CHAPTER - II

Role of Andhra Maha Sabha

And

Hyderabad State Congress
The feudal character of Hyderabad naturally led to a communication gap between the administrative setup and the people. This gap gradually widened and was responsible for the political upheaval that manifested in the struggle for freedom.

The political problem in Hyderabad related mainly to the justification of the minority rule over the majority. The Nizam’s government wanted to grow strong through religious means. Proselytizing the members of the majority community was one of the easy means to add to their own members. Thus, the numerical strength of the majority was reduced and the strength of the minority was increasing. The people had practically no right to speak of freedom. It was under these circumstances that enlightened leaders like Vaman Naik, K.S.Vaidya, M.Hanumantha Rao, Keshava Rao and other began to give the expression to the genuine grievances and reasonable aspirations of the people.

The Andhra Maha Sabha, the Arya Samaj, the Civil Liberties Union and the Hyderabad State Congress played an important role in bringing awakening among the people of Hyderabad. While the Telugus of Madras Presidency became politically active during the years following Vande Mataram movement, their brethren in Hyderabad state became politically conscious only during the 1920’s.

The eyes of the leaders were opened when they realized on many occasions that they could not hold even a social gathering in Telugu. The need was felt for forming an organization and the Andhra Jana Sangam, formed in 1921, was the first of its kind.

In the matters of political awareness, the people of the region were 50 years behind those in the neighboring states. This was elucidated by the freedom fighter Mandumala Narasinga Rao in his book, 'Fifty Years Of Hyderabad'. He pointed out that the people of Hyderabad requested the then Nizam in 1935 to introduce the system of local self-government, which was implemented by the British regime in 1885 in the other states.
The circumstances which hastened the establishment of the Andhra Jana Sangham was an incident that took place in the Nizam State Social Conference held at Hyderabad on 12th November, 1921. A.Venkata Rama Rao, a leading lawyer of Hyderabad who got up to speak in Telugu on a resolution was shouted down by the audience. This opened the eyes of the Telugu audience to the true position of Telugu language. That very night, the Andhra Jana Sangham was started which later was renamed the Nizam Andhra Jana Sangham. The Andhra Jana Sangham aimed at the social, economic and cultural revival of the people of Telangana. But even prior to this, about half a century ago, the first occasion for the growth of public opinion in Hyderabad was provided by the Nizam government's acceptance of the Chanda Railway Scheme in 1883 which meant that the government had to hand over all the stations from Hyderabad to Wadi to a British company. Prominent Hyderabadis, Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, father of Sarojini Naidu, felt that the scheme was not in the interests of the Hyderabad state. Dr.Aghornath became the first dissident to be exiled by the Nizam's government.

In 1892, the Arya Samaj was established and it immediately assumed a political color much to the chagrin of the government. The Nizam's government had banned all political meetings and conferences in the state and the first Hyderabad Political Conference in 1923 had to be organised outside the state in Kakinada. Every effort was made to prevent any serious nationalist political activity in Hyderabad.

The programme of the Nizam's Jana Sangham included the opening of the Telugu books and promotion of historical research. Regular conferences were also held

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2 According to K.S.Vaidya in the book, *The Hyderabad State Congress*, *Hyderabad*, 1946, permission to hold a conference on 13th September 1924 was not granted because, as the order stated, the object of the conference was not solely moral, educational or cultural but is political. After several attempts to hold political conferences in the State failed, it was held at Akola Berar on 27th August 1931. p3
during the years 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1928 respectively. By 1930, it came to be known as Andhra Jana Sangham. In its conference in Devarkonda in 1931 under the presidency of B.Ramakrishna Rao, most of the delegates spoke in Telugu showing thereby that the efforts of the Andhra Jana Sangham to foster Telugu language in Hyderabad state had not gone in vain.

In the 1930 conference, the Andhra Jana Sangham had converted its name to Andhra Maha Sabha and the use of the word 'Andhra' was quite objectionable to the Nizam's government but the Telangana leaders stuck to it and refused to substitute it by the word Telugu or Telangana. The Andhra Maha Sabha stuck to its goals to create awareness for education and to propagate a proper understanding of the time, through the establishment of village libraries. In this direction, they conducted periodical conferences to bring under one roof the representatives of 60 lakh Andhras. In an atmosphere of illiteracy, ignorance and feudal rule, there were only a few enlightened social workers in the city. Some of them were Unnava Venkataramiah, Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Suravaram Pratap Reddy, Ravi Narayan Reddy, T.Anantha Venkat Rao, Ramachandra Reddy Deshmukh, Alladurgam, Gopala Venkat Rao and Datta Narayana who constituted themselves into an organization called the Andhra Maha Sabha.

The aim of the Maha Sabha during this period was also to eradicate the Purdah system that was prevailing in Hyderabad and other areas of the state which had no basis in the Dharmasastras. Emphasis on the need for female education and banning of child marriage were equally important. In all, 13 conferences were held in different parts of the state under the patronage of local landlords, merchants and other elite. In the initial stages, it faced great difficulties even to secure permission for conducting routine
meetings. The text of the letter by R.Gnenevix Trench, Revenue and Police member will highlight this matter. In his letter dated August 3rd 1932 he writes,

"I saw Mr.Hanumantha Rao today regarding his desire to hold an Andhra conference. The Secretary in the Home department, the Director General of Police and the Deputy Secretary in the Home department were present. I explained to Mr.Hanumantha Rao that I was only prepared to recommend to the Government that permission should be given to him to hold the conference on the condition a) The government's policy and orders in educational, political and other matters should not be discussed in the meeting - as it was always open to any person or association to represent to government what it regards as a grievance under the above heads without convening a public meeting for the purpose, b) That Mr.Hanumantha Rao and other conveners of the meeting should give security of Rs.2000/- in cash that the above condition will not be contravened. The government will be the only judge whether it has been contravened or not."³

It is also significant to note that along with the Andhra Maha Sabha conferences, Andhra Mahila conferences were also held in 1930. The first lady who presided over the Andhra Mahila conference at Jogipet was Nadimpalli Sundaramma. The second Andhra Mahila conference at Devarkonda was presided over by Smt.T.Varalakshamma in 1901. She has the distinction of being the first remarried lady. She hailed from Karimnagar but studied medicine and set up practice in Hyderabad city. Other prominent women in the movement were Ellapragad Sita

³ K.Chandrayya, Hyderabad - 400 Glorious Years, Hyderabad, 1972, p 198.

Even V.K.Bawa in his article “Constitutional and Administrative Structure”, in "Hyderabad 400 - Saga of a City", ed. by K.S.S.Seshan stated that during the period 1923-38, the Nizam's government followed a highly conservative, not to say reactionary policy of suppressing all public demands for the involvement of the people in the State's political system whether by the creation of a representative legislature to bring public grievances to the notice of the government or to make the government more responsive to public demands, p 24
Kumari, Madapati Manikyamma, Burugula Anatha Lakshmi Devi including many others.

The women's wing functioned independently and concentrated on issues peculiar to them such as support to widow re-marriage, opposing men marrying a number of wives and purchase of young girls. Representation in legislature and other elective bodies was also made by the Andhra Mahila Sabha. In course of time, the leading members joined the State Congress or the Communist Party of India as the case may be. Though the Andhra Maha Sabha was not a militant organization, the Nizam's Government often refused to permit them to hold conferences or annual meetings.

From the beginning of the formation of Andhra Maha Sabha it was always an uphill task for them to fulfill their objectives and the organization had to face several impediments placed in its course by the government. When an attempt was made in Suryapet to start a library, the collector of Nalgonda, while on tour to that place, enquired of all the organizers as to whether government permission was obtained for such a venture and when the answer was in the negative, he ordered that the library should be closed. But when they approached the higher authorities, they learnt from the Home Secretary that government permission was entirely unnecessary for opening a library.

The Maha Sabha took up the cause of a number of disgruntled elements in the society, thus ensuring their support and also widening the base of their movement. They organized the rich merchants in the Telangana region. These merchants always had to cater to the requirements of the government officials on tour either by selling commodities at concession rates or giving them freely. They found in the Sangham a
place to represent their grievances in an organized manner. A book entitled ‘Freedom of Merchants’ was published in Telugu and circulated to all the merchants.4

Another harmful practice that the Sangham endeavored to stop was ‘begar’, a form of forced labour. According to this system government officers, Patels, Patwaries, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes exercised a right to employ the skill and labor of craftsmen for their own benefit without any payment to the workmen. Though the Nizam had issued firmans against the evil practice of enlisting forced labor, there was no relief for the victims. Therefore the Sangam published a booklet in Telugu and conveyed the knowledge of the firman to all the sufferers.

Since the beginning of the Andhra Conferences in 1930, efforts had been made to take up several issues which were reasonable aspirations of the people. In the first conference resolutions relating to conditions of farmers who were not rendered adequate assistance by the Agricultural Department of the state were passed. They also passed resolutions on the emergent need of several villages for a proper supply of drinking water, exemption of customs duty on the export of hand spun yarn and hand spun cloth, support to Ayurvedic doctors as in the case of Unani Hakhims and introduction of election element in municipalities.

In the subsequent conferences a number of important issues were taken and resolutions were passed. They recommended strongly the elimination of Urdu as a medium of instruction for Hindu girls5. They also wanted the government to encourage

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5 P.R.Rao in his book, History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh, states that the growing cultural and political awareness of the Hindu citizens of the state perturbed the Nizam's government. In order to perpetuate its autocracy, it decided to implement a systematic policy of cultural annihilation of the Hindus. In the beginning of
technological and agricultural education among the masses. The *devadasi* system that was prevalent during this time, also caused deep concern among the members of the Sabha and they appealed to the people that such women should be married and rehabilitated. When the postal rates were increased, the Sabha requested the government to bring down the prices of the post cards to the previous level.

By the year 1938, strong leanings towards Communism began to appear among some members of the group. The split in the group began to appear between nationalist persons like M. Ramachandra Rao and Ravi Narayan Reddy, the Communist leader.

In course of time the non-Communist group became anti-Communist. The anti-Communist group consisted of Congress minded youths, the bulk of whom were lawyers and middle class gentry naturally led by landlords and Jagidars. The 11th and 12th annual conferences of the Sabha were held at Bhuvanagiri and Khammam under the Presidency of Narayana Reddy alone. The Andhra Communist leaders including Chandra Rajeshwara Rao participated in the conference which was attended by more than ten thousand people. K.V. Ranga Reddy and M. Ramachandra Rao denounced the session as a Communist Party meeting and organized a rival Sabha called the Nationalist Andhra Maha Sabha. This Sabha held two sessions in 1945 and 1946 and then decided to merge itself with its counter parts - the Maharashtra Parishad and the Mysore Parishad in the Hyderabad State Congress. The Sabha under the Communists held its 12th session at Khammam 1945 and more than 40,000 attended the conference. On 3rd December 1946, the Communist Party was banned and naturally the activities of the Andhra Maha Sabha also came to a halt.

*the* 20th century, Hyderabad was declared an Islamic state and during the reign of Osman Ali Khan, the steps to Islamize Hyderabad stale were intensified. P 273.
As a result of the efforts of the Andhra Maha Sabha political awareness was taught to the people and the idea of starting a "Hyderabad State Congress" on the lines of the State Congress Committee in the neighboring Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka states took shape.

When the AICC held its session at Kakinada in 1923 under Maulana Mohammed Ali a delegation under the leadership of Vaman Naik attended the session from Hyderabad State. Dr. Burugula Ramakrishna Rao who was among the members of the delegation translated the Hindi and Urdu speeches delivered by the leaders from North India into Telugu as per Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's instructions.

But it has taken another 13 years before efforts were made to form the State Congress. In 1936, a move was made by Siddanahalli Krishna Sharma, Burugula Ramakrishna Rao, Pandit Ramachari, Ramakrishna Doot, Swamy Ramanand Thirtha and Govindrai Nanal to give shape to the proposal to form the State Congress. Following this proposal the Nizam ordered Krishna Sharma to leave the state. Simultaneously the Nizam also passed orders prohibiting the entry of socialist leader Jaya Prakash Narayan into the Hyderabad dominion. Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao criticized this action because of which the Nizam sent him to jail.

The groundwork for the establishment of the State Congress in Hyderabad was prepared also by the Hyderabad political conferences.

In the Christmas week of 1923 the annual session of the Indian National Congress and the Khilafat conference were held at Kakinada. Due to the breaches in the east coast line of the Bengal - Nagpur Railway, many delegates from Bengal and
the North reached Kakinada via Hyderabad. Important leaders like Shaukat Ali, Mohammed Ali, C.R Das, Vallabhai Patel and Sarojini Naidu addressed large gatherings that assembled at various railway stations on the Nizam State Railway. The Hyderabad delegates took the opportunity to arrange a meeting of the Hyderabad delegation and the visitors. This meeting came to be popularly known as Hyderabad Political Conference. The meeting was called outside the Hyderabad State since the Nizam's government had banned all political conferences in the State under an order called Gasti No. 53.

One of the important proposals put forth in this conference was a reminder to the Nizam of a promise he made followed by the firman of 1920 which announced the expansion of the Legislative Council and also promised responsible government. They also urged the government to remove the restrictions on political meetings and press, as these restrictions were an obstacle to the formation of a healthy public opinion.

The second Political Conference of the Hyderabad state was held at Bombay in the last week of November 1926. It was presided by Y.M. Kale who highlighted in his speeches the number of injustices prevailing in the Nizam's rule. Freedom of press was unknown he said. Land grabbing was the order of the day. He also gave a call for Hindu-Muslim unity.
The third Hyderabad Political Conference was held in Poona in May 1928. The highlight of this session was the honor it received by the presence of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. He also made a short but brilliant speech on the occasion. Netaji said,

"It is not possible for me to say much on the present topic for my knowledge of the internal affairs of states is very meager... In British India we have the white bureaucracy or autocracy but in the Native States the people have to fight with the brown bureaucracy or autocracy. The character of both is much the same. We are all striving for the establishment of a democratic government... I, therefore, thank you all and hope that we will be enabled to do something more tangible and take more interest in our brothers of the States."

The fourth Political Conference of the subjects of Hyderabad state was held at Akola in August 1931 under the presidency of Ramachandra Naik. In this conference, the delegates spoke vehemently against the so-called Police Gashti under which no public meeting could be held unless a ten-day's previous notice was given to the Police Commissioner in Hyderabad. They spoke about the deplorable condition of the education system and the sadly neglected health of the people.

Another movement that greatly spread among the young was the Vande Mataram movement which needs special mention. The government had banned the singing of Vande Mataram by students of Osmania University even in their hostels. Many students violated the orders and launched an agitation. The Mahboob College also took active part in it which was visited by Swamy Vivekananda in 1893. In Nizam College, students like Abid Hussain, Ansari and Mahadev Singh also suffered. As a result, many students had to give up their studies, while some others were rusticated.

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from the University. Achuta Reddy led the agitation. The title of Vande Mataram was given to Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao, as he did not stop singing the song even when the police beat him till he lost consciousness. It is interesting to note that two of the students who faced relocation from Osmania University, P.V. Narsimha Rao and Dr. M. Channa Reddy, later became Chief Ministers of the State and the former even the Prime Minister of India.\(^7\)

P.V. Narsimha Rao was born in a well to do agricultural family in 1921 in Warangal. He had to join the Nagpur University where he completed his graduation. Later he took the degree in law from Poona. During his stay in Poona, he acquired a high degree of proficiency in Marathi. On his return, he joined the struggle against the Nizam and became a member of the Andhra Maha Saba finding his policies too militant, he became a follower of Swamy Ramanadha Thirtha. He participated in the State Congress at Chanda. During the "Join Indian Union" movement, as a lawyer, he also joined the Pleaders Protest committee and boycotted the law course. He was also known for his crisp and fearless writings. His loyalty to the Congress continued even after the Police Action and he held number of portfolios in the Union Cabinet. He became the Prime Minister of India, in 1991.\(^8\)

The yeoman service rendered by the Hyderabad State Congress for bringing about the political awakening in Hyderabad cannot be undermined. In spite of the ban

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\(^7\) Another interesting information mentioned by V.H.Desai in his article, September 17\(^{th}\), Day of Deliverance, in Deccan Chronicle, on September 17\(^{th}\) 1986, is that three senior ministers in the Rajiv Gandhi cabinet namely, the Defense Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao (Andhra Pradesh), Home Minister S.B.Chavan (Maharashtra) and Virendra Patel (Karnataka) had begun their political career in the Hyderabad State Congress under the leadership of Swamy Ramananda Thirtha. It is a happy coincidence that all of them at one time or the other became the Chief Minister of their respective linguistic states before joining the Union cabinet. p 4

\(^8\) Narendra Luther in his book Memoirs Of A City, summing up of the political achievements of P.V. Narsimha Rao says "It seems as Goethe said about Napolean, that he went forth to seek virtue and ended up by getting power" p 279
on its working during most part of their existence and all the obstacles and hardships, they worked undaunted to achieve their goal. Though a number of Congress leaders worked tirelessly for the political awakening in Hyderabad one of the leaders, Swamy Ramanand Thirtha stands foremost among them. He was truly the guiding spirit during this period. Through his selfless leadership, he gave a firm direction to the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. The Swamy saw in the princely state the danger of an unnational, non secular entity perpetuating itself in India's body politic. Therefore cutting down all political diplomacy and with characteristic bluntness, he said that the apex should go and the pyramid should be dismantled.

By birth a Kannadiga, Swamy Ramanand Thirtha's original name was Venkatesh Bhavan Rao Khedgikar. His permanent residence was in the territory of Telangana. He was the head of the Rama Thirtha Mission. In his own words he described the state of affairs in Hyderabad thus...

"In so far as Hyderabad is concerned, the paramount power has remained paramount not only protecting the highest feudal monarchy in India and the world but also utilized the supreme position for modeling the imperial layouts of political department of the government of India."  

He also highlighted the poor economic conditions prevailing in the state. Education was not encouraged at all. He said,

"The percentage of education was miserably low. It was 6.8% in Hyderabad while in Travancore it was 47% in Cochin, 35%, in Bombay, 19% and in Madras

9 Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, State Congress President's memorandum to the British delegation, Deccan Chronicle, January 26, 1946

10 Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, State Congress President’s memorandum to the British delegation, Deccan Chronicle, January 26, 1946
Seeing the rapid strides of Andhra Maha Sabha, the Karanese speaking people formed the Karnataka Parishad in February 1937 and the Maharashtra Parishad was formed in 1937. The second session of the Maharashtra Parishad took place in Latur in 1938. Swamyji attended the session. He was asked to speak at several places in the celebration of Ganesh Utsav. He delivered an inspiring message on Janmashtami day at Osmania University. It was after this that he was appointed Convener of Sub-Committee to deal with problems of civil liberties in Hyderabad state. Thus he entered the political arena in 1937. When he was 20 years old, Gandhi had given a call for boycott and he wholeheartedly joined the people's movement. When Tilak died on 31st July 1920, the news came a great shock to him. Tilak left a message to hundreds and thousands of people and inspired them for dedicating themselves to the cause of Indian freedom. This had a great impact on him. He decided to dedicate himself to the service of the motherland. In his words, he said, "I shall be a life long Brahmachari".

When the call for Non-Cooperation was given, it was Venkatesh Bhavan Roa who decided to leave school and pledge himself to the service of the motherland. Out of one thousand and more students, only he took the pledge. He also helped in the working of the Trade Organization. Since he had an attack of paralysis he had to give up the Trade Union Movement. He later worked as Head Master of a school. From 1932, he came to be known as Swamy Ramananda Thirtha.

The autocratic rule of the Nizam inspired the Swamy to champion the cause of the people. All freedom was denied and the Nizam was aided by a handful of communalists. He became actively involved in all political conferences. He along

with other prominent leaders drafted a pledge in a small room at the residence of A.K. Waghmare in Sholapur,

"I pledge myself for the cause of the liberation of the people of Hyderabad State and shall take my all for it."

In January 1938, a convention of Hyderabad people was held under the presidency of Madapati Hanumantha Rao. The convention expressed its dissatisfaction at the recommendation made by Aravamudu Iyengar Committee and urged the Nizam to introduce responsible government in the state. In the year 1932, the Nizam in order to surmount the growing political agitation in the state, appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Aravamudu Iyengar, a local lawyer to suggest political reform. The reforms suggested by the committee fell short of the expectation of the people. Swamy Ramananda also realized that there was a strong desire among the people to curb communal feeling and develop national outlook. It was stated that the object was the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of HEH the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi dynasty. Therefore in July 1938, leaders like Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, Burugula Ramakrishna Rao, Ramachari Joshi, Digambara Rao Bindu held a meeting and decided to launch the Hyderabad State Congress at any cost. They decided to enroll hundreds of primary members and organize a general body meeting in September that year.

On 22nd September, M. Narsing Rao met Sir Akbar and explained to him the whole situation and requested him to lift the ban. Sir Akbar readily agreed to help

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12 In 1938, the government appointed a Political Reforms Committee under the presidency of Diwan Bahadur Arvamudu Aiyangar to look into the question of institutions necessary for helping the government to obtain knowledge of the needs and desires of the people. The Committee proposed the creation of an enlarged Legislative Assembly with 42 elected members out of a total strength of 85. It suggested a number of Advisory Committees consisting officials and nominated non-officials. The assembly had no final authority to legislate or withhold legislation or to pass the budget or appropriate revenues of the state. The ruler could veto bills passed in the assembly and enact laws not approved by it.
Narasing Rao by lifting the ban provided that the following six persons, M. Hanumantha Rao, Kashinath Rao Vaidya, G. Ramachari, Vinayak Rao Koratkar, B. Ramakrishna Rao, and Janardan Rao Dasai, would submit a joint application making the request and giving the undertaking to postpone the General Body Meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress.

The Secretary, Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, however placed additional conditions before them—conditions which had not been mentioned till then. The first was that the name of the Hyderabad State Congress should be altered so as to delete the word "Congress" on account of its political implications. He was sure that the Council would insist on its removal. It was pointed out that the name could not be changed without referring the matter to the General Body of the state Congress. The Provisional Committee further decided that its members should not individually, unless authorised by the Committee, seek or respond to any interview.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung in a further interview assured M. Narasing Rao that the Government would not insist on an alteration of the name of the Hyderabad State Congress but would insist on the guarantee that had been asked for regarding Unity talks. The Nawab wanted assurance from the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress that the meeting of the General Body would be postponed until the conclusion of the Unity talks. A resolution was passed by the Provisional Committee in response to this to postpone the meeting of the General Body of the Hyderabad State Congress for a fortnight provided that Government was prepared to lift the ban so as to ensure the success of the Unity talks.
M. Hanumantha Rao, Kashinath Rao Vaidya, and M. Narasing Rao saw Ali Yavar Jung with a draft of the application for the lifting of the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress, for his approval. The draft contained a general assurance that the unity talks had a favourable start and there was every hope of a settlement being reached.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung replied that the assurance was not acceptable and that a more detailed assurance was required and it would be necessary for the following three persons, all of whom members of the Provisional Committee, to be amongst the signatories - B. Ramakrishna Rao, Ramachari and Janardan Rao Desai.

M. Narasing Rao assured him that though the members of the committee would not participate in the discussions of the unity talks, they would assist a happy settlement. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung was not satisfied with it and insisted on a definite assurance with full details of points at issue being given and indicating the chances of agreement under the signature of the persons he had named. The negotiations with the Government broke down and the situation assumed serious proportions when on 26th September, the Executive Council decided not to lift the ban from the Hyderabad State Congress. The Government thus banged their doors shut against all negotiations and consultations.

On 28th September, 1938, M. Narasing Rao addressed a letter to the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress expressing his regret at the failure of his negotiations with the Government regarding the lifting of the ban from the State Congress and requesting them in his personal capacity to consider the postponement of the General Body Meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress for a fortnight in order to ensure a calm atmosphere.
On the same day, the Provisional Committee adopted a resolution that inspite of the Government not lifting the ban, they would not say or do anything which might disturb the calm atmosphere necessary for M. Narasing Rao's talks for a fortnight.

All these tensions between the aspirations of the people and the repressive influence of the Government had came to such a pass that all people began to realize the necessity of a non-communal organization which could emphatically but constitutionally secure responsible Government for the State. The Indian National Congress session was held at Haripura in 1933 and was attended by about 500 people from the Hyderabad State. Some of the resolutions passed there had inspired self-reliance in the minds of the youthful participants of the Congress and compelled the Hyderabad state to organize some political body even at Hyderabad. Many elderly and thoughtful citizens of Hyderabad felt that if the discontent generated in the minds of the politically conscious youths of the State was not marshaled properly and organized into a political body, it might be misdirected into communal channels. All were anxious to eschew communal rancour and consolidate the patriotic spirit into a well-knit national body. Several informal meetings were held for the formation and creation of the Hyderabad State Congress. A Provisional Committee was formed in the middle of July, 1938 and within a month about twelve hundred primary members were enrolled not only in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad but also in the districts and it was decided to hold a general body meeting by about the 9th September, 1938 for the election of office bearers and for the adoption of the constitution.

In the second week of August, 1938, an appeal was issued by the Provisional Committee which ran as follows :-
"The Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress urges the people of the State irrespective of caste or creed or section or class to join the State Congress and strengthen the movement for 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 the reconstruction of the state are under consideration. A recognition of this urgency has led to the inauguration of the organization called the Hyderabad State Congress, the aims and objects of which are as follows:

The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is 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, fostering public spirit and developing and organizing 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 constitution changes happening fast in the adjoining British Indian Provinces and Indian States.

This communal conflict in the land is too well known to need any mention. At such critical juncture, the duty of cementing harmony among the communities lies not only on the shoulders of the Government but also on 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.

There can be no question of suppressing the growing public agitation, for such a step is neither possible. 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 unit and co-operation of all communities in the State. Such a consummation is impossible until an organization, the ideals of which are loftier than the narrow objects of any communal institution, is established in the land. A wave of inter-communal 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 organization should be established wherein all the people of the State, irrespective of communities they belong to, can participate equally and build a common institution attracting the respect of both the people and the Government.

We reiterate in conclusion that the ultimate goal of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment of Responsible Government built on a strong foundation of our basic loyalty to the ruler and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty and the creation of sincere unity and harmony among all the 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.\textsuperscript{13}

This made the Nizam apprehensive as the word 'Congress' had become a nightmare for him. On September 9\textsuperscript{th}, the Nizam issued an order banning the Congress in the state\textsuperscript{14}. This way even before the Congress took birth it was banned in the state. As a result the Congress leaders had to go underground and carry on their activities subversively. The Prime Minister of the state, Sir Akbar Hyderi said that they had

"no objection to political organization if it was noncommunal and has no affiliation outside the state."\textsuperscript{15}

Inspite of the objections, Swamy decided to formally inaugurate Hyderabad State Congress on 24\textsuperscript{th} October 1938. Immediately he was arrested because he offered Satyagraha.

The Provincial Committee of Congress laid great stress on responsible Government. They made their objectives very clear on the eve of the Satyagraha. They are as follows;

1. "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 religious processions etc., should be immediately cancelled.

2. The Government should recognise Responsible Government as the object of Constitutional Reforms in the State.


\textsuperscript{14} According to V.K.Bawa, "Constitutional and Administrative Structure", in \textit{"Hyderabad 400 - Saga of a City"}, ed. by K.S.S.Seshan, the State Government acted in a high handed manner by banning the Hyderabad State Congress in 1938 when it was on the verge of being formed on grounds it was predominantly Hindu body, p 27

It was stated in a notification in a \textit{Gazette Extraordinary} on September 8,1938
3. An immediate installment 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.

4. Although the Hyderabad State Congress considers the principles of reservation of seats for any community as another form of communalism it will be prepared to agree, 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.

5. With regard to State Services the Congress will not, on principle, advocate any reservation of percentage on communal lines and would suggest the immediate appointment of a Public Service Commission consisting of officials and non-officials with a view to remove nepotism and for establishing an equitable and just selection for the services.

6. The Congress would guarantee the cultural religious and educational rights of any minority in its scheme in any reasonable manner."

"These were 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 was indicative of the political consciousness that was fast permeating the minds of the people. Though owing to the obstacles put in its path by the Government, the Congress had not been able to do much in tangible perspective to the popular psychology it had lifted the popular agitation from the ruts of communalism, to a plane of nationalism and sincere patriotism, and had thus achieved a solidarity that was never witnessed before.

16 N.Ramesan, op.a7.Pp 147-148
The Congress made it clear that the above ideals of the Hyderabad State Congress had been the outcome for a broad national outlook and that by no feat of distortion can they be confused with communalism. The Congress believed that if allowed to work it will strike a deathblow to communalism prevalent in the State. According to it to dub such an organisation was communal is not only unjust but a disservice to the State itself.

The State was passing through critical times and great changes were eagerly expected. People had become restive and were 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 had strengthened the popular agitation. The Committee, therefore, felt that it was not wise on the part of the Government to repress a people who were enlightened and knew what they were doing. Repression only hardens people and increases discontent.

The Congress also felt that in spite of this surcharged atmosphere and the repressive policy of the Government, the people had 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 appealed to the people to strengthen the hands of the Congress by supporting the organisation. They however, reminded the people that truth and non-violence were the sheet anchor of the State Congress and they should act in accordance with this ideal. The State Congress definitely disbelieved in untruth and violence and discountenances communalism.
To the Government also, the Provisional Committee made 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 suggested to the Government that the only way of combating communalism was to open the floodgates of real Nationalism and allow it to work its course. The State Congress, they proclaimed, is the only organisation that opens these sluices and it would not be in the interests of the State to ignore this fact."

The Committee of Action appointed by the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress just before its dissolution, issued the following statement:-

“In view of the situation created by the Government 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 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 measure to face the situation created by the Government ban in any manner they consider proper.

General Secretary: 2. H. Ramkishan Dhoot.
Members: 3. Ravi Narayana 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 any community or individual. We are second to none in our love for the land 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 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 is the sheet anchor of the State Congress and nothing contrary shall be done. Individuals willing to join this Satyagraha movement should do so by declaring themselves as primary members of the Congress, propagating the Congress ideals 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 thanks the nationalist press of India for having espoused the cause of the Hyderabad State Congress. It 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.
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 birthright of every citizen and for which the State Congress stands. We further appeal that they should enroll themselves in their thousands as primary members of the State Congress to vindicate its prestige.\textsuperscript{17}

This document was signed on 24\textsuperscript{th} Oct. 1938 by G.Nanal, H.R. Doot, J.R. Desai, S.S. Borikar and R.N.Reddy.

Swamy Ramanand Tirtha offered Satyagraha on the 27\textsuperscript{th} October 1938 and wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Police stating

"I have been nominated by the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress as the first Dictator with all the powers of the Working Committee vested in me. I intend to begin the work of the State Congress today after 3 p.m. near Putli Bowli Police Station, with my four Organising Secretaries. I request you to please take notice of this and take necessary steps."

He followed a letter with another statement in which he mentioned that

1. That the normal constitution of the Hyderabad State Congress had been suspended and Dictators with a number of persons as their Organising Secretaries would follow in succession as they are arrested. He greatly appreciated the spirit of restraint and perfect non-violence evinced by the people on the occasion of the formation of the State Congress and exhored them to maintain the same under any provocation. This alone could ensure the

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid} Pp 149 - 150.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid} p151
success of the movement. He drew their attention to the basic assumption of a Satyagrahi in the words of Mahatmaji himself:

1. "There must be common honesty among the Satyagrahis.
2. They must render hearts disciplined to their commander. There should be no mental reservation.
3. They must be prepared to lose all and must be ready cheerfully to face bullets, bayonets, or slow death by torture.
4. They must not be violent in thought, word, or deed towards their enemy or amongst themselves.

On this occasion, I do wish to make it clear that the true Satyagrahi puts up no defence and he does not require any defence. I would request all our friends especially lawyers— not to embarrass our feelings by volunteering their services in the defence of Satyagrahis.

We refuse to be cowed down by the threats of the Government."19

The Congress Satyagraha continued sometimes twice or thrice in a week. Localities changed. It was the clock tower of the Sultan Bazaar, the area near the Kachiguda Railway Station, the Abid Shop Police Station or even Pathergatti in the city.

19 Ibid p 158
The last batch was led by Kashinath Rao Vaidya and followed by Gopal Shastry Dev and M. Ramachandra Rao. This batch offered Satyagraha at Patthergatti in the city.

The Satyagraha was started on the 24th October, 1938 by the Hyderabad State Congress and was suspended on the 24th December, 1938 by Kashinath Rao Vaidya, the eighteenth director of the Satyagrahis, mainly on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Satyagraha was conducted by the State Congress for civil liberty. They were also actively supported by the Arya Samaj which stressed on religious liberty and the Hindu Civil Liberty Unions which worked for Hindu civil liberty. As a result of this, the political aspect was weakened and the religious feeling gained upper hand. In order to avoid misunderstanding on the part of the government, Gandhiji advised the leaders to call off the Satyagraha movement and accordingly they called it off on 24th December 1938. Swamy was released from jail, while sounds of Vandemataram and flogging reverberated in the jail.

The Congress also made many efforts to win the approval of the government for lifting the ban on the Congress. They justified the formation and continuation of the Congress by stating clearly its objectives. They stated that the name 'Congress' was adopted merely to stress on the nationalist basis underlying this movement as distinguished from that of communal or provincial movements. They also stressed that their movement was founded upon sincere loyalty to the Asaf Jahi throne and it would always strive to enhance the prestige and power of the king who was the symbol of
Another important fact is that it was absolutely non-communal in outlook.

Gandhiji also addressed a letter to Sir Akbar Hydari on the 26th December, 1938 in which Gandhiji said that he himself had been instrumental in shaping the decision of the State Congress to suspend the Satyagraha and that he hoped that the Hyderabad Government would return a generous response to their action. Sir Akbar while replying to this letter of Gandhiji referred also to the Vandemataram agitation at the Osmania University.

Another problem confronting the state of Hyderabad was the frequent communal tensions. Communal riots broke out in Bidar which was the stronghold of Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. The entire bazaar was set on fire. But the government did not take any action. The Ittehad-ul-Musleemen was totally opposed to the Hyderabad State Congress. Gandhiji wrote another letter to Sir Akbar on 14th April 1940, which opened with a memorable sentence,

"You have been giving me stone when I had asked for bread".

He asked him a question as to how communal unity could be brought about in the face of events like Bidar. But inspite of the best efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the ban on the State Congress was not lifted and the stalemate continued in Hyderabad. Prominent leaders like Sardar Patel and Jamnalal Bajaj were also in regular correspondence with Sir Akbar for the lifting of the ban but it continued. In a brochure

\[20\text{ K.S. Vaidya, } The Hyderabad State Congress, Hyderabad 946. pp 11 and 12. "It is ironical that the Hyderabad State Congress as declared an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation" p 13. N.Ramesan op.cit\]
entitled "Said The Sardar" brought out by D.G. Bindu in 1950, the Sardar is reported to have said at Aurangabad as follows,

"This is the first time in my life that I am visiting the city of Aurangabad. I did not have any opportunity to come to this side before. I came to Hyderabad for the first time only after the Police Action, when Hyderabad was liberated from the old regime. I remember I met Sir Akbar Hydari at Mysore when I had gone there to settle the dispute between the Government and the State Congress which at that time was waging a hard struggle for Responsible Government against the ruling power. It was a bitter struggle, many Congressmen went to jail. There was firing and use of force on many occasions. Sir Akbar had then come as a State guest to Mysore. I arranged a settlement. I do not know why, probably because I had succeeded in bringing the people and the Government there nearer - Sir Akbar invited me to Hyderabad. I told him that I would come willingly only if I felt that this would serve a useful purpose. I told that when I was going down to Mysore, the moment I entered Hyderabad limits, people came to meet me at the station. I asked them how they were passing their days. They told me bitterly that they could not wear white caps. I, therefore, asked Sir Akbar whether he really meant it when he asked me to visit the State. If he did, I should then have full freedom to meet the people and to say what I liked. Sir Akbar said that in the State of Hyderabad, everybody had full freedom and full scope. I then agreed to visit Hyderabad if I were free to say what I liked. Sir Akbar said he would write to me but days passed and no invitation came.

I felt that so far the matter had been left as a mere conversation. I, therefore, decided to write to him and asked if the invitation held good. Sir Akbar replied that it did hold good but offered some excuse of other. Ultimately, Sir Akbar died. He went to other regions and took the invitation with him. Now, of course, I do not need any invitation to come to Hyderabad. India is one and indivisible. There is no
In the prevailing situation, Swamy Ramanand had no option but to decide to resort to civil disobedience once again so that matters may come to a head. He also addressed a letter dated 10th September 1940 to Sir Akbar stating that with deepest regret he has to resort to Civil Disobedience owing to the attitude of uncompromising opposition shown by the government of the HEH towards the Hyderabad State Congress.

Even while the ban on the State Congress continued, the Nizam government representative wrote to the Congress on 25th December 1939 stating that if a suitable change was made in the name of the State Congress the government would have no objection. Therefore the State Congress decided to change its name to 'The Hyderabad National Conference'. But the Judicial, Police and Home Secretariat replied to it on 29th February, 1940 to say that though the name had changed, the object of the institution was the same as it was of the banned State Congress and therefore its activities would be deemed unlawful.

With regard to the demand for the responsible Government by the Congress, the Home Secretary Azhar Hussain speaking on behalf of the Government stated,

22 Ibid p. 170
23 The letter from the Home Secretary to K.S.Vaidya dated 25th December 1939, No. 308 -P (Very Urgent) Judicial Police and Secretarial, reads as follows, “Dear Mr. Vaidya, I am desired by the government to inform you that on a suitable change in the name of the State Congress being affected, the order under Section 13, Public Security regulation, shall not be held to apply by reason of Section 14, provided that it has no affiliation or association with any outside organization. Ibid p. 20
24 Ibid p 22
5 This was conveyed to M.S.Vaidya thus justifying the ban.
"Since your organization aims at a form of Government, deriving authority from the majority in the legislature, it is directed against the principle, recently made the subject of official pronouncement that the needs of the people must continue to determined by the undivided responsibility of the ruler for the welfare of the subjects.\textsuperscript{26}

Since the Government was allergic to the use of the word "Congress", the name of the organization was changed from Hyderabad State Congress to Hyederebad National Conference. But the Government objected to this also stating that the body could not be called National since all the communities were not represented in it. It was pointed out the Congress had in fact, members drawn from all communities. Out of a total of 1000 members as many as 150 were Muslims. But the Government did not consider it adequate. K.S. Vaidya was quite disgusted with the twisted interpretation given to words and phrases by the Government. In a letter to the Government he wrote,

"It fills me with shame and sorrow that in-order to support an untenable decision you should have seen fit to resort to misrepresentation. I suggest that a packed body which has all the communities represented in it may conceivably be anti national. The national character of an association can only be determined by is objective. Its behavior may either confirm or deny the character. The composition of a body is surely the least part of its quality. A body composed entirely of selfless and impartial Muslims may well represent all communities and one composed of all communities who have joined it from selfish motives will hopelessly fail to represent any part of Nation. But it is useless appeal to reason when considerations outside reason regulate action".\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{6} Narendra Luther \textit{opcit} p - 280.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid P.p. 280-281
Time passed but the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress continued. The negotiations between the Congress and Government continued till 1945. Earlier it was Vaidya who represented the Congress, now it was Ramachari. Earlier Hydari headed the Government team, now it was Chhatari. Then the Home Secretary was Azar Hussain, now it was Ali Yavar Jung. The actors had changed but the act did not. The Congress continued its demand and the agitation continued inspite of large scale arrests.

Swamy Ramanand Thirtha who was watching the correspondence between Kashinath Rao Vaidya and the Nizam's Government decided to resort to Civil Disobedience once again so that matters may come to a head. The State Congress or the Political Conference was an unlawful body and therefore to define the position either of Kashinath Rao Vaidya or of Swamy Ramanand Thirtha was not possible. Though we know that Swamy Ramanand was the first President of the first session of the Hyderabad State Congress still it is difficult to say in what capacity he addressed the following letter to Rt. Honorable Sir Akbar Hydari on 10th September 1940. He issued a statement which placed before the public in clearest terms the circumstances which had compelled him to court arrest by Civil Disobedience. Swamyji wrote as follows,

"It is with deepest regret that I have to inform you that we feel compelled to offer Civil Disobedience owing to the attitude of uncompromising opposition shown by the Government of H.E.H. towards the Hyderabad State Congress in spite of its efforts to placate the Government to the highest extent possible. The Government has made it impossible for the Congress to function normally. They have rejected every advance made by the congress. There is, therefore, no course left but to offer Civil Disobedience in respect of the regulations or rules that interfere with our individual liberty."
As an organization, we are denied the right to preach the ideal of Responsible Government, even under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty. We simply claimed the right to educate the people politically by popularizing the ideal of Responsible Government. The ban, which is re-imposed, is a denial of the most fundamental right of freedom of association and negation of all civil liberty although the Government have time and again declared that there is full liberty of forming political associations.

We are confident that behind our action is the approval and sympathy of the Nationalist Hyderabad. We are certain that they would spare no pains in contributing their quota to the cause of Nationalism and Civil Liberties.

Let every one of us remember that "form may perish but spirit shall thrive." We should be prepared to pay the price for the ideal we hold dear."^28^.

The struggle for lifting the ban continued for eight years. In 1946, Pandit Nehru stated that, "it is amazing that the ban on State Congress still continues when the whole of India is on the verge of independence." Ramachar wrote a communication on 14th August, 1945 to refresh the memory of the Hyderabadi Prime Minister. He wrote,

"Your Excellency is aware that the world conditions are changing a bit quickly. In British India also effects are seen of these changes for better and it is hoped that very soon all the Congress organizations shall begin to functions in their own corporate capacities as before. On the complete co-operation of the people of the State depends their success. Our Government can also tackle the post-war plans as conceived till now. To achieve this end, the Central and Provincial Governments of British India are trying to secure the co-operation of all the classes and communities of British India. Anyway, in my opinion lifting the ban on the State Congress needs the immediate attention of Your

^8^ N. Ramesan, ed *opcit*, Pp 191-194
Excellency. I hope that Your Excellency shall consider this matter with sympathy and shall settle it immediately."  

Ramachari continued undaunted in spite of a negative reply. In another letter he states,

"The point which I desire to impress upon Your Excellency is that in spite of banning the Hyderabad State Congress, the Government have not been able to prevent the ideal of Responsible Government from spreading. The demand is being voiced from different platforms and is the result of changed political conditions and democratic aspirations of the people of all States including these Dominions.

Considering the above aspects, I respectfully request Your Excellency to reconsider this important matter in a statesman-like manner."

The Nawab of Chattari, the outgoing President of the Executive Council of the Nizam sent a reply to Pandit Nehru on 25th June 1946 stating that HEH government had decided to remove the ban. Ramachari wrote a letter expressing gratitude to the Nawab of Chattari for having lifted the ban and he in return thanked him. On 6th July 1946, the Navab wrote "It is indeed gratifying to receive such a nice letter from you on the eve of my retirement from Hyderabad".

The ban was finally lifted on 3rd July 1946. The Cabinet Mission came to India in 1946 and had discussion with a number of groups in India. The Hyderabad State Congress by K.S.Vaidya, p 42

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30 Ibid Pp 204 - 205
31 In the letter from the Judicial Police and General Secretariat dated 3rd July 1946 to Ramachari, it stated "The Government had been pleased to lift the ban in the State Congress... the Government hopes that the State Congress will reciprocate by displaying the same spirit of goodwill and cooperation as has actuated the Government in removing the ban." This is a letter published as appendix 13, in the Hyderabad State Congress by K.S.Vaidya, p 42
government came to the conclusion that it would remain an Independent state outside the Indian Union\textsuperscript{32}.

After the ban on the Congress was lifted and the Hyderabad State Congress formed, Swamy Ramanand was elected as its first President. The following is the extracts of his Presidential address.

"In the past the Princes have pooled their man power and resources at the behest of their foreign masters to keep India in bondage. The India's people including those of Indian states, through suffering and sacrifices have forced British to liquidate her empire in India. The Princes cannot claim to keep their people in subjection. The state's people will be free. It is they who will be sovereign…"	extsuperscript{33}

As India's Independence became an imminent fact by August, people were eager that the Hyderabad State should become part of India. The struggle reached a high point on August 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} as the government took steps to crush the movement at any cost. The government even banned the hoisting of the Indian national flag. Swamy Ramananda called upon the people to face the challenge thrown by the government. In his presidential address, Swamy Ramananda highlighted that

"The task before us is very difficult. For this we need total unity among us. We have to press forward, even if one of us dies, the other should carry the lamp of freedom forward... Many of us will have to make many sacrifices... but it is only through this path that we can attain freedom... it is my hope that the Nizam will change his stand and will respect the desire of his people."

\textsuperscript{32} Sarojini Regani, \textit{Highlights Of Freedom Movement In Andhra Pradesh}, Hyderabad, 1972, p197
\textsuperscript{33} B. Ramakrishna Rao, \textit{Integration} of Hyderabad State Congress with Indian Union, Commemoration volume, 1963, p8
\textsuperscript{34} Hyderabad State Congress \textit{Pradham Aadhi Veshan}, 16, 17, 18\textsuperscript{th} June 1947 - \textit{Adhyaksh} Bhashan by Swamy Ramananda Thirtha - the booklet is in Hindi.
As a result, people violated the ban order and hoisted the national flag throughout the state.

The Hyderabad State Congress also made certain demands which were summed up thus:
1) Hyderabad government should immediately announce that Hyderabad will join the Indian Union.
2) It should decide to participate in present Constituent Assembly and send elected representatives of the people.
3) It should convene Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise to frame democratic constitution based on responsible government under the aegis of the ruler of Hyderabad as an integral part of free India.
4) Install an interim government in the meantime.
5) It should also confer full civil liberties\(^\text{35}\).

The state liberation movement received tremendous response from all sections of the people with farmers, industrial workers and women joining hands. Police resorted to lathi charge when people violated the ban order on hoisting the national flag and firing took place in many places and hundreds of people were arrested including leaders like Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, Dr. G.S. Melkote and others. Women were also arrested for hoisting the national flag. Mrs. Vimalabhai Melkote, Mrs. Gyan Kumari Heda, Usha Pangneekar, Ahalya Bai and many other women, violated the curfew orders and hoisted the national flag faced lathi charge and tear gas.

N.Ramesan *opcit* p 281.
The privileges enjoyed by the minority were too great for them to forego easily. They knew that if they became a part of the Indian Union they would have to forfeit many of the privileges. After the Police Action, when the new administration was setup it was noticed that in a state where the Muslims constituted barely 13% of population, virtually every senior appointment was held by them. The list of officials in the secretariat revealed that out of 16 secretaries only one was a non-Muslim. Out of 118 officers in the Secretariat, only 13 were Hindus and 4 Christians. The total non-Muslim representation in the senior levels worked out to less than 15%. The glaring imbalance was often pointed out by the State Congress.\(^{36}\)

7\(^{\text{th}}\) August, 1947 was observed as "Join India Union Day". In response to this, schools, colleges and workshops were closed. The struggle continued till November 30, 1947 when a "Standstill Agreement" was signed under which important leaders arrested were released. But, due to the Agreement, the Hyderabad state did not become free.

The struggle for independence continued and on the other hand, the oppressive measures taken by the government increased. Meanwhile the Razakkars under the leadership of Kasim Rizvi, resorted to looting, violence and rape of women in villages and created chaos. The Congress leaders toured the villages and infused courage among the people and submitted a memorandum to the government on the atrocities being committed by the Razakkars. But the government did not take any action on the memorandum.

\(^{36}\) Narandra Luther, *Memoirs of a city*, Hyderabad 1995 P. 350
The Razakkars became so incensed with their plans and ideologies that any Muslim who considered the Congress demands just was branded a traitor, one such prominent Muslim official was Mirza Ali Yar Khan who was the successor of Azhar Hussain in representing the Nizam's government. He kept the discussions with the Congress going. He was born in a family of scholars and administrators, educated in Oxford and Paris worked as professor in Modern History in the Osmania University. He was also editor of "Onward" Magazine. In 1942, he was appointed Secretary for Home, Judicial and Constitutional affairs and in that capacity he continued negotiation with the Hyderabad State Congress for lifting the ban on its establishment. In 1946, he became the police minister in the Chattari government and earned the title of Ali Yavar Jung. His attitude towards the State Congress was considered by the Ittehad to be soft. Its organ, Rabbar-e-Deccan published distorted versions of the speeches of the Congress leaders and made loud demands for their arrest, particularly of the President, Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, and the General Secretary, Madapati Ramachandra Rao. Ali Yavar Jung found that no case could be made out against them and so did not oblige the Ittehad extremists. When the old muzzle loading guns used by the police had been replaced by modern rifles, the Ittehad asked that the discarded weapons should be given to them. They also demanded that police should not search vehicles bringing firearms from across the borders of the state. But Ali Yavar Jung did not concede these demands. As a result his portfolio of Police was transferred from him to a Minister under the control of the Ittehad.

Ali Yavar Jung was also a member of State delegation which conducted negotiations with the Government of India regarding the Standstill Agreement. In 1947, a note on the state's independence and the introduction of constitutional reforms was prepared and was presented to the Nizam by Nawab of Chhatari, Ali Yavar Jung and
Walter Monckon in a meeting on the 19th of August. When the Nizam saw the note he lost his temper with Ali Yavar Jung. He also remarked angrily that the Muslims had no confidence on him. After this Ali Yavar Jung submitted his resignation.

Laik Ali, the Prime Minster to the Nizam met Swamy Ramanand in jail and tried to work out an agreement but there were too many differences of opinion and since the Swamy did not sign, the agreement fell through. Meanwhile Kasim Rizvi stated on April 12, 1948,

"The day is not far off when the waves of Bay of Bengal will be washing the feet of our sovereign" (Nizam).

The State Congress leaders felt that there was no alternative but to represent the situation to the central government. A delegation of Congress leaders proceeded to Delhi, met Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel and explained to them the anarchic conditions prevailing in the Hyderabad State and the people's desire for merger of the state with the Indian Union. Meanwhile the Zonal Offices of the State Congress located in Vijayawada, Kurnool and Chanda did commendable work through underground activity by sneaking into the Nizam Territory and bringing about an awakening among the people.

The newspapers and weeklies, some of them under the auspices of the Hyderabad State Congress strove for the unification of the state with the Indian Union.

The movement gained strength and at midnight of September 13, 1948, the Congress workers formed 'Liberation Groups' and marched into the Nizam's state from all the four sides. Simultaneously under the instruction of Sardar Patel, the forces
of Indian Government also entered the state from all sides and liberated the state from the despotic rule of the Nizam.

Under the new Constitution of India elections were held in February, 1952 in Hyderabad. The Congress secured over all majority in the legislature and was called to form the government. Burugula Ramakrishna Rao became the Chief Minister. He was an active member of Andhra Jana Sangha in 1921. He presided over the 2nd session of the Andhra Maha Sabha conference in 1931. He served as Chief Minister till the formation of Andhra Pradesh in November 1956.

On December 10th 1948, Swamy Ramnanda Thirtha, addressed a mammoth gathering of 50,000 people. He said,

"The victory of the State Congress is neither victory of Hindus, nor the defeat of Muslims. It is the triumph of democracy over autocracy, of justice over injustice and humanity over barbarity".37

After the Hyderabad State was liberated from the Nizam's rule, efforts for formation of the enlarged state of Andhra Pradesh, to bring all Telugu-speaking people into a unified state were launched. On November 26 1949, Visalandhra Maha Sabha was held at Warangal under the Chairmanship of Kaleswar Rao, and two General Secretaries, Pulla Reddy and S.R. Venkatesh representing Telangana. The conference attended by leaders like Prakasam Panthulu and others, resolved that an Andhra State should be formed with Hyderabad as its capital.

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As a result of all these efforts the Andhra Pradesh state took shape on November 1, 1956 and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was elected as the first Chief Minister of the State.

Thus the yeomen service rendered by the Andhra Maha Sabha and Hyderabad State Congress in bringing about the political awakening cannot be underestimated. The Nizam's intentions for the future of the state became clear when he was not willing to work towards self government, any petitions or constitutional agitations were crushed in the state. The waves of nationalism spreading to the rest of India were bound to have an effect on Hyderabad. The constitutional reforms announced proved unsatisfactory to the congress as they seem reactionaly, the congress had no option but to launch the civil disobedience movement. The government showed an uncompromising opposition towards them. There was a real struggle for a responsible government in Hyderabad. The congress created political and national consciousness in the people of Hyderabad, on the eve of the police action. Thus their efforts bore fruit when Hyderabad joined the Indian union in September 1948.

The next Chapter deals with the conditions in Telangana and the role of the communists.