who were successful this year in the H. S. L. C. Examination and entitled for admission in the college were 370, the total number of students admitted in the college was about 100 only; the result is this, those who want to go in for higher education are required either to go outside the state or seek admission in the Osmania University, if possible.

Even in the Osmania University admission is restricted to a limited number and there too all the students wishing to take up higher studies are not benefitted. These facts sufficiently prove the dire necessity of having private schools and colleges in the state to supplement the existing ones.

In this connection I would just refer to the policy of the Educational Department in respect of the extension of education. For some time past, in view of the lower percentage of students taking instruction, a policy for extension of education was adopted but recently the department is paying greater attention to consolidation than extension. I should most respectfully submit that there should be a change in the policy in favour of extension. A satisfactory percentage of students attending schools has not been attained as yet and only 15.9 per cent of the school-going age are under instruction. If the Policy of consolidation is pursued, perhaps the efficiency of the schools may be bettered, but that will arrest the spread of education. If the school going population is calculated at 15 % of the total population and if out of the school going population provision is made only for about 16 per cent and if the Government is satisfied with it, it would mean that the Government is actuated with low ambition, which is far from truth. The state has higher aspirations, has founded a University of its own and it cannot be satisfied with such a small percentage. In Baroda there is no University but the percentage of the boys is 88.5 and that of girls 61.8 of the boys and girls of school going age, whereas in our State the percentage is 27.9 and 4.3 respectively. Of course, we would not like to lag behind a smaller State like Baroda and our benevolent Government will certainly consider this question seriously.

As we are here talking about the limited number of students in high schools and colleges I will just refer to the limited number of students in professional branches of the University. In the Osmania University the faculty of medicine has been working for a long time but the total number of students admitted last year is a negligible figure of 12 and similar is the case regarding admission in the Engineering College. Our State is spending large amounts on these faculties, but the students, in large numbers cannot be benefitted thereby. For

a big State having a population of nearly a crore and a half, this figure of 12 is really very low and the graduates turned out cannot satisfy the need of the public. The tendency, nowadays seems to be, 'each province for its own subjects' and on this principle, in admissions to the medical colleges preference is given to provincial students and our students who go out cannot get admission, because, they say that we have a University of our own, which should make provision for our students. I am no doubt aware, that it may be said that to give admission to a large number of students is to make unemployment intense; but the problem of unemployment cannot be solved by merely putting restrictions on the number of admissions in schools and colleges. The result will be that the number of educated will certainly show a tendency towards decline, but the number of unemployed in the country will remain, however unchanged, as enough unemployment exists among the uneducated already. No doubt the question of the unemployed graduates in arts will be solved, to some extent by the diversion of the students to industrial and commercial courses, but I am afraid, here again the question of unemployment of the agricultural and technical graduates will arise after sometime. So long as the services under Government or private bodies, used to absorb the arts graduates there was no complaint about unemployment. But when the supply of such graduates rose higher than the demand, unemployment became keener among them. Unemployment cannot finally be solved without the development of commerce and industries in the country. I am not against opening technical and agricultural schools and colleges which would open out new avenues for the young men of the country, but what I say is, that under the pretext of unemployment, university education to a large number of students should not be denied. The object of University education is to prepare a student with a wide and living intellect, with discipline and ripe experience in the difficult art of living in a community, with the necessary training in leadership and a deep sense of responsibility to others. If artificial restrictions are placed on facilities for university education, it will be a disaster of the first magnitude from the point of view of education and national progress. Universities are bodies from which intelligent leaders of public affairs can rise and it would be a

suicidal policy, if university education is restricted from motives of economy or unemployment. Even for industrial development about which we are so keen, we require a wide diffusion of a higher culture and not merely a literacy, which is practically all that elementary education will introduce. "Great industrial countries in the west" said Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University "have very efficient system of education of all grades, and if India is to aspire to reach that level she will have to come up to that level of culture". You will pardon me if I will quote for you from the speech of Sir Harry Haig who said, "It will be a short sighted policy on the part of both Educational Department and our Legislature, to strike at the growth of higher and university education, which is the very life to day of all national progress." In view of the above remarks the Government should not limit admission to college courses. The complaint that there are a large number of a arts graduates is not true, at any rate, in this State. The total number of students in arts colleges in C. P. and Berar in the year 1934 was 2250, and in Mysore 3150 whereas in this State it is 1400 according to the latest figures available. From this it is evident, that in our premier State the number of students is only a little more than half of the two adjoining provinces. Even though the number would have been larger, I would submit that it would not be a cogent reason for limiting it. Nawab Zulkadar Jung Bahadur, the learned and experienced Educational Secretary, in his Convocation address delivered this year to the graduates of the Osmania University was pleased to remark thus: 'Turning to some other countries whose educational progress must serve as an example and incentive to our own endeavours, we find that in England leaving aside the numerous classes of professional students, more than 45,000 scholars were attending arts colleges and from these figures an average may be worked out, that the number was proportionately 11 times greater than that obtainable in India. The latest available reports of our own Asiatic neighbour viz. Japan reveal the number of students in the university stage as more than 1,30,000". This remark as well as the figures quoted therein are self-eloquent and I would invite the careful attention of the Government to them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I have taken much time but I would like to invite your attention to another problem of vital importance to us, I mean, "The Education of Women in the State". I need not dwell upon the importance of girls' education, as I believe there is no one amongst us, who has not realised the importance of this problem. An educated mother is a great asset to the family. Special endeavours have been made in British India, as well as in the States, for the advancement of education of women, various measures have been adopted for the same. The Government of His Exalted Highness has also provided special facilities for girls, so that they may take to education. A special Osmania Arts College exclusively for girls has been opened in Hyderabad, where about 25 girls are taking instruction and the Government is annually spending about Rs. 32,000/- on this institution, the cost per pupil being about Rs. 1500 per annum. This fact alone will show the readiness of the Government to spend large amounts in the cause of female education. The latest figures available, for the year 1341 Fasli (1932 A. D.) of women scholars in the State are as follows:— 13 in colleges; 274 in High Schools; 649 in middle schools and 46,870 in primary schools, making a total of 48,633. As compared to these, figures of 1934—35 available for Mysore are 145 in colleges, 536 in High Schools, 3629 in middle schools, 61,228 in primary schools, 114 in training institutions, 377 in special institutions making a total of 66,029. The number of girls taking education in the adjoining province of Central Provinces and Berar for the year 1934—35 is 102 in colleges; 2280 in Anglo vernacular middle schools, 440 in High schools, 8,631 in vernacular middle schools, 370 in normal schools, 61,129 in primary schools, 493 in special schools making a total of 73,445.

It might here be noted that the total population of Hyderabad is 1,44,36,148; Mysore 65,57,302 and C. P. and Berar 1,55, 07, 723.

In this connection I would submit that there is a complaint that sufficient facilities have not been provided for girls, especially for secondary education. The medium of instruction in Government or private high schools is either English or Urdu, and it is the reason why most of the Hindu girls cannot have the benefit of any of these

institutions. The following figures will show the strength of girls taking education of the different communities in Hyderabad; Muslim girls, 26,847; Hindus, 15,502; Christians 2,246; Parsis 122 and others 583, making a total of 45,300. I would give you for your ready reference the population of Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Parsis in the State which is 15,34,606; 1,21,76,727; 1,51,382; 1,784 and others 5,71,581 respectively. If the above figures be studied in the light of population figures it will be found that the Hindu girls are about half the number of Mohamedan girls, whereas in view of this population it should have been about 8 times that of muslim girls. The number of the Christian and Parsi girls is larger, because these are advanced communities from the point of view of education and English is the suitable medium of instruction for them. This is due to Urdu and English being suitable medium for Muslim girls and Parsi and Christian girls respectively. The want of similar suitable medium of instruction in the case of Hindu girls has arrested their progress. I would have liked to give the exact figures of Hindu and Mohamedan girls in the various stages, but they are not available to us and I have to rely upon the total figures only. I do not mean to say, that the strength of Hindu girls is lesser, only on account of want of a suitable medium of instruction, as I am not blind to the customs prevailing in the Hindu community, which come in their way of education beyond the primary stage. But one thing is certain, that a large number of Hindu girls will join the middle and High schools if arrangements are made to give instruction to them, in their vernaculars. On this point there cannot be any difference of opinion, and even the staunchest advocate of the Urdu medium in the secondary stage will not go to the length of saying, that Urdu should be the medium of instruction for Hindu girls in high schools. I would therefore most earnestly pray the Government of His Exalted Highness to open high schools in places like Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Gulbarga and Warangal, where at least the medium of instruction for the girls should be their own vernaculars. In view of the want of necessary arrangements for girls I would sincerely request the affluent public to come forward and take up this question of the higher education of Hindu girls. The Hindu community is well known for its extensive charity and large amounts are spent by it even today for

this purpose. What is to be done is to properly direct the channel of its charity and if the money that is spent by them is given for education there will then be enough funds for this purpose. The Hindus, I hope, will pay their earnest attention to this vital point, and adopt necessary measures for achieving this end. I would also request the Government that grant-in-aid to such institutions should be on a more liberal basis and it should not be denied even to those who do not follow the curriculum prescribed by Government. So far as the curriculum for girls is concerned, there is an honest difference of opinion. Some are of opinion that today's girls are the future mothers and education necessary to manage and conduct the home should be given to them. There are others who think that after all women are citizens and there is no reason why such education should not be given to them, which would make them better citizens and which would enable them to walk shoulder to shoulder with their brothers. This experiment has to be made and the correctness of any particular view will be determined by the results achieved in course of time. As regards the question of education of boys, too, educationists have not agreed and experiments are being made even today, in the most advanced countries. Even in our own State, we are making experiments and I would urge once more, that the Government should not refuse grants-in-aid to any private institution, simply, on the ground that the curriculum followed therein is not the one prescribed by the Government, provided the Educational Department is satisfied that proper education is imparted by the institution, allowing sufficient scope for difference of opinion.

I would next invite your attention to the question of the so called depressed classes. Their strength in the State of Hyderabad is 24,73,230 or one-fifth of the population of the Hindus and one-sixth of the total population. In view of the proportion they bear to the general population we must accept their claims and special provisions have to be made for their education. Their children must necessarily have access to any school, Government or private, unless the institution is purely religious. So far as I know, the children of this class are admitted in the Government and local fund schools and in many of the private schools. No objection is raised regarding their admission.

We must thank our Government for providing special facilities for them. The solution of this problem will largely depend upon how education will spread among the masses and the methods invented for that purpose will very well serve the so-called depressed classes also. The main difficulty in the way of spread of education amongst members of this class is their miserable economic condition. The efforts of the public should be, therefore, mainly directed towards redemption of their economic condition.

At this stage, I should like to refer to the report published recently by the Mackenzie Committee, appointed by the Government of His Exalted Highness, for the reorganisation of education in the Hyderabad State. It would have been better however, if some members from the public had been taken on this Committee, who would have represented public opinion. No doubt, the committee examined several witnesses from the public and thus had an opportunity to know their views on the several points referred to it. The report of the Committee has been recently published and it is expected that action would be taken on the suggestions made by it, very shortly. I have to specifically draw the attention of the delegates to the fact, that the Committee had suggested that the Nizam College should be affiliated to the Osmania University, removing it from the control of the Madras University; but the Government of His Exalted Highness did not agree to this proposal and have deferred this question for the time being. The Committee has proposed that a Board of Education should be established by a Royal Charter for the control and supervision of secondary and high school education in the State and the Government has added that a few members interested in the cause of education should be taken on it from the public, for which we should be very much grateful to our beneficent Government. This shows that our enlightened Government is anxious to know public opinion and this is further confirmed by the fact, that the Government has said that the Education Board should not make any proposal before consulting public opinion on the subject. The Government also want that educational schemes should be submitted every five years for its examination and review. These recommendations have been accepted by His Exalted Highness, whose interest in public edu-

cation is unbounded and who has always the welfare of his subjects at heart.

The scheme proposed by the re-organisation Committee has divided education into primary, secondary, high and university courses. The primary course will have five classes, secondary four classes; High and University courses, three classes each. In order to give an industrial and agricultural bias, all these courses will have a definite objective. At the high school stage i. e. in the X, XI and XII classes there would be courses in industries, commerce and agriculture in addition to courses in arts and sciences. I believe that this suggestion is bound to do immense good to the country and would help the solution of the question of unemployment to some extent, as it will encourage the development of industries and agriculture in the State. There may be a little difference of opinion regarding the number of classes, in the different courses, but to my mind it is not of much importance. It also suggests, that there should be differentiation between the curriculum of secondary and high school which is also very essential. It has also suggested that the enrolment of the students in the university courses should be limited and confined only "to such students, for whom university education can be provided, without the lowering of the standard and who are fit to benefit by it". I agree that university education should be given to really intelligent boys, but this principle should not be allowed to be a handle for making invidious distinctions at the time of admission and should not be made a pretext for arresting the spread of university education, as I have said before. The Committee proposes, that the present policy regarding the medium of instruction should be continued. This principle is not acceptable to us and I have already made my suggestions before, regarding the same. I was very glad to read that statutory provision has been made, giving women a voice in the control of girls' education and I sincerely congratulate Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji, Miss Webster and Miss Clough, the representatives of "The women's Association for Educational and Social advancement, Hyderabad", upon their successful endeavours. The scheme provides for the establishment of a statutory committee for Girls' Education composed mainly of women and the Board will not consider any question regarding girls' education, without first taking into consider-

ation the views of this body. This provision will give a wide scope for women, to press for such changes in the scheme of Girls' Education, as they consider necessary or desirable.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not disappointed, to speak the truth at the suggestions made by the reorganisation committee, although I differ from them on several points. Regarding the medium of instruction, this committee says, that "There is no doubt, that the ideal is for all instruction to be imparted through the mother tongue of the students". Urdu has been adopted as medium of instruction in secondary and High School courses, it is said, on the ground of economising the huge expenditure, which is otherwise due to the multiplicity of languages. I have dealt with this point before and need not reiterate my views. It is recommended that the Board of Education should consist of 28 members, of whom four would be representatives of aided schools and three of the public. Thus this Committee gives room for seven non-officials, on a Board of 28. We would have been more grateful, if representation was given to a few more members from the public. The report also says that "The object of the Education Department is to expand primary education to such an extent, as to bring it within the reach of every boy and girl of school-going age". This means that the Board will be in favour of universal education, although it does not accept in clear terms that education should be made compulsory. We must feel encouraged by the recommendations of the Committee, because much scope is allowed therein for improvement, in the light of public opinion. There will be a review of the scheme every five years and now it is for the public to press their views and get the scheme modelled by the Board according to them. I would earnestly request you, gentlemen, to give your earnest consideration to the cause of education, carefully examine the proposals made by the Board, and express your views thereon, because sanction is to be accorded by the Government on the lines of public opinion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall now refer briefly to a few important points regarding education.

One is about military education to be introduced in the University. The races inhabiting this State are acknowledged to be martial

ances and it is necessary that military education should be given to them in the colleges. The University at Nagpore has made arrangements to give instruction in military science and I would request the Hon'ble members in charge of the university to consider this question and introduce this subject in the university course. Military education is also very useful for imbibing discipline and infuse sportsmanly qualities in the students. The atmosphere in the Western countries is threatening peace and as long as the mentality of these nations does not change, there is always the danger of war. If necessity demands, Hyderabad will have to play her part in defending the greater India and the British Empire, and maintain her past traditions.

Resolutions have been passed in this conference before, about organising public libraries and the principle needs no reiteration from me. Similarly, in our first conference, it was resolved that no religious education should be imparted in public schools. Teaching of religious principles and the attendant ceremonials of different faiths should be left to the people themselves and the Government may encourage them by giving grants. But this much has to be remembered that in order that we may understand the culture of one another and cultivate co-operation and good-will between the various communities that inhabit the State, the ethics governing each of them illustrated by the lives of national heroes, should be taught in our schools. The faculty of theology in our university had only 25 students in all, but the expenditure on this head amounted to Rs. 65,550/-, the cost per pupil to Government being about Rs. 2,850/-. If only this amount is given to private institutions, hundreds of students will be benefited thereby and the amount will be properly utilised and wisely invested.

The number of Sanskrit students in the Omania University has been about 40 in all. The reason is briefly this; no satisfactory arrangement is made for teaching Sanskrit in several schools. The number of feeder institutions in the districts thus is very small. Teachers of Sanskrit are not had it is learnt at several places and those entrusted with the work are often not properly qualified, and are incapable of creating any interest in the subject. I would plead with the authorities to pay particular attention to the encouragement of the

learning of Sanskrit in schools and colleges. The value of learning Sanskrit needs no emphasis. According to Monier Williams, it involves a mental discipline, not to be surpassed. The Times of India in its issue dated 15th October 1936 has expressed categorically that Sanskrit learning and culture require not only to be revived but extended. It is necessary, that due prominence should be given to Sanskrit in the University, and a special chair created for it. The importance of the vernaculars of the State has yet to be realised and a status similar to that of English, Urdu and other subjects, given to these vernaculars as well as Sanskrit.

A very large area of the State is occupied by the Paigahas, Samsthans and Jagirs etc. Evidently these Jagirdars, landlords etc. have not realised the importance of imparting education to the people under them. Most of them think that the responsibility of catering to the educational needs of their people does not lie on them. The only remedy is that Government, on the request of the people, must move in the matter and help the poor people by creating the much needed facilities.

In the present constitution of the Osmania University there is very little scope for popular representation and I am therefore of opinion that a University Act, similar to those prevalent in British India, should be enacted as soon as possible, so that the affairs of the University may be managed in consonance with public opinion.

I may also mention that Hindi is also one of the widely spoken languages in the state and sufficient provision should be made for instruction being imparted through its medium, wherever Hindi speaking population is found in large numbers.

The time at our disposal is very short and I cannot pretend to deal with all the important subjects in this address. In conclusion, I would like to draw your attention to the significant question of village uplift. The aims of the village school should include, not merely the attainment of literacy, but a larger and greater objective, viz. the raising of the standard of village life, in all its aspects. The idea should be, that the village school should be, a place of interest and

activity, with influences radiating from it to all the people in the village. The object of village uplift is to improve the economic and social conditions of the villagers and this can only be done, if the villagers themselves take this question in their hands. Attempts and advice from outside will not achieve the desired results and disappointment is likely to follow. Education in the village school should have an agricultural bias, by which I mean, that special attention of the boys should be drawn to the varieties of crops and the methods for their improvement, and village sanitation and cleanly habits should be taught. For this purpose, however the teacher should be one of them possessing a sincere desire for their uplift. A merely salaried servant who may be ignorant of their culture, unacquainted with their habits and has no particular love for the environments, is foredoomed to failure. The teacher has to fully understand the needs of the village and be intelligent enough, to find out means for satisfying them. Unless a teacher is of the same community and attached to the same locality, village uplift work will not progress satisfactorily.

We are now standing at the dawn of a new era of the greatest magnitude and consequence to British India and no Indian State can keep itself aloof from its far-reaching influences. 'The aim of all training is to prepare the young to be useful citizens' said H. I. H. the Princess Durru Shehwar in her address to the recent Hyderabad Women's Conference. Education is thus entrusted with the task of defining the duties of citizenship, which largely depend upon the form of administration obtained in the country. If we are going towards parliamentary democracy, the aim of education should be directed towards teaching the methods, helpful in achieving that end and prepare the generations to come, for shouldering their responsibilities with success. With this ideal in view I hope that this conference will evolve a system of education, in co-operation with our benign Government suitable to all the communities living in the dominions, which will produce true Hyderabadis who will zealously work for the emancipation of the country and of whom we shall always be proud.

The
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
IN
HYDERABAD STATE

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1938

THE
Struggle FOR Freedom
IN
HYDERABAD STATE

*General Secretary,
All India States' People's Conference,
138 Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.*

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1938

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ORIGIN AND GROWTH
of
HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS

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A GREAT PROMISE

As far back as the 13th Jamadi-awwal 1338 Hijri (4th February 1920) H.E.H. the Nizam was pleased to issue a Firman authorising Sir Ali Imam, the then President of the Executive Council, to collect immediately such material as would enable the preparation of a definite scheme of reform of the Legislative Council and the said Firman further laid it down that the lines on which the reforms should be introduced should considerably increase the elective element in the Council, have the elections held by the use of the direct franchise, protect the rights of the minorities etc. Rai Balmukund, retired High Court Judge, was specially deputed to collect the data, and to prepare a report which he did in a year and a half. It is understood that in this report he suggested that the Council be enlarged on the Morley-Minto model.

In view of the rapid pace of advance in British India where by this time the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms had come into force, another Committee was appointed three years later to review this material and submit a definite scheme which it did. These two reports however came to be shelved, and it became necessary for the public to claim early reforms; and therefore in or about 1921 the Hyderabad State Reform Association attempted to hold a public conference but permission for this was not granted by the Government.

Government Go Back

Further, the Government immediately banged its door against everything that could be termed political by getting a Firman issued prohibiting any political meeting either 'prima facie' or 'likely to lead to political results'. The Association therefore in 1923 submitted to the Government a definite scheme for the expansion of the Legis-

lative Council and a deputation waited upon the then President of the Executive Council to press this scheme upon the Government.

Free Speech Denied

The Firman above referred to was followed by the Kali (black) Gasthi (53) which vitally placed a ban on all meetings. The agitation against this restriction on free speech touched fever heat and a Gasthi Repeal Committee was formed to agitate against it. A deputation waited on the Government, on behalf of the committee and requested its repeal. Since the efforts of the committee proved fruitless, the Hyderabad District Congress Committee, under the presidentship of Mr. Tirmizee took it up and represented the matter to the Government on the eve of the appointment of the constitutional Reforms Committee. It led to a controversy whether the affiliated District Committees of the Indian National Congress could undertake such an agitation.

Other Efforts

In the year 1931 the Hyderabad State Political Conference met at Akola in the Berar and passed a resolution requesting for the early introduction of Constitutional Reforms with Responsible Government as its ultimate goal. No action was taken by the Government and therefore the Standing Committee of the Hyderabad Political Conference submitted to the Government a memorandum on the eve of the Silver Jubilee of H.E.H. the Nizam praying for expansion of the Legislative Council etc. About the same time, Mr. K. S. Vaidya, the newly nominated member of the Legislative Council, asked for leave to introduce a bill amending the existing Legislative Council Regulation.

Rumblings

During the momentous years of 1931 and 1932 which witnessed a great upheaval in India under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, Hyderabad could not keep out of the fray. A considerable number of volunteers immediately offered their services for the Indian National Congress and merged themselves in some province or other. Some of them underwent the hardship of Prison. Locally too a great deal of Khadi propaganda was done and a few enthusiasts carried on the work of boycotting Foreign Goods under the name of Swadeshi League. Mr. Fazlur Rahman,

the Secretary, of the League had ultimately to give up his professorship in the City College.

The District Congress Committee also grew enthusiastic and observed the Motilal Day in spite of the advice of the Government. The flag-salutation Ceremony had become a Weekly feature. The Nawjawan Sabha observed Pandit Motilal's anniversary defying the 144 Sec. orders. The result of the ceaseless activity during the period went a long way to create a new consciousness and prepare a back-ground for further activities.

Another Gesture

About this time i.e. on the 17th Aban 1346 F. (22nd September 1937), Sir Akbar Hyderi held a special session of the Legislative Council and there as the President of the Executive Council delivered the special gracious message of H.E.H. the Nizam appointing a special Committee under Dewan Bahadur Ayyangar to keep in view the conditions in, and the requirements and circumstances of the State and to investigate and report all the suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the different interests in the State with the Government, whereby the latter may be placed in continuous possession of their needs and desires. This announcement evoked some dissatisfaction and a general disappointment was felt that the terms of reference and the procedure for adopting or rejecting the recommendations of the Committee were very unsatisfactory. Both the personnel and the beautifully vague nature of the terms of reference were criticised as being disappointing because there was no indication in the terms of reference that any idea of Responsible Government was contemplated. Whatever its nature, this Firman further gave expression to the clear desire of the Sovereign that all preparations for the inauguration of the Reformed Constitution shall be completed before the close of the Jubilee year that is to say not later than March 1938. This was not done and the Government extended the time for the submission of the report from time to time till the 1st September 1938 when it was submitted to the Government.

Popular Demands Formulated

In the meantime a representative Committee of the representatives of all sections of the Public met under the name of the Hyderabad People's Convention and sub-

mitted the report and a scheme of Constitutional Reforms with Responsible Government under aegis of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty. This was in the end of January 1938. The sixth Andhra Conference met in December 1937 at Nizamabad and also passed a resolution demanding Responsible Government under the Asaf Jahi Crown. Several other institutions submitted their memoranda to the Government for reforms with Responsible Government as the goal. About the end of June 1938 it had been generally known that the Ayyangar Committee Report was not likely to be satisfactory and that the Government intended the introduction of something like the Morley-Minto Reforms without even their redeeming features of direct franchise. Mr. M. Hanmantrao, the chairman of the Convention Committee addressed on July the 3rd, 1938 a letter to the Government and to the President of the Ayyangar Committee drawing their attention to the fact that conditions both in this State and the surrounding States were changing so rapidly that any delay made or grudging spirit shown in this matter was bound to create misgivings and dissatisfactions in the views of the people. It was also pointed out that smaller States like Cochin had made a beginning in Responsible Government and that it was a matter as much of the dignity and position of this State as one of urgency to the people and their well being. About the same time the Government purported to repeal the obnoxious Gashti No. 53 against Public Meetings and had really substituted for it a worse set of rules which widened the scope of the public meetings requiring permission from the Police.

Considering all these things together it was being increasingly felt that a purely political and non-communal organisation with the attainment of Responsible Government as its definite object was necessary to be formed and that it was necessary that such an Association should carry on propaganda for the attainment of the said object throughout the State.

Paving the Way

Another factor that contributed to the speedy materialisation of the idea of starting the State Congress was the Haripura resolution of the Indian National Congress. People of the States had, generally, a vague hope that their internal affairs and political condition would undoubtedly be bettered by the power of the Congress. The Haripura

Congress gave them the lead to stand on their own legs. From Hyderabad about 500 people attended the Haripura Session—City and Districts all told. At that time and after, there was a general demand by the youthful section of the people for the formation of a political body on the lines on which other States have started. This demand which expressed itself first at Haripura was repeated by youths individually and in groups in their interviews with important workers. The conditions in the districts had become unbearable, and the necessity was felt for some concerted action. It was also being felt that if the discontent of the people is not utilised for creating political consciousness and the idea of Responsible Government, the result would be disastrous and the youths of the country and the discontented sections of the people would be absorbed by the sectional and communal movements that were rapidly gaining ground, in the dominions.

Combating Communal Rancour

The Peoples' Convention foresaw the necessity of a non-communal political organisation even if it be to work the Reforms on a national basis and not to leave them in the hands of political busybodies and communal opportunists, and decided by a unanimously accepted Resolution to start the State Congress for the achievement of Responsible Government as its object. The inroads of communalism into the public life necessitated the hastening of its inauguration to 'combat the communal rancour' and to develop a 'patriotic movement on national lines'.

Provisional Committee

Several informal meetings were held for this creation of the Hyderabad State Congress, which was provisionally formed in the middle of July 1938. Within a month the committee was able to enrol about twelve hundred primary members not only in the Hyderabad City and Secunderabad but also in the Districts and therefore it was decided that the general meeting should be held on the 9th September 1938 for the election of office bearers and for the adoption of a constitution.

In the second week of August 1938 an appeal was issued by the Provisional Committee making known the aims and objects of the proposed Hyderabad State Con-

gress and appealing to the people to join in large numbers. (Refer appendix No. 1). Translations of this appeal in the various vernaculars were also published in the local newspapers for the information of the general public of the State.

Responsible Government

The appeal gives a substantial summary of the reasons that led to the formation of the new body and at the same time clearly states what its policy is going to be, and makes an appeal to persons of all classes and communities to join the Congress. The full text of the appeal is worthy of perusal. It makes no secret of the fact that among the variety of reasons which are obstructing the growth of a harmonious political progress of the State, the most important was the present communal tangle. It exhorts all people who sincerely believe in the unity and mutual co-operation of all communities as a preliminary necessity for political progress, not to content themselves merely with keeping aloof from communal activities and do a negative service, but to wean the widespread and genuine agitation in the State away from the Communal and other questionable activities and divert it towards a patriotic and political movement. The appeal asks Hindus and Muslims to shed off their mutual distrust and join in the cause of Responsible Government under the Asaf Jahi Dynasty which is the aim of Hyderabad State Congress.

The policy enunciated in this appeal has been from time to time amplified and clarified, but has never been diverted from in any of the statements published subsequently by the Provisional Committee or issued by any Dictator or Secretary after the Satyagraha started.

Muslim Contact

Some members of the Provisional Committee had informal and personal conversations with some Muslim Leaders but the latter did not show any sympathy towards it; some of them said that no such institution was necessary here and that it would be positively against the interests of the State to start a movement for Responsible Government which according to them was after all not possible in Hyderabad. However, a few Muslim friends who were approached by the Convener of the Provisional Committee

were enthusiastic about the Congress and promised support. But the ban came all of a sudden and rendered all approach and co-operation impossible. The officials also had helped the creation of this apathy by privately and openly spreading the idea that Responsible Government meant the negation of H.E.H.'s Rule. The echoes of such interested propaganda were heard in the Peoples' Convention itself, nearly a year back, when a few of its members seceded from it on the ground that Responsible Government was either 'party politics' or 'disloyal'. This view has thus been sedulously propagated among the Muslim intelligentsia.

The Storm Signal

On 23rd August 1938 Sir Akbar addressed a special session of the Legislative Council and in the course of it he strongly deprecated the formation of any communal organisations and stated that he and his Government were not averse and were indeed committed to constitutional advance as was clear from the declaration of the previous year, and that they also regarded Civil Liberties as implicit in this advance. They at the same time stated that they were opposed to any constitutional advance on communal lines. He proceeded "obviously we cannot think in terms of Muslim liberty and Hindu liberty, or Hindu constitutional advance or Muslim constitutional advance." There was also an appeal to the people who genuinely desired to advocate constitutional advance to purify their own ranks.

It was a 'fighting speech' as a local journal put it, but beyond severe condemnation of communalism and offer of threats to communal leaders, there was not even a veiled reference to the new organisation that had been started. The speech exhorts people not to think of constitutional reforms and liberties in forms of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' and refers to the list of communal organisations the Government were going to publish for the guidance of Government servants. The Hyderabad State Congress was not included in this list which was published later, and there was not the slightest hint that the Government had any doubt about its bona fides. The provisional committees met on the birthday of H.E.H. the Nizam and sent a telegram of congratulations on the 45th birthday. About the same time they issued a further statement clarifying their aims and objects in view of Sir Akbar Hydari's recent speech and expressed their full agreement with him in his

severe condemnation of communalism; and again made an appeal to the nationalists of all communities to join the Hyderabad State Congress. (Refer Appendix No. 2 and 5).

State Congress

It was not without considerable hesitation that the Committee decided upon the name of "State Congress". All possible alternatives were discussed and found wanting. Kind suggestions of Muslim friends pointed towards the name "Congress" definitely in as much as it would clearly indicate the non-communal political and national nature of the Institution beyond doubts.

Perfectly National

The Provisional Committee adopted the draft Constitution (Ref. Appendix No. III) of the State Congress, meanwhile and published it in the local press for the information of the public. Besides the membership being open to everyone, it clearly provided that no person belonging to a Communal Organisation shall be elected as an office-bearer or even to any committee of the Organisation or even to any of its affiliated bodies. Dr. Ashraf of Allahabad has stated that he knows "of no other political organisation in India which has taken so much care to guard itself against communalism."

Cordial Assurance

On the 6th of September Sir Akbar sent for a few public leaders representing various shades of opinion and gave a bit of his mind to them. It was reported in the local press that he expressed himself in very scathing terms against narrow communalism, and advised those who were understood to have been engaged themselves in communal activities to give them up. One of the leaders thus summoned was Mr. Ramachari, a prominent member of the Provisional Committee. Very few people know that this State Congress representative was the only one who was treated very cordially and was given an assurance of co-operation in his efforts at building up a National outlook and common platform. But the epoch of miracles is not yet over and the ban was already in the press while the interview was under progress.

The Ban

On the 7th September the ban on the Congress was issued; (Ref. Appendix IV); on the same day Mr. Ramachari was called by the Kotwal Sahib and made to understand that the General Body of the State Congress fixed for the 9th Sept. 1938 should not be held in his house which, in case the meeting was held, might be liable to confiscation. The Provisional committee met on the 7th evening and decided to postpone the meeting *sine die*.

The committee wanted to interview Sir Akbar and while the meeting was going on, Sir Akbar was requested through the phone if he could grant an interview. Sir Akbar himself spoke on the phone and regretted his inability to grant an interview that day because he was leaving for Bombay and was getting ready for his journey. The provisional committee, however, issued a statement refuting the Government's charges against the State Congress. (Refer Appendix No. V).

The Unity Talks

In the meantime Mr. Narsing Rao who had been, in his private and personal capacity, exchanging views about communal and political questions of the State with Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung for some time past, communicated the results of his talk to Hindu leaders, some of whom were members of the provisional committee. After a frank talk on three occasions on all matters ranging from Mass-conversion to Responsible Government, Mr. Narsing Rao and the Nawab Saheb had agreed that they should continue their talks with the consent of the other important leaders of their respective communities. On the 18th September Mr. Narsing Rao had received a letter from the Nawab Saheb suggesting that he should obtain a mandate from 20 Hindu leaders whom the latter named, so that on the basis on their talks they might be able to arrive at definite agreements on the issues raised by their discussions. The list included the names of six Provisional Committee members:

1. Mr. Ramachari
2. Mr. P. V. Joshi
3. Mr. B. Ramkishan Rao
4. Mr. Janardan Rao Desai
5. Mr. S. V. Naik
6. Mr. Ramkishan Dhoot.

Among the rest of the 14 gentlemen named by the Nawab, except one or two all were ordinary members of the H. S. C. The letter pleaded inter alia, that during the progress of these negotiations, any hostile propaganda, or offers for arrest etc., should not go on, so that there may be a calm atmosphere.

The Government Enters the Field

On the 22nd September Mr. Narsing Rao, in his personal capacity, saw Nawab Ali Yawar Jung to whom he represented these facts and suggested that he should try to get the ban lifted in order to ensure a calm atmosphere for his talks. He also undertook to persuade the Provisional Committee to postpone the general body meeting of the H.S.C. till after the conclusion of the talks. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung agreed and took Mr. Narsing Rao on the same noon to Sir Akbar's residence. The interview lasted for about half an hour in which Mr. Narsing Rao explained to him the whole situation and requested him to lift the ban. Sir Akbar who had been briefly informed of all things beforehand readily agreed to help Mr. Narsing Rao by lifting the ban provided that the following six persons (1) Mr. Hanmant Rao, (2) K. S. Vaidya, (3) Mr. Ramachari, (4) Mr. Vinayak Rao (5) Mr. Ramkishan Rao (6) Mr. Jannardan Rao Desai, would submit a joint application making the request and giving the undertaking to postpone the General Body Meeting. No further condition was mentioned.

The matter was discussed by the leaders and Mr. Narsingrao accompanied by other leaders interviewed the Constitutional Secretary. The interview lasted for three hours; during which several topics were freely discussed. Mr. Ramkishan Rao, the spokesman on behalf of the provisional committee tried to convince him that the institution was in no way communal and that the hesitation of Muslim leaders to join the organisation could not render it communal. The question of outside affiliations was also discussed and Mr. Rao assured him that the State Congress had not affiliation with any outside body, though it would be impossible to restrict individual members from exchanging views with or taking advice from outside politicians. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, however, placed two additional conditions before them—conditions which had not been mentioned in the morning.

Government's Minimum Demands

1. That the name of the Hyderabad State Congress be altered so as to delete the word "Congress" on account of its political implications. He was sure, the Council would insist on removing.

2. That the signatures to the application for withdrawal should give, in their application, the details of the points under discussion between Mr. Narsing Rao and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and state categorically on what points there was agreement and on what points difference was likely and to what extent; so that on a perusal of the application the Government may be convinced that there were at least 50 per cent chances of success, so that the Government may be persuaded to lift the ban. He emphasised that in their petition they should urge on the Government, the keen sense of stigma that had been cast upon the State Congress for being banned as communal and should assure them of the success of the unity talks.

It was pointed out that the name could not be changed without referring to the general body. The Provisional Committee further decided that its members should not individually unless authorised by the Committee, seek or respond to any interview.

A Stunt

By this time the local press correspondents flashed a news that the ban would be lifted almost in an hour or two. It was also stated that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Smt. Sarojini Devi had received letters from the authorities that Government were doing their best to lift the ban.

Coming to Grips

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung in a further interview assured Mr. Narsing Rao that the Government would not insist on an alternation of the name the "Hyderabad State Congress" but would insist on the guarantee that had been asked for regarding unity talks and assurance from the provisional committee (H.S.C.) that the meeting of the General Body would be postponed until the conclusion of the unity talks. A resolution was passed, by the committee in response to

this, reaffirming the belief of the H.S.C. in the necessity of communal harmony, and expressing the willingness of the provisional committee to postpone the General Body Meeting of the H.S.C. for until a fortnight provided the Government were prepared to lift the ban, so as to ensure the success of the unity talks. A copy of the above resolution was sent to Mr. Narsing Rao for information.

Government adamant

Messrs. Hanmant Rao, K. S. Vaidya and Narsing Rao saw Ali Yawar Jung with the draft of the application for the lifting of the ban on H.S.C. for his approval. The draft contained a **General Assurance** that the unity talks had made a favourable start and that there was every hope of a settlement being reached. It also mentioned the important points at issue which were being discussed. Mr. Hanmant Rao and Mr. Vaidya expressed their willingness to sign this assurance, and undertook to collect the signature of the Hindu leaders other than the members of the provisional committee. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung replied that a **General Assurance** was not acceptable, but that a detailed assurance was required and that would be necessary for the following three persons to be among the signatories:— 1. Mr. B. Ramkishan Rao, 2. Ramachari, 3. Mr. Janardan Rao Desai, who were all members of the provisional committee.

The position of the Provisional Committee was explained to him and Mr. Narsingrao assured him that though the members of the committee would not participate in the discussions they would assist a happy settlement. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung was not satisfied with it and insisted on a definite assurance with full details of points at issue being given and the chances of agreement were indicated under the signature of the persons he had named. Otherwise the Government could not be moved to lift the ban.

Doors Closed

The negotiations broke down and the situation assumed serious proportion when on the 26th Sept. the Executive Council decided not to lift the ban. The Government banged their doors against all negotiations.

The insistence of the Government on the conclusion of the unity talks—which had reached a stage of stalemate—, the inexplicable oscillation of the attitude of the Government about rescinding the ban, the rigidity and coldness with which the question was treated finally in the Executive Council left the Congress no other option but to win its way through suffering and struggle. When all arguments had failed to convince the Government, the State Congress very reluctantly, yet resolutely decided to bring about a change in the situation through the logic of Satyagraha.

On 28th September 1938 Mr. Narsing Rao addressed a letter to the provisional committee (H.S.C.) expressing his regret at the failure of his negotiations with the Government, regarding lifting of the ban, and requesting them, in his personal capacity, to consider postponing the General Body Meeting of the H.S.C. for a fortnight in order to ensure the calm atmosphere for the success of his unity talks with Nawab Bahadur Yar Bahadur.

A Generous Gesture

On the same day the provisional committee adopted a resolution accepting Mr. Narsing Rao's suggestion. The resolution made a restatement of the attitude of the H.S.C. towards communalism. The resolution states that in spite of the Government not lifting the ban, they would not say or do anything which might disturb the calm atmosphere necessary for Mr. Narsing Rao's talks for a fortnight.

The Provisional Committee issued a manifesto in response to the growing public demand, clarifying its position regarding the problems that formed the core of Unity Talks and the outlines of their future policy. The fortnight of waiting was over and no chances of a solution were visible. The Unity Talks dragged on indefinitely and further suspension of the decision of the Committee became impossible.

Inevitable

The committee considered all possible alternatives and when it found all roads closed, it decided upon the inevitable force of Satyagraha. The Provisional Committee was

dissolved and a Council of Action took its place. This Council later formed the State Congress in defiance of the Ban and constituted itself the Working Committee.

Defy The Ban

The Working Committee declared the formation of the State Congress on the 24th of October. It was promptly arrested and sentenced. Several batches have since then offered Satyagraha without lowering the flag. More than a couple of hundred Congressites are now behind the bars.

The wheels of the Jagannath of Hyderabad have rolled on. In the name of truth the State Congress has sought the perilous but efficacious path of suffering; no spirit of rancour is in their breast, no malice and no spite!

APPENDICES

Appendix I

For National Unity and Communal Harmony

—:o:—

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE'S APPEAL

The following appeal has been issued to the public by the provisional committee of the Hyderabad State Congress urging the people of the State irrespective of caste, creed and section to join the State Congress and strengthen the movement for Responsible Government :—

Responsible Government

“There is evidently a great need for the inauguration of a sound movement based purely on national lines in the State at this juncture when very important constitutional reforms are about to be introduced in the near future by the Government and various social and economic schemes for reconstruction are under consideration. A recognition of this urgency has led to the inauguration of the organisation called Hyderabad State Congress, the aims and objects of which are as follows. ‘The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment by the people of Responsible Government under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi Dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.’

“This Premier State of ours can no longer lag behind others politically in view of the great political progress and constitutional changes happening fast in British Indian provinces and Indian States around. Keen interest has been evinced in this matter all over the country in spite of their educational back-

wardness. However, a variety of reasons are obstructing the growth of a harmonious political progress of the State, the most important of them being the present communal tangle.

“No Question of Suppressing Agitation.”

“This communal conflict in the land is too well-known to need any mention. At such a critical juncture the duty of cementing harmony among the communities lies not only on the shoulders of the Government but also upon the people themselves, who sincerely believe that unity and mutual co-operation between the communities living in the land is necessary before any social, economic and political progress could be attained. Wide agitation is a sign of the time and the leaders of both the communities in the State owe to themselves and the land the duty of leading the spirit of agitation into proper channels; it is not enough if they keep themselves aloof from communal dissensions but it is their positive duty to wean them from the wrong path and give the people the correct lead fostering a spirit of patriotism in the country. Such a spread of patriotic feeling is the only means by which all kinds of communal activities can successfully be combated. There can be no question of suppressing the growing public agitation, for such a step is neither possible nor profitable. The problem is not that, but of diverting the consciousness into right channels and developing a patriotic movement on proper lines.

“The aims and objects of the Hyderabad State Congress are such that there can be no room for any difference of opinion about them. It is evident that for the achievement of these objects we require the active unity and co-operation of all communities in the State. Such a consummation is impossible until an organisation, the ideals of which are loftier than the narrow objects of any communal institution, is established in the land. It is futile to entertain mutual distrust; the Hindus doubting whether Muslims will offer their co-operation to them, and the Muslims entertaining a feeling of reservation that the Hindus will give no consideration to their rights and privileges. Such doubts and distrust should not be entertained at present. Because in any scheme of Responsible Government the majority and minority have both certain duties; the majority has a duty of creating confidence in the minority regarding the preservation intact of the minority's religious, economic, cultural and linguistic privileges, the minority having likewise a duty to effectively co-operate with the majority. This is the only way to remove all difference if there are any at present. A wave of intercommunal harmony can thus be made to flood the country sweeping away the communal differences and dissensions from the land.

It is therefore opportune that a national organisation should be established wherein all the people of the State, irrespective of the communities they belong to, can participate equally and build a common institution attracting the respect of both the people and the Government.

Loyalty to Ruler

We reiterate in conclusion that the ultimate goal of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment of Responsible Government built on the strong foundation of our basic loyalty to the Ruler and the Asaffahi Dynasty and the creation of sincere unity and harmony among all the communities of the State. Hence, we appeal to all the nationally-minded persons of all communities to join the Hyderabad State Congress and strengthen ~~the~~ efforts for the attainment of Responsible Government by their conduct and participation, diverting thus the present consciousness in the country from the communal trend to the progressive and national path of patriotism."

Appendix II

The Hyderabad State Congress

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RE-STATEMENT OF AIMS

The members of the Hyderabad State Congress will assemble on the 9th September 1938, to elect their office-bearers and adopt the constitution. The draft-constitution is available for inspection by the members at the office of the Convenor and it is hoped that members who desire to look into it and propose amendments will do so at least three days before the meeting of the General Body, i.e., 9th September 1938. In the meanwhile, the provisional committee thinks it advisable, once more, to make a clearer and more detailed enunciation of the aims and objects of the Congress so that there may be no misunderstanding about it in any circles whatsoever. It is clearly understood that the Hyderabad State Congress has no connection, official or unofficial, with the Indian National Congress. It is and shall be entirely confined both in its objective and in its programme of work, to the limits of the requirements of the people of this State, and no outside agency, either political or religious, has anything to do with the indigenous institution.

Loyalty

The name 'Congress' has been adopted merely to emphasize the nationalist basis underlying this movement as distinguished from that of communal or provincial movements and also because most items of the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress will have also to form part of the constructive programme of the State Congress. The second important point which the Committee desires to stress is that this movement is founded upon sincere loyalty to the Asafjahi throne and it will always strive to enhance the prestige and power of the King who is the embodiment of the glory and power of this State. The third and the most important fact is its absolutely non-communal outlook which is bed-rock of this movement. The

Committee desires to make it clear to all members and to all those who intend to become members that there will be no room for communal politics or for any policies directed for the benefit of any particular community or to the detriment of any other community. The State Congress agrees with the Hon'ble the President of the Executive Council in his severe condemnation of communalism. It appeals to the youth of the State to come forward and strengthen a truly nationalist movement so that the progressive forces in the State may not drift into undesirable channels of activity. It will be an important part of the programme of the Congress to strive to remove all the causes of communal discord and to promote harmony and good relationship between communities. The Committee once more emphasizes the fact that the best guarantee for this new body not lapsing into communalism would be for nationalists of diverse communities to join it in sufficient numbers and control its operations. In conclusion, the Committee hopes that the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and distrust will soon disappear and this national movement will be allowed successfully to replace other movements with narrower ideals.

Appendix III

Responsible Govt. the Goal

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Objective of the Popular Movement

On account of the fact that the Hyderabad State Congress was banned by the Government on the eve of the election of the Working Committee and the adoption of a constitution, it has not been possible for the Congress to issue any manifesto enunciating clearly its aims and objects in any detail. The Provisional Committee, therefore, desire to clarify the aims and objects of the Hyderabad State Congress in detail so that no cause may be left for doubt about its objective and programme in any quarter, whatsoever.

Constitutional Progress Traced

“Personal rule was the original form of Government in this State ; Salar Jung I almost converted it into a constitutional monarchy” this is how the position has been described by His late Highness in his Quanooncha Mubarak of 1892 which is the first constitution of this State. The Cabinet Council and the Legislative Council were then formed. The former was merely an advisory body and soon became in effective and the latter continues to exist in almost the same moribund condition in which it was first established. On getting personal experience of administration His Exalted Highness the Nizam came to know the defects inherent in personal rule and being satisfied about the necessity for radical change therein, he in 1329 F. established the Executive Council because he felt that “the foundation of good Government should be laid more on political tradition and continuity than on the personal qualities of the administrator.” In other words H.E.H. the Nizam advocated the substitution of personal rule by the rule of a continuous and institutional form of good Government, which cannot mean anything else than Responsible Government. In the same year H.E.H. the Nizam issued orders for the immediate reform of the Legislative Council

by making a considerable increase in the elective element therein and by introducing the principle of election by direct franchise with proper protection of minority rights, etc., so as to make the Legislative Council "an effective instrument in the machinery of the Government." Eighteen years elapsed since the issue of the above Firman and in spite of the repeated demands made by the people for implementing the Royal Firman nothing was done in that direction by the Government till September, 1937, when another Committee was appointed to investigate into and suggest the several alternative methods of bringing about an "increasing association of the people with the administration of the State. The Committee finished its labours 1½ months ago and the matter is now before the Government, whose announcement is awaited.

State Congress Strictly Non-Communal

The movement for constitutional reforms, therefore, is not new in this State. It has continued to exist in one form or another for the last two decades as best as it could under the rigid restrictions on freedom of speech, association and the press. The demand has now become vocal and insistent with the introduction of provincial autonomy in the neighbouring provinces of British India and in view also of the fact that everywhere in the other Indian States the people are actively agitating for and some of them are succeeding in getting Responsible Government. Furthermore, experience of the last 18 years has shown that the Executive Council, which is largely responsible for the administration of the State, should also be made responsible to the people through their elected representatives. This demand is perfectly natural, just and genuine and in consonance with the great educational and cultural advance that the people of Hyderabad have made during the last 20 years. The Hyderabad State Citizens' League was started some years ago by prominent Muslims and Hindus of this State but it was not allowed to grow. The pressing demand of public opinion now made it necessary that the Hyderabad State Congress should continue its existence on strictly national and non-communal lines with a clear political objective unalloyed by any other object or programme. To call it "Communal" is therefore a travesty of facts and truth.

Responsible Government as Objective

"The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment by the people of Responsible Government under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi Dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means and by promoting national unity, and developing and organising the intellec-

tual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the Hyderabad State." This is the first clause in the draft constitution of the Congress, whose membership is open to "All persons over the age of 18 years and believing in the object of the Hyderabad State Congress." That this belief in the object of attaining Responsible Government is shared by the educated and thinking public of all communities and castes is more than proved by the fact that the Hyderabad People's Convention submitted a united report to the Government a few months ago making definite proposals for the inauguration of Responsible Government. Six Muslim members of the Convention did not sign the report because the percentage of seats to be reserved for Muslims in the Legislature was not agreed upon but there was no difference of opinion whatever upon the ideal of Responsible Government being made necessary for the State.

Promotion of National Unity

This ideal, which has been envisaged by the Hyderabad State Congress is not and cannot be communal inasmuch as it implies with it full safeguards for protection of the cultural and other rights of the minorities. Promotion of national unity being the most important item of its programme the Provisional Committee of the Congress has co-operated most whole-heartedly and will continue to do so in any attempt at arriving at an amicable settlement of the question of minority rights, provided it is consistent with nationalist principles and not opposed to the fundamental principles of democracy.

A Scheme for Responsible Government

While it would be premature for the Provisional Committee to draw up any detailed scheme of Responsible Government the following points will serve to make the objective clearer :—

(i) Fundamental rights should be conferred upon the people immediately and all rules, regulations and circulars restricting freedom of speech, association and of the Press and of religious processions, etc., should be immediately cancelled.

(ii) The Government should recognise Responsible Government as the object of Constitutional reforms in the State.

(iii) An immediate instalment of Responsible Government should be granted on the lines of the proposals in the report of the Hyderabad People's Convention with proper modifications to make Responsible Government more effective and real.

(iv) Although the Hyderabad State Congress considers the principle of reservation of seats for any community as another form of communalism it will be prepared to agree that as a purely temporary measure to ensure for not more than 10 years in all, that a certain percentage shall be reserved to the minorities in the Legislature.

(v) With regard to State services the Congress will not, on principle, advocate any reservation of percentage on communal lines and would suggest an immediate appointment of a Public Services Commission consisting of officials and non-officials with a view to remove nepotism and for establishing an equitable and just selection for the services.

(vi) The Congress would guarantee the cultural, religious and educational rights of any minority in its scheme in any reasonable manner.

Obstacles Offered by Government

These are the salient features of the policy envisaged by the Hyderabad State Congress and the response given to its call by the youth of the country is indicative of the political consciousness that is fast permeating the people. Though owing to the obstacles put in its path by the Government the Congress has not been able to do much in a tangible form, it can at least claim to have offered a proper perspective to the popular psychology and to have lifted the popular agitation from the ruts of communalism, to a plane of nationalism and sincere patriotism, and has thus achieved a solidarity that was never witnessed before.

It will thus be clear to any unbiassed mind that the above ideals of the Hyderabad State Congress have been the outcome of a broad national outlook and that by no feat of distortion can they be confused with communalism. The Congress believes that if allowed to work it will strike a death-blow to communalism prevalent in the State. To dub such an organisation as communal is not only unjust but a disservice to the State itself.

State is Passing Through Critical Times

The State is passing through critical times and great changes are eagerly expected. People have become restive and are clamouring for the recognition of their right to share in the administration of the State. The various repressive measures adopted by the Government within the last few months instead

of damping their enthusiasm have strengthened the popular agitation. The Committee, therefore, thinks that it is not wise on the part of the Government to repress a people who are enlightened and know what they are doing. Repression only hardens people and increases discontent.

Non-Violence as Sheet-Anchor

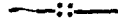
In spite of this surcharged atmosphere and the repressive policy of the Government, the people have revealed a considerable amount of restraint at the present juncture. It would be an error if the present inaction and calm is misinterpreted. The Provisional Committee, therefore, appeals to the people to strengthen the hands of the Congress by supporting the organisation. They should, however, remember that truth and non-violence are the sheet anchor of the State Congress and that they should act in accordance with this ideal. The State Congress definitely disbelieves in untruth and violence and discountenances communalism

Plea for Rescinding Ban

To the Government also, the Provisional Committee makes a fervent appeal in the interests of the State and the public to rescind the ban on the formation of the State Congress and allow it to carry on its work. It would like to suggest to the Government that the only way of combating communalism is to open the floodgates of real Nationalism and allow it to work its course. The State Congress, they proclaim, is the only organisation that can open these sluices and it would not be in the interests of the State to ignore this fact.

Appendix IV

The Historic "No"



BAN ON STATE CONGRESS

The formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been prohibited by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam by means of notification in a Gazette Extraordinary issued on September 8th.

It states inter alia:—

His Exalted Highness' Government has no objection to the establishment of political organisations in the State provided that these are on a strictly non-communal basis and have no affiliations outside the State.

It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the Constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace among themselves and thus create a common, national platform. They will then have prepared the surest foundation for Government to give earnest consideration to what in that event would be truly national claims, exclusive of no community, yet non-communal, and entitled to the fullest respect. Otherwise, absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance.

Despite the ostensible objects of the organisation, Government is convinced that the continued presence in it of persons predominantly communal in outlook and aim will determine its actions. While the statement of Government's policy was made in good time for a reconstruction of this organisation.

being effected and for its being based on broad national foundations, no steps in these directions have so far been taken and Government is thus confirmed in its conviction that the movement, ostensibly political, is in fact a cloak for subversive, communal activities to which the prestige of the name "Congress" has been deliberately attached for misleading the public.

Government is satisfied from its own enquiries and from its knowledge of some of the leading persons associated with the proposed Hyderabad State Congress that it will be, whatever its outward professions, constituted on communal lines and animated by communal and subversive ends which will retard instead of advancing the pace of constitutional reforms in the State.

5. Government has, therefore, decided to prohibit the formation of any organisation so named or so constituted and the Hyderabad State Congress is, if formed, declared to be an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation.

Appendix V

Charge of Communalism Rebutted

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State Congress Reply to Govt. Communique

The Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress Committee has issued the following Press statement in reply to Government Communique:—

“This Committee has painfully read the notification of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Government dated 2nd Aban 1347 Fasli declaring unlawful the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress. On a careful examination of the grounds which have prompted the Government, according to their notification, to take this extraordinary decision, this Committee feels that it is its bounden duty to contradict the serious allegations made against this Institution by the Government inspite of clear enunciation of its policy and programme on more than one occasion.

“The Government have charged with communalism persons associated with this movement and have given several grounds in support of this charge. The chief ground on which the Government consider this institution to be a communal organisation is that except one non-Hyderabad gentleman, the rest of the party belong only to one community. The fact is that the gentleman who has been referred to as non-Hyderabad has been a permanent resident of this State for over twenty years out of which he spent eight years in the service of the Government in a responsible post and therefore is a Hyderabad gentleman. Assuming that members of other communities have not as yet joined the State Congress in sufficient numbers, the committee fails to understand how an institution with the open political object of achieving responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam in the State and open to all communities without distinction of caste, creed or community could

on this account be called a communal organisation. The committee thinks that it is the aims and objects, the programme, the nature of the work and the actual working of the institution that make an organisation communal or non-communal, but not the number of its supporters belonging to a particular community. It is impossible to agree with this doctrine of judging communalism which, if carried to logical conclusion, is bound to result in absolute stultification. The second charge that is levelled against the movement is the inclusion in the personnel of its promoters and workers, of people who have been taking conspicuous part in communal activities. The Committee respectfully but strongly repudiates this charge against the personnel of this Committee which does not consist of any member who is connected with any communal organisation; if the Government had looked into the draft constitution published in the local press, they would have formed that it is one of the articles of its faith that no person who is a member of any communal organisation can be elected as an office-bearer or even a member of any Committee of the State Congress, whether it be a village, or district, or central committee. This salutary rule was proposed by this Committee exactly with a view to the "purification of our ranks" as suggested by Sir Akbar Hydari, the President of the Executive Council, in his speech referred to in the notification. The Committee feels sure that so far as combating communalism is concerned the Government have by banning the formation of the Congress, effectively removed a powerful and strong ally which could have worked side by side with the Government.

"The Government have charged the workers interested in this movement with deliberate duplicity and stated that they are using the name of the Congress as a cloak to further their destructive and communal activities. This charge is entirely unfounded and the committee feels sure that the Government will, on proper enquiry, find themselves grossly misinformed. Otherwise there is absolutely no justification for predicting the communal nature of an organisation which is still to come into existence, on unfounded surmises, and then for banning it as an unlawful association. The public will remember that even previous attempts made in the direction of forming a common national platform under the name of the "Nizam's Subjects League" and under the able guidance of no less a personality than Sir Nizam Jung Bahadur, ex-political Member of the State, met with similar treatment at the hands of the Government. In spite of the fact that the promoters of that body belonged to all communities in the State and consisted of

nobles and the elite from among the people, they were compelled to delete from their aims and objects, the clauses regarding responsible government, popularisation of Hindusthani, and preservation of sovereign rights of the State, so that the institution could not come into existence at all. The committee, therefore, feels certain, despite the assurances to the contrary by the Government, that the Government do not desire the formation of any political body standing for the political rights of the people, and that is the reason for their adopting this extraordinary method of repression under cover of suppressing communalism.

“With regard also to the name of the Congress, the committee feels surprised that the Government considered the use of the name ‘Congress’ as detrimental to the interests of the State. The committee has given its reasons for the choice of the name in its second statement dated 28th August 1938 specially with a view to re-assure the Government regarding the policy and programme that the State Congress intended to pursue. But it is clear from the notification that the Government do not desire that the name ‘Congress’ which ‘has acquired a special significance’, should be allowed to create the necessary associations in the minds of the people. The Indian National Congress stands for the rights and liberties of the people which is the special significance of its name, and it is abundantly clear that the Government do not desire the ideas of rights and liberties of people to be propagated among them. No other conclusion can be drawn when we also keep in mind the unwarranted promulgation of ordinances and several other circulars and regulations restricting personal liberties to the minimum degree.

“The Government have further supported the action by stating that they desire to examine the proposals for constitutional reforms in a calm atmosphere undisturbed by communal activities. The committee feels bound to state that the Government have shown deplorable lack of discrimination between ‘communal activities’ and ‘activities of a non-communal nature though probably not participated by all communities in sufficient numbers’. By banning this institution, which was intended to divert the attention and energies of the people from sectarian and other activities towards common political objects, the Government have minimised the chances of a calm atmosphere which they desired. The people will scarcely consider the meagre constitutional reforms which the Government promise to grant as being more valuable than their civil liberties which have been completely suppressed.

"The Committee, in conclusion, makes a further appeal to the Government, to re-consider their decision in the best interests of the people and the State, and to withdraw the ordinances recently promulgated and lift the ban on the formation of the "Hyderabad State Congress" which is purely an indigenous body with a constructive and common political objective, and a peaceful programme of work. That would be an act of statesmanship which the people can expect from the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur, and above all from their beloved and enlightened ruler, H. E. H. the Nizam, who was graciously pleased to re-affirm in his Birthday speech the traditional policy of the Asaf Jahi Kings to rule over the hearts of the subjects, rather than by the sword.

Appendix VI

The Wheels Roll On

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Inauguration of Satyagraha

The Committee of Action appointed by the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress just before its dissolution, has issued the following statement:—

In view of the situation created by the Government on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress, the Committee of Action reiterates the birth-right of people to organise political associations, and declares hereby that the ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been defied by accepting the draft constitution and electing a working committee. Keeping the situation, created by the Government ban, in view, the membership of all the primary members, has been suspended, absolving them of any responsibility whatsoever. The Working Committee consisting of the following members, will organise the State Congress, carry on its activities and adopt measures to face the situation created by the Government ban in any manner they consider proper.

President:—Mr. Govind Rao Nanal.

General Secretary:—Mr. H. Ramkishen Dhooth.

Members:—Mr. Janardhan Rao Desai, Mr. R. Narayan Reddy, and Mr. Sreenivas Rao Boriker.

NO MALICE

At this juncture, when we are forced inevitably to take this course of action, we would like to state that we bear no hatred no malice towards any community or individual. We are second to none in our love for the King and the Country. We want to live as self-respecting and free citizens. It is our love,

and not hatred or malice, that has induced us to resort to this last method of action, and we hope that we will not be misunderstood or misinterpreted in any quarter whatsoever.

AVOID DEMONSTRATIONS

Let it be remembered that the Satyagraha that has been thus launched should be individual in its character and we appeal to the public in general and Congress-minded persons in particular to avoid public meetings and demonstrations for the present as far as possible, till further instructions.

It should be particularly kept in mind that the creed of non-violence and truth are the sheet anchor of the State Congress and nothing contrary should be done.

Individuals willing to join this Satyagraha movement should do so by declaring themselves as primary members of the Congress propagating the Congress ideal of Responsible Government and the creed of communal unity and non-violence; enrolling Congress members and also distributing the State Congress literature.

The Committee, once again thanking the Nationalist Press of India for having espoused the cause of the Hyderabad State Congress, is desirous of making their position clear, with regard to the sympathy that is being shown from outside the State both from Press and platform. It has been declared by the State Congress, more than once, that this is purely a non-communal political organisation having nationalism as its very basis. So we would like to state that we welcome only that kind of sympathy that is consistent with our principles.

APPEAL TO PUBLIC

In conclusion, the Committee appeals to the public in general, and the youth of the State in particular, to stake everything at the altar of political and civil liberty, which is the right of every citizen and for which the State Congress stands.

FEUDAL OPPRESSION
IN
HYDERABAD (Deccan)

A Survey of the Conditions
IN THE
Paigha Jagirs of H. E. H. the Nizam

V225:51.N4

25th May 1939

Introductory

Indian India—Indian States—is the relic of Feudalism. All over the world Democracy superseded Feudalism. The growth of capitalism and industry in advanced European countries gave birth to Modern democracies. Government by the popular will was not a new idea, as we find the Greek city states in ancient Europe governed by popular will and the Rajas in Ancient India very often taking the votes of their subjects on important questions affecting the subjects' welfare. But the extent and base of these democracies—ancient and medieval—was not so wide. Democratic ideas were there, but they were restricted to the small area of a city, village or town. They were not the outcome of an Economic and Social revolution that took place all over the world, especially in the European countries. The nature of the ancient democracies was pre-feudalistic, while modern democracies have grown on the ruins of medieval feudalism. Industrial revolution and its vanguard—the commercial bourgeois class gave a new orientation to the old democratic ideas of city states. When the growth of industries and capitalism suffered hindrance at the hands of the Feudal Monarchs, the newly created Bourgeois class, young in spirit and blood, raised the banner of revolution against the Feudal Monarchs. Every social revolution is preceded by some ideological revolution which has its context in, and bearing upon, the coming social change. The ideas of equality, liberty and fraternity carried on the task of the ideological revolution. These ideas provided popular sympathy and strength to the social and economic revolution led by the rising Bourgeoisie. One after another every country in Europe suffered this fate, and the political power passed from the hands of the Feudal Monarchs to the Bourgeoisie. But what happened in western advanced European countries did not take place here and in many other backward areas on the globe. The

expansion of industries and capitalism necessitated the existence of backward countries. Capitalism in the search of markets for its finished goods and raw materials for its industry, stretched her hands abroad and conquered the backward nations. The political possession of these countries was necessary to serve their economic ends. The history of the conquest of India by British capitalism is a sufficient proof of this.

But one may here ask, why the whole of India was not conquered in such a way, why the map of India is painted in two colours? Was the avaricious John Bull satisfied with the $\frac{2}{3}$ of India? Why are the five hundred and odd states governed by the Indian princes kept here? The answer is—the White Elephant, White Capitalism is not unwise. When it finds that its aims are ably served by compromise, it never runs the danger of an open fight which may perchance risk the possessions already in hand. Britishers left their policy of annexion of the native Indian States one after another to their territory, in fear of the catastrophe which might end in the loss of what they had gained. Political domination was not the goal of Britishers in India but it was only a means to serve their economic end. They did not think it wise to conquer the whole of India for their economic ends. Conquering $\frac{2}{3}$ of India, they created a broad base for their capitalist exploitation. Leaving the rest of India free nominally they could very well serve their purpose. What they then left only in fear of loss of the whole, has now become a strong-hold for the protection of the whole. These States have now become a check on the normal political growth of India. India, though one unit geographically, culturally and economically is divided into British India and Indian India, and the Indian India into a number of small and large states. The Indian states remained unconcerned with the popular movements which strived for responsible Government in British India. Moreover these Indian states were looked upon with a sense of respect and joy as they were supposed to be the relics of our Swaraj. The struggle for national independence in British India carried on for the last

fifty years, had but very little repercussions on the political conditions of the States.

The character of Indian struggle for freedom can be described as Democratic Nationalism. Due to its nationalistic character our early efforts in this struggle did not concern themselves with the Princes and their subjects. The Princes were ours, and if not altogether they were to some extent, the objects satisfying our nationalist sentiments. But the pioneers in our struggle for independence in its very early stages found, or rather experienced, that the ideology of pure nationalism did not hold good. After a close examination they found that the objective conditions in India favoured the growth of democratic ideas and the problem of India's national independence would only be solved if the struggle for it bore a democratic character. The expansion of British capital and industry in the latter half of the 19th century favoured the growth of democratic ideas in India. Their trade expanding, British capital and Government had to give some concessions to the merchants in their colonies who carried on trade in British goods and supplied raw materials to them. The liberal education imparted by the British masters to our middle class also sowed the seeds of democratic ideas. This middle class educated in liberal ideas of democracy and imbued with nationalist sentiments, led the struggle for national democratic emancipation with the help of the rising forces of the Indian merchants and industrialists. In the colonies, in its initial stages, while the trade of the Imperialist countries is expanding, the forces of production seem to be let loose for its natural development. But when the expansion of the Imperialist trade reaches a pitch and thereafter begins to contract, the whole aspect of the colonial policy of the Imperialist countries is changed. The history of last sixty years of British rule in India may be cited as a sufficient proof of this. After that period, the colonial people are required to wrench everything by sheer force of their popular movements from their Imperialist masters. We are experiencing this in India, and we find that the British Imperialism has made the Indian states its last refuge.

Owing to these historical developments our nationalist sentiments which heretofore very naturally cherished the existence of these states, hereafter suffered a terrible shock and the problem of the Indian States became a part of our struggle for national emancipation. Within the last few years, and especially in this year, the states' problem has become a burning question. Moreover the introduction of provincial autonomy in the British Indian provinces has brought about a change in the consciousness of the States' people. While they are drudging under a system of medieval autocratic rule, their neighbours in the British Indian provinces are enjoying, though not to their satisfaction, considerable rights of responsible Government. These conditions have stired the imagination of the States' people and they see before them a prosperous future. This has brought in them a confidence necessary for the striving for democratic government. One may here ask, why the struggle for democracy in the States did not coincide with the struggle for democracy in British India, and why only very lately it is related with the greater struggle in India? The answer is obvious. The nationalist sentiment which raised the banner of revolt against foreign masters in British India, had no reason to do likewise in the Indian States which were being ruled by Indian princes. Also the typical feudal nature of these States did not create the objective conditions requisite for the growth and development of democratic ideas. Though the States' people suffered inconceivable hardships under the yoke of feudalism and expressed their discontent several times; they could not build up or organise a popular movement, able enough to fight with the odds against them. Neither the objective conditions were favourable nor had they any ideology which would capture the imagination of the discontented forces. Their neighbours in the British Indian Provinces took no heed of their sufferings and thought it wise not to include the States' peoples' cause in their struggle. But things do not remain as they are, forever. They change according to historical necessity. Since the Round table Conference and in relation to the Federal Scheme, the prob-

lem of the Indian states began to be discussed widely and openly. Indian National Congress could not hereafter remain neutral or unconcerned with the States' problem. Also the States' people found it a good opportunity for the removal of their disabilities. Indian leaders realised that the solution of their problem of national independence depends much upon the solution of the States' problem, i. e. upon the establishment of responsible government in the States

Through this historical survey an attempt is made to explain the origin and nature of the peoples' struggle for responsible government in the States. Hyderabad being a premier state, is premier in backwardness, illiteracy, and religious and communal bigotry. These things have been already brought to the notice of the public by a small informative booklet "A Peep into Hyderabad" published by the States' Peoples' Conference. This gives a clear idea of the Administration or to speak correctly the mal-administration of the Hyderabad State. But this is not all. There are states within this state. Fortyeight per cent of the total State's area is owned and administered by the different Jagirdars. H. E. H. the Nizam himself is one of them and the greatest of all the Jagirdars and holds the greatest share called "Sarf-i-Khas". There are in all 1167 big and small Jagirdars. The big Jagirdars except for some control over their judiciary and police by the Nizam's Govt. are practically independent princes having all the administration of their Jagirs in their hands. The plight of the subjects in these Jagirs is so horrible that one shudders at the very sight of it. The conditions of civil and religious liberties are the same as in Nizam's Government, or even worse. As a full account of these things has been already published in the booklet above mentioned, we need not deal, here, with it.

The self sufficient medieval economy is in ruins and no adjustment is made to suit the effects of the World Capitalism. The system of Govt., in the Jagirs being totally autocratic, the subjects are stripped to the bone by the pompous and extravagant Jagirdars. Even the smallest Jagirdar tries to line himself up with the other big Jagir-

dars in pomp, grandeur and extravagance. Not only that, the Jagirdars of the Paighas bearing matrimonial relations with the H. E. H., try to compete in these respects even with the Nizam. But in this competition the poor subjects are butchered. The rate of land revenue assessment in the Paigha Jagirs is twice or thrice of that in H. E. H. the Nizam's territory (Divani Ellakha). And there are also other innumerable taxes. There are no well built metal roads. You barely find half a dozen primary schools in the area of a Taluque, of a hundred or more villages. They take the local fund one anna per rupee from the subjects but to the indignation of any civilised sense, one third part of it, i. e. four pies out of the anna are spent on the maintenance of the police. There are such other innumerable things beyond the scope of our imagination. The problem of these Jagirs is so important that it first deserves our attention. The Princes without any detriment to their interests can try to remedy the ills of their subjects in the Jagirs. They can constitutionally bring any check they desire, on these Jagirdars. Here-in we propose to describe in detail the administration and the conditions in the three big Jagirs in the Hyderabad State namely "The Paighas".

The Paighas

History:—The word Paigha means pomp and high rank and it was conferred as an honorific title by the second Nizam on the estates held by Abul Fatehkhan Taig Jung Bahadur, in acknowledgment and appreciation of his loyal services. Amongst the nobility of Hyderabad the Amirs or Chiefs of Paigha hold the first rank, second to the ruler Nizam, bearing matrimonial relations with him (Nizam). When the title of "Paigha" was conferred on these estates held by Abul Fatehkhan Taig Jung Bahadur, a 'Sanad' was also granted to him by the then ruling Prince Nawab Nizam Alikhhan Bahadur (second Nizam) in which it was stated that the estates which were formerly given to Taig Jung Bahadur were not only given for the maintenance of his family but also for the maintenance of an army, the services of which could be requisitioned by the Nizam in times of need. Later at the request of the Nawab Fakruddinkhan Shams-ul-Umra II, the son of Abul Fatehkhan, another sanad was granted, whereby the Paigha estates were now given in perpetuity to him and to his successors, free of Chouth (one fourth part of the revenue) and also free from all other liabilities.

The annual revenue of the paigha estates was first Rs. thirty lacs but it was subsequently increased to fifty two lacs and now it is above fifty four lacs. The estates cover an area of four thousand one hundred thirty four square miles and their population is 818269. In the beginning the paigha estate was only one, but on the death of Nawab Fakruddinkhan Shams-ul-Umra II, the estate was divided between his two sons—Nawab Muhammad Rashiduddinkhan and Nawab Muhammad Ra'suddinkhan. This was the first division. Three more divisions have taken place hereafter. When Nawab Rashiduddinkhan died his share of the Paigha estate was divided between his two sons Nawab Sir Khurshedjaha Bahadur and Nawab Sir Vikar-ul-Umra Bahadur. Rafiuddinkhan's Jagir went into the possession

of his adopted (virtually not legally) son Muhammad Vaziruddinkhan Bahadur and his brother-Mushiruddinkhan Bahadur. He (Vaziruddinkhan Bahadur) remained a bachelor. His younger brother Musheruddinkhan desired to annex the Jagir of the deceased brother to his own. But quarrel arose over this affair as other claimants came in to share their rights in the Jagir. This quarrel took up a serious form and this matter went up to the British Govt. and at last it was decided that the private Jagirs and other-properties of Nawab Vaziruddinkhan should be given to Musheruddinkhan, Sir Asmanjaha Bahadur, and the share of the Paigha Jagir of the deceased brother should be divided into three equal parts-one to be annexed to Asmanjahi (Musheruddinkhan's) Paigha, one to Khurshedjahi Paigha and the third to Vikar-ul-Umra Paigha. This was the last division. No division of the Paigha estates was hereafter permitted, other members of the Paigha family receiving a pay according to their shares. In this way came into existence the three Paigha estates of to day. The present Paigha estates are as follows: -

- (1) Asmanjahi Paigha.
- (2) Khurshedjahi Paigha.
- (3) Vikar ul-umra Paigha.

In 1911 A. D. the Paigha estates were placed under the untrammelled administration of the court of wards by order of H. E. H. the Nizam and Sir Brian Egerton (formerly tutor to H. E. H.) was appointed the minister in charge of the Paighas and after his retirement Nawab Akhil-yar-jung Bahadur was appointed in his place. At present Nawab Akhil-yar-jung Bahadur is the head of the board appointed to control the administration of the Paighas. In 1929 A. D. the Paighas were released from the administration of the minister appointed by H. E. H. the Nizam and the administration was taken over by the Amirs of the respective Jagirs. In 1918 A. D. a Commission of enquiry was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Brian Egerton, by H. E. H., to decide the respective rights of members of the Paigha family. But no final order was passed over the findings of this Commission. In 1920 A. D. another Commission was appointed under the

chairmanship of Reginald Glancy to adjudicate between the claims of Sarf-i-khas and the Paighes. In 1927 A. D. yet another Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Justice Reilly of the Madras High Court to submit findings and recommendations after investigating and discussing the claims of the Hyderabad Govt against Paighas, claims of Sarf-i-khas against Paighas and the respective claims of the different share-holders in the Paighas. H. E. H. the Nizam issued a final Firman on 20th April 1929 A. D. in which he has made a final adjudication and adjustment.

Many members of the Paigha family have married the daughters of the Nizam and Abul Fakhr Muhammad Fakhruddin Khan was the first of the Paigha family to marry Bashir-Unnisa Begum, the daughter of Nizam-Nawab Nizam Alikhan Bahadur. The Nizam, in this marriage, conferred upon Abul Fakhr Muhammad Fakhruddin Khan further honours of Rs. ten thousand Mansab and the commandership of ten thousand cavalry. Also one member of the royal family of H. E. H. the Nizam has married a daughter from the Paigha family. Some members of the Paigha family have served the Nizam as his prime minister. Nawab Rafiuddin Khan Bahadur was the first to be made Co-regent along with Sir Salarjung Bahadur, when the late Nizam Sir Mahabub Alikhan Bahadur was a boy (Minor).

The Paigha territory which is in the actual possession of the Amirs of three Paighas was acquired as follows.

- (1) Territory given for maintaining an Army.
- (2) Territory granted as dowry by the Nizams in their daughters' marriages.
- (3) Territory annexed to their Jagirs by the Amirs when they were Prime Ministers, to suit the administration of those parts.

As the Paigha estates are formed as a result of the above causes, it was very natural that quarrels should arise in their division. There was dispute between Paighas and Nizam's Govt. (Diwani Ellakha), Paighas and Sarf-i-khas, Paighas and the partners of the Paigha family. The owner of Sarf-i-khas, that is the Nizam himself, had his conten-

tion against the Amirs of the Paighas and he had filed a suit against them for the return of the five taluques which were given from Sarf-i-khas to H. E. H.'s daughter in her marriage, as she was no more and died without an issue. As already indicated above, three different Commissions were appointed with the chairmanship of English Officers to inquire and make recommendations for the permanent settlement of these disputes. H. E. H. the Nizam issued a Firman on the fifteenth Ispindar 1333 Fasli (23rd April 1929 A. D.) thereby settling the year-long disputes. H. E. H. issued this Firman after carefully studying the reports of the three Commissions. The Firman is most important as the settlement made therein gives us a correct idea of the legal relations of the Paighas to the Hyderabad state and their real position. Hence we propose to give here a summary of the important and relevant part of the Firman.

H. E. H.'s Firman:—In the beginning H. E. H. says—“I must give my decision as a judge without injuring the interests of anybody as I am related to the question under consideration, in three ways. The division of the Paighas into three which Salarjung the first effected, cannot be changed hereafter. They cannot be divided or sold. They shall never be sold to any of the outsiders. The Shares (of business concerns) or Estates purchased by the Paigha is to be the property of the Paighas. Sarf-i-khas had filed a suit against the Paighas demanding the return of five taluques given in the marriage of Nizam's daughter, as the daughter was no more and died without any issue. This question was entrusted for findings and recommendations to the Glancy Commission. I have settled the dispute in the following way.

“The Paighas will have to pay the annual Nazarana and the Diamond (which was given in the marriage) will remain with them. The five Taluques Hasanabad, Narayan-khed, Ganjoti, Lohara and Aland which the Sarf-i-khas demanded back, are not to be returned. They are to remain with the Paighas. The villages Khadka and Uppal were given to the Paighas for management in 1858 A.D. and were taken back in 1904 A. D. All the revenue collected in this period

from these two villages is to be returned to Sarf-i khas, taking two annas per Rupee as the management charges.

"I and my father have decided to retain the Paigha Jagirs to their respective Amirs as they are to-day. But in case, we wish to reorganize our military system, we are entitled to take back these Jagirs and in that case the Amirs of the Paighas shall have no ground to resist our claim

"So long as we have not taken back the Jagirs, Rs. 1,00,000 should be reduced from the amount which each Paigha spends on the maintenance of the army, and this amount should be used for the administration and good of the subjects of Paighas.

"The Paighas are not entitled to change the survey effected by the Nizam's Govt. and the Paighas are not entitled to take any objection for any further survey.

"The present and the future survey (Revenue) settlement of the Paigha Jagirs must not be interfered with or changed by the Amirs of Paighas and they are not entitled to collect any revenue from the subjects in contravention of these rules. And no tax which is illegal, prohibited or not approved by the Nizam's Govt. will be collected from the subjects.

"Any part or whole of the Paigha Jagir shall not be given as a present or be mortgaged or sold as Ejara. The Amir shall not raise any loan without the Nizam's previous permission. The administration of the Khurshed-jaha and Asman-jaha Paighas will be controlled by a board and for Vikar-ul-umra, a board of trustees will be appointed.

"There will be an Accountant General in every Paigha and he will be under the direct control of the Nizam.

"After deducting the amount to be spent on the military, the remaining amount of the total income of the Paigha should be divided into three equal parts, one to be spent as Privy purse by the Amir of Paigha, one to be given to the partners of Paigha and one to be spent on the administration and good of the subjects of Paigha.

"Instead of spending Rs. 90,000 or more annually as they are doing at present, the Paighas should pay annually

Rs. 65,000 to the Nizam's Govt. and the Nizam's Govt. will make the police arrangements for the Paighas.

"If the Paighas had to incur administration expenses more than the specified one third, the surplus should be borne equally by the Amir of Paigha and the partners of the Paigha.

"Reilly Commission had recommended to disband the armies of the Paighas and recover the Jagirs from them or the net amount spent on military. But at present I do not favour these recommendations as there are legal difficulties of the Sanads granted to them and also they have the hereditary rights of the military people and accordingly they have served us hereditarily.

"The balance in the treasury of the Paigha may be invested in some industrial or commercial concern and the profits received therefrom should be divided equally as the income of the Jagir.

"The valuables and jewellery of the Paighas will be in possession of the Paighas."

This Firman was issued ten years back but still we find its many clauses not come into force and matters executed accordingly. The police was not handed over to the Hyderabad Govt. as declared in the Firman till the last year, and last year it was not handed over by the Paighas of their own accord, but the Nizam's Govt. forcibly took charge of it from the Paighas owing to its mal-administration (the murder of Vedprakash at Ganjoti and other riots). Owing to these reasons the police of the two Paighas (Khurshed-jahi and Vikar-ul umra) have been taken over by the Nizam's Govt. and still the Asman-Jahi (Moin-uddolla) Paigha has retained its own police. The most important clause in the Firman that deals with Land Revenue and Survey Settlement is completely neglected and not at all given effect to. The land revenue in the Paighas has become a source of acute discontent of the subjects. They have increased the land revenue every fifteenth year and the present rate of land revenue in the Paighas is twice or thrice that of the Nizam's Govt. (Diwani Ellakha). We to-day find that agricultural lands of the Paighas situated closely to those of the Nizam's

Diwani Ellakha and of equal equality, are taxed heavily by the Amirs of the Paighas, i. e. at twice or thrice the rate in the Diwani Ellakha. Is it not a violation of the Firman? The survey settlements both in Diwani Ellakha and the Paighas had been effected by the officers of the Nizam's Govt. Then why should there be such a difference in the rate of land revenue? Are the revision settlements effected by the Paighas approved by the Nizam's Govt.? If they are not approved, that is an express violation of the orders of the H. E. H. the Nizam. Will the H. E. H. and his Govt pay attention to this matter? This unbearable land revenue has become the cause of serious discontent and public agitation. People of the Paighas have exhausted all legal efforts to get these grievances remedied. All their efforts have been fruitless. The tyrannical attitude of the Paighas and the indifference of the Nizam's Govt, have compelled the law-abiding subjects to think of unconstitutional and unlawful means. It is natural that the oppressed and helpless people should follow such a course of action. Some ten villages of the Lohara Taluque, in Khurshed-jahi Paigha have withheld the payment of land revenue for the last three years. Owing to bad season and other causes the problem has been intensified. Owing to their poverty, they could not pay this heavy amount of land revenue. Their contention is, the Paigha should take from them according to the rate of land revenue in the Nizam's Diwani Ellakha. Is it not wise on the part of H. E. H. the Nizam to grant the subjects their just and legal demands and check the seething discontent resulting in the breakdown of peace and normal life of the erstwhile peaceful public. We have given in detail with actual figures the condition of land revenue in each of the three Paighas under a separate head.

Administration:— The administration of the Paighas is cent per cent autocratic. The details of the administration in each Paigha will be given under a separate head. Here we deal with the general administration common to all Paighas. As already indicated in the H. E. H.'s Firman, there is a board (Majlis Paigha) at Hyderabad to control the administration of the Paighas. Nawab Akhil-yar-jung Bahadur is the head of

this board. The annual budget estimate of income and expenditure is submitted through him to the Executive Council of H. E. H. the Nizam's Govt for their approval. All the Amirs of the paighas and their head offices are at Hyderabad. The Paighas have their own revenue, judicial and police administration. As already mentioned in these pages, since last year, the police administration of Khurshed-jahi and Vikar-ul-umra Paighas have been taken over by the Nizam's Govt. The police in these two Paighas is attached to the police in the adjoining districts of the Nizam's Govt, under the control of the District Police Officer of the Nizam's Govt. There is not the separation of judiciary and executive which we notice in the Nizam's Govt. The Tehsildar who is a revenue officer of the taluque is given the powers of second class magistrate and also the powers to adjudicate in civil suits worth three hundred rupees. They have their District Magistrates, District and Sessions Judges, but generally they are not separate officers. Their duties have been entrusted to the revenue officers. In Vikar-ul-umra Paigha, the District and the Sessions Judge and the Taluquedar is the same person. The Taluquedar (District revenue officer-collector) in the Paighas is everything. He is the head of education, P. W. D., Local Fund, Irrigation and what not. The High Court for the Paighas is that of the Nizam's Dominions. The judicial administration of the Paighas is to some extent controlled by the H. E. H. the Nizam's High Court as the appointments of judges are to be approved by the High Court. Nation building activities on the part of the Paighas are practically nil. We are giving the details of education in each Paigha under a separate head. Nothing is spent on education from the general income of Paighas. What little they spend on education, is charged to the income of Local Fund. On education they spend only two pies out of the one anna which they collect as Local Fund cess per rupee of land revenue. They spend two pies on roads and buildings, two on sanitation and two on medicine. Four pies are spent on police. Spending in such a way quite one third of the total income of Local Fund cannot be found in any other part of the world of today. But after

all this is "Mogalai" and this (Paighas) is the "Mogalai in Mogalai"—the essence of Mogalai. Lately, it is widely reported that the Paighas are going to stop this misuse of public money from this year. Though they collect Local Fund cess, there is not a single Local Fund Committee nominated or elected. There is no municipality elected or nominated though there are towns having population above ten thousand. There is not a single Govt. (Paigha) institution where the principle of democracy, even in its most rudimentary form is applied. The subjects are to obey everything that comes from the authority, from the Chaprasi right up to the Taluquedar or the Amir, ungrudgingly and mutely as a dictum from the Heaven. The literacy in the Paighas would hardly come to 2%. The highest educational institution in the Paighas is the middle school, and that too in name only, as almost all these schools work upto 5th standard only. There are many school teachers receiving 3 rupees monthly pay. Generally there is a middle school of the above mentioned type at each district town and an upper primary school at each Taluque town and half a dozen or less—one teacher, lower primary schools at half a dozen or less villages in a Taluque. Owing to this negligence on the part of the Paighas we find here the old-fashioned private schools in many villages. But these private efforts are not in the least encouraged by the paigha. Generally, schools in all the three Paighas with one or two exceptions, have not got their own buildings. Within the area of two districts you will hardly find any metal road built and maintained by the Paigha, and if we find any katcha road that too ranging from two to six miles in length. These short roads are built of soft murum. There is not a single metal road built by the Paigha. Much of the amount which is spent under the head of the P. W. D. is spent on building and maintaining traveller's bungalows or rest houses which are mainly provided for the government officers.

Generally there is a free dispensary at every Taluque place in the Paigha. All the expenses of the medical department are borne by the Local Fund. What little amount is spent from the general income is for the dispensaries in

their 'Deodis' at Hyderabad which are of no use to the poor tax payer in villages and a large part of the expenditure is the pay (Rs. 500 per month) of the Director of Medical Department. In the case of one Paigha, the medicines that are required for this Deodi Dispensary at Hyderabad are purchased and charged to the Local Fund account. It seems from their budget that they reserve some amount for epidemics. We find unqualified doctors on some dispensaries in the Khurshed-Jahi Paigha. From the post of compounder they have been promoted to the post of a doctor. And to our surprise the Medical Director of this Paigha Mr. Abas Hussain is likewise promoted from the post of a compounder. He holds no degree or diploma of any university qualifying him in medical profession. The Dispensary work is conducted without the Doctor for months together and if any Local Officer like the Tehsildar reports this matter to the Medical Director and urges on him to send a Doctor immediately, he is informed by the Medical Director that he is in search of *Mohamedan* Doctor and as soon as he becomes available he will be sent. See this religious fanaticism, typical of Hyderabad. They have provided a small amount for sanitation, but if we go even through the big villages—Taluque or District towns, we hardly find the sanitation properly looked after.

There are other innumerable taxes collected in the Paighas and it has become a source of popular grievances. They sell by auction all the fruit of Babul trees, whether in private lands or Government lands. They sell by auction the right to sell snuff in a particular area (village or Taluque). They sell by auction the right to collect horn tax (Shingoti) when the animal is sold in a bazar. (This tax is generally eight annas per horned cattle.) In one Paigha half the fruit of mango trees though grown in private lands is appropriated by the Paigha. There were also other taxes such as tax on the lime furnaces, tax on selling grass and fuel in the village or town, tax on cloth sold in the village, tax on the right to measure grain in the market, but recently they have been abolished. These taxes show the typical feudalistic nature

of these Jagirs. The land and persons in these Jagir are supposed to be the private property of the Amir and they may levy any tax on any object and collect revenue from the public when they need it for their pomp and grandeur, which may be immoral or vicious, and generally is so. The officers and servants who conduct the administration of these Paighas very naturally keep before them the ideal of their Amirs and they in their turn screw out everything they require by what so ever means, from the public. The terror of forced unpaid service (Bigar) demanded by the Government servants is so much in the villages that the people flee away somewhere to the jungles or fields, leaving their homes unprotected for days together. Bribery is a common thing. It is not at all supposed to be immoral. On the contrary they think it their privilege. 'Authority knows no law' is the only law which is obeyed here and respected. Then one can imagine for himself the lot of the poor peasants.

In accordance with the Firman of H.E.H., deducting the amount spent on military (which is generally one fifth or less of the total income) two-thirds of the remaining i.e. more than one half of the total income is spent on private account, one-third by the Amir and one-third by his partners. Even the huge sum which the Nizam and the Heir apparent receive annually as their Privy Purse from the State's income, is one-twelfth part of the total income. And here, in the Paighas more than one half of total income is spent on private account. What little they spend for the public out of the remaining one-third is nothing but the provision made for the revenue collecting machinery. Even in the public expenditure we find considerable amount spent on items which are really private. Every Paigha spends more than one lac rupees on Mamuldars and Lavajama which are of no use to the public. This is a typical feudal class which has lost all its purpose of some useful service to the Feudal Lord and now it has become a flatterers' class to exhibit the pomp and grandeur of these Feudal Lords. If this amount is saved it can be spent on items of public welfare. The annual donation to Jagirdars' College

which is meant for Jagirdars' sons only, is also charged to the public expenditure. Even expenditure incurred for the hobbies (such as payment of the hunting staff) is charged to the public expenditure. Nearly half a lac of Rupees out of the public fund are spent every year by each Paigha on the Ecclesiastical department as grants to Maulavis Mullas and Musjids. Out of this, some amount, say five hundred rupees, is spent for Hindus. This very well illustrates the religious bigotry of the Amirs which is the special and unique character of the Hyderabad State. If the revenue collecting machinery works satisfactorily then only the Amirs and their partners can get money for their princely expenditure. The daily life of these Amirs is nothing but a continuous programme of eating, hunting, drinking, feasting, polo-playing and flirting with the members of the harem.

In these circumstances, how can they spend on education and other nation building works. Administration becomes costly when it is spread over tiny areas here and there. Even the area of the two districts of the Paighas will not equal (will be less than) that of the two Taluques in Nizam's Dominion. As there is no continuity and as the villages are spread over a vast area in small groups here and there, the administrative machinery becomes very costly. Obviously for a small area they have to maintain all the huge administrative machinery which is nothing but a revenue collecting agency. Administration of Paighas can be made less costly and a considerable amount can be saved for the nation building works such as education, if the Paigha Jagirs are amalgamated in the Divani Ellakha of the Nizam's Govt. and the whole administration taken over by the Nizam's Govt still providing for the Amirs and their partners what they get to-day for their personal expenditure. Will the gracious and kind H. E. H. consider this proposal which does not harm the interests of the Amirs and does not go contrary to the motives underlying the various Sanads granted to them.

We are giving here the details of income and expenditure and other things, in each of the three Paighas under a separate head :

(1) **Kkurshedjahi Paigha (Ludfuddolla)**

This Paigha is situated in the three districts of Nizam's Dominions—Osmanabad, Gulbarga and Bidar. It is divided into two districts—Shahabad and Ganjoti. Following is their division into Taluques with area, population and villages.

<i>Taluque</i>	District <i>Ganjoti</i> .		<i>No. of Villages</i>
	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area</i> sq miles	
1. Rajeshwar	57209	222	61
2. Lohara	78180	450	123
3. Ganjoti	69987	324	75
4. Bhalki	18564	92	17
	District <i>Shahabad</i> .		
1. Shahabad	32524	256	26
2. Narsapur	15 12	103	35
3. Hasanabad(Hadnur)	23051	109	44
Six villages in Mahabub nagar District	1701		6
Total	296528	1555	387

From the above figures it is evident, as we have written in the earlier pages, that two districts of the Paighas are nearly equal in area to two Taluques of Nizam's Diwan Ellakha

The Amir of this Paigha is now a minor and the administration is under the control of Nawab Akhul-yar-jung Bahadur a member of the Executive Council of H E H, the Nizam's Govt, and head of the Majlis Paigha. There is one Taluqedar for each district. The Taluqedar of Shahabad has judicial and magisterial powers in civil and criminal suits. There is one Tehsildar for each Taluque, and he has the powers of second class magistrate and judicial powers in civil suits worth 300 Rs. The court of the District Magistrate and District Judge is at Omarga in Ganjoti district. The Sessions Court is at Shahabad. The Sessions Judge of this Court Mr. Kurban Ali has only passed the second grade (Darje Doovam) examination in Law, but he is exercising the powers of the Sessions Judge. A Tehsildar

named Hansanullakhan of Bhalki has not passed any examination in Law but he has been given the powers to adjudicate in civil suits worth Rs. 300. The police is under the control of the District Superintendents of Police of Gulbarga, Osmanabad and Bidar.

Income and Expenditure

	1345 F. (Actuals)	1347 F. (Estimated)
Total Receipts (including Local Fund and other deposits)	2018784	2139210

Particulars of important heads of income

Land Revenue	1417628	1507649
Forest	3400	2455
Excise	170787	191500
Registration and Stamps	29225	27760
Mines	21462	21866
Interest	110899	117866
Police (from Local Fund)	27858	30257
Gardens and Markets	14515	15781
Miscellaneous	8219	671
Deposits	116478	100379
Local Fund	101722 (1346 F)	111560

Expenditure

Total public expenditure	1064997	1226580
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Particulars of important heads of expenditure

Panmakta	4631	3429
Rusumdars	46822	49062
Mamuldars	38118	41139
Najrana (to H. E. H. Nizam)	8000	8000
Vapsi	619	18780
Compensation	9	152
Military	411840	488421
Revenue Establishment	116827	131504
Forest	1064	1435
Excise	2164	5893

	1345 F (Actuals)	1347 F. (Estimated)
Stamps Establishment	2754	2975
Registration	2672	4069
Head Office (Hyderabad)	69065	89328
Lavajama Paigha	25785	28249
Pension	34654	38658
Judicial	24321	26746
Jail	7179	6140
Police	92691	105461
Education	360	360
Medical	14294	14620
Ecclesiastical (Nazim)	1716	2024
Sub-Offices	2707	3086
Sanitation (Devdi-Hyderabad)	244	245
Gardens	20204	25370
P. W. D Establishment	8134	9470
P. W. D Road and Buildings	53066	53144
Irrigation	10000	10000
Printing Press	1328	1570
Miscellaneous	57015	56246
Imperial Guests	1000	1000

Deducting the amount spent on military, the one-third part of the net income is Rs. 434864-5-4, but in order to meet the public expenditure which is more than this one-third, Rs. 90166-0-0 are taken from each of the other two sharers, the Amir and his partners. This Paigha has invested Rs. 16075-0-0 in Burma-Shell Co, Rs. 60687 in Co-operative Banks, Rs. 286275 in Currimbhoy Mills, Bombay, and Osmanshahi Mills of Nander; Rs 500 in promissory notes of the Govt. of India, Rs. 37300 (B. G.) loaned to Govt. of India to be repaid in 1940 AD, Rs. 2158000. invested in Pro. Notes of H. E. H. Nizam's, the Govt, Rs. 150000 lent to one Mr Chandulal. Hence we find in the income list the big sum of interest. After investing so much amount the Paigha has still a cash of Rs. 2163450 in its treasury. But this financial soundness of the Paigha is the result of the naked exploitation of its subjects, economically,

socially, politically. People are starving there physically and educationally, and a huge amount is lying idle in the treasury. Is it not a tragedy? Paigha Govt. is nothing but the owner of so many human cattle bred up in its stable only for the interest of the Amir and his family. The above figures will show how they spend on items of public expenditure. Rs. 360 which are spent on education from the general income is an annual grant to the Asafia Middle School at Malakpeth (Hyderabad). The expenditure on Medical Dept. in the above list is for the pay of one Director and one Doctor receiving monthly Rs. 300 and Rs. 75 respectively and other lower establishment. The Director Mr. Abas Hussain is an unqualified person having no diploma or degree of any university and has been promoted from the post of a Compounder as he was the favourite of the late Amir-Nawab Ludfuddolla bahadur. Rs 2177 are spent on medicines. This dispensary is located in the Deodi at Hyderabad, and is of very little use to the people who actually pay the taxes. Only Rs. 500 are granted to Hindu Mamuldars, out of the 38 thousand and more Rupees granted to all Mamuldars. Rupees Thirty Thousand and more are taken from the Local Fund income for the Police Dept. The major portion of P. W. D. expenditure other than that on office establishment is spent on building and maintaining Rest houses. Very little is spent on roads. We give here separately the income and expenditure of the Local Fund, in order to show correctly what is spent for the good and welfare of the Public. Because what little the Paighas spend on these items, they spend it from the Local Fund. It will be easy for us to understand the condition of education if we go through these figures.

Local Fund Income and Expenditure

	Income	
	1346 F.	1348 F.
	(Actuals)	(Estimated)
Total Income	101722	108389
Particulars—		
Local Fund Cess	90345	92775

	1346 F. (Actuals)	1348 F. (Estimated)
Toll Fund	23000	2300
School Fees	628	499
Interest of Fixed Deposits	...	8000
Light Fees	1387	1560
Ferry Fees	506	453
Rent of the Inspection Bungalows	95	50
Sale of Lands (Gavthan)	5137	1415
Fine	112	142
	Expenditure	
Total Expenditure	79830	108389
Particulars—		
Office Establishment		
at Hydrabad	1329	1342
Office Establishment		
in the Districts	2849	2950
Sanitation	4149	5673
Education	11506	14307
Medical Dept. (Western)	17547	20385
Medical Dept. (Unani)	204	209
Public Works—		
Shahabad Road	...	500
Construction of roads		
and buildings	7140	10577
Maintenance of Buildings		
and roads	826	2000
Wells	...	241
Miscellaneous	241	624
Unforeseen	...	13252

Rupees four lacs from the Local Fund account have been deposited with the Govt. of H. E. H. at the rate of 2% interest per annum, yielding an annual interest of Rs. 8000. Light fees are collected in towns like Shahabad where the Paigha has provided for lighting arrangements.

Now we come to the details of Education. Only Rs. 11506 are spent on Education in two districts whose population is 296528 and where the annual total income is 21 lacs.

Can we find any comparison to this in any other Indian State? According to the Census Report of 1931 A.D. the literacy per thousand of population in Lohara, Ganjoti, Bhalki and Rajeshwar. Taluques is 20, 26, 40, 19 respectively. The number of literate females per thousand of female population may come to 3 or 4. There are two middle schools, one at Shahabad and the other at Ganjoti. Teachers' monthly pay in the middle schools ranges from 20 to 50 Rs. Prizes worth Rs 50 are awarded to the school boys annually. The estimated amount for 1348 F. on middle schools is Rs. 4080. There is an upper Primary school at every Taluque place i.e. Lohara, Rajeshwar, Bhalki, Narsapur Hasanabad, teachers' pays ranging from 10 to 30 Rs. per month. In 1348 F. the estimated expenditure on these schools is 3319 Rs. 41 teachers are employed in the schools in villages and generally one school is entrusted to one teacher. The monthly pay of these school masters ranges from 3 to 15 Rs. Three rupees per month. What a fat pay! Even a boy of twelve who tends the cattle may be getting more than this poor School Master. Of course this illustrates the quality of education imparted in these schools. The estimated expenditure on these schools for 1348 F. is Rs. 5418. The following villages in Ganjoti District have village schools:- Tavsi, Uzani, Hasegaon, Peth Budhade in Lohara Taluque, Omarga, Venegur, Chakur, Jevli, Digi, Mirkhal, in Rajeshwar Taluque Narayanpur, Balkunda, Konhur, Rajol in Rajeshwar Taluque, and Borol, Hulsar and Dadgi in Bhalki Taluque. A majority of the school masters in these village schools are retired teachers. In many villages the old fashioned village school may be found. There are two private educational institutions upto middle school, one at Ganjoti and the other at Jevli. But these efforts are not encouraged and these institutions do not get any grant from the Paigha. No school has got its own building and if any Taluquedar insists on having a school building, he is threatened by the higher authorities that he shall have to quit the job. The Educational Inspector has not visited the schools within the last twenty three years i.e., from the date of his appointment as an inspector. The

Tehsildar or Taluquedar who knows very little of Educational Department and can hardly speak correctly the local language-which is Marathi in this Paigha-inspects these schools. Is it not a mockery of education? Is it not an attempt to kill the mother tongue of the people? In the whole Ganjoti District there is one public library at Jevli managed privately by some individuals. How can we expect from the people here, such enlightened activities where education is being disastrously hampered?

There is a dispensary at each Taluque place, the doctors getting monthly Rs 75. The doctors at the district places are paid more. Rs. 3000 are spent on medicines. Rs. 3000 are reserved for epidemics. There is a Director, getting Rs. 300 monthly to supervise these dispensaries. There are unqualified doctors promoted from the post of a compounder on the dispensaries at Bhalki, Hasanabad, Rajeshwar & Ganjoti. One Doctor, in charge of the Lohara Dispensary, Mr. Raghunath Sitaram Barve was dismissed from the service as he disobeyed the orders of the Director. The story illustrates the lawlessness of the Paigha Bureaucracy. The Director had written a private letter to this Doctor that a Marvari who was grievously injured by a Mohamaden and was in bed in the Lohara Hospital, should not be given a certificate stating he is grievously wounded and should only be certified that he had simple hurts. The doctor could not give up his moral scruples, and hence disobeyed his superior. The result was—He was dismissed from the job. The same Director who as already mentioned, is a person promoted from the post of a compounder, had written an official letter to the Tehsildar of Lohara on Bahman 7, 1346 F. in reply to his request for a doctor for the Dispensary at Lohara, which was being worked without a doctor for an year or so. The Director writes in the letter "I am in search of a *Mohamaden* doctor. Still I have not found him. If you know any one please inform me. As soon as a Mohamaden Doctor is available, he will be sent there." Can we witness any where except in Hyderabad this religious madness and absence of any sense of public duty. 80% of the Bureaucracy in this and the other two Paighas is mohamaden.

All higher posts are occupied by them. There is no veterinary dispensary in the whole Paigha. There are no metal roads. There is one Katcha road of two and half miles length recently built by the Paigha, from Ganjoti to Omarga. The project of this road was sanctioned ten years back, but it was completed last year. There is also another, Shahabad-Gulbarga Road in Shahabad District built and maintained by the Paigha. Secunderabad Bombay road goes through the Ganjoti district of this Paigha. The major portion even of the Local Fund public-works expenditure is on the construction and maintenance of the rest houses. Though provision for sweeping of streets is made at District and Taluque places it is never properly looked after. Generally this work is executed by the two servants which nature has kindly appointed for us—the wind and the rain. One thing we must bear in mind that money is never spent in accordance with the figures in the budget estimate and you will always find much amount saved from the estimated expenditure.

Now we come to the burning question of Land Revenue. We have already stated in these pages how oppressive is the revenue for the poor peasantry. This year, the bad season—both over rain and drought—have made their conditions awful. They have no grain with them to eat; then how can they pay the land revenue which is so heavy? But their houses and cattles, if at all they have got any, are being "*harased*" (sold by auction) for the recovery of land revenue. In consideration of the bad season this year, the Nizam's Govt have given two and four annas remissions to the peasants in their jurisdiction, but the Paighas have done nothing. This has increased the acuteness of the discontent already existing. People in the Lohara Taluque, have already, since three years, begun to think seriously about this heavy rate of Land Revenue and after exhausting all the legal means they have resorted to direct action. Yelvat, Nimbala, Haregaon, Chincholi, Utke, Banegaon, Rajegaon Mangrule, Ganjankhed, Lohara (small) have not paid the Land Revenue for the last two years. Unity among the peasants of these villages is very admirable. Very few

of them have yielded to Govt. threats This shows nothing but the desperateness of the peasants, otherwise innocent and law abiding. Their plea is simple. They want the same rate of Land Revenue as is prevalent in the Diwani Ellakha of H. E. H. and are prepared to pay accordingly. The case of the peasants is sufficiently strong. We are giving below the figures of Land Revenue in different villages (per survey Nos. also) which are closely allied with the lands of the Nizam's Diwani Ellakha. These figures will themselves speak for the justness of the peasants' demands. The reader should compare these figures with those of the Diwani Ellakha to convince himself of the peasants' bonafides. For the convenience of the reader we shall also compare here the figures of Land Revenue in the villages of the Paigha with that of the Nizam's Diwani Ellakha.

Name of the village	Popu- lation	Total area under cultivation	Total land revenue		Other taxes
			Rs.	As.	
Limbala (T. Lohara)	...	3190 (dry)	6643	13	5 (Shingoti)
		9 (Irri.)	66	6	25 (Amrai) 1 (Snuff)
Tavsi (T. Lohara)	...	3271 (Total) }	5451	8	20 (Shingoti) 4-6 (Babul fali)
		52 (Irri.) }			
Dhanori (T. Lohara)	1500	6353 (dry)	6514	0	30 (Shingoti)
		126 (Irri.)	892	0	175 (Amrai) 4-6 (Babul fali)
Jevli (T. Ganjoti)	3000	... (dry) }	11509	0	185 (Shingoti)
		343 (Irri.) }			
Omarga (T. Ganjoti)	3557	7885 (dry)	13138	8	110 (Shingoti)
		154 (Irri.)	1358	4	12 (Babul fali)
Lanjwad (T. Bhalki)	50 0	2069 (Total)	3221	0	16 (Shingoti) 2 (Babul fali)

Name of the village	Population	Total area under cultivation	Total land revenue		Other taxes
			Rs. As.	Rs. As.	
Bhalki (T. Bhalki)	5913	14902 (dry)	34879	10	116 (Shingoti)
		217 (Irri.)	2089	7	17 Snuff 12 (Babul fali)
Vinchur (T. Bhalki)	...	885 (dry) 19 (Irri.)	3441	2	10 (Shingoti)

The maximum land revenue per acre of dry and irrigated lands in village Limbala is Rs. 3-4-0 and Rs. 7-8-0 respectively, in Tavsi, it is Rs. 2-12-0 and Rs. 14, in Dhanori it is Rs. 2 and Rs. 10, in Omarga it is Rs. 5-8 and Rs. 10. Some survey numbers with acres and land revenue are given below:—

Village.	Survey No.	Acres	Land Revenue	
			Rs.	As.
Bhalki	8	23-16 Dry	90	5
	150	2-3 "	8	8
	most inferior land	7-1 "	7	5
	—	4 Irri.	35	0
Lanjwad	52	.4 "	39	5
	—	21 Dry	44	0
Omarga	416	2 "	11	0
	417	2-17 "	12	8
	418	3-31 "	20	8
	6	13-33 Irri.	134	4

Following is the comparison between two villages of the Paigha, one from Bhalki Taluque and the other from Ganjoti Taluque, with two villages of Nizam's Diwani Ellakha, one from Udgir and the other from Tuljapur Taluque, which are in close contiguity. It clearly illustrates the heavy rate of Land Revenue in the Paigha.

Village	Survey No.	Acres	Land Revenue		
			Rs.	As.	P.
Ganeshpur (Paigha) Total	1122-26		2252	0	0
Ambesangvi (Diwani)	„ 3202-5		3821	15	1
Ganeshpur (Paigha)	17	28-30 dry	46	12	0
„ „	33	23-4 „	88	3	0
„ „	...	8 Irri	77	9	0
Ambesangvi (Diwani)	2	4 „	20	0	0
	104	26-5 dry	30	0	0
	137	16-22 „	13	0	0
	138	33-17 „	28	0	0
	139	28-24 „	35	0	0
Yenegur (Paigha)	255	20-27	40	12	0
„	253	18-16	37	8	0
„	249	19-28	45	8	0
„	238	17-34	40	12	0
„	194	31- 2	72	0	0
„	192	16-36	39	4	0
„	191	32-21	91	0	0
„	190	24-18	50	0	0
„	189	19-29	39	8	0
„	188	22	46	4	0
Tugaon (Diwani Ellakha)	10	23-38	25	0	0
„	226	29-39	38	0	0
„	220	19-36	24	0	0
„	209	23-36	26	0	0
„	187	14- 2	17	0	0
„	186	33-21	37	0	0
„	177	26-35	29	0	0
„	218	22-33	28	0	0
„	210	22-14	26	0	0
„	225	16-11	16	0	0

2. Vikar-ul-Umra (Sultan-Ul-Mulk)

We have already described in detail the conditions of one Paigha. Generally, there is no difference between the conditions of that Paigha and the other two Paighas. Except for some difference of details, the conditions of Administrations, Land Revenue, Education, Public Works, Sanitation etc., are the same. But in order to acquaint the reader with the requisite details and other special information of each Paigha, we are giving the following.

The Vikar-ul-umra Paigha is situated in the six districts of Nizam's Dominions, namely Bidar, Nizamabad, Gulbarga, Medak, Atraf—Balda and Adilabad. The whole Paigha forms one district Vikarabad and its division into Taluques with population, area, and villages is as follows.

	Taluka	Population	Area sq miles	No.villages.
1	Vikarabad	27033	85	22
	(Hatnura)	11538	...	27
2	Aland	51482	402	64
3	Narayankhed	54051	221	101
4	Halikhed (Valandi)	12322	...	26
5	Chincholi	26064	192	28
6	Kundalwadi	12496	...	22
	(Kodgir)	8936	...	31
7	Elgadap(Khanapur)	23481	263	66
		227403		387

The Prince or Amir of this Paigha is an imbecile fellow and the Administration is conducted by a Board of Trustees under the control of Nawab Akhil Yar Jung Bahadur. Canarese and Telugu are the local languages of the Paigha. Two years back, the Sub-Taluque Kodgir has been taken over by Nizam's Diwani Ellakha (Nizamabad District) and in its return other villages yielding equal income have been given to the Paigha, forming the Sub Taluque Gandhari. There is one Tehsildar for each Taluque having

judicial and magisterial powers. There are three munsif courts one at Aland, another at Narayankhed and the third at Kundalwadi. District and Sessions court is at Vikarabad and the Taluquedar is empowered to execute all the duties of the District and Sessions Judge. The Police is under the control of District Superintendents of Police (Nizam's Govt.) of the various districts in which the Taluques of the Paigha are situated.

Income and Expenditure

	1345 (F.) (Actuals)	1347 (F.) (Estimated)
Total Receipts (including Local Fund and other Deposits)	1705381	1494159
Particulars of important heads of Income :—		
Land Revenue	1032955	1006828
Forest	36931	40630
Excise	241726	160248
Registration and Stamps	16429	20704
Mines	54	42
Interests (on Shares and Pro Notes)	111262	81288
Gradens	552	600
Markets	2068	2440
Cycle Tax	—	165
Kacharapatti	—	165
Miscellaneous	21599	10300
Police (from Local Fund)	20844	19948
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Local Fund	76588	77457
	<i>Expenditure</i>	
Total Expenditure	778136	874763
Particulars :—		
Panmakta	298	461
Dastband	1412	1002
Rusumdar	33060	38313
P.W.D. and Irrigation	33894	51300
Mamuldars	17551	23809

Item	1345 F (Actuals.)	1347 F (Estimated.)
Najrana (to H E.H. Nizam)	9517	10000
Military	185444	203118
Revenue Establishment	124428	146484
Forest Establishment	12275	15343
Excise Establishment	11396	9071
Registration & Stamps	1945	1112
Head Office Est. (Hyderabad)	68271	71017
Lavajama Paigha	3395	3501
Pension	59561	57315
Judicial	24127	23519
Jail	2239	2379
Medical Dept.	7612	7761
Ecclesiastical	1403	1411
Sub-Offices	6753	9398
Sanitation	1435	1435
Gardens & Markets	417	519
P.W.D. Establishment	14899	17272
Printing Press	629	685
Miscellaneous	25826	41431
Imperial Guests	33	500

Deducting the amount spent on Military the one-third part of the net income is Rs. 319918-10-8 but in order to meet the public expenditure Rs. 85966-2-8 are taken from each of the other two sharers, the Amir and his partners.

Not a single pie is spent from the general income on Education. The amount of Rs. 7761 which is spent on Medical Dept. is for the pay (Rs 500 p.m.) of one Director and a Doctor of Rs. 75/-0 p. m. and other lower establishment. This dispensary is in the Paigha Devdi at Hyderabad which is of no use to the poor tax-payer in the villages. Medicines required for use in this dispensary are purchased from the Local Fund account. There is no metal road in the Paigha. There are two Katcha roads built by the Paigha (1. Narayankheda to Nizampet, 2. Aland to Gulbarga). But a greater amount is spent on the rest houses than on these roads.

Local Fund Income and Expenditure.

	1345 F. (Actuals)	1347 F. (Estimated).
Total Income	76588	77457
Particulars:—		
Local Fund Cess	63349	59094
Aid from the Govt. (Paigha)	—	14000
Nuzul Tax	—	500
Roshani Patti (Aland)	—	2039
Expenditure		
Total expenditure	69756	77457
Particulars :—		
Scale of the Patil Patwari	1928	1823
Police	20783	19698
Education	11382	13808
Medical Dept. (western)	18631	20298
" Unani	839	204
Sanitation	12586	13063
Public Works	-	6550

There is a middle school at Aland, having five teachers, their pays ranging from Rs. 15 to 50 per month. There are two Lower Middle Schools, one at Narayankhed and the other at Kundalwadi, having three teachers, their pays ranging from Rs. 10 to 15 per month. There is also at Aland one Inspector of schools getting Rs. 60 per month. There are upper primary schools in the following villages having two teachers in each school—Khanapur, Vikarabad, Gandhari, Hatnura, Halikhed, Valandi, their pays ranging from 10 to 15 Rs. per month. There are one-teacher lower primary schools in the following twelve villages:—Dhanura, Chitguppa, Nagaldevpalli, Boratpalli, Angarga, Khajuri, Pimbi, Dasturabad, Sarshiba, Alampalli, Jadga, Chincholi, their pays ranging from Rs. 10 to 15 p.m. There are five one teacher (female) girls schools, at Vikarabad, Narayankhed, Aland, Kundalwadi and Khanapur. Their pay ranges from Rs. 15 to 20 per month. There are two aided girls' schools getting Rs. 12 and 6 monthly aid.

There is a dispensary at each Taluque place. Doctor's pay ranges from Rs. 75 to 100 p.m. Rs. 5000 are spent on medicines and Rs. 500 are reserved for epidemics. There are six Sanitary Inspectors, one for each Taluque town. The estimated amount for public works is generally not spent and thus we find the balance of thousands of rupees in the Local Fund Account at the end of the year.

The conditions of the agriculturists are the same as those of the other Paighas. The maximum rate of Land Revenue for dry lands in this Paigha is Rs 7 per acre and for irrigated lands Rs. 12 per acre. In this and the other Paighas the lands are generally irrigated by wells and as the wells are dug out and built, out of private money the Paigha has no ground to levy additional or increased tax from the agriculturists on the irrigated lands. As in all other Paighas, here is also great discontent among the peasants for the heavy rate of Land Revenue.

3. Asmanjahi (Moinudolla)

This Paigha is situated in Gulbaraga, Bidar, Aurangabad, Medak and Atraf-Balda Districts of the Nizam's Dominions. It is divided into two districts.—Moinabad and Bashirabad. Their division into Taluques with population, Villages and area is as follows :

Taluque	Area Sq. Miles	Population	Villages
Moinabad Dist.			
(1) Chitgoppa (Moinabad)	290	73793	96
(2) Gholwadi	250	39128	57
(3) Akheli (Zahēerabad)	207	34035	62
Bashirabad Dist.			
(1) Bashirabad	121	27791	36
(2) Afzalpur	372	38523	55
(3) Chitapur	360	60900	47
(4) Shamshabad	—	14665	30
(5) Ladsanghavi	34	5498	12
		294338	395

The Amir of this Paigha is Nawab Moinuddolla Bahadur and the whole administration (of course under the control of the Board) including the Police is in his hands. Canarese, Telago and Marathi are the local languages spoken in this Paigha.

Income and Expenditure

Income

	1345 F. (Actuals)	1347 E. (Estimated)
Total Receipts (Including Local Fund and other deposits.)	2345423	2279029
Important Heads of Income:—		
Land Revenue	1267838	1308888
Forest	10656	10000
Excise	307975	298204
Registration & Stamps	26280	15754
Mines	31551	32150
Interest	61485	150514
Judicial (fines)	5153	—
Police (from Local Fund)	25826	23845
Gardens and Markets	35388	37726
Irrigation	555	—
Miscellaneous	10431	11500
Local Fund	115461	111378

Expenditure

	1345 F. (Actuals)	1347 F. (Estimated)
Total Public Expenditure	1443487	1297598
Particulars:—		
Mamuldars	46442	44407
Rusumdars	37015	37726
Panmakta	2131	2623
Najrana. (to H.E.H.)	9095	9200
Jagirdar College	7500	7500
Pension	2400	2400

Military	541550	544578
Revenue Administration	139382	136446
Forest	3753	3805
Excise	16785	14529
Registration and Stamps	18592	2985
Head Office Est. (Hyderabad)	61945	67636
Lavajama	54222	58976
Judicial	36890	32630
Police	87609	90076
Personal Library (Education)	528	—
Medical	5143	4496
Ecclesiastical	6787	6062
Gardens and Markets	36231	35887
Sub-Offices (Co operative, Prosecutor, Hunting Staff)	10402	14306
Guest House	—	200
P. W. D. and Irrigation (including Establishment)	236654	81953
Printing Press	1489	2017
Miscellaneous	26341	45344

Deducting the amount spent on military, one third part of the net income of the Paigha is Rs. 510119. The Amir of the Paigha has no partners and the share specified for the partners is taken by the Amir himself. It is not spent on public welfare. The amount spent under the head of Medical Dept. are the expenses of his personal medical staff, two doctors and other establishment and medicines Under the head of sub-offices his personal hunting staff is paid. Under the head of Education the expenditure of his personal library is charged, but lately since two years, it seems to have been stopped. Though these Amirs get their fixed share of the income for their private expenditure, we see many items which are exclusively personal, being charged to the public expenditure. The expenses on Mamul-dars and Lavajama in this and the other Paighas show the typical old feudal classes maintained by these Feudal Lords. These classes are of very little use either in the administration or for the protection of these Jagirs. They are nothing but flatterers. But they are fed at the cost of public wel-

fare. This is the pomp and grandeur of these Feudal Amirs. The amount spent on Ecclesiastical Dept. (which is mostly spent for Muslims—Moulvis and Mūsuids) shows the religious bigotry of these Amirs.

Local Fund Income and Expenditure.

	1345 F (Actuals)	1347 F (Estimated)
Total income	115961	100878
Particulars :—		
Local Fund Cess	85932	80051
School Fees	108	515
Ferry Fund	405	466
Loan for wells (from Paigha Govt.)	10500	10500
Miscellaneous (including Wheel tax, Fair fund, fine and fishery)	7404	2547
Interest on Deposits	20624	16500

Expenditure.

Scale of the Patil Patwari	2396	2396
Police	25826	23379
Office Est. (Hyderabad)	5940	5940
Education	23343	17864
Medical Dept.	18407	21030
Sanitation	9813	8145
Public Works (Buildings)	314	13094
" " (Roads)	530	2305
Pension	500	1242
Wells at Afzalpur	—	3560
Rest House at Bashirabad	2000	820

Rs. 7032 are spent on middle schools, teachers' pays ranging from Rs. 8 to 50 p.m.; Rs. 754 are spent on a girl school at Moinabad. The two lady teachers getting Rs. 20 and 15 p.m., Rs. 8466 are spent on schools in villages, the teachers getting from Rs. 12 to 30 p.m. In 1345 F. Rs 7101 were spent on school buildings. There are six dispensaries in the district, one at each Taluque place, the Doctors getting from Rs. 75 to 150 p.m.; Rs. 2175 are spent on the dispensary at Hyderabad which is of no use to the public who

pay the Local Fund. Rs. 492 are spent on medicines, Rs.2224 are spent on Unani dispensaries. Out of the expenses on public works Rs. 12000 are spent on building Chowadis and Guest Houses. We have already criticised much on these items. We need not repeat our criticism.

Conclusion

We hope the reader after going through all these pages will realise the importance of the Jagirs' problem. These Jagirs with which we have dealt here in detail, are much bigger than many Indian States. A few days back H. E. the Viceroy addressing the meeting of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi emphatically and clearly recommended the small States to federate with their like ones. He said this would stop the innumerable troubles facing the Princes at present. It is beneficial both to the Princes and the Subjects. Small States when left to themselves practically become home affairs of the Princes, and the Subjects are totally at the mercy and whim of the Ruler. Also from the point of governance and efficient administration; the political science and administrative experience emphatically urge the necessity of a minimum geographical administrative unit. But Princes seem to be reluctant to comply with the advice of H. E. the Viceroy. They have been seized by the idea of the so called personal independence; which is totally ruinous to them. But in respect of these Jagirs, the question of independence does not arise. They are nothing more than feudatory landlords. It is legally in the hands of the Prince to control and guide the affairs of these Jagirs. It is in the interest both of the Subjects and the Jagirdars to get the so many big and small Jagirs amalgamated in one State under a Prince. It will reduce to a great extent the cost of administration and bring uniformity and efficiency in it. The Jagirdars should be given a fixed amount annually for their personal expenditure. We hope our gracious and kind H. E. H. the Nizam will realise the importance of what H. E. the Viceroy advised the Princes. At least we expect H. E. H.'s kind attention to remove the present discontent among the Subjects of the Paighas.

The Jagirdars should associate the Jagir-subjects with the Administration of their Jagirs, recognising the spirit of

times and paying due attention to the political consciousness of the Subjects. The wave of popular upheaval has gone through all the corners of the Indian States. They are fighting for the achievement of Responsible Govt and fundamental rights of Citizenship. No power howsoever great in strength, wealth and magnanimity can defeat the people in the righteous war for the attainment of the fundamental rights of humanity. The Jagirdars should patiently read the situation as it stands before them and they should not allow themselves to be misled by false ideas of prestige, pomp and grandeur. Negligence in this respect, on the part of the Jagirdars is certainly detrimental to them. Also we request H. E. H. the Nizam to safeguard the interests of the Jagir-subjects in the proposed new Constitution. The Legislatures under the proposed Constitutional Reforms should include the representatives of the Subjects of these Jagirs. The Jagirdars cannot be said to represent their Subjects. Hence we earnestly request H. E. H. the Nizam to afford proper representation to the Jagir-subjects in the new Legislatures.

In case, the disease is not cured in time, it may lead to any catastrophe. The exploitation of the Subjects of the Jagirs, especially the Paigha Jagirs, due to heavy land-revenue and other taxes has reached the extreme. Along with that, the cent percent autocratic mal-administration and bad conditions of education, sanitation and public works have aggravated the agony. A close and unbiased observation of the conditions of the Paighas will surely reveal to the observer the signs of the impending outburst of the seething discontent of the public. When the disease is neglected or not carefully attended to it takes its own course, in the end completely destroying the organism which it attacks. But man being gifted with wisdom and ingenuity never allows the demon to have its own course. He tries by whatsoever means at his disposal to get rid of this demon as quickly as possible. May we expect this human activity—wisdom and ingenuity—from our kind and gracious H. E. H. the Nizam and his Amirs?

Appendix

List of Jagirdars and Maktédars in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominion.

Annual income (Rupees)	Hindu Jagirdars	Moh. Jagirdars	Others	Total
10- 500	100	42	...	142
500- 1000	109	42	...	151
1000- 3000	241	161	...	402
3000- 5000	65	72	...	137
5000- 6000	25	22	...	47
6000- 10000	29	72	...	101
10000- 12000	10	23	1	34
12000- 25000	20	55	...	75
25000- 50000	20	24	...	44
50000-100000	6	9	...	15
one-lac and above	7	12	...	19
Total	632	534	1	1167

List of the Jagirdars whose annual income is above one lac, stating their annual income and number of Jagir-villages.

Name	No. of Villages	Income
1 Vajid-alikhan	40	112935
2 Nawab Shoukat-Jung Bahadur	28	116347
3 Nawab Gajanfaruddolla	69	146024
4 Samsthan Jatpole	86	147225
5 Nawab Surayya-Jung	47	192852
6 Nawab Shamshir-Nawaj-jung Bahadur	36	195258
7 Raja Rai Rayan Bahadur	120	247942
8 Nawab-Shaha-Yar-Jung	76	304533
9 Samsthan Amarchinta	69	330301
10 Nawab Hisan-ul-mulk Khankhanan Bahadur	92	334027

Name	No. of Villages	Income
11 Samsthan Gadwal	130	379247
12 Nawab Fakhr-ul-mulk Bahadur	115	429532
13 Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad	198	466160
14 Samsthan Vauparti	179	734129
15 Raja Shivraj Bahadur Dharmavant	222	713627
16 Nawab Sir Salar Jung	355	761741
17 Nawab Moinuddin Khan Bahadur		
Amanjahi (Paigha)	370	1258718
18 Khurshedjahi Paigha	379	127,789
19 Vikar-ul-umra Paigha	391	1306031

The figures of income in the above list are of 1331 F. (1922 A.D.). If the present figures of the income of the Paigha Jagirs are compared with these figures of 1331 Fasli, it will be found that the annual income of the Jagirs has increased by more than fifty per cent, and this holds good more or less in other Jagirs also. The villages of each Jagir are distributed over four or five districts of the Nizams dominions. Though the number of Hindu Jagirdars is greater than the number of Mohamaden Jagirdars, the income of Mohamedan Jagirdars is many times greater than the income of Hindu Jagirdars.

Hyderabad State Congress
OUR CASE

State Congress Declared 'Unlawful'

The formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been prohibited by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam by means of notification in a Gazette Extraordinary issued on September 8th afternoon. This action has been taken by the Government under the Public Safety Regulations promulgated on Tuesday.

The following is the translation of the Gazette Extraordinary:—

1. Government has been carefully observing the activities of a group of persons who, since the past one month, have been canvassing for the establishment of an organisation, with branches in the Districts to be named "The Hyderabad State Congress." A notice has now been issued convening a meeting on the 9th September in order to elect the Working Committee and to approve the constitution.

2. His Exalted Highness' Government has no objection to the establishment of political organisations in the State provided that these are on a strictly non-communal basis and have no affiliations outside the State. In his recent speech before the Legislative Council, the President elucidated the policy of the Government in the following terms:—

“While His Exalted Highness’ Government is not averse and is indeed committed to constitutional advance—that is clear from the declaration last year which has resulted in the appointment of the Reforms Committee—and regards civil liberties as implicit in any such advance. It is opposed to any Constitutional advance on communal lines. It does not conceive it to be its duty to encourage any such advance if aspired to in terms of the devolution of power or privilege in favour of any one community or class, nor can it allow civil liberties to mean unrestricted freedom to indulge in orgies of mutual recrimination. Obviously, we cannot think in terms of “Muslim liberty” and “Hindu liberty” or Hindu Constitutional advance and “Muslim Constitutional advance”. That such is the line of thought is shown by the fact that many of those who are loudest in pressing the claim for progress or liberty have played and are playing a considerable part in the promotion of communal ill-feeling and are directly associated with organisations unmistakably communal. While one cannot claim, far less build, nationalism on the foundations of hatred for one’s countrymen nor seek to establish liberty on the destruction of the rights of others, the association of such persons with a cause diametrically opposed to the spirit of their actions can only discredit the cause they ostensibly espouse and makes it natural, on the principle that one is judged by the company one keeps, for doubts to be cast on the intentions for a fraternity so mixed. It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the Constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace among themselves and thus create a common, national platform. They will then have prepared the surest foundation for Government to give earnest consideration to what in that event would be truly national claims, exclusive of no community, yet non-communal, and entitled to the fullest respect. Otherwise, absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance.”

3. The above statement is not only of general application but had also special reference to the proposed organisation now under discussion which, with one exception of a non-Hyderabad, is being sponsored by persons only of one community, several of whom have been taking a leading part in communal activities,

Despite the ostensible objects of the organisation, Government is convinced that the continued presence in it of persons predominantly communal in outlook and aim will determine its actions. While the statement of Government's policy was made in good time for a reconstruction of this organisation being effected and for its being based on broad national foundations, no steps in these directions have so far been taken and Government is thus confirmed in its conviction that the movement, ostensibly political, is in fact a cloak for subversive, communal activities to which the prestige of the name "Congress" has been deliberately attached for misleading the public. Apart from the fact of the resolve of the Indian National Congress itself that the internal struggles in the States should not be associated with its name, Government objects to its use not only because it is being utilised for communal ends but also because it inevitably suggests association in the public mind with an organisation which has acquired a definite connotation in the light of the special conditions of British India which have no parallel in the State.

4. Government has just received the report of the Reforms Committee and, while an announcement in respect of its recommendations will be made after Government has fully considered them and arrived at its conclusions, it is anxious that considerations should be given to them in a calm atmosphere essential for wise decisions and not in one surcharged or complicated by communal antipathies which Government believes would inevitably result from the activities of the proposed organisation or any organisation so constituted and from the failure to distinguish between politics and communalism. Government is satisfied from its own enquiries and from its knowledge of some of the leading persons associated with the proposed Hyderabad State Congress that it will be, whatever its outward professions, constituted on communal lines and animated by communal and subversive ends which will retard instead of advancing the pace of constitutional reforms in the State.

5. Government has, therefore decided to prohibit the formation of any organisation so named or so constituted and the Hyderabad State Congress is, if formed, declared to be an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation.

State Congress Rejoinder

The Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress Committee has issued the following Press statement in reply to Government Communique:--

"This Committee has painfully read the notification of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government dated 2nd Aban 1347 Fasli declaring unlawful the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress. On a careful examination of the grounds which have prompted the Government, according to their notification, to take this extraordinary decision, this Committee feels that it is its bounden duty to contradict the serious allegations made against this institution by the Government inspite of clear enunciation of its policy and programme on more than one occasion.

"The Government have charged with communalism persons associated with this movement and have given several grounds in support of this charge. The chief ground on which the Government consider this institution to be a communal organisation is that except one non-Hyderabad gentleman, the rest of the party belong only to one community. The fact is that the gentleman who has been referred to as non-Hyderabad has been a permanent resident of this State for over twenty years out of which he spent eight years in the service of the Government in a responsible post and therefore is a Hyderabad gentleman. Assuming that members of other communities have not as yet joined the State Congress in sufficient numbers, the committee fails to understand how an institution with an open political object of achieving responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam in the State and open to all communities without distinction of caste, creed or community could on this account be called a communal organisation. The committee thinks that it is the aims and objects, the programme, the nature of the work and the actual working of the institution that make an organisation communal or non-communal, but not the number of its supporters belonging to a particular community. It is impossible to agree with this doctrine of judging communalism which, if carried to logical conclusion, is bound to

result in absolute stultification. The second charge that is levelled against the movement is the inclusion in the personnel of its promoters and workers, of people who have been taking conspicuous part in communal activities. The Committee respectfully but strongly repudiates this charge against the personnel of this Committee which does not consist of any member who is connected with any communal organisation; if the Government had looked into the draft constitution published in the local press, they would have formed that it is one of the articles of its faith that no person who is a member of any communal organisation can be elected as an office-bearer or even a member of any Committee of the State Congress, whether it be a village, or district, or central committee. This salutary rule was proposed by this Committee exactly with a view to the "purification of our ranks" as suggested by Sir Akbar Hydar, the President of the Executive Council, in his speech referred to in the notification. The Committee feels sure that so far as combating communalism is concerned the Government have, by banning the formation of the State Congress, effectively removed a powerful and strong ally which could have worked side by side with the Government.

"The Government have charged the workers interested in this movement with deliberate duplicity and stated that they are using the name of the Congress as a cloak to further their destructive and communal activities. This charge is entirely unfounded and the committee feels sure that the Government will, on proper enquiry, find themselves grossly misinformed. Otherwise there is absolutely no justification for predicting the communal nature of an organisation which is still to come into existence, on unfounded surmises, and then for banning it as an unlawful association. The public will remember that even previous attempts made in the direction of forming a common national platform under the name of the "Nizam's Subjects League" and under the able guidance of no less a personality than Sir Nizam Jung Bahadur, ex-political Member of the State, met with similar treatment at the hands of the Government. In spite of the fact that the promoters of that body belonged to all communities in the State and consisted of nobles and the elite from among the people, they were compelled to delete from their aims and objects, the clauses regarding responsible government, popularisation of Hindusthani, and preservation of

sovereign rights of the State, so that the institution could not come into existence at all. The committee, therefore, feels certain, despite the assurances to the contrary by the Government, that the Government do not desire the formation of any political body standing for the political rights of the people, and that is the reason for their adopting this extraordinary method of repression under cover of suppressing communalism.

“With regard also to the name of the Congress, the committee feels surprised that the Government considered the use of the name ‘Congress’ as detrimental to the interests of the State. The committee has given its reasons for the choice of the name in its second statement dated 28th August 1938 specially with a view to reensure the Government regarding the policy and programme that the State Congress intended to pursue. But it is clear from the notification that the Government do not desire that the name ‘Congress’ which ‘has acquired a special significance,’ should be allowed to create the necessary associations in the minds of the people. The Indian National Congress stands for the rights and liberties of the people which is the special significance of its name, and it is abundantly clear that the Government do not desire the ideas of rights and liberties of people to be propagated among them. No other conclusion can be drawn when we also keep in mind the unwarranted promulgation of ordinances and several other circulars and regulations restricting personal liberties to the minimum degree.

“The Government have further supported the action by stating that they desire to examine the proposals for constitutional reforms in a calm atmosphere undisturbed by communal activities. The committee feels bound to state that the Government have shown deplorable lack of discrimination between ‘communal activities’ and ‘activities of a non-communal nature though probably not participated by all communities in sufficient numbers’. By banning this institution, which was intended to divert the attention and energies of the people from sectarian and other activities towards common political objects, the Government have minimised the chances of a calm atmosphere which they desired. The people will scarcely consider the meagre constitutional reforms which the Government promise to grant as being more valuable than their civil liberties which have been completely suppressed.

"The Committee, in conclusion, makes a further appeal to the Government, to re-consider their decision in the best interests of the people and the State, and to withdraw the ordinances recently promulgated and lift the ban on the formation of the "Hyderabad State Congress" which is purely an indigenous body with a constructive and common political objective, and a peaceful programme of work. That would be an act of statesmanship which the people can expect from the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur, and above all from their beloved and enlightened ruler, H. E. H. the Nizam, who was graciously pleased to re-affirm in his Birthday speech the traditional policy of the Asaf Jahi Kings to rule over the hearts of the subjects, rather than by the sword.



Mahatma Gandhi's Article, on the Nizam Government Communique, published in the Harijan of 17th September 1938.

"The Hyderabad communiques have therefore come upon me as a painful surprise. Sir Akbar is a great educationist. It was a pleasure to read his recent convocation address to the Decca University. It is passing strange that he should have lent himself to the reactionary declarations which condemn an organization even before it has begun to function. What can be the meaning of communalism in a State which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion? What can communalism mean in, say, Kashmir or the Frontier, where the population is predominantly

one faith? The doctrine of minority is a good hobby to ride up to a point. But it must be at least numerically a fair minority. Even a minority of one can expect perfect justice. But it has no status in the political field. When a person belonging to an insignificant minority mounts to power he does so not as a representative of his group but by sheer merit. The State Congress in Hyderabad can never be communal in the sense in which the word is understood in India. An institution in the Frontier Province need not be dubbed communal merely because it has no Hindu member. Of course an organization may be frankly communal in outlook. But the Hyderabad communique eke a subtle distinction and aver that there is presence in the State Congress of persons predominantly communal in outlook. What is more the State Congress has come out with a statement totally repudiating the suggestion of communalism".

Manifesto of the Hyderabad State Congress Committee

The Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress has issued the following:-

On account of the fact that the Hyderabad State Congress was banned by the Government on the eve of the election of the Working Committee and the adoption of a constitution, it has not been possible for the Congress to issue any manifesto enunciating clearly its aims and objects in any detail. The Provisional Committee, therefore, desires to clarify the aims and objects of the Hyderabad State Congress in detail so that no cause may be left for doubt about its objective and programme in any quarter, whatsoever.

"Personal rule was the original form of government in this State; Salar Jung I almost converted it into a constitutional monarchy". This is how the position has been described by his late Highness in his "Quanooncha Mubarak" of 1892 which is

the first constitution of this State. The Cabinet Council and the Legislative Council were then formed. The former was merely an advisory body and soon became effective and the latter continues to exist in almost the same moribund condition in which it was first established.

Defects of Personal rule

On getting personal experience of administration, His Exalted Highness the Nizam came to know the defects inherent in personal rule and being satisfied about the necessity for radical changes therein, he established in 1329 F., the Executive Council, because he felt that "the foundation of good government should be laid more on political tradition and continuity than on the personal qualities of the administrator."

H. E. H., an advocate of good Govt.

In other words, H. E. H. the Nizam advocated the substitution of personal rule by the rule of a continuous and institutional form of good government, which cannot mean anything else than responsible government. In the same year H. E. H. the Nizam issued orders for the immediate reform of the Legislative Council by making a considerable increase in the elective element therein and by introducing the principle of election by direct franchise with proper protection of the minority rights, etc., so as to make the Legislative Council "an effective instrument in the machinery of the government."

Eighteen years elapsed since the issue of the above "Firman", and, in spite of the repeated demands made by the people for implementing the Royal 'Firman', nothing was done in that direction by the Government till September 1937, when another committee was appointed to investigate into and suggest the several alternative methods of bringing about an "increasing association of the people with the administration of the State." That committee finished its labours 1½ months ago and the matter is now before the Government, whose announcement is awaited.

Not New to the State.

The movement for constitutional reforms, therefore, is not new in this State. It has continued to exist in one form or an-

other for the last two décade's as best it could under the rigid restrictions on freedom of speech, association and the press. The demand has now become vocal and insistent with the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in the neighbouring Provinces of British India and in view also of the fact that everywhere in the other Indian States the people are actively agitating for, and some of them are succeeding in getting, responsible government.

Furthermore, experience of the last 18 years has shown that the Executive Council, which is largely responsible for the administration of the State, should also be made responsible to the people through their elected representatives. This demand is perfectly natural, just and genuine and in consonance with the great educational and cultural advance that the people of Hyderabad have made during the last 20 years.

Hyderabad State Citizens' League

The Hyderabad State Citizens' League was started some years ago by prominent Muslims and Hindus of this State, but it was not allowed to grow. The pressing demand of public opinion now made it necessary that the Hyderabad State Congress should continue its existence on strictly national and non-communal lines with a clear political objective unalloyed by any other object or programme.

To call it "communal" is, therefore, a travesty of facts and truth.

Objects

"The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment by the people of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means and by promoting national unity and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the Hyderabad State."

This is the first clause in the draft constitution of the Congress whose membership is open to "all persons over the age of 18 years and believing in the object of the Hyderabad State Congress".

That this belief in the object of attaining responsible government is shared by the educated and thinking public of all communities and castes is more than proved by the fact that the Hyderabad People's Convention submitted a united report to the Government a few months ago making definite proposals for the inauguration of responsible government. Six Muslim members of the Convention did not sign the report because the percentage of seats to be reserved for Muslims in the Legislature was not agreed upon, but there was no difference of opinion whatever upon the ideal of responsible government being necessary for the State.

Cannot be Communal

This ideal, which has been envisaged by the Hyderabad State Congress, is not and cannot be communal inasmuch as it implies with it full safeguards for the protection of the cultural and other rights of the minorities. Promotion of national unity being the most important item of its programme, the Provisional Committee of the Congress has co-operated most whole-heartedly and will continue to do so in any attempt at arriving at an amicable settlement of the question of minority rights, provided it is consistent with nationalist principles and not opposed to the fundamental principles of democracy.

Some of the Objectives

While it would be premature for the Provisional Committee to draw up any detailed scheme of responsible government, the following points will serve to make the objective clearer :—

- (i) Fundamental Rights should be conferred upon the people immediately and all rules, regulations and circulars restricting freedom of speech, association and of the Press and of religious processions, etc., should be immediately cancelled ;
- (ii) The Government should recognise responsible government as the object of constitutional reforms in the State ;

Responsible Govt.

- (iii) An immediate instalment of responsible government should be granted on the lines of the proposals in the report of the Hyderabad People's Convention with proper modifications to make responsible government more effective and real ;
- (iv) Although the Hyderabad State Congress considers the principle of reservation of seats for any community as another form of communalism, it will be prepared to agree that as a purely temporary measure to ensure for not more than 10 years in all that a certain percentage shall be reserved to the minorities in the Legislature;

State Services

- (v) With regard to State services, that Congress will not, on principle, advocate any reservation of percentage on communal lines and would suggest an immediate appointment of a Public Services Commission consisting of officials and non-officials with a view to remove nepotism and for establishing an equitable and just selection, for the services;
- (vi) The Congress would guarantee the cultural, religious and educational rights of any minority in its scheme in any reasonable manner.

These are the salient features of the policy envisaged by the Hyderabad State Congress and the response given in its call by the youth of the country is indicative of the political consciousness that is fast permeating the people. Though, owing to the obstacles put in its path by the Government, the Congress has not been able to do much in tangible form, it can at least claim to have offered a proper perspective to the popular psychology and to have lifted the popular agitation from the ruts of communalism, to a plane of nationalism and sincere patriotism and has thus achieved a solidarity that was never witnessed before.

Outcome of a Broad National Outlook

It will thus be clear to any unbiassed mind that the above ideals of the Hyderabad State Congress have been the outcome of a broad national outlook and that by no feat of distortion can they be confused with communalism. The Congress believes that if allowed to work it will strike a death-blow to communalism prevalent in the State. To dub such an organisation as communal is not only unjust but a dis-service to the State itself.

Changing Times

The State is passing through critical times and great changes are eagerly expected. People have become restive and are clamouring for recognition of their right to share in the administration of the State. The various repressive measures adopted by the Government within the last few months instead of damping their enthusiasm have strengthened the popular agitation. The Committee, therefore, thinks that it is not wise on the part of the Government to repress people who are enlightened and know what they are doing. Repression only hardens people and increases discontent.

“Truth and non-Violence—Sheet-Anchor”

In spite of this surcharged atmosphere and the repressive policy of the Government, the people have revealed a considerable amount of restraint at the present juncture. It would be an error if the present inaction and calm is misinterpreted. The Provisional Committee, therefore, appeals to the people to strengthen the hands of the Congress by supporting the organisation. They should, however, remember, that truth and non-violence are the sheet-anchor of the State Congress and they should act in accordance with this ideal. The State Congress definitely disbelieves in untruth and violence and discourages communalism.

An Appeal to Govt.

To the Government also, the Provisional Committee makes a fervent appeal in the interests of the State and the public to rescind the ban on the formation of the State Congress and allow it to

carry on its work. It would like to suggest to the Government that the only way of combating communalism is to open the flood-gates of Real Nationalism and allow it to work its course. The State Congress they proclaim is the only organisation that open these sluices and it would not be in the interests of the State to ignore this fact.

H. S. C. C.'s Statement Before its Dissolution

The committee of Action appointed by the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress, just before its dissolution issues the following statement:—

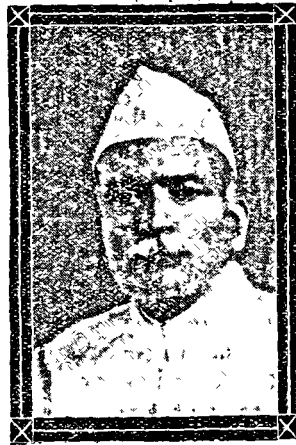
In view of the situation created by the Govt. ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress, the committee of action reiterates the birth right of the people to organise political associations and declares hereby that the ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been defied by the thirty primary members, by accepting the draft constitution and electing a working committee by the method of circulation of votes. Conscious of the practical difficulties existing in the way of the committee in convening a general body meeting for the purpose, the committee has adopted the above mentioned method of circulation for electing and accepting the working committee and the draft constitution respectively, by suspending the membership of the members except the thirty mentioned above, thus absolving them also from any responsibility whatsoever. The working committee consisting of the following members has been empowered to organise the State Congress and to carry on its activities and to adopt measures to face the situation created by the Government ban in any manner they consider proper.

1. President.	M. Govind Rao Nana.
2. Gen. Secy.	Mr. H. Ramakrishan Dhadot.
3. Member.	Mr. Sirajul Hasan Tirmizi.
4. do.	Mr. Janardhan Rao Desai.
5. do.	Mr. R. Narayan Reddy.

At this juncture when we are forced inevitably to take this course of action, we would like to state that we bear no hatred or malice towards either any community or individuals. We are second to none in our Love for the King and the Country. We want to live as self-respecting and free citizens. It is our Love, and not hatred or malice, that has induced us to resort to this last method of action, and we hope that we will not be misunderstood or misinterpreted in any quarter whatsoever.

Let it be remembered that the Satyagraha that has been launched is individual in its character and we appeal to the public in general and the Congressmen in particular to avoid a public meeting and demonstration for the present as far as possible, till further instructions. It should be particularly kept in mind that the creed of non-violence and truth are the sheet anchor of the State Congress policy and nothing contrary should be done. Individuals should defy the ban only by declaring themselves as primary members of the Congress and propagate the Congress ideal of Responsible Government and the creed of communal unity and non-violence, collect subscriptions for the Congress and also distribute the Congress literature so far as it would be available. The Committee has decided to launch Satyagraha for the present only in the city of Hyderabad and members willing to offer Satyagraha should do it only in this city at present. In conclusion the Committee appeals to the public at large in general and the youth of the state in particular to stake their all at the altar of political and civil liberty, which is the birth right of every citizen and for which the State Congress stands, by enlisting themselves in their thousands as primary members of the State Congress to vindicate its prestige."

**The Statement of
Pandit Govind Rao
Nanal, the President,
Hyderabad State Con-
gress Committee**



“The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment by the people of responsible government, under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means and by promoting national unity and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the Hyderabad State. This is the first clause of the Hyderabad State Congress whose membership is open to all persons above the age of eighteen years and believing in the object of the Hyderabad State Congress.”

No Communalism

I, as the President of the State Congress, hereby declare that there is absolutely no place for communalism of any sort in the State Congress. The above ideal of the Hyderabad State Congress has been the outcome of a broad national outlook and with no amount of misinterpretation and mis-understanding can it be confused with communal hatred and malice.

Congress and Agricultural uplift

I have been a worker in the co-operative field of public work, only with the intention of serving the poor cultivator, and I am now fully convinced that without a fundamental change in the system of administration no effective uplift of the agriculturist is possible. I have accepted the presidentship of the Congress as I am fully convinced that besides it being a purely non communal political organisation with nationalism as its very foundation, it has great potentialities of uplifting the poor ryots.

Appeal to Minorities

The State Congress stands and fights for all the people of the State irrespective of caste, creed or religion. My request to the members of the minority communities is to believe in our bonafide and to allow us to prove our sincerity. I further earnestly request them to join the State Congress in large numbers and remove its shortcomings, if there are any.

Congress Manifesto

For further elucidation of the object and policy of the State Congress, they are requested to go through the different statements issued by the provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress and specially to their manifesto, issued a few days ago.

"In the Evening to My Life"

We have launched Satyagraha by defying the Government ban upon the formation of the State Congress, knowing the full implications involved in this step. At this juncture, I like to thank all my friends, relatives and clients who have helped me during all my life, private and professional. I have enjoyed the friendship and confidence of a number of high and low Government officials and I would like to draw their attention towards my good intentions, and I request them to take a note of it. I bear no hatred or malice towards any individual officer, but I only want a fundamental change in the political structure in which they are working. I have reached an age of three score and odd years and when I am fast

approaching the evening of my life, I only wish the establishment of "Responsible Government of the people, for the people and by the people" under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty.

"Feudal and Autocratic Government"

The State Congress, having taken the inevitable course of action by declaring individual Satyagraha, has thrown a great responsibility on the people of Hyderabad State. They must realise that the State Congress is their organisation and they are the strength, of the Congress prestige, and the self-respect of the Congress is nothing other than their own—whether they would allow the State Congress, which fights for the rights of the people, to die of agony under the pressure of the feudal and autocratic Government of Hyderabad, or they would vindicate its prestige and honour, by their unsuppressable spirit and sacrifice, it is for them to decide and act. Let them prove to the Government that their undaunted spirits are not going to be suppressed at all.

Instructions for Satyagrahis

Now that the Satyagraha is right earnestly launched, the people must leave no stone unturned in making it a thorough success. The following instructions are given for their guidance:

1. The Hyderabad State Congress is purely a non-communal political organisation having the creed of truth and non-violence as its sheet anchor, and the attainment of Responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty as its objective. Satyagrahis should particularly note the spirit behind the Congress ideal and creed and act accordingly.

Police to be Informed

2. For the present, till further instructions, public meeting and demonstrations should be avoided as far as possible. Before actually offering Satyagraha, it would be advisable if Satyagrahis, inform the police the place and time of their offering Satyagraha.

The method for offering Satyagraha should be their declaration as primary members of the Hyderabad State Congress, enrolment of members for the same, propagation of its ideal of Responsible Government and the creed of communal unity, non-violence and truth, and reading and distribution of Congress literature.

If Congress men are declared as "undesirable outsiders" and sent out by the Government, they should return back into the State and declare defiance.

3. Satyagrahis should not defend themselves in courts of law for those offences that they have committed. But if they are charged with different offences, they would be at liberty to put up a defence.

4. Only the following slogans should be used by the Satyagrahis as well as the public:

- (1) "State Congress Zindabad."
- (2) "Zimma darana Hukumath Zindabad".
- (3) "Shehri Azadi Zindabad".

For further timely instructions and guidance Satyagrahis and the public are requested to be in touch with the Head Office of the Hyderabad State Congress.



**Press Statement by Mr. Ram Krishan Dhooth,
General Secretary to the H. S. C. Committee**

The inevitable has happened all our entreaties to the Govt. having failed to move them. It was with sincere and patriotic motives that the Hyderabad State Congress was brought into being by a few of us who had for a long time past contemplated the birth of such an organisation as the only means to purify our public life which was fast developing a communal colour. The focussing of all minds on a non-communal ideal was not an easy task and it is no secret that my friends and I had to fight many a battle before an agreement could be reached on the point. Hence it amuses me to find the Government dub our efforts communal. It only reveals a morbidity of outlook on their part.

Today the wheels have rolled on and the State Congress has decided to vindicate its right of existence. In the name of truth we have sought the perilous but efficacious path of suffering; no spirit of rancour is in our breast, no malice and no spite. The righteousness

of our cause, and the hope of winning over the Government by patient suffering have set us on this path. We have argued enough, bared our breasts on more than one occasion but all these have failed to move the Government.

I had the privilege of being the convener of the Provisional committee of the Hyderabad State Congress and claim to know the direction of the Chariot. It is along the path of truth and non-violence that the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi the author of Satyagraha, will be with us as long as we keep to that path. Even a slight deviation from it will spell ruin and discredit the great soul whose Tapas is our guide.

To those who sympathise with our cause I appeal to join us bearing in mind the warning and carry on strictly the instructions that may be given from time to time. Let us not forget that Hyderabad is the premier State of India and much of the future of a Federal India depends upon the people of Hyderabad and their political progress.

Conclusion

The reader has gone through the foregoing statements. We are sure that they will have convinced him of the bonafides of the Hyderabad State Congress. We also hope that the Nizam Government will withdraw its ban and allow the Congress Committee to function. Oppression of the helpless ryot does not fit in with the claim on the part of the Government "to rule over the hearts of the people". With all humility we say that, despite repression, we are determined to shed the last drop of our blood until our goal is reached.

A PEEP
INTO
HYDERABAD
(Deccan)

A Survey of the Administration
OF
Nizam's Dominions

V225,8.

25th. September, 1938.

Territory:--

Hyderabad State covers an area of 82698 Sqr. miles bound up north by Khandesh Districts (Bombay) and Berar, south by Krishna and Tungabhadra Rivers, east by Wardha and Godawari rivers and West by Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Bijapur and Dharwar Districts of the Bombay Presidency.

The State is divided into 15 Districts for administrative purposes. The State is as extensive as Bengal Presidency and in Indian States ranks next to Kashmir in size. Mysore is about one-third of Hyderabad. England and Ireland together has as much area as that of Hyderabad.

Population:—

The population according to the latest census report is 1,44,36,148. The State population is linguistically divided in three divisions: namely Marathawada, Telangan and Karnatak, and their languages Marathi, Telangi and Kanarese respectively. Their division into actual figures is as follows:—

69,72,534 Telagu speaking.
37,86,834 Marathi speaking.
16,20,094 Kanarese.
15,07,272 Urdu.

Urdu is generally spoken by Mohamedans but they are scattered all over the State, and are not specially located in any part as the other linguistic populations are. Majority of the Muslim population lives in cities and towns.

There are five big cities, 118 towns and 21,708 villages in the State. The total urban population is 16,16981 while the total rural population is 1,28,19,167 that is nearly 90% of the population lives in villages.

The population is divided according to religion as follows :—

Hindus (including Harijans & Arya, Brahmins, Jains, & Sikhs etc.	2473230,	} 12203500
Mohamedans		
Christians		151382
Zorostarians (Parsis)		7084
Jews		27
Animist (Aborigines)		544789

The percentage of Hindus in the population is 85 and that of Mohamedans 10.5.

Ancient history:—

From the available historical records the first Rulers of this territory were Andhras. After Andhras from 3rd Century A.D. Chalukyas Dynasty was ruling. The Chalukyas were defeated by the Yadavas of Devgiri (now Daulatabad) in 12th century A.D. In 13th and 14th Century A.D. the Yadavas were attacked by Mohamedans (Allauddin Khilji) and finally they were conquered. From 14th Century A.D. to the midst of the 17th Century A.D. the territory was being ruled by the Mohamedan Bahamani dynasty. Aurangzeb conquered this territory in the latter half of the 17th century. The ancestors of the present ruling dynasty (Asafjahi dynasty) were chieftains and generals in Aurangzeb's army. After the death of Aurangzeb the central Moughal power at Delhi became weak and Nizam-ul-mulk became an independent Ruler of this territory in 1729 A.D. where formerly he was only a Subedar appointed by the Moughals. Thereafter his heirs have ruled and are ruling the territory, although making treaties with, and accepting the paramountcy of the new British power that came in India. Many historical places such as the caves of Ellora and Ajanta, Forts of Daulatabad (Devgiri) and Goalkonda speak for the ancient glory of this territory.

Administration

“Personal rule was the original form of the Government in the State, Salarjang I almost converted it into a constitutional monarchy.” These are the words in which the late His Highness Nawab Meer Mahbub Alikhan Bahadur described the constitutional position in his Quamuncha Mubarak promulgated in 1892 A.D. But the term “Constitutional Monarchy” cannot be said to have been used in the same sense as it is being used in the European countries. The traditional form of Government in all Indian States from time immemorial has been personal or unitary where the head of the State is the supreme executive head as well as the source of sanction of law and power. In its external aspect there is, the relation of the State with His Majesty’s Government and the Government of India as defined by various treaties. But it won’t be far from truth if we say that the present form of Government in Hyderabad State is a “compromise between Mohamedan autocracy and Mohamedan oligarchy”. The administration of the State has been more or less under complete control of the Diwans. The system of administration by Cabinet Council was introduced in 1892 A.D. The Council consisted of a President (who was a Prime Minister) and members appointed by His E. H. The Nizam. The Cabinet was merely an advisory body and had no executive authority. It was due to the efforts of Sir Ali Imam in 1921 A. D. that the present Executive Council was created, with full and definite powers of administration enjoined to advise H. E. H. on matters reserved for his consideration. The present Executive Council consists of six members with Right Hon’ble Sir Akbar Hydari, the Prime Minister as its President. The Executive Council is only responsible to H.E.H. Nizam and mostly rules by the authority of his “Firmans”.

Legislative Council:—

The Council was first introduced in 1894 A.D. which

consisted of 15 members six of them being Officials and six others being non-Officials both of whom were to be nominated by the Prime Minister and three members being ex-Officios. Out of the 6 non-Officials, 2 were to be drawn from Jagirdars and Zamindars, 2 from Vakils and 2 from the public. This constitution was amended by the Acts of 1900 A.D. and 1905 A.D. and the present Legislative Council is the outcome of these two Acts. The present Legislative Council consists of 21 members of whom besides the President and the Vice President 11 are Officials and 6 are non-Official members. All Official Members are nominated by the Prime Minister excepting the Chief Justice, Legal Advisor, and the Judicial Secretary who are ex-Officios. Of the 6 non-Officials two are Jagirdars whose income is Rs. 6,000/- or above, two Pleaders of the High Court, both elected by those classes (Jagirdars and Pleaders). Two remaining are nominated by the Prime Minister from among the subjects of whom one is a nominee of the Paiga (Big Jagirdar). Any bill affecting the public revenue and public debt, religious beliefs and observances and usages of any class of the subjects, maintenance and discipline of His Highness troops etc., cannot be introduced without the sanction of the Prime Minister.

The Legislative Council meets twice or thrice in a year and that for one or two days. Some times Laws are enacted and brought into force even before they are introduced in the Legislative Council.

Two Enquiry Committees were appointed one in 1920 A.D. and another three years later, to investigate into the conditions and make necessary recommendations about the proposed reforms of the Legislative Council. Both the Committees had submitted their reports but matters have not taken any final shape till now. Non-Official efforts were made to reform the present Legislative Council but they were invain. An year back a Committee under the Chair-

manship of Mr. Iyengar has been appointed to investigate into and report about the proposed constitutional reforms. It is learnt that the Committee has submitted its report to the Government not with unanimous consent but with minutes of dissent of two members. It is also learnt that the nature of the proposed constitutional reforms in the report is something like that of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. Alas, when provinces in British India have been given Provincial Autonomy, the Nizam is still unwilling to confer 1909 reforms which is merely a mockery of representative Government, to the subjects in his Dominions.

Finance:—

The total income and expenditure of the Hyderabad State was in the year 1934-1935 A.D. as follows:—

Income Rs. 842,01,000

Expenditure Rs. 78,13,000

The total income is divided under the following heads:—

	Figures in Lakhs of Rs.
1. Land Revenue	315.47
2. Forest	12.35
3. Customs	91.66
4. Excise (duty on Match-boxes)	7.78
5. Excise (Liquor, Opium & Ganja)	13.59
6. Stamps	21.06
7. Registration	3.09
7. Mines	4.05
8. Petrol Cess	1.49
9. Berar Rent	29.17
10. Interest	26.79
11. Mint	.84
12. Paper Currency	19.39
13. Exchange	1.06
14. Post Office	12.66
15. Irrigation	.43
16. Railway	109.52
17. Electricity	3.07
18. Miscellaneous	1.92

842.01

The total expenditure is divided under the following heads :—

	Figures in lakhs of Rs.
1. Land Revenue	66.15
2. Land Irrigation	7.08
3. Forests	9.81
4. Customs	20.66
5. Excise	35.45
6. Excise (Opium and Ganja)	1.08
7. Stamps	.98
8. Registration	1.69
9. Mines	.41
10. Interest	41.14
11. Debt redemption	13.50
12. Mint	1.61
13. Paper Currency	.62
14. Exchange	.46
15. Post Office	14.81
16. Air Mail	.23
17. Payment to H. E. H.	50.00
18. Princes' expenses	16.11
19. General Administration	41.15
20. Political charges	5.93
21. Life Insurance	.46
22. Mansabs	16.32
23. Military	79.07
24. Courts	22.18
25. Jails	4.44
26. Police	67.47
27. Education	106.41
28. Medicine	29.11
29. Religious	12.48
30. Agriculture	7.94
31. Veterinary	4.82
32. Co-operative	4.06
33. Miscellaneous Departments	2.10
34. Municipality	17.87

Figures in lakhs of Rs.

35. Buildings and Communications	40.98
86. Irrigation	9.36
37. Railways	1.19
38. Electricity	.19
39. Printing	1.87
40. Industrial	3.36
41. Famine Insurance	15.00
42. Miscellaneous	5.75
	<hr/>
	781.30
	<hr/>

From the above figures it will be easily seen that what a small amount is spent on education. While 50 lakhs of Rupees for H. E. H. the Nizam and 16 Lakhs for the Princes are annually spent. Besides this lump sum the Nizam gets the revenue of the Sarf-i-khas *i.e.* land allotted for his private expenditure. This Sarf-i-khas territory is not a small one. It covers an area of 8110 Sqr. miles. and the annual revenue income of this Sarf-i-khas Ilaqa is more than two crores. In addition to this income the Nizam takes this half crore from the Government Treasury. This Sarf-i-khas Ilaqa or territory was allotted to the Nizams only with the idea that they should not demand any thing more from the Government Treasury. But this motive was never realised into practice. The Nizams receive money both from this Sarf-i-khas and the Government Treasury and moreover the administration of this Sarf-i-khas Ilaqa is left in the hands of the Nizam as their home affair. The people of this Ilaqa are generally backward and oppressed than the people in the Government territory. Out of the total state area of 82698 Sqr. miles only 30962748 acres is the total area of the Diwani Ilaqa (territory of Government administration), that is 58.5 percent of the total state area; and 41.5 percent area is absorbed by the Sarf-i-khas and Paiga and Jagirs. In Paiga (big

jagir) also the internal administration is in the hands of the Jagirdars. The total number of Jagirdars (all small and big ones) is 1167 out of which 632 are Hindus and 534 Mohamedans and one Parsi only. The number of Hindu Jagirdars is greater than the Mohamedans, but Mohamedan jagirdars whose annual income is over Rs. 5000 are actually double the number of Hindu Jagirdars. Hyderabad is the only State in India having such big feudal land-lords. Hyderabad State maintains its separate Postal Service. It has its mints and coins and also issues currency notes. The value of the Nizam's Rupee is Rs. 0-13-6 of the British Indian Rupee. The Railway in this State is owned by the Government and the Government also runs its own motor buses on principal roads, and on these roads public motor buses are not allowed to run.

The system of land revenue is Ryotwari as that of the Bombay Presidency. Besides Ryotwari there are other systems of Land Revenue: Pan-makta, Tahut, Sarbatta and Ijara. But these are insignificant. Ryotwari is the main system.

The average rate of land revenue per acre for dry farms is Re. 1 in Marathawada and Ans. 12 and pies 5 per acre in Telangan. For irrigated lands Rs. 5-8-0 per acre in Marathawada and Rs. 11-6-0 per acre in Telangan. But these farms are irrigated by the Government Canals. The Government does not charge any thing separately for the water.

The income of the Excise (liquor) Department is gradually increasing every year.

The State Police is divided into two sections, one City Police and the other District Police. The City Police is only for the Hyderabad City and its adjoining area of 32 Sqr. Miles. More than half the total number of this Police, employed in both the sections, is illiterate. Even some Police Officers

are illiterate. Nearly 20 percent of this Police is generally sentenced every year for crimes. Judges are sometimes forced to acquit 10 or 12 percent of the accused brought before them as the Police could not bring any evidence before the Court in support of their charge.

The State maintains its own army comprising Regular and Irregular Forces. The Regulars consist of 3 Cavalry Regiments, 2 Regiments styled the Hyderabad Imperial Service Regiments, 2 Batteries of Artillery and 5 Battalions of Infantry. The total strength of the army is 19737—7200 Regulars and 12537 Irregulars.

At Begumpeth Hyderabad a Government Airodrome is established and four Planes are maintained for training the Mulki candidates.

Local Self Government:—

In 1889 A. D. the Government passed a law which allowed Government to levy one Anna per Rupee of Land Revenue as local fund tax for the up-keep of Roads and Sanitation. Also Taluka and District Local Fund Committees were created. The Taluka Local Fund Committee consisted of 8 members, the Tehsildar being the President. Three members were Government Officials, namely Head Master, Police Sub-Inspector and Doctor. The remaining 4 seats are filled by nomination by the Tehsildar. The District Local Fund Committee consists of seven Official members and 7 non-Official members, the Talukdar being its President. Sanitation, Primary Education, Roads, and other public works are to be carried out by these Bodies. But these works are never done to the satisfaction of the public. Only favourites of the Government Officers are nominated on these Boards, and they have no effective voice in the administration. Such people take much care to please the whim of the Officers than to do their duties towards the public. With the Talukdar and Tehsildar as their Officer President, they seem to confine

their activities to fulfilling petty sanitary requirements of the Head Quarter towns and do not bestow any attention to the needs of the villagers within their jurisdiction. Except Hyderabad there is no Municipality in the Hyderabad State. This also was established in 1935 under the new Municipal Act. The Municipal Corporation consists of 36 members of whom 13 are elected by General Constituencies, 10 represent special constituencies, and 13 are nominated from among the Officials. The Corporation enjoys large powers of administration and taxation. The total income of this Municipality is over 11 Lakhs. Also Government has created Municipalities with non-Official majorities in 7 big towns Gulbarga, Aurangabad, Nander, Latur, Jalna, Raichur, and Warangal. The members of these Local Municipal Committees are all nominated. Even in the field of Local Self Government, the Government have not given any democratic rights to the people. All these Committees are only in name, as the members very rarely dare to show their disagreement with the Government Officers in the Committees. Only elected members and they too having sufficient administrative rights can look after the Municipal welfare.

Judiciary:—

During the regime of Sir Alli Imam the bifurcation of the Judiciary and the Executive was effected in 1920 A. D. But after the forced retirement of the Prime Minister of Democratic bent, slowly but surely the principle was nullified in practice. The appointment of the Judges and their frequent extension of services being vested in the Executive Council and the Judicial Member who controlled the Department being the member of the Executive Council, the Judiciary in the nature of things cannot remain independent of the influence of the Executive. H. E. H. the Nizam as the fountain of law has not infrequently overruled the existing law. There have been cases wherein instead of sanctioning the majority judgment of the Judges constituting a Judicial Committee, minority judgment

was up-held by the H. E. H. And there have been cases where without accepting the judgments of the Judicial Committee the case was remanded for reconsideration once, twice or thrice with certain instructions. This will certainly show that the practice of constitutional monarch accepting the advice of the member of the judiciary which is prevalent in England is not observed in the State.

It must be remembered that although the Civil Procedure Code permits that evidence should be recorded in the language of the witness still from the lowest Court the language of the Court is Urdu only, which works as a severe handicap in the case of the litigants in the Districts.

Although in theory, the High Court is a Chartered High Court, the appointment of the judges and their frequent extension of the services being vested in the Executive Council and the Judicial Member being a Member of the Executive Council who controls the Department, the Department cannot be said to be independent of the influence of the Executive. As regards the supremacy of the Judiciary the less said the better. There are no instances where the Judiciary has established its supremacy over the Executive. Regarding recruitment the figures speak for themselves. As regards the calibre and personnel of the Judiciary they are not on par with their counterparts in British India.

The paucity of Hindu Judicial Officers has adversely affected the administration of justice in as much as the majority of the litigants being naturally Hindus their ways and customs are not sufficiently known to the Muslim Judges which is quite essential for satisfactory administration of justice. The Judicial Department is not an exception to the general policy of the State to develop a strong Islamic state in the Deccan.

The Judiciary has been a monopoly of the ruling community and betrays an individious distinction between one community and another. This is well-illustrated by the following table:—

Name of the post	Hindu	Muslim	Chr.	Parsee
Judicial member		1		
Judicial Secretary		1		
Legal Advisor to the Govt. and members of the Judicial Committee.	1	2		
Asstt. to the Judicial Secretary.		1		
Registrar of the Judicial Committee.		1		
Asstt to the Legal Advisor.		3		
High Court Judges and Inspector General.	1	9		
Registrars and Asstt. Regis- trars.		2		
High Court Office		5		
Supdts. Session Judges and Addl. Session Judges.	1	5		
Judges of the Small Causes, Courts		2		
Judges of the City Civil Court		4		
Judges of the City Cr. Courts and Coronors	1	4		
Kāzi Courts		1		
District Judges		18		
Additional District Judges	1	9		
Munsiffs	11	96		
Special Magistrates		1		
Government Pleaders	1	8		

Public Services

The population of Hindus in Hyderabad States is 12203500 and of Mohamedans is 1534366 according to the Census of 1931. But their representation in the State Services is in inverse ratio. It can be said without fear of contradiction that the Hindus are in no way inferior to the Mohamedans and in fact there cannot be any reasonable excuse for not employing them in Government service.

From 1913 to 1934, 82 Civil Servants were appointed who passed the H. C. S. out of which only seven are Hindus, one being a Maharashtrian, one a Kanada, and none from Telangana. This will show how the services are being monopolised by the Muslims. This monopoly is not confined to the H. C. S. Class, but it is all pervading, from the Chaparasi right up to the Executive Councillor. The list of Gazetted Servants was analysed in 1931 and it was shown how Hindus were meagrely represented in services. But despite the challenge, the Government have not published the list of non-Gazetted servants thereby confirming the conclusion that the representation is equally bad in the non-Gazetted ranks also. A glance at the classification of the heads of the different Departments and the Secretariat will disclose how far Hindus have been excluded. It was Mr. John Law who stated in 1914 that there were as many Muslims in Hyderabad as Englishmen in British India. It might not be literally true now, for the numerical strength of the Muslims in the State is more now than that of the Europeans in British India. But it will be found that subtle Imperialistic methods are being adopted by the State to give preferential treatment both in theory and in practice to Muslims. It is because of this privileged position that Muslims in general are against any change in the Government on the democratic lines and the political aspirations of 85 per cent. of the subjects of the State are conveniently dubbed as communal. Here undoubtedly Muslims are in power, although they have got their grievances for not being treated literally as faithful

ally. There are some Mohamedans who profess to have a national outlook and they want the co-operation of the Hindus to do away with the interference of the British Government. But when cornered to state their position *vis-a-vis* the Hindus they are conveniently evasive and they are not prepared to give up the privileged position and any demand for the same is branded as communal. Thus it will be clear that owing to the communal policy of the State, to create a ruling class and the ruled, any political agitation is bound to appear as Hindu agitation although their demands might be purely national in nature. This aspect was shrewdly noticed by Lord Lothian but unfortunately many leaders in British India do not seem to have fully realised this position. The fathering of the Urdu language under one pretext or another as the medium of instruction, the subordination of the religious sentiments of the Hindus to those of the Muslims under the guise of keeping public peace, the attempt to keep the power in the hands of the Muslims by relying on efficiency and economic distress are, matters which might be well compared with corresponding events in British India. And working primarily for the economic, educational, social and religious progress of the Muslims are means to an end. What the Hindus are afraid of is the ruin of their language and culture, their economic, educational, and political future, if the present state of affairs is allowed to remain any further. It is not cement roads or palacial buildings that make citizens. But every citizen must feel that he is breathing a free atmosphere and there is no conflict of interest between the rulers and the ruled. There are certain catch-words that are used very often by those in power and others who support them viz. "Rivayat Kadim" Exemplary Communal harmony," "The trust rested in the muslims", "to keep peace" But the naked fact remains that no amount of gloss can conceal the motive. The Hindus are loyal to the core but their demand is that there should be Government of the people and for the people under the aegis of the Asafjahi dynasty.

Table showing representation of different communities in State Services (Gazetted in 1931):—

Department	Hindus	Mohamedans	Parsis	Europeans.
Secretariat	16	54	2	3
Finance	15	26	2	1
Revenue	20	196	4	2
Judicial	12	136	1	0
Police & Jail	13	40	1	4
Educational	53	183	4	29
Medical	45	41	8	16
P. W. D.	34	62	4	7
Miscellaneous	40	126	9	11

Though the figures of the lower services are not available the percentage of the communities is the same.

Education

A glance at the expenditure on education will show the increase during the last fifty years. But if we compare the expenditure with the spread of education it will be found that the results are not satisfactory judging from the results of the educational policy followed and analysing the effect on both the communities in the state, It will be found that Muslim males and females have made such a headway during the last twenty five years which is unprecedented in the history of any province in British India. Bearing in mind the fact that Muslims in British India claim special facilities as a backward community, there must be something inherent in the educational policy of the state which has been instrumental in bringing about this phenomenal progress of the Muslim community. It will be found that special attention was and is being paid towards the education of Muslims from time to time. The introduction of Urdu as the medium of instruction has worked as a disadvantage in the case of Hindu lads who form nine-tenths of the total population of the state. The chief languages spoken in Hyderabad State are Urdu 1507272 Telagu 6972534 Marathi 3786834 and 1620094 Canarese. Considering this distribution, any reasonable man would expect that the education imparted in

the state would be in the languages of the people concerned and would seek to promote the cultural genius of the various linguistic division. But it is very sad to note that the chief languages of the State other than Urdu (now euphemistically called Hindusthani) are relegated to a very subordinate position, if not actually throttled. At any stage of educational career which led His Excellency Lord Irwin to observe in 1929 :—

“It will be a task of mature statesmanship so as to shape the policy of the Osmania University that it may have as strong an appeal to the Hindu as to the Mohamedan subjects of your state.”

But this warning has failed to carry any weight with the Government except paying lip sympathy and showing small mercy to the teaching of Telagu, Marathi and Canarese. Whether it is a question of primary education or secondary education the three principal languages are still neglected although in theory primary education is to be imparted through the local vernaculars, in practice the object is negatived by putting forward several excuses, namely want of competent staff and employment of Muslims to teach through the vernaculars. The Educational authorities, declare time and again, that education in the State is imparted in the Mother-tongue. Nothing is farther from the truth. One has only to go to the various High, Middle and Primary Schools to realise what little of the real Mother-tongue is taught and how much preponderance of Urdu there is. Primary Education through the Mother-tongue is a myth. Our contention is not about Urdu as such but about the suppression of the vernaculars of the State like Marathi, Canarese and Telagu which express the cultural heritage of the great people that have been residing in the country long long before the Asafjahi Dynasty came into being. In spite of repeated assertions, the Government have not published so far the number of primary schools where the full primary course is carried out through the local vernacular.

Ever since the Osmania University was started twenty years ago, it has been boasted that the medium of instruction is the mother-tongue. May we humbly ask 'Whose mother-tongue?' It is not even the mother-tongue of the lakhs of Muslims in the interior of the country, in the villages and little towns, whose mother-tongue is only the provincial language of the place where they happen to live. Such being the case, it is highly unbecoming of the Muslim rulers to suppress the vernaculars of the country and give a death blow to the culture of the people over whom fortune has placed them. Psychologically viewed, this suppression of the vernaculars is due to a desire to express the superiority complex of the rulers and create an unbridgable gulf between the subjects and its sovereigns. It is sad to note that inspite of the heavy expenditure, the progress of education is far from satisfactory, not even 5% of the population being literate. One has only to look at the neighbouring enlightened Indian States like Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and Bhopal to find out what great percentage of the population know to read and write and what great strides have been made in Education and other nation-building activities under the sympathetic patronage of the rulers concerned. The question of vernaculars is not merely a question of languages, but it is a question of the preservation of the culture of which the three linguistic divisions of the state Telangana, Marathwada, and Karnatak can be well proud of. The gradual and deliberate elimination of the mother-tongue of the vast majority of the population of the state cuts at the root of the individual cultural traits of the race and to-day a Hindu in the state is greatly muslimised in tongue!

Secondary Education:—

There is a tremendous gap between the primary and the secondary stages. Hindu students are handicapped by the sudden transition from a vernacular to an Urdu medium. The Text books prescribed are written almost by Muslims.

The language consisting Arabic and Persian terminology is difficult to learn for Hindu and Christian boys. A systematic attempt is here made to keep Hindu boys behind. In this stage the question of Hindustani may be considered. Sir Akbar Hyderi's Dacca speech calling for the rewriting of History correctly represents the often expressed views of the Hyderabad Hindus. They want to have a new history which will describe their glorious past and the great heritage left to them by their far-famed ancestors. The present language text-books and history-books contain only lessons dealing with the Muslim invasion of India and the so-called blessings brought by the Türks and Moughals. History books are not written by impartial historians but by time-servers, out to make a living by dancing to the tune of the rulers. Hindu culture and history is not treated well. An undue proportion is assigned to the Muslim period. No mention is made in the Text books of the glories of the Sikhs with their Gurudwara at Nander, the Telagus with the famous literary and artistic productions of the Kakatias of Warangal, or Karnataks with the glories of the Vijayanagar kings, not to say of the Maharashtrians with the hundreds of heroes and saints who have left immortal foot-prints on the sands of time. Will Sir Akbar organise a representative board of history, consisting of really independent and learned scholars to write his much desired history on new lines? Will he evoke that mass appeal which he so earnestly pleads for and declares to be the *sine—qua—non* of well ordered states and satisfied people? Let us wait and see. In secondary schools we sadly miss equality of opportunity for all subjects. Seniority in service and grade are almost all neglected and influence and recommendation play a prominent part in appointments and promotions. In a department where the best available must be entertained, we find favouritism, if not nepotism flourishing.

College Education:—

The State has a University of its own namely the

Osmania University, where the medium of instruction is Urdu. It has an Arts College with a Science section attached, as well as subjects like Law, Muslim Theology, Medicine, Education, Engineering, Technology and Physical culture are all taught in special institutions under the control of the University. The Provincial Capitals like Gulbarga, Aurangabad and Warangal have Intermediate Colleges. There are women's Arts colleges at Hyderabad where girls are coached up-to the B. A. degree Examination.

The Osmania University is the white elephant of the State. The major portion of the expenditure incurred on education goes to the University and other departments like Translation Bureau attached to it. The University has given a great fillip to Muslim ambitions and aspirations. The courses prescribed and the way of conducting the examinations, even the very arrangement in the University Hostel smacks of favouritism to the ruling Muslim class. Hindus find it more and more difficult to get admission into the colleges.

It is sometimes boasted that the best students of this University can hold their own against the best of other Universities. But that is inspite of the low standard of the local institution. A real genius can easily overcome limitations of this University and the coaching imparted under its aegis. But we have to judge things by the substance of the average Osmania product, a sorry figure in the world of facts and figures, but groaning under the weight of Persianised and Arabicised Urdu phraseology.

The educational institutions are one of the most effective agencies through which the venom of communalism is made to pass. The Hindu lad is a cursed fellow! He is decried and discouraged at every stage and is made to feel that he belongs to a conquered race! Even a paltry fellow

like the office peon can kick a Hindu student and such action goes unheeded simply on the score of his being the follower of Islam! The Muslim teacher in his own arrogance deprecates Hindu deities and religious dogmas and is not afraid of pulling down "Lingakar" the sacred emblem of the Lingayats. The fellow is left scot-free. Such instances can be quoted by scores. Within the sacred portals of educational institutions rank communalism and religious fanaticism has held its sway and strikes and the like have been the order of the day. Next to the Ecclesiastical Department which carries ruthless propaganda in conversion, educational institutions have a lion's share in effecting well-planned, systematic and most telling cultural aggression!

Lastly, it is most interesting to note that the Government instead of helping private effort in the field of education, have chosen to pass rules thereby prohibiting opening schools by private agencies without previous permission being obtained. The rules seem to be based on the assumption of the monopoly of the state in education just as the monopoly of the excise! Except Germany and Russia, where the state has amply provided for the education of the subjects, there is no other country in the world which puts such a heavy premium on private educational enterprise. Although the existence of such restrictions in Germany is often relied upon in support of these rules, it is conveniently not borne in mind that the percentage of illiteracy in Germany is equal to the percentage of literacy in the Hyderabad State! It must, however be observed, in all fairness to the Government that although these black rules have not yet been cancelled, it has been openly declared that in future it will be the policy of the Government to encourage private enterprise in secondary stage and keep primary education strictly under Government control and management. It is yet too early to estimate what the result of the policy would be!

According to the rules regarding private schools, any person or persons desiring to start private institutions seeking permission must furnish the details in the prescribed form stating (a) the object of starting the institution (b) curriculum to be followed (c) description of the building to be used and its condition (d) and the number of teachers to be employed and their qualifications. In this connection it is significant to note that the result of the promulgation of these rules can very well be judged from the following figures :—

Year	Number of Private Schools
1333 F (1924 A.D.)	4053
1336 F (1927 A.D.)	1305

There was a good deal of agitation against these rules but the Government have not chosen so far to cancel the same. The guiding principle of the educational policy of the state seems to be to force the Government curriculum and ideals of education on the people. In as much as Government was experimenting, it was found necessary to resort to compulsion to generalise the Government system of education.

Islamic monopoly holds sway in awarding foreign scholarships and extending educational loans for students going abroad! We can amply quote figures to substantiate this. The Report on Public Instruction in H. E. H. Nizam's Dominion for the years 1933-34 contains convincing figures and names. On page 72 of the Report, foreign scholarships and loans are enumerated. Four European and Egyptian scholarships were awarded and the students upon whom these were conferred are all Mohamedans! In addition to these, two special scholarships were given, and then too the recipients were Muslims! The same year ten Government Scholarship holders returned from Europe and with the exception of one, all the nine are followers of Islam! Loans for higher studies abroad ranging between Rs. 1500 and

Rs. 10000 each were awarded to six scholars, none of whom could be a Hindu! These figures are all eloquent and we leave the public to judge what state of affairs they reveal.

Such is the woeful tale of a single academical year! This has been rolling on for years together and there seems to be no end to it. The effect of this policy is that the minority community of Muslims which airs itself as the ruling class holds all Government Offices and the Hindu majority as a "Ji Hukoom" entity!

Looking to the Government reports it would be seen that there are:—

11	villages bearing population of 2000—3000
15	" " " " " 1000—2000
2988	" " " " " 500—1000

having no school as yet, not to speak of other villages having a population of less than 500.

Literacy of Hindu Females in the State from 1881-1931.

Year	Hindu Females	Literates	Proportion per thousand
1881	4275369	1889	
1891	5068278	5217	
1901	4846638	9475	
1911	5729101	10893	
1921	5249860	17316	

Muslim Females.

1881	136699	31
1891	456483	1229
1901	565520	5816
1911	675189	8477
1921	639255	19599
1931	—	—

These figures should be read in the light of the fact that the population of the Hindus is more than eight times that of the Mohamedans.

The phenomenal progress made by the Muslim boys and girls in schools and colleges during the last twenty years i. e. after the establishment of Osmania University is the direct result of the medium of instruction being Urdu.

Table showing the students of English and Urdu Medium.

English Medium.

Examination	1336F.		1337F.		1338F.		1339F.	
	Hin.	Mus.	Hin.	Mus.	Hin.	Mus.	Hin.	Mus.
B.A. (Hon.)	1	0	0	0	1	0	15	0
B. A.	16	5	14	6	16	12	15	5
Inter	29	11	22	12	27	11	22	12
H.S.L.C.	138	100	136	88	151	78	136	88

Urdu Medium (Osmania)

M.A.	1	5	0	2	0	5	0	5
B.A.	16	29	12	36	14	42	26	33
Inter	21	59	21	46	32	88	21	46
Matric.	43	72	79	99	39	78	79	99

Number of literates in different provinces per mille.

Provinces	Males per Mille.	Females per mille.
Bengal	188	22
Madras	219	25
C.P. And Berar	110	11
Bombay.	110	23
Travancore	408	168
Mysore	174	33
Baroda	331	79
Hyderabad	85	12

Table showing the number of literates per thousand and expenditure on education in the Hyderabad State.

Year	No. of literates per thousand	Expenditure.
1881	37	2,29,220- 0-0.
1891	44	3,03,292-12-3.
1901	34	7,48,665- 0-0.
1911	32	10,19,787- 0-0.
1921	33	68,29,902- 0-0.
1931	48.5	90,77,083- 0-0.

Table showing the percentage of literate Hindus and Mohamedans in the State from 1881-1931:—

Year	Hindu Population	Literates	Proportion of literates per thousand.
1881	8893181	264507	29.8
1891	10315249.	346475	33.7
1901	9870839	250267	25.4
1911	11626375	267041	23.
1921	1065453	277056	26.
1931	12176727	405614	33.3

Mohamedan Population.

1881	925929	45752	49.4
1891	1138666	70147	61.6
1901	1555750	63110	54.6
1911	1380990	81260	59
1921	1298277	115522	89
1931	1534666	158859	103.5

Condition of the People

The economic, social and political condition of the people of a country depends much upon the form of the Government existing in the country. It is not at all surprising if we find the people of the Hyderabad State

living in a distressed condition economically, socially and politically. In a state where the Government is a medieval autocracy, we cannot find any other conditions than these. The people have no voice in the administration even in smaller affairs like Local Self-Govt. They are traditionally accustomed to obey any order that comes from above. Why they should disobey? Have they ever been told by their Government that they rule over them with their consent. Government may boast so, but as long as It has not given the people any voting right in matters even at least of smaller importance, Government cannot say that they are ruling with the consent of the people. People become politically conscious when they are asked to vote for the institutions which rule over them. The Spread of education and literacy in Hyderabad State being very much small—not even 5% are literate, the social ideas of the people there, are naturally backward. To believe in the law of Karma, or to rely on Providence, naturally becomes a good mental solace for the exploited, Tyrannised and downtrodden people. People in Hyderabad are no exception but a strong support to the above statement.

The economic conditions of the State during the last decade must be reckoned as disappointing and depressing. Beneath the apparent prosperity which the casual visitors from outside are apt to observe, there is the undeniable deeprooted poverty of the agriculturist masses who really constitute the bulk of the People. It needs no statistical knowledge and census material to realise the way in which these masses of the people have been drained of even their last resources. The realisation that there is something wrong fundamentally in the system of administration is slowly but surely dawning on the villagers. The administration on the other hand is tending to become unmanageably top-heavy. The administrative machinery is so cumbersome and complicated that the villager cannot have his ordinary needs of daily life fulfilled expeditiously without being tossed between

several officers and offices. All these conditions put together have created a strong impression among the masses that their grievances should be ventilated as often as possible. The people have begun to be more vocal in spite of the restrictions on the freedom of speech and association. The various conferences in the three provinces of Hyderabad held under several restrictions prove that they are fulfilling an urgent need of the people.

Some critics doubt that the people of Hyderabad lack sufficient political training to acquit themselves creditably, if even the least measure of constitutional reforms is granted to them. But our own experience of the public at large in different spheres of activity has convinced us, though the people of Hyderabad had no direct training of working the representative institutions, that they do possess sound commonsense and intelligent grasp of affairs which are the foundations of civic training. Given the opportunity, Hyderabad will not be far behind their brethren in British India, in their efficiency of discharging highest civic responsibilities.

Civil liberties in Hyderabad State

Freedom of Faith and Worship:—

By now the principle has come to stay in Politics and Sociology that a Government has no religion; its functions are purely secular and its ecclesiastical functions (if any) are but secondary and incidental.

His Exalted Highness The Nizam and the members of the royal family have declared time and anon that they have never discriminated against any community for its religion. On 12th Shehri war 1338 F. (1929 A.D.) H. E. H. the Nizam declared in connection with the Gurudwara at Nander:—

“It is the duty of every Government that they should

protect the life, property and the sacred place of the subjects of divergent religions. This had been the policy of my ancestors and in as much as I have been following their footsteps, I have adopted the same policy. The Ruler of this country had never shown any partiality towards any religion whatever be his personal religion. On the same principle, I have issued order to my Government that, not only should they pay proper attention to the Gurudwara, but they should pay attention to every place of worship, so that they may be safe from the interference of outsiders. On account of this golden principle of administration, the name of my dynasty has been famous since the older times and I have strong hopes that the same good name should be perpetuated."

These are noble and admirable sentiments and they should have been highly gratifying but for its gross breach in practice.

There is no doubt the Rules in force regarding religious ceremonies and music before mosques negative the idea of the freedom of worship, a right which has been recognised by all modern Governments. Sir Justic Sulaiman, Ex-Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court and at present Judge of the Federal Court has aptly expressed this right in the following words:—"There is a right in every community to take out a religious procession with its appropriate observances along a highway. This is an inherent right and does not depend upon any proof of any custom or a long established practice. Even if such a procession be an innovation, it would be in the exercise of the legal rights. The right is independent of any long standing tradition and is not lost by obstructions and non-exercise of it for a long time."

There are other circulars which vitally affect the freedom of worship and seem to be based upon subordinating the

inherent right of the community to the susceptibilities and sentiments of another community.

Civic rights are the very ozone of modern society, and freedom of conscience and freedom of worship and religious procession form no mean part of it. But the archives of the Ecclesiastical Department are full of circulars dealing with the suppression of these rights and the fecundity of the Department is so rapid that year after year the piles of the circulars are getting multiplied.

As late as 1909 A. D. a circular dated 3rd Khurdad 1318 F. begins with the words "In view of the fact that this is an Islamic State." Has this circular escaped the notice so far of Sir Akbar, the pioneer of Hindu—Moslem unity?

Another circular dated 19-10-1308 F. (1899 A.D.) says that where the population of the followers of Islam is considerable the existing temples and maths should not be extended or improved. Rightly does Mr. John Law observe in his book, "In vain I looked for modern Hindu temples; the ruins of old ones I found; . . . Mosques I saw everywhere, but when I asked where do Hindus worship, I was shown ruined temples on hills, outside the city. Or I was told the Hindus go to Godavary—their sacred river". This book was compiled with the help of the present Prime Minister. Has the Government contradicted the statement or rescinded the circular which is the cause of this state?

In 1326 F. (1917 A.D.) the Dassarra Festival happened to coincide with the Moharrum. Circular no. 1, dated 13th Azur 1326 F. was issued; the relevant part of it runs as follows:—

(1) All Hindus of the Hyderabad City and the districts should perform their worship without any sort of music.

(3) Baktamma (Goddess) should not be brought out and the Hindus should not play music even in their household temples.

Rules regarding religious ceremonies and processions are preposterous. Circular no. 4 of 1329 F. (1920 A.D.) runs thus:—

“Whoever starts any religious festival for the second time (which has been for some time in abeyance) or if any person or a class of persons desires to perform any religious ceremony newly and publicly at a public place and by their so doing any other section is offended or if there is any chance of a breach of peace or if it affects public health, such a religious performance can be put a stop to”.

This has handed over to the officials a ready weapon to suppress any religious function under one pretext or another. Circular no. 7 requires 15 day's previous notice to the Tahasildar for any religious procession and the provisions more or less follow Gasti no. 53 about Public meetings.

Rules regarding Playing Music Before Mosques. 22-3-1344F. (28-12-34 A.D.)

1. If there be road in front of a Mosque, the width of which is less than 40 steps i.e. 100 ft, the playing of music shall be stopped 40 steps on either side of the Mosque.

Explanation:—Mosque includes also the compound of the Mosque.

2. If there be any roads in the neighbourhood or side of a Mosque, no building intervenes between the road and the Mosque and the distance between the road and the Mosque be less than 40 steps, then the music passing by the road shall stop 40 steps on either side of the Mosque.

3. In houses and temples of other religions, if there is necessity of playing music, if such houses or temples be situated within 40 steps, on any one of the four sides of

the Mosque, then music might be played except on the occasion of prayers as specified below.

1. Morning prayers:—One hour prior to Sunrise.
2. Noon Prayers:—1-30 P.M. to 2-30 P.M.
3. Sunset prayers:—for half an hour after Sunset.
4. Evening prayers:—5-P.M. to 5-30 p.m.
5. Night prayers:—8 p.m. to 9 p.m.

4. Wherever music has been prohibited within specified distance and during specified hours, or deliberately creating such noise is calculated to disturb the prayers, is also prohibited hereby.

5. Dassarha flags should be hoisted on the 15th of Moharrum and the ceremonies relating thereto viz sacrifice and worship should be performed on the 15th of Moharrum.

Of late, Arya Samajists are prohibited from keeping "Havan Kunda" without permission, and even Harikatha and Pravachana are the victims of the Government fiat. There is another regulation requiring permission for religious preachers.

Whoever breaks the said provision, shall be liable to a penalty, simple imprisonment, extending over one month, or fine up—to Rs. 200/- or both, and such cases shall be cognisable by the Police and shall be triable by the Magistrate of the First Class. We have given above the regulations to show how the Govt. is resorting discriminating in religious matter. We do not in the least subscribe to the idea of religious favouritism. We feel that in as much as the modern state should be a secular one the ecclesiastical functions of the Government should be minimised, Government should not take active part in espousing the religious cause of any community. But in Hyderabad there is a full fledged Ecclesiastial Department which has cost the tax-payer Rupees Six Lakhs in 1325 F.

(1916 A.D.) while its cost in 1346 F. (1937 A.D.) has risen up to fourteen lakhs.

In 1337 F. Rs. 595900 were given to repairs of mosques in the foreign countries. Can such expenditure be justified on any ground? This will be found to be in direct breach of religious neutrality on the part of the State. Following figures relating to 1340 F. (1931 A. D.) are illuminating.

Rs. 389075 were spent on Kazis, Pesh-Imams etc.

Rs. 23000 on pilgrims to Mecca (the sum has increased to Rs. 42804 in 1343 F. (1934 A. D.)

Rs. 75995 on Moharrams etc. (Under this head, only upto 1329 F expenses on Hindu festivals were separately shown, thereafter no such special mention is made)

Rs. 306509 on Mamuldars.

Rs. 14774 on mosques.

Rs. 316374 on religious charities.

Apart from this, Rs. 100000 have been given to repairs to the Afzal Mosque in Palestine, Rs. 50000/- to the Hilal Ahmed association of Turkey; Rs. 100000/- to the Jumma Musjid at Delhi.

The Decennial report of the Department (The Department shunning annual report, lest it will be a subject to criticism) for 1334 F. to 42 F. reveals that the total grant awarded to six Hindu institutions in Hyderabad state is only Rs. 5449 as against the sum of Rs. 854382 spent directly on Muslim institutions.

Curiously enough the purse of the Ecclesiastical Department is found to be insufficient. The purse of the P. W. D. is harnessed for the sake of it. The P. W. D. from its own resources constructed new mosques in the

districts costing Rs. 190223 in 1340 F. and Rs. 81012 in 1341 F. and Rs. 13398 in 1342 F. This top heavy expenditure of the Ecclesiastical Department at the cost of the poor taxpayer becomes subject of criticism, firstly, because no modern State should spend so much for espousing any religious faith or tradition and secondly, if it spends, it should not resort a discriminating policy.

Freedom of Speech:—

The Premier State of Hyderabad is pioneer in the field of suppression of civil liberties ! The Government is oppressively watchful and irritatingly suspicious ; it brooks no delay in putting down all expressions of the public mind ! In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru “Political meetings are unknown in Hyderabad and even social and religious gatherings are looked upon with suspicion and special permission has to be taken for them.” (Autobiography).

No hard and fast rules regulating the holding of public meetings seem to have existed up to the twenties of the present century. In 1921 A. D. a Firman of H. E. H. the Nizam was published in the extraordinary Gazette. The order runs :—

“Political meeting or any meeting calculated to bring about political results should not be held without the permission of the Executive Council. (The executive Council shall obtain my sanction before granting such permission.) Otherwise the conveners of the meeting will be held responsible in every way. Besides this, it will be necessary to submit previously by way of information the agenda, to the Executive Council of all the proceedings to be held in the meeting, which is thus sanctioned, and until the Executive Council sanctions the agenda, the proceedings shall not, be gone through.”

Sd/- H. E. H.

An executive order called Gashti No. 53 of 17th Dai was promulgated in the year 1929 A. D. the following is taken verbatim from State Gazette, the original text being in Urdu :—

“Every person desirous of holding a public meeting shall in writing intimate his intention, if the meeting is to be held in the City of Hyderabad to the Commissioner of Police and in other cases to the Collector concerned, at least ten days prior to the date of the meeting. If the meeting be not *prima facie* political, and if in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police or the Collector, there is a likelihood of political results being brought about, then such person shall be immediately informed that there is no necessity of any permission for holding the the meeting. The Commissioner of Police or the Collector shall have the power to send for the rules in force of such meeting, copies of speeches and list of other persons convening the meeting. If there be no sufficient reason to send for the list then it will not be thus sent for, provided the convener of the meeting holds himself out responsible for the proceedings of the meeting being etirely non-political. If *prima facie* the meeting is political or it is likely to bring about political results then such person intimating, shall be informed that permission of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Government is necessary for the meeting and that without such permission, the meeting cannot be held. Except in cases where Government have permitted the holding of any political meeting, the president of the meeting shall be responsible for not allowing the meeting, to assume a political character. If the Government think it proper to demand security in any particular case, then steps would be taken accordingly.”

Sd/- Dy. Secretary, Home Department.

Later on, after protracted correspondence, interviews, and public protests the Government issued order of 14

Khurdad 1340 F (1930 A. D.) warning the Collector against interpreting every meeting as political or likely to result in political consequences and also against needless delay in disposing of matters regarding meetings. In 1342 F. the Home Secretary was authorised to hear appeals against the orders of the Collectors in matters pertaining to the Gashti.

But this proved to be no adequate safeguard. The studied ambiguity and deliberate elasticity of the provisions brought in its train preventive misinterpretations and procrastinating procedure. The Hyderabad State People's Convention Committee declares "They impose conditions impossible to comply with, suffice it to say, it plainly discourages all freedom of association and expression".

On 14th Ardibehesht 1339 F. (1929 A. D.) a letter was addressed to the City Commissioner of Police requesting him to define what was meant by Political as far as the Gashti was concerned. The Commissioner forwarded it up to the Government and asked the correspondent to wait.

Two long years elapsed and there was no reply.

At last on 5th Azur 1341 F. (1932) the Police Commissioner wrote "The Government have not favoured with any explanation. It will be better however if the matter be stopped at this."

Yes, no Daniel in the Premier State could define the word "political" in two long years. Eventually on 20th Khurdad 1342 F. (24th April 1933) a communique was issued by the Information Bureau trying to clarify the official stand. In one part of the communique an attempt is made to put forward Government policy about the definition of political meetings.

"H. E. H. the Nizam's Government are not prepared to make any change in their policy about political meetings. In the category of political meetings I included all those

meetings which are likely to lead to any communal disturbances, or which are likely to lead to create disaffection against the Government or in which opposition is shown to the administration of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions or British India, the more especially so when they are organised or when there is the possibility that the Government or their Officers may be blasphamed."

No good and civilised Government deny itself the benefit of crystallised public opinion, but Government of the "Faithful Ally" thus flatters itself on this; it takes pleasure in stifling the pure stream of public reason. We quote instances....Let them speak for themselves?

(1) A public meeting organised by the Hyderabad Harijan Seva Sangha to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday had to be abandoned. For only 24 hours before the time of the meeting, the Secretary was asked to furnish a security of Rs. 2000/- and to give an undertaking that the meeting would in no way be political.

(2) A meeting was arranged at Suryapeth a Taluq town in Nalgonda District where the representatives of the Departments of Agriculture, co-operative and veterinary were invited to address the gatherings and explain their work to the people.

"No such meeting can be held without previous permission of the Government and if any such meeting is held without permission, it shall be stopped;" was the reply received on 12th Amardad 35 F. after all the arrangements were complete.

(3) The Anniversary of a Library at Medak was fixed for 12th Inspendor 1341 F. (1932 A. D.) the application for permission was refused consideration twice; once for non-payment of Court-fee stamp of eight annas and for postage stamps for reply. The function had to be postponed. The Andhra Central Committee intervened the Home Secretary in his reply dated 6th Aban 1341 F. wrote "This conference cannot be granted permission by E. C."

It was pointed out that it was not a conference but only a meeting. The final reply came on 20th Aban:—

“Conference means meeting also.”

Such is the fate shared by scores of Libraries in the Hyderabad State.

(4) “No Speech about the hardships of ‘bigari’.” ran the order of the authorities in connection with a meeting at Achampeth, District Mahibubnagar.

And still it is said that Begari is shorn of its oppressiveness by special Government rules.

(5) In 1341 F. (1932 A.D.) a meeting was convened to thank the Government for the remission of land revenue given to the cultivators. The City Police under instructions from the Executive Council prohibited it. In the same year, a meeting arranged to congratulate the Nabab of Rampur for conferring fundamental rights on his subjects was prohibited from being held in *private* or *public*.

(6) The holding of conferences is well nigh impossible in the State due to the procrastinating nature of the procedure. Very often years pass before the longed for permission is granted. Invariably conditions are imposed as follows :—

(a) That Government's policy and orders in educational, political, and other matters should not be discussed or criticised in the meeting.

(b) That a list of subjects and speakers and the names of the organisers should be submitted.

(c) That a week before the Conference the resolutions should be submitted to the Collector. If the Subjects Committee amend them afterwards, the resolutions so amended should be placed before the Conference only after being

sanctioned by the Collector! The Collector may curtail or stop the speech of the President.

(d) That no outsider should be allowed to speak.

(e) That security may be demanded and forfeited at the discretion of Government.

(7) Condolence meetings are also considered as political.

The Hyderabad public desire to mourn the demise of Sjt. G. K. Deodhar, the President of the Servants of India Society and Pandit Motilal Nehru and tender their condolences.

“The meeting under question cannot be allowed.” briefly and definitely ran the order.

(8) The Hon'ble Shriyut Ghanashyam Das Gupta, speaker of the C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly was to be presented with an address by the Hyderabad Arya Samaj. The copy of the address was demanded and order was passed to stop the function till the permission was granted.

The address was not presented!

Such is the generous application of Gashti No. 53.

Eight long years passed and the Gashti remained there with its mischief despite all public condemnation.

In the year 1936, Sir Akbar Hydari assumed Office as the Prime Minister. His advent to power created fond hopes in the minds of the anxious public. The fresh and non-communal outlook of the renowned “Round-tableer” could not but evoke “great expectations”. But alas, it was hoping against hopes.

In the first week of July 1938, the Government rescinded Gashti No. 53, and announced its general modification, the de-

tails of which were soon to follow but the trap was laid here and the details disillusioned the optimists. It was but a trick played to tighten the chain.

The following is the substance with the relevant part of the text :—

Revised rules :—

Under these rules, the meetings are classified into two kinds, (a) meetings that are purely of a social, educational, literary, or charitable nature. (b) Meetings that are not of the nature mentioned in (a).

Note the negative aspect of the classification under clause (b). The definition of public meeting under the new regulations is enlightening.

(1) Public meetings mean any meeting in which the public or a part of the public can participate.

(2) Any meeting notwithstanding that it is held in a private place and admission to it is by tickets or otherwise, can be deemed to be a public meeting.

For meetings coming under Rule (a) permission need not be awaited unless the convener receives information to the contrary. Intimation of these meetings should be given to the authorities three days prior to the date of the meeting on a prescribed form.

For meetings coming under Rule (b) permission is absolutely necessary.

The intimation of such meetings should be given five days prior to the meeting on a prescribed form. The Government may at their discretion impose any restriction they deem necessary on meetings coming under this rule.

The punishment for the breach of these rules extends

to one month imprisonment with or without fine which may extend to Rs. 200/-

(3) The Hyderabad State people's convention Committee speaks of the revised rules in the following words:—

“What was expected was a complete or at least partial removal of restrictions placed upon public meetings by the Gashti and not its supercession by rules which have incorporated the most drastic provision of the Prevention of Seditious meetings Act of 1911 (Act X) of British India, without its relieving features..... we asked for bread and got stones.”

(4) The Working committee of the Hyderabad State Maharashtra Conference declared in its statement:—

“The definition of public meetings, the ban on the discussion of political problems, the defective classification of meetings, the wide discretion placed in the hands of the Police are inconsistent with the idea of modern citizenship and the legitimate political aspirations of the people. The Rules intended to govern public meetings have virtually deprived the public of the right of holding private meetings also. Even statutory meetings of Companies and Associations, Municipal meetings and general and sub-committee meetings of all kinds of Associations can be brought under the definition of Public meetings, if the Police choose to do so.....At least for the last twenty years, freedom of speech has been already severely and expressly restricted in the State and there can be no justification whatsoever to tighten the grip in 1938 !”

We relate below the generous application of the revised rules:—

(5) Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai the famous leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly and a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress,

had come to Hyderabad in connection with the Dhulpath Murder case and was to address the members of the Bar Association of the Hyderabad High Court on July 21st, 1938 at 4.15 P.M. At their discretion the Police served a prohibitory order on the Secretary stating that such a meeting could not be held without Govt. permission. Under protest the meeting was adjourned *sine die*. Thereafter the Police informed the Secretary that if it is a meeting of the Association, it could be held."

On going to Wardha to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee Sjt. B. J. Desai issued a statement to the Associated Press declaring the revised rules to be of "sinister appearance" and such as "negative the fundamental rights." He adds further "it is so worded that the Executive may use it or refrain from using it according to their own view of what they intend to suppress or allow."

The use of the rule against the respectable body like the Bar Association came as a rude awakening to the Ex-Advocate General of Bombay. He regretfully decided not to re-appear in the case. Mr. K. F. Nariman and also Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya were banned to enter the State.

Thus has sprung up the long expected "oasis" of the Hydari Cabinet; is it its relieving feature that it is volcanic?

We cherished silly hopes in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Hyderabad had no necessity for going back or withdrawing facilities; for it had never moved forward at all or given any facility of the kind." (Auto-biography)

Freedom of Press :—

"There are no newspapers worthy of name issued there (Hyderabad) and in order to prevent the germs of corrup-

tion coming from outside a great number of newspapers published in other parts of India are prevented entry. So strict is this policy of exclusion, that even moderate journals are excluded”

—Auto-biography of Pandit Jawahrlal Nehru.

There is no regular state legislation concerning the press. there was a talk of a Press Act being on the anvil after Sir Akbar's advent to power. But the much expected legislation has not yet seen the light of the day.

An enactment called the Act No. 5 for the protection of printed books was enforced in 1310 F. which orders that two copies of the printed matter, whether in the form of a book, magazine, newspaper or sheet, or map etc., should be filed in the office of the Home Secretary as soon as they are printed, before publication. No price shall be paid for the same.

Rules framed by the Home Secretary to govern the establishment of the press, or starting a newspaper or a magazine are not apparently based on the authority vested in the Executive under any provision of the Act but they are executive orders like the Private Schools Regulations. The rules provide that if any person desires to open a press or to start a newspaper or magazine, he must apply to the Home Secretary and on such petition being submitted, inquiry will be instituted, regarding the behaviour, the financial condition, and the necessary points. If the Home Secretary is satisfied, permission will be granted on the execution of an agreement: otherwise it will be refused. Incidentally, how this discretion is exercised can very well be seen by giving only two instances where permission to start newspapers was refused. Mr. Vinayakrao, Bar-at-Law, a practising lawyer of nearly 15 years standing and the son of the late Pandit Keshavrao, Ex-High Court Judge, and Mr. M. Harumanthrao, the illustrious Andhra leader, all of a moderate bent. were refused permission for starting a newspaper.

If newspaper or magazine is being printed in one press, intimation thereof must be given to the Home Secretary forthwith. Similarly if any person, who had already secured permission wants to change the nature of the newspaper or the magazine or desire to transfer the same to another person, petition will have to be submitted to the Home Secretary for such alteration, who might or might not sanction it. Moreover, if a daily newspaper suspends publication continuously for six issues and a weekly for four issues, without permission of the Government being obtained, and if the owner thereof desires to restart the same, he must apply to the Home Secretary, and obtain permission to restart the same over again. The agreement referred to above orders, among other things, that no anonymous tracts should be printed. It is further enjoined that no news shall be published which is likely to affect adversely the public opinion concerning the Government or any officer of the Government. He is often subjected to oral or written warnings from the Secretariat for discussing social and religious matters which may appear objectionable. In the face of these rules, it is not surprising that there should be no Telugu or Marathi daily, only one Telugu Bi-weekly. one Marathi Weekly. There is no newspaper in Canarese.

There is a peculiar tendency to help newspapers here by giving them subsidies from the funds of different departments, Education, Ecclesiastical, or Political. Besides, the Government is charged a special rate for the copies supplied which is very often more than double the price for ordinary subscribers. Needless to add that the Urdu newspaper which dance to the tune of official caprices are purchased in hundred by various departments. It was only last year that the subsidies were stopped and now the Government is paying about Rs. 3000/- per month to A. P. and Reuter for supplying news free to the local press. This will clearly show how the Government is manipulating public opinion with results that

are obvious. How the Government warns and snubs the newspapers from time to time cannot be ascertained openly, as such instructions or commands are strictly confidential unless publication is suspended, or Government openly condemn any newspaper. During the recent visit of His Excellency the Viceroy even the programme of his visit to several places was not published and during the recent riots only Government Communiqués and Government authorised News were allowed to be published. There being no legislation to show the Editor the limits of their criticism except the whim and caprice of the Home Secretary or any other officer entrusted with the task, they always stand the risk of being taken to task for anything they write in their columns.

There is another aspect of the encroachment on the Freedom of the Press and it is prohibition temporary or permanent of newspapers of good standing in British India. Only a few instances will show how this discretion is used in this respect. The Kesari of Poona has been banned for a generation or so. The Servant of India, The Hindú. The Bombay Chronicle, were temporarily prohibited from entering the state not to make mention of papers like Riyasat etc. that have been banned erelong. Newspapers prohibited entry into the state before 1932 might be classified as under :— Marathi 15, English 9, Urdu 6, Bengali 4, and Telugu 1.

The touch of gold very often tells. A section of Anglo-Indian and Muslim Press from outside the State is made to blow the trumpet of the Government. There was a special Hyderabad Number issued by the London Times., Recently in "Wealth and Welfare" Hyderabad administration was highly eulogised.

The total number of books published during the year 1344F. (1935 A. D.) will serve as an index to the publications in general in the state. Classified according to different

languages, the total number of 499 publications, may be classified as below :—

Urdu 309, English 23, Marathi 19, Hindi 30 ; besides, Balbodhi 39 were printed in Urdu and Arabic, 2 in Urdu Arabic and Telagu, one in Arabic and Telagu, one in Arabic, Urdu and English, two in Persian and Urdu, three in Urdu and English, and one in Sanskrit and Marathi.

This will be a good illustration of the Freedom of the Press as enjoyed by the subjects and this will further demonstrate how the principal provincial languages, viz, Telagu, Marathi, and Canarese, have fared under the present regime. Suffice it to say that there are over 69 lakhs of people whose mother-tongue is Telagu, and above 37 lakhs whose mother-tongue is Marathi about 16 lakhs whose mother tongue is Canarese and only about 15 lakhs whose mother tongue is Urdu

The total number of presses working in the Dominions at the end of 1344F. was 122 out of which majority were of Urdu and the rest English or Vernacular.

When His Exalted Highness ascended the throne there was only one Urdu paper of some standing. But there are about 40 Urdu magazines, dailies and weeklies and monthlies which are directly helped by H. E. H. personally and by the officers and Departments of the Government. Being disgusted with the rules for starting newspapers in the State, subjects of the state were driven to start newspapers in British India but true to their inherently communal outlook the Government have banned them from entering the state by a Firman.

In the last few days Government have banned in three instalments some twenty three papers coming from Punjab, Bombay and C. P. The following were banned from C. P. and Bombay.

C. P. :—Amarjyot, Maharashtra, Jwala, Ansar.

Bombay :— Marathwada, Nagrik, Sangram, Masawat, Veer Deccan, Vaidik Sangh, Ved-Pfakash, Ved-Pataka, Urdu.

Freedom of Association:—

Freedom of association is one of the recognised Fundamental Rights of Citizenship. Encroachments on the part of the state on this Right are varied in their nature, the first and foremost among them being rules for the establishment and guidance of Private schools. The rules require that any person or persons desiring to start a private institution shall apply for the permission to the authorities concerned and if any institution is opened without previously obtaining the permission, the school shall be closed through the Collector or the City Police Commissioner of Hyderabad as the case may be. It is further enjoined that the Founders or Managers of all such private institutions that are in existence before the promulgation of these rules shall furnish detailed information within three months from the date of this circular regarding the object of starting the institution, curriculum to be followed, description of the building to be used, and the number of teachers to be employed with their qualifications, failing which they will be also closed as stated above.

With appalling illiteracy in the State where hardly 4% are literates such a premium on private effort in the field of education is simply indefensible. How much havoc these rules have worked can very well be ascertained from the closing of private institutions soon after the rules were brought into force. in 1334 F. The number of private institutions in 1335 F. was 3142 with 76654 students whereas in 1337 F. they were only 1305 with 31740 pupils. That the State should encroach upon this Right of Association in the most innocent matter like education speaks volumes for the policy of the Government regarding the political aspirations of the subjects.

It was in the year 1344 F. (1935 A.D.) that rules regarding Akhadas (Gymnasiums) were promulgated whereby it was made compulsory to obtain previous permission of the Collector of the District or the City Commissioner of Police in the Metropolises before starting any Akhada. An Akhada has been defined as follows: "The Akhada includes any place where the public or any particular group or community generally gathers together for physical exercise. But it shall not include a place where the members of a family especially do physical exercise. "This will show the wide scope of these rules which prohibit people from two or more families from coming together for physical instruction and exercise. ! Akhadas which were in existence at the time of the enforcement of these rules were also to be registered as stated above and if any Akhada wants to change the place where it was situated and if there was any change in the management or the servants, the manager should inform the proper authorities within one week of such change. Such a restriction reminds one of the limitations placed upon the movements of the Criminal Tribes which cannot be justified in the case of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of the State. The climax is reached when it is commanded that "If there be any public meeting or function relating to the Akhada which is open to the public besides the members, the intimation thereof shall be given to the Collector of the District or to the Police Commissioner in the city of Hyderabad two weeks before such a function or meeting takes place. Similarly, it is ordered that the annual report of the Akhada giving detailed account of the working shall reach the officers mentioned above by the middle of Dai. It is further provided that the breach of any of the said rules might make the defaulter liable to a fine not exceeding Rs 500/- or in the event of non-payment of the same, simple imprisonment for three months. To make matters worse, an appeal against the order of the Collector or the Police Commissioner would lie to the Home Secretary. The restrictions on the annual

functions and the drastic punishment meted out to the defaulter and the appeal to the Home Secretary are merely examples of legalising the fiat of the Executive officers! When physical instruction is being stressed upon in every system of education and even the Educational Department maintains a separate branch for physical instruction, to deprive the subjects of physical instruction in the manner proposed is highly unjustifiable and detrimental to the healthy interests of the subjects.

Apart from the inherently unsound principle underlying these rules, the normal nature of the procedure for permission cannot but dissuade a person from embarking upon opening a school or an Akhada. Years pass away before the permission is granted. By imposing these restrictions, the Government is doing double injustice to the subjects. It is the duty of the State to make the subjects educated and physically fit. Secondly if the State could not undertake this duty at once alone, it was its duty to encourage private effort in this respect. But the Rules are only instrumental in throttling the enthusiasm of the public when they are actually discharging the duties which legitimately fall on the shoulders of the Government.

The question of Public Meetings has been already dealt with separately. How the Government looks upon the legitimate activities of the public with suspicion can very well be ascertained from the order dated 16th Dai (20th Nov. 1910 A.D.) which was re-issued on 25th Meher 1330F. (1931 A.D.) whereby the District Officers whether revenue, judicial or police, are enjoined "to keep the dominion safe from the poisonous effect of political agitation in British India." In order to achieve this goal, it is suggested that a close watch should be kept on clubs, libraries, Akhadas, private schools and religious gatherings etc. The class of pleaders has been subjected to special notice of the Government in the following words. "The

conduct of the pleaders should be generally watched for, firstly, they are educated, secondly owing to the profession, the public looks upon them with respect and honour, and in connection with the work in the court different classes of subjects perforce have to deal with them. It is found that they entertain more or less modern ideas and it is likely that those who come in contact with them will be influenced by their views and carry the poison to their own environment.

In a country with medieval type of Government such absolute and wide powers invested in the Executive of an oligarchic type is bound to demoralise the public, politically and socially.

Very recently the Government have promulgated the Public safety regulations incorporating most drastic ordinances of the Irwin,—Willigdon-regrime and thus the Government has reached the climax of autocratic Rule. Following is the summary of the regulation.

Public Safety Regulation :—

Drastic powers for summary arrest and deportation from the State of undesirable outsiders and heavy penalties for State subjects, who harbour them and abet their unlawful activities, are among the chief provisions of the Public Safety Regulation, issued by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam, on 6th Sep. 1938, "for safe-guarding the public peace and tranquility by checking the entrance of undesirables into the State and for enabling suitable action to be taken against those associations or bodies which interfere with the administration of the State."

Under this Regulation, which will be enacted as an Act within six months, undesirable outsiders will be most strictly supervised, and such persons as are already in the State are liable to arrest without warrant and summary

deportation with the maximum penalty of one year's rigorous imprisonment or fine or both, if such a deportee returns to the State.

The Commissioner of Police of Hyderabad and the First Taluqdars in the Districts are vested with special powers in this connection and as well as for carrying out searches of houses and buildings for undesirable outsiders.

The State subjects are required not to engage the services of such undesirables on any account, without the previous permission of the specified officers of the Government. The penalty would be six month's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

Hotels and Restaurants are required to maintain a careful register of all their lodgers on a pain of three months' imprisonment. Similar penalty will be inflicted on private individuals who shelter such undesirables.

The Regulation also empowers the Government to declare any association unlawful which, in the opinion of the authorities, interferes with the administration of the Government or whose activities are likely to endanger the public peace and tranquillity or tend to promote malice and hatred between different communities and sections in the State. The membership of such an unlawful association carries a penalty of six months' imprisonment, while the maximum penalty under the Regulation, namely three years, is reserved for persons who assist in any way the functioning of such associations. It also empowers the Government to take possession of the premises of such associations and confiscate their properties.

Among other activities which the Regulation declares illegal are the anti-recruitment activities, boycott of Government servants, holding of mock funerals, publication of proscribed literature, spreading of scare, circulating of false

reports among Police and Military; any activity which endangers or tends to endanger the good relations between different communities and sections in the State. Where a guilty person is under 16 years of age, the parents or guardians of such a person will be liable for the penalty.

People's demand for Constitutional Reforms

The question of Constitutional Reforms in the State assumed a fresh importance by the announcement of the President of the Executive Council made on the 22nd Sept. 1937, conveying the gracious message of the H. E. H. Under the Royal Commands a Special Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Diwan Bahadur Iyengar to investigate into the conditions and recommend the Govt. the necessary constitutional reforms. Since its establishment private efforts were also made to submit a draft of constitutional reforms to the Iyengar Committee. A Convention representing all sections of the Hyderabad population was convened and a committee consisting all sections of Hyderabad population including five Mohamadans was appointed to formulate a scheme of Constitutional Reforms. The Committee of the Convention has submitted its report to the Iyengar committee. The Convention has recommended—two chambers of Legislature. A bill may originate in any chamber except the money bill which shall be introduced in the lower house only. The Legislative Assembly (the lower house) to contain 200 members, of whom 33 shall be nominated, 37 elected to represent special constituencies such as Commerce and Industries, University, Labour, Sahukar, Jagirdar, Harijan, Christians, Sikhs, women etc., and 133 elected by general constituencies. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly shall be elected by the Assembly from among its members. The Council (upper house) shall consist of 65, of whom 16 to be nominated by the Govt. 16 to be elected by the Assembly from among its members, and the remaining 33 to be elected by the general constituencies. The President and Deputy President of the Council shall be elected. The legislature shall have power of (1) Legislation, (2) Inter-

pellation (3) Resolution, (4) discussion and voting of Budget and (5) taxation subject to the limitations of the rules made under the law. The Legislature shall not enact any measures relating on affecting the H. E. H. Nizam and his family, matters relating to his person and household, the relation of H. E. H. Nizam with H. M. the King Emperor. Previous assent of Govt. is necessary for bills relating to Public debt, State's troops, external relations with Govt. of India and other States etc. A bill affecting the culture, religion, language of any community shall not be deemed to have been passed unless ratified by two-third majority of that house belonging to such community. The H. E. H. Nizam may in his discretion refuse to give assent to any bill passed by both chambers and exercise his prerogative or Veto. The legislature may discuss the budget and vote on demands for grants except the following heads: expenditure relating to his person and family, Public debt and interest, salaries of the Executive Council, High Court Judges, members of Judicial Committee, expenditure certified as political. Franchise in general constituencies for the lower house—A person who pays to the district or town municipality a house tax on annual rental value of Rs. 24, who pays to the Hyderabad municipality a house tax on annual rental value of Rs 85, or occupies as a sole tenant the house in respect of which this tax has been paid a Pattedar, Mirasdar, a tenant who holds a land of annual assessable value of Rs. 10. Franchise to educational qualification also has been given according to locality—local standard of education. Additional Franchise to women has been given—for women who are the wives of the voters of the upper chamber. Additional franchise has been given to Adi Hindus (Harijans) for those who are Balutedars, village mhars etc.

The Executive Council and its President shall be appointed by H. E. H. the Nizam, provided half of the total number of members be appointed from among the elected members of the legislative assembly. The executive council shall be responsible to the H. E. H. Nizam, at the same time it shall be collectively responsible to the legislature for all matters

connected with the administration of their Departments. Though appointment and dismissal of the members of the executive council is vested in the H. E. H. a non-confidence motion in the Executive Council may be moved and when four-fifth majority of both the houses pass such a resolution and thereafter petition sent to H. E. H., the H. E. H. may in his discretion remove such member or members from their office.

The H. E. H. by proclamation shall declare the fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, thought religion, association etc. of his subjects.

The Convention has recommended for the establishment of village Panchayats in villages having a population of 1000 and over, and municipalities where the population is 2000 and over. But the Convention has recommended that half the members of these Panchayats and municipalities should be nominated by the Govt. In case of the District Local Boards one third shall be nominated. Adult franchise has been recommended in the case of village Panchayats. The Franchise for the municipalities and D. L. Boards is that of the Legislative Assembly.

Other Committees, The Hindu Standing Committee and the Maharashtra Parishad representing the people had also sent their recommendation to the Iyengar Committee. These recommendations are also generally those of Convention's, with some differences of details such as the number of members in the legislature etc. But both these committees have strongly condemned the idea of Bi-cameral legislature and have requested for one house only. The Convention and these two Committees have strongly condemned the idea of separate electorates and even of reserved seats in joint electorates. To represent the backward section of the population they have recommended nominations for these classes such as Harijans.

All about the State Congress

One and a half months back some prominent residents and public workers of the Hyderabad State proposed to start an organization for the political activities of the public in the State. Hence before there were only provincial organizations (*Maharashtra Parishad, Andhra Sabha, Karnatak Sabha) for such activities. In order to achieve unity and concerted action in political activities of the State's people as a whole, all the prominent public workers in these three provinces of the State, resolved to start the 'Hyderabad State Congress'. Here is the full text of the draft constitution of the State Congress.

The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment by the people of Responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi Dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means, and by promoting national unity, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of Hyderabad State.

The Hyderabad State Congress shall comprise of—
(1) Members duly enrolled, (2) Local, Taluka and District Committees, (3) The Standing Committee, (4) The Working Committee, (5) The Annual Conference, (6) any other body organised by the Standing or Working Committees.

Any person over the age of 18 years believing in the object of the Hyderabad State Congress shall on making a declaration to that effect and on presenting an application in the prescribed form and on payment of four annas be entitled to be a member of this Congress.

*Note:—The Maharashtra Parishad has now been declared by the Govt. as communal. But it is purely a political organization and its aims are as those of the State Congress itself.

Provided that no person shall be member of more than one local committee at the same time.

Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee the year of membership of the Hyderabad State Congress shall be reckoned from the beginning of the Fasli year to the end of the same. There shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.

No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for three months prior to the date of election.

No member of any elected committee of this Congress shall be a member of any similar committee or any communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the working committee anti-national and in conflict with those of the Hyderabad State Congress.

There shall be local committees in every village, town and city in the Dominion to carry on the work of the Hyderabad State Congress locally. The members of such committees shall be not less than 5 and not more than 10 and they shall be elected at an annual general meeting of the local members.

Every District shall have a committee of not more than 20 members who shall be elected on behalf of the local committee in the proportion of one representative for every 250 members.

Hyderabad and Secunderabad Committees shall be treated as District Committees.

The local and District Committees shall subject to general supervision and control of the "Working Committee" be in charge of the affairs of the Congress within their jurisdiction respectively.

The conference shall be held at the place and time decided upon at the preceding conference or such other place as the Working Committee may determine.

The annual conference shall consist of the President, ex-Presidents, provided they are otherwise duly qualified members of the Standing Committee and Working Committee and the elected members of all local committees, who shall be called delegates of the conference.

The District Committee concerned shall make such arrangements for holding the conference as may be deemed necessary and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee and may include therein persons who are not members of the District Committee.

The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the conference, make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and visitors and for printing of the report of the proceedings of the conference.

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from among its own members.

Any 10 delegates may jointly send the name of any delegate or ex-President duly qualified whom they propose for election as President of the next conference.

The General Secretary will publish the names of all persons so proposed and any person so proposed can withdraw his candidature by informing the General Secretary of his intention to do so within 10 days of the publication of the proposed names.

After eliminating the name of any person who has withdrawn, the General Secretary shall publish the names of

the remaining candidates and shall circulate them to the Taluka and District Committees.

On a date fixed by the Working Committee each District Committee shall record its vote in favour of one of the candidates for presidentship and shall report to the Working Committee the number of valid votes recorded in favour of each candidate.

As soon as may be after receipt of the reports the Working Committee shall announce as President-elect the name of the candidate obtaining the highest number of votes.

In the event of any emergency arising by reason of death or resignation of the President elected in this manner, the Working Committee shall conduct another election as prescribed above or the Standing Committee shall elect the President in case a fresh election is not possible.

The new Standing Committee and Working Committee together shall meet as Subjects Committee at least one day before the annual session under the presidentship of the President-elect. The outgoing committee shall submit draft programme of the work for the session including resolutions recommended by members or committees of the Congress.

The Subjects Committee shall settle the programme and frame the resolutions to be discussed in the open conference.

The resolutions recommended by the Subjects Committee shall be placed for adoption and any substantive motion not included in the above and which when 25 delegates request the President in writing before the commencement of the day's sitting, shall also be allowed to be discussed in the conference, provided it has been previously discussed by the Subjects Committee.

The receipts and disbursements of the reception committee shall be audited by an auditor appointed by the

District Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be submitted to the Working Committee not later than 3 months after the Conference.

The Working Committee may upon its own motion or upon an unanimous motion of 8 District Committees or 20% of the ordinary members of the Hyderabad State Congress convene a meeting of the Standing Committee to arrange for holding a special conference at time and place as it may determine. The delegates of the preceding session shall be the delegates of this special Conference and its President the President of the special Conference.

The Standing Committee shall consist of the members of the Working Committee; ex-Presidents, Treasurer and representatives elected by the District Committees. Each District Committee shall be represented by one-fourth of its number.

The Standing Committee shall carry out the programme of the work laid down by the Congress from annual conference to conference and may undertake such work in furtherance of the object of the State Congress, as is not specifically prohibited by it.

The President of the annual conference shall be the Chairman of the Standing Committee. In his absence any member of the committee can be elected to conduct the proceedings of the meeting.

The Committee shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee or on a joint requisition of one-fifth of the members of the Standing Committee. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire the meeting.

One-fifth of the total numbers shall be the quorum for a meeting of the Committee.

Every member of the Standing Committee shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 5 payable before the first meeting of the Standing Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the Committee, Subjects Committee or the Conference.

The Working Committee shall consist of :—

- (1) President
- (2) General Secretary, Treasurer and two other members nominated by the President from any members of the Standing Committee.
- (3) 18 members elected by the District Committee, one member representing each committee.

The Working Committee shall be the executive authority of the State Congress and as such shall have power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the conference and the Working Committee and shall be responsible thereto.

The Working Committee shall have power to frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for.

To superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees subject to the review of the Standing Committee. It shall take steps to collect the necessary funds, to have regular audit of the accounts of all the Committees.

The General Secretary shall be in charge of the office of the Standing Committee and Working Committee and shall prepare a report of the working of the committees during their period of office and submit it with full accounts of funds to the Standing Committee immediately before the annual conference.

The Treasurer shall be responsible for all the money

that may come into their hands and for the maintenance of correct accounts thereof.

Any vacancy caused during the year for any reason shall be filled by the committee concerned in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen.

Members included in the official lists of the Committees alone shall be entitled to vote at any election. Such lists shall be sent by each Taluka and District Committee to the Working Committee before any prescribed date.

State Congress Declared 'Unlawful':—

The formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been prohibited by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam by means of notification in a Gazette Extraordinary issued on September 8th after-noon. This action has been taken by the Government under the Public Safety Regulations promulgated on Tuesday.

In view of the ban imposed on the Congress, the organisers of the Congress who had called for a general body meeting to be held on the 9th instant, postponed the meeting *sine die*.

The following is the translation of the Gazette Extraordinary:—

1. Government has been carefully observing the activities of a group of persons who, since the past one month, have been canvassing for the establishment of an organisation, with branches in the Districts, to be named "The Hyderabad State Congress." A notice has now been issued convening a meeting on the 9th September in order to elect the Working Committee and to approve the constitution.

2. His Exalted Highness' Government has no objection

to the establishment of political organisations in the State provided that these are on a strictly non-communal basis and have no affiliations outside the State. In his recent speech before the Legislative Council, the President elucidated the policy of the Government in the following terms :—

“While His Exalted Highness’ Government is not averse and is indeed committed to constitutional advance—that is clear from the declaration last year which has resulted in the appointment of the Reforms Committee—and regards civil liberties as implicit in any such advance. It is opposed to any Constitutional advance on communal lines. It does not conceive it to be its duty to encourage any such advance if aspired to in terms of the devolution of power or privilege in favour of any one community or class, nor can it allow civil liberties to mean unrestricted freedom to indulge in orgies of mutual recrimination. Obviously, we cannot think in terms of “Muslim liberty” and “Hindu liberty” or Hindu Constitutional advance and “Muslim Constitutional advance”. That such is the line of thought is shown by the fact that many of those who are loudest in pressing the claim for progress or liberty have played and are playing a considerable part in the promotion of communal ill-feeling and are directly associated with organisations unmistakably communal. While one cannot claim, far less build, nationalism on the foundations of hatred for one’s countrymen nor seek to establish liberty on the destruction of the rights of others, the association of such persons with a cause diametrically opposed to the spirit of their actions can only discredit the cause they ostensibly espouse and makes it natural, on the principle that one is judged by the company one keeps, for doubts to be cast on the intentions for a fraternity so mixed. It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the Constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace among themselves

and thus create a common, national platform. They will then have prepared the surest foundation for Government to give earnest consideration to what in that event would be truly national claims, exclusive of no community, yet non-communal, and entitled to the fullest respect. Otherwise, absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance."

3. The above statement is not only of general application but had also special reference to the proposed organisation now under discussion which, with one exception of a non-Hyderabadi, is being sponsored by persons only of one community, several of whom have been taking a leading part in communal activities. Despite the ostensible objects of the organisation, Government is convinced that the continued presence in it of persons predominantly communal in outlook and aim will determine its actions. While the statement of Government's policy was made in good time for a reconstruction of this organisation being effected and for its being based on broad national foundations, no steps in these directions have so far been taken and Government is thus confirmed in its conviction that the movement, ostensibly political, is in fact a cloak for subversive, communal activities to which the prestige of the name "Congress" has been deliberately attached for misleading the public. Apart from the fact of the resolve of the Indian National Congress itself that the internal struggles in the States should not be associated with its name, Government objects to its use not only because it is being utilised for communal ends but also because it inevitably suggests association in the public mind with an organisation which has acquired a definite connotation in the light of the special conditions of British India which have no parallel in the State.

4. Government has just received the report of the

Referrals Committee and, while an announcement in respect of its recommendations will be made after Government has fully considered them and arrived at its conclusions, it is anxious that considerations should be given to them in a calm atmosphere essential for wise decisions and not in one surcharged or complicated by communal antipathies which Government believes would inevitably result from the activities of the proposed organisation or any organisation so constituted and from the failure to distinguish between politics and communalism. Government is satisfied from its own enquiries and from its knowledge of some of the leading persons associated with the proposed Hyderabad State Congress that it will be, whatever its outward professions, constituted on communal lines and animated by communal and subversive ends which will retard instead of advancing the pace of constitutional reforms in the State.

5. Government has, therefore decided to prohibit the formation of any organisation so named or so constituted and the Hyderabad State Congress is, if formed, declared to be an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation.

State Congress Rejoinder:—

The Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress Committee issued the following press statement in reply to Government *communiqué*.

“This Committee has painfully read the notification of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Government, dated 2nd Aban 1347 Fasli, declaring unlawful the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress. On a careful examination of the grounds which have prompted the Government, according to their notification, to take this extraordinary decision, this Committee feels that it is its bounden duty to contradict the serious allegations made against this institution by the

overnment in spite of the clear enunciation of its policy and programme on more than one occasion.

“The Government have charged with communalism persons associated with this movement and have given several grounds in support of this charge. The chief ground on which the Government consider this institution to be a communal organisation is that except one non-Hyderabad gentleman, the rest of the party belong only to one community. The fact is that the gentleman who has been referred to as a “non-Hyderabad” has been a permanent resident of this State for over twenty years out of which he spent eight years in the service of the Government in a responsible post and therefore is a Hyderabad gentleman. Assuming that members of other communities have not as yet joined the State Congress in a sufficient number, the Committee fails to understand how an institution with an open political object of achieving responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam in the State and open to all communities without distinction of caste, creed or community, could on this account be called a communal organisation. The Committee thinks that it is the aims and objects, the programme, the nature of the work and the actual working of the institution that make an organisation communal or non-communal, but not the number of its supporters belonging to a particular community. It is impossible to agree with this doctrine of judging communalism which, if carried to a logical conclusion, is bound to result in absolute stultification.

“The second charge that is levelled against the movement is the inclusion in the personnel of its promoters and workers of people who have been taking conspicuous part in communal activities. The committee respectfully but strongly repudiates this charge against the personnel of this Committee which does not consist of any member who is connected with any communal organisation ; if the Govern-

ment had looked into the draft constitution published in in the local press, they would have found that it is one of the articles of its faith that no person who is a member of any communal organization can be elected as an office bearer or even a member of any Committee of the State Congress, whether it be a village, or district or central Committee. This salutary rule was proposed by this Committee exactly with a view to the "purification of our ranks" suggested by Sir Akbar Hydari, the President of the Executive Council, in his speech referred to in the notification. The Committee feels sure that so far as combating communalism is concerned, the Government have, by banning the formation of the State Congress, effectively removed a powerful and strong ally which could have worked side by side with the Government.

"The Government have charged the workers interested in this movement with deliberate duplicity and stated that they are using the name of the Congress as a cloak to further their destructive and communal activities. This charge is entirely unfounded and the Committee feels sure that the Government will, on proper enquiry, find themselves grossly misinformed. Otherwise, there is absolutely no justification for predicting the communal nature of an organisation which is still to come into existence, on unfounded surmises, and then for banning it as an unlawful association. The public will remember that even previous attempts made in the direction of forming a common national platform under the name of the Nizam's Subjects' League and under the able guidance of no less a personality than Sir Nizam Jung Bahadur, ex-Political Member of the State, met with similar treatment at the hands of the Government. In spite of the fact that the promoters of that body belonged to all communities in the State and consisted of nobles and the elite from among the people, they were compelled to delete from their aims and objects the clauses regarding Responsible Government, popularisation of Hindustani and preservation of sovereign rights of the State, so that the institution

could not come into existence at all. The Committee, therefore, feels certain, despite the assurances to the contrary by the Government, that the Government do not desire the formation of any political body standing for the political rights of the people, and that is the reason for their adopting this extraordinary method of repression under cover of suppressing communalism.

“With regard also to the name of the Congress, the Committee feels surprised that the Government considered the use of the name ‘Congress’ as detrimental to the interests of the State. The Committee has given its reasons for the choice of the name in its second statement dated 28th August 1938, especially with a view to reassure the Government regarding the policy and programme that the State Congress intended to pursue. But it is clear from the notification that the Government do not desire that the name ‘Congress’ which has acquired a ‘special significance’, should be allowed to create the necessary associations in the minds of the people. The Indian National Congress stands for the rights and liberties of the people which is the special significance of its name, and it is abundantly clear that the Government do not desire the ideas of rights and liberties of people to be propagated among them. No other conclusion can be drawn when we also keep in mind the unwarranted promulgation of ordinances and several other circulars and regulations restricting personal liberties to the minimum degree.

“The Government have further supported the action by stating that they desire to examine the proposals for constitutional reforms in a calm atmosphere undisturbed by communal activities. The Committee feels bound to state that the Government have shown deplorable lack of ‘discrimination between communal ‘activities’ and ‘activities of a non-communal nature’ though probably not participated by all communities in sufficient numbers. By banning this institution, which was intended to divert the attention and

energies of the people from sectarian and other activities towards common political objects, the Government have minimised the chances of a calm atmosphere which they desired. The people will secretly consider the meagre constitutional reforms which the Government promise to grant as being more valuable than their civil liberties which have been completely suppressed.

“The Committee, in conclusion, makes a further appeal to the Government, to re-consider their decision in the best interests of the people and the State, and to withdraw the ordinances recently promulgated and lift the ban on the formation of the “Hyderabad State Congress” which is purely an indigenous body with a constructive and common political objective and peaceful programme of work. That would be an act of statesmanship which the people can expect from the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawaz Jung Bahadur, and above all from their beloved and enlightened Ruler H.E.H. the Nizam who was graciously pleased to re-affirm in his Birthday speech the traditional policy of the Asafjahi Kings to rule over the hearts of the subjects, rather than by the sword.”

Conclusion

We have here in tried to give the reader a correct view of the situation in Hyderabad. While we are writing this the situation is going from bad to worse. The Nizam has banned the State Congress and declared it unlawful, on the pretext—which cannot be in the least evidenced—of communalism. The reader may dispassionately judge for himself from what he has read in these pages. Only a diseased or dearranged brain can call and dubb the State Congress as communal. Following is the extract from Mahatmaji's article in the Harijan of 17th September 1938 :—

“The Hyderabad communiques have therefore come upon me as a painful surprise. Sir Akbar is a great educationist. He is a philosopher. It was a pleasure to read his recent convocation address to the Dacca University. It is passing strange that he should have lent himself to the reactionary declarations which condemn an organization even before it has begun to function. What can be the meaning of communalism in a State which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion? What can communalism mean in, say, Kashmir or the Frontier, where the population is predominantly one faith? The doctrine of minority is a good hobby to ride up to a point. But it must be at least numerically a fair minority. Even a minority of one can expect perfect justice. But it has no status in the political field. When a person belonging to an insignificant minority mounts to power he does so not as a representative of his group but by sheer merit. The State Congress in Hyderabad can never be communal in the sense in which the word is understood in India. An institution in the Frontier Province need not be dubbed communal merely because it has no Hindu member. Of course an organization may be frankly communal in outlook.

But the Hyderabad communiques make a subtle distinction and aver that there is presence in the State Congress of persons predominantly communal in outlook. What is more the State Congress has come out with a statement totally repudiating the suggestion of communalism”.

The Mahatma who is an apostle of Non-communalism cannot say any thing other than these words about the State Congress. The Nizam and his philosopher Premier have practically thrown a challenge on the people of Hyderabad. In order to show that we are men having selfrespect the promoters and workers of the State Congress are in the last resort compelled to think to overthrow this ban. Howsoever price physical, mental, and monetary they may be required to pay. People tried their best that the situation should not reach this climax. A few days back Sir, Akbar Hydari in a conversation with a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, has shown his stiff attitude. He does not want a third party to negotiate between the State authority and the State's people. He is not even ready to allow the third party to see the both sides. In these circumstances no other course than defying the Government order is left with the people. The responsibility of creating such disturbed and chaotic conditions in the State surely and certainly goes to the State authorities. Peoples' cause is the cause of justice and they are going to fight for it with every peaceful and legitimate means. And Mahatmaji in the last 18th years has many times shown the world that if one's cause is just and if one fights for it with complete belief in his method of Satyagrah, then one is sure to get success in the struggle.

The immediate remedy to stop the struggle and create a calm atmosphere in the State is first to allow the State Congress and other political organizations in the State to work peacefully and in order that such chaotic and disturbed conditions may not arise again, that to

cure the disease permanently, the following remedies, if tried will only prove successful.

1. Establishment of Responsible Govt. under the aegis of H. E. H. and the Asafjahi Dynasty in the State, and making Executive responsible to the Legislature which truly represents the subjects of the State on the elective basis.

2. Declaration of the Fundamental Rights such as Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Association, Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Worship; and cancellation of such of the Rules in force which counter to these Fundamental Rights.

3. Decommunalisation of Administration by declaring that Hindus are entitled to at least 50% representation in the services of the State of all grades in Civil and Military branches and to ensure this representation at an early date. The recruitment of Muslims should be stopped till this percentage is reached, as the power is now vested in the hands of 10% Muslims, who hold about 75% posts.

4. In as much as a modern State should be a secular one, the Ecclesiastical Department should be abolished and Boards should be constituted to supervise and control Religious and Charitable institutions so that maximum benefit could be given to those for whom they are intended.

5. To encourage the study and use of Provincial Languages namely Telagu, Marathi, Canarese and Hindi along with Urdu so that the culture of different people speaking the several languages could be preserved and the Administration of the State could be more efficiently carried out.

6. To make the Judiciary supreme in the State by making it independent of the Executive.

7. To resort to Compulsary Primary Education through the Mother-tongues of the pupils and to reduce disproportionate expenditure on University Education till Primary Education is made Compulsary.

8. To alter the Educational policy of the State so that it appeals alike to the Subjects at large, irrespective of religion, and achieves good of the maximum number of the subjects.

9. To tackle the problem of poverty of the peasants in a sympathetic manner by reducing Land Revenue and by adopting other measures to ameliorate their condition without creating any class-war between different sections of the Subjects.

Meanwhile we most humbly request H. E. H. the Nizam and his colleagues, to make an introspection and self-examination climbing a plane of justice and humanity—then we are sure that they will find themselves to be the accused and not their Subjects. We here in pray that H. E. H. Nizam's faith in Islam—which invariably stands for peace and justice—may inspire him and his colleagues to correct the mistake which has brought a blot on the true Islamic culture.

KASHMIR

"The Glorious Valley darkened by ordinances
which are monstrous in their severity."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

JANUARY 1939

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INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made, in this pamphlet, to give a brief account of the democratic movement in Kashmir which to-day, is struggling against overwhelming odds. The Government of Kashmir has, during the last few years, enforced a variety of repressive laws and ordinances, which have deprived the people of all civil liberties and made it extremely difficult to agitate or organise, in a peaceful manner, for the defence of elementary democratic rights. Various attempts have been made to characterise this Movement as communal and flimsy charges have been levelled against its leaders. And yet the Movement has rapidly grown in strength and, to-day, commands the allegiance of a great majority of the people of Kashmir.

Unfortunately very little is known about this democratic struggle outside Kashmir. A good deal of the information that has occasionally appeared in the Press in British India is incorrect and misleading. Some of the leading workers of the Movement have, from time to time, attempted to get into touch with important public men in India to acquaint them with the real facts. Unfortunately, due to a variety of reasons, the information that has thus reached the sympathisers of the struggle outside the State, has been very meagre and scrappy.

This pamphlet, it is hoped, will make it clear that the struggle of the people of Kashmir is an integral part of the bigger struggle for freedom and democracy in India and that as such it deserves the whole-hearted support of every nationalist in the country.

LAHORE :
January, 1939.

JANKINATH SAPRU,
PREMNATH DHAR,
SHAMBHUNATH KAUL,
GHULAM MOHAMED BAKHSI.

TERRITORY

Kashmir is the biggest State in India. It covers an area of 84,471 square miles as against 82,698 square miles of Hyderabad, 29,469 square miles of Mysore and 8,164 square miles of Baroda.

Its boundaries extend from the Northern outskirts of the vast plains of the Punjab to the point where the borders of Russia and China touch British India.

Political Importance

Situated on the north-western extremity of India, Kashmir commands a vital position in the political map of the Indian Empire. It controls a boundary line of several hundred miles of the Indian Frontier touching Tibet, Chinese Turkistan and Russian Turkistan.

The strategic importance of Kashmir can be understood from the fact that the northern outskirts of the State including Gilgit are governed directly by a Political Agent. Also the Government of India are considering a scheme to build an aerial base in Kashmir, which would connect Gilgit and Laddakh with other aerial centres in the Empire.

Economic Resources

Kashmir is very rich in mineral wealth ; mines of

- (1) coal, lignite, petroleum,
- (2) bauxite, iron, copper, lead, zinc, nickel ore, manganese, gold, arsenic, chromite.
- (3) gypsum, saltpetre, graphite, kaoline, bentonite, marble, slate, etc.,
- (4) corundum, beryl, aquamarine,

are located in one-seventeenth part of the State.

Unfortunately the Government pays no attention to the development of these resources which would have

solved the problem of economic depression and unemployment.

Population

The total population of Kashmir is 3,646,243. The average density of population per square mile is 43, as against 173 of Hyderabad, 224 of Mysore and 668 of Travancore.

There are two cities, 39 towns, and 8,903 villages. The total urban population is 342,314 while the total rural population is 3,303,929, that is, nearly 95·5 per cent. of the population live in villages.

The population is divided, according to religions, as follows :—

Muslims	....	2,817,636
Hindus	....	736,222
Sikhs	....	50,662
Buddhists	....	38,724
Christians	....	2,263
Jains	....	597

It has been estimated that Kashmir, if developed economically, is capable of maintaining, at least, five times its present population. To-day, the enormous industrial and mineral resources of the State lie untapped and the growth of population merely increases an undesirable pressure on agriculture.

Occupation

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people, but the holdings of a great majority of the agriculturists are miserably small. It was recently estimated that about sixty per cent. of the peasants have holdings of about sixteen *Kanals* each. The net annual income of a family cultivating a holding of sixteen *Kanals* is approximately Rs. 74-8. The per capita income of such a family has been calculated to be Rs. 10-10-3 per year, or, annas 14-2 per month or, 5½ pies per day.

The main occupation of the urban population constitutes certain handicrafts like wood-carving, embroidery, carpet-making, silver-smithy, etc., most of which cater for

luxuries of life supplied to the tourists. The very nature of these products is a hindrance in the way of a steady income to the artisans. A visitor to Kashmir will realise that the workers in these occupations are hard up and that there is hardly any just proportion between the prices of the product and the labour involved.

Under such circumstances one is pained to learn from the critics of the nationalist movement that the "appalling poverty" prevailing in Kashmir is a myth or an exaggerated propaganda. It is indeed surprising that such persons forget the handicaps under which a poor Kashmiri suffers. They forget that the climatic conditions of the country necessitate a higher cost of living which a poor Kashmiri can hardly keep up because of his poorer sources of income.

Cultural Unity

There is an essential cultural unity between the different communities inhabiting Kashmir. For centuries, the Hindus and Muslims have lived together peacefully. The language, customs and many ceremonial observances of the Hindus and the Muslims are similar. Communalism in the State is an imported commodity. It is also the natural outcome of the uneven development of the different communities. The recent awakening among the Muslims for demanding an equitable share in services and other walks of life was resented by the communities who enjoyed a larger share of these amenities. It is sheer misjudgment to suppose that the question of services can bring any serious rupture between the relations of the two communities. This question is bound to lose importance, as it has already done, and the common ideal of economic development of the country will bring the communities closer to each other.

Past History

Kashmir is an ancient country and the record of the brilliant achievements of past, which has been preserved by Kalhana in his famous book *Raj Tarangni*, dates back

to 3000 B.C. During the meteoric rise of Buddhism under Ashoka it came for a momentary spell under the Buddhist expansion, followed by an immediate revival of Brahmanism. The Brahmanic Kingship faded and a spectacle of change and re-change of dynasties was witnessed till the advent of Muslims in 1315 A.D. The Pathans, the Moghuls and the Afghans ruled Kashmir till the Sikhs came in under Ranjit Singh in 1819 A.D. The Sikhs were followed by Dogra Rajputs in 1846 A.D., when after the Sutlej campaign, Kashmir was handed over to Ghulab Singh by the British in consideration of pecuniary equivalent of 75 lakhs of rupees. Thereafter his heirs have ruled and are ruling the country.

Administration

Personal rule is the form of government in the State. His Highness, as head of the State, is the supreme executive head as well as the source of sanction of law and power. The administration of the State is carried on by a council of Ministers appointed by His Highness. The present council consists of 4 members with Dewan Bahadur N. Gopala Swami Ayyenger as its President. The council is only responsible to His Highness and rules by the authority of his "commands".

Legislative Assembly

The Assembly was first introduced in 1934. It consists of 75 members—42 nominated and 33 elected, with an official President.

Any bill effecting public revenues, religious beliefs and observances and usages of any class of the subjects, maintenance and discipline of His Highness' troops, Privy Purse, State Departments, Dharmarth Departments, Rights granted to Ilaqadars and Jagirdars, matters regarding Gilgit and Ladakh, cannot be introduced as all of these are reserved subjects.

The Assembly is only a recommendatory body subservient to the control of the council of ministers.

Finance

The total income and expenditure of the State, according to budget of 1938-39, is as follows :—

Income Rs. 2,47,27,000. Expenditure Rs. 2,45,77,000.

Out of the total income 16 per cent. is consumed by Privy Purse, 19 per cent. by State Forces. Less than 10 per cent is spent on education and about 3·5 per cent on medicine, while '6 is being spent on agriculture.

Local Self-Government

There are two Municipalities and a few Town Area Committees in the State under the control of 50 per cent. nominated members and official Presidents who enjoy large powers of administration and taxation. The budgets of these bodies are controlled by the Government and mostly spent on the high paid staff than that on sanitation and improvements. The official dictatorship is the practice prevalent in these bodies.

Judiciary

Although there is a High Court, the appointment of the Judges being vested in the Executive Council and the Judicial Minister being a member of the council who controls the Department, the Department cannot be said to be independent of the influence of the Executive.

BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT

The first expression of the popular Movement in Kashmir took the form of a resentment against outsiders. These outsiders were controlling all the ministerial services and enjoying numerous other privileges. The cause of the resentment was the spread of education which, as is the case in India, prepared youngmen for government services and nothing besides that. These educated youngmen who hankered after such services naturally enough wanted to oust the outsiders who were not very willing to make room for them. The Government in order to silence this discontent appointed several committees and commissions which ultimately gave a definition to the term State Subject in January 1927. But the new interpretation of the term State Subject satisfied only the handful of middle-class youngmen who saw in the new definition an opportunity of obtaining the favours of the Government.

The masses, the vast peasantry, remained untouched by this definition. So the dissatisfaction remained a smouldering fire and consequently took the form of the gigantic movement of 1931. Abject poverty and ignorance prevailed among them. The system of Begar (forced labour) had reduced them to the position of serfs. They had no link with the administration save through the tax-collector. To them the Government was merely a vast machinery for tax-collection.

Sir Albion Banerji who, was, for sometime, the Foreign and Political Minister in Kashmir, in a statement to the Press in March 1929 said :—"Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages with a large Mohammedan population, absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb-driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for the representation of their grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires over-hauling from top to bottom to bring it up to

THE VICTIMS OF NOTIFICATION 19-L.



Shooting became very common and a favourite game with the irresponsible government during those days, when it became known that no power on earth could suppress the aroused political consciousness of the people.

THE VICTIMS OF NOTIFICATION 19-L.



People were shot dead without any provocation whatsoever. Mark the old mother at the bed-side of the martyr.

modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances." He added, "there is hardly any public opinion in the State. As regards the Press it is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefited to the extent that it should be by the impact of healthy criticism."

The awakening among the educated classes also spread to the masses who became conscious of their miserable plight and began to seek opportunities of voicing their grievances. The accounts of the Congress Movement in British India filtered through the educated classes to the masses. The All India Congress Session of 1929 held at Lahore under the Presidentship of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was attended by a large number of politically-minded Kashmiri youngmen. The event produced a keen desire in them to follow in the wake of the political movement in British India.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, which was started in India in 1930, had very far-reaching repercussions on the popular struggle, in Kashmir, of 1931. Though a spontaneous mass movement, it assumed gigantic proportions and spread all over the State. This Movement was in no way organised. This was due to the fact that the Government did not allow any organisation to exist or function at that time. As was to be expected the repressive machinery of the Government came into full swing to suppress it. This is evident by the fact that shooting was resorted to at many places including Srinagar, Jammu, Baramula, Sopore, Handwara, Uri, Anantnag, Mirpur-Kotli, Poonch, etc. The total number of the dead amounted to several hundreds. Thousands were flogged and thousands were incarcerated without trial. It was on this occasion that the notorious Notification 19-L conferring unlimited powers on Sub-Inspectors of Police and Military officers, was inaugurated. (See Appendix B.)

When the Movement could not be suppressed despite these militant measures His Highness announced a general amnesty. He also proclaimed that if any section of his subjects desired to submit its reasonable demands they would receive his sympathetic consideration. Following

the announcement several memorials were submitted by the different communities. It will not be out of place to discuss briefly the contents of some of these.

The Muslim memorial was conspicuous for the fact that the political demands contained in it were of national character. After referring to some demands which purely related to the Muslim community the memorial outlined a constitution and a number of "fundamental rights". These "rights" were:—(1) Freedom of Assembly. (2) Freedom of speech. (3) Freedom of the Press. (4) "Perfect equality of rights and equality of treatment for all State subjects in all respects."

The constitution, as outlined in the memorial, visualised a system of government by an Executive of Ministers nominated by His Highness. But it added that "the Ministers would be instructed by the Maharaja Bahadur in the letter of appointment to respect the majority in the Assembly and to act in conformity with it so far as possible" and "if 70 per cent. of the members of the Legislature pass a vote of no-confidence in a certain Minister, that Minister shall forthwith be relieved of his duties." It suggested the establishment of a Legislature "to which every adult citizen of the State should be eligible for election, irrespective of his creed or nationality." It was to consist of at least 70 per cent. of elected members. It provided that, no new law which was not passed by the Assembly and no old law, which may be abrogated by it, should be enforced in the country. The Assembly was to be the sole authority for legislation.

Added to these was a demand for the increase of Muslim representation in the services, since until then the disparity between their percentage of population and representation in services was enormous.

This demand was characterised as a communal one by certain vested interests in the State.

In fact the lead in demanding the constitutional reforms was given by the Kashmiri Pandits who are the most educated and intelligent people in the State.

The memorial submitted by Kashmiri Pandits endorsed the demand for a representative assembly. The memorial stated that "they were as anxious as any other community for the introduction of constitutional government and they were equally anxious that the body-politic be not corrupted by the canker of communalism."

The Rajput memorial did not relate to constitutional problems at all.

Subsequently a Commission, presided over by Mr. (now Sir) B. J. Glancy, was appointed by the Government in November 1931 to enquire into the grievances of the different communities and to make such recommendations as it thought necessary.

The Glancy Commission included in its recommendations a "fair and adequate representation in services to all the communities, grant of freedom of press and platform, return of the confiscated religious sites and the establishment of a representative Assembly."

The Glancy Constitutional Reforms Committee which was formed to recommend a constitution for the State suggested that, "Legislative Assembly be established as soon as possible." Sir Glancy also recommended that the Assembly should have an elected majority. He added

"It would seem a fair solution that the total number of nominated members should be equal to two-thirds of the number of elected members." Sir Glancy recommended separate electorates and considered "Joint-electorates a dangerous experiment."

The Constitutional Reforms Committee was followed by the Franchise Committee which took about two years to complete its labours.

Soon after the publication of the Glancy Commission Report the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was formed in the month of October 1932 which for the first time met in Srinagar under the presidentship of S. M. Abdullah. Though communal in name, the policy of the Muslim Conference as enunciated by its several presidents, from time to time, has been national in essence. The

Présidential Address of its first President-elect S. M. Abdullah laid down in unmistakable terms the following :—

“ I consider it necessary to make our position clear at the very outset with regard to our movement; it is not communal nor is it directed against any particular community. We stand for the rights of all communities. Let me take this opportunity to assure my Hindu and Sikh brethren that we will endeavour to put an end to their miseries and troubles just as we will do it for Musalmans.” He added that “ our country’s progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amicable relations between the different communities. This is possible only when each community learns to appreciate the view-point of other communities.”

With the coming of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to the fore-front, the communal discord which had marked the beginning of 1931 subsided a great deal. Though hampered by various difficulties, including the reactionary propaganda of priestly classes and the communal frenzy that prevailed at that time, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, by dint of his immense sincerity and devotion to the masses, brought about an organisation and discipline in the Movement which soon made him beloved of the people and their leader in the fight against the forces of exploitation and reaction. A staunch patriot, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah did not fight for the Muslims alone. As a Musalman, he knew the sufferings and troubles of his community; but he did not forget the sufferings of the poorer sections of other communities. To hundreds of Hindus living far away in the distant villages of the State and entirely at the mercy of the vast population of the Muslims in those parts, his presidential address, at the newly formed All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, came as a message of good-will and hope.

In pursuance of the suggestions made by him a Sub-Committee was set up in March 1933, to enlist the sympathy and support of the Sikhs and the Hindus of the State and to build up a united front against the bureaucracy. Immediately after this, however, the Muslim Conference was forced to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement and the Committee could not successfully function.

This time the Notification 19-L was again enforced and since then it has never been withdrawn but has become normal law of the land.

The second annual session of the Conference was held in December 1933 at Mirpur—a town in Jammu Province, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah being again elected as the President. A perusal of his address will reveal that the political movement in Kashmir was broad-based and embraced the demands of all the sections of the people. This would be evident from the following extracts :—

“ It gives me immense pain to see the rights of the people being smashed indiscriminately. If the Government were to concede to the people of the State what they had cruelly usurped, it is bound to do good to Hindus and Sikhs as much as to the Musalmans. The achievements of the Muslim Conference so far have benefited all communities equally. The freedom of Press and platform,.....
.....and other concessions have not been wrested from any particular community but from the unwilling hands of the Durbar itself and have been distributed equally among all.”

The Durbar in the meanwhile announced that an Assembly would be convened early in 1934, on the basis of the recommendations of the Franchise Committee. It may be recalled that the Committee which consisted only of official members greatly whittled down the recommendations of Sir B. J. Glancy. Thus in the proposed Assembly the recommendation for an elected majority was replaced by an official majority and its powers of legislation were greatly reduced. It adopted the conclusions reached by the Franchise Committee which embodied the creation of a narrow electorate with high property and educational qualifications.

Franchise was based on the following conditions :—

(1) Payment of Rs. 20 as land revenue ;

Or

(2) Ownership of Rs. 600 worth of house property ;

Or

(3) Payment of Rs. 20 as Municipal Tax ;

- Or*
- (4) Payment of Rs. 60 as rent ;
- Or*
- (5) Education upto Class VIII ;
- Or*
- (6) Holding of title ;
- Or*
- (7) Being a Numberdar, Zaildar, Pattadar, Sufaid-
posh ;
- Or*
- (8) Being a pensioner.

As compared to this the minimum qualification for Franchise in the Travancore State Assembly is the payment of Re. 1 as Land Revenue, and the payment of Municipal or Income-tax irrespective of the amount paid.

The political leaders took a strong exception to these changes on the ground that the Franchise Committee had no business to alter the recommendations of Sir B. J. Glancy and to undo his work in this direction.

Voicing the feelings of the country, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah issued the following statement on January 29, 1934 :

“ The people of this country did not spill their blood for such a mock show. Sir B. J. Glancy though not agreeing with the legitimate aspirations of the Muslims had recommended an elected majority in the proposed Assembly in unambiguous terms. It was no business of the Franchise Committee to turn down this recommendation. What hopes can the people of this country have in this kind of representative Assembly where the dead weight of the official and nominated majority will always be ready to crush the popular voice.”

Criticism of a similar nature on the proposals of the Franchise Committee was voiced by almost all the political bodies within the State. The Government treated this criticism and the original recommendations of Sir B. J. Glancy with scant respect.

An emergent meeting of the Working Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference which met at

Sialkot on the 11th of February 1934, reviewed the situation and decided to lodge a protest against the Government proposals. The Working Committee dissolved itself and appointed Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas as the Dictator, who was required to propose a line of action for the people, in case the Government refused to accept their constitutional demands. He sent a memorial to the Government on February 15th 1934 in which he observed that, "the demand of the Muslims was for full responsible Government" as "unless there is a ministry responsible to the country no recommendations are carried." The Government replied very curtly that "it was not prepared to discuss constitutional reforms." Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, therefore, decided upon an immediate programme of Civil Disobedience.

The hour had come for all sections of the people to combine against the encroachment of the Government on their democratic rights. responsible government and self-government could not be the monopoly nor the aspiration of Muslims only but of the entire people. Attempts to rally up all sections of people and all shades of opinion under one banner were made by calling a meeting of all people of any political standing. As also before starting the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Leaders of the Muslim Conference, notably Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, issued the following appeal to the minorities :—

"Let me hasten to say a few words to my non-Muslim countrymen. The poor Kashmiri Muslim has since the commencement of this battle of liberation of motherland fallen a prey to a vicious propaganda which has been sedulously carried on by interested parties in different parts of India. Time has now approached when we should shed all fear and distrust of each other and bridge this gulf which has unfortunately separated us. The past three years must have shown to you that however hard you may cry the demands of Muslims, so far as they are legitimate, have become irresistible, and no force on earth can withstand this rising tide of democracy that has actuated their mind. So whether you will or not, Kashmir will in years to come have a constitution which will make it incumbent upon our rulers to part with their autocratic power and transfer more

share of administration into the hands of common people and masses. The spirit of the age demands it. The time dictates it. Would it not be better, therefore, in your own interest and in the interests of the country at large if instead of standing as a stumbling-block in the way of the liberators of the motherland as you have mostly done so far, you were good and kind enough to stand shoulder to shoulder with your Muslim brethren. Speaking for myself this is an appeal that I would make to you from the depths of my heart as a well-wisher of your country and community as well as mine. Speaking for the Muslims I may assure you that they are prepared to give you the same safe-guards, weightages, and all that is necessary in the constitution for minorities, that the Indian National Congress is prepared to give to the Muslims of British India and other minority communities. Perhaps we would be more liberal. Let the dead past bury its dead. The Assembly proposed by the Franchise Committee is an ill-wind that blows nobody good. So if the Muslims demand justice let us get more of practical nationalism and not theoretical gushes out of you. And that means a reply not in the shape of counter statements but a real change of hearts." In this appeal, he also suggested the arbitration of Mahatma Gandhi or Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru with regard to the safeguards of the minorities.

Unfortunately the suggestion was misrepresented as a clever move to deceive the minorities, and even the honesty of Mahatma Ji and Pandit Jawahar Lal was questioned and became the subject-matter of many angry editorials for weeks together.

Yet the younger elements among all the communities fired with great enthusiasm and responded readily to this sincere call of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

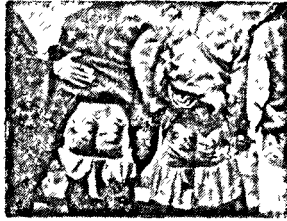
With the decision of the Muslim Conference to launch an extensive movement of Civil Disobedience as a protest against the proposals of the Franchise Committee, the repressive machinery of the Government resorted to the already existing Notification 19-L. About six hundred people were imprisoned. The Military opened fire in Srinagar, Bijbehara



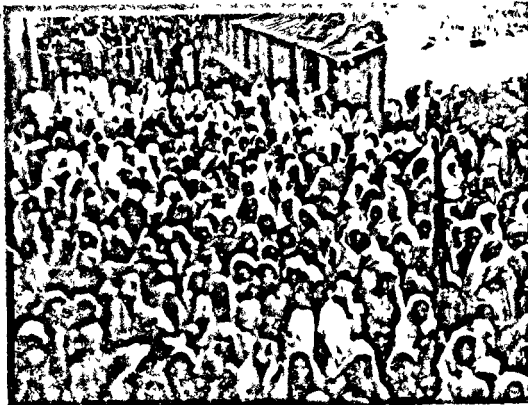
Frontier Gandhi and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in a village near Achhabal 50 miles from Srinagar.
The above photograph depicts the distressed condition of the village life in Kashmir.

THE VICTIMS OF NOTIFICATION 19-L.

Flogging was resorted to as an alternative to imprisonment.



Thousands of men were brutally flogged near open streets. This is a picture showing scars on flogged private parts of three Independence Lovers.



Women also participated in the struggle side by side with their menfolk. This is a procession of women protesting against the policy of repression,

and Pulwama, etc. Heavy fines were imposed on a large number of people in the form of punitive taxes and securities. Indiscriminate flogging was resorted to as an alternative to imprisonment.

Eventually as the people had gone through excessive suffering and as the Government was ruthlessly maintaining its repressive policy Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah called off the Movement for the time being.

On 22nd of April 1934, the Government inaugurated Regulation No. 1 of the Sambat 1991, containing the constitution of the present Legislative Assembly. In this the conservative recommendations of the Franchise Committee were wholly incorporated and formed the basis of the constitution.

The present Assembly is called the State Praja Sabha. It consists of 75 members and is a unicameral house. There are 12 Government officials, 16 State Councillors, 14 nominated and 33 elected members. The Government has a clear majority of 42 against 33 votes. The President of the Assembly is a Government official. The State Councillors are a strange element unknown to other legislatures; without holding any government jobs they represent the official view-point and, of course, mechanically vote with the Government. They are nominated from amongst the Jagirdars, Landlords and aristocracy. The Government carries through all its bills and accepts only those amendments and resolutions which it likes. The Assembly has only recommendatory powers and is meant to act in a subservient capacity to the council of an imported and irresponsible ministry. The budget is non-votable and can be discussed only through cut-motions which are always defeated or withdrawn. The Privy Purse and the Departments which are directly connected with the Royal family claim a grant of Rs. 30,22,000 plus Rs. 8,06,000, out of the total income of Rs. 2,47,27,000 of the State and are not open to discussion. Similarly the huge expenditure of Rs. 47,40,000 which is provided for the army cannot be discussed as the army is also a Reserved Subject.

In any case the vote of the House is not binding on the Government and the Council of Ministers has the power to reject any bill or resolution.

The Assembly is really a mock show. In contrast to it, is the Legislative Assembly of Travancore which consists of two houses with a non-official majority elected on a wide Franchise.

The State Budget in Travancore is prepared in consultation with a Finance Committee consisting of non-officials elected from the legislature. The House has the right to vote on the Budget presented in the shape of Demands for grants before expenditure is incurred by the Government. Excess demands have to be sanctioned by the legislature in the form of supplementary grants.

Though the Muslim Conference also was dissatisfied with the proposals of the Franchise Committee which had recommended a thoroughly conservative and useless constitution, yet it was thought expedient to contest the elections for the Assembly in order to keep out the reactionary elements from the legislature. The repression of the Government had in no way demoralised the people; they readily responded to the call of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Conference party achieved a splendid success at the polls. The Conference Party formed the opposition in the Assembly.

In the beginning the Government played one community against the other and for long the elected minority in the Assembly stood divided against itself. But they soon noted the indifference with which the Government treated the representatives of the people. In the autumn of 1936, during the Budget Session, the entire elected block with the exception of one staged a walk-out as a protest against the persistently hostile and unsympathetic attitude of the Government towards popular views. The walk-out continued for a number of days. The representatives of the people, though elected on communal tickets and by separate electorates, joined together in an united opposition to the policy of the present irresponsible Government. The *Tribune* of Lahore made the following comments on the demonstration:—

“From the events that have happened in the Assembly during the last few days it is evident that there is a general awakening in the State and that the people can no longer be

satisfied with the toy legislature, though it may be given the grand eloquent name of Praja Sahba!"

When the Government remained unmoved by the united expression of popular resentment majority of the elected members resigned from the Assembly. Bye-elections were immediately held by the Government but to its utter disappointment the same popular element was returned. Once more the opposition seats were filled by those who had staged the walk-outs in the previous year.

The unity which the representatives of different communities evinced during the memorable walk-outs from the Assembly and the wonderful co-operation with which they voiced the popular resentment against the Government was indeed a healthy development in a land supposed to be torn by communal distrust and suspicion. The real fact was that from the beginning of the year 1935, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had been striving hard to unite all communities and while the walk-outs took place, an atmosphere of unity prevailed in the country outside. He had in very unambiguous terms expounded his faith in nationalism. In an exclusive interview to Press representatives at Lahore he observed, "communalism in the State owes its origin to the false propaganda of the communalist leaders of the Punjab. I desire that those self-made guardians should no longer interfere in our internal affairs. It shall be my earnest endeavour henceforth to shape the political movement in the State expressly on the principles of the Indian National Congress. This will take a little time but I am determined to purge my country of the bane of communalism, whatever be the obstacles in my way."

On his return from the Punjab the Sheikh Sahib while replying to a joint address presented to him said:

"My fight is for the emancipation of my country. Let us all rise above petty communal bickerings and work jointly for the welfare of the masses. I appeal to my Hindu brethren not to entertain imaginary fears and doubts. Let me assure them that their rights shall not be jeopardised if they join hands with the Musalmans."

With the object of creating a healthy atmosphere in the State he, in collaboration with Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz an ex-non-official member of the Glancy Commission, started the Urdu Weekly *Hamdard*. The opening ceremony was performed by Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, a respected Congress veteran of the Punjab. This might be called the dawn of Nationalism in Kashmir, an early sign of which was the united demonstration staged by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. Just after Gandhi-Nehru-Bazaz correspondence was released which had a far-reaching effect on the minds of the minorities. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was soon assured of the 'active participation of many Hindus and Sikhs,' and though he knew that 'their number was not yet large he was nevertheless convinced of their sincerity.' On all sides he found hopeful signs of awakening in the lower and poorer sections of Hindus and Sikhs. There was no cause for despair.

A memorial demanding change in the existing constitution of the Assembly was signed by 29 elected members out of 33 of different communities and submitted to the Government.

Responsible Government Day was observed all over the State in 1936 for the first time. A fresh appeal from Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to the non-Muslims brought to his side numerous Sikhs and Hindus who freely joined the processions and meetings. Thousands of peasants and labourers attended the meetings. A wave of mass awakening spread from one corner of the State to the other.

The Conference session of 1937 was held in Poonch. It was again presided by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who emphasised the need for Hindu-Muslim unity. The Session, in fact, paved the way for the proposed constitutional changes in the Conference in order to throw it open to those progressive non-Muslims who shared the advanced political aspirations of the Muslim Conference.

THE PRESENT MOVEMENT

In January 1938 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah met Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and accompanied him during his Frontier tour. He sought his guidance about the future line of action. After giving his careful consideration to the latest developments in Kashmir politics, Panditji considered it advisable that the Muslim Conference should change its name for that of national one as it was consistent with its programme and policy which were already national in character. The advisability of forming a Congress organisation was also discussed, but according to Panditji the formation of a Congress Committee was not in consonance with the Congress resolution. So it was considered advisable that the Muslim Conference itself should change its label. The advice of Panditji was very timely.

A resolution was, therefore, moved in the annual session of the Muslim Conference in March, 1938, that the Conference should change its name into that of National Conference. Unfortunately certain constitutional difficulties arose which made it necessary to postpone discussion on the resolution. In June, 1938, however, a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference was held in which the same resolution was passed by a majority of 17 against 3 votes. This enabled responsible Hindu and Sikh leaders including Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, Sardar Budh Singh, Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu and Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, very well known and trusted veterans of Kashmir politics, to join Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in the National struggle. They henceforth set themselves to the task of educating mass opinion in favour of Nationalism and Responsible Government.

The background of the Movement is the appalling poverty of the masses of Kashmir, and the growth of unemployment among the educated classes. Thousands of Kashmiri peasants and labourers have to leave their homes, in winter, to earn a meagre living in far off places. The land revenue demands of the Government are exorbitant

and the urban population is crushed under the heavy incidence of numerous taxes. There is an appalling waste of human life due to absence of adequate medical facilities. The administration of the State is top-heavy. The Government is indifferent to the most pressing problems of the people, e.g., the problem of rural indebtedness, illiteracy, growing unemployment, the problem of preventable diseases and epidemics, etc.

The indifference and disregard shown by the present government to these pressing problems of the people will be observed from the following figures of the State Budget for 1938-39 :—

		Rs.
Income	....	....2,47,27,000
Expenditure :		
(a) Privy Purse	.... 30,22,000)	.... 38,28,000
(b) State Departments...	8,06,000)	
(c) General administration	....	.... 14,35,000
(d) Justice	....	.... 4,60,000
(e) Police	....	.... 12,71,000
(f) Military	....	.... 47,40,000
(g) Education	....	.... 21,94,000
(h) Medical	....	.... 9,34,000
(i) Agriculture	....	.... 1,61,000
(j) Veterinary	....	.... 1,00,000
(k) Public Works	....	.... 17,36,000
(l) Pensions and Endowments	....	.... 12,33,000

Thus it will be seen that less than 10 per cent. of the total income is spent on education, which is obviously an insufficient sum for the education of 36 Lakhs of people. To-day, there is only 7 per cent. literacy among the males and 0·6 per cent. among the females. Only 3·5 per cent of the total revenue is being spent on medicine which provides for 75 dispensaries in the whole of the State. Agriculture claims the meagre sum of '6 per cent. which is meant to be spent on the uplift of peasantry and the improvement of crops. As against this about 19 per cent. of the total income is being spent on the maintenance of the State forces. Privy Purse consumes 16 per cent. of the State revenue. These

budgets show the extreme wastefulness with which the people's money is being spent.

In the past the Government had shown no anxiety about the development of and the demand for a Responsible Government. Their composure was perhaps due to the thought that the constitution of the Muslim Conference, which was carrying on the agitation, could not allow the entire people to join hands against the Government. Moreover, it thought that it could easily play off the non-Muslim communities against the Muslims in the name of Hindu Raj. These calculations of the Government were, however, soon upset, with the introduction of the change in the name and the constitution of the Muslim Conference. The progressive elements among the Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs responded to the call of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah after the successful passage of the resolution proposing to nationalise the Conference.

It was decided to observe the Responsible Government Day on August 5, 1938. The whole of the month of July was spent in touring the towns and villages of the State to educate public opinion.

Kashmir Hindu Progressive Party, which claims for its following the intellectuals, the youth and the peasantry among the Hindu and Sikh communities, accorded full support to the Movement. The Government could no longer tolerate these developments.

Extensive schemes of repression were quickly framed. The first victim of repression was Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan who was convicted for sedition for a speech he had delivered only a short while ago, enjoining upon the Princes to desist from joining the Federation which sought to perpetuate the servitude of India with their aid.

Raja Mohammad Akbar served as the vanguard of the people's army. His arrest involved a fundamental issue of civil liberty. Is it sedition to criticise the existence of the princely order and to express ones unwillingness to accept the proposed Federal Scheme? Again, is it sedition to challenge the continuance of the present form of Government and to criticise the existence of an irresponsible

ministry? Raja Mohammad Akbar had, in his "seditious" speech, voiced the sentiments of the people.

The 'Weekly *Hamdard* published its "Responsible Government Number" on the 5th of August. As some of its articles criticised the present form of government the District Magistrate objected to its publication and the Government demanded security of Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 750 from the management of the paper and press, respectively. The same day the Responsible Government Day was observed all over the State and the meetings were attended by a very large number of people of all the communities. The following resolution was adopted in five hundred meetings:—

' This mass meeting of the people places on record its complete repudiation of the present system of Irresponsible Government and wishes to express its faith in the establishment of complete Responsible Government which alone can cure the ills of the people. Therefore, this gathering appeals to all patriotic persons to muster under the banner of freedom and to be prepared for the coming struggle for liberty. Victory of that struggle alone would usher in a period of complete political, economic and social emancipation.'

These demonstrations set into motion the repressive machinery of the Government. The provisions of the I.P.C. and Cr. P.C. were, however, not thought adequate enough for the scale of repression contemplated by the Government. It resorted to a strange legal device. The ordinance known as 19-L sometime used under a different name to curb the people's Movement in Burma, was discovered to have been in force in Kashmir since its promulgation in 1933. As will be noticed, the ordinance is capable of taking the shape of Martial Law. (See Appendix B.)

Having served a notice on the *Hamdard* to stop the publication of the Responsible Government Number under Section 144 clause 1 and 2, the Government warned S. M. Abdullah against carrying on his political activities and delivering speeches which were alleged to have promoted disaffection against the Government. Pt. Prem Nath

Bazaz was also gagged under section 108 on the same day for a period of six months. Haji Wahab-ud-Din, Maulvi Abdul Kareem (belonging to the District of Mirpur) and Ghulam Rasool of Badrawah were also gagged under section 108, Cr. P.C. Legal proceedings were taken against Mr. Roop Lal of Poonch. These repressive measures followed the Responsible Government Day.

It was clear that the Government was determined to take the offensive in order to suppress the mass consciousness that was growing every day. S. M. Abdullah and his colleagues, on the contrary, had absolutely no intention of impeding their work of organisation by precipitating matters.

In spite of the wishes of the leaders in that behalf the Government was in no mood to enter into negotiations. It had made big preparations; orders had already been issued to the military and police to hold themselves in readiness. A special *lathi* force had been created.

A battle was coming. But the leaders wanted to acquaint the country and the Government with their minimum demands. They also wanted to strengthen the Movement organisationally. A manifesto was, therefore, published under the signatures of Messrs S. M. Abdullah, the President of the Conference, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, M.L.A., Mohammad Sadiq, M.L.A., Mohammad Afzal Beg, M.L.A., Mohammad Sayeed, M.L.A. and G. M. Bakhshi, all of whom were the members of the Working Committee of the Conference. It was also signed by Sardar Budh Singh, Pt. Kashyapa Bandhu, Pt. Jia Lal Kilam, Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz, Pt. Shambu Nath Peshin and Pt. Sham Lal Saraf the then President of the Hindu Progressive Party. (See Appendix A.)

Besides giving the minimum demands and changes sought in the present constitution the Manifesto gave a fresh assurance to the minorities regarding the safety of their legitimate linguistic, cultural, religious, political and economic rights according to the principles "enunciated, accepted or acted upon by the Indian National Congress."

On August 26 of 1938 section 144 was promulgated in the city of Srinagar, banning all meetings and processions.

Next day notices were served on Messrs. Mohd. Abdullah, Sardar Budh Singh, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, M.L.A., M. M. Syeed, M.L.A., to present themselves before the A. D. M. on the 29th to furnish securities of Rs. 1,000 each for keeping good behaviour.

Though the leaders tried to adopt a conciliatory attitude, they could not tolerate these humiliating impositions. A protest meeting was, therefore, held on the 28th beyond the Municipal area of the City and on the 29th a mammoth meeting was held in the City itself to defy section 144. Messrs. S. M. Abdullah, Budh Singh, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, M. M. Syeed and Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu were immediately arrested.

With the arrest of the accredited leaders of the people, a movement was started to move the Government to withdraw its repressive measures. It will be remembered that the Government had already begun to employ the Notification 19-L. Seditious Meetings Regulation of 1914 was also immediately enforced.

We give below a description of the extreme severity and arbitrary character of Seditious Meetings Regulation. The following extract from the judgment of Lala Haveli Ram, Sessions Judge, Jammu, which was delivered on 15th September 1938, while accepting the appeals of a few political workers of Jammu, is of interest here.

“Sitting as a Court of Justice I cannot deny that the Seditious Meetings Regulation of 1914 is still on the Statute Book and in that capacity I cannot refuse to enforce it. If this enactment was enforced strictly it will stifle all discussion of public affairs. There may be justification for taking this step in a limited area for a short time when the highest executive authority is satisfied that it is necessary in the interests of public peace, but to make this the normal feature of administration for all times, places large arbitrary powers in the hands of subordinate officers and magistrates and leaves the citizens entirely at their mercy.”

Below we give extracts from the Government communiques issued in the 1st week of the Movement :—

Government Press Note No. 68,
dated 30th August 1938.

“ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Sardar Budh Singh, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, M.L.A., Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu, M. M. Sayeed, M.L.A., were arrested. Later processions were started and a *hartal* proclaimed.

“ A meeting was held, more speeches made but without any untoward incident. The total number of arrests was 66 The processions were dispersed from time to time and in one or two cases by the use of slight force ”.

30th August 1938 (Press Note No. 69,
dated 31st August 1938).

“ The Goondas in the city who apparently are responsible for drilling the boys for the procession are being rounded up and 29 arrests have been made so far to-day.

“ The District Magistrate has issued orders informing the public that throwing of stones on the Military or the Police might result in the latter firing on the persons throwing them The District Magistrate has further issued an order prohibiting the shouting of slogans and warning the people that the shouting of slogans will entail the posting of punitive police in the localities concerned.

“ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and six others arrested with him, have been tried, and sentenced. Forty-seven arrests were made in all.”

Government Press Note No. 70,
dated 1st September 1938.

“ The situation in Srinagar is much calmer to-day than it was yesterday. As against 47 arrests made yesterday only 2 have been made to-day so far. In the evening, however, a procession of about 500 men starting from Khanqah Mualla marched towards Dhanjibhoy's Adda

at Amirakadal. At the Adda some of the processionists started making speeches and when the assembly was ordered to disperse they refused to disperse. On this the police made a mild *lathi* charge and arrested 18 men including the speakers.

“The reports from Baramulla District state that two unlawful assemblies were dispersed by the Wazir of Baramulla and the Superintendent of Police at Baramulla and Sopore and 10 arrests were made.

“At Anantnag to-day three persons have been arrested including Mohammad Afzal Beg. One noticeable feature of the agitation was Tonga strike. The strike has been abandoned to-day and the traffic is normal. *Hartal* has also been abandoned and shops are open all over the city as also in the Districts.

“In Jammu City some processions were taken out and speeches made ; the total number of arrests in Jammu City is 7.”

Government Press Note No. 72,
dated 2nd September 1938.

“Last evening a mob of Muslims collected at the Dhanjibhoy's Adda but was dispersed by the Police. The total number of arrests from last evening till this afternoon was 34. It was discovered this morning that a dead body was being shown at Khanqah Mualla as that of a person who had been killed in the encounter at Maisuma last evening. The examination of the body by the Doctor—, however, showed that the only injury on it was an abrasion on the skull which, according to the doctor would not cause death! At Poonch it is reported that processions are being taken out but the authorities there state that the situation is well in hand.”

Government Press Note No. 73,
dated 3rd September 1938.

“The situation in the city is calm. Since last evening 16 arrests in all have been made throughout the Valley. Yesterday a procession was taken out in Jammu. The procession dispersed and the leader arrested.

“ At Ganderbal a procession was taken out ; four men were arrested and the mob was dispersed. One man was arrested at Poonch yesterday.”

Government Press Note No. 75,
dated 4th September 1938.

“ The police are rounding up goondas and 47 arrests have been made in the City, and 31 in the Districts. The situation in Srinagar and generally in the Valley is calm.”

Government Press Note No. 76,
dated 5th September 1938.

“ The situation in the City is calm, though the rounding up of goondas continues. At Ganderbal meetings were held and objectionable slogans shouted and a number of arrests made.”

Government Press Note No. 79,
dated 6th September 1938.

“ Situation throughout Jammu and Kashmir is calm. Rounding up of goondas continues as a result of which 9 arrests were made.”

It will be noticed that the Government communique styled the political workers as “Goondas” and “undesirables”. Never have these words been used by any other Government in respect of political workers. The “Goondas” consisted mostly of lawyers, M.L.As., businessmen, students, journalists and political leaders, respected all over the country. The use of the word “Goondas” for these workers who willingly courted arrests, or were arrested under Notification 19-L, depicts the ungracious attitude of the Government towards its political opponents.

Here are some of the names of the “Goondas” who were “rounded up” under 19-L or under different sections of the Ranbir Penal Code :

M. L. As.—M. A. Beg, B.A., LL.B., G. M. Sadiq, B.A., LL.B., Ghulam Nabi, B.A., LL.B., M. M. Syeed, H.A., H.U., H.P., Aga Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Haji

Ahmad Ullah Shahdad, Sufi Mohammad Akbar, Ch. Allah Rakha Sagar, G. M. Bhat.

Municipal Commissioners.—Kh. Ahsan Ullah, Sh. Mohammad Akbar, Pt. Sarup Nath, M. M. Yaseen, etc.

Lawyers.—Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, B.A., LL.B., President Bar Association, Ch. Ghulam Abbas Khan, B.A., LL.B., Pt. J. N. Sapru, B.A., LL.B.; Pt. J. N. Zutshi, B.A., LL.B.; Pt. Jia Lal Bhat, B.A.

Journalists.—Pt. Shambhu Nath Kaul, Pt. Hirday Nath Motta; Pt. D. N. Bazaz, Kh. Sadar-ud-Din, Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Fazili, Pt. Sham Lal Sharma.

Doctor.—S. N. Peshin, M.B., B.S.

Students.—M. Latif, G. M. Hamdani, S. N. Kilam, Mohindra Nath, A. G. Wadera, Abdul Ahad, Mohammad Ramzan, Ali Mohammad, Abdul Rehman, Nazir Ahmed, etc.

Leading Businessmen.—Pt. Sham Lal Saraf, Secretary Chamber of Commerce, Kh. Habib Ullah, Kh. Ali Mohāmmad, Ex-M.L.A., Kh. Mohammad Shaban, Ghulam Mohammad Wani, Abdul Gani, Sardar Sadhu Singh, Pt. Dina Nath, Sardar Majitha Singh, etc.

It will also be gleaned from the extracts of the communiques that the Government describes the situation as "quiet and calm" despite the fact that scores of arrests were being made all over the State. The fact shows that the Movement had a wide response and the Government communiques were intended to hoodwink the public within and without the State. The communiques leave it unexplained why and how peaceful demonstrations could become illegal and why *lathi* charges were made.

The police *lathi* charges are described as "slight force" though hundreds of persons were injured as a result of them and one man succumbed to the injuries. The understatement of the facts can be explained by the intention of the Government to cover its misdeeds.

The intolerance of the Government against even a peaceful political movement in the State is evidenced by the warning issued by the District Magistrate that punitive

police would be installed in the area where slogans were shouted. What can be more innocent as a political weapon than shouting a slogan ?

Needless to say that the communiques completely mutilate the facts of the situation, and grossly understate the extent of the Movement and misrepresent its tactics and methods. It says nothing regarding the tortures inflicted on women, the water charging of processions and the consequences of innumerable *lathi* charges.

Moreover hundreds of houses including those belonging to Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, Haji Ahmad Ullah Shadad, M.L.A., Pandit Janki Nath Zutshi, Kh. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, M.L.A., Pir Abdul Ahad Shah, Mohammad Yusuf, Pt. Prem Nath Dhar, Hassan Shah, Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Andrabi, Mohammad Maqbool Baihaqi, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, M.L.A., Hakim Qureshi, Kh. Ahsan Ullah, Pt. Nil Kanth Dhar, Mohammad Ramzan, Ghulam Mohammad Gilkar, Kh. Abdul Wahab, Mohammad Mohammad Sikandar, Mohammad Ishaq, Ghulam Rasul, Baha-ud-Din, etc., were searched without warrants.

Within the period of one and a half month of Government repression 957 arrests were made all over the State. Five hundred were arrested under 19-L which did not allow them to know the cause of their arrest which was made without notice or warrant.

When it became clear to the Government that indiscriminate and wholesale arrests would not bend the spirit of the people, extensive and heavy punitive-taxes were levied on the entire population in the so-called 'turbulent areas.' We will give here the instance of the Maisuma Mohalla which comprises of about 250 houses. This Mohalla was marked to pay the exorbitant punitive-tax of Rs. 12,000. Heavy fines were exacted from persons who were arrested and convicted. Nearly all the political prisoners were ordered to pay huge amounts as fine.

Here are a few instances :—

	Rs.
Abdul Aziz Bandipora	.... 1,000
Mohammad Subhan Rishi Anantnag	.... 600

			Rs.
Aga Syed Hussain Shah	.... Srinagar	....	500
Sh. Mohammad Akbar	.... Baramulla	....	500
Pt. Zinda Lal	.... Srinagar	....	260
Ghulam Mohiuddin	.... Bandipura	....	250
A. G. Wadera	.... Srinagar	...	200
Mohammad Abdullah	.... Srinagar	....	200
Abdul Bashir	.... Anantnag	....	200
A. Aziz Dar	... Sopore	....	200
Mohammad Ramzan	.... Srinagar	....	200

Houses were attached and articles of daily household use, the books of children, the ornaments of the women-folk and even the cooking utensils were sold to realize fines from the 'disaffected persons'. Many a time the property of an innocent neighbour was attached. On several occasions the landlord was made to pay the fines of his tenants.

Besides, the Government sought to crush the freedom of the press in the State by taking action against all those papers which, in any way, criticised the repressive action of the Government. Securities amounting to Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 750 were, respectively, demanded from the two nationalist papers in the State—the *Hamdard* and the *Kesari*. These two papers had to cease publication at once. Six editors of different newspapers were imprisoned.

Twenty-two labourers of the Silk Factory were deprived of their work as a punishment for participating in the strike during the first week of the Movement.

Four hundred persons were served with notices by the Superintendent of Police to desist from participating in public activities in the future. This reduced their liberties to that of detainees.

Vindictive repression was carried on in the jails. In the Central Jail, Srinagar a severe *lathi-charge* was made on the political prisoners in which many were rendered unconscious, particularly Nazir Ahmad, a college student,

whose condition was serious for several days. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was put in Kathua Jail, which is notorious for its malarial climate. Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu was put in a far off jail (Fort Badrawah) in Jammu Province where he was the only living soul, excepting the jail staff.

The Government, on the whole, treated the political prisoners with utter disrespect. Even those elementary rights and privileges which were deserved as of right under the law of the land, and are enjoyed by the politicals in British India, were denied to them.

As nearly all the trusted workers of the Movement had been imprisoned in the very first week, an underground organization known as the War Council was set up which directed the movement for a month and a half. It published a bulletin every morning to direct the activities of the day.

The imprisonment of all the active workers, imposition of heavy fines, and the terrorisation of the people by the police made it necessary to suspend the Movement for sometime. It was considered necessary to have a breathing space in which the scattered forces of the movement could be re-mobilised and consolidated. Thus, the Secretary of the War Council formally suspended the struggle in the 2nd week of November.

As was to be expected, the present movement has brought into prominence many opposition elements besides the Government. The vested interests in the State, the communalists and other reactionaries have, from the very beginning, made a united block against the popular forces. They have tried in every way possible to discredit the movement.

The charges levelled by these reactionary elements against the Movement are generally these —

- (1) The Movement is communal.
- (2) The Movement has not been free from violence.
- (3) There is no opposition on the part of the State to the movement for Responsible Government.

That our Movement is communal is utterly false is borne out by the following remark made by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru :—

“I think there can be little doubt that the basic cause underlying all the disturbances in recent years has been economic distress and unemployment.”

We have constantly tried to voice the common grievances of the masses of Kashmir irrespective of religious differences. The fact that the Muslims have largely participated in the struggle is due, partly to the very large percentage of Muslims in the population, and partly to the extremely limited opportunities they have had, both in respect of time and resources, to win over the complete confidence of the minority communities which are apt, in the beginning to be slightly suspicious about a struggle initiated by the majority community. Nonetheless, it stands to the credit of the Movement that to-day it can count amongst its ranks, some of the most popular and influential Hindu and Sikh leaders who command a considerable following.

The criterion to judge the national character of a movement is to see whether the demand, for the achievement of which it is launched, constitutes the rights of the whole of the nation and not of a particular section thereof. The “National Demand” forms the basis of the present movement. It asks for the establishment of Responsible Government in the State under the aegis of His Highness with a Legislature constituted on the grounds of joint-electoralates with reservation of seats and with all other safeguards “enunciated, accepted or acted upon by the Indian National Congress” for the minority communities.

As regards the other allegation that our Movement is violent the very fact is a standing contradiction that the military was not summoned even once and the efficacy of the bullet was never put to test. Not that the Government had become suddenly scrupulous and humane, but they could not, with equanimity, butcher a non-violent and inoffensive people. Only occasional references, by the Government, of the use of *lathis* by the police clearly show that

either the police was practising *Satyagraha* or the so-called "turbulants" were peaceful. Our struggle has been characterised throughout by remarkable discipline and self-restraint in the face of grave provocation from the Government side.

The personal observations of Dr. Mukraj Anand (the famous novelist) on the events in Kashmir will, we hope, support our emphatic claim that the Movement was entirely non-violent :

"His Highness Government has also sought to defame the leadership as well as the masses who, with exemplary patience and fortitude, have suffered almost unendurable hardships in the loss of property through many confiscations, fines, securities and punitive taxes by alleging that the Movement had burst the bounds of ordinary constitutional behaviour and had resorted to violence. I was the witness of police provocation on the 30th and 31st of August in Amira Kadal and inside the town and I must confess that seldom during my experience of organised violence by authority on the people, anywhere in the world, have I seen such a show of wanton and unprovoked brutality, the exertion of force to cow down a peaceful people, who were violent only to the extent of shouting slogans."

Similarly Pandit Lakshmi Narayan, a Lahore journalist who was an eye-witness of the events wrote :—

"Much has been said on the violence in Kashmir while I who had the chance to be present during the course of the recent political movement in Kashmir followed the mass processions of the demonstrators more than once and on all occasions I was impressed to see them so well disciplined and non-violent that I felt any votary of non-violence would have been proud of them. On the other hand, I had, once the occasion to see stones being flung on the mob near Gawkadal. The stones were coming from the side where the police had been posted and even then to my great admiration I saw the demonstrators quite passive."

The provocations from the police were invariably great. This will be supported by the following comment of

The Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore :—

“Matters have taken a grave turn to-day. A crowd gathered again in Amira Kadal this morning in defiance of section 144, and the police charged the crowd several times with *lathis* and stones.”

Dr. Mohammad Alam, M.L.A. (Punjab) was another eye-witness who was convinced of the absolute non-violent character of the Movement. This will be seen from the following :—

“ I was myself in Srinagar when the recent National agitation was started The Movement is run on absolutely non-violent lines and let me say with credit to those who have been carrying this Movement for freedom that they have strictly adhered to the principles of non-violence.”

The fact that the threat of the District Magistrate that the mob throwing stones would be fired at was never carried, shows that the demonstrators were peaceful.

Yet, we shall not deny that a few cases of mild violence, were reported during the course of the Movement. These minor incidents could not have been avoided as the people had not received a sound training in the principles of non-violence and the provocations from the police in those cases had been too grave.

As regards the third charge that there is no opposition on the part of the State to the Movement for Responsible Government, we would leave the events, described above, to speak for themselves. We have seen that the opposition of the Government to the popular movement for the establishment of Responsible Government has taken the form of Notification 19-L and the Seditious Meetings Regulation of 1914. (See Appendix B and C.)

The Government seems determined to crush the democratic movement. It has deprived the people of all civil liberties. In these circumstances it would be nothing short of hypocrisy to maintain that the State authorities are not opposed to the movement for Responsible Government.

Events are moving fast in Kashmir. The people are determined to fight out their battle for democracy and freedom. The peasantry and the other exploited sections of the population are becoming increasingly conscious of their rights, and soon another struggle may be started. We appeal to all fellow-Indians, within and without the State, to stand by us at this critical hour, for our battles are their battles, as we have all to march forward together as one army, in our great struggle for building up a free, prosperous and united India.

APPENDIX A

NATIONAL DEMAND

As is now well known there is a nation-wide movement afoot among the people of Jammu and Kashmir State, to bring about a complete change in the social and political outlook of the people. This Movement is not confined to any particular community or section of the public but all classes of people have begun participating in it with the fullest consciousness of the issues it involves. But we do make it perfectly clear at the very outset that our loyalty to His Highness' person and throne is unswerving and needs no reiteration.

The ultimate political goal of this movement is the achievement of complete responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. But as sponsors of this national movement, we feel that it is our bounden duty to acquaint all our countrymen as also others who are interested in it of the immediate objective we have in view.

Our Movement is essentially a movement of peace and good-will. Immediately, it aims at securing the elementary and basic rights of citizenship. It shall certainly try to bring about such a state of affairs in this country as would make it possible for even the humblest subject of His Highness to contribute to the making of his own destinies. Our demands are modest, but they have the force of reason and justice behind them. Not that we are not conscious of our limitations; not that we are not fully aware of the fact that the Government knows its mind and has resources at its disposal to enforce its will. But in the soul-stirring words of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru: "However much we may be enfeebled in body, our soul has never been nor will ever be killed." Our Movement has a gigantic urge behind it. It is the urge of hunger and starvation which propels it onwards in most adverse circumstances.

The ever-growing menace of unemployment amongst our educated young men and also among the illiterate masses in the country, the incidence of numerous taxes, the burden of exorbitant land-revenue, the appalling waste of human life due to want of adequate modern medical assistance, the miserable plight of uncared-for thousands of labourers outside the State boundaries and in face of all this the patronage that is being extended by the Government in the shape of subsidies and other amenities to outside capitalists as also the top-heavy administration that daily becomes heavier, point to only one direction that the present conditions can never be better as long as a change is not made in the basic principles that are underlying the present system of Government.

Our cause is both righteous, reasonable and just. We want to be the makers of our own destinies and we want to shape the ends of things according to our choice, of course, under the august patronage of His Highness. This we cannot do, so long as a healthy change is not effected in the present system of Government. We have also come to the conclusion that without such a change it is impossible for the communities individually or the country collectively to progress. We are, therefore, of this firm belief, that the Government of His Highness should, before long, be modelled on the following lines :—

- (a) The present system of administration in the State shall be replaced by Responsible Government subject to the general control and residuary powers of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur as hereinafter mentioned.
- (b) The Ministry shall be responsible to the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature and shall have, subject to such responsibility, power to control the expenditure of the revenues of the State and also to make such grants and appropriation of any part of those revenues or of any other property which is at present under the control or disposal of the Council as reserved expenditure, save and except the following which shall remain under

the control of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur: 1. Expenditure of the Military Services. 2. Expenditure classed as Political and Foreign. 3. Payments of all debts and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted and incurred by His Highness-in-Council on account of Government of Kashmir. 4. The Dharmarth Trust.

- (c) The principle of responsibility to the Legislature shall be introduced in all the branches of administration of the Government subject to general control, reservations and residuary powers vested in His Highness in respect of control of Military, Foreign and Political Affairs etc., provided that the proposal of His Highness for appropriations of any revenues or monies for Military or other expenditure for Foreign and Political purposes shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, but that His Highness shall have power notwithstanding the vote of the Assembly to appropriate up to a fixed maximum any sum His Highness may consider necessary for such expenditure.
- (d) The Legislature shall consist entirely of members elected by constituencies formed on the system of the adult franchise. Provision should be made for the representation of labour, trade, landlords and educational interests in the Legislature by means of election.
- (e) The election to the Legislature shall be made on the basis of joint-electoralates; seats should be reserved for the minorities, and all other safeguards and weightages should be guaranteed to them in the constitution for the protection of their legitimate linguistic, religious, cultural, political and economic rights according to the principles enunciated, accepted or acted upon by the Indian National Congress from time to time. In addition to the above the religious rights and sentiments of all the communities should always be respected and not interfered with.

- (f) All the subjects of the State, without distinction of creed and caste shall be admitted for services in all armies of defence and for that purpose His Highness shall be assisted by a Minister responsible to the Assembly.
- (g) No subject of His Highness shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or of associations and free speech or in respect of writing except under sentence by an ordinary court of justice and as a result of lawful and open trial.

All this cannot be given for the mere asking. It requires wise statesmanship from the side of the Government. Our earnest desire is to avoid a strife. Let the Government make an announcement accepting the above principles and if His Highness' Government is pleased to discuss these principles with us we shall certainly and whole-heartedly co-operate for this purpose. We are sure that if this is done there will reign peace all around."

- (Sd.) Sh. MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH, the President of the Kashmir Muslim Conference.
- (Sd.) M. M. SAYEED, Member Kashmir Assembly.
- (Sd.) G. M. SADIQ, Member Kashmir Assembly.
- (Sd.) Mian AHMAD YAR, Member Kashmir Assembly.
- (Sd.) M. A. BEG, Member Kashmir Assembly.
- (Sd.) Pandit KASHYAP BHANDU, Editor *The Kesari*.
- (Sd.) Pandit PREM NATH BAZAZ.
- (Sd.) S. BUDH SINGH.
- (Sd.) Pandit JIA LAL KILAM,
- (Sd.) GHULAM MOHAMMAD BAKSHI.
- (Sd.) Pandit SHAM LAL SARAF.
- (Sd.) Dr. Pandit SHAMBHOQ NATH PESHIN.

APPENDIX B

1. The history of the Notification, given below which confers sweeping and almost unlimited powers on police Sub-Inspectors and all military officers, of arrest of political suspects without warrant and their imprisonment without trial, is interesting.

2. The Notification was originally enacted on September 24, 1931 to direct the course of Martial Law in Srinagar and other places. It was "withdrawn" by a proclamation of His Highness on October 5, 1931, after being in force only for a few days. It was again promulgated on June 1, 1933 to meet another emergency. Since then it has not been withdrawn. It was resorted to at the very outset of the present agitation.

3. It will be recalled that the mysterious Notification No. 19-L has been repeatedly mentioned during the present agitation. In fact hundreds of arrests have taken place under this Notification.

Notification No. 19-L, dated 8th Assuj 1988-24th September, 1931.

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the conferment of special powers upon certain of my officers for the suppression of disorder and the restoration and maintenance of law and order

I hereby command as follows :—

CHAPTER I

1. Preliminary.

(a) This Notification shall extend for the present to the city of Srinagar within the Municipal limits and shall come into operation immediately.

(b) It may be extended to any other area within my rule by a Notification.

2. Definitions under this Notification.

- (a) "the code" means the Code of Criminal Procedure of Sambat 1969.
- (b) "A turbulent person" includes any person who has committed an offence punishable under section 121, 121-A, 122, or 123, of the Ranbir Penal Code or against whom operations are being carried out by my Military forces or the Police for the purpose of restoring and maintaining law and order in any area to which this Notification extends.

CHAPTER II

3. Power to arrest turbulent persons.

- (1) A competent authority may arrest without warrant any person against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that he has promoted or assisted to promote disaffection against the authority of Government or that he has acted or intends to act in a manner prejudicial to the restoration or maintenance of law and order.
- (2) In making such arrests a competent authority may use any means that may be necessary.
- (3) A competent authority making such arrest shall forthwith commit any person so arrested to jail in Srinagar.

Provided that no person shall be detained in custody under this section for a period exceeding one month.

4. Power to control turbulent persons.

- (1) A competent authority, if satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has promoted or assisted to promote or intends to promote disaffection against the authority of Government, or that he has assisted or intends to assist any disaffected person, or

has otherwise acted or intends to act in a manner prejudicial to the restoration or maintenance of law and order may, by order in writing, direct that such person—

- (a) shall not enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order.
 - (b) shall reside or remain in any area specified in the order.
 - (c) shall remove himself from, and shall not return to, any area specified in the order, or
 - (d) shall conduct himself in such manner, abstain from such acts, or take such order with any property in his possession or under his control as may be specified in the order.
- (2) An order made under sub-section (1) shall not remain in force for more than one month from the making thereof.
 - (3) An order made under sub-section (1) shall be served on the person to whom it relates in the manner provided in the Code for service of a summons.

5. Power to appoint special police officers.—A competent authority may appoint persons as special Police Officers, and any person so appointed shall be deemed to have been appointed as a special officer in accordance with the provisions of any enactment relating to the appointment of special police in force in the area in which he is appointed.

6. Power to require assistance in the restoration or maintenance of law and order.—A competent authority may require any person to assist in the restoration or maintenance of law and order in such manner and within such limits as the competent authority may prescribe.

7. Power to take possession of immoveable property.—Where in the opinion of the competent authority such action is expedient to the furtherance of any operation being carried out by my Military forces or the Police for the maintenance or restoration of law and order or the protection of

property, such competent authority may, after recording an order in writing stating his reasons—

- (a) take possession of any land, and construct Military works including roads thereon and remove any trees, hedges, crops and defences therefrom.
 - (b) take possession of any land or buildings together with any property thereon, whether movable or immovable including works for the supply of electricity or water and any source of water supply.
 - (c) take such steps as may be expedient for placing any lands, buildings or structures in the state of defence.
 - (d) cause any buildings, structures, trees, hedges, crops or other property of any kind to be destroyed or removed ; and
 - (e) do any other act involving interference with private rights in property.
- (2) If, in the opinion of a competent authority, any land, or building can be utilised as quarters or offices for public servants, or for the accommodation of troops, police or prisoners, the competent authority may, by order in writing, require the occupier or any other person incharge of the land or building to place it at the disposal of the Government at such times as may be specified in the order of any fixtures, fittings, furniture or other things for the time being in the building or on the land, and the competent authority may dispose of or use such land, building, fixtures, fittings, furniture or other things in such manner as it may consider expedient.
- (3) In this section " building " includes any portion or portions of a building whether separately occupied or not.
- (4) The District Magistrate may, on the application of any person who has suffered loss by exercise of the powers conferred by this section award to

such person such compensation as he thinks reasonable, and such award shall be final.

8. Power to take possession of movable property.

- (1) If, in the opinion of a competent authority, any product, article or thing can be utilised for the public advantage, the competent authority may, by order in writing require any owner or person in charge of such product, article or thing to place it at the disposal of Government at such time and place as may be specified in the order, and the competent authority may dispose of or use it in such manner as it may be considered expedient.
- (2) The District Magistrate may, on the application of any person who has suffered loss by the exercise of the power conferred by sub-section (1) award to such person such compensation as he thinks reasonable, and such award shall be final.

9. Powers regarding arms, ammunition, explosives, etc.

- (1) A competent authority may, by order in writing, published in such manner as he thinks best adapted for informing the persons concerned—
 - (a) prohibit, either absolutely or subject to such exceptions as may be specified in the order, the purchase, sale or delivery of, or other dealing in any arms, ammunition, explosive substance, or materials wherefrom any explosive substances may be made; or
 - (b) direct that any person owning or having in his possession or under his control any arms, parts of arms, ammunition, explosive substances or materials wherefrom any explosive substances may be made shall keep the same in a secure place approved by the competent authority or remove them to any place specified in the order,

- (2) A competent authority may take possession of :—
- (a) any arms, parts of arms, ammunition, explosive substances or materials wherefrom any explosive substance may be made ; or
 - (b) any tools, machinery, implements or other materials of any kind, likely, in his opinion, to be utilised, whether by the owner or by any other person, for the purpose of causing unlawful hurt or damage to any person or to any property.

10. Power to regulate means of transport.

- (1) A competent authority may, by order in writing, require any person to make, in such form and within such time and to such authority as may be specified in the order, a return of any vehicles, vessels or other means of transport owned by him or in his possession or under his control.
- (2) A competent authority, if in his opinion, it is necessary for the public advantage, may, by order in writing require any person owning or having in his possession or under his control, any vehicle, vessel or other means of transport to take such order therewith for such period as may be specified.

11. Power to control traffic on roads and waterways.—Where, in the opinion of a competent authority, such action is expedient for carrying out the purposes of this Notification, such competent authority may close or divert any road, pathway or waterway or may regulate traffic over any road, pathway or waterway.

Provided that the competent authority :—

- (a) gives notice of such action in writing to the local authority (if any) in whose charge such road, pathway or waterway is, and
- (b) restores any such road, pathway or waterway to its original use and condition as soon as the necessities of the case permit this to be done.

12. Power to control telegraphs.—A competent authority may control the operation of any State telegraph, or telephone office or station in any part of the area for which he is appointed and, in particular, may intercept any telegraphic or telephonic message in the course of transmission, may ascertain its contents and may prohibit its further transmission.

13. The powers conferred by section 12 shall be exercised in consultation with the authority in charge of the office or station concerned, or with any superior authority.

14. Powers to issue search warrants.—The power to issue search warrants conferred by section 98 of the Code shall be deemed to include a power to issue warrants authorising—

(a) the search of any place in which any Magistrate mentioned in that section has reason to believe that any offence under this Notification or any act prejudicial to the restoration or maintenance of law and order has been, is being or is about to be committed, or that preparation for the commission of any such offence or act is being made.

(b) the seizure in or on any place searched under clause (a) on anything which the officer executing the warrant has reasons to believe is being used or is intended to be used, for any purpose mentioned in that clause ; and the provision of the Code shall, so far as may be, apply to such searches made under the authority of any warrant issued and to the disposal of any property seized under this section.

15. General power of search.—Any authority on which a power is conferred by or under this chapter may, be general or special order authorise any person to enter and search any place the search of which such authority has reasons to believe to be necessary for the purpose of—

(a) ascertaining whether it is necessary or expedient to exercise such power, or

(b) ascertaining whether any order given, direction

made, or conditions prescribed in the exercise of such power has been duly complied with, or

- (c) generally giving effect to such power or securing compliance with or giving effect, to any order given, direction made or condition prescribed in the exercise of such power.

16. Power to enforce orders.—If any person disobeys or neglects to comply with an order made, direction given, or condition prescribed in accordance with the provisions of this Notification or of the rules made thereunder, the authority which made the order, gave the direction or prescribed the condition may take or cause to be taken such action as it thinks necessary to give effect thereto.

CHAPTER III

17. Penalty for disobeying order under section 4 or section 9.—Whoever disobeys or neglects to comply with any order made or direction given in accordance with the provisions of section 4 or section 9 shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with flogging not exceeding thirty stripes or fine extending to Rs. 1,000.

18. Penalty for disobeying other orders under Chapter II.—Subject to the provision of section 17 whoever disobeys or neglects to comply with any order made, direction given or condition prescribed in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II, or impedes the lawful exercise of any power referred to in that chapter such as throwing stones or using seditious language, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with flogging not exceeding thirty stripes or fine extending to Rs. 1,000.

19. Tampering with public servants.—Whoever induces or attempts to induce any public servant or any servant of a local authority or any railway servant to disregard or fail in his duty as such servant, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year or flogging or fine extending to Rs. 1,000.

20. Dissemination of false rumours.—Whoever by words whether spoken or written or by signs or by visible or

audible representation or otherwise publishes any statement, rumour or report, which is false and which he has no reasonable ground to believe to be true, with intent to cause or which is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public or to any section of the public or hatred or contempt towards any public servant or any class of my subjects shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year or with flogging or fine extending to Rs. 1,000.

21. Dissuasion from enlistment.—Whoever dissuades or attempts to dissuade any person from entering the military or police service shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year or with flogging or with fine extending to Rs. 1,000.

22. Imposition of collective fine on inhabitants of turbulent areas :—

- (1) Where it appears to me that the inhabitants of any area have assisted or harboured disaffected persons or have attacked the person or property of members of any community of my subjects, I may, by notification impose collective fine on the inhabitants of that area.
- (2) I may exempt any person or class or section of such inhabitants from liability to pay any portion of such fine.
- (3) The District Magistrate, after such enquiry as he may deem necessary, shall apportion such fine among the inhabitants who are liable collectively to pay it and such appointment shall be made according to the District Magistrate's judgment of the respective means of such inhabitants.
- (4) The portion of such fine payable by any person may be recovered from him as a fine or as arrears of land revenue.

Explanation.—For the purpose of this section, the "inhabitants" of an area includes persons who themselves or by their agents or servants occupy or hold land or other immovable property within such area, and landlords who themselves or

by their agents or servants collect rents from holders or occupiers of land in such area, notwithstanding that they do not actually reside therein.

22.A. Whenever a fine is imposed under sections 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 or 25 (2) above on any person under the age of 21, the fine may be recovered from his father or guardian as if the fine had been imposed on such father or guardian.

23. All trials under this chapter shall be summary.

CHAPTER IV

Supplemental

24. Appointment of competent authority.—I may, by general or special order, appoint persons to be competent authorities to exercise any of the powers conferred upon a competent authority by Chapter II within such area as may be specified in the order.

25. Power to make rules.—The Competent authority may make rules—

- (a) To prevent communication with disaffected persons and to secure information of the movements of disaffected persons ;
- (b) To prevent attacks on the persons or property of members of a community of my subjects, and to secure information of such attacks and of designs to make such attacks ;
- (c) to secure the safety of my Military forces and Police ;
- (d) to provide for the custody of pending production before a court of prisoners taken in circumstances in which the provisions of the Code cannot be followed without undue inconvenience ; and,
- (f) generally to carry out the purposes of this Notification,

- (2) Any contravention of a rule shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with flogging or fine extending to Rs. 1,000.

26. Offences under this Notification and certain other offences to be cognisable and non-bailable.

- (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code any offence punishable under this Notification shall be cognisable and non-bailable.
- (2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code, an offence punishable under sections 121, 121-A, 122, 123, 153-A, 160, 186, 187, 188, 189, 227, 505, 507 or 508, the Ranbir Penal Code or under section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation 1971, shall be cognisable and non-bailable.

27. Bar of jurisdiction.—No proceeding, rule or order purporting to be taken or made under this Notification shall be called in question by any court, and no civil or criminal proceeding shall be instituted against any person for anything done, or in good faith intended to be done, under this Notification or any rule made thereunder.

28. Operation of other penal laws not barred.—Nothing contained in this Notification shall be deemed to prevent any person from being prosecuted under any other law for any act or omission, which constitutes an offence punishable under this Notification.

(Sd). HARISINGH,

MAHARAJA,

G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.-D.-C.

Under the Notifications.

(i) No. 15-L, dated 1st February 1934 (20th Magh 1990) and

(ii) No. 16-L, dated 13th Feb, 1934 (2nd Phagan

1990) all the provisions of Notification No. 19-L of 1938 were extended to

- (i) the villages of Mattan, Bijbehara and Pulwama, and
- (ii) the town of Baramulla and the villages of Sopore.

Under order dated 24th September 1931 and Notification No. L-3 of 1990 His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur was pleased to appoint :—

- (a) All Military state officers (from the rank of Brigadier to Second Lieutenant inclusive),
- (b) District Magistrates, Kashmir and Jammu,
- (c) All police officers of and above the rank of Sub-Inspectors,

competent authorities to exercise any of the powers conferred upon a competent authority by Chapter 11 of Notification No. 19-L of 1988 within the Municipal limits of the city of Srinagar and within the Municipal limits and Cantonment of the city of Jammu.

Notification No. L-4 of 1990. His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur was pleased to extend all the provisions of No. 19-L of 1988 to the Qasba of Anantnag (area in which land is permitted to be mortgaged and sold) and in the village of Sarnel.

Under section 3-(3) of the above-mentioned Notification No. 19-L of 1988 a 'competent authority' making an arrest shall commit any person so arrested either to the jail in Srinagar or to the judicial lock-up at Anantnag.

Under section No. L-4 of 1990 His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur was pleased to appoint

- (a) All Military officers of the State from the rank of Brigadier to the Second Lieutenant inclusive,
- (b) District Magistrate Kashmir,
- (c) Wazir Wazarat Anantnag,
- (d) All police officers of and above the rank of Sub-Inspector,

competent authorities to exercise any of the powers conferred upon a competent authority by Chapter II of Notification No. 19-L of 1988 read with L-4 of 1990 within the limits of Qasba Anantnag (area in which land may be mortgaged and sold) and the village of Sarnel.

All Assistant Sub-Inspectors are appointed competent authorities only to the extent that they may exercise powers under section 3 (1) section 3 (2) and section 6 of Notification 19-L of September 1931.

Under Section No. L-3 of 1990, His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur was pleased to command that all provisions of Notification No. 19-L of 1988 shall be extended to the city of Jammu within the Municipal and Cantonment limits.

Under Notification No. L-16 of 1990 His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur has been pleased to appoint

(a) The District Magistrate of Kashmir and all Police officers of and above the rank of Sub-Inspector for village of Sopore and town of Baramulla, and

(b) The Munsiff Sopore for the village of Sopore.

competent authorities to exercise any of the powers conferred upon a competent 'authority' by Chapter II of Notification No. L-19 of 1988 read with Notification No. L-16 of 1990.

APPENDIX C

REGULATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF SEDITIOUS MEETINGS

SAMBAT 1971

(Sanctioned by His Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur *vide* Chief Minister's letter No. 4282/N-102-07, dated 10th September 1914.)

A Regulation relating to the prevention of Public Meetings likely to promote sedition or to cause a disturbance of public tranquillity.

1. Whereas it is expedient to provide for the prevention of public meetings likely to promote sedition or to cause a disturbance of public tranquillity ; it is hereby enacted as follows :—

- (1) **Short title and extent.**—This Regulation may be called a Regulation for the prevention of Seditious Meetings Sambat 1971.
- (2) **Definitions.**—(a) In this Regulation, the expression “Public Meeting” means a meeting which is open to the public or any class or portion of the public.
(b) A meeting may be a public meeting notwithstanding that it is held up in private place and notwithstanding that admission thereto may have been restricted by ticket or otherwise.
(c) “Governor” means the Governors of Jammu and Kashmir and the Wazirs of Leh and Gilgit within their respective jurisdiction.

2. **Notice to be given of public meetings.**—No public meeting for the furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement or for the exhibition or distribution of any written or printed matter relating to any such subject shall be held :—

- (a) Unless written notice of the intention to hold such meeting and of the time and place of such meeting has been given to the Governor or Sub-

Divisional Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police at least 3 days previously; and

- (b) Unless permission to hold such meeting has been obtained in writing from the Governor or the Superintendent of Police.

3. Power to cause report to be taken.—Any Magistrate of the 1st Class or a Police Officer not below the rank of an Inspector may, by order in writing, depute one or more police officers not being below the rank of Sergeants, or other persons to attend any such meeting for the purpose of causing a report to be taken of the proceedings.

4. Power to prohibit public meetings.—The Governor or a Sub-Divisional Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police may, at any time, by order in writing, of which public notice shall forthwith be given, prohibit any public meeting, if in his opinion such meeting is likely to promote sedition or disaffection or to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity.

5. Penalties.—(a) Any person concerned in the promotion or conduct of a public meeting held in the Jammu and Kashmir State contrary to the provisions of section 3 shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 6 months, or with fine, or with both.

(b) Any public meeting which has been prohibited under Section 4 shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of Chapter VIII of the Ranbir Dand Bidihi and Chapter IX of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Sambat 1969.

6. Penalty for delivery of speeches in public places.—Whoever, in a public place or a place of public resort, otherwise than a public meeting held in accordance with the provisions of Section 3, without the permission of the Governor or the Superintendent of Police, previously obtained, delivers any lecture, address or speech on any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement to persons then present, may be arrested without warrant and shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 6 months, or with fine, or with both.

7. Cognisance of offences.—No court inferior to that of a Magistrate of the 1st Class shall try any offence against this Regulation.

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