

# BHAGANAGAR STRUGGLE

[ A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT LED BY  
HINDU MAHA SABHA IN HYDERABAD  
STATE IN 1938-39 ]

Rs. 2/-

S. R. Date

HAGANAGAR STRUGGLE

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BY THE AUTHOR

THE PURPOSE of this book is to give a brief history of the civil resistance movement carried on in Hyderabad State and outside in 1938 and 1939 on behalf of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

In the beginning, three independent organizations namely, the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Arya Samaj, and the State Congress had actively participated in the struggle. But within a few weeks, the State Congressmen withdrew and surrendered upon the express advice of Gandhiji and the Congress High Command. The remaining two organizations however continued the struggle to its successful end in full collaboration with each other.

This was an all-India movement. It was carried on with far greater intensity than ever witnessed in the recent history of India. The Muslim aggression had led to pan-Hindu consolidation. Hindus of all castes and creeds, the Sanatanists, the Aryasamajists, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Lingayats, in fact all Hindu sanghatanists had joined together and actively participated in this gigantic struggle.

The Arya Samaj was a powerful organization in northern India. It recruited volunteers from all sections of the Hindu Community in Kashmere, Punjab, Rajputana, United Provinces, Bihar, etc. to offer civil resistance to Nizam's tyrannical laws in the Hyderabad State. It had its stronghold in the Nizam's Dominions as well. The Hindu Maha Sabha activities were therefore mainly restricted to Maharashtra including the Central Province and Berar.

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The Arya Samaj, being an independent organization, decided to publish a history of its activities independently. It was therefore necessary for the Hindu Maha Sabha to record its activities separately. The following pages are intended to give a faithful picture of the struggle carried on on behalf of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

The author of this book had the advantage of personal knowledge and experience. He had actively participated in the struggle from the very beginning and was an eye-witness to many happenings in Aurangabad Jail. He was therefore in a unique position to depict a true picture of the struggle.

In this struggle more than a lakh of rupees were collected and spent on the movement and more than four thousand civil resisters were sent out to offer civil resistance on behalf of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

In a struggle like this, many an act of heroism is brought to light and human beings are shown in their true colours. The contribution made by the Hindu Maha Sabha in this struggle, both in the field of action as well as in deciding matters of policies and guiding the activities throughout, was great enough to be proud of.

The effects of this struggle are bound to be far-reaching. It has created pan-Hindu consciousness in the Hindu race, and a strong will to resist against any aggression. Though this struggle ended in full victory to the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj, it is not at all the end of it. In fact, it is the beginning of a new struggle which will have to be fought on a far wider scale, when the fittest only will survive.

## FOREWARD

By G. V. KETKAR, B.A., LL.B., Editor, *Mahratta*  
General Secretary, Hindu Maha Sabha.

Sjt. S. R. Date, the Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha has written this admirable volume recording the history of the glorious struggle for Hindu Civil Liberties in Hyderabad State. Bhaganagar is an old name for Hyderabad and is familiar in Maharashtra. Hence the movement is known in these parts as the Bhaganagar Struggle.

The struggle lasted nearly for a year. It began in September 1938 and ended in August 1939. But its lessons are enduring. The Hindu Maha Sabha, the Arya Samaj and for a time the Congress through its arm the 'State Congress', were involved in it. The Arya Samaj limited its struggle to religious liberties. The Hindu Maha Sabha broadened the issue and included other civil liberties also. The State Congress stressed the demand for responsible government.

Open and secret attempts were made to wean the Aryasamajists from the co-operation with the Hindu Maha Sabha. But the Arya-Hindu unity stood the test of all sorts of attacks and influences, endured till the end of the struggle and emerged triumphant. The Arya Samaj showed its virility, its strength as a well-organized religious organization, its intensity which cheerfully bore all kinds of suffering and even death. The Aryasamajist civil resister defied all hardships and even death.



The Maha Sabha as a political organization had to supply the brain power. Its sacrifices in men and money were also tremendous. Senapati P. M. Bapat began the fight purely as a fighter against human injustice. His idea was really to aid the State Congress. The Senapati really appealed for support from Congressmen outside. He formed a body of Congressite civil resisters. But Congressmen turned cold shoulder towards him. They depended on the Wardha Oracle which did not want to embarrass the Nizam. The non-embarrassment vow which is limited to the war situation in the case of a foreign government is extended to all time when an indigenous especially Muslim mis-rule faces the public. The Wardha Oracle depended upon Maulana Azad. This dependence is a characteristic example of the pseudo-impartiality or impartiality complex of the Congress. Its influence was again visible recently in the Sind affair. Gandhi had sent Shrimati Padmaja Naidu to make a report on the situation. But her report could not be relied on probably she was a Hindu. Her report subsequently of the Hyderabad riot also was suppressed. It did not come to light except for some passages published by the *Mahratta*. Maulana Azad selected Dr. Hamid as his trusted emissary to go to Hyderabad and to report the situation. Dr. Hamid reported that the Nizam's Government is ready to grant all rights if Hindus and Muslims agreed. That was a big *if*. The same *if* which haunts the problem of Swarajya for all India. Dr. Hamid relied on the Yar Jung-Narsingrao talks which subsequently came to nothing, not because the Hindu demanded any more rights but the Muslims were opposed to the very principle of responsible government.

The Congressmen in British India did not touch Senapati Bapat even with a pair of tongs. On the other

hand under the direction of Wardha the State Congress withdrew from the struggle abruptly in the middle. It was a shameless betrayal. Then an attempt was made to induce the Arya Samaj to stop the fight. It was then expected that the poor Hindu Sabha 'would die' would have to submit with ignominy, with an acknowledgment of weakness. The nefarious plan is brutally exposed in all its nakedness by the statement of Shri Damodar Das, a responsible head of the State Congress, who was in close touch with Wardha ( See pp. 140-141 ). He blurted out the truth. Poor Fellow! He did not know that 'truth' was also to be used with discretion. He was a *Kachha Chela* of Wardha.

Who frustrated the plan? It was Veer Savarkar who did it, the second great thing which he and he alone did for the movement. The first great thing was to take up the movement although ostensibly it was opened by Senapati Bapat. Ostensibly because the Hindu Maha Sabha was preparing for that movement and waiting for a suitable opportunity. The generosity with which Savarkar supported Senapati Bapat may be contrasted with the attitude of the Congress exposed by the article of Shri. Damodar Das. "Look at this picture and at this" Oh! Hindus.

Taking up the cue from Senapati Bapat's adventure and giving a pan-Hindu basis to the movement was the first great act of Savarkar. The second act was preventing the Arya Samaj from falling a prey to the machinations of the Congress. Savarkar attended the momentous meeting of the Arya Samaj held at Sholapur. It was originally planned for the sake of suspending the Arya Samaj movement. Congress leaders who hatched the plan almost took it for granted that



State Congress and rob its priority. It is a silly reasoning. For even in October 1937, when on Dharmaveer Wamanrao Naik anniversary, Yashawantrao Joshi had advocated defiance of the ban on the procession, elderly leaders prevailed upon him to wait for a year. But even supposing that the Hindu Civil Liberties Union forestalled the Congress, the latter would have seen the taint of 'Communalism' of which they make an excuse later. The thing is that they did not know their own mind. The reasoning for suspension was manufactured over their heads at Wardha. They created a wrong notion by constant repetition of the untruth that they were the first in the field and the Hindu Sabha came in afterwards to disturb their 'pure nationalism.' The real thing is that the Hindu sabhais were first in the field and the State Congress people were dragged in for prestige. They then suddenly backed out. Their unwise and uncalled for entrance and exit unnecessarily did great harm to the Hindu Sabha movement.

And what was this pure 'Nationalism' which ran away from the taint of Hindu Sabha. This 'Nationalism' did not want to embarrass the Nizam. This Nationalism relied on a Muslim emissary like Dr. Hamid, who declared that the problem depended on 'Hindu-Muslim unity' that was likely to emerge from the Yar Jung-Narsingrao talks. The talks prolonged and came to nothing. If the Hyderabad problem was purely 'political' why did the emissary of the Congress depend on the Yar Jung-Narasingrao talks which were talks between Hindus and Muslims? The Nizam's Government issued a press note denying any connections with these talks which duped the State Congress people.

The fight of the Hindu Sabha was against tremend-

ous odds. The Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj were on one side, while Congress, British Government and the Nizam on the other. There were no A B C classes in Nizam's jails. The terrible incidents in Aurangabad jail are recorded by the author in this book. He was himself an eye-witness.

Sjt. S. R. Date, had attended the Latur Conference which had sown the seeds of the movement. He headed the inquiry made by the Maharashtra Hindu Sabha. He toured in Nizam's State and prepared and published a detailed report. He was a member of the Civil Resistance Committee which organized the movement before it was formally sanctioned by the Hindu Maha Sabha in its Nagpur Session. He led a batch of Satyagrahis to Aurangabad and experienced all the hardships of that notorious jail. He is therefore, best fitted to record the story, which marks a milestone in the awakening of Hindudom which Savarkar's lead has roused.

Let every Hindu reader read, agitate, and inwardly digest the lessons of the Hyderabad struggle. Let him after reading this book circulate it amongst friends. Let it prove a light which lights another nor goes less.

THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT	1-100
THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT	101-150
THE HINDU SABHA	151-200
THE ARYA SAMAJ	201-250
THE CIVIL RESISTANCE	251-300
THE JAIL	301-350
THE MOVEMENT IN OTHER STATES	351-400
INDEX	401-450

## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGES
I HYDERABAD STATE ... ..	1- 13
II THE DESPOTIC RULER ... ..	14- 27
III MUSLIM BUREAUCRACY ... ..	28- 40
IV PUBLIC LIFE STIFLED ... ..	41- 53
V EFFORTS AT EMANCIPATION... ..	54- 66
VI MOVEMENT BEGINS ... ..	67- 76
VII THE STATE CONGRESS ... ..	77- 91
VIII PSEUDO-NATIONALISTS EXPOSED ... ..	92-105
IX THE HINDU PRATIKAR MANDAL ... ..	106-118
X ARYA SAMAJ & HINDU MAHA SABHA ... ..	119-130
XI HINDU MAHA SABHA LEADS ... ..	131-149
XII THE EFFECTIVE STRUGGLE ... ..	150-164
XIII CRISIS ... ..	165-179
XIV THE NIZAM YIELDED ... ..	180-197
XV MAGNA CHARTA OF CIVIL LIBERTIES ... ..	198-213
XVI VICTORY ... ..	214-225
XVII DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT ... ..	226-249



BHAGANAGAR STRUGGLE

To



**S. V. Pathak,**  
who suffered and at last died in  
Hyderabad jail, and all those  
myrters who laid down  
their lives in the fight  
for freedom.

## CHAPTER I

### HYDERABAD STATE

IN RECENT YEARS Hyderabad State has attracted public attention on a large scale. It had been the centre of political and religious activity which in course of time assumed wide dimensions; and it appears that it will grow in importance as the scheme of the All India Federation will develop. It is undoubtedly being made a Muslim State. The pro-Muslim bias introduced into the administrative machinery since the accession of the present Nizam to the Gadi of Hyderabad in 1911, has been much responsible in creating a wide gulf between the Hindu and the Muslim communities of the State. The Aligarh spirit which had once dominated only the authorities, has now been completely imbibed in the mind of the Muslim community. The Muslim natives of the Dominions who were once quite friendly and brotherly towards their Hindu neighbours, have now begun to look down upon them as rulers to the ruled!

This policy had its natural effect. It created a stir in the Hindu community which was, and still is, to a large extent, disorganized. It gave new life and start to the Hindu organizations all over the Dominions. The tremendous agitation led by the Hindus of the State and also of the outside, during the last five years and more, has aroused the feeling of self-con-



fidence in the Hindu mind. Hindus now feel that organized if they become, they can surely assert themselves and bend and mend the administrative machinery to care for the benefit of the Hindu community as well.

The Nizam Dominions or the Hyderabad State as they are popularly called, are one of the largest tracts of land under one despotic rule. The total area of the State, excluding that of the Berar which is now directly administered by the British India Government, is 82,698 square miles. This is larger than that of the Bombay Presidency which is only 77,035 square miles or even that of the Central Provinces excluding Berar, which is 82,109 square miles. Amongst Indian States, it is the first in area after Kashmere which is 89,807 square miles. From population point of view, it is the largest amongst all Indian States, having a population of 1,44,36,148 persons according to the census of 1931. The annual revenue yield of the State excluding the Jahagirs, Paigahs and Serf-e-khas etc., is above eight crores which is far more than that of any other Indian State.

Geographically speaking, it is situated practically in the heart of the southern India. The country appears like a series of vast rolling uplands having an average elevation of about twelve hundred feet above the sea level. Broken hill masses are to be found scattered all over the territory. The high table land of the Deccan stretches down towards the east descending into the vast plains. This whole territory is one of the best and the richest parts of India. It is most fertile and also rich in minerals, especially in coal and gold. The two great rivers of the Deccan,—the

Godavari and the Krishna—flow through these regions, and enrich the soil of an extensive area. There are large forests covering a total area of about 9,000 square miles, which is almost ten per cent of the total area of the State. Practically all kinds of crops and especially cotton, rice, jawar, and all kinds of seeds are produced. Castor seed is one of the largest products of the State, its annual crop being almost sixty per cent of the total produce of the world.

Linguistically, the State is not homogeneous. About seventy lakhs or almost half of the population is Telugu which occupies the eastern half of the State. Marathi speaking population which is about thirty-eight lakhs resides in northern and western districts; while Canarese which is the mother-tongue of about sixteen lakhs is spoken in a few districts in the South. Generally Urdu is the language of the Muslims who are about fifteen lakhs in number and are scattered all over the territory. But though they form only 10.5 per cent of the total population of the State, their Urdu language is considered as the language of the State and the Court, and all Government business from top to bottom is carried on through it.

Historically, the State includes many places of interest and of importance. There are the Elora caves which are one of the best relics of Buddhistic architecture. The fortress of Devagiri still shows the best engineering and strategic skill of its builders. Paithan, the capital of the great King Shalivahan of renowned memory, is situated on the banks of the river Godavari. Parali Vaijanath and Ghrishneshwar, two of the twelve Jyotirlingas, are the holy places of the Hindus. Bhawani of Tuljapur and Amba of Ambajogai are



still the places of worship of the Marathas. Nanded, the place of Guru Govind Singh, where every Sikh bows down his head in honour of the great Guru, is situated within the State. There are the battlefields of cherished memory, Udgir and Kharda, where the Maratha forces had routed the Nizam armies. The holy places of Dnyaneshwar and Eknath, of Ramdas and Namdeo and so many other saints are there. In fact, Hindus, both inside and outside of this State have not only common bonds of kith and kin, but also of common heritage, both religious and cultural, within the boundaries of the State as also outside it.

Before the advent of the fourteenth century, there were only Hindu kingdoms all over the southern part of India. The Muslim invaders who had incessantly attacked Punjab and other parts in Northern India in eleventh and twelfth centuries, had established their supremacy in Delhi and the surrounding country. It was however, in 1296, for the first time that an invasion of the South was contemplated. Ala-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the then ruling sultan Jalal-ud-din, decided to run down on the South. He crossed the Vindhya mountains and came up to the fortress of Devagiri, now called Daulatabad, where Raja Ramdevroy had made his capital. It was one of the most marvellous and strategically built fortresses in India. It was rightly considered as the gateway to the South. It is surrounded by hills on three sides, keeping a commanding eye on the east. It was said that he who possessed this impregnable fortress, could range his control over the whole of the southern India. The skill of construction and ingenuity exhibited in building this fortress had attracted and still attracts even the military experts of today. It was impossible

to break into it. But what the expert engineering skill and strategy of the position had succeeded in achieving, the weakness of human heart succeeded in destroying. The advancing forces of Ala-ud-din Khilji who had pretended that he had had quarrel with his uncle and that he was going to the south to seek service somewhere, marched on the off-guard soldiers of the King of Devagiri and the secret "fifth column" spies showed the invaders the private and secret ways to get into the inside of the fortress. Ala-ud-din succeeded in defeating the King Ramdevroy, and after annexing a vast territory and enforcing upon him a big annual tribute, returned to Delhi. A few years later, however, Ramdevroy took opportunity to refuse to pay the tribute and tried to be independent again. After Ala-ud-din became the Sultan of Delhi, he sent in 1308 a large force under the command of his general Malik Kafur who marched against Ramdevroy, defeated him, and annexed his kingdom to the throne of Delhi. Malik Kafur then ran down still farther in the South. He took possession of the fortress of Warangal and defeated the Hindu King who was ruling there. Then he went straight upto Dwaramsamudra, the seat of the Hoysal Kings, captured that place and ruined the dynasty; and after creating a masjid on the Coromandel coast, he returned to Delhi. This was the first time when Muslims penetrated their way into the South. As usual what they did in the North, they did in the South. They came to stay. At the time of returning, Malik Kafur had appointed his agents at all important places, and carried a vast plunder with him.

After the Khiljis, came the Tughlaks. Muhammad Tughlak had heard of the glory of the fortress of Devagiri and was enamoured of it. He also wanted to ex-



tend his territory in the south and keep control over it. He, therefore, decided to carry his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. But he failed in his attempt, and on account of the troubles in the north he had to return to Delhi. It was impossible in those days, when communication was extremely difficult, to control the South from the North and the Sultans of Delhi had no other alternative but to depend upon their trusted agents in the South. But exactly those very trusted agents tried to overthrow their suzerin masters and became independent. It was in 1347, that a young resourceful man called Hasan Gangoo who was an officer of high station in the Deccan at that time, succeeded in overthrowing the suzerin power of his masters at Delhi and became virtually independent. He founded the Bahamani dynasty in the Deccan and in order to avoid any interference of his principals in the North, he removed his capital to Gulburga far in the South.

The Muslim invasion of the Deccan created a fatal effect on the minds of the Hindu Kings. They began to consider the invaders as if of superior complex; and on account of the defeats after defeats which they had to sustain, pessimism grew everywhere. It was, however, due to the efforts of Harihar and Bukka, and Vidyaranya, that Hindus regained their confidence. After the defeat of the king of Warangal, Harihar and Bukka, the two brother princes went in Karnatak and founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336. This was ten years before the establishment of Bahamani kingdom. The Empire of Vijayanagar grew both in spirit and outlook, and spread practically everywhere to the south of the river Tungabhadra. There were occasional fights between the Kings of Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Sultans. But practically for

two hundred and forty years, both the kingdoms grew and prospered on the south and the north of the river Tungabhadra. In course of time the Bahamani kingdom became decentralised and five small kingdoms grew out of it. But in 1565, they combined and gave a death-blow to the Empire of Vijayanagar and ruined the powerful Hindu Kingdom of the South.

The Emperors of Delhi were offended by the overthrow of their suzerinty by their agents. But on account of the ceaseless troubles near and in their capital itself, they could scarcely get an opportunity and sufficient strength to crush them. It was not till the time of Akbar that the Sultans of Delhi could engage themselves in the problem of subjugating their agents in the South. In 1594, Akbar sent a force under the command of his son Murad against the Nizamshahi, which was one of the principal off-shoots of the Bahamani Kingdom. He besieged the fort of Ahmednagar, but failed in capturing it. At last Akbar himself came in the Deccan and captured Ahmednagar in 1600; but he could not ruin Nizamshahi. After the death of Akbar, Jahangir appointed his son Shahajahan, the Subhedar of the Deccan. He fought a number of battles against the forces of Nizamshahi and gave them a crushing defeat at Khadki, now called Aurangabad. But on account of the intrigues carried on against him in the capital itself, he returned to Delhi. After the death of Jahangir, Shahajahan became the Sultan of Delhi and appointed his son Aurangzeb the Subhedar of the Deccan. Thus the previous system of appointing a trusted servant as their agent was given up and the new system of appointing direct descendants of the royal family to act as Subhedars was adopted. But these royal Subhedars had all their eyes fixed on



the happenings in the capital. For some time they continued as Subhedars, but every time they seized the first opportunity to run to Delhi, lest, some other might occupy the throne.

The Sultans of Delhi destroyed Nizamshahi in 1636, and divided their territory between themselves and Adilshahi of Bijapur. Aurangzeb who was appointed the Subhedar of the Deccan in 1630 removed his capital from Barhanpur in the North to Khadki in the South, now called Aurangabad, named after him, and ruled there upto 1644 when he returned to the capital to make his position firm. While he was in the Deccan he tried his best to destroy the remaining two off-shoots of the Bahamani kingdom, namely the Adilshahi of Bijapur and Kutubshahi of Govalkonda. But during the short period he was in the Deccan, he could not complete his mission. He had also to face the new and growing power of the Marathas. But he never gave up the thought of crushing all of them. Immediately after he assumed the reigns of Government, he directed all his energy towards establishing his supremacy in the South. But even after ceaseless efforts, he could not succeed. The great Shivaji had, in spite of opposition from all quarters, founded an independent kingdom of his own, and effectively checkmated the onslaughts of the Mogal Armies. At last Aurangzeb decided to lead a campaign himself and took an opportunity after the death of Shivaji to come to the South. He first completed his mission of destroying the tottering kingdoms of Bijapur and Govalkonda in 1687 and in 1689, and assassinated the Maratha Raja Sambhaji in a most cruel and terrible manner. But the murder of Sambhaji, instead of crushing their spirit, electrified the whole Maratha Nation, and it became im-

possible for the Sultan to subjugate them. He carried on an incessant campaign for over twenty years against the Marathas, but found them invincible. At last he saw that all what he had tried to gain in the Deccan was lost and died of broken heart at Ahmednagar in 1707.

After the death of Aurangzeb, the Muslim power of Delhi weakened rapidly. His successor, Bahadurshah was a weak man. He could not control the intrigues going on in the capital itself against him. At that time a young man named Mir Kamar-ud-din, otherwise known in history as Chinquilizkhan, Asafjah, or Nizam-ul-mulk, was growing in importance. He was a shrewd politician. He had been a lieutenant in the campaigns of Aurangzeb, and was one of his trusted men. In 1713, he was appointed the Subhedar of the Deccan, and was at Aurangabad for three years. He was again appointed the Subhedar in 1724, when he came decided to remain in the Deccan permanently. The position of the Emperor at Delhi was going from bad to worse; and it became impossible for him to control or improve the situation. As soon as the Nizam came in the Deccan as the Subhedar in 1724, he overthrew the control and suzerinty of his masters at Delhi and became virtually independent. In order to avoid any interference from the Emperors, he shifted his capital from Aurangabad far down in the South to Bhaganagar, now known as Hyderabad. This man was the founder of the Asafjahi dynasty popularly known as Nizamshahi or Mogalai, which still rules at Hyderabad and which has been a source of constant trouble to the Hindus in general and the Marathas in particular.

The decline of the Mogal Empire and the rise of the Maratha power have been practically simultaneous.



After the death of Aurangzeb, there was all chaos and turmoil in the capital and the whole fabric of administration had tumbled down. At that time Daudkhan Panni had been the Subhedar of the Deccan. In order to protect himself against the invading forces, he sought protection of the Marathas. This protection was given on the understanding that the Marathas should exercise their right of Chauthai on the Subhedari territory of the Deccan. In 1712, Nizam-ul-mulk was appointed the Subhedar; but he refused to admit the right of the Marathas to collect Chauthai on the ground that there were feuds amongst the Satara and Kolhapur princes of the Marathas and therefore there was no rightful heir of the Gadi accepted by all. This attitude of the Subhedar would have led to an immediate struggle but the Nizam was called back to Delhi in 1715 and one Husain Alli was appointed in his place. He saw the growing power of the Marathas and entered into a treaty with them by which he acknowledged the right of the Marathas to collect Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi throughout the Subhedari provinces, and admitted the integrity of the Maratha Territory which then included the Swarajya of Shivaji and the provinces of Khandesh, Berar and Karnatak. On the other hand Marathas promised to maintain an army of 15,000 for the protection of the Subhedar and maintenance of peace and order throughout the Subhedari Districts.

This position continued till 1724 when the Nizam-ul-mulk was reappointed the Subhedar of the Deccan. He tried, however, to raise the old objections regarding the rightful ruler of the Marathas, and refused to abide by the terms of the treaty. This enraged the Peshwa Bajirao who was at that time engaged in the wars in Karnatak. But he soon returned and immediately led an army

against the Nizam and defeated him at Palkhed in 1728. A treaty was then made at Mungi Shevgaon by which the Nizam agreed to accept the terms of the previous treaty and acknowledged Shahu as the rightful heir of the Maratha Empire.

Bajirao was one of those men who envisaged the idea of overthrowing the Mogal Empire and establishing Hindu supremacy in its place. He saw the tottering edifice of the Mogal Empire of Delhi and decided to pull it down. He was quite capable to accomplish this project. All his efforts were directed towards gaining supremacy in the North. Had he lived a few years more he would certainly have changed the map of India. The Nizam at that time was only a Subhedar of the Sultan of Delhi. Bajirao decided to cut at the very root and allow the branches to fall down automatically. In 1737, he attacked the forces of the Emperor. The Emperor wanted protection and the Nizam ran to his help; but their forces were defeated by Bajirao at Bhopal. The Emperor then entered into a treaty with him by which Bajirao obtained a territory yielding an annual revenue of thirteen lakhs.

In 1748, Mir Kamar-ud-din, the first Nizam died and was succeeded by his son Nasirjang who died in 1750 and Muzfarjang became the Nizam; but he too soon died and Salabatjang succeeded him in the same year. This Nizam refused to admit the right of the Marathas to collect Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi. This led to a struggle. Salabatjang had received help from his brother at Delhi. A battle was fought at Sindkhed in 1755. The Nizam's forces were crushed; and he entered into a treaty with the Marathas, by which he ceded to them a territory yielding an annual

revenue of twenty-five lakhs. But the terms of the treaty were broken. The Nizam did not give the promised territory of twenty-five lakhs, and therefore, the Marathas attacked the Nizam at Udgir in 1760, where the Nizam's army was completely routed and the Marathas annexed a territory yielding an annual income of eighty lakhs to their Empire. This brought all the territory of the Nizam to the west of Hyderabad under the Maratha rule.

But the defeat of the Marathas at Panipat gave new life to the Nizam who began to interfere into the Maratha territory. Again the Maratha forces gave him a crushing defeat at Rakshasbhuvan in 1763. After a few years when there were internecine feuds amongst the Peshwas, the Nizam Ali took an opportunity and refused to pay the tribute. This again led to a struggle and he had to face the Maratha forces at Kharda in 1795 where the Nizam was completely routed and had to cede all the territory from Parinda to Tapti and pay a sum of three crore rupees to the Peshwa. It will be seen from the history that since the establishment of the Nizam rule in the Deccan in 1724, six great battles were fought between the Marathas on one side and the Nizam on the other, and in every one of them the Marathas were successful and the Nizam was completely defeated. In the battle of Palkhed, at Bhopal, at Sindkhed, at Udgir, at Rakshasbhuvan, and lastly at Kharda, the Nizam was given a crushing defeat; but every time after the treaty was made, he took the earliest opportunity to break the terms. History has shown that the Nizams were never able to withstand the Maratha forces; but every time they seized the first opportunity to break their promises.

In the present struggle also the Nizam Government

had to yield before the civil resisters and it is to be hoped that now at least, the Nizam Government will maintain the promises so solemnly given.

After the establishment of the British supremacy over the whole of India, the Nizam has been the friend of the Crown. The first treaty between the East India Company and the Nizam took place in 1766 when Nizam Ali was the ruler. This treaty went into modifications from time to time. In 1798, the Nizam entered into another treaty with the East India Company and accepted the protection of the British sword under subsidiary system. This is another form of Chauthai system. In 1822, the British waved their right of collecting the Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi over the Nizam Dominions, which they had obtained after destroying the Peshwas in 1818. By a treaty in 1853, the districts of Berar, Osmanabad and Raichur were ceded to the British in payment of the overdue balance of the expenses of the British army which was kept for the protection of the Nizam. But the two districts of Osmanabad and Raichur were returned to him on account of his help in crushing the war of independence of 1857. Since that time the Nizam territory has remained in tact. By the treaty of 1902, the British Government promised to pay a sum of twenty-five lakh rupees to the Nizam as his royalty over the Berar and by the recent treaty made in 1936, his sovereignty over Berar was confirmed, and his flag is now allowed to be hoisted over the Berar and his representative is received at Nagpur.



## CHAPTER II

### THE DESPOTIC RULER

HIS EXHALTED HIGHNESS the Nizam Sir Osman Alikhan, the present ruler of the Hyderabad State is the seventh descendant of the Asafjahi dynasty. He was born in 1886 and after the death of his father Mir Mahabub Ali, was crowned king on 29th August 1911.

He is a man of restless energy. For him it is not at all unusual to work from early in the morning till late in the evening and sometimes even far into the night. He is very simple in his habits and very regular. He has no passions or hobbies of any kind. He rarely goes out of the "King Kothi" and all his walking hours are devoted to making inquiries about what is happening in his extensive dominions.

He is a strong willed and despotic administrator. Immediately after his accession to the Gadi of Hyderabad, he decided to take upon himself the whole administration of the State, and ruled, without a minister for full five years. He is very fond of power and always rules by firmans. Even now though the members of the Executive Council who are there on account of the sweet will of their master, have been invested with certain powers and authority, yet they cannot go against his will even in trifling matters. In fact, they all work in the shadow of his personal rule. All the decisions of the Council are subject to the confirm-

ation by their master; and therefore, before they take any decision in any matter, they try to find out their master's will so that their decisions may not be upset. There are scarcely any who can control his will except the will of the paramount power which did bridle him when, on occasions, he tried to be too off for them.

One of the weaknesses of the Nizam is that he loves money too much. He hoards it like anything. After he was crowned king, he began to receive forced Nazaranas from his subjects, and from the feudatory chiefs. He toured all through his territory and under the name of Nazarana actually looted his subjects. Besides the sum of fifty lakh rupees which he takes from the State treasury every year for his personal expenses, he receives a vast income from his private property. His private estate which is known as Serf-e-khas, of which he is the sole master and absolute administrator, is about 8,110 square miles in area and yields him an annual income of about a crore and a half rupees. It is said that after the king of Japan who is supposed to possess fabulous wealth, Nizam is the richest man in the world today.

He is a staunch and a fanatic Muslim. His tutors, it is said, imbibed in his mind the idealism of Aurangzeb; and rightly or wrongly, he is closely following the footsteps of that august monarch. He is made to believe that he must proselytise the Islam at least in his State and carry on the mission of his forefathers of converting the Hindu Subjects to the faith of Islam on a mass scale; and if in these days he cannot like Aurangzeb, openfacedly use his sword for this purpose, he fulfils his aim by using pressure of his power and

purse. He is too much influenced by the pan-Islamic idealism; and it is said that he once entertained an idea of even becoming the Khalifa of the whole Muslim World.

The administration of the State consists mainly of two parts. One is called the Divani Ilaqas where the administration of the State is direct. It is about 58.5 per cent of the total area of the State. The remaining part consists of a number of Jahagirs, Sansthans, Paigahs and Serfe-khas estates etc., and forms about 41.5 per cent of the State area. These belong to the feudatory chiefs who had served their masters in good old time. They are both Hindus and Muslims who possess these estates. The following table will show their proportion and their relative incomes.

Annual income of the Jahagirs in Rupees.	Hindu Jahagirdars	Muslim Jahagirdars
6,000 to 12,000	39	95
12,000 to 25,000	20	55
25,000 to 50,000	20	24
50,000 to 1,00,000	6	9
1,00,000 and above	7	12

The last seven Hindu Jahagirdars having an annual income of more than a lakh rupees possess total estates yielding an annual income of about twenty-eight lakhs, while the twelve Muslim Jahagirdars receive about sixty-four lakhs from their Jahagirs. Besides, the Paigah Jahagir belongs to a relative of the Nizam, and alone yields an annual income of about fifty lakhs. These Jahagirs or sub-States are a kind of hierarchy of feudal lords who have not only large property to own, but

great powers to rule over the peoples living in their estates. Feudal system has at all times proved a great source of help to the autocratic sovereigns everywhere. But feudalism has now vanished away. The gradual introduction of democratic institutions of administration has practically demolished the old and tottering edifice of the feudal system in British India, but it still continues to exist in the Hyderabad State. These feudatory lords administer all functions of the Crown over their respective areas; but eventually they are under the supreme control of their direct sovereign.

Constitutionally, the administration of the State is personal. The Nizam is the "fountain head of all administrative authority." He can make and unmake any laws and rule as it may please him to do. He is not only the supreme head of the executive, but also the source of law and justice. But in order to make some show of meeting the "change of time and complexities of modern life, new political perceptions in the East and internal and external interest of the Dominions", some sort of legislative and executive machinery was formed in 1894; but it was worth nothing and it did nothing. In course of time, a member here and a member there was added to it, but it had no real power of any kind.

At present there is an Executive Council which consists of seven members of which only one is Hindu. In theory, the Council is invested with certain powers of administration, His Exalted Highness the Nizam having reserved for himself certain powers of ultimate significance. But in reality, it is a Council which has mostly to execute the decrees of its master. It is said that many times the Council knows nothing beforehand



of most of the Firmans or Extra-Ordinary Gazettes by which the Nizam initiates his measures and issues orders. In fact, the Council is his instrument; it can share his confidence only in so far as, and no more than, he is willing to give it. It has no business to offer him advice, much less to direct his hand.

Then there is also a Legislative Council. It consists of twentyone members, only six of whom are non-officials. Two of them are elected by Jahagirdars with an annual income of Rs. 6,000 and above; and two members are to be elected by the members of the High Court bar of Hyderabad. The remaining two are to be nominated by the Prime Minister one of which is to be a nominee of the Paigah Jahagir. Even this Legislative Council, thus formed, has neither any right of interpellation nor is the budget submitted before it even for discussion. It meets once or twice a year and the session each time continues only for an hour or two at the most. In fact, it is simply a show and a farce.

The subjects of Hyderabad State do not enjoy the privilege of even managing their own municipal affairs. There is no Act in the State on the lines of the Municipal Act in British India. A bill on the above lines, applicable to the City of Hyderabad alone, which has a population of 4,66,874 according to the census of 1931, is on the anvil of the local Legislature for the last thirty years or more; but it has not been passed as yet! There is at present a municipality at Hyderabad but it is practically a Government department. In the districts there are District Local Boards and the Taluka Local Boards, but they have no authority of any kind. The members of these boards are all nominated but they too have no effective power.

All sorts of restrictions are placed on the facilities of educating public opinion regarding the administration of the State and no heed is paid to the public opinion. No body is allowed to criticise in a public meeting, the administration of the State or the acts of the Government officials.

The policy of the British Government is that of reserved neutrality. So long as the Nizam is ready to follow the advice given by the British Resident, they are on amicable relations with him. The claim put forward by the Nizam in his famous letter to Lord Reading was as follows :

“Save and except matters relating to foreign powers and policies, the Nizams of Hyderabad have been independent in the internal administration of their State, just as much as the British Government in British India. With the reservation mentioned by me, the two parties have on all occasions acted with complete freedom and independence in all inter-Government questions that naturally arise from time to time between neighbours.”

Thus, paramountcy of the British rule has been accepted by the Nizam. This privilege of their supreme Royal prerogative of paramountcy automatically includes the right of British Government to enforce the rule of justice and equity in the State. But so long the Nizam does not interfere with the policy and prestige of the British Government, they allow him full liberty to rule over his people as he may wish. They do not desire to interfere with his administration howsoever worse it may become. This has, therefore, led to a series of events which called upon the Hindus of the State, and also of outside to offer civil resistance on a large scale.

In all countries and at all times, under whatever form of Government, either autocratic or democratic, there have been some basic principles of administration without which the relations between the ruler and the ruled would never be held in balance. Under any circumstance the ruler must remain responsible to the ruled in one form or other, and must respect the fundamental rights of civil liberty and the principles of justice and equity accepted by the people from time to time. Even in ancient days when the kingdoms were limited to very small areas and when the ruling princes had very little power and control over their peoples, the administration of their States was responsible to their peoples. When in later years kingdoms grew in size and strength, feudal system acted as a check over the unruly princes. They had to remain responsible to their feudal lords who were, in their turn, responsible to the masses. In modern times, when the progress of science has reduced the distance between time and space, and brought the whole world close together than ever before, the system of administration has become much more complicated; and the people have become too much dependent upon the administrative machinery for all matters of progress and protection. All efforts are now required to be made collectively and on a large scale, and there is little place for individual efforts. With the progress of modern science, therefore, democratic institutions have prospered even in totalitarian and autocratic States. According to the notions recognized in all democratic constitutions, submission to the Sovereign authority has always implied some basic fundamental obligations on the State. They are generally:

that the State in its corporate capacity has no

religion of its own and shall make no discrimination in its treatment of religious institutions of one faith or other;

that the State authorities shall not make any distinction in different sections of its population on the grounds of religion, caste or creed in promulgation, application, and administration of the laws of the State;

that the agency of various Services through which the laws of the State are administered shall not be nominated from amongst the members of the class to which the sovereign for the time being belongs. In fact, the State must not recognize, much less encourage the idea of a ruling class among its subjects; that the State shall give equal opportunities to the different sections of its subjects for observance of their religious ceremonies, customs, and social usages, and for the promotion of their respective cultural institutions;

that the State shall recognize the right of every citizen to enjoy full freedom of conscience and to freely profess and practise his or her religion and social customs and usages, subject to public peace and order, and morality, and subject to similar rights of other citizens;

that the State shall not put any handicap on its subjects in the matter of the study of their own language and literature and shall give necessary facilities to carry on their literary activities;

that the State shall recognize the right of every citizen of free association and free expression for purposes not opposed to law and morality, and shall attach no disability to any person by reason of his



or her religion, caste or creed to public employment or office;

that the State shall be run on the principle of a Trust with the Sovereign as the trustee for its people, to whom the powers possessed by the Sovereign for the time being in the name of the State, shall have to be ultimately transferred; and in order to achieve this objective, the State shall establish representative institutions and invest them with real powers of control and administration of the affairs of the State.

These are some of the basic principles of modern system of democratic constitutions. They are to a large extent prevalent in British India. But nothing of this kind is to be seen in Indian States. There are some good princes who have a broad vision and a noble mind. But even they are not able to mend the vicious system in which they are placed under the British rule. In good old times, when the States were quite independent kingdoms, and the paramount British rule was not firmly established, they were responsible to their subjects. They had to depend upon the active support of their people, in times of war and peril. But since the establishment of British power and protection, things have changed enormously. Now, they have no necessity and, therefore, are not responsible to their people. There has been unbroken peace and tranquility in the country for over a century; and the States do not depend upon their subjects for their protection, which they have purchased from the British Crown under the Subsidiary system and by accepting their paramountcy. The rulers of the States possess, therefore, power unaccompanied by responsibility towards their peoples. So long as they keep their British masters satisfied, they

are absolutely free and are all powerful to do any kind of mischief to their subjects.

This state of things continues practically in all Indian States. But in Hyderabad, the problem has become much more complicated on account of the religious consideration. The Nizam is an enthusiastic and fanatic Muslim while his subjects are 85 per cent Hindus. The triangular fight which we have to face in British India, namely between the British, the Hindu, and the Muslim communities, is also to be found here. The Nizam has no desire to share his power and responsibility with his subjects. He is one of the most autocratic and despotic rulers the world has ever produced. But if, on account of the force of circumstances and the march of time he would be required to move in the direction of democracy, he would desire that that power and responsibility should be shared by his Muslim co-religionists more than by the Hindus. The Muslims of Hyderabad State are, therefore, placed in the best of circumstances. It is true that they have no independent voice under the Nizam's autocratic rule; but they wield vast powers in the conduct of the affairs of the State. They have all the advantages which an autocratic system can give. They occupy all the highest posts and enjoy power and position which their official designation gives them. The State service and the State patronage is practically reserved for them. They consider themselves as belonging to the Royal race and superior to and above the common people who form the vast multitudes of the population.

With the Hindus, however, the case is entirely different. They have all the disadvantages on their side. They form the bulk of the population; but they have neither power nor prestige with their ruler. They

must struggle and struggle very hard even for the sake of mere justice. Even the primary rights of citizenship are denied to them. The preferential treatment meted out to the Muslims even in the application and administration of law and justice, has gone to a large extent in severing the feelings of affinity in which both the communities had once participated. But now they have practically nothing in common with each other. The Muslims do not consider themselves as part of the population. They believe more in their Royalty than in their nationhood. They, therefore, not only not help public activities for the advancement of the cause of democratic institutions in the State, but in fact, oppose them under one garb or other. Because they believe that, to them as a Muslim community, democracy is not a blessing. At present they hold all the positions of power and prestige ; but with the introduction and growth of democracy, they will have to share them with the Hindus. The Muslim community in the Hyderabad State is therefore opposed to all reform and introduction of democratic ideas in the State.

The relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, and of them with their ruler in the Hyderabad State can well be compared with those existing in British India. As a matter of fact, the British are very highly accomplished men and true lovers of democracy. They have built in their country the wonderful system of the democratic form of government. They love it beyond their lives. But in governing India, they have imperialistic aims. They do not, therefore, desire to part with power which they possess in India. They have created a democratic form of government in the sphere of provincial administration ; but they still desire that the

real and ultimate power must remain with them. They cannot openly repudiate the claims of democracy which they have been extolling all through ; they have, therefore, created a number of pretences which they put forward to refuse introduction of real democracy in India. One of these pretences is the protection of the minorities. There are minorities everywhere in the world. But the love and sympathy which the British have been feeling for known and unknown minorities in India is beyond limits. They have under this garb divided the peoples of this country and created permanent disabilities in the communities. The feeling of oneness which the Hindus and Muslims had been feeling towards each other has become over-strained. Now they look towards each other with suspicion. The British have been following the policy of favouring the Muslims at the cost of the major Hindu community in all spheres of life. They have been giving them preferential treatment in legislatures, in services, and even in administration. There is one common law in the country. But its application is differential in the case of Muslims. This has created affinity in the Muslim mind for the British rule. The Muslim community has therefore, remained quite aloof from all activities of national development and progress of democracy. Some of the Muslim leaders have gone to the length of saying that "It is the right of the minorities to be treacherous to the motherland!" They therefore, partake in all subversive and anti-national movements and the British authorities simply sympathise with them ! Their policy has been that of creating greater and greater demands of the minorities and withholding the introduction of Swarajya under the pretext of guarding their interests. This naturally helps in making the gulf wider between the



communities and fostering suspicion and ill-will between them. The "Church Times" an English journal, has recently published a long and most valuable interview by its special representative with a representative Indian Christian, which is published in "Harijan" of May 8, 1940. He has very clearly and correctly analysed the communal problem of India. He says:

"The differences, in so far as they exist between Moslems and Hindus were certainly not created by Great Britain. But for its own reasons these differences have been fostered by the Imperial Government. The British policy has been "*divide at impera*" and it has been directly responsible for widening the gap that already existed between the Hindu and the Muslim communities. It is the Moslems of the cities of British India who have made the complaints and have demanded protection. They have been given political and economic powers out of all proportion to their numbers, influence, education, and culture. They are bound up with the British rule and have everything to lose if Britain withdraws."

The policy which the Nizam is pursuing in his State is just like the one followed by the British in British India. His relations with the Muslim community of his State are far more attached than those of the British rulers with the Muslims in British India. They are as vital and of a permanent nature as the relations between the British rulers and their Anglo-Indian and European subjects. Just as the Anglo-Indians and Europeans do not form the nationhood of India nor do they help for the advancement of Home Rule in British India, so are the Muslims of the Nizam Dominions opposed to all progress of national character

and on democratic lines. They are, therefore, opposed to the idea of nationhood. They do not form a nation in themselves, nor a part of it. It is to be found elsewhere, outside of them, in the teeming millions who form the society. In fact, it is the Hindudom which forms the nation and which alone forms it!

### CHAPTER III

## MUSLIM BUREAUCRACY

AS SOON AS the present Nizam Mir Osman Ali Shah became king, he set two objectives before him: the first to become virtually independent, and the second, to make Hyderabad, a Muslim State. When he came to power, the late Maharaja Sir Kishan Prashad was the Prime Minister, but he had to resign and was succeeded by Nabab Salarjang III in 1912. He continued in office till 1914 when he too had to leave it; and the Nizam decided to rule himself. For full five years he carried on the administration of the State without any minister. During this period he harassed his poor subjects and screwed out money under the name of Nazarana. An extra Nazarana tax of 25 per cent was levied on the amount of the land tax and was mercilessly collected. There was no royal road to justice in the country and the whole administration became corrupt. It is said that the Nizam filled up his treasury by Nazaranas and the like methods to an extent of forty crores of rupees within a period of six years! The scandle of the Nazarana grew so much that at last the British Government also thought it necessary to advise the Nizam to stop it and instead of personal rule, to appoint an Executive Council to carry on the administration of the State. It was therefore, in 1919 that the Nizam "felt the need for relief from the greater portion of the duties of the Prime Mini-

ster" and decided "to employ on a large scale, institutional rather than personal agencies for the better administration" of the State. This led to the formation of the Executive Council which continues to exist today. But still the Nizam is all supreme.

His second objective was that of making Hyderabad, a Muslim State. It was a big task before him. But he energetically set himself to finish it. When he came to power, there were many Hindus who occupied high posts in the State Service. The power and position of their office naturally carried respect for them and for their community. But the Nizam was bent on crushing the Hindu domination in his State. He decided, therefore, to reduce as much as possible the number of Hindus in the State Service and fill up the vacancies by appointing the Muslim candidates. Hindus had been carrying on the administration of the State for a long time before. In 1885, there were 4949 Hindus on the Civil list as against 2882 Muslims. But within ten years of his rule, the present Nizam exactly reversed the proportion. In 1920, there were only 2393 Hindus as against 5174 Muslims on the Civil list, and the same process still continues on an increasingly large scale. It is said that when on occasions vacancies occur in any department and are required to be filled up, the officers in charge take care to recommend the names of only the Muslim candidates; and in case, they are required to have some non-Muslims in their Departments, they have to think ten times before they recommend the names of non-Muslims, because when the papers come back from the "King Kothi" they many times have a question noted upon them "Are no qualified Muslims available" or "why are not the names of qualified Muslims sent up?"



In the beginning the Nizam had to face much difficulty in getting good candidates. But he was able to recruit a sufficiently large number from amongst the graduates and undergraduates of the Aligarh University. The immigrants from Aligarh in Hyderabad State were so many that within a short period they occupied practically all the posts of power and position in the State.

St. Nihal Singh who had visited Hyderabad in 1923, writes that while he was one day talking with an eminent Hyderabad Official, it casually occurred to him to ask him if he could name off-hand how many of his colleagues holding high posts in the Nizam service belonged to Aligarh University, he went on multiplying the names and extending the list.

"Why not call Hyderabad an annexe of Aligarh and be done with it?" St. Nihal Singh jocosely suggested to his friend.

"Why not", he replied with a smile on his face, "you would not be far wrong if you did so."

This policy and attitude of the Nizam Government created a feeling of superiority complex in Aligarhwalas over the natives of the State. They considered themselves as superior to Hindus because though Hindus, they admitted, were quite competent to carry on the administration of the State, still they were Hindus and did not belong to the ruling class; and they hated the Muslim natives of the State, because though they belonged to the ruling class, they were not competent enough to carry in the administration! This feeling of superiority complex in the mind of the outsiders gave birth to an agitation called the Mulki movement. The Hindus and the Muslims of the State organized themselves against these Aligarhwalas and a movement was started

under the name "The Nizam Subjects League." The Nizam could quickly see through the agitation. He started the Osmania University at Hyderabad in 1918 and offered every opportunity to the State Muslims to become competent to carry on the administration. Within a few years, the local Muslims could secure a fairly large percentage in the Service of the State; and the Mulki movement in so far as the Muslims were concerned, subsided. Now the strength of the Muslims in the State Service has increased to such an extent that it can fairly be called a Muslim State. The following few tables will show the proportion of the Muslims in the State Services. These tables are taken from Government Reports on the relative subjects and belong to a period some twenty years back, the latest figures being not available.

Proportion of the Hindus and Muslims in the State Service in 1330 F. ( 1921 A. D. )

Annual pay in Rupees	Hindus	Muslims
300 to 600	1884	3380
600 to 900	302	718
900 to 1200	217	474
1200 to 1500	81	148
1500 to 1800	85	204
1800 to 2400	44	172
2400 to 3000	27	110
3000 to 3600	33	137
3600 to 4200	6	44
4200 to 5000	9	59
5000 and above	51	205
Total	2739	5651

The following table shows the Proportion of the Hindus, Muslims and other communities in Gazetted State Service. The figures refer to the year 1330 F.(1921 A. D.)

Department	Hindus	Muslims	Parsis	Christians
Secretariate	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
Judicial	12	136	..	..
Educational	53	183	3	22
Miscellaneous	40	126	9	11
Total	248	864	33	66

Compare the above table of the Gazetted State Service in 1920 A. D. with a corresponding one of 1938 A. D.

Department	Hindus	Muslims	Parsis	Christ.	Total
Secretariate	9	66	3	2	80
Finance	13	29	1	1	44
Revenue	50	212	2	2	266
Police & Jail	17	48	2	5	72
Medical	84	100	2	19	205
P. W. D.	37	150	3	2	192
Judicial	23	155	..	..	178
Educational	72	216	3	28	319
Miscellaneous	11	55	..	4	70
Total	316	1031	16	63	1426

The following table shows the Proportion of the Hindus and the Muslims who received pension for their Service from the Nizam Government (1921 A. D.).

Pension amount in Rupees	Hindus	Muslims
200 to 300	489	1122
300 to 600	171	370
600 to 900	56	130
900 to 1200	25	117
1200 to 1500	8	42
1500 to 1800	3	26
1800 to 2400	7	31
2400 to 3000	5	25
3000 to 3600	..	16
3600 to 4200	1	13
4200 to 5000	1	15
5000 and above	5	27

The following table shows the Proportion of the Hindus and the Muslims in the Police and the Military Service of the State (1921 A. D.).

Pay in Rupees	Hindus	Muslims
300 to 600	540	1676
600 to 900	72	345
900 to 1200	38	170
1200 to 1500	25	95
1500 to 1800	11	51
1800 to 2400	11	84
2400 to 3000	3	28
3000 to 3600	4	12
3600 to 4200	1	17
4200 to 5000	6	15
5000 and above	8	62
Total	719	2555



It will be seen from the above figures that in the sphere of administration, and executive as well as judicial departments the proportion of the Muslims is enormously high. The number of Muslims in Medicals and P. W. Departments shows considerable and planned increase while the number of the Hindus in the Secretariate, and the Finance Department has been reduced. This means that the Hindus who are 85.5 per cent of the total population of the State, got only 20 per cent of the services while the Muslims who are only 10.5 per cent have got 72 per cent proportion in the State Service! Even this proportion of Hindus is being reduced. The scheme of Muslimization of State Services is still being carried on intensively, so much so that now, not only every post of power, position and also of pay is occupied by the Muslims but even the lower grades in the Service, nay even the posts of peons and chaphashis are also occupied by the Muslims belonging to the State or outside!

The result of this policy was obvious. It created an anti-Hindu atmosphere throughout the State and reduced the Hindus to a position of utter helplessness. The ruler who guided the policies and the State Civil Service who carried on the administration, kept one common objective before them namely that of crushing the Hindu domination and making Hyderabad the Citalad of Islamic Culture. The Muslim bureaucracy therefore aimed at cultural conquest by affecting the morale of the Hindus and by cutting off the sources which watered the roots of Hindu Culture. They used all possible means, fair and foul, to accomplish their objective.

Their first drive was against all local languages. Own languages are the main sinues of culture and a strong

force and carriage of knowledge. The Nizam Government however decided to dominate Urdu over the local languages. Urdu is the mother-tongue of only 10 per cent of the population; 86 per cent of the people of the Hyderabad State neither speak it nor understand it; but it is the language of the Muslims, the language of the ruling class! The Nizam Government did everything in their power to arrest the growth of the local languages and turn the tide in favour of Urdu. It has become now, not only the official language of the State and the Court; but even the sole medium of instruction. It has affected the local languages grievously. They have suffered both in intent and extent. Their growth has become stunted and their vitality as a vehicle of cultural thought to those who speak it is practically lost.

At one time there were more than four thousand private schools which were conducted by the people at their own expense and without any State aid. These schools served a very useful purpose of imparting rudimentary education in the three 'R's. As a matter of fact, it was the duty of the State to help such a useful work. In these days, literacy is of prime importance and is considered as one of the first charges on the State treasury. But in the Nizam's Dominions, the State authorities instead of helping these institutions decided to regulate their conduct in such a way that stifled them. The following are some of the rules which regulated the conduct of these Private Schools:

1. Educational institutions having fifteen or more pupils on their registers, which are neither in receipt of grant-in-aid from the Government nor are recognized in any way by the Educational Department will be considered as private institutions.

2. In future, no private institution will be started by any person or persons unless the sanction of the proper authorities is obtained for the same.

3. Any person or persons desiring to start a private institution shall apply for permission to the authorities concerned furnishing details on the following points: (a) object of starting the institution, (b) description of building to be used and its condition, (c) curriculum to be followed, (d) the number of teachers to be employed and their qualifications.

4. If any private institution admits any pupil of a Government recognized or aided school who has not obtained a transfer certificate, the authorities of the private institution will be bound to send away such pupils on the proper representation of the authorities of the institution which the pupil left without transfer certificate.

5. With the exception of such children as are suffering from some contagious disease, all private institutions shall be open to all students without any distinction of religion, nationality, caste or creed.

6. The curriculum for private institutions shall not include (a) religious instruction of a nature that would hurt the (religious) feelings and susceptibilities of the pupils following other creeds, and (b) any instruction whether of a political or non-political nature which is likely to disseminate feeling of disloyalty either towards the Ruler, the Royal family or the Government.

7. All private institutions shall submit on prescribed dates their annual returns to the proper State authorities.

8. The founders or the managers of all such

private institutions as came into existence before the promulgation of these rules, should furnish the detailed information regarding their schools in the prescribed form within three months from the date of this circular and should also state the exact date when they were established.

9. If any private institution is opened after the promulgation of these rules, without previously obtaining the permission required by these rules, or if any existing private institution fails to submit the annual return required by the above rules, or violates them in any way, the Director of Public Instruction will take the necessary steps either through the Taluqdar of the District or the Police Commissioner of the Hyderabad City to have such schools closed.

The result of this regulation was that where there were 4,053 private schools which imparted instruction to 76,754 students before the promulgation of these rules, there remained only 1,305 schools having only 31,740 students on their rolls; and even this number is fast decreasing; because students who take their lessons in these schools do not get necessary entrance in Government Schools in their corresponding classes and therefore all education in private school is practically of little use to those who want to prosecute their studies any further.

The Government, or private but recognized schools are generally to be found in large cities and towns, where the Muslims are invariably in considerable numbers. Though the total population of the Hindus of the State is 85 per cent, their strength in urban areas, is only 65 per cent while the Muslims form about 32 per cent of the urban population. At present



there are in the State about four thousand schools educating more than two lakh students. But all education is given through the medium of Urdu. It is laid down in the Educational Code that at the primary stage, instruction should be imparted through the medium of the local language; but this direction is rarely observed as even the teachers at the Primary stages are not competent to teach in any other medium except Urdu. And as it is now the language of the Court and the sole medium of instruction in Secondary and Collegiate stages those students who have to prosecute their studies further, find it to their advantage to take up Urdu as their first vernacular and medium of instruction. The following table gives relative number of students taking up different languages at different stages of instruction. The figures relate to the year 1934-35 A.D.

Stage	Urdu	Telugu	Marathi	Canarese	Tamil
Primary	1,16,447	96,271	74,997	25,920	854
Secondary	56,068	13,943	13,443	4,443	1,288

Out of 1,16,447 students who take Urdu at primary stage, there are not less than 32,000 non-Muslim students who read Urdu instead of their own language.

Since the accession of the present Nizam in 1911, the total expenditure on education has increased from ten lakhs to more than one crore rupees. But a large amount of this is spent on building up the Osmania University at Hyderabad. It is significant that though the expenses on education have increased to more than ten times, still the percentage of literacy is practically where it was fifty years back. The following table

shows the percentage of literacy of Hindus and Muslims in the State during the last fifty years.

## PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY

Year	Hindus	Muslims	Total
1891	3.4	6.1	4.4
1901	2.5	5.5	3.4
1911	2.3	5.9	3.2
1921	2.6	8.9	3.3
1931	3.3	10.3	4.9

The educational backwardness of the Hindus of the Hyderabad State is very significant inasmuch as the Hindus everywhere else in India are far more in advance of the Muslims in education.

The report of the Educational Department for the year 1935-36 A. D. gives the following figures for Hindu and Muslim boys and girls in schools separately.

	High Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools	Total
Hindu boys	13,613	20,073	1,67,398	2,01,089
Muslim boys	12,782	17,172	57,993	87,947
Hindu girls	743	718	16,972	18,532
Muslim girls	1,602	1,720	26,107	29,435

In higher education, the proportion of the Hindu students to the Muslim students is still lower. These figures clearly indicate the policy of the Government of benefiting only the Muslim community at the cost of the Hindus. In matter of selection of scholars for foreign education the share of Hindus is practically nil. The

Selection Board appointed for this purpose consists entirely of Muslims. The result of this policy has been that practically all the high posts in the administration have become reserved for the Muslim community.

Such a policy was bound to breed ill-will between the two communities. The Muslim Bureaucracy was thus firmly established in this State. It was now necessary to strike terror in the heart of the Hindus and crush their opposition. The Muslim community as such, considered itself superior to the Hindus and as belonging to the ruling class; and the riffraff of the Muslim community was allowed to make any mischief towards the Hindus with impunity. Hindus, humiliated, lost all their sympathy for the State. It is no wonder that the Hindus of the Hyderabad State have not the slightest spark of love either for their ruler or the Muslim Bureaucracy.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### PUBLIC LIFE STIFLED

GRADUALLY HINDUS of the Hyderabad State came to grasp the reality of the situation in which they were placed. They understood the machiavelian policy of the Nizam Government. They became conscious of their weakness and disorganized life. They saw what their Government had intended for them. They became alive to the tyrannical sway of the Muslim Bureaucracy which was bent on crushing all opposition. They decided to organize and agitate under the guidance of their fellow brothers in British India. They made representations of their grievances to the State authorities and to the Paramount power as well; but all that bore little fruit. They therefore decided to carry on agitation through the press and the platform and enlighten the public opinion against the atrocities of the Nizam Government.

The Nizam's Government had, however, decided to close the press and the platform to the public agitation. They made sweeping rules to regulate the press in the State, which strangled all criticism. The people in British India have become accustomed to the rigours of the Press Act; but in the Nizam State there is no regular Act at all. It is all a matter of discretion for the State authorities whether they should allow a person to conduct a press or not, and very rarely permission is granted to the journals. Whenever a person desires to start a printing press of a journal, he must



apply for permission without which he cannot start it. There are no regular rules in this respect, the procedure being somewhat as follows :

An application for starting a printing press in the Nizam's Dominions is required to be made to the Secretary of the Judicial, Political and Miscellaneous Departments. On the presentation of such an application, the Secretary makes inquiries regarding the conduct, general condition and other necessary circumstances of the applicant. After such an inquiry is made, it remains entirely in the discretion of the Government to grant such permission or to refuse it. If the Government decide to grant such permission to start a printing press, the applicant is called upon to execute an agreement in favour of the Government and after due execution of such an agreement, the necessary permission for the printing press is granted, and the Government keeps the press under surveillance through their local police. No press is entitled to print any newspaper or periodicals without the previous sanction of the Government in writing. No press can be transferred from one place to another without intimation in writing to that effect to the Government, nor such a press can be sold to any other person without the permission of the Government for such sale. It is necessary for the buyer also that he should make an application for permission to purchase a press and the same procedure is adopted in this case as is done in the case of an application for starting a press. If any press is closed for six months, it cannot be reopened without the previous permission of the Government; and the Government has full discretion to decide whether such permission should be granted or not. On the death of the proprietor of a press, his legal re-

presentatives have to apply for permission to continue the press within one month of his death. And even when permission is granted the person who keeps the press, has got to make the following declaration :

"I, my representative, or any body else, working in his place, or on his behalf, do hereby undertake not to do any of the things stated below.

"Printing or publishing in my periodical, any words, signs or visible representations which are likely to excite dissatisfaction against H. E. H. the Nizam, or the British Government or which may cause dissension among the members of various races, nationalities, religions or sects whether such members may reside in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions or British Territory.

"Printing or publishing about H. E. H. the Nizam's Government any news which may leave an evil impression on the minds of the people, and which may not have been obtained after verification, with due diligence.

"If I, or my representatives or successors be guilty of a breach of any of these conditions above laid down, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government shall be at liberty to stop my periodical in which case, I, my representative or successors shall have no claims whatever to compensation or damage.

"No political matters which will include such articles as would raise an objection against the policy of H. E. H. the Nizam's or British Government, shall under any circumstance be published."

These clauses make it perfectly clear that every newspaper, if it is at all allowed to run, must only praise and not criticise the Nizam or his Government. Any fair criticism, in fact any criticism, of official errors

in the State is in the nature of things impossible. The only thing that the press can do, is to eulogize the Ruler and the Government for anything and every thing that they may do or not do. And the Nizam Government, patronises those who do this service. There is no free press in the State at all. It is either subsidised or disallowed. Nor are these operations confined to the State limits. They extend their influence over the entire press in British India; and the journals who refuse to fall prey to favour, are disallowed entry in the State. But in recent years the number of journals who criticised the policy of the Nizam, grew so large that the State authorities felt it necessary to change their policy of refusing entry to this or that paper, and sanctioned entry of only those favoured few whom they considered as their supporters, and refused permission to all the rest.

As regards the use of platform, the Nizam had issued a firman on September 8, 1921, as follows :

"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 permission before granting such a 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 permitted and until the Executive Council sanctions the agenda, the proceedings shall not be gone through."

This is the freedom of platform in the State! The Nizam would not allow even an ordinary meeting to be held in his Dominion and if permission is to be given,

his Executive Councillors must take his previous sanction to give the permission for holding an ordinary meeting! What distrust even on his own Executive!

Consider this firman and the control of the press. It clearly amounts to wholesale prohibition of every form of political or any other activity in the State. These two measures have completely paralysed all political aspirations and endeavour, and created terror and temerity throughout the peoples of the State.

Any and every meeting could come, and meetings arranged by the Hindus did come, within the meaning of the political meeting or meeting calculated to bring about political results; and the State authorities refused permission to all of them. Even an anniversary meeting of a library was refused permission where a Government Officer was to preside!

After eight years of consistent and continuous agitation, his Exalted Highness was pleased to modify his order in 1929. It is known as the Government Circular Gashti No. 53, dated the 21st November, 1929. It runs thus :

"Every person desirous of holding a public meeting shall in writing intimate his intention, if the meeting is to be held in Hyderabad City to the Commissioner of Police and in other cases to the Collector concerned at least ten days before the meeting. If the meeting be not *primâ facie* political, and if in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police or the Collector, there is also no likelihood of political results being brought about, such person shall be immediately informed that there is no necessity of any permission for holding the meeting. In order to find out the possible results of the meeting, the Commissioner of Police



or the Collector shall have the power to send for the programme of such meeting, copies of speeches and a list of persons convening the meeting. If there be no sufficient reason to send for the list, it will not be sent for, provided that the convener of the meeting holds himself responsible for the proceedings of the meeting being entirely non-political. If *primâ facie* the meeting is political or it is likely to bring about political results 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 has permitted the holding of any political meeting, the president of the meeting, shall be responsible for not allowing the meeting to assume political character. If the Government think it proper to demand security in any particular case, then steps will be taken accordingly."

The only difference between this circular and the previous firman is that the Nizam began to trust his Executive Officers more than what he did before. To the public both the measures were equally harmful.

By these regulations, the Nizam Government stopped all public life. Every kind of meeting was prohibited under one garb or other. Even a meeting to thank the Nizam Government for remission of land tax given to the cultivators was not allowed! Another meeting to congratulate the Nawab of Rampur for conferring fundamental rights was prohibited! Even condolence meetings were considered as public meetings, and were prohibited! Permission to hold meetings to mourn the demise of Pandit Motilal Neharu and of Mr. G. K. Deodhar, were refused!

In the Nizam Dominions, all non-religious meetings are political or likely to bring about political results. Once there was ban on religious meetings also. A proclamation was issued on 24th Amerdad 1332 (1923 A.D.) which lays down the following order:

"There shall be no religious discourse or discussion except with the previous sanction of the Ecclesiastical Department which deals with all matters of religious nature."

Nowadays these restrictions have been withdrawn and as under the law, religious discourse is not at present prohibited. But the authorities have full discretion to consider any meeting religious or otherwise as falling within the provisions of the Public Meeting Act!

While political and public activities were being stifled in the Hyderabad State, the Ecclesiastical Department of the Nizam pursued the policy of proselytizing the Islam in the State and persecuting the Hindus.

As a matter of fact, the State must not have any official religion of its own. All religions must be equal in its eyes. But in Hyderabad State, the Tublique movement or proselytization of the faith of Islam is carried on, on behalf of the Ecclesiastical Department of the State. Apparently the ruler appears to be quite impartial. There are firmans, resolutions and circulars to the effect that the State should show no special favour to any religion. But they are mostly meant to decorate the show room and to make a display with all the flourish whenever there is an occasion for it. But what actually happens is quite otherwise.

There are regulations which regulate the building of temples; permission is necessary when new temples are to be built. The same rules are applicable to the

Masjids and the Churches. But scarcely permission is granted to the buildings of temples, and scarcely it is refused in the case of Masjids. When an application is made in the case of temples, it remains pending and undisposed of for several years, and permission is in the end refused. while Masjids are built in anticipation of permissions which necessarily immediately follow. It can safely be said that the number of Masjids in the Nizam State has become multiplied more than three times during the last twenty years, while the temples are gradually falling down. Even for the repairs of the temple buildings, permission is made compulsory, but it is scarcely granted; and when the structure of the old temples decay, they fall down making place for a new Masjid! The following circular of the Ecclesiastical Department is worthy of note in this respect :

"The public are hereby informed that everywhere whether in Hyderabad City or outside it, or in the Nizam Dominions, where the population of the followers of Islam is considerable, the existing old temples and Maths should not be extended or improved, and should remain in the condition as in the past."

If any body will visit the State, or any part of it, he will find Masjids newly built everywhere, while the temples are almost everywhere in delapidated condition.

As regards the religious festivals, when Hindu and Muslim festivals come at one and the same time, Hindus are prohibited to make any public demonstration of their festivals. When Dasarah festival came along with the Muharrum the following regulations were issued :

1. All Hindus in the City and Districts should

perform their religious ceremonies inside their own houses.

2. Those who desire to go to gardens to perform the Seemollangan ceremony, may do so without the accompaniment of music.

3. Bhatkamma should not be taken out in procession and Hindus should not play music even in the small Devals within their houses.

4. Within large and special Devals which had a compound wall around, Hindus can perform their worship with ordinary music, but on no account should they come out of the Devals.

And in the case of the Muslims, Government took care to advise them not to interfere with the performance of worship by the Hindus within their temples!

Then as regards the processions. Every sort of handicap is placed on the processions carried by the Hindus. The Ecclesiastical Department of the Nizam has made the following rules for the conduct of the processions in the State :

1. Every person or persons, desirous of having a public religious performance, old or new, should intimate the Tahasildar, at least fifteen days before the date of performance and this period of fifteen days will be counted from the date of information to the Tahasildar. Along with the information, it shall be necessary to submit a brief account of the ceremony to be performed. Till the expiration of this period of 15 days, if no order is received from the Tahasildar, that until permission is granted the ceremony be stayed, then the person or persons holding the ceremony will be free to perform the same.

2. If the proposed ceremony be not new, then the



Tahasildar shall merely give intimation thereof to the local police officers and no further steps will be taken on intimation being given as per clause (1).

3. If the proposed ceremony is admittedly new or if there are sufficient reasons for the Tahasildar to consider that the ceremony is new, then irrespective of the fact that there may or may not be any possibility of disaffection among a section of the subjects, the person or persons shall be forthwith informed that permission is necessary for the ceremony and unless written permission is secured, the ceremony be not performed. This reply shall be given by the Tahasildar within one week of the intimation given as per clause (1) and a copy of it will be sent to the local police officer.

4. If the Tahasildar stays any ceremony as per clause (3) then he shall immediately proclaim, by beat or drum or otherwise, of the place where the ceremony is to be gone through, that such a ceremony is going to be performed there and if there be any body who objects to it on the score of its hurting the feelings, then he shall record his objection in the Tahasil within one week. Such a writing should contain detailed reasons of objections and that no objections will be heard after the expiration of one week.

5. Whether there be any objection recorded or not the Tahasildar may if he thinks proper, record such evidence which would enable him to decide whether the ceremony is new or not. If the fact be not admitted that the ceremony is new, and if the Tahasildar is satisfied that it is not new, then he shall have power to sanction the same provided no objection has been recorded thereto and such sanction must be granted forthwith. But if the ceremony is admittedly new,

or if the Tahasildar comes to the conclusion after recording evidence that it comes under the definition of a new ceremony, then the Tahasildar shall send all papers along with his opinion to the Collector for orders.

6. The Collector is empowered to sanction such new ceremonies, and generally it is he, who is to grant sanction to such new ceremonies where there are no objections thereto. But if objections have been raised or in spite of the fact that objections have not been raised, the Collector has sufficient ground to deem it proper, that sanction of the superior officers be obtained, then he shall submit the papers, along with his opinion to the Subhedar and the latter in his own way, shall submit the same to the Home Secretary along with his opinion.

7. When the case is put up before the Executive Council, it will be placed before the Council by the Home Secretary along with his opinion and the opinions of the Secretary to the Religious Department and in their presence.

8. Every Department concerned shall expedite the proceedings as far as possible.

9. The above rules shall not apply to the matrimonial or funeral ceremonies or processions even if they are gone through at a public place, nor will these rules apply to those ceremonies or processions and meetings which are held in private or Government buildings although the public may have free access to them.

Then there are thousand and one restrictions about the playing of music before the mosques and the tombs, with which even the people in British India are well acquainted. All these restrictions have made public life in the State, so far as the Hindus are concerned,

practically extinct. The enthusiastic and autocratic Nizam of unabated fervour for the Islam, his Ecclesiastical Department whose business has been mainly to proselytize the faith of Islam in the State, the cunning and shrewd officers recruited from Aligarh who rejuvenated their aspirations of the old Mogal days, all these factors combined to attack the Hindus of the State from within and without and to reduce them to a deplorable state in all matters, social and political.

Any Government, armed as above can stifle any agitation however reasonable it may be. The Nizam Government tried to strangle all activity of the body politic of the State. But despite all these precautions, political movement in the Hyderabad State grew and gathered strength. In the beginning it was dumb, but within a few years it became active and vocal. It took shape in the year 1921 when the Hyderabad State Reform Association was formed. It attempted to hold a public conference, but it was refused permission. The Association therefore, submitted to the Government, in 1923 a memorandum, outlaying a definite scheme for the expansion of the Legislative Council and for the introduction of responsible Government. The diarchy in British Indian Provinces had just begun to function. It created stronger and greater aspirations in the mind of the State people but they were handicapped because their ruler was averse to all reform!

This led to increased discontent throughout the State, but on account of the ban on public meetings it could not be expressed, and naturally it went underground. Year after year went on and the chaos and turmoil in the political atmosphere grew deeper and wider. In 1931 the people decided to hold another

conference under the name of the "Hyderabad State Political Conference" and resolutions with necessary critical remarks were submitted to the Nizam Government as requisitioned by them under circular No. 53 for granting permission to hold a conference. But permission was still refused. The conference was at last held at Akola in Berar. An application was made by the organizers of the Andhra Conference for permission to hold their conference when Government called upon the conveners to furnish a security of Rs. 2000/-. They however, suspended the conference under protest. Thus the political agitation went on gathering momentum, but for want of any outlet it went deeper and deeper still.



CHAPTER V

EFFORTS AT EMANCIPATION

THESE REGULATIONS of the Nizam Government apparently show that the State is absolutely despotic in its character, and cannot ever bear the slightest criticism of its administration, much less opposition to it; that it is too much backward in all respects and has little idea of modern currents of civilization which are passing throughout the world. But this is neither the whole truth nor the whole picture. So far as the Muslim Community is concerned, the State is not backward at all. It is progressing in leaps and bounds. But with respect to the Hindu Community, it is exactly otherwise. The treatment meted out to the Hindus and the Muslims by the State authorities is so differential in character, and preferential towards the Muslims, and against the Hindus and at their cost, that the whole administration has become corrupt and anti-Hindu in its outlook. Many times obvious partiality of the authorities has evoked Hindus to direct action. But the slightest breach of any of these regulations by the Hindus has been so severely dealt with and so rigorously punished that that crippled all their feelings. As regards the Muslims, however, much greater breach of even the very same regulations is simply connived at! Hindus cannot hold any public meeting in the State. If they desire to hold any, they must ask previous

permission of the proper authority to do so; but this permission is scarcely given. In the case of the Muslims, however, these regulations, though they apply to all alike on the Statute book, are never applied in practice. The Muslims scarcely need apply for any permission, and if they at all do, it is scarcely refused. Hindus cannot take out any procession new or old without permission; and the Magistrates who are generally Muslims, can conveniently stamp any procession as new or having something in it new and therefore new, and refuse permission to it. Regulations in this respect have been so wide that any irresponsible Muslim can approach the authority and take objection to any procession. Instances of this kind are not rare even in British India, where on ridiculously plausible grounds, permission has been, on many occasions refused to the playing of music before a mosque. The very same policy has been carried on in the State on an intensely higher scale, which has embittered the feelings of the Hindu Community.

Then there is one more factor which is of special significance and cannot be overlooked. It is the force of the Muslim goondas. Generally they live in Masjids or such other places which receive large donations from the Nizam's Treasury for the matter of religion and are fed and maintained. They serve the authorities as an irresponsible and irregular force whenever its services are required. At other times, they are allowed to make mischief with the Hindu Community and molest the Hindu womanfolk with impunity. It is a force which the authorities many times employ for getting things done which their dignity, authority and high station in public life do not allow them to do. This policy has won over the lowest of the Muslim ranks,

with all their ferociousness, to the side of the Government. The upper and higher middle classes from amongst the Muslims have always sided with the State Government for the emoluments which they receive. The lower middle and the depressed Muslim classes are also won over by the Government by satisfying their interests and directing vicious elements in their nature through proper channels against the Hindus.

The Hindu Community, tame and peaceful by its very nature, and ignorant, had only one alternative. It was either to resist the administration or to die. A time comes when evils of submission to atrocious tyranny of oppressor become greater than those of resistance to it, and when fear itself begets a sort of courage and a convulsive burst of popular rage warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. The tumult in the minds of the Hindu subjects of the State was growing intensely every day and at last they decided to struggle to the finish.

There were two prominent institutions in the State who worked for the uplift of the Hindus. One was the Arya Samaj and the other was the Hyderabad Hindu Subjects League or the Hindu Civil Liberties Union.

Arya Samaj has been doing wonderful social service to the cause of Hinduism. The Aryasamajist preachers working with the Lutheran fervour and the Jesuit zeal have carried the torch of Vaidic religion not only everywhere in India, but far beyond the seas. In the Hyderabad State it is working for about twenty years or more. The unshakable faith of its followers in the Vedas, their resourceful preaching of their dogmas, their stubborn resistance to the opposing forces, their

dutiful idealism of social service, have not only endeared them to the other Hindu sects, but have created a very high place in their estimation. The Arya Samaj has not only raised the Hindus of the State, but have given them backbone to struggle. In the beginning, for some time, the Sanatani Hindus had looked at them with suspicion, especially at their abuse of idol-worship and non-recognition of caste-grade by birth. Even the Nizam Government at first sympathised with them. Perhaps they thought that Arya Samaj might become a better and more effective handle to play against the Sanatani Hindus. But they soon come to see that Arya Samaj was made of a different stuff altogether. When time came, it stood by the side of the Hindus like the historical Rajputs or the Marathas to fight against the attacks of the Muslim Community. The gallantry and valour which Aryasamajists exhibited on various occasions was of exceptional merit. They created a place of respect for them in the mind of all classes and a terror in the mind of the goondas. They fought on all fronts. When they started the Shuddhi movement with greater intensity, the Muslim fanatics grew wild and the Nizam Government began to look down upon the Arya Samaj with displeasure. By starting the Shuddhi movement, the Arya Samaj had struck at the very root of the Tablique movement. It was an offence given to the policy and aim of the Nizam himself. This led to a struggle between the Arya Samaj on the one hand and the Nizam Government on the other, which ended after the fierce struggle in full victory to the Arya Samaj.

The Nizam Government tried its best to put down the Arya Samaj movement in the State. They first took measures against the Arya Samaj preachers from



outside the State, who used to visit their branches in the State from time to time. These preachers preached the principles of Arya Samaj from their open pulpits and carried the public audience with them. Many a learned pandit from amongst the Aryasamajists created such a profound impression on the masses, and even on the Muslim Community that the Muslim preachers felt perplexed, and the Government authorities became confounded. Some Aryasamajist preachers, who were quite well-versed in Arabic and Persian and understood the Islam far more than many of its followers and even preachers, outwitted their opponents who had nothing but abuse to return. This progress of the Arya Samaj, the Nizam Government would not allow. They decided to stop the Aryan preaching in the State. They expelled the preachers who had gone there from British India and barred their entry again. They prosecuted the Arya preachers and the local leaders under one pretext or other and sent them to jail. The Government charged the Aryasamajist preachers of abusing the Nizam, the Muslim Community, and the Islam. On the other hand, the Aryasamajists challenged such statements being ever made by them. Their chief grievance was that the unscrupulous police of the Nizam Government fabricated unfounded lies against the Aryasamajists, sheer out of bigotry; and that the Nizam Government overlooked them. They even declared that if they could get access to the police reports, they would themselves quote numerous quotations to prove their charges. The duty of the Government was to understand the nature of the charges which the Aryasamajists made against the police and investigate the matter by impartial agencies. But the Nizam Government would not do this. Instead, they produced the very same charges in their

defence against the Aryasamajists. The truth is that the State Government did not want to see whether their police reports were true or even substantially correct. On some occasions, especially when Mr. Hollins, Director General of Police, undertook the inquiry of Kalyani disturbance, he had to admit that in many cases the police reports were absolutely baseless. But Arya Samaj was an undesirable institution and the Nizam Government wanted to crush it. They, therefore, by all means, fair and fowl, jailed its leaders, persecuted its followers, banned its activities and terrorised and warned the public not to associate with these dangerous men! But the result of this attitude was that the number of Aryasamajists grew up in leaps and bounds everywhere. Arya Samaj was fighting for the very life of civil liberties. The people gathered under its banner even without understanding what the principles of the Samaj had been. Many Sanatani Hindus began to flock under the banner of Arya Samaj, because it was a living organization and was the saviour of Hinduism. Arya Samaj became a by-word for fearlessness, for patriotism, for sacrifice, for valour. The Muslim goondas committed several atrocities on the Aryasamajists and tried to terrify them. But every ruthless act of the Government or of the Muslim goondas only strengthened the hands of the Arya Samaj. The leaders of the Arya Samaj made several representations to the Government authorities and requested them to redress their grievances but the Government would not listen to any thing. All processes of negotiations failed; and no other alternative was left but resort to direct action. At long last, the Arya Samaj leaders decided to hold a special session of the All India Arya

Samaj at Sholapur in December 1938 to take a final decision in this respect.

The other institution which took prominent part in the cause of the Hyderabad Hindus was the Hyderabad Hindu Subjects League. Its activities were mainly political. The League also made representations to the Government in respect of several grievances of the people from time to time. But the authorities would pay heed to nothing. The prominent amongst the leaguers were Maharashtrians; they decided to hold a Maharashtra Conference at Partud in 1937. It was just this time when the popular ministries had begun to function in British Indian Provinces. Sir Akbar Hyderi was newly appointed the Prime Minister of the State Government. Under these changed circumstances, and after long and continued correspondence and deliberation, the Government allowed the session of the Conference under numerous restrictions. The Partud Conference passed a few resolutions requesting Government to redress their grievances, and some of constitutional nature. This Conference laid the foundation of organized activities in the State. In 1938, the organizers of the Maharashtra Conference decided to hold the second session of the Conference at Latur sometime in May. According to the normal procedure, the Managing Committee applied for permission some four months previous to the dates of the session though the law required only a minimum of fourteen days. But though the application was made so much in advance to avoid any unnecessary delay, the permission was not forthcoming. The Managing Committee then followed a different procedure. They definitely fixed the dates of the Conference and informed the public that in case the permission was

not granted the Conference would be informal and private. The authorities got the scent of this decision and granted permission under conditions of censorship of the presidential address and the text of the resolutions.

The second session of the Maharashtra Conference began on the 2nd of June 1938 under the presidentship of Mr. Shrinivasrao Sharma, Bar-at-law, a prominent social worker and a senior member of the High Court Bar at Hyderabad. It was a tremendous success. Practically every leader small and great who could attend the Conference, had gathered at Latur. The Arya Samaj delegation was present. The whole atmosphere was enthused with heroism. The President criticised in his address the policy of the Nizam Government and exhorted the people to struggle hard and non-violently for justice and civil liberties. He requested the Government to introduce measures of Constitutional progress immediately. After the first day's sitting was over, the Subjects Committee met and formally accepted some draft resolutions for adoption in the open session. These resolutions contained one resolution demanding the rights of civil liberties and another demanding an investigation by a Committee of unofficial majority of the root causes of communal disturbances in the State. Both these resolutions were disallowed by the Taluqdar. This refusal was presented to the President when the session was sitting the next day. It created a stir in the gathering and there was a clamour like a flash of lightning. It was decided to stop the open session then and there and allow the Subjects Committee to consider the refusal of the Taluqdar. The open session was transformed into the Subjects Committee by clearing out all the non-members, and serious discussion continued for full four hours. The Committee



decided to stop and end the session abruptly than to yield to the unreasonable refusal of the Government authorities. The Conference broke up, but it had the tremendous effect on the gathering. Every member went back with a message and a decision of the struggle ahead.

From that day it became more and more evident that sooner or later the struggle was inevitable. The Managing Committee of the Maharashtra Conference decided to carry on propaganda, enlist membership on a large scale, organize the movement and then hold the next session of the Conference at Aurangabad.

While these activities were going on in the State, complaints were pouring in, in the office of the Hindu Maha Sabha about the atrocities committed by the officials of the Nizam Government and the Muslim goondas on the Hindu Community. The Hindu Maha Sabha decided to send a delegation to wait upon the Nizam's Government, to relate the grievances of the Hyderabad Hindus; but the Nizam's Government was not prepared even to receive any deputation consisting of any outsiders. They challenged the right of the people from British India to speak on behalf of the Hyderabad Subjects. At long last, Bhai Paramanand could see Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Prime Minister of the Hyderabad State, in his personal capacity and discuss matters relating to the grievances of the people. But Sir Akbar categorically replied that the charges made against the Government were baseless and therefore he was not ready to entertain any proposal. To the Hindu Maha Sabha, it was a perplexing situation. Year after year it went on passing resolutions condemning the policy of the Hyderabad Government but without any sanction behind them.

The Nizam Government, however, could not remain blind to what was happening in the State and outside. They could realise that directly and indirectly the Hindus of the State were gathering strength and that the State would be required to face them. They could also see that it was impossible for them to keep the State subjects away from the effect of advancement of the democratic institutions in the neighbouring provinces. The question of the All India Federation was looming large and the Nizam may wish it or not, it was impossible for him to remain outside it. The entry of the State into the All India Federation was bound to bring the State administration within the orbit of criticism of all people inside the State as well as outside it. The Nizam therefore decided to appoint a committee "to investigate, keeping in view the conditions in and the requirements and circumstances of the State, 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." This Committee consisted of three Muslim and one Hindu member. Dewan Bahadur Aravamudu Aiyangar was its Chairman. The Committee had 80 sittings and according to its report, it spent  $235\frac{1}{4}$  hours in discussions of various matters coming within its perview. The Committee submitted its report, which would have remained a dead letter for years as some of its predecessors did. But the movement of civil resistance which was soon started hastened the declaration about Reforms.

Public agitation grew wild since the large scale riots at Hyderabad in January 1938. People began to charge the Government officers publicly for having participated in fomenting the riot and helping the

Muslim goondas both directly and indirectly. The Nizam Government tried to hush up the whole matter; but the people suspected it to be only a part of a gigantic and planned action which was to follow at several other places. They became panicky, and tried to seek resort in British India. Many refugees from Hyderabad saw Sjt. Savarkar, the President of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha and asked his help and advice. He assured them that he would do all that was in his power but encouraged them to depend more upon self-help and bold action.

The Hindu Maha Sabha, since then, began to look into this problem very seriously. The Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha decided to send an inquiry committee consisting of Messrs. S. R. Date, V. S. Modak, and G. R. Kale, to investigate into the grievances of the Hindus of the State and make a report. The Committee visited a dozen places in the State and discussed problems of vital importance with the influential men of all shades of opinion. They met pleaders, teachers, organizers of several institutions, bankers, merchants, traders, zamindars, and many others. The information that the Committee collected was very valuable and precise. It gave an exact picture of the position of the Hindus of the State. Their report stated in clear terms what the grievances of the Hindus of the State were and what, in their opinion, the remedy to remove them was. It indicated the delapidated condition of the Hindu temples everywhere and the restrictions placed on them, and the profuse growth of the Masjids. It narrated an account of the atrocities committed by the Muslim goondas and the indifference of the Government officers to punish them. It gave an account of the Tablique movement and the anti-Hindu

policy of the Ecclesiastical Department. It described the pro-Muslim policy of the State and the Muslimization of the State Service. It criticised the educational policy of the State which promoted the cause of Urdu at the cost of the local languages. It dealt with the restrictions levied by the State on Press and platform, on processions and playing of music. It described the work of the Arya Samaj which was doing singular service to the cause of Hinduism and the activities carried on by other peoples on behalf of several institutions. In fact it was a document of great significance. It was widely published in newspapers and has remained unchallenged even by the Nizam Government.

It served as an eye-opener to the peoples in British India. It was expected that the struggle would soon be started. The clouds were fast gathering and darkening. The clash soon came. The Hindus of the State decided to organize under the name of a new institution called the State Congress. It was a parallel organization to the All India Congress in British India. It was similar in name because the organizers wanted to profit by its influence in British India; but it was kept separate from it. The intention of the organizers was that the Nizam Government should not be able to take any objection to it on the ground of outside interference. Their work began in right earnest. But Congress or State Congress, the Nizam Government was bent on crushing down everything; and before the State Congress breathed into life, the Government banned it and declared it an illegal body.

There was also simultaneous echo from British India. Senapati Bapat was closely watching the situation. He is an institution himself. This great man



could not bear the atrocities committed by a neighbouring State on his own people. He decided to do his best to redress their grievances. He had the good wishes of the Hindu Sanghatanists with him. He gave an ultimatum to the Nizam Government to cease tyranny and grant civil liberties. He warned them that he would otherwise start the Civil Disobedience Movement.

## CHAPTER VI

### MOVEMENT BEGINS

SENAPATI BAPAT lost no time after he gave the ultimatum to the Nizam Government. He decided to start the campaign of Civil Disobedience because he knew quite well that the State Government would not do any thing unless it was forced to do something. He decided to start for Hyderabad on 23rd September 1938. His decision was appreciated by Sjt. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, who issued the following statement in support of his decision. Sjt. Savarkar wrote :

"Every patriot cannot but acclaim the lead that Senapati Bapat has given in starting the Civil Disobedience Movement with regard to the fanatical and oppressive orders of the Nizam. Soldiers of civil liberty all over India and especially in Maharashtra, it is for you now to follow up his heroic lead irrespective of party considerations and continue the Civil Disobedience Movement without letting it lag even for a moment. I request the Nizam Government once more to see the wisdom of giving up religious persecution and the intolerable communal oppression to which the Hindus in the State have been subjected for years in the past, and to restore the fundamental rights of citizenship to all alike irrespective of caste or creed. I hope even against hope that this request is granted forthwith

and the Nizam receives Senapati as a friend instead of as a foe."

Senapati Bapat also issued a statement to clarify his intention in starting the movement. Before he left Poona for Hyderabad he issued the following statement to the press on the 23rd September 1938.

"Today, I am on my way to Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam whose Government is just now engaged in wantonly overriding the civic birth-rights of its subjects. Several other prominent States are acting similarly in a greater or less degree. Now India is made up of the British State plus the feudatory ones which tender allegiance to it. This India cannot be owned by the British State, nor can it be claimed by its feudatory States as their private property. It is the supreme duty of us, Indians, to force these States to admit both as a matter of principle as well as of practical politics, the fact that it is not they but the Indians, namely, the Hindus, the Musalmans, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews and others, who bow down to India as their birthland, are her real masters. For the British to consider the State subjects as foreigners and for the States' Governments to look upon the Khalsa people as foreigners is nothing but a game of legal claptrap, based on pure and simple self-interest. We Indians can never be foreigners unto ourselves and to one another. We all of us belong to one undivided Motherland. There must be an absolute and homogeneous uniformity of life and form running through our political life as a whole. It is the primary and supreme duty of us all, Indians, to be united amongst ourselves and to embark upon constitutional and civil resistance movements, insisting on truth and non-violence, in

order that our indigenous as well as foreign rulers should admit the fact of the political, economic, cultural and civic birth-rights of us all, being the same throughout the length and breadth of our country, both in theory and in practice and that they, after putting the principle in the Statute book, should translate it into action in their everyday dealing as their sacred duty.

"The Nizam's Government, having outdone all other States in oppression and repression, has first attracted my attention and inspired my activity. My efforts may not have remarkable results. But my humble efforts are intended to bring the tyranny of this State to the notice of better people, likely to produce better results by their more effective labours.

"We want to see that responsible democratic governments are established everywhere both in purely British-owned India and in India of the feudatories like the Nizam, who are protected by the British sword; that all these governments must be organized into one undivided Indian Republic, goes without saying. The nation is chiefly made up of hardworking have-nots including those who work on land and those who follow other vocations and also the proletariat, without whose labours both agriculture and industry cannot thrive. So by a "republic" we mean the Government, worked mainly by representatives of the labouring masses, who are the majority in the nation. The establishment of a republic of this type is our goal.

"We cannot afford to differentiate between Khalsa and State territory, if we want to create national organization, indispensable for doing away with the British rule. The British raj tries to perpetuate its hold over India with the co-operation of the Princes.



So there is nothing unnatural or unconstitutional in the British subjects wishing to free themselves from the British yoke (injurious both to the States and the British subjects) with the co-operation of the State subjects. The co-operation of the State Indians and the British Indians is mutually beneficial. The nationally self-conscious State subjects and the Khalsa subjects have got an identical end in view which is 'a united Indian Democratic Republic.'

"The advent of the day of Indian independence depends upon the speed with which the classes of wise people trying to arrive at a pro-national co-ordination of proletarian national and communal belief, gains in numbers. Such people alone can bring about the unity necessary for establishing Indian independence. The Native States in India can facilitate the accomplishment of our ideals if the Princes are inclined to be a little reasonable. But the wind does not blow that way.

"Not a single Prince shows the least inclination to grant responsible government. The Princes move heaven and earth to put down with a heavy hand all the reasonably inclined servants of the masses, whenever the latter try to add to the intellectual calibre of the masses with the object of making them fit for working such a constitution. They put restrictions upon the popular activity, they disallow liberty of speech, meetings, organizations, reading associations, etc. and thus take care to perpetuate ignorance, stupidity, fanaticism and cowardice of the masses. This process is in operation in a greater or less degree in all the States. It has assumed practically exasperating forms and dimensions in the Nizam's Dominions. What is the antidote for this disease? How will it be possible for us to

free our countrymen in the Nizam's raj from the bondage of these prohibitions? They themselves must move in this matter and we must help them. This ought to happen and ought to be done in the case of every State.

"We, citizens of Hindusthan, inhabiting the Khalsa territory outside the State, must set at naught the prohibitory orders of the Nizam and enter his dominions and must actively, yet peacefully oppose whatever restrictions there might be upon the liberty of speech and other rights in that raj.

"I think that we must also have recourse to the peaceful picketing of Government officers and such other satyagraha remedies in Delhi, the capital of the Central Government in order to bring pressure upon that agency.

"I believe that processions with such slogans as 'Restrain the Nizam's activities', 'Victory to civic birth-rights', 'The State's people must enjoy all the Khalsa peoples' civic rights' and picketing of Government offices will lead to effective results. These movements will be possible and useful in all great cities. But in Delhi, these steps will be particularly desirable and useful.

"I appeal to all the people in Maharashtra to love upon the question of civic birth-rights of the Hyderabad people as particularly their own and to do the needful. Satyagraha camps should be opened in prominent cities, satyagraha volunteers should be mobilised therein, and they should be systematically sent to the Hyderabad raj and to Delhi."

After releasing the above statement to the press, Benapati Bapat proceeded to Hyderabad the same day.

He reached there on the 24th September. But the police authorities asked him to leave Hyderabad at once. Mr. Bapat refused to do so. He was then taken in custody and removed to Lingpalli station by motor and thence to Poona via Wadi Junction by railway. He reached Poona by Madras Mail on the 26th September, when he issued another statement in which he declared his intention to organize propaganda and other work in British India for a period of one month and then again to proceed to Hyderabad for civil resistance on the 1st of November.

The movement started by Senapati Bapat was quite independent of what was happening in the State. It was started before any commotion had taken place there. It was not undertaken with any expectation of an immediate responsive movement from inside. Every citizen of the one and indivisible India has the inherent right to demand elementary rights of citizenship anywhere in British provinces or Indian States, and to fight against any restrictions placed on them in any corner of the land. But the echo from inside the State soon came. The intensity of public opinion against the policy of the Nizam Government was growing every day. It reached its height when they banned the procession to be held in memory of the great Hindu leader Wamanrao Naik. Mr. Yashwantrao Joshi and some of his friends made up their mind to resist the repressive laws. They consulted their friends, and organizers of the State Congress. They had already consulted the Hindu Sabhaites in Poona and outside. They had seen Veer Savarkar. All had promised them their full support. Now to take the procession was to break the order. It was not a wise step, in the opinion of some of the organizers of the State Congress, to



**Senapati P. M. Bapat,**  
who started the movement  
from British India.



**Sgt. Y. D. Joshi,**  
Who led the movement  
from inside the State.

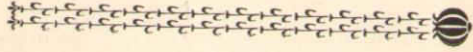




**Sgt. Bhide Guruji,**  
who hoisted the Hindu flag in front  
of the Resident's office.



**Sgt. Keskar, Advocate,**  
who hoisted the Hindu flag in the  
High Court premises.



force the situation all at once. They wanted to find out some solution without any resort to direct action. But they too were outwitted by the Government by their dilatory way of deciding any issues. There was no time to be lost. There was only one alternative open to the processionists, either to bend or break. Mr. Yashawantrao Joshi and his friends decided to make history. In order to avoid conflict with the State Congressmen, they formed a new and separate association under the name of the Nagarik Hindu Swatantrya Sangha (Hindu Civil Liberties Union) and declared that a meeting would be held and the procession would be taken out in memory of the second anniversary of their great leader on the 21st of October 1938. Thus it was on this memorable day that Mr. Yashawantrao Joshi broke the ice and gave the first blow to the tyrannical and anti-Hindu administration of the Nizam by starting the civil resistance movement on behalf of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union.

The organizers lost no time after they took the decision. A meeting was held in memory of Wamanrao Naik in the morning of 21st October in the Rama Mandir in Gauliguda of Hyderabad. Mr. Yashawantrao Joshi made a closely reasoned speech and stated in clear terms what they were going to do. He said that they had applied for permission to hold a meeting and take procession in memory of their revered leader Wamanrao Naik, but complained that the authorities refused to grant permission to the procession. It was refused even on the previous anniversary day. Permission to hold only the meeting was given, but objection was taken to the procession. At that time, he went on, people had gathered to discuss the Government reply and decide the course of action to be taken. They

had resented the refusal by the Government to allow the procession; but they were not prepared for any direct action. Instead, they decided to stop the meeting under protest.

But this decision of the elders, he continued, was far from satisfactory. Some five hundred young men went to the Bungalow of Nawab Sir Hyder and petitioned him to grant permission to the procession. But he refused it on the ground that it would create communal tension. The processionists gave guarantee that they had no communal spirit in taking the procession which was in sacred memory of their leader Wamanrao Naik, who had served Hyderabad, both Hindus and Musalmans alike, and was equally respected by all. But permission was still refused. Then another objection was taken. It was said that the procession was new and had no precedent and therefore the permission could not be given. Mr. Joshi ridiculed the argument of the authorities and said that verily, an application was necessary for a procession to honour the memory of a deceased person long before he became deceased because the Government wanted a precedent in that respect! They then went to see the Prime Minister of the State, Sir Akbar Hyderi and requested him to grant the permission to the procession. But they were told that the roads in Hyderabad were narrow and that if the procession was allowed, the roads would be blocked and there would be hindrance to public traffic. The processionists promised not to block the road in any way, and offered to go in lines of two, but nothing could persuade the authorities to grant permission. At last no procession was taken at that time.

Mr. Joshi then referred to the policy of the State

authorities and remarked that the Government was out to sterilize all Hindu activity. He referred to the procession of thousands of Muslims which was taken out on the 16th of April of that year, with open swords in their hands and to hundreds of processions taken out day after day by the Muslims. He said that the Muslims took processions and they were allowed to take them by the Government which had objections only to the Hindus taking them. He then dwelt at length on the history of permission they had asked for and the way in which the Government treated them. He said that though they had made the necessary application some ten days before, still no reply was forthcoming! The application was moving from table to table of one officer and other, and that no reply or permission was given upto the last moment when only a refusal came out. He criticised what all that meant and suggested that they must take some bold steps to cut the knot through. He said that they must take the procession and leave the Government free to do its worst. He said that the Government would use the lathis and even bullets against the civil resisters, but that they must be prepared to undergo the severest trial. He then referred to the various grievances under which they were, as Hindus, labouring and said that they should start the civil resistance movement. He laid stress on the fundamental rights of civil liberties of every human being, namely the freedom of press, of platform, of association, of education and of religious observances. He said that the Nizam Government had denied these rights only to the Hindus of the State; and emphasised that it was their duty as Hindus to secure them with all their lives. After the eventful meeting was over, the procession began. Mr. Joshi



garlanded the photo of Wamanrao Naik and amidst cheers of joy, led the procession at about 8-30 a.m. in the morning. About three thousand people accompanied him. Before it went some two hundred feet from the Rama Mandir, the police officers stopped it and ordered the processionists to disperse. Messrs. Yashawantrao Joshi, and his first batch of civil resisters refused to do so; and told the police officers that they would not retire. They were out to break the law.

The police officers then arrested Messrs. Yashawantrao Joshi, Dattatryarao Jukkulkar, Sadashiv Dusange, Narhari and Satyanarayan who formed the first batch of civil resisters on behalf of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. They were produced before a Magistrate on 26th October where they were tried and sentenced to different terms of rigorous imprisonment and fines.

Once the movement was started, it went on gathering strength. The members of the State Congress also could not remain silent. They joined the struggle and the Aryasamajists followed them. The atmosphere became so tense and portentous and the movements became so rapid that none could foresee the gigantic nature of the struggle it assumed in course of time.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE STATE CONGRESS

THE ORGANIZERS of the Working Committee of the State Congress decided to launch satyagraha on Monday the 24th October 1938. Pandit Govindrao Nanal and Mr. Ramkishan Dhoot declared themselves as President and Secretary of the Working Committee, and Messrs. Janardanrao Desai, Narayan Reddy, and Shrinivasrao Borikar declared themselves as members of the Working Committee of the State Congress which was declared an illegal organization by the Government before it had come into existence. At 11-30 a.m. on the 24th October 1938, a large gathering of more than two thousand people crowded the Sultan Bazar Road in front of the residence of Ramkishan Dhoot, while a meeting of the Working Committee was being held inside. The members of the Committee who had made up their mind to launch the movement, were congratulated by the gathering and the ladies who had gathered inside made a mark Kunkum on the forehead of the leaders and Arati was performed. Immediately they drove in a car to an open space in front of the Residency Post Office and amidst scenes of popular enthusiasm and excitement, offered satyagraha where they were subsequently arrested.

The satyagraha by the Aryasamajists which was expected to be the first in point of time was in fact

preceded by the Hindu Civil Liberties Union and the State Congress. But immediately the local Arya-samajists formed the Aryan Defence League Committee and joined the movement on the 27th October 1938, when six of its members were arrested.

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 became impossible for the Congress to issue any manifesto enunciating clearly its aims and objects in any detail. Its provisional committee, therefore desired to clarify the aims and objects of the Hyderabad State Congress in detail, so that no cause might be left for doubt about its objective and programme in any quarter, whatsoever.

The manifesto of the State Congress ran as follows:

#### REVIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

"Personal rule was the original form of Government in this State. Salarjang 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 Legislature were then formed. The former was merely an advisory body and soon became ineffective 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 changes therein, he in 1329 Fasali (which is equivalent to 1920 A. D.) 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 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 have 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 one and a half month ago, and the matter is now before the Government whose announcement is awaited.

#### DEMAND FOR MORE REFORMS

"The movement for constitutional reforms therefore is not new in this State. It has continued to exist in one form or other for the last two decades 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 other Indian States, the people are actively agitating for, and some of them are succeeding in getting responsible government. Furthermore, experience of the last eighteen 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 of what the people of Hyderabad have made during the last twenty years. The Hyderabad State Citizen's 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 the public opinion made it necessary that the Hyderabad State Congress should come into existence on strictly national, 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.

"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 organizing the intellectual, moral and 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 peoples' 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 it goes unquestioned that there was no difference of opinion whatever upon the ideal of responsible government being necessary for the State.

"This ideal which has been envisaged by the Hyderabad State Congress is not and cannot be communal inasmuch as it implies 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 of arriving at an amicable settlement of the question of minority rights, provided it is consistent with national principles and not opposed to the fundamental principles of democracy.

#### SCHEME OF 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:—

1. Fundamental rights should be conferred upon the people immediately and all rules and regulations and circulars restricting freedom of speech, association and of the press and of religious processions, etc. should be immediately cancelled.

2. Government should recognize responsible government as the object of the constitutional reforms in the State.
  3. An immediate instalment of responsible government should be granted on the lines of the proposals in the report of the Hyderabad Peoples' convention, with proper modification to make responsible government effective and real.
  4. Although the Hyderabad State Congress considers the principles of reservations 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 ten years in all, that a certain percentage to the minorities say 15% for the Muslims and 33% for the Harijans shall be reserved in the Legislature.
  5. With regard to the 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 Service Commission consisting of officials and non-officials with a view to remove nepotism and for establishing an equitable and just selection of the Services.
  6. 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 to its clarion call by the youth of the country is indicative of the political consciousness that is vast 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.

#### RECOGNIZE THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

"It will thus be clear to any unbiased mind that the above ideal of the Hyderabad State Congress has 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 instead strike a deathblow to communalism prevalent in the State. To dub such an organization as communal is not only unjust but is a disservice to the State itself.

"The State is passing through critical times and great changes are eagerly expected. People have become restive and clamouring for recognition of their rights to share in the administration of the State. The various repressive measures adopted by the government within the last few months instead of dampening their enthusiasm has strengthened the popular agitation. The Committee therefore thinks that it is not wise on the part of the Government to repress people who are peaceful and know what they are doing. Repression only hardens people and increases discontent.

"In spite of charged 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 be misinterpreted. The provisional committee there-



fore appeals to the people to strengthen the hands of the Congress by supporting the organism. They should however remember that truth and non-violence are the sheer anchor of the State Congress and they should act in accordance with this ideal. The State Congress definitely disbelieves in untruth and violence and discountenances communalism.

"To the Government also the provisional committee makes a fervent appeal in the interest of the State and the people 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 is the only organization that opens these sluices and it would not be in the interest of the State to ignore this stubborn fact."

As soon as the organizers decided to launch the movement of civil disobedience, a proposal for a compromise came up. It is difficult to say upon whose initiative it was. But outwardly at least, the negotiations were carried on between Bahadur Yar Jung, the famous fanatic Muslim in the State on behalf of the Muslim community, and Mr. Narsingh Rao on behalf of the State Congress. The following proposals were offered by Hindu leaders of the State Congress, which deserve consideration and comparison with the final declaration made by the Nizam to end the struggle. They were :—

1. That responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam is the goal of the people of Hyderabad State which should be achieved within ten years. The reforms to be introduced immediately should be

on the lines proposed in the peoples' convention report dated 25th January or on the lines of the Government of India Act of 1919, known as the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms. (*Note*: This is the condition precedent and in case it is not accepted by the other side, further talks would be unnecessary.)

2. Declaration by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government regarding the fundamental rights of the people, namely, freedom of speech, press and association. All the circulars issued from time to time imposing limitations on the fundamental rights of the people should be cancelled immediately.

3. The culture, the language and the religion of the minority communities in the State should be well protected and sufficient safeguards for their protection be provided. No act to be adopted which would affect them adversely.

4. The total strength of the Muslim members in the Legislative Council including the elected, nominated and the official members should not exceed  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent of the whole House. No separate electorates should be provided for. All elections should be made by the joint electorate.

5. Excluding the offices held by the other minority communities, the percentage of Mahomedans in the Government service, gazetted or non-gazetted, should not exceed 50 per cent of the total number in all grades including the Executive Council. (*Note*: The hereditary services such as those of Patels and Patwaris should not be included in the term of Government service for the purpose of this issue.) Recruitment of Hindus only should be made in the Government Service high or low until their percentage is reached.

6. (a) Medium of instruction in the Primary and Secondary High Schools will be the provincial language. If the strength of the boys speaking a language is found to be 10 per cent or more, parallel classes should be provided for the instruction through that language also. The medium of instruction in the Colleges should be either Hindustani or English. It is preferable to give instruction in the scientific subjects through the medium of English.

(b) The language of the District Offices and the District Courts and offices and courts subordinate to them should be in the provincial language. The language of the Sadar Adalat, the High Court and the Judicial Committee and the Subha Offices and the Central Offices should be Hindustani.

The District Judge and the Taluqdar may have the option of writing their judgments in Hindustani.

7. The management of the Hindu temples and the Hindu endowments should be entrusted to a Board consisting of Hindu officials and non-officials.

Similarly a Board of Mahomedan officials and non-officials should manage the Islamic endowments, mosques and other relevant matters.

8. The terms of the compromise should be accepted or rejected as one whole and the Hindus would not be bound by any of the terms taken separately.

On account of the growing strength of the civil disobedience movement, however, the compromise proposals became side-tracked and eventually dropped out of consideration.

Once the movement was started, it grew rapidly. Batches after batches of young and enthusiastic Hindus

came forward and offered civil resistance to the law and courted arrests all over the State. They broke the law by holding meetings or taking out processions or by reading banned newspapers. The police officers grew excited and in many places, the civil resisters were subjected to severe hardships and were even charged with lathis. Such resistance to law was quite new and unseen before in the State. Everyday that dawned brought news of arrests of leading citizens, of police persecutions and harassments, of lathi charges on the resisters and the like. The whole community was shaken to its very root. The leaders of the State Congress had decided to start the movement upon their own initiative and responsibility, and spontaneously. They had not consulted their plenipotentiaries at Wardha. But after the first rush was over and some four hundred volunteers were locked up behind the bars, the most influential State Congressites ran to Wardha for help. But there they found everything against them, and were entirely disappointed. They never expected that they would receive a cold and a curt reply. They had no idea that they would be treated with such disgracefulness. They never thought that the High Command of the Congress was so pro-Muslim that it did not dare to raise its little finger against the Nizam because it was a Muslim State! The State Congressmen had taken that name for its association with the Congress in order to profit by the Congress influence in British India and to pursue the shortest and perhaps the easiest approach to the solution of their problem. They had entirely depended for every kind of help upon the All India Congress. But where they had asked for bread, they got a stone instead! After the incarceration of about four hundred men, they were quite justified in



asking for help from those whom they considered their trusted advisers in British India. But the advice of the Congress High Command was abortive. Instead the High Command admonished the State Congressmen for their odacity in starting the movement at all, and displeasing His Exalted Highness; and then they advised them to sue immediately for peace and forgiveness. The pitiable condition of the State Congressmen went from bad to worse. Even after a heroic fight and great sacrifice, they had nothing but a disgraceful future before them. All their resources had exhausted. They had wedded themselves to the All India Congress; and its High Command insisted on their unconditional surrender and entreaty. At last they yielded and in spite of the intensive campaign carried on by the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj, Mr. Kashinathrao Vaidya, the last satyagrahi of the State Congresswalas offered civil resistance after declaring that they had suspended the movement once for all. He issued the following Statement which is significant and requires no comment. He wrote :—

“The Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress, after a great deliberation, has decided upon a temporary suspension of satyagraha which was recently launched and which has already resulted in imprisonment of more than four hundred satyagrahis. Sentences range from one month to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years.

“The public would like to know the reasons that have prompted this decision. The State Congress has come in for a great deal of misrepresentation. It has been called a communal body. Its activities have been confused with those of Aryan Defence League and the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. Unfortunately

the movements of Aryan Defence League and the Hindu Union synchronised with the civil disobedience movement of the State Congress.

“The decisive cause for suspension was advice given by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and other Congress Leaders that in order to make our position absolutely clear, it was essential that we should suspend civil disobedience. They say that suspension would give the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, an opportunity to review the situation. We could not disregard the advice of the leaders whose sympathy and support was a valuable asset in the conduct of the struggle for Swaraj within the State.

“We suspend the C. D. Movement in the hope that it will not need be revived. But whether it will have to be revived and if so when, will depend wholly upon State authorities. It is not without a wrench that we are suspending the struggle when more than four hundred of our comrades are undergoing imprisonment varying from two months to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years. We have more than 2,500 persons on our list of volunteers. The list is daily increasing. Every fresh arrest brings in an addition to the list. We have been obliged to decline offers, as we realise that the movement, in order to remain strictly non-violent, must depend upon internal strength and support.

“But we have no desire to use our strength and suffering if we can achieve our end through negotiation and entreaty. We hope thereby that the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam will recognize the wholly peaceful and loyal motive underlying the suspension. We hope that they will release the C. D. prisoners and lift the ban on the State Congress and its activities, and pave

the way to the inauguration of a scheme of responsible government consistently with reasonable safeguards for the rights of the minorities. Here we wish to draw the attention of our people that there are two arms to non-violent Swaraj Movement, the remedial and the constructive. Civil Disobedience is remedial and therefore in its nature temporary. The other is constructive and permanent. We hope that the people will never lose sight of the permanent arm. Indeed, our fitness for civil disobedience increases in the same measure of intensity as our constructive programme. The constructive activities include hand-spinning, hand-weaving, and like productive pursuits of activities of promoting heart unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and different communities composing the subjects of H. E. H., the removal of untouchability, and total abstinence of intoxicating drinks and drugs and kindred forms. For a non-violent movement for gaining freedom must necessarily be a process of purification and social and economic reform."

The above statement, shorn of all gloss of hollow philosophy and platitude, and propaganda, is reduced to this. It means that after a heroic fight, the State Congressmen asked help from the Congress High Command who, instead of giving them any help, advised them to stop the movement under the name of suspension which in reality meant complete withdrawal; and as the State Congressmen had approached the highest and the most influential political body in British India, which gave them such a reply, they found themselves in a helpless and dire position. They had no choice but to accept the defeat, and they accepted it in the Gandhian way!

But the Nizam Government glew up and went mad

over the defeat of their opponents. They did not show the courtesy of releasing all the political prisoners after the movement was suspended. The Government wanted and was bent on complete surrender. There was no use in carrying on the struggle when it could not be carried on. At last the State Congress completely surrendered and withdrew the movement on 23rd January 1939. The Government then ordered the release of the satyagrahis. It was really a disheartening tragedy. The whole blame lay on the shoulders of the Congress High Command who simply ruined the State Congress.



## CHAPTER VIII

### PSEUDO-NATIONALISTS EXPOSED

THE TOTAL COLLAPSE of the State Congress had no effect on the activities of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union or those of the Arya Samaj. They had scented beforehand of the Congress policy in British India and could foresee the evil effects of depending upon the Congress High Command. The State Congressmen had taken a contrary view. They had inseparably wedded themselves to the Congress High Command. But the actual experience taught them a lesson, a very bitter one. The Hindu Civil Liberties Union decided to send on its behalf batches after batches every week. As the movement was forced upon them all of a sudden, they wanted to organize and gather strength. The first batch of Mr. Y. D. Joshi and his four friends was arrested on 21st October 1938. It was the first to accept the challenge of the Nizam Government and to start the movement. The punishments meted out to them were deterrent and highly intensified. Mr. Y. D. Joshi was also charged for making a speech of high treason. It was a case, first of its kind in the State. Many of the leading advocates at the bar of Hyderabad had courted imprisonment. There were few experienced barristers who dared to undertake the defence of the case against Mr. Joshi. Mr. Borgaonkar alone had come forward to do so. It was, however, thought

necessary that Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar of Poona should go to Hyderabad and conduct the case. Mr. Bhopatkar had to do everything from taking a Sanad of the Hyderabad Court. He pleaded the case in his usual fine and impressive manner. But the result was certain. Mr. Y. D. Joshi was convicted and the punishment was confirmed.

Civil resistance was going on from week to week ; and the police had to escort batches after batches of civil resisters to jail. The second batch was led by Mr. Balayya Shreeramulu Naidu on 28th October. The third went under the leadership of Babu Shyama Desai which courted arrest on the 4th November. The fifth batch was led by Mr. Hanmantrao Mukhed on the 11th November. The sixth was taken by Mr. Keshavrao Deshpande on the 18th November. Thus every week, a new batch rushed forward to disobey the order, and the vigilant police of the State arrested them and prosecutions went on. Many times the police became exasperated. It was not possible to know beforehand where the small batches of civil resisters would go and offer civil disobedience. It was being offered in any part of the locality and even outside Hyderabad. But in the beginning it was concentrated in the Hyderabad City alone. Within a few weeks it spread outside.

Senapati Bapat, after his return to Poona carried on intensive propoganda for civil resistance. He visited many places and according to his scheduled programme, left for Hyderabad on 1st November 1938 for the second time. At this time, he carried a small batch of volunteers with him. He and his batch were arrested at Vikarabad Station, and the police again sent them back, retaining Mr. Gore, one of the volunteers in

Senapati's batch, because he was a State subject. Mr. Gore was taken to Hyderabad where he was prosecuted and sentenced to jail. Mr. Bapat returned to Poona and again carried on his propaganda and decided to go to Hyderabad with a still bigger batch.

Before he had left for Hyderabad for the second time, a Hindu Resistance Mandal was formed on 11th October 1938, under the presidentship of Mr. G. V. Ketkar. Senapati Bapat did not merge himself in this Mandal though he quite well sympathised and co-operated with it. He had desired a Satyagraha Committee on non-communal basis. The State Congress was the only body in the State which had non-communal frame work, though every member of it was Hindu. The Hindu Civil Liberties Union and the Aryan Congress, though intensely national in spirit and outlook were openly communal and religious organizations in their formation. They had to be communal because their grievances were communal, injustice done to them was communal. Senapati Bapat appreciated the point and the spirit behind these communal organizations. It was only a question of name, a question of academic character. In practical working it made no difference. But to associate with the State Congress which had committed its soul to the All India Congress, meant to associate with and accept the dictations of the plenipotentiaries of the Congress High Command. They were out to sacrifice the Hindus for wooing their Muslim friends and the Muslim community at all costs, and had demanded complete cessation of all activities in Hyderabad State or outside, which were likely to incur displeasure of H. E. H. the Nizam or the Muslim community. It was therefore impossible to undertake any risk of associating with the State Congress. It

was, at last, decided to start in Poona a Hindu Resistance Mandal and support the Hindu Civil Liberties Union and help the cause of civil liberties in the State.

To call any Hindu movement communal and kill it has become the propaganda of the Gandhian section of the Congress. They are unable to differentiate between what is communal and therefore antinational and what is communal and at the same time national. The Muslim League is an obviously communal and anti-national body. It does not believe in one Hindusthan. It believes in Hindu India as separated from Muslim India. It wants a separate entity for the Muslims. On the other hand, Hindu Maha Sabha a so-called communal body, is entirely national. Hindudom cannot be differentiated from nationhood. It is the Hindus who have formed the nation. They are geographically, historically, culturally, one nation. To call it a community and not a nation is to call water anything but not H<sub>2</sub>O. Hinduism is not like one of the component parts of an article which go to form its fabric, but is a complete unit as one indivisible whole. There are some minorities who are small communities residing in India and who are ready to merge themselves into one common bond of nationhood, and they are welcome. But there is one anti-national section of the Muslim community which wants to stay in India but wants to oversee all others who really form the nation. Sjt. Sawarkar very clearly exposed the pseudo-nationalism of the Muslims in Hyderabad when he replied to a statement issued by Mr. Akbarali Khan and the group of Muslim leaders who posed themselves as nationalists in order to condemn the activities of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. Sjt. Sawarkar wrote :

"These self-styled nationalist Muslim gentlemen



'fear that the civil disobedience movement started by the Hindus might lead to a breach between the two communities who have lived in harmony for centuries.' Their conception of a communal harmony seems to be borrowed from the argument of the wolf in a sheep's skin who remonstrated with his victim for disturbing the peace and public tranquility of the neighbourhood by raising an untimely hue and cry.

"Do they not know that the Hindus are not allowed to hold meetings, to take out the religious or public processions, even to repair their temples, to start schools and educate their children in their mother tongue? Is not Urdu which is an alien language to the Hindus who constitute some 85 per cent of the population of the State, thrust upon them as a State and a Court language? Do not the public services contain 80 per cent Muslims who form some 10 per cent of the population? Are not the Hindus converted to Islam by force and fraud and does not the Nizam finance such and other Muslim proselytizing agencies inside the State and even outside of it by spending millions from the State treasury which is replenished in the main by the Hindu tax payers? Are not the organized Muslim goondas let loose on the Hindu community perpetrating various crimes dishonouring, kidnapping and outraging Hindu women, desecrating Hindu temples, looting Hindu bazars in broad day light, murdering Hindu leaders and preachers without any notice being taken of it by the Nizam Police, a department again, which has 80 per cent Muslims on its roll? In the current year alone were not Vedaprakash, Dharmaprakash, Mahadeo and several other Hindu preachers and citizens murdered by organized bands of Muslim fanatics under the most outrageous circumstances? And yet, were not the

Muslim murderers as a rule, let off scot-free? Did not the Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha demand inquiry and send deputations time and again to urge removal of these grievances? And did not the Nizam Government refuse even to listen to them in the most high-handed fashion? Is this then the harmony in which the two communities have lived for centuries and the breach of which the Muslims now fear? If so, the Hindu Maha Sabha assures them that it has determined deliberately to bring about the breach of that harmony at the earliest possible opportunity by offering all legitimate resistance that lies in its power.

"The signatories (of the statement) complain that this campaign of civil resistance presumably on the part of Hindu Nagarik Swatantrya Sangh in Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) and the Hindu Nisshastra Pratikal (civil resistance) Mandal at Poona presided over by Mr. Ketkar and backed up by the Hindu-sabhaitis is highly communal in nature. We ask what else can it be? Wherever a community is singled out to be tyrannized over by another community, all efforts to defend and liberate the victims must have reference to that singled out community alone, and the struggle cannot but be communal in that aspect. Take the case of removal of untouchability. The untouchables have to undergo, as a community, certain disabilities. The efforts to remove these disabilities must have reference to that community in the main. But does that make the question of removal of untouchability communal in a reprehensible sense of unholiness or anti-national? The same is the case with the movement of the civil resistance campaign started by the Hindu Sanghatanists in Hyderabad State.

"It is a lie to say that civil liberty is denied in

the Nizam State to all communities alike. To the Hindus, all civil liberties of speech, association, worship are denied. It is the Hindus alone who are banned from having any share in the public services or any voice in the administration of the State. The Muslims enjoy all civil liberties with a vengeance, monopolize public services and offices, and control all administration in spite of the fact that not they but the Hindus contribute almost all the revenues and taxes that replenish the State Treasury. It is the Hindus alone who are threatened with extermination, as a race, religion, and culture. The Hindu Maha Sabha, therefore refused to fight under lying colours of a common Hindu-Moslem movement and means to enter the list in defence of their Hindu brethren in the State under an unalloyed Hindu flag. Whether this attitude of the Hindu Maha Sabha is called by the tyrants of the pseudo-nationalist congressites as anti-national or communal or parochial or otherwise, we care a fig for the name.

"If the Muslim gentlemen who have discovered themselves overnight to be 'National' do really care to avoid breach and usher in an era of communal amity in the State, then they should forthwith call upon the Muslims to disband their fanatical organizations like the Khaksar goondas and address the Nizam to guarantee equality of treatment to all communities alike, not in words but in practice, and introduce fully representative Government guaranteeing at least 75 per cent representation in the Legislatures and in the Public Services as well, to the Hindus who constitute 85 per cent in the population of the State. This is the only efficacious and truly national way of avoiding any breach of communal harmony and not the threat which the

statement tacitly holds out to the Hindus in case they persist in offering civil resistance."

The above statement of Sjt. Savarkar had the good effect of giving definite lead to those who had been hesitating about the course of action they should take. The activities of the Hindu Nissashtra Pratikar Mandal of Poona started in right earnest from its very beginning. The first batch of resisters under its auspices left Poona on the 7th November 1938. It was led by Mr. N. V. Godse who was the secretary of that Mandal and included eleven volunteers who represented all grades and all districts of Maharashtra. They were:— (1) Sjt. V. S. Gharpure, B.A., LL.B., pleader of Jalgaon. (2) Sjt. Krishnarao Gangurde, a Harijan, and secretary of the Harijan Boarding in Poona. (3) Sjt. B. R. Kulkarni, the younger brother of late Mr. Kulkarni, pleader of Sholapur who was murdered in broad day light by Muslim fanatics. (4) Sjt. Somnath Balashet Honrao, a lingayat gentleman. (5) Sjt. N. V. Damale, landlord of Shirgaon in Ratnagiri District. (6) Sjt. S. V. Marathe of the same place. (7) Sjt. J. G. Salunke. (8) Sjt. K. N. Devane, a lingayat gentleman of Poona. (9) Sjt. R. D. Lalit of Kolhapur. (10) Sjt. S. K. Joshi of Pandharpur. (11) Sjt. Kalvankar Shastri, B.A. of Nasik.

The party left Poona in the afternoon on the 7th November from Shivaji Mandir shouting slogans of "Hindu Dharma ki Jay and down with Nizam Zolum." It was garlanded in the meeting held before Shanwar Wada, in which Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar made a short speech exhorting the civil resisters to stand unflinchingly in their hour of trial. The party reached Poona Station at 6-30 in the evening where hundreds of prominent citizens had gathered to give them a hearty send off.



The resisters left Poona the same day by Madras Express and after visiting several places on their way reached Sholapur on the 12th. There they held a public meeting and explained why they were going to Hyderabad to oppose the tyrannical and anti-Hindu policy of the State. They left Sholapur for Hyderabad the next day where they reached on the 14th. As soon as they came out of the Hyderabad Railway Station, police inquiry and harassment began. Within a short time the whole party was taken under arrest and sent to jail. They were tried before a Magistrate on the 19th November and the case continued for some time ending in severe sentences extending to one year.

The second batch of volunteers left Poona on 21st November under the leadership of Mr. Vaidya. The party carried on propaganda from place to place and entered the State somewhere near Aurangabad where some of the volunteers were arrested. Thus the work of formation of batches and propaganda was undertaken for a wide-scale movement which was soon to follow. As the annual session of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha was drawing very close, it was considered desirable to wait for a while and place the whole question before the Maha Sabha for its examination and decision.

These activities of the peoples in British India gave a definite lead to the movement and strengthened the hands of all workers both inside and outside the State; and an intensified campaign began. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with heroism and every body wished to do what little or more it could to help and advance the movement. As the movement grew and spread, it took different shapes in different spheres. The Vande Mataram Movement was one of its off-shoots.

The Hindu students of the Osmania University used to sing their national prayer of Vande Mataram in the hall specially reserved for them for prayer. It was their practice to offer prayer for a number of years in the past. The Muslim students had nothing to do with it. But as the whole Muslim community had sided with the Nizam Government to oppose and crush the movement, as if those activities were directed against their community. The Muslim students in the Osmania University also desired to play their part in the game. They wanted to pick up some quarrel with the Hindu students of the University. They decided to poke their nose in the national prayer and raise a hue and cry against it.

Vande Mataram is a national song. It is dear to the Hindus. It ought to be dear to the Muslims and other communities as well. Its sanctity is heightened on account of the sufferings of the great Hindu nationalists who had to fight for it, suffer for it and assert it against the oppression of the British bully. It is the acknowledged national prayer of Hindusthan. But that the Hindu students sang the Vande Mataram prayer was sufficient ground for complaint and provocation to the Muslim youths. They resented the national song even when it was sung in the hall specially reserved for the Hindu students for their prayer; strange to say that even the Muslim authorities of the College backed up the Muslim students and banned the singing of Vande Mataram! This led to serious results. The Hindu students persisted in asserting their right to sing the national prayer while the College authorities demanded its discontinuance altogether and at last expelled the students who refused to obey their order. The Government issued a press-note in this respect

which very clearly shows its partial and provocative policy. The press-note read as follows :—

"In each of the three hostels of the University, separate prayer rooms are provided for Hindus and Muslims. These rooms have been so far used for their legitimate purposes, but since the inauguration of the Satyagraha movement in the State, reports had reached the authorities of the University that in the prayer rooms meant for the Hindus, the Vande Mataram song was being sung which was causing resentment amongst the Muslim students, *as it is offensive to the Muslim sentiment*. After making the necessary inquiries, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor asked the Superintendents of hostels to advise the Hindu students to desist from singing the song so that the harmonious relations between the various sections may not be adversely affected. The Superintendents did their best in the matter but their efforts were of no avail. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor was at last compelled to issue a notice on the 24th Dai (28th November 1938) ordering that the song be discontinued. The order was put up on the notice boards of all the hostels and was brought to the personal notice of the Hindu students, but instead of complying with the order three separate applications were submitted on behalf of the Hindu students of each hostel in which he was asked to cancel his orders. At the end of each application there was a note to the effect that the Vande Mataram song would be sung as usual in spite of the order. On receipt of these applications the Pro-Vice-Chancellor issued another notice to the effect that the previous orders were based on the orders of the Government and that any contravention of these orders would not only be a gross breach of discipline, but would be defiance of the orders of the Government. But even this order

had no effect as the students were probably swayed by outside influences and the Vande Mataram song was sung with even greater enthusiasm to the annoyance of non-Hindu students.

"As all attempts at conciliation had failed, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor was reluctantly compelled, in view of the recalcitrant attitude of the Hindu boarders, to expel from the hostels, one hundred and ten of them who had persisted in singing the Vande Mataram, in defiance of repeated orders, and to suspend them from attending the University classes until further orders. The students concerned have left the hostels."

None can interpret the high-handedness of the Nizam Government in dealing with the situation except as an act of sheer bigotry. It is impossible to understand why the Muslim students went at all to the prayer-hall of the Hindu students. They had no business to go there unless they wanted to pick up some quarrel with them. The Superintendent of the hostels had not complained and the Pro-Vice-Principal of the college says that he had prohibited the singing of the national prayer upon instructions from the Government in that respect. He warned the students that to disobey the order would not only amount to gross indiscipline but would amount to defiance of the Government order! What business had the Government to oppose the Hindu students from offering their national prayer? It was no act against the Government of the State. Nothing could be more insulting, more provocative, more outrageous than this act of the Government. It says that, "It is offensive to the Muslim students." We do not understand what and why the Muslims find offensive in it; nor



can they or have they ever pointed out anything. To speak of anything offensive in it is simply abuse. The only right reply to this was to continue to give offence to such an extent that the offensiveness in it should die out merely by its repetition and continuance. The Muslims must know that to consider the singing of Vande Mataram as offensive to the Muslim sentiments is in itself offensive to the Hindus. An effective reply was necessary.

The Hindu students of the Osmania University refused to obey such a foolish and violent outrage of their national prayer. They prepared to suffer all the consequences of rustication from the University and the like than bend before the authorities. About 800 students joined the Vande Mataram struggle. They had to leave Hyderabad for further prosecution of their studies. They were warmly received by the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, who gave them all facilities, admitted them to special classes and allowed them to appear for their respective examinations of the Nagpur University. It was a fitting answer to the Osmania officialdom and the Nizam Government. The ban on Vande Mataram prayer spread like wild fire everywhere in the State and the Hindu students in all schools and High Schools insisted on singing the song, in schools and outside. The opposition to the Government ban on Vande Mataram spread so wide that its singing was to be heard everywhere in the State.

It is amusing to note that the so called nationalist Congressmen in British India were not able to withstand the objections taken to this national prayer! The Muslims complained and the Congressmen yielded

They put the Vande Mataram song to the severest test and the closest examination and at last found out that it contained somewhere some germs which were likely, directly or indirectly to offend the Muslim sentiment. They therefore according to their usual policy of yielding before a bully, admitted that the Vande Mataram song should not be sung in the public if opposed by anybody; and that not more than the first two verses should be sung at all as they only were, from the Congress point of view, likely to be free from any thing offensive or repugnant to the Muslim sentiments! This is a typical instance of pseudo-nationalism which is ruining the nation!

The Vande Mataram prayer was also sung in the Nizam State jails. In Hyderabad Jail, when it came to the notice of the officers, they tried to stop it, but the resisters refused. Mr. Hollins, the Director General of Prisons, directed that if the resisters would insist on singing the song in the jails, they would be punished. But this intimidation had no effect on them. The song was sung and three civil resisters Messrs. Ramachandra Reddi, Rajaram Reddi and Motilalji were flogged 36 times each. But at the end of each flogging they replied by simply uttering Vande Mataram! And when the flogging was over and the resisters was brought down from the flogging stand, they greeted the Superintendent by saying Vande Mataram! It had a telling effect even on the authorities. It was a suffering for the sake of national honour. Nothing could prevent or terrify the civil resisters who insisted on singing their national prayer. At last the Nizam Government yielded and the civil resisters were officially allowed to sing the Vande Mataram prayer even in the jails.



## CHAPTER IX

## THE HINDU PRATIKAR MANDAL

THOUGH THE HINDU SABHA could not officially declare its war of civil resistance against the atrocities committed by the Nizam Government, until such a resolution was officially adopted, still all steps and activities were going on in that direction. The session of the Nasik and Khandesh District Hindu Sabha Conference held at Nandgaon on the 15th of October was significant in that respect. It was a very large-gathering at which Sjt. Savarkar, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Bhopatkar and many other Hindu Maha Sabha leaders were present. Mr. Yashwantrao Joshi and others from Hyderabad had attended this Conference. They gave the first hand information about the situation in the State and requested the President of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha to help them and guide their activities. After considerable discussion the following resolution was adopted by the Conference.

"This Conference (of East Maharashtra Hindu Sabhas) severally condemns the systematic attempt on the part of the Hyderabad State authorities to dominate over the Hindu society and to abolish Hindu culture. To resist the said attempts and consequential encroachments upon the rights of Hindu society and coercion of them, if the Hindu population of the Hyderabad State undertakes to counteract the inroads in their

own way which they may think proper, this Conference warns the Nizam's Government and assures the Hindu population of the Nizam State that the Hindu society in Maharashtra is ready and prepared to support them in accordance with the policy determined and directions given by the All India Hindu Maha Sabha in that behalf."

Another Conference of the Poona and Thana Districts which was held at Lonavla on the 5th of November 1938 adopted a similar resolution. The activities of the Hindu Nisshastra Pratikar Mandal and other Hindu Sanghatanists who sympathized with this cause had gone so far and deep, that it was impossible even to think of retracing the steps. Hundreds of meetings were held throughout Maharashtra and vigorous propaganda was carried on. Eventually Sjt. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha and other members of that august body made up their mind to commit themselves to the movement and to help the Hindu struggle in the State by resorting to civil resistance. Sjt. Savarkar came down to Poona and discussed the whole problem with his friends in the Hindu Sabha and other organizations. He also consulted Senapati Bapat and Mr. Vinayakrao Bhuskute, a socialist worker and many others; and after long and careful deliberations he came to the conclusion that it was necessary to help and lead the activities of the Hindu Swatantrya Sangha in the Hyderabad State. He then issued a statement to the press on the 25th November 1938, in which he summarised the causes and stressed the necessity to launch the struggle. Sjt. Savarkar stated:—

"The most fanatical and outrageous treatment to which the Hindus have been for years subjected in



the Nizam State with a definite policy of exterminating them as a religious, cultural and political entity, and turning it entirely into a Muslim one is so well known as to render any more proof as ridiculous an excess as to try to show by candle what is obvious in broad daylight. We shall therefore pass on to retrace how with a view to end this persecution of the Hindus, the Hindu sanghatanists had first exhausted all constitutional avenues and failing in that objective how they have at last been forced to resort to civil disobedience movement.

1. The credit of drawing pointed attention to this ill-treatment of the Hindus before any one else did it and coming forward to oppose it with tooth and nail, must go to the Aryasamajist section of the Hindus in the State. Hundreds of them have gone to jail, had been harassed by the Muslim goondas and the Muslim police as well. In this year alone, a dozen of them have been murdered in cold blood by the Moslem mobs while the Moslem culprits as a rule escaped scot-free.

2. The Hindu Maha Sabha also took up the question in hand and deputed its reporters to study the situation on the spot some five years ago. They published a detailed report of the persecution to which the Hindus as Hindus were subjected to. Copies of the reports were made public and submitted to the Nizam and to the Central and British Government, but no notice was taken of it. Year after year, the Hindu Maha Sabha sessions went on passing resolutions condemning the fanatical persecution and calling upon the Nizam to put a stop to it. Last year at the Karnawati (Ahmedabad) Session, the Hindu

Maha Sabha decided to send a deputation including in its personal members like Messrs. Moonje, Bhai Paramanand and others. But no permission was granted to that or any other representations. Nevertheless Bhai Paramanand sought a personal interview with Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Prime Minister who as such was mainly responsible for this anti-Hindu policy. He was so far from promising any redress that he actually denied the very existence of any grievances worth the name. The Aryasamajists, the Sanatanists, the Jains and all other Hindu sanghatanist bodies kept on making representations to the Nizam warning him of serious consequences but a deaf ear was turned to them all. Attempts to move the Imperial Government on the part of the Hindu Maha Sabha were also made but they too were met with no better results.

3. In the meanwhile every dawning day brought news of Muslim riots, assaults, looting of Hindu bazars, murders of Hindu leaders, dishonouring, kidnapping, harassing of Hindu women, forced conversion of hundreds of Hindus to Islam. The whole atmosphere was rent with shrieks of those tyrannized Hindus in the Moslem State. At last the Hindu sanghatanists could bear it no longer and the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Aryasamajists, the Sanatanists, in fact, all sections of the Hindu sanghatanists decided upon offering civil resistance and hasten into the State to succour their persecuted and helpless co-religionists and countrymen. Some of the Aryasamajists in the State had already defied the tyranny and bravely faced the consequences of resisting anti-Hindu firmans. In Maharashtra alone, not less than one thousand meetings were held to denounce the Nizam under the auspices of the Hindu Sabhas in almost all towns. The Hindu Maha Sabha sent



its reporters once more a couple of months back in the State and noticed the collected substantial news, which revealed that the state of things was even worse than what was known to the outside. This latest report was also given wide publicity by the Hindu Maha Sabha in press and from platform throughout the country. A Poona Hindu Civil Resistance Mandal was formed under the Presidentship of Sjt. G. V. Ketkar, editor, "Mahratta", and conferences after conferences of the Hindu sanghatanists backed up the civil resistance movement, appealed for funds and began to enlist volunteers to fight out the cause of the Hindus in the Nizam State.

4. It should be noted that throughout these years and in spite of the fact, that the story of this unbearable, barbarous, and fanatical persecution of the Hindus in the Nizam State had been perturbing and agitating the public mind all over India, the Indian National Congress did not so much as raise its little finger in protesting against this Moslem tyranny. Kind souls! They had to shed so many tears in sympathy with the harassed Arabs in Palestine, the Abyssinians, the Czechs, and almost every body in the world, but the Hindus that they could hardly spare a single tear to shed over the blood-shed and persecution of thousands of Hindus in Hyderabad or Bhopal State, even in the name of the so-called "National" civil liberty! Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, confessed only the other day that he was extremely distressed over the persecutions of the subjects in Mysore, Travancore, Rajkot and other Hindu States. But a true nationalist that he was, he did not touch even with a pair of tongs the incomparably more outrageous and Aurangzebian persecution to which the Hindus were

subjected in the Nizam or Bhopal State. The reason for that is not far to seek. The Nizam and the Bhopal States are Muslim States. The tyrants are Moslems while the tyrannised are only the Hindus. How can then an Indian Nationalist of the Congress brand take the side of the Hindus when it is a Moslem who oppressed them! It would be "Communal" an act of high treason against "Congress Nationalism"! So Subhashbabu kept himself pre-occupied with relieving the wounded in China! The Nationalist poet Ravindra-babu could not spare a couplet in condemnation of the Nizam as all legions of his sonnets had to be despatched to enable the Czechs in warding off the mighty hoards of Herr Hitler; while Gandhiji could only assure the Hindus that Bhopal was "a veritable Ram-Rajya!" It is one of those Gandhist lies which are doubly disgraceful and dangerous as they go forth swearing by truth, truth absolute and nothing but the truth.

5. But in spite of the guilty silence of the Indian Congress, the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Aryasamajists brought the agitation they unceasingly carried on for years in the past, to a pitch and the campaign of the civil disobedience was launched from inside and outside the State. Senapati Bapat, the veteran Maratha patriot, with Mr. Bhuskute and some other socialists in Poona who were not stupid enough to fail to see that it was but a human duty and essentially a national one to help the victims even when they were Hindus against fanatical aggression even when it was a Moslem one, joined the struggle colaterally as defendants of human civil liberty. Mr. Bapat with his comrades entered the State in spite of the ban and defied the Nizam. Some of them are already under arrest. "The Hindu Swatantrya Sangh" in Hyderabad has



been sending forth batches after batches offering civil resistance, taking out processions holding meetings in spite of the firmans to the contrary and thousands of people are already facing lathi charges, Police assaults, and arrests for sympathizing with and rallying round the Hindu movement. The State Congress, a body which is in no way connected with the Indian Congress and should not be confounded with it is carrying on the struggle on a third flank under its "non-communal flag." But this mere change of name could not avail much and the Nizam Government has banned and branded the State Congress too as communal. In Poona, the Hindu Civil Resistance Mandal started by Hindu sanghatanists in Maharashtra and presided over by Mr. Ketkar has also taken field and batches under its Hindu flag have already gone forth to the Nizam State to defy its humiliating firmans. Thus the struggle is thickening on all sides and after the All India Arya Samaj rally at Sholapur and the Annual Hindu Maha Sabha Session at Nagpur both to be held during the next Christmas week, the struggle is almost certain to spread all over the country and the Hindu sanghatanists throughout India presenting a pan-Hindu front, and under a pan-Hindu banner, will march on to liberate their co-religionists and countrymen held under bondage in the Nizam State.

"Unless, indeed, in the meanwhile, the Nizam grows wiser and relinquishes his mad pan-Islamic ambitions to root out the Hindus, may he learn a lesson in time from the miserable fate which not only his own ancestors, but even the mighty Aurangzeb met in his campaign to Moslemise all Hindusthan, when the avenging Hindu forces of the Marathas engulfed him and his Muslim Empire in one common grave.

"We still hope, even in spite of hope that the Nizam



**Baba Madansing Gaga,**  
Hero of the Andamans and  
leader of the Sikhs.



**Sjt. Chandakiran Sarda,** Vice President  
of the Hindu Mahasabha and  
leader of the Aryasamaj.





Sjt. A. H. Gadre,  
leader of the Bombay group.



Sjt. K. G. Gangurde, Harijan leader  
and a Civil resister in the first batch.



guarantees, not in words but in practice equal and full civil liberties to the Hindus along with other communities in his State and a representative Government based on population proportion as soon as possible. This is the only way to bring about lasting peace and amity which the Hindus have ever been anxious to welcome."

As always to be expected, these appeals and exhortations had no effect on the Nizam Government. Activities of the Hindu Pratikar Mandal in Maharashtra were carried on in full collaboration with those of the Hindu Swatantrya Sangh in the Hyderabad State. As the annual session of the Hindu Maha Sabha was to be held in December 1938 at Nagpur, it was necessary to take stock of the situation, and examine the issues and the course of events, and await the final decision of that body.

Mr. G. V. Ketkar, who was the president of this Mandal submitted the report of the Mandal's activities to the president and members of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha. The following is a review of its activities from its very beginning on 11-10-38 up to 27-12-38:—

On 11th October 1938 a huge mass meeting was held at Poona on Shanwarwada Ground. Senapati Bapat and Swatantryaveer Savarkar addressed the meeting on the movement of satyagraha in the Nizam's State.

Sjt. Savarkar announced in that meeting that a Committee of Action has been formed for launching a campaign of civil resistance to the religious and communal tyranny in Hyderabad State. The committee was formed in consultation of several Hindu Maha



Sabha workers. Amongst those consulted were Senapati Bapat, Mr. V. M. Bhuskute (a socialist worker), Mr. Davare of the Varnashram Swarajya Sangh, Mr. R. G. Bhiday, general secretary of the Hindu Maha Sabha and others. Sjt. Savarkar announced in the Shanwarwada Meeting the names of persons and office-bearers of this committee of action, which was called "Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) Hindutvanishtha Nisshastra Pratikar Mandal." For the purpose of brevity it was called the "Hindu Pratikar Mandal." The following were the office-bearers—

- (1) G. V. Ketkar, Editor "Mahratta", President.
- (2) Nathuram Vinayak Godse, Secretary.
- (3) Members:—Messrs. S. R. Date, V. B. Davare, Chitrav Shastri, Masurkar Maharaj, G. M. Nalavade, and S. L. Karandikar, Editor "Trikal."

The Committee was given power to co-opt other members. This Committee of Action or Hindu Pratikar Mandal was authorised to organize branches in several districts of Maharashtra. They at once began their work. Hindu Pratikar Mandals were started at Dadar, Nasik, Barsi, Pandharpur, Sholapur, Chalisgaon, Dhulia, Akola, Nagpur and other places and commenced the work of propaganda and enlistment of volunteers. They were also authorised to collect funds for the purpose.

Mr. V. B. Davare visited Sholapur, Pandharpur, Barsi, and other places and delivered speeches before mass meetings. Mr. Nathuram Godse, the young energetic Secretary of the Committee visited Sangli, Miraj, Kolhapur and other places. Shri Masurkar Maharaj and the workers of his Ashram made extensive tours on the border line of Nizam's Dominions in Ahmednagar and Khandesh Districts. Mr. S. R. Date with the help of the workers of Barsi and Pandharpur

centres organized a tour in the villages in Barsi Taluka which bordered on the Nizam's Dominions.

The Committee viewed the struggle from the Hindu point of view. It maintained continuous consultation and connection with the internal movement organized by the Hyderabad Hindu Civil Liberties Union under the enthusing leadership of Veer Yashawant Digambar Joshi, B.A., the first dictator in their movement which was launched on 21st October 1938.

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, President of the Maharashtra Hindu Sabha guided the movement and addressed mass meetings in Poona, Sholapur and other places.

Mr. Nathuram Godse immediately organized a batch of 12 resisters, who started from Poona on the 7th November, under his leadership. They were given an enthusing send off at Shanwarwada Ground and Poona Station. This batch included Shri Kalvankar Shastri, B.A., a worker of the Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, Mr. Gharpure, B.A., LL.B., pleader of Jalgaon, Mr. Gangurde, a Harijan and Secretary of the Harijan Defence League Poona. The batch included Brahmmins as well as Mahrattas and Lingayats.

They were given a rousing reception at Dhond, Kurduwadi, Sholapur, Barsi, Pandharpur and other places on the way. They reached Hyderabad on the 14th November and were immediately arrested. They were all sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The second batch of eleven satyagrahis started from Poona on the 21st November under the leadership of Mr. Khadiwale Vaidya. This batch visited several places and did wonderful and inspiring propaganda. They visited Lonavla, Thana, Kalyan, Dadar, Girgaon, Nasik, Igatpuri, Chalisgaon, Jalgaon, Bhusaval, Amalner, Pachora,



Dhulia and on their way they organized Prabhat Pheri in every place and held rousing mass meetings in which the civil resisters were welcomed and honoured with great enthusiasm.

Some of the members of this batch entered the border villages of the Nizam's Dominions in Khandesh District, distributed pamphlets, and held meetings. Eight satyagrahis out of this batch went to Aurangabad, where they were kept in police lock-up for a day. They were released late in the evening. They went straight to Hyderabad and put up in the Gouliguda Ram Mandir. In two batches of four each they offered resistance on the 13th and 16th December, on behalf of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union. All of them were arrested and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment ranging from two months to one year. The number of civil resisters of the Hindu Pratikar Mandal, now in jail in Hyderabad, is 20.

A third batch of volunteers started from Poona on the 25th December. They are expected to reach Hyderabad on the 26th and offer resistance on the 27th.

The Hindu Pratikar Committee has collected about Rs. 3,000 and practically expended the amount for the work of propaganda and civil disobedience. Contributions to this fund are pouring in from all quarters. Contributions have been received from Africa, Bihar, Karnatak, Berar, Gujrath and other places.

Volunteer Camps or "Shibirs" have been opened at Poona, Sholapur, Chalisgaon, Barsi and other places. Shet L. R. Tairsee has promised a donation of Rs. 25/- for each batch of civil resisters. Messrs. M. N. Talapade and Jamnadas Mehta have promised Rs. 10/- and Rs. 5/- respectively for each batch. Others have promised

monthly contributions, which are to continue as long as the campaign lasts.

The Hindu Pratikar Committee declared 21st of every month as the "Hindu Sangram Day" to commemorate the beginning of the struggle led by Veer Yashawantrao Joshi. Thousands of leaflets, placards and photographs of Dharmaveer Wamanrao Naik and Veer Yashawantrao Joshi have been distributed throughout Maharashtra and in spite of vigorous censorship and searches they have reached several places in the Nizam's Dominions. The Committee organized sympathetic strikes of students at Poona, Sangli and other places to support the struggle of the Hindu students of Osmania University and its Colleges and Schools on Vande Mataram question. The "Hartal" of students in Poona was most successful.

The Hindu Pratikar Committee has through agents collected news of the misdeeds and aggression of the Muslim officers and goondas in the Nizam's State and distributed the news to the press in Maharashtra and outside.

The Committee is working in co-operation with Hindu Sabha and Arya Samaj workers. It organized meetings condemning the atrocities committed by the Nizam's Officials on the brave workers of the Arya Samaj.

The Committee has tried to rouse Andhra and Karnatak to take active part in the struggle of the Hindus against the communal oppression of the Nizam's Government.

All this work has been done in teeth of the bitterest opposition from the Congress workers in Maharashtra. The Congress journals have done their utmost to ridicule, vilify and misrepresent the Hindu Pratikar Committee and its work.



In spite of the abrupt suspension of the satyagraha by the State Congress, the Hindu Committee is not going to discontinue its movement. The Committee expects however that a committee of action on an All India Basis will be appointed at the Nagpur Session of the Hindu Maha Sabha and this Committee will immediately take up the threads of work already achieved and proceed vigorously to gather support from all quarters and launch a movement on a mass scale from all sides of the Nizam's State. As soon as this All India Council of Action is formed the Hindu Pratikar Committee will work under its directions.

POONA  
27th Dec. 1938.

**G. V. Ketkar,**  
President,  
Hindu Pratikar Mandal.

## CHAPTER X

### ARYA SAMAJ AND HINDU MAHA SABHA

THE ARYA SAMAJ though last to begin their struggle against the Nizam, was perhaps the strongest and the most organized body. The brunt of the attack of the Nizam Government was shouldered by them in co-operation with the Hindusabhais. They gave the State authorities the sternest fight. Their demands were limited. They related only to their religious preaching and propaganda. They included their activities of Shuddhi. It is conversion to the faith of the Vedas of those who had either left it or were new to it. It was a challenge to the Tablique movement. It was the greatest blow to the main objective of the Nizam himself. But the demands of the Arya Samaj were so avowedly innocent that to speak of refusing them was, on the very face of it, simply absurd. What all that they had been demanding was only fair-play. The Nizam Government had no courage to challenge their demands. They therefore followed their usual way of hiding behind some false pretexts. They charged the Arya Samaj preachers for having said something which they never said and for doing something which they never did. The Nizam Government published a pamphlet called "The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad" in which they charged the Aryasamajists with blasphemy. The authorities of the Arya Samaj challenged the state-

ments made in the government publication and published a "rejoinder" to it, in which they clearly exposed the untruth and the lies contained in those statements by citing instances after instances and furnishing the facts and figures, and silenced the Government Authorities. Though the Aryan Defence League had started the movement of civil resistance along with other institutions, still it had yet to get the sanction of the International Aryan League. It was only an indication of the feelings of the Aryasamajists in the State. It was therefore decided to hold a special session of the International Aryan Congress at Sholapur to consider this special problem in the Christmas of 1938. Lokanayak M. S. Aney was selected to preside over its deliberations. Mr. Aney is not a member of the Arya Samaj. But he is a resident of Yeotmal, a district in the Berar over which the Nizam claims his ownership. He is a member of the Central Legislative Assembly. A devout Hindu, a learned pandit, a true patriot, a seasoned politician, an honest and selfless worker in the field of Indian politics for over a quarter of a century. Mr. Aney commands respect even from his enemies. He was the best choice to preside over the Conference. It was widely advertised and Aryasamajists from all quarters attended it. The Aryasamajists and non-Aryasamajists also from the Hyderabad State had flocked to attend the Conference in thousands. The tale of their woe and suffering was long enough. Sjt. S. Chandra, secretary of the Aryan Defence Committee of the International Aryan League had issued the following statement on this subject on the eve of the Conference. It ran thus:—

"A man living outside the territories of Hyderabad State can never imagine that the days of religious bigotry

propagated and atrocities committed by Aurangzeb and other Muslim rulers of his type could be still rampant in the premier State of India. Anyhow, the Hindus in this State have been patiently undergoing all sorts of Political, Religious, Social, Educational and so many other kinds of disabilities.

"The language of some of the laws of the Nizam's Government in their Statute book makes a show of impartiality towards their Hindu and Muslim subjects alike. But as soon as one views the practical side of these laws, he is disillusioned about the impartiality of the Nizam's Government, and he sees that these laws are applicable to the Hindus alone. The laws such as relating to music near mosques and non-observance of Hindu festival when these coincide with those of the Muslims have exclusively been framed against the Hindus alone. Undoubtedly, the Nizam's Government could succeed for several decades in forcibly thrusting this anomalous treatment upon the disorganized sections of the Hindus.

#### VANGUARD OF THE HINDUS

"In the meantime, the revived message of the Vedas reached also the Hyderabad State and it stirred up the disintegrated Hindus from their slumber. The rational, scientific, and cosmopolitan teachings of the ancient Aryan culture were appealing to them and they rallied around the Aryan banner. These teachings developed, in them general awakening, a sense of self-respect and also the social, religious and in no way less the political consciousness. The Aryans became the vanguard of the Hindu society. Unfortunately, however, this has come to be branded as a guilt of the highest magnitude of the Aryans in the Nizam's State. The



Church of Arya Samaj was naturally to become an impediment in the way of the Nizam's Government who were very quickly pursuing the policy of pan-Islamism by all tactical means. How could this impediment be tolerated by such a Government? They made up their mind to crush the movement of the revival of Aryan culture with all the power at their command, sometimes by confronting directly and sometimes by manœuvring through their Muslim subjects letting them perpetrate atrocities on the Aryans.

"The long tale of woe, suffering and disabilities of the Hindus, in general, and Aryans, in particular, in Hyderabad State can only be contained in a big volume. Just by way of a hint, I may say that more than a dozen Aryans and Hindus have been murdered by the fanatic Muslims under the nose of the Police, during one single year. The Aryans are arrested as per whims of the Police and District authorities. At present more than three hundred Aryans are rotting in jails and an equal number of them are under prosecution.

"The Aryans are not allowed to perform congregational havans and prayers even inside the temples and private houses. They cannot hoist "Om flags" over their temples and houses. They cannot preach their Dharma. The entry into the State of several Aryan leaders and missionaries has been banned. The publication of the only Aryan Organ in the State has been stopped, the entry into the State of about thirty Hindu and Aryan papers has also been banned. The Aryans cannot start new Arya Samaj branches and the Hindus cannot build new temples, nor can they repair old ones. They cannot hold any sort of religious and public meetings, so much so that they cannot celebrate even the

memorable days of their religious heads and their other leaders. They cannot take out their processions. For all these things, the previous permission of the Government is essential, and when the permission is sought, it is generally not granted. Music cannot be played even inside the private houses of the Hindus, even if these be at a distance of forty paces from a mosque. The language spoken by the Hindus in the State are Telugu, Marathi, and Kanarese; but Urdu is compulsorily taught in the schools and medium instruction upto the highest standard of the Osmania University is Urdu. There is no trace of Hindi in any of the State schools. Several dozens of Historical and Religious books of Aryans and Hindus have been proscribed.

#### COMMUNAL AND BIGOTED POLICY

"On the other hand, there are absolutely no such restrictions against the Muslims. There is an Ecclesiastical Department of the Nizam's Government which is spending several lakhs of rupees annually for propagating Islam by means of the Tablique propaganda through hundreds of paid Muslim missionaries. Several lakhs of rupees from the State exchequer are annually subscribed to the various Muslim institutions in India and outside. Khaksar parties composed of fanatic Muslims alone are being organized throughout the State and are being supported and patronized by responsible officials of the State. The volunteers of this party, fully armed, parade shooting and frightening the Hindus and Aryans; but the latter are sometimes forbidden to keep even lathis with them. About a dozen Urdu dailies and weeklies which always write against the Aryans, are published from Hyderabad and are patronized by the State. The books on history

and theology taught in the Schools and University in the State have been so written as to imbibe the spirit of Islamic culture in the students and extolling the past Muslim rulers and decrying the Hindu culture and Hindu rulers. The Hindu prisoners are converted to Islam inside the jails. Though the Hindus constitute 85 per cent, Muslims 10 per cent and Christians etc. 1 per cent of the population of the State, yet the Muslims occupy 80 per cent of the State services and the Hindus and Christians etc. occupy only 15 per cent. Such is the highly communal and bigoted policy of the Nizam's Government. With all these facts, it is really throwing dust into the eyes of the world when the Nizam's Government accused the oppressed as communalists. Is the Nizam's Government not acting like a culprit accusing the victim?

#### FROM PETITION TO DIRECT ACTION

"The Arya Samaj have exhausted all constitutional methods which it had been adopting for the last six years by submitting petitions, representations and memorials and also waiting in deputations; but all that was a cry in wilderness. It was always our earnest and sincere effort that the Nizam's Government should come to a right understanding based on a sense of justice and fair-play, but they always tried to please us by mere assurances which they never kept. The matters have reached to such a high pitch that the Aryans have now lost all their faith in the present administration of the Nizam's Government as a whole.

"It is under these unfortunate circumstances that Aryans have already started satyagraha in Hyderabad State and they are holding the Session of the All India Aryan Congress at Sholapur on the 25th, 26th, and 27th

December 1938, under the presidentship of Lokanayak M. S. Aney, Member of the Central Legislative Assembly, after which an extensive and intensive fight of satyagraha—which could never have been conceived of by the opponents of Arya Samaj will be fought on behalf of the Aryans all over the Nizam's State. The Nizam's Government and the enemies of Aryan culture want to test the metal of the Aryans who are prepared to accept the challenge, may they have to undergo any amount of suffering and sacrifice in coming out successful of this ordeal."

The proceedings of the Sholapur Conference were most dignified. Mr. Aney's presidential speech was marked with his usual brave and dispassionate eloquence, based on facts and figures and closely reasoned argument. He traced the causes of the tyranny to which the State subjects were subjected, to the anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam Government, and emphasized the need of active help and guidance from their British Indian friends. He summarized and supported the demands of the Arya Samaj which were absolutely just and reasonable, and were embodied in a special resolution of the Conference. Sjt. Savarkar, the president of the Hindu Maha Sabha had also attended the Conference. He exhorted the Hindus and the Aryans alike of the State and outside, to accept the challenge which the Nizam had given. Several speakers, including a large number of prominent Aryasamajists in the State, made thrilling speeches describing their grievances. The following resolutions pertaining to the ensuing struggle were adopted by the open session of the Conference. They were:—

The Aryasamajists, 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 Aryasamajists 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 Havankundas, hoisting of OM flags, opening of new Arya Samajas 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 Tablique (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 and affairs concerning the Hindus 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.

#### 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 above Resolution) have failed to achieve the object and whereas the Aryasamajists 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 organize 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 :—

1. 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.

2. Full freedom for starting new Arya Samajas 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.

#### 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.

#### 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 organized communal forces.

This Congress desires to make known to the Government 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.

Immediately after the Sholapur Conference, was the Session of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha at Nagpur where Sjt. Savarkar was to preside. The Nagpur Session of the Hindu Maha Sabha had no parallel in the previous annals of the Hindu Maha Sabha. It was a gathering of more than fifty thousand Hindus who had gone there to take a decision on the most vital subject of the Hyderabad Hindus' struggle. Sjt. Savarkar's presidential address was a vehement exposition of what was happening everywhere. It was a remarkable speech, remarkable for its force, for its argument, for its clearness of thought, for its confidence in his men, for its guidance in the activities which were soon to follow. The decision to fight, to struggle, to carry on the Civil Resistance Movement was so vehemently supported by the people in the Conference that hundreds of young volunteers enlisted their names in the open session itself, as volunteers to offer civil resistance in the Nizam State



and several hundreds of rupees were actually given as donations in the open meeting itself to carry on the struggle. A great enthusiasm prevailed; and in the midst of loud cheers, the following resolution was adopted:—

(a) In view of the fact that the Hindus in the Hyderabad State are not enjoying religious liberty and other civic, cultural and political rights and that the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam has taken no steps to concede the legitimate demands of the Hindus and has thereby compelled the Hindus in and outside Hyderabad to resort to civil resistance, this Sabha records its full support to the civil resistance movement started against the Nizam's Government and calls upon all Hindus to continue it vigorously and actively until all the rights are conceded to the Hindus in accordance with their numerical strength in the State.

(b) The Maha Sabha censures the attitude of the Congress authorities in weakening the movements by advising the State Congress to suspend the movement and out of fear of Muslim opposition and thus once again betraying the fundamental rights of the Hindus.

(c) That a Committee should be appointed by the Working Committee to consider the ways and means of this active civil resistance movement.

In this way the last days of the year were marked with a grim decision to carry on the struggle of civil resistance on behalf of both the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Aryan League in full co-operation with each other, till their demands were accepted by the Nizam.

## CHAPTER XI

### HINDU MAHA SABHA LEADS

IMMEDIATELY after the session of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha at Nagpur, its Working Committee took steps to implement the Hyderabad resolution. Accordingly, a Committee was appointed to consider the ways and means for the conduct and direction of a civil resistance movement in the Nizam State with a view to secure an equitable treatment, religious, civic and political to the Hindus in that State. It consisted of (1) Sir Gokulchand Narang of Lahore, (2) Bhai Paramanand, M.L.A. of Lahore, (3) Mr. Indraprakash of Delhi, (4) Mr. Chandakiran Sarda, Advocate of Ajmere, (5) Mr. Anandpriyaji of Baroda, (6) Mr. Patwari, Advocate of Ahmedabad, (7) Mr. Padmarajaji Jain of Calcutta, (8) Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar of Poona, (9) Mr. G. V. Ketkar, Editor "Mahratta" of Poona, (10) Mr. G. M. Nalavade of Poona, (11) Mr. Talapade, Advocate of Bombay, (12) Mr. L. R. Tairsee of Bombay, (13) Dr. B. S. Moonje of Nagpur, (14) Mr. Mamarao Jogalekar of Akola and (15) Masurkar Maharaj of Satara. The Hindu Pratikar Mandal which had up-till-now carried on its activities on its own initiative, merged itself into the wider sphere of activities of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

Poona was the chief centre for Maharashtra and Mr. G. V. Ketkar was appointed its dictator. Directions were issued to all the District Hindu Sabhas to organize



the movement, to carry on propaganda and to enlist volunteers to offer civil resistance in the Nizam State, either under the Arya Samaj flank or that of the Hindu Maha Sabha, as they may wish. The resolution adopted in the Nagpur session of the Hindu Maha Sabha and also the resolution adopted by the Aryan Congress of Sholapur were officially sent by the President Sjt. Savarkar to Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Prime Minister of the Hyderabad State on the 11th January 1939. In order to explain the attitude of the Hindu Maha Sabha, the President, sent the following letter along with the resolutions :

"I beg to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the Hindu Maha Sabha at Nagpur regarding the grievances of the Hindus in that State as well as enclose a copy of the demands put forward by the Aryasamajists' All India Conference at Sholapur. Both the resolutions will speak for themselves.

"I take liberty to assure you and through you, H. E. H. the Nizam, that the Hindu Maha Sabha has no ulterior motives against the Nizam or the Nizam State or against the Muslims as a community in this movement. The Maha Sabha does not aim and has no grudge against any equitable treatment being dealt with the Muslims in the State, nay, its very standpoint is that all subjects including the Muslims be equitably treated and should enjoy freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and should be represented in the Legislatures and the Public Services according to the strength of their population or if that suits the Nizam Government, even on merit alone without any distinction of caste or creed. Nothing could be more just or national and non-communal than this attitude taken up by the Maha Sabha.

"Fervently, therefore, I appeal to you to cast all administration of the Nizam State in consonance with the above just and equitable principle and policy, and remove all inequitable laws, rules and regulations under which the Hindus are being systematically, and in cases even fanatically oppressed and restore to them, all civic, religious, and political rights which such a non-communal and just policy as indicated above, involves.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha genuinely wishes to arrive at a peaceful settlement of this question. Therefore, I request you to grant all the religious and civic demands detailed out in the enclosed copy of the resolution passed at the Aryasamajists' Conference at Sholapur, usher in immediately political reforms, introduce a Legislature and grant a free representation to the Hindus in it and the Public Services as well in proportion to their population. But if even this appeal fails to persuade H. E. H. the Nizam to concede all these demands immediately, then the Hindu Maha Sabha, having exhausted all constitutional means, will have no other course left but to continue the civil resistance movement which has already been launched in the Nizam State on a mass scale, and not to call it off, whatever the cost, till the demands as enumerated in the resolution of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Aryasamajists are fully conceded."

To this letter, the Prime Minister, Sir Akbar Hyderi sent a reply dated the 15th of March 1939, in which he appreciated the assurance of good will, given by the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, but conveniently kept mum about the grievances of the Hindus in the State. His reply is characteristic of the policy of the Nizam Government. It was as follows :—



"I appreciate the spirit of that part of your letter where you give an assurance that the Hindu Maha Sabha has no ulterior motives against His Exalted Highness or his State or against any community; and also the elucidation of your standpoint in recognizing merit alone as forming the basis for recruitment for Public Services without any distinction of caste or creed. In spite of the fact that misunderstandings which I know exist on this score I should like to inform you that this is even at present the basis of such recruitment.

I shall not go into the details of the resolutions which you have forwarded to me beyond noting that you have also taken it upon yourself to forward the resolutions adopted at the All India Aryan Congress at Sholapur. There is hardly any matter under any of those resolutions which has not been dealt with in the recent white paper issued by Government which fully deals with the 14 points raised by the Aryan Defence League; while, so far as your own letter is concerned and the resolutions of the Hindu Maha Sabha, I regret it is not possible for me to go into any detail in the face of the support you have recorded to the civil resistance movement in the State. So far as reform is concerned, you may perhaps be already aware of the fact that Government is giving final consideration to a scheme which, it is hoped, will be introduced in a few months' time and which is expected to cover a wide enough sphere to include such legitimate grievances as may be felt by any single community, no matter whether Hindu or Muslim or any other, and which are confined to it and are not part and parcel of any rules or laws applicable to the whole of the Dominions and all the subjects of the State without distinction of caste or creed."

Though nothing was likely to come out of such

negotiations, still it was necessary to carry them on. For some time, correspondence was going on between the Prime Minister of the Hyderabad State on the one hand, and the Presidents of the Hindu Maha Sabha and of the Sholapur Session of the Aryan Congress on the other, which ended with the letter of Sjt. Savarkar dated the 15th March 1939. In this letter he cleared up all doubts and reiterated the attitude and policy of the Hindu Maha Sabha in respect of the grievances of the Hindus of the Hyderabad State. It was as follows:—

"I was glad to note from your replies to me and to Lokanayak Aney, M.L.A. (Central) that you mean to introduce reforms in the State which in your opinion are likely to remove the legitimate grievances religious, cultural, and political, of Hindus, as tabulated by the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha at Sholapur and Nagpur respectively.

"If so, I request you to promulgate those reforms as quickly as possible so that the Hindu Maha Sabha may be in a position to judge whether they are really capable to meet the legitimate demands of the Hindus and if so to what extent. If but they guarantee the fundamental civic rights of the Hindus in some substantial measure, grant them constitutional representation on some equitable and effective basis and assure them of equality of treatment with Muslim citizens without subjecting them to any special humiliation and persecution as Hindus, the Hindu Maha Sabha in consultation with the Arya Samaj will only welcome them as a beginning in the right direction and will confidently depend on the good and gracious intentions of the Nizam Government for the settlement of any of detailed differences that may still exist so as to secure a treatment to all subjects



of His Exalted Highness consistent with perfect equality and impartial justice.

"I need not point out that it is often not the laws or the rules that matter so much as the execution of them by the officials in the spirit in which they are framed. In this connection I wish to draw your pointed attention to a recent serious case. In Hyderabad Central Jail some of the Hindu civil resisters were outrageously flogged by the jail officials for singing Vande Mataram there but later on they were allowed to do so as a result of their petition to the higher authorities probably through your own orders. If it be so, it is clear that the jail officials were themselves guilty in meeting out that kind of barbarous treatment without any orders from Government to that effect to the Hindu civil resisters who have nothing in common with criminals and have courted jail on a question of principle. This case will amply exemplify that the root of the mischief does often lie in the practical execution of the laws and rules however unobjectionable they be in their wording, by the officials of the State.

"Therefore even if the reforms you mean to introduce are unobjectionably worded, much will depend on the pressure, you are able to bear on the officials and the strictness with which you require them to administrate, all laws as impartially as possible, irrespective of religious and communal consideration and bring to book promptly these over-zealous or fanatical officials who are guilty in their duty and persecute Hindus as Hindus.

"In the end I submit that not the delaying of the reforms which you mean to introduce but the immediate promulgation of them is the surer remedy to restore confidence amongst the Hindus and put an end to

the intense and harmful estrangement that has taken place between the Nizam Government and its millions of Hindu subjects and is causing so much unrest, suffering, and disorder all round in the State.

"Assuring you that the Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj would take the first opportunity to come to a really well meant and equitable settlement of the question and would even depute some of their leaders if you desire to have a personal conference with you with a view to find out a way to common and satisfactory understanding."

In the mean time, civil resistance activities were continued. The Hindu Maha Sabha had declared the 21st day of every month as the civil resistance day. This day was observed everywhere in Maharashtra and even outside by declaring hartals, holding meetings and carrying on other propaganda work. It was also the day on which the Aryasamajists' ultimatum ended and Shree Narayan Swamiji officially declared that the Arya Samaj had launched its civil resistance activities in the State. Shree Narayan Swamiji, the first dictator of the Arya Samaj had given an ultimatum to the Nizam Government to redress their grievances or he too would, as proclaimed in a resolution at the All India Aryan Congress at Sholapur, start the civil resistance movement. His appeal fell flat as was expected and he offered civil resistance as the first dictator of the Arya Samaj. The Government authorities sent him back out of their territory as they did in the case of Senapati Bapat. But Swamiji again left for Hyderabad. This time, while he was on his way, he was arrested and was sentenced to imprisonment. Senapati Bapat who was arrested for the third time on 29th November 1938,



and sentenced to imprisonment, was set at liberty on the 8th January 1939, because the State Congress had by that time suspended the movement. The policy of the Nizam Government in that respect was to set at liberty all the outsiders who had disobeyed the Government orders in sympathy with the State Congress decision, but not the members of the State Congress itself who belonged to the State, till the movement was completely and finally withdrawn.

It was not until the 23rd of January 1939 that the authorities of the State Congress finally withdrew the movement and completely surrendered before the State authorities. After their complete withdrawal of the movement and cessation of all their activities the State Congress prisoners were set at liberty.

At this time, there was some rumour that the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj civil resisters who did not belong to the State were also to be released; but it came untrue. Batches after batches of volunteers were sent to Hyderabad State to offer civil resistance, on behalf of both the Hindu Maha Sabha and Arya Samaj and the jails became filled with them. The Nizam Government had to build new prisons and also use old and delapidated buildings for the purpose of locking up the prisoners. But the more the arrests took place, the more was the enthusiasm to send volunteers to offer civil resistance.

Upto the 20th January 1939, the number of Arya Samaj volunteers had gone up to 738 and that of the Hindu Maha Sabha was 141. Generally speaking the Maharashtriyans had joined the flank of the Hindu Maha Sabha, while those who belonged to the State itself or who came from outside Maharashtra had gathered

under the banner of Arya Samaj. The attitude of the Congressmen in general and especially of those in Maharashtra was highly objectionable and opposed to the movement. They carried on their mischievous activities against Hindu Maha Sabha everywhere. They spread wild rumours to discourage volunteers, deprecated their motives and tried to create antagonistic atmosphere throughout the country. The Congress Government demanded security from "Trikal", a daily newspaper which had sympathy with this movement, for having printed some news about the atrocities committed by the Muslim goondas in the Nizam State. But the public feeling was so tense and opposed to such wanton and high-handed policy of the Congress Government, that the challenge was taken up by the masses themselves who paid the amount of three thousand rupees within ten days by contributing more than the necessary amount. More than three thousand persons had contributed to the fund and gave a fitting reply to the so-called popular Government.

Since the time when the State Congress completely surrendered and retired from the field of action, the Congress High Command had been trying to bring pressure upon the Aryasamajists to cease their activities. It was necessary in their own interest, and in the interest of the Muslims in the Congress as also out of it, and of the State as well. But the motives which had prompted them were both sinister and dangerous. They were to be found in the statements made by one Mr. Damodardas who had risen into prominence at that time. His only worth was that he was a hireling of Mr. Jamanlal Bajaj, the banker of the Congress. He was, however, taken up on the Working Committee of the State Congress and was the principal connecting



link between the Congress Gods of Wardha and the State Congressmen of Hyderabad. This wretched man did his best to prejudice the cause of Hindu Maha Sabha and poison the ears of some persons in the State Congress as well as in the Arya Samaj. But his efforts bore little fruit. The motives which guided the decision, forced upon the State Congressmen, are to be found in an article written by him which was published in his paper "Sanjeevani" dated the 16th March 1939. In it, Mr. Damodardas wrote:—

"We had begun to hope after the Ludhiana Conference that there will be an early suspension of the Arya Samaj satyagraha. The Arya Samaj people realised in no time that the events which obliged the State Congressmen to suspend their satyagraha, did also make incumbent the suspension of the Arya Samaj satyagraha. The Hindu Maha Sabha is an out and out communal organization and is opposed to the only national body *viz.* the Congress. When such an organization supports the Arya Samaj and the latter did not repudiate the support, it was natural for all Congress people to view the Arya Samaj with suspicion. The leaders of the Arya Samaj from Punjab took no time to realise that it was necessary to suspend their movement at once in order to preserve its purely religious character. Considering their talks with us, most of us hoped that they would give urgent consideration to this matter.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha wants to cover its weakness by mixing its movement with that of the Arya Samaj. If the Arya Samaj movement stops, the Hindu Maha Sabha will have no other alternative than an enforced inaction. In that case, we hoped that there will be scope for the Congress to restart its national movement.

"As noted above, we had hoped that the Arya Samaj would suspend its movement like that of the State Congress. But after a while we found that the Aryasamajists had not the moral courage to face a responsibility like this. They have no courage to divorce themselves and break away from the Hindu Maha Sabha. In other words, the Aryasamajists have got no separate existence distinct from the Hindu Maha Sabha. They cannot hereafter deceive the public by boasting that their movement was purely a religious movement. We are emphatically of opinion that though the present movement in Hyderabad appears superficially attractive and popular, it is in reality confined to a particular social class in the greater Maharashtra and that it is in the end detrimental not only to the Hyderabad people but to the entire nation."

This was the mentality of the so-called nationalists of the Congress brand! They were out to kill the Hindu Maha Sabha in their most non-violent fashion; and after its extinction, get down into the field as bravados.

But all this mischievous nonsense, the Aryasamajists did not tolerate even for a moment. They knew that the cause which the Hindu Maha Sabha had advocated was a just and a righteous one and that it had launched its activities with the best of motives. Mr. Damodardas had even tried to prejudice and poison the minds of the Aryasamajists from outside Maharashtra on the ground that all the Hindu Sabha activities centred round the Maharashtrians and that it was dangerous to allow them an upper hand anywhere. These filthy conceptions are to be found only in the stigmatized and pigmy minds. Even the real State Congressmen never shared these opinions. They had only wanted smooth



sailing and with as little discomfort as possible, early settlement of their problems. They had rightly regarded the Congress as the most powerful machinery existing at that time in British India. They therefore, wanted to profit by its influence. It was for this purpose that they played all their cards to the tune of the Congress High Command. But the High Command had quite a different motive in supporting the State Congress. They had little interest in either the success or the defeat of that body. They only wanted to crush the Hindu Maha Sabha, which was, in their opinion growing in strength and importance in British India and was becoming a rival institution to it.

They considered this as the best occasion to entrap Hindu Maha Sabha and bring it into inanition. They, therefore, advised the State Congressmen to cease their activities and strongly hoped that they would surely influence the Aryan Congress to stop theirs as well; and then they wanted the Hindu Maha Sabha to wright and die. This was the motive which had prompted the Congress High Command to guide the destinies of the State Congress. But the Aryasamajists had no such sinister motives. They had up to that time fought as brave soldiers and were ready to fight further for the successful termination of their cause. They, therefore, naturally disliked the motives and disapproved the manoeuvres of the Congress High Command and decided to define their path independently. When they met at Sholapur in April 1939, to decide further steps, they had invited Sjt. Savarkar for consultations. He clarified the whole position before them and reiterated that if the Aryans would leave him, he would not give up the struggle but would carry it on to the last man, whatever the consequences. But the Aryasamajists had identified

themselves with the Hindusabhais and their co-operation continued till the successful termination of their activities.

Undaunted by these difficulties, the movement was to be carried on. In the beginning it was necessary to organize propaganda, and funds were badly needed. Messrs. Bhide and Godse had made extensive tours in the Southern Maratha Country where they held meetings, both public and private, and enlisted volunteers. Appeals for funds were made through newspapers and there was good response. Many people used to send contributions to the fund from time to time and many promised a monthly contribution so long as the struggle continued. Messrs. Date and Babarao Kale visited every village in the Barsi Taluka which is surrounded by the Nizam territory on all sides. They visited every village of importance and held meetings to explain why the civil resistance had become necessary. Masurkar Maharaj toured in the Ahmednagar and Nasik districts exhorting the people to help the movement. Messrs. Damuanna Bhat, Kshire and many others carried on an extensive propaganda and collected funds in the Khandesh districts. Mr. Khadiwale Vaidya and his party toured along the border side of the Nizam Dominions in the Khandesh and Berar districts and in their ingenious way carried on propaganda both outside and inside the Nizam Dominions. Mr. Bapurao Joshi of Mahad carried the message to the Mavlas who resided in the far off countryside and enthused them with the idea of civil resistance. Dharmaveer Vishwasrao Davre, one of the leaders of the Sanatanists toured and held mass meetings in Pandharpur, Sholapur, Miraj, Barsi, Ahmednagar and other places and gave a good impetus to the Sanatani-minded people. Thousands of leaflets giving information about



the civil resistance activities were distributed all over Maharashtra and even in the Nizam Dominions. Wall posters were skillfully and ingeniously sent into the Nizam State and were pasted on main gates of many a village. Besides Poona, centres were opened at Bombay, Nasik, Manmad, Chalisgaon, Dhulia, Ahmednagar, Barsi, Sholapur, Pandharpur, Sangli, Satara, Mahad, Ratnagiri and many other places in order to carry on the civil resistance activities, collect funds, enlist volunteers, hold meetings, carry processions and prabhat pheries and do the like propaganda work. All this created a great enthusiasm in the mind of the young Hindu blood and hundreds of volunteers enlisted their names to disobey the regulations of the Nizam Government and court arrest. Before the end of March more than four hundred volunteers from Maharashtra alone were inside the prison bars and many more were on the waiting list.

Just as Poona was the centre of organization for Maharashtra, Akola was the centre for Berar, and Nagpur for Central Provinces. Bombay is considered as a separate province under the Hindu Maha Sabha constitution and had its own centre and its usual importance. In Berar the civil resistance activities were carried on by a special committee appointed for this purpose. It consisted of Mr. Mamarao Jogalekar who was appointed the dictator for that province, and Messrs. Babasaheb Khaparde of Amraoti, R. A. Kanitkar of Buldhana, Dr. Yadavrao Aney of Wun, Dr. Pimparkar of Paratwada, Ramdhan Jannadas of Akola and D. Y. Pimparkar of Dongaon. The activities of this Committee were similar to those in Maharashtra. They sent their first batch of volunteers who left Akola on the 9th January and were arrested immediately after they entered

the Nizam territory near Mahur. But the Nizam police were not satisfied with only arresting them. They first gave them a hard and cruel beating and after making injuries to the civil resisters, arrested them. The same fate had awaited the second batch which left Akola on the 27th January and reached near Kanhergaon. They were surrounded by a hundred and fifty Nizam police force, who took their search for over two hours and beat them to their hearts' content, and were then driven out of the Nizam borders. The third batch from Berar was sent under the leadership of Dr. Paranjpe of Nagpur. He was the first to give lead from the Central Provinces. He and his batch left Nagpur after the session of the Nagpur Hindu Maha Sabha, and carrying on propaganda work for a while, reached Akola where they were enthusiastically received and were given a hearty send-off in a mass meeting. The party reached safe at Waghul where it was arrested and was subsequently sent to Aurangabad jail. But excluding such batches which were led by well-known personalities, all other volunteers were first violently attacked everywhere before they were arrested; and many times the police, instead of arresting them, violently attacked and beat them and then drove them out of the State borders. On some occasions these volunteers were arrested by the State police and taken into the far-off places where they were violently and cowardly attacked by the armed Muslim goondas, and completely robbed of everything that they possessed, and then were left to themselves penniless somewhere in the desert! It was the considered policy of the Nizam Government to reduce the number of civil resisters as much as possible by terrorising and beating them. Reports of harrowing tales of these violent

1028.



attacks on peaceful civil resisters especially in far-off places came everyday from every quarter, and did help to a certain extent to create alarm and terror in the mind of the peaceful satyagrahis who were utterly helpless before the organized and armed force of the Nizam police. Sjt. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha bitterly complained about these cowardly attacks made by the Nizam police and the armed Muslim goondas on the unarmed and peaceful civil resisters. He remonstrated to Sir Akbar Hyderi the Prime Minister about these cowardly attacks. In one of his letters he stated:

"I am convinced by unimpeachable testimony that the Nizam police in complicity with Muslim mobs have been assaulting, as a set policy, the Maha Sabha and Arya Samaj Hindu volunteers who offer peaceful civil resistance to the anti-Hindu bans in the Nizam State. So long as the civil resisters are dealt with lawfully, no complaint on that score can arise as they are prepared to face it all. But setting aside even the rigid laws of the Nizam State, when armed Muslim mobs and the police are allowed to take law in their own hands and have resort to brutal attacks on peaceful and unarmed civil resisters who offer no physical resistance whatsoever as was the case at Tuljapur, Vaijapur, Gavliguda and other places and when these criminal Muslim mobs and police are not brought to book by any higher State authorities, I feel it my duty to warn the Nizam Government of the serious consequences that such outrages are bound to bring in their trail.

"I hope your honour will take a serious notice of this matter, punish the outrageous miscreants and put a stop to this barbarity.

"I emphasise in all good faith that such lawless and barbarous physical assaults inflicting in some cases fatal injuries on Hindu civil resisters by Muslim mobs and police are but the last thing that can restore peace and content in the State. They can only exasperate the situation. The best and the only means to restore peace, order and goodwill in the subjects of the Nizam State is neither these attempts of the Muslim mobs to strike terror with a vain hope to demoralize the civil resistance movement, nor the delay in introducing the reforms caused by a mistaken notion about the prestige of the State, but the speedy, honest and brave determination on the part of the Nizam Government to introduce reformed constitution and remove the just grievances of the Hindus, which have been clearly and definitely formulated in the Arya Samaj and Hindu Maha Sabha resolutions at their respective sessions at Sholapur and Nagpur."

But these remonstrations could have no effect. These attacks were generally made not in big cities but in small villages where scarcely any public demonstration was possible. Up-till-now it was the policy of the Hindu Maha Sabha to send volunteers to small villages to offer civil resistance, with the intention of carrying on propaganda into the interior. But on account of such violent attacks, it was thought necessary to change this policy, and instead of sending small batches of five or six persons in small villages, it was decided to send big batches and those too in big towns. Up-till-now, Dr. Paranjpe, Balshastri Hardas, Prof. Deshpande, Mr. Varma and many others had led batches from the Central Provinces. From Maharashtra side, after the first batch of Mr. Godse, about forty batches were sent before the middle of April. The prominent from



amongst them being Messrs. H. B. Bhide, Phansalkar, Bhide Guruji, Kasture, Date, Bapat, Avekarkar, Joshi, Gangal, Davare, Patwardhan, Patkar, Gokhale and many others. By this time, the total number of volunteers on behalf of The Hindu Maha Sabha had exceeded two thousand; and that of the Arya Samaj, had reached the figure eight thousand. But this was not sufficient. More volunteers were necessary. The terrorising policy of the Nizam Government and the fifth column activities of the local Congressmen had created a disheartening effect on the general public mind. Young men disliked the idea to go into the far-off place simply to serve as fodder to the lathi charges of the Muslim goondas and the rifle-butts of the Nizam police. But all this had to be faced in cold blood. It was even published in some Congress quarters that the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj had lost their morale and desired cessation of activities and that the movement would soon be withdrawn. It was therefore necessary to clear the atmosphere of all such doubts. The President of the Hindu Maha Sabha issued a Statement on the 8th April 1939 to the following effect:—

“In order to remove misapprehensions and suspense on the part of Hindu sanghatanists all over India caused by the mutually contradicting news published in the press regarding the civil resistance movement against the Nizam, I have to state unreservedly and definitely that so far as the Hindu Maha Sabha is concerned it is not going to suspend, much less call off, the movement unless and until the Reforms which the Nizam Government has been promising to the public to introduce before long, are actually announced and the Hindu Maha Sabha is in a position to judge if they concede in some substantial measure, if not in full,

the demands put forward in the resolution adopted by the Hindu Maha Sabha at its session at Nagpur.

“Nevertheless, I assure the Nizam Government that though delay can only worsen the discontent and disorder in the State yet a really well meant, actual and speedy announcement of substantial Reforms will only be welcomed by the Hindu Maha Sabha and Hindudom as a whole as an act of far-seeing statesmanship and grace on the part of the Nizam Government, not as a sign of weakness but as a proof of real strength, that lays its foundation on justice, content and willing attachment of citizens to the State they comprise. The sooner the Nizam Government puts an end to the discontent and consequently inevitable unrest that are corroding the fabric of the Nizam State, the stronger will the Government grow and better the title of H. E. H. the Nizam as a ruler who really deserves to rule.”



## CHAPTER XII

## THE EFFECTIVE STRUGGLE

UP-TILL-NOW no first class leader on the Hindu Maha Sabha side had enlisted himself to offer civil disobedience. It was Mr. Bhopatkar who girded his loins and declared that he intended to lead a big batch of two hundred men into the Nizam Dominions. This declaration created a great impression on the public mind. Up-till-now, small batches had gone. But on account of the cowardly and violent attacks of the police and the Muslim goondas, that policy was changed. Now the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj had both decided to send big batches. Mr. Bhopatkar's declaration was so well received that about three hundred volunteers immediately enlisted their names to accompany him, so much so that some of them had to be kept back for the next batches. Mr. Ram Bharose Shivhare and his party came from U. P. A batch of Bengali civil resisters had arrived in the mean time and it joined into the big batch of Mr. Bhopatkar. Messrs. S. V. Kelkar, Paisafund Ranade, Ramrao Kulkarni, Sawant, Gokhale, and a number of young men accompanied him. Mr. Bhopatkar was to leave Poona on the 23rd April. He was given a hearty send-off in a mass meeting. On the 23rd morning he left Poona by a special train, and halting for some time in Bombay, Nasik and Manmad, he reached Aurangabad on the

26th afternoon. Before leaving Poona, he had informed the State authorities that he was going there with a party of about two hundred men, and that he intended to offer civil resistance. He gave them assurance that he would do everything quite peacefully, and expressed his desire that he expected the Nizam police to take care that the Muslim goondas did not commit unnecessary atrocities on the peaceful Hindu civil resisters. But the Nizam Government would not assure of the peaceful atmosphere on their side. This reply was really exasperating. The President of the Hindu Maha Sabha warned the Nizam Government in a statement which was issued on the 24th April 1939. He said :—

“To Mr. Bhopatkar's letter last week informing Nizam Government of his intention to offer civil and non-violent resistance, the Nizam Government's latest reply has virtually admitted that they could not guarantee security from mob-violence in Nizam State. Against this astounding reply which amounts to veiled violent threat, Hindu Maha Sabha records its strongest protest. Civil resisters may be dealt with under whatever laws that prevail under the Nizam Government. But no Government can resign its legal authority to mob-violence. The responsibility of communal tension lies primarily and entirely on anti-Hindu policy of Nizam Government. Mr. Bhopatkar goes to protest and oppose it with peaceful resistance. So responsibility of any mob-violence and consequent criminal assault on his party will lie on the Nizam Government alone which is duty-bound to order the police and military to see that legal functions of Nizam Government are not usurped by violent mobs. Please take serious note of this as the results of abdicating Government's legal power to mob fury cannot but exasperate discontent and disorder in the State



instead of terrorising civil resistance movement. Removal of just grievances of the Hindus can alone restore peace and content."

The incessant propaganda throughout the British Indian press and the platform, against the mischievous and harmful policy of the Nizam Government in dealing with the peaceful civil resisters, had its effect on the State authorities; and when Mr. Bhopatkar arrived at Aurangabad with his party, the police had taken the necessary precautions to control the Muslim goondas, and the District Officers were ready on the Station. After his arrival, Mr. Bhopatkar had a little talk with the District Officer and the Subhedar. Immediately he completed the formalities of holding an unpermitted meeting and made a short speech. Then the whole party was arrested and sent to prison. They arrived in the jail far late in the evening and the already imprisoned civil resisters were busy in making arrangements for their new comrades. It was a matter of common enthusiasm both to those who were already inside and to those who had just arrived in the jail.

Mr. Bhopatkar's arrest gave a new impetus to the movement. Some forty volunteers of his batch who were kept back, were led the next day by Mr. Bapat of Bombay. He and his party arrived at Aurangabad station, where they were arrested and sent to the jail. After Mr. Bhopatkar's incarceration, Bombay too organized a big batch of about two hundred volunteers which was led by Mr. Anantrao Gadre. Mr. Gadre is well-known for his anti-untouchability propaganda. He is a good social worker. He has served the public all his life, both in press and on the platform and is known as a friend of the depressed classes. His pious sentiments and deep

feelings for the poor and the distressed, roused him to the occasion and he decided to go headlong into the movement. He organized mass propaganda in Bombay and left with his batch for Aurangabad on the 10th of May. When Mr. Gadre and his party arrived at Aurangabad, the police were ready to receive them. The party came out of the Railway Station yard and Mr. Gadre delivered a short speech. The law was broken and the party was arrested and escorted to the jail.

Mr. D. K. Sathe of Poona with his selected batch of twentyfive volunteers offered civil resistance at Paithan where they were immediately tried and sentenced to imprisonment. That party reached the jail early in May. Mr. Keshavrao Kelkar of Poona led an exclusively Pandharpur batch of about fifty young men on 22nd May which arrived at Aurangabad Station on the next day and was arrested. These activities became so intense, and the number of volunteers so much increased that the Poona centre many times found it very hard even to meet the ordinary railway fare of these volunteers. The civil resistance movements carried on in British territory in the last decade was of quite a different nature. At that time satyagraha was offered by the volunteers at their own places. In this case, they had to go first to some unacquainted place in the Nizam State and then offer civil resistance there. Every volunteer had to pay on an average amount of five to seven rupees either to the railway or to the motor. More than four thousand volunteers had actually offered civil resistance in the Nizam State on behalf of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Their railway fare alone amounted to more than twentyfive thousand of rupees. With the Arya Samaj these expenses exceeded a lakh of rupees. Their volunteers came even from Kashmir and Bannu side.





After the Nizam State, Punjab and U. P. were their main centres of recruitment. They had actually sent more than twelve thousand volunteers from outside. The State civil resisters had been more than four thousand. But for the purpose of organization and uniformity of action it was necessary to include them in the big jathas which advanced from place to place carrying on propaganda work and finally offered civil resistance in the Nizam Dominions.

The Arya Samaj had made Sholapur their chief centre of activities. They had opened their concentration camp at Sholapur and its sub-branches at Barsi, Ahmednagar and Manmad. Those who offered civil resistance on behalf of Arya Samaj had to go first to Sholapur and join the jathas which were then escorted by their dictators. Shree Narayan Swamiji was their first dictator and he had officially led the movement by offering civil resistance on the 22nd January 1939. Hundreds of volunteers had already offered civil resistance on behalf of the Aryan Defence League even before the Sholapur session of the All India Aryan Congress. After the arrest of Swamiji, Mr. Chandakiran Sarda was appointed its second Dictator. He was also the Vice President of the Hindu Maha Sabha. After his arrest, Lala Khursand of Punjab was the third to follow. Pandit Dharendra Shastri was the fourth to lead a big jatha. Pandit Vedavrata Vanaprastha followed as the fifth dictator to offer civil resistance. Thus the dictators after dictators were appointed and the struggle grew both in intensity and extent.

Up-till-now jathas on behalf of the Arya Samaj used to proceed from Sholapur and go to Hyderabad to offer civil resistance. But as the movement grew, the State

Government became very uneasy and perturbed on account of these incessant raids on their capital itself. They wanted to divert the rush of volunteers elsewhere. Gulburga was the only more convenient place which was on the way between Sholapur and Hyderabad. The Nizam Government had no authority to arrest volunteers so long as they were within the G. I. P. Railway limits, because that part did not belong to them. But the British Government came to their help. They gave the State authorities necessary powers by which they could arrest civil resisters even in the railway carriages.

But as the number of volunteers increased, jail administration went from bad to worse. All the jails became more than congested even before April; and sanitation completely deteriorated. There was insufficient water supply in many places, and prisoners were sent from prison to prison to be accommodated. The State authorities had created concentration camps in many places, and old buildings were repaired to suit jail requirements. But they too became insufficient. Transfer of volunteers from jails to jails was like big parties seeking accommodation in Railway trains at stations, where men run from compartment to compartment to seek accommodation somewhere for themselves. Exactly such was the way in which the jail authorities handled the prisoners. Prisoners from Hyderabad were sent simply for accommodation to Gulburga, and those who were at Gulburga were transferred to Aurangabad, and prisoners who were at Aurangabad were taken to Hyderabad or some other jails! The jail barracks which were normally meant for seventy-two prisoners, had now to accommodate the double number and sometimes even more! The plight of the authorities and the consequent sufferings



of the volunteers knew no bounds. And still the number of volunteers was on the increase. In the month of May, there was some trouble at Sholapur, between the local Hindus and the Muslims who were annoyed at the increasing strength of the Hindu volunteers. This was sufficient reason for the Congress Government to order removal of the Arya Samaj Camp of volunteers from Sholapur. The Government refused to allow any volunteer activities even in the District. It was not wise to fight the Congress Government at that time on such an issue. The Aryasamajists had therefore to yield and they removed their centre from Sholapur to Manmad, in the Nasik District, and their seventh Dictator, Mahashaya Krishna declared that he would lead a party of one thousand volunteers to Aurangabad on the 5th of June!

Naturally the State authorities had to prepare themselves to the new manœuvres of the Arya Samaj. The centres of action were up-till-now Gulburga and Aurangabad. Now it was only Aurangabad. It was necessary to make immediate provision for an additional thousand volunteers. The Aurangabad jail was already more than packed up to its highest limits, nay it was overflowing. They were the summer days and the jail authorities had to be kind to allow the volunteers to sleep in the open than in the barracks which were dark and little ventilated. But what will have to be done in the rainy season which was fast approaching?

Aurangabad prisoners offered another difficulty which the jail authorities had neither anticipated nor experienced before. It was the centre of the Hindu Maha Sabha volunteers since January. Unlike the Aryasamajists they had decided to fight their cases in the

courts of law. It was a new thing in such campaigns. It had no precedence in the history of any satyagraha movement which had taken place before. Some of these volunteers could even secure help of the local advocates; but generally they pleaded their own cases. They accepted the facts but pleaded not guilty. The law required that the guilt must be proved before the punishment was given. To prove the guilt, it was necessary to follow the whole procedure of ordinary legal cases. It was necessary to conduct the cases, to corroborate the evidence and then give judgment. In the case of Arya Samaj cases against hundreds of Volunteers were finished in one day, because when they were brought before the Court, they admitted their guilt and asked only for maximum punishment. In the case against the Hindu Maha Sabha volunteers, they followed a different procedure altogether. They crossed the witnesses and recrossed them. They argued their cases to the best of their ability. It was impossible for the police to get true evidence every time. They had therefore, hired the services of some "Gentlemen" who acted as witnesses in any case. A dozen men served as witnesses in more than three dozen cases, some in one and some in other. These false witnesses were all Muslims and could scarcely understand Marathi. It was significant that the police could scarcely get any Hindu witnesses to support them in these cases. The speeches made by the volunteers were all in Marathi, which the witness did not understand; and still they appeared as Government witnesses deposing the purport of the speeches. These parrot-like evidences many times utterly failed in cross examination, and many times the cases could not be proved, when the civil resisters had to be set at liberty because the police could



not prove the charges levied against them, Messrs. Patwardhan, Bhide, Davare and many others were acquitted because the police failed to prove their guilt. But this procedure delayed the Court business and the cases against civil resisters continued for months! The Government employed additional Judges to hurry up the procedure but the inadequate and incompetent police staff was too insufficient and quite inefficient to meet the requirements. They had also to bear the additional burden of managing the ever increasing number of volunteers who haunted the city like flies. And as the batches that were sent in the beginning were small, the number of cases pending in the Court grew enormously. This necessitated the stay of all the under-trial prisoners in the Aurangabad jail, which was practically filled with them. They could not be transferred from Aurangabad. Those, whose trials had ended and who had received convictions, had decided to make appeals to higher Courts. It was therefore a legal trap which the authorities could not overcome. The State had made all a show of legal procedure and the civil resisters had responsibly followed the same policy and turned the tables against them.

On account of this state of things, the already over-flooded jail of Aurangabad had to make accommodation for another thousand volunteers whose date of civil resistance was already declared. There was no room in the jail for them. There was extremely insufficient staff to make bread for so many prisoners. The political prisoners were almost all under-trial prisoners. They refused to accept work before they were convicted. The criminal prisoners had therefore to be employed; and the jail authorities exacted work from them mercilessly. But still the staff was insuffi-

cient. Even the kitchen of the jail which was quite spacious for ordinary period, was found too small and a new and bigger additional kitchen became necessary. As it stood at that time, there was little room in it for more persons even to stand and work. There were no utensils. They had to be bought. Already there were complaints about the underbaked or overbaked bread. Twice glass pieces were actually found in the bread. This created an atmosphere of suspicion about the intentions of the jail authorities, because about that time news had reached there that in Gulburga jail cement was mixed in the floor of bread and some men had died on that account. This might be true or untrue, but the news gave birth to suspicion and the arrogant attitude of the higher jail authorities helped to intensify it. There was already scarcity of water, of vegetables, nay even of the pieces of mats and pots to be given to the prisoners, of everything. The medical staff was extremely insufficient and the stock of medicines was too scanty in the jail dispensary. There was scarcity of jailors and office staff, the police and the warders! What could the superintendent of the jail do under such circumstances! His position became most pitiable. He entreated the higher authorities to provide the necessary material and the staff, but the mismanagement and confusion in the central department became worse confounded; and instead of blaming their inefficiency in supplying the necessities, they simply laid blame on the superintendent of the jail!

At last came the 5th of June and the party of Mahashaya Krishna arrived at Aurangabad Station. It came in two instalments on account of the scarcity of railway carriages. The police had to be very busy the whole day on the station in managing the party.

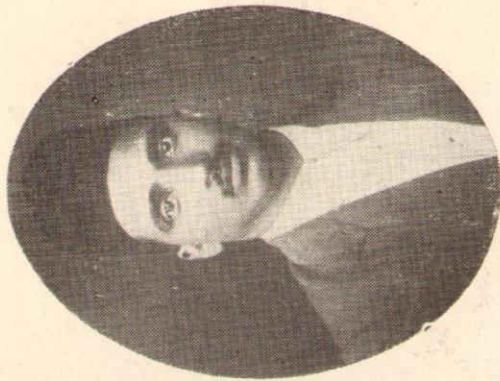


Mahashaya Krishna followed the process of breaking the law and in a few minutes the whole party was declared under arrest. It was then the duty of the police to provide for their food after they took them in their custody. But what could the police do? The volunteers could get no food the whole day and had to depend on a handful of grams that were provided to them! There was not even sufficient arrangement of clerks who could take down the names of these volunteers before they were arrested. There were no sufficient cars to take them to the prison. The whole party was arriving into the jail from late in the evening till early in the dawn!

In Aurangabad there was an old and delapidated building formerly used for the maintenance of horses. It was adjacent to the jail compound and was now turned into the supplementary camp jail. But there was no kitchen. The latrines were under construction, and the water piping was completed only two days before. After the party of Mahashaya Krishna came, the question of food supply became imminent. The morning meals which were usually provided between 8 and 10 in the morning, could not be provided till late in the afternoon, and the evening meals could not be provided for at all! There were some small boys of twelve and fourteen who had accompanied their elders to offer civil resistance, and some of them were sentenced to terms extending even to one year's rigorous punishment! The jail authorities were requested to provide food for the youngsters at least in time. But the whole jail administration had so much broken down that nothing was ever considered! This led to a series of events which brought disaster to the civil resisters and infamy to the jail administration of



**Young Boys,**  
who offered civil resistance  
and suffered the jail hard-ships.



**Sgt. G. R. Kale,**

one of the organisers of the movement  
from the beginning.



**Sgt. V. B. Davre,**

Sanatani leader  
who actively participated  
in the struggle.

the Nizam Government. It proved an effective blow which ended the struggle in full victory to the Hindu Maha Sabha.

On the 6th June, some of the prisoners informed the authorities that it was necessary to make some way out of the chaos, and that they were ready to help them, because it was even in their interest and for their convenience to set things right. But the jail authorities considered this proposal as if it was encroachment upon their high authority. The Jail Department had disqualified the really qualified Assistant Superintendent who was in charge of that jail, because he was kind at heart and just in his behaviour towards the political prisoners. He used to listen to their complaints and try to remedy them as much as possible. But, poor man! What could he do when he was left to manage things without being provided with the necessary stock and the staff! The Jail Department super-imposed upon him a new Superintendent who was a "seasoned and qualified" man fit for the jails! This arrogant man turned down every proposal that was made to him! He was however quite qualified to strike terror. He made up his mind to set the whole jail right by the process, not of good will but by inflicting hard punishments! He abused the volunteers and jeered at them!

When meals were served in the morning of the 6th June, more than sixty per cent of the bread was under-baked and the prisoners made complaints to the jailors. It was a common complaint in the jail for weeks together. Those who were in charge of making bread were quite inadequate, and also untrained. What could they do? The number of prisoners had



increased beyond all expectations and those who knew nothing of baking bread were employed on that work. The result was obvious. The under-baked bread pieces were shown even to the doctor in hundreds and he admitted that they were quite under-baked, and should be baked before they could become eatable. But how to get them baked? The kitchen was too small and it was necessary to provide bread for two thousand and more prisoners! It was an impossibility under the circumstances. The bread was bound to remain under-baked. The complaints had no effect that day. Even the morning meal was being distributed till late in the afternoon! What of evening meal? Nil was the reply. The prisoners were given a handful of gram and parched rice late in the evening. Mr. Date, a prisoner, whom the Superintendent had considered as prominent and sufficiently useful to take up the lead, impressed upon him the necessity of improvement in the bread, and brought to his notice that on account of the defective bread, the number of outdoor patients in the jail dispensary had of late grown enormously. Mr. Date suggested him also a way out of the situation. He proposed that the prisoners should be provided with wheat bread instead of the jawar bread because its manufacture was much easier and could be done with good speed. He also told the Superintendent that formerly wheat bread was being provided for and it was only recently discontinued and jawar bread was given instead. At first the Superintendent agreed, but after a little consideration he proposed to mix wheat and jawar together and make bread of that mixture. He even said that he had examined that bread and that it could be done swiftly and well.

As there was only one meal on the 6th, the prisoners

who were hungry for nearly two days or were half starved, made complaints, but no jail officer was ready to pay any heed to them.

On the morning of the 7th June, the bread that was provided was prepared of some sort of wheat and jawar mixture. But the mixture was perhaps not complete; and the bread that was prepared of it, was even worse! This created lots of complaints from every ward, and Mr. Date told the Superintendent that the bread of the mixture was absolutely tasteless and was much under-baked and there were all round complaints of the prisoners on that point. He even proposed that the prisoners should be given one wheat bread and one jawar bread instead of that kind of mixture, so that the time required by the jawar might be compensated by the wheat in making the bread. The Superintendent agreed to this. But in the evening the bread was made of some hybrid mixture and was as bad and tasteless as the one in the morning, nay even worse!

Unfortunately, there was heavy rainfall in the afternoon the same day and that added to the difficulties. There were latrines inside the wards, and in one ward the pipe that carried sewage water out, was left open at the other end. There was no clear outlet on that side. When the torrents fell down, the muddy water entered through that pipe inside and became mixed up with the sewage and overflowed in the ward. It spread over more than one-third area of the ward, and thanks to the efforts of some volunteers who created a barrage by dust heaps, it stopped spreading. It was necessary to clear up the whole dirt and make the room livable.

Mr. Date told the jailor of what had happened in the ward and requested him to help them to clean the place.

But nothing was done. The jailor flatly told that he was unable to do anything. It became necessary to approach the Superintendent and inform him of the situation in that ward. But the Superintendent refused to see the ward or do anything. His only reply was that he would consider the whole case next morning. His attitude was really exasperating. The room had become very dirty and bad odour had filled up the whole room. It was impossible to stand inside. But the Superintendent would do nothing. Instead he was bent on giving a lesson to the complaining resisters. He had made all arrangements to summon the police force and was already awaiting the right moment for action. Soon the sun set and under cover of darkness the cowardly attack of the jail authorities had its full sway.

## CHAPTER XIII

## CRISIS

THE UNWARRANTED and shameful attack which the armed police and the Muslim goondas made on the most peaceful and unarmed prisoners on such a scale and without any cause, had no parallel. The jail authorities were quite incompetent to the task of managing the enormous number of volunteers. They had no sufficient staff and could make no arrangements. They were not able to give them even the two meals which the jail regulations required them to give; and what they had given was hopelessly bad. The prisoners, hungry and exasperated, suffering for want of food and water, and on account of insanitary conditions, were utterly helpless. The only way to secure redress was to complain and make an humble request to the authorities to set things right. But the bewildered jail authorities were not prepared to do anything or even to listen to anything. The situation had become more complicated on account of the heavy rain on the 7th June which spread sewage water in work-shop ward. Mr. Date had explained the situation to the jailor who said that he himself was helpless and could do nothing. He had, however, agreed to take Mr. Date to the Superintendent, but the Superintendent refused to see him. More than a hundred prisoners had followed Mr. Date upto the main gate. The Superintendent insisted on his



refusal to see any body or to do anything. He sent orders to all to retire to their wards. The prisoners refused. They only wanted that the Superintendent should at least see the ward, more than one-third area of which was covered with sewage water. Their grievance was just. It was impossible to sit inside. Had he come inside and personally seen the situation in the ward, he would have himself realised what dirty place it had become. But really was he bewildered. He could not understand how to manage. At last he decided to crush down all complaints. He had great faith in lathi. With one stroke he decided to set things right. The number of police who were on jail-duty, was very small. He phoned to the city police and brought several lorry loads of them. He even brought the Muslim goondas who were armed with lathis. When everything was ready, the alarm bell began to ring.

In the mean time the Assistant Superintendent, who was formerly in charge of the jail, came forward and tried to persuade Mr. Date and other prisoners to retire to their ward. Mr. Date explained to him the whole position. But he gave a touching reply. He said, "Mr. Date, will you listen to me? I am not in a mood to hear anything. You know what heavy responsibility I have to bear, and you know me also. But I have just received a telegram that a relative of mine died to-day, and I am not in mood at this moment. For my sake will you go back and take away all your men?" Mr. Date became utterly helpless. He could not say no. He sympathized with the Assistant Superintendent and assured him that he would retire and request his brother-prisoners to do so. Within two minutes all men retired. But before they reached their respective wards the alarm bell began to ring and

the armed police and the goondas (or perhaps armed police without uniform of any kind, one cannot say who they were) rushed in the prison.

When the alarm bell is given it is the duty of the prisoners to rush to any neighbouring ward and sit silent. The police come and lock up the wards and go. This is the usual practice. The alarm bell is rung every month for the sake of practice; and when there is some danger, it is rung at any time. In Aurangabad Jail, there were open varandas adjoining the wards of the prisoners. They were not meant to accommodate any prisoners, but on account of the great rush of volunteers these varandas were used for lodging them. In fact, every inch of place under cover was used to accommodate the prisoners. The varandas were of course open and had no walls, nor doors. When the monthly alarm bell was given, the prisoners living in the varanda were asked to sit in lines of two in the varanda itself. The police used to come, count the number and go away. The prisoners were only advised not to move till the complete counting of the prisoners in the jail was finished. When the alarm bell was given at about 7-30 p. m. on the 7th June, the prisoners according to their usual practice, went to their respective wards and varandas. But the police and the goondas who came in the first square, came, not to count, but to strike. They began their violent attack with their lathis and musket-butts upon the unarmed prisoners, who were sitting in lines in the varanda. The prisoners, terrified, ran to other wards for protection. Then the police turned to ward No. 2. As the prisoners saw the police and the goondas rushing to their ward, they closed the door from inside. The bolt of the door was to be thrust into the wall for locking it up. The



door of the cell was loose and it got pushed a little forward than what was necessary to bolt and lock it. The police tried to push it back from outside and the prisoners tried to push it forward from inside. The tussle went on for some time. The police afterwards reported that they only wanted to close the door. The prisoners inside were afraid that the police, who had violently attacked their brother-prisoners before their eyes, sitting in the varanda, wanted to come inside and beat them. Perhaps the police were misunderstood. But it is true that they did not try to passify the prisoners or assure them that they only wanted to close the door and go away. Probably they had wished to enter and beat the prisoners inside. The interpretation that was later given seems more to be an afterthought. Anyhow the fight began on both sides of the door. There was no bolt from inside. The door had big iron bars and an expanded metal frame. The police thrust their bayonets through the expanded metal to push the prisoners back. But the inside prisoners, alert, created a buffer by heaping their pots and beddings behind the door which was below the surface of the ward by one step, and frustrated their attempt. Some of the prisoners were hurt by these bayonets, but the police failed to thrust back the door open. The police then attempted a dangerous game. They decided to set fire to the ward, and burn the prisoners. Threats of burning them down were openly given, and some of the police brought some pieces of rags and pouring rock-oil on them set them on fire and actually threw them inside the ward through the bars of the windows. Fortunately for the prisoners, there was a bucket full of water inside, and they put down the fire. This fight, terrific indeed, was continued for over twenty minutes.

At last the police found a way out to revenge. They were extremely upset because they were not able to open the door. They avenged their defeat by violently attacking the prisoners in a neighbouring cell.

Adjoining this ward, there was a small cell which had a broken wooden door without any bolt or hook to lock it. It was formerly used as a godown; but now it was used for accommodating the prisoners. Its door was rather inside, at the end of the corridor and invisible at the first glance from the open square. But some of the police knew that the door had no lock and it was half broken; they, therefore, ran towards it. In that cell there were some twenty-five prisoners who were sitting quietly on their beds. As the police rushed in, they began their attack. Mr. D. K. Sathe, the leader of that cell was seen sitting on his bed, just near the door. It was the best opportunity for the cowardly police to take full revenge of their defeat in the neighbouring ward. "Here is their leader" cried a police and with the lathi in his hand he so vehemently attacked Mr. Sathe that in one stroke he made him fall flat and senseless. Other policemen rushed in and every prisoner in that ward except one fortunate enough, who hid himself in darkness in such a way that he was not detected, was beaten by the police and the goondas to their hearts' content. Mr. Sathe and others violently bled. Even in that state they were roughly handled and were beaten on all parts of the body. After all this was over, the Jailor came in and he took the police and goondas out of the cell. Within a short time even the Taluqdar arrived. He came near the ward No. 2, the place of the fight, and told the prisoners to open the door. But the prisoners refused. They complained that the police were out to beat them. The Taluqdar



assured that the police would no longer beat any body, and that he would lock up the door and take away the police all back. The prisoners, reassured by the Taluqdar, immediately took off their beddings. The door was pushed back a little, bolted and locked. Then the bleeding prisoners of the adjoining cell were removed to other ward and locked up. From 7-30 in the evening upto 10 at night, this struggle was going on; and when everything was over the police and the goondas all armed, left the jail in the light of gas-lamps. The prisoners who counted them reported that their all told number was about four hundred.

The whole night passed away in dead silence. But no one could get sleep. The hurling of leaves was the only voice which could be heard. Messrs. Sathe, Gore, and about two dozen of the prisoners lay bleeding in a ward of the criminals. Mr. Sathe bled very heavily and was practically senseless all the night. The criminal and other prisoners passed the whole night brushing his flowing blood.

The night passed away and the sun rose high in the sky but the prisoners lay locked up. No man was to be seen even passing along the way that was before them. The prisoners in the workshop ward (it was a big hall meant for workshop but was now turned into the ward for prisoners temporarily) where the sewage water had covered a large area, passed the whole night inhaling all the dirt. Upto that time the political prisoners were never locked up inside the ward either by day or by night except for the time of the alarm bell. Other wards had the water pipes inside, but the workshop ward had nil. The prisoners inside that ward had no water with them. They had ex-

pected that they would be unlocked early in the morning and allowed to go to latrines, but nothing. They were kept locked up till 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Some of the prisoners visited the latrines inside the ward which gave out enormous sewage smell, without water and some used rags of their cloth to clean their bodies. At about 12 o'clock, some of the prisoners felt extremely thirsty—they were the hot summer days—but could get no water. No body crossed their ward, and when some stray police or other passed by it, he dared not approach the prisoners. It was an hour trial. Some of the prisoners inside grew wild, helpless, and then became calm. It was an occasion for "knowing thyself." Really so.

The whole morning was used by the jail authorities to remove and clean off all the spots and oozes of blood, that had flown in the night attack. Everything was cleared and not even the slightest trace of bloodshed was allowed to remain unwashed. When everything was over, the Jailor, the police and their large attendant paraphernalia started on their visit to the wards. They opened one ward at one time, took out all the prisoners, searched them naked, and keeping them outside, robbed of what they found in the ward. Because the prisoners who were practically all under-trial prisoners had been allowed to keep all their belongings with themselves. After this kind of search was over, they were again locked up. In this way all the wards were searched. Many lost their caps, coats, dhoties, specks, books, fountain pens, shoes and hundred and one things in this daylight robbery in jail! At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, prisoners in the workshop ward were allowed to wash their hands and face and allowed a pot of water to drink; and a little later, they were given a handful of rice to eat. In the evening the



scavenger came and cleaned the latrines inside. The sewage water had in the meantime dried up and the dirt was swept away.

The wounds of Mr. Sathe and his party were allowed to remain undressed till late in the evening of the 8th June. By that time their bleeding had automatically stopped. Jailors and the police were busy the whole day in removing all the spots of blood and reaping vengeance on other prisoners, and being in that mood, they lost memory of these bleeding ones. The jail doctor was not summoned and was given no knowledge of this bloodshed at all. When he was called in the evening of the 8th June after full twenty hours, it was said that he remonstrated against what had happened and refused to undertake the responsibility of dressing them after so much period which was intentionally allowed to pass. But at last the wounds were bandaged and the first-aid precautions were taken; the next day they were removed to the jail hospital.

But the Superintendent was very keen on not allowing to keep or remain any record of the wounds of these prisoners. Though Mr. Sathe had to remain in the jail hospital for more than a month, and many others for more than two weeks, still it was said that the hospital record showed that Mr. Sathe alone was in the hospital for about half a week and had very slight wounds; none others had any, and were not admitted at all!

The police and the jail authorities were not however fully satisfied with what they were able to do the day before. They wanted to give exemplary thrashing to all the prisoners. In the afternoon of the 8th June, after all the search and looting was over, the jailor

with a band of police went in the square in which Mr. Bhopatkar and his party were lodged. The jailor opened the door of their ward and brought out Messrs. Bhopatkar, Gadre, Kelkar, Ranade and Joshi and asked them to sit in the varanda. The jailor then went away leaving the police to do their worst as they had planned before. Then two dozen policemen lined in front of the door of the ward and brought out two prisoners every time. They had to pass through the rows of these police henchmen, and when they passed, the police dealt with them with all their might and in all possible ways. They started with abuse and ended in making a football of the prisoners. They slapped them, boxed them, speared them, caned them, battoned them and stroke them with legs and even spit upon them! In this way they took their full vengeance in the most shameful manner on the unarmed and peaceful prisoners! They did not consider whether the prisoner was small or great, strong or weak, thick or thin, man or child. They beat them till they were tired, and all this before the eyes of Mr. Bhopatkar and others who had led them! It was all an intentionally arranged plan. Mr. Bhopatkar, and those who were made to sit by his side, had, with blinded eyes to see and with deafened ears to hear, the whole spectacle and shrieks of his men! It was a scene which bears no comparison. Mr. Bhopatkar and others full of agony and anguish had to bear up everything calmly. When that ghastly and terrifying affair ended, they were all driven into the ward and allowed to meet each other. This same process, to a smaller or larger extent was carried out in every ward, when at last the jail authorities themselves lost appetite for beating them.



The views of this violent attack leaked out within two days. The outside workmen who came everyday found that there was something serious in the jail. The police, who had come from the town to beat the prisoners carried some news. But the Nizam Government was very particular about its publicity. When some of this incident was sent to a most influential newspaper in Bombay by its correspondent in Aurangabad, a high officer of the Nizam Government intervened; and that news was distorted and another, a quite different version of the news was advised to be sent for a prize!

But the truth came out very soon. There were several cases pending in the court against the prisoners. There were some cases on the 10th June. It was necessary to take the prisoners to the court at the time of the court proceedings. It was from the prisoners who were taken to the court, that the full information became available to the public whom they could meet and through them it was telegraphed to the press and the headquarters of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

For full three days all the prisoners excepting the criminals were kept locked up all the twenty-four hours of the day. The prisoners in workshop ward where there was no water tap inside, were served with one pot (two lbs.) of water two times a day. This much water they were to use for the whole day, for drinking, for cleaning their pots, for privy and all other purposes. No additional water was given even when asked for. No bath was allowed. Half the ration of food was supplied. Mr. Davare, a Sanatani Brahman who used to cook his food, was not allowed to do so. He could get nothing to eat for full five days. Aryasamajists were not allowed to perform their Havan ceremony

and one of them went on hunger-strike. After five days normal conditions were restored and Mr. Davare was allowed to cook his food and Havan was allowed. In the mean time the Superintendent brought from other centres sufficiently large number of criminal prisoners to prepare food and work as warders. The bread problem was solved.

As the real news had, however, already leaked out and the truth was published, the jail authorities became very uneasy. They wanted everything to be hushed up. They, therefore, planned a new story altogether. It was that while the Assistant Superintendent was talking with Mr. Date, who had instigated the prisoners to revolt against the jail discipline, one of them threw sand (because there were no stones near by at all) on the face of the Assistant Superintendent; therefore, it was necessary to punish Mr. Date and others belonging to the workshop ward. Then as regards what had happened near ward No. 2, the story was planned that when the Assistant Superintendent had gone there to request all the prisoners to go inside of their respective wards, some prisoners assaulted him, and therefore, a little cane was used. But it was, however, necessary to teach them a lesson, and therefore, severe steps were necessary. On this foundation the whole story was invented, based and planned and a report was accordingly sent out. The official version of the happenings in Aurangabad Jail was based on this planned, after-thought myth.

It was then necessary to carry out the details according to this plan. The jail authorities had cleared the jail of all the record and evidence that might have led to show any trace of their cowardly and violent attack



on the poor, helpless prisoners. One thing that they could not help, was the prisoners themselves. But they took care to see that nothing was given out either on paper or as oral version by the prisoners in the jail. All writing material of the prisoners, which was so long allowed, was siezed. Not a scrap of paper or a stick of pencil was allowed to remain with them. Orders were issued that all writing material should be handed over forthwith to the jail authorities and nothing should be left with the prisoners under the threat of heavy punishments. Strong and large police force was sent everytime to accompany the undertrial prisoners, and strict instructions were issued to the police to watch and see that the prisoners saw or talked with no body in the court where they were taken at the time of their cases.

Then began the series of jail punishments to the prisoners for breaking the laws of the jail and the assaults of the jail authorities. The Superintendent had thought that unless he was successful in terrifying into submission all the prisoners under the threat of severe punishments and flogging, nothing could prevent complaints ever increasing about the mismanagement of the affairs in jail. He also knew that this sort of submission would be at the most only temporary. But he thought that, that much time would be quite sufficient respite for him to complete all his arrangements as regards sanitation, and food. His judgment was correct so far, and he set himself whole-heartedly to the task of inflicting severe punishments to the prisoners and improving the conditions in the jail.

On the 10th June, the Assistant Superintendent went to the workshop ward with a big police and warder

force and lined all the prisoners. Then the warders and the police picked out some eighteen men from that ward, whom they had thought worthy for punishment. They were charged for throwing sand on the face of the Assistant Superintendent on the evening of the 7th June. Really speaking none of them, in fact none at all, had thrown anything. But some excuse was necessary for the punishments which were to follow. They all were charged for doing one thing or another. They all had of course denied the charge. The main charge against them was that these men knew who threw the sand on the face of the Assistant Superintendent, and because none of them admitted anything, all were to be punished. Then the Assistant Superintendent called upon Mr. Date to state the names of the offenders. He said that none had really offended. But it was urged that some names should be given or his name would be included. Mr. Date gladly accepted the second alternative than giving out something nonsense. Then the whole party was taken to the punishment ward. They were to be fettered. When the party reached that place, the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent accidentally came there. Mr. Kulkarni, one of the party rose up and said to the Superintendent: "Sir, I want to admit my guilt. I am the person who have committed the crime of throwing sand at our worthy Assistant Superintendent. I deserve all blame and all punishment. I bow down to your order of punishments. The others are quite innocent and should be let go." It was really a dilemma before the authorities. Mr. Kulkarni had done nothing. The Assistant Superintendent knew that he had done nothing. He immediately told the Superintendent that Mr. Kulkarni had done nothing and that he was taking



the blame upon himself simply to save his friends. The Superintendent gazed at Mr. Kulkarni for a moment when one of the party retorted, "then Sir, if you are sure that Mr. Kulkarni is not guilty, why fetter him for his innocence? Let him go back at least!" The Superintendent appreciated the retort and laughed, but confirmed the punishment and both of them went their way.

The number of these jail punishments increased to such an extent within a few days that they lost all horror about them. The fetter bars, the cross bars, and the like punishments became the order of the day. More than 150 persons were fettered? Even the stock of the bar fetters in the jail was exhausted and orders were placed for additional sets!

As the fetter bars had practically no effect on the morale of the prisoners, the Superintendent decided to flog them. Some seven persons were selected for flogging but the idea was eventually dropped at that time. He had, however, great faith in flogging and he did resort to it three times during the next two months. When Mr. Date and his party were taken to the court for legal proceedings of their case on the 12th June, four of them had fetter bars on them and they were taken to the court in that state. As the news of the horrible attack on prisoners had reached Poona and Bombay, several persons flocked to Aurangabad to see and know things personally. Messrs. Aney, Gokhale, Karandikar, Ketkar and many others had gone to Aurangabad. They were surprised to see Mr. Date, Bapat and others brought into the court with fetter bars. When they saw the Taluqdar they expressed their protest for fettering men like Date, Bapat and

others even when they were under-trial prisoners! This had its effect and afterwards the jail authorities followed a policy of removing the fetters of the prisoners when they were taken out of jail for court purposes and putting them on after their return from the court.

The same policy was followed more or less in all jails. Aurangabad had of course its climax. The Nizam Government found it utterly impossible to accommodate so many prisoners. They, therefore, followed a policy of reducing their number. Many were set at liberty on account of their old age. Those who suffered and fell ill on account of bad food and insanitary conditions were set at liberty. Those who were terrified by the jail discipline, and apologised, were sent out. The Superintendent, the Jailor, even the police began to tell openly to the prisoners that the jail doors were open to all those who wanted to go out. And more than 25 per cent of the prisoners were sent out for one reason or the other before the date of the declaration. But still the jails had remained overflooded.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NIZAM YIELDED

THE NEWS of the happenings in Aurangabad jail filled the people in Maharashtra and outside with horror and indignation. They had not expected that the jail authorities would be so inhuman and cruel as to make a violent and cowardly attack on the peaceful civil resisters. Up-till-now it was the policy of the Nizam Government to terrify the civil resisters into inaction before they had offered civil resistance. The Police had attacked and brutally assaulted the batches of volunteers who had entered their State for defying their laws. But the attack in the jail was something quite different. It was a crime perpetrated in cold blood in order to silence the complaints which the inefficient jail authorities could not remove. The helplessness of the prisoners was obvious. Sjt. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, issued an appeal to the people in Maharashtra and outside. It was significant on that occasion. It was as follows :—

“The harrowing tale that reached us last week from Aurangabad jail of wholesale starvation of hundreds of Hindu civil resisters for days together, is now followed by brutal and sustained lathi-charges on those hundreds of civil resisters sent up in that prison. It is said that the sudden influx of some seven

hundred civil resisters under the lead of Mahashaya Krishanji upset the jail authorities and wretchedly incompetent administration of the Nizam Government could supply neither food nor water and consequently some eight hundred of civil resisters, Aryasamajists and Hindusabhaitis, could get neither food nor water for two days. This starvation naturally caused bitter complaints and the reply on the part of the Nizam jail authorities was brutal lathi-charges. Some hundred Hindu civil resisters were seriously wounded. Hindu-sabhait Mr. Dhondumama Sathe and others have been so inhumanly assaulted that their lives are in danger. Not only that but even after the lathi-charges and locking up the prisoners in cells, many of them were individually assaulted in their respective cells till they fell broken and bleeding on the ground.

“Was not the Nizam Government knowing weeks before-hand that big jathas were to enter the State under Mahashaya Krishanji and others? If so, why did it not replenish its jails' stores with sufficient food and water supply? Was it beyond its resource? Or, was it a deliberate and diabolical scheme to starve out and hammer out the hundreds of civil resisters into surrender?

“If the Nizam Government knew that its resources or wretched administration was really so incompetent to supply room, food and water to its prisoners in spite of a fortnight's notice of their coming to defy the anti-Hindu laws in the State, why did the Nizam Government arrest them at all? Even barbarous States feel it a moral duty to feed even the criminals they imprison and sentence. Even under armed warfare each belligerent is held responsible by public code of



war to give human treatment to the respective armed prisoners of war. But here hundreds of Hindu civil resisters unarmed and immune from the slightest tinge of crime enter the Nizam State having informed of their intention to do so, weeks ago only to assert rights of fundamental civil liberties. They are formally arrested by the Nizam Government, pent up in the prison which gets so overcrowded as to render the black hole myth a relative reality and then for two days denied food and water as if of a right by being told that their sudden influx is responsible for breaking down the jail's capacity and stores and when the starved hundred of Hindu civil resisters demand in a body—not luxuries—but mere food and water, these are outrageously lathi-charged enmasse and then again individually assaulted in their cells with lamps out, in darkness, so mercilessly that their very lives are held in suspense.

“If the Nizam Government's resources are really so poor or its incompetence so great, can that be an excuse for such monstrous and bloody lathi-charges? Why did it not set them all free if it knew it can afford neither room nor food nor even water for them?”

“The fact, therefore, seems to be that this richest and biggest Muslim State in India could afford to feed its prisoners—but this Muslim State being also the worst and the most fanatically anti-Hindu, has committed this outrage in pursuance of a deliberate policy to crush the Hindu movement to assert the birth-rights of Hindudom in that State.

“The only effective response, therefore, that ought to be returned to this challenge of the Nizam Government cannot but be the still more vigorous intensification of the Hindu movement to assert our birth-rights

in that State. Request would be humiliating and protest futile. Let Sanatanists, Aryasamajists, Hindu-sabhaitis, Sikhs, Jains, and others who constitute Hindudom as a whole, rise up and march on to the front not only in hundreds as was done up-till-now but in thousands to press on this civil resistance movement and defy the anti-Hindu laws in the Nizam State.

“And especially, oh! ye millions of millions of my Hindu brothers who reside in the Nizam State, would it not be cowardly and treacherous on your part to continue unconcerned and keep witnessing passively your co-religionists and compatriots who enter the State to liberate you getting assaulted outrageously by Muslim fanatics till hundreds of them fall broken and bleeding before your eyes from day to day? Arise then in your millions and join ranks to press on this *Dharma-Yuddha*. Defy the Anti-Hindu bans in every town and village, resort to local hartals to protest against such atrocities, declare a social boycott against Muslim goondaism that is running rampant throughout the Nizam State. Let the Hindu youths in that State go on a general strike in their thousands and paralyse the educational institutions sponsored by the Nizam which aim to humiliate Hindu language, Hindu culture and Hindu honour. If the Hindus from outside the State could enter it in their thousands and face untold miseries, starvation, imprisonment, and even death in defence of Hindu honour,—the Hindus inside the State must come forward in their millions to assert their birth-rights and continue this fight to its bitter end.”

The stirring appeal of the President had its effect. Mr. Bapurao Joshi of Mahad who was already organizing volunteers immediately decided to start and made a



heroic march with his batch on Aurangabad, just a week after the jail atrocities, and offered civil resistance. Within a few hours they were prisoners in Aurangabad jail by the side of their compatriots. Baba Madansingh Gaga, a hero of the Andamans, who had suffered jail life for a number of years as a political prisoner came with his batch of Sikhs and offered civil disobedience. The party was sentenced to imprisonment. He was followed by a number of small batches which added to the number of prisoners. Undeterred by these violent attacks in the jail, the civil resistance campaign was on the increase. Then came the batch of Pandit Buddhadeo, rather a large batch. He was the seventh dictator of the Arya Samaj. Since Sholapur centre was closed to the Arya Samaj, on account of the order of the Bombay Government, Manmad had become the centre of their activities and Aurangabad was the most convenient place where the civil resistance activities could be carried on. When the batch of Pandit Buddhadeo was arrested and sent to jail for the first time it was completely robbed off by the police of every pie that its individual members possessed before it entered the jail premises and each individual in that batch was charged with lathis by the jail police under cover of darkness. When the batch came, the jail authorities could not manage for space to accommodate them! The whole batch suffered at night in rains and tried to take shelter under bushes in the square or elsewhere!

Violent attacks on prisoners was the policy of the jail authorities everywhere. From time to time complaints had reached the headquarters of the Hindu Maha Sabha about the atrocities committed upon the prisoners. But on the whole, news from other jails was rather scarce and scanty. The reason was

obvious. In other jails the number of prisoners was generally of all those who were convicted. They could maintain no communication with the outside public. It was not possible to transmit any news by letters, and visits were abruptly ended when the jail authorities suspected that something undesirable was talked of. But with the prisoners in Aurangabad jail, the case was entirely different. More than three-fourths of them were under trial prisoners. It was necessary to take them to the court for the conduct of their cases. Unlike the Aryasamajists, the Hindu Maha Sabha civil resisters had fought their cases, and therefore, their trial continued for months. Even the Aryasamajist batches which came to Aurangabad to offer civil resistance realised the utility of such a policy and they also without exception followed it. Every day there were cases in the court of some political prisoners or others, and they had to be escorted to the City Adalat. There it was possible to communicate to the sympathising world of the happenings in jail, who could transmit the news to the proper places. The jail authorities could see that the news from jail leaked out; they also knew how it leaked; but they could not prevent it. They prevented the prisoners from writing. All writing material was confiscated and severe watch was kept on them in the court. Naked searches were taken everytime. Indeed, they could rob everything, but could not outwit the resourceful and ingenious prisoners!

When the full story of the atrocities in Aurangabad jail became known to outside public, the relatives of the prisoners and the public leaders flocked to Aurangabad to see them. Sjt. N. C. Kelkar, M. S. Aney, Jamnadas Mehta, Hon. Mr. Gokhale, the then minister of Central Provinces, and many others visited the prison-





ers and their relatives. Questions were asked about these atrocities both in the Central Legislative Assembly and in the House of Commons. Mr. Tamhankar, an enthusiastic correspondent of newspapers in London spared no pains in communicating the whole incident in its right perspective to the members of Parliament. He had to struggle very hard for this. He found on experience that no daily newspapers in London were willing to say anything against the Nizam. Some of them, it was whispered, were paid by the richest Indian State! He distributed literature, interviewed the members of Parliament and journalists, issued tracts depicting with facts and figures, the terrible tale of systematic and fanatic oppression which the Hindus in the Nizam State were subjected to. At last two journals opened their columns to him and Mr. Wedgwood Benn promised to open the question in Parliament. When he did so, Col. Muirhead, the Under Secretary of State for India replied that, "Reports received from the Resident at Hyderabad afforded no reason to think that the treatment of the prisoners by the State authorities was open to criticism. Hyderabad jails were administered by the Nizam Government and it would not be in accordance with practice to address an inquiry to that Government regarding such a matter of internal administration, unless there was reason to believe that serious abuses existed." It seemed that the Government did not desire any criticism on the subject in Parliament. But neither the Government of India nor the British Government could satisfy the members on the subject. When Mr. Grenfell, member of the House of Commons, saw that no satisfactory reply was forthcoming from the Government, he made a public statement on this subject which

was published by Manchester Guardian. Mr. Grenfell wrote :

"Sir—On July 10, Lieutenant Colonel Muirhead, the Under-Secretary of State for India, replied to my question regarding the ill-treatment of the Hindu satyagrahi prisoners in the Aurangabad jail, Hyderabad State, that Lord Zetland was in close touch with the Crown Representative on that matter, but upto that moment he was not satisfied that a case had been made out for a special inquiry. The reply did not satisfy me, particularly as I had received a telegram which revealed the gravest abuse of authority on the part of the ruler in the State. The telegram is as follows :

"Conditions in Hyderabad jails highly deplorable. Accommodation too poor. Old rotten buildings in Aurangabad turned into prisons without elementary human arrangements. Food insufficient and bad, many not getting two full meals often. Sanitary arrangements extremely unsatisfactory. General treatment harsh and vindictive. Defective medical aid. Thirteen satyagrahi prisoners died . . . Over 10,000 arrested till now, more than half from Hyderabad State.

"Prominent influential leaders from all over India sent memorial to Viceroy last month praying for Paramount Power's intervention to secure full freedom to Hindus to observe their elementary religious rites and asking for impartial inquiry. No response yet. Kindly enlighten British public and induce India Office to intervene through pressure public opinion and Parliament

SUDHAKAR,

Secy. International Aryan League.



"My inquiries lead me to believe that the International Aryan League is a representative and influential body. Since the receipt of the telegram I have also seen their publication entitled "The case of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad State." I have also read an interview given to the press by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, a veteran Hindu leader, and a delegate to the Indian Round Table Conference. According to these publications the 1,20,00,000 Hindus in Hyderabad State are systematically persecuted by the administration of the Nizam. It is apparent that the Hindus in the Hyderabad State are denied the most elementary civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, or religion.

"A Hindu must not celebrate his marriage if the appointed day happens to coincide with a Muslim festival. Here is an order from a sub-inspector of police to the Secretary Manaknagar :

"I am informed that in your circle a marriage has been performed in the month of Ishra Shariff (Muslim festival) against the Government orders and circulars. If it is a fact, why did you not stop it? Find out the name of the person and his address so that action may be taken against him."

The words "against the Government orders and circulars" clearly show that the sub-inspector of police was only carrying out the regular policy of his Government. No further proof should be necessary to justify an immediate and searching inquiry into the administration of the Hyderabad State."

House of Commons,  
July 18, 1939

Yours etc.  
**D. R. Grenfell**

But though the shell of questions thrown at the Government both at Delhi and London, had no direct result, it did certainly help the movement. A memorial signed by some ninety most influential men in the country was also submitted to the Viceroy to intervene into the matters about Hyderabad and the atrocities committed on peaceful prisoners in jails. Mr. Davare of the Varnashram Swarajya Sangh, who was released from the Aurangabad jail by the end of June, and who was an eye-witness of the whole incident there, made on the 5th of July, an affidavit before the Poona City Magistrate, about conditions and the incident in the jail, and gave wide publicity to the most authentic version. Mr. A. S. Bhide and a batch of volunteers marched on the Bungalow of the Resident at Hyderabad to see him. They were stopped near the porch by his Secretary, who heard what Mr. Bhide and others wanted to say and after receiving all the necessary literature about the satyagraha movement, he promised to arrange for their visit with the Resident.

When Mr. Bhide went to the Resident's palace to see him on the 10th July, the interview was rejected. Mr. Bhide told his Secretary that they had closed all constitutional doors to them and they were free to act as they might think proper. Immediately Mr. Bhide left the palace and hurried back with his party in motor cars and all of a sudden in the very court-yard of the bungalow unfurled the Bhagwa Hindu Flag and loudly cheered "Veer Savarkar ki Jay." Naturally the silent atmosphere under the Union Jack was perturbed. The peons ran to the phone and the police were summoned. The party was arrested and was taken to the police station where a European City Inspector threatened to arrest them as criminals. Mr.



Bhide retorted that a criminal to the police was a patriot to the Hindus. A little later, the officer took the party in confidence. He admitted that the Hindus had real grievances and told them that the reforms were coming very soon. At last, the whole party was released.

Another big batch of one thousand volunteers was arranged to start on the 22nd of July, under the leadership of Mr. Vinayakrao Koratkar, the President of the Arya Samaj, in Hyderabad State. The volunteers in his batch had encamped at Manmad and were awaiting for their day of trial. Up-till-now, all the dictators had been from British India. This gave the Nizam Government an excuse to say that the whole movement was initiated and projected from outside and the local men or leaders had nothing to do with it. The State Government made a vigour propaganda to justify their statement that the movement was of outside initiative and leadership and was also financed entirely from outside. Here was a reply to it. But before this big batch started for civil resistance, the Nizam at long last signed the Reforms on the 17th of July, 1939, which were published two days later. It is reported that His Exalted Highness was very unwilling to sign the document of Reforms in the beginning; but he was forced to do so by the force of circumstances. The whole atmosphere throughout the length and breadth of India was surcharged with indignation at the ill-treatment and cowardly attacks on poor helpless prisoners and the maltreatment of the Hindus in the State. The propaganda carried on in British India from Punjab to Madras, in spite of the unsympathetic and on many occasions hostile attitude of the Congress Governments, was much responsible in forcing the hands of the Govern-

ment of India who are said to have at last brought their pressure to bear upon the unwilling Nizam.

As soon as the declaration was made which was published on the 19th July, the Arya Samaj suspended their activities of civil resistance in order to consider the Reforms' proposals in the light of the demands they had made. The President of the Maha Sabha also issued a statement in which he appreciated the spirit though he condemned the Reforms. Within two weeks the whole question was discussed threadbare and as the demands in respect of civil liberties were to a large extent complied with, the civil resistance movement was eventually withdrawn.

This movement cost the Hindu Maha Sabha as well as the Arya Samaj rather heavily. But the hardships and the sufferings which the civil resisters had to undergo were compensated by the success which they gained in the struggle. The Hindus of the State had been suffering for a long period. Their grievances were many and varied. They had become altogether helpless. They had no experience of leading any movements. The tyrannical oppression of the Nizam Government and the Muslim community was growing every day. Their voice was stifled, and their life smothered. The whole social fabric of Hindu society was being shattered to pieces. But in this utter helplessness, were the germs of its rejuvenation. Veer Yashwantrao Joshi, a young sturdy man of infallible courage and great energy of work had set himself to the task. He had organized a band of young enthusiastic men who would do anything at his bidding. They were leading things to a crisis. In 1937, there was an occasion when the civil resistance movement would have been started. It was



the first anniversary day of their great leader Wamanraoji Naik. But at that time wiser counsels had prevailed upon them. Men already established and passing an easy life were not equal to the task which meant suffering. In 1938, when his second anniversary came, the great men had advised the youngsters as before. But during the period of that one year, things had changed enormously. The oppression and suppression of the Aryasamajists in the State was out of all limits and the crisis was soon expected. A number of their best workers were cold-bloodedly murdered for their religious propaganda by the Muslim fanatic goondas and a large number was sent to prison by the Muslim authorities of the State. The anti-Hindu policy of the Muslims had become quite evident. They had begun to say openly that it was and is a Muslim State, where Muslims alone would rule and the Hindus must live at their sufferance. It was too much for the Hindus to swallow. Their whole political and social life was on the point of extinction. The spirit of opposition was gaining ground. The temerity had given birth to courage. Every act of atrocity committed by the Muslim goondas or the State servants had brought strength to the Hindus. The Latur Conference was a glaring instance in the point. The Hindus had become sufficiently bold to state on their own signatures that the State servants were partial towards the Muslims and acted unjustly against the Hindus. They had refused to obey to the dictation of the Taluqdar. They knew what all that had meant for them. They had become restive and were prepared for the worst. Senapati Bapat had already launched his activities. The momentum soon reached up. Veer Yashawantrao Joshi saw the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha and consulted the Hindu Sabha leaders in Poona and outside. He had



**Dharmaveer L. B. Bhopatkar,**  
Leader of the Bhaganagar movement in Maharashtra.



**Sjt. D. K. Sathe,** victim of the cowardly attack  
by the police in Aurangabad jail.



Civil resisters on way to Aurangabad

their full sympathy, support and guidance. At last the moment came, when the Nizam Government refused permission for procession in memory of Wamanrao Naik. Veer Joshi sounded the trumpet call and the action began at once.

Once the movement was started, it went on rapidly. Hindu Maha Sabha could not associate with it before it was officially accepted. But it had already shown its sympathy. Hindu Resistance Mandal was established and activities were carried on on its behalf. When the Hindu Maha Sabha in its open session at Nagpur adopted the resolution and decided to carry on the movement, the Hindu Satyagraha Mandal merged into it. Though Maha Sabha activities were based on an All India scale, Maharashtra had of course to bear the brunt of it. Arya Samaj is a powerful organization in Northern India. Punjab, U. P., Rajputana are its centres. That powerful organization brought under its direction more than eighteen thousand volunteers who offered civil resistance in the Nizam State. They came from all parts of India. Hindu Maha Sabha was a powerful organization in Maharashtra and it sent more than four thousand men. Such great was the enthusiasm that even small boys of twelve and fourteen had accompanied their elders to offer civil resistance and court imprisonment! To see them in jails was really heart-rending. But these brave boys bore up all calamities of jail-life like the bravest of men! Even the Subhedar of Aurangabad, who was really a thorough gentleman, used to see these small boys when he visited the Aurangabad jail and to cheer them up with love for their bravery! They had stood all the tests, which make man, a man.

In this movement money was spent like water.

13b.s.



Poor Maharashtra could not pay profusely. But it did pay sufficiently. It was the middle class who bore the brunt of it. Many contributed in less than a rupee. There were many who paid regular donations every month till the movement was called off. The total expenses of Poona Centre alone exceeded twenty-five thousand rupees. Much of this amount was spent on Railway fare. It was the biggest item. In such movements in British India, this item required nil. The civil disobedience was practised at the very place where the person resided. Here the case was quite different. The volunteers had to go to distant places in the Nizam Dominions and resist the law there. Of all the places Bombay spent most. It had also collected most. All the total expenses, which the Hindu Maha Sabha made on this project, exceeded a lakh of rupees. All this expense was borne practically by Maharashtra alone!

In point of men, Maharashtra has every reason to be proud of its contribution. The whole Congress section was against this movement. The Congress Governments were unsympathetic from the very beginning. But the cause was appealing. It was a question of Hindu honour, of Hindu race, of Hindu culture. Maharashtra had fought several battles in the past. The old traditions are still ingrained in its blood. When the Hindu Maha Sabha blew up the trumpet call, batches after batches of young men, the best flower of the Hindu community, came forward and showed its readiness to offer civil resistance in the far off places in the Nizam Dominions. In the beginning, it was a very difficult matter to proceed. All the roads and the railway were blocked to such civil resisters. But many times they crossed into the Nizam's territory skilfully, without being noticed by the vigilant police of the Nizam Govern-

ment. Within a few days the Government adopted the policy of terrorization. They violently attacked the volunteers and drove them away. But this could not affect the morale of the civil resisters. The volunteers who returned brought the news of these violent attacks which was published in newspapers. The Nizam Government had practically banned all the nationalist papers and refused their entry into the State except the choicest few whom they had favoured upon. For some time, the Nizam Government, tried to contradict such news. But many times they had to admit it. Then they followed the policy of terrorization in jail. But there too they failed miserably. The atrocities that they committed were too violent and outspoken to be hushed up. At last the Nizam had to yield. It cannot be estimated what this movement cost the Nizam's treasury. But a fair estimate is said to be in the neighbourhood of a crore of rupees!

To give all the names of volunteers who offered civil resistance is not possible. Unfortunately the records were not well-kept at some places. It would be injustice to name a few prominent and ignore the rest. The credit of the movement goes equally to all those, who went to jail and who worked remaining outside. But some mention would not be out of place. The President of the Hindu Maha Sabha deserves all praise. Sjt. Savarkar guided the whole movement in all its phases. He was responsible for its initiative, for its conduct and for its termination. He had to fight against all odds. Veer Yashawantrao Joshi deserves all credit for what he did in the State, and for leading the brunt of the movement. He lit up the fire, which has given heat and light to the Hindu community in the State. Mr. Bhopatkar has the credit for action. He was like the

historic Maratha Sardars, in charge of his army of civil resisters. He led them through all odds taking the brunt of the battle upon himself. He brought with him the necessary weight and momentum to the movement. He was a safe cover and security to all the prisoners. He was kept present to see by his own eyes, the scene, when his men were brutally attacked by the police in the most cowardly manner. All that he had to bear with patience, which the occasion demanded. Thanks are due to Mr. G. V. Ketkar who managed all the affairs of the movement. He had to work day and night, arrange for propaganda, collect funds, enlist volunteers, arrange for their stay and do everything, which such movement requires to be done. He had expressed his desire in the very beginning to lead a batch to offer civil resistance, but Veer Savarkar refused him permission to do so. But for him, there was no organizer to manage things which he so skilfully did.

Then praise is due to all those men who led the batches or the groups. To name them only would be injustice to the rest. I leave them all therefore to remain under the cover of twilight which is more en-vigourating than the lustre of publication.

Let me do one more duty before I close. We lost some brave men in the fight. Their names are writ in blood, deep on our heart. They died in the jails on account of the violent attacks made on them or the sufferings which became unbearable to them. They are:—

S. No.	Name	Province	Jail	Date
1	Dharmmurti Shamlalji Vakil	Nizam State	Bidar	16-12-38
2	Pandit Paramanand	Rawalpindi	Chanchalguda	5-4-39
3	Vyankatrao Kandharkar Vakil	Nizam State	Nizamabad	9-4-39
4	Tuljaram	Nizam State	Gulburga	14-4-39
5	Swami Satyanand	Bangalore	Chanchalguda	28-4-39
6	Vishnu Bhagawant Tandurkar	Nizam State	Chanchalguda	2-5-39
7	Chotelalji Alalpur	U. P.	Gulburga	3-5-39
8	Madhavrao	Nizam State	Gulburga	28-5-39
9	Nanu Malji	Rajputana	Chanchalguda	7-6-39
10	Sunheraji	Rohatak	Aurangabad	13-6-39
11	Purushottam Prabhakar	Nagpur	Hyderabad	18-6-39
12	Malkhansingh	U. P.	Hyderabad	1-7-39
13	Swami Kalyananandaji	U. P.	Gulburga	8-7-39
14	Shanti Prakash	Delhi	Hyderabad	27-7-39
15	Sadashiv Vishwanath Pathak	Sholapur	Hyderabad	12-8-39
16	Naudeo Pandurang	Nizam State	Gulburga	66
17	Swami Brahmanandaji	Rajputana	Chanchalguda	not known
18	Phakirchand	U. P.	Aurangabad	Dates



## MAGNA CHARTA OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

AT LONG LAST, and after considerable hesitation, the Nizam signed the "Magna Charta" acknowledging the rights of civil liberties of the people and granting them certain powers in the administration of the State. The report of the Iyengar Committee, which was appointed to consider the question of the reforms in the State, is a document of most vital importance to the State subjects, and it is now to be seen how faithfully the recommendations accepted by the Nizam are translated into action. The following is the text of the declaration issued by the Nizam Government in a special firman on the 19th July 1939.

## NIZAM'S DECLARATION

The Reforms Committee described the constitutional position of the Ruler thus :—

"The head of the State represents the people directly in his own person, and his connection with them, therefore, is more natural and abiding than that of any passing elected representatives. He is both the Supreme Head of the State and an embodiment of the "people's Sovereignty." Hence it is that, in such polity, the Head of the State not merely retains the power to confirm or veto any piece of legislation, but also enjoys a special prerogative to make and unmake

his executive or change the machinery of Government through which he meets the growing needs of his people. Such a Sovereignty forms the basis on which our Constitution rests, and has to be preserved."

The Nizam's Government regard this declaration as fundamental.

The recommendations of the Committee under various heads, Government's proposals thereon and His Exalted Highness' orders are given below :—

## PUBLIC SERVICES

The Committee emphasised that Public Services should form the exclusive monopoly of the sons of the soil, while, in order to do away with nepotism, a system of selection should be devised on the strength of merit and character and an impartial agency for recruitment should be constituted.

To give effect to this recommendation, Government proposed that the existing Mulki rules should be made more stringent. All Departments should now have an Appointments Board, selections to be made only after due advertisements and in strict accordance with prescribed rules which must in each case be published. Control over the action of Departments in this respect and co-ordination in the matter of Departmental rules for recruitment should be maintained by the Hyderabad Civil Service Committee which should, in future, be a Sub-Committee of the Executive Council, presided over by the President, and having on it at least one Hindu and one Muslim member.

His Exalted Highness has sanctioned these proposals of Government.

The Committee recommended that civil liberties

may be extended within "legitimate bounds", but, in order to establish equilibrium between opposite tendencies and maintain stable conditions in the life of the people, certain checks will naturally be needed on absolute freedom of speech and writing.

In accepting this recommendation, Government proposed that the existing rules, whereby previous permission is required for public meetings of a political or communal nature, should be repealed and provision made, instead, for previous intimation only, with powers to the competent local authorities to prohibit a particular meeting if in their opinion it is likely to promote sedition or enmity between classes or cause a disturbance of public tranquility. In the absence of any such prohibition reaching in time, any public meeting may be held. The convener will have the right to appeal to Government against a prohibitory order, while all possible local facilities will be provided for easy observance of the procedure of intimation. Government express the hope that the relaxation thus afforded will not be abused by either of the two great communities for purposes of mutual recrimination.

As for freedom of association, no law exists in the State regulating the formation of associations.

As regards newspapers, a new regulation, more or less on the same lines as the legislation in British India, is proposed to be brought into force together with other enactments.

His Exalted Highness has sanctioned the proposals.

The Committee recommended that a Commission should be appointed to investigate such religious grievances, if any, as may be alleged to exist and to suggest remedial measures.

Government hold the view that instead of a purely temporary Commission, appointed *ad hoc*, a standing statutory body should be provided for in the constitution itself, to which Government could refer issues which are more or less bound to arise from the very fact of different communities living side by side. The Committee will advise Government on such memorials or petitions of any community or sect as may purport to bring to Government's notice disabilities or restrictions in the performance of religious rites, whether arising from rules and regulations or from their administration and found to be of sufficient public importance. The body should be composed in such a manner that, while it should be sufficiently representative of the various communities to command public confidence, there should be equality of representation, both among the officials, between its Hindu and Muslim members.

His Exalted Highness has sanctioned the proposal.

The Committee recommended a unicameral legislature with a non-official but a nominated majority, the total membership to be 70, excluding members of the Executive Council, who will be *ex-officio* members of the legislature. The President of the Executive Council should be *ex-officio* President of the Legislative Assembly with power to nominate another member of the Council to act as President of the Assembly in his absence.

The constituencies are on the basis of economic interests. Of the 70 members, 33 are to be elected and 37 nominated, out of the latter 19 being non-official. As such, there would be 52 non-officials and 25 officials, including the members of the Executive Council, in a House of 77.





Though not in the report, the proceedings of the Committee envisage a system of joint electorates and the development of a convention under which a constituency, which has to send, for example, two members, may send one Hindu and one Muslim member.

Four different legislative lists were proposed by the Committee, namely :

(1) A list of subjects in respect of which the Assembly will have the power of initiating legislation, asking questions and moving motions or resolutions without the previous permission of the Government ;

(2) A list of subjects in regard to which the initiation of legislation, questions, motions and resolutions will be subject to the previous permission of Government ;

(3) A list of subjects regarding which legislation can be initiated by Government alone ;

(4) A list of subjects expressly excluded from the purview of the Legislative Assembly for all purposes, such as the Ruler and the ruling family, foreign relations ; the military and other armed forces ; currency, coinage and legal tender ; the Ecclesiastical Department and religious endowments ; powers of the Ruler in regard to the existing or future grants ; and the provision of the Legislative Assembly Act, etc.

The Committee also recommended that all Bills passed by the legislature should be of a recommendatory character and be subject to the vetoing powers of Government, which should also have the power of certification. No Bill should be deemed to become law without the assent of His Exalted Highness. Government should have power to pass emergency legislation, to be in force for a period of six months, subject to a further extension

of six months. Similarly, Government should have the right to interpret whether a particular matter does or does not come within a given list.

The official language of the State should be the official language of the Legislative Assembly, namely, Urdu, but the President may permit such members as do not know Urdu sufficiently to address the House in Telugu, Marathi, Canarese or English.

The term of each Legislative Assembly should be five years.

With regard to the budget, the majority opinion of the committee was in favour of the Assembly being given the right of discussion only, with freedom to the President, in his discretion, to allow or disallow motions for adjournment.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE LEGISLATURE

##### NON-OFFICIAL MAJORITY

These proposals have been changed by Government. According to the Government scheme, in a House of 85 members, 42 shall be elected, 28 shall be nominated, of whom 14 shall be officials and 14 non-officials ; 3 shall represent the Serf-i-khas (Crown lands) and 5 the principal landed estates. The members of the Executive Council, who at present are 7, shall be ex-officio members of the Assembly. The 42 elective seats have been distributed as follows :—Samsthans and Jagirs 4 ; Masshdars 2 ; Agriculturists 16, of whom 8 are to be peasant proprietors and 8 land tenants ; Labour interests 2 ; Industries 2 ; Commerce 2 ; Banking 2 ; Legal profession 2 ; Medical profession 2 ; Graduates 2 ; District Boards 2 ; District Municipalities and Town Committees 2 ; Hyderabad Municipal Corporation 2.



Among the nominees, one, selected from the Senate, will always be nominated to represent the University and Government say that, he need not always be an official; 5 from among the Hindu nominated members will always be Harijans and one will always be a Lingayat; Government will also nominate at least two Christians, one Zoroastrian, and two women, provision is made for persons belonging to other unrepresented interests, like journalists and contractors, to be likewise accommodated by nomination.

As regards the basis of interests, Government state that "political constitutionalism, if based on territorial representation, does not give to economic interests in a State as true a representation as that based on such interests themselves. A shifting of emphasis to the economic 'motif' is likely to import a greater degree of realism into legislation, even into politics as such. In a State comprising different ethnic, linguistic and religious divisions, economic interests alone are likely, sooner or later to transcend those barriers of race, language and religion on which such disproportionate emphasis tends to be laid."

Government have rejected the demand for separate electorates and maintained the principle of joint electorates on the basis of economic interests. Government recommended to His Exalted Highness that equality of numbers between Hindus and Muslims should now be accepted for purposes of all the representative bodies both among the elected and amongst the nominated members.

Worked on the basis of joint electorates and within the principles of economic interests, Government feel that such reservation of seats would tend to eliminate

rivalry between candidates on communal lines which may otherwise so easily lead to communal friction within the interests themselves. Government add: "Certain sections of Muslims have, as a result, demanded separate electorates and a statutory majority in all the representative bodies; corresponding sections among Hindus have referred to the standards of minority representation in the League of Nations according to which the Muslims would not be entitled to any special consideration. Government do not find it possible to reconcile Deccani nationalism or a united state consciousness with either of these two extremes.... Besides the importance of the Muslim community in the State, by virtue of its historical position and its status in the body-politic, is so obvious that it cannot be reduced to the status of a minority in the Assembly."

Government further say that reservation of seats must be worked within the essential framework of interests and on the basis of joint electorates conditional on a candidate obtaining at least 40 per cent of the votes of his community as cast in each interest.

His Exalted Highness has accepted these proposals.

#### ASSEMBLY'S POWERS

Government are of the opinion that the placing of the budget before the Assembly once a year is one of the best means of effecting association in a matter of such public importance as the allocation of the revenue and expenditure of the State. They, therefore, recommend that the presentation of the budget statement, indicating the major as well as the minor heads, should be made obligatory for purposes of a general discussion. The Assembly should also be empowered to move and



vote on specific resolutions relating to the major and the minor heads, excluding only matters which are otherwise excluded from the purview of the Assembly itself.

Government have entrusted a long list of subjects to the legislature for purposes of interpellation, resolutions, motions, Bills or other proceedings, leaving a small and undefined residue with respect to which all such proceedings may be initiated, but with the previous permission of Government. A specified class of matters has been indicated, covering generally matters which require all India co-ordination or law and order, in regard to which Bills are left to the initiative of Government, but questions may be asked and resolutions and other proceedings initiated by permission. Many important matters have been brought within the purview of the legislature which according to the Committee's recommendation, were subject either to the initiative or to the previous permission of Government. Thus, Post Office, Savings Bank, quarantine, Corporations, the law of insurance, the conduct of banking, standard of weight, factories, welfare of labour, conditions of labour, unemployment, insurance and development of industries, have now been expressly included within the legislature's purview.

#### GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO LEGISLATURES

##### NIZAM'S INSTRUCTIONS

In according sanction to the above proposals of Government, His Exalted Highness has added the following instructions:—

"The basis of interests has been selected not only to bring the different interests into closer association with each other and with my Government, but also in

the interest of the poorer classes of my subjects. Financial limits may be necessary in certain cases for determining the franchise, but I would regard too high a limit, in a country which is largely agricultural, as defeating to some extent the object with which the economic basis has been prescribed.

"Although, as unanimously recommended by the Reforms Committee, the legislature will be of a recommendatory character, nevertheless, the duty will rest on the executive no less than on the non-official members of the different bodies of importing into the working of the constitution that spirit of accommodation and response which must be its key-note. Motions and resolutions of the Assembly should, after consideration by the Departments concerned, be reported on to my Council for such action as may be deemed necessary. My Council itself should not ordinarily move for the exercise of the power of certification or veto with respect to any legislation without referring it back to the Assembly for further consideration. A similar spirit should govern the grant of permission to ask questions, move resolutions or motions or to introduce Bills with respect to any matter not expressly included within the purview of the Assembly.

"The expansion of the present Legislative Council to the proportions of the proposed Assembly will be of help to me, whenever I may require it in a particular case, in going outside the usual circle of noblemen and officials for selecting Members of my Executive Council, as I shall then have before me the names of such members of the Assembly as may by their character, loyalty and judgment of public affairs, have merited my confidence and proved their ability to





discharge the onerous duties attached to membership of my Council."

As recommended by the Committee, Government have proposed the appointment of Statutory Advisory Committees to advise Ministers in respect of finance, public health, agriculture, industries, education, Hindu endowments and Muslim endowments. The Committees will have the power to discuss and record, for the consideration of the Government, their opinions on questions of policy and on all new schemes involving expenditure. In the composition of the committees the proportion of officials to non-officials will always remain equal. Members of these Committees will ordinarily be the members of the Assembly, the Chairman to be the Minister-in-charge, who will not have the power of voting.

The Finance Committee will consider, discuss and record its opinion on the budget note, on any scheme or measure involving fresh or additional taxation, on important proposals for the improvement of finances or for retrenchment, on reports or recommendations of such special committees as may be appointed by the Government to consider any of the above matters and on Bills proposed to be introduced in the Assembly with respect to any of the above matters.

Sanctioning the proposal, His Exalted Highness has added the following instructions:—

"Such Members of my Government as will be assisted by Statutory Advisory Committees must have due regard to their advice, and must refer cases where they may disagree with such advice to my President of the Council here, too, it should be open to him to refer any cases of disagreement back to a committee for further consideration."

The Reforms Committee recommended that Taluq Boards should be abolished and District Boards reconstituted, each consisting of 24 members and having an elected majority in the proportion of 7:5. Towns with a population of 15,000 and above and all district headquarters should have municipalities constituted on the basis of interests.

Government, in agreeing generally with the recommendations, have enhanced the ratio of elective and nominated elements to 5:3, stipulating that half the number of nominated members should be non-officials. The method and basis of election to the District Boards are the same as the legislature.

According to Government's proposals, all villages, having a population between 2,500 and 5,000 will now have a Panchayat. In villages, where Rural Reconstruction Societies have been formed, they will be recognised as Statutory Panchayats. About a thousand villages will thus have Panchayats.

The Hyderabad Municipal Act is also to be so amended as to provide for electorates on the basis of economic interests and an elected majority in the proportion of 5:3.

Sanctioning the schemes of Local Government, His Exalted Highness observed:—"Much responsibility will rest under the new Constitution on my local officers, whether in the conduct of District Boards or of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation or the District Municipalities and Town Committees. I am confident that they will prove equal to the new burden. They will now share the administration of certain local matters with a majority of elected colleagues and I trust that the closer association thus effected will bring

thrs.



out still more the real identity of interests which exists between them."

#### RULER'S HOPE

Government agree with the recommendation of the Reforms Committee that public conferences should be held in the districts every year under the presidentship of the Subhedar in order to enable the people of the district to give expression to their needs and to present petitions. His Exalted Highness has characterised this scheme as a "useful revival of past practice."

Claiming that these proposals constitute a large measure of advance, Government hope "that increasing association, education and experience in the art of local government and in the conduct of representative and other bodies will result in the gradual extension of their spheres of influence."

His Exalted Highness' "firman" ends with an appeal to all classes to whom he commends the new constitution and to all the communities to continue the tradition of respect for the sentiments and interests of each other and to regard the State as the indivisible asset of all. Speaking of the constitution, the Nizam says:—"I am confident that, if worked in the spirit in which it has been conceived, this constitution will provide both a large measure of present advance and a wide scope for future expansion as, in course of time, both my Government and my people acquire sufficient experience. I trust that both will share the spirit and the desire which have actuated me throughout."

The Reforms declared by the Nizam fall too short of the demands or expectations of his subjects from the constitutional point of view. The very terms in

which the constitutional position of the Nizam is described, amount to a total negation of all the principles of constitutional monarchy. The report of the Iyengar Committee which has been adopted by the Nizam Government clearly differentiates the conception of Sovereignty in England and in India. According to it, "The British constitution is the result of centuries of strenuous struggle between its King and its Parliament. There is a two party system, sustained by the spirit of compromise and the conception of the Sovereignty of the people has struck deep roots into the soil. But the peculiarity of the Indian State is that the head of the State represents the people directly in his own person and his connection with them, therefore, is more natural and abiding than that of any passing elected representatives. He is both the supreme head of the State and the embodiment of his people's sovereignty."

This declaration is considered as fundamental and basic for all constitutional purposes; but nowhere any attempt is made to declare the fundamental rights of the people. The administration, according to this system of Government, might become benevolent or malevolent according to the whims and caprices of the ruler. But this position is common to all Indian States. The constitutional monarchy has not yet begun anywhere in India. The British interests bar introduction of any such procedure. The wide powers which the rulers now possess will have to be limited by the constitutional advances and declaration of rights of the people. It is a question which relates to all the Indian States alike and not to Hyderabad State alone.

The most harmful feature of this declaration is the permanent dominance of the Muslim community

which is a very small minority community in the State. The Nizam states that it is a "Muslim State." He puts it down that "Since the time when Asafjahl founded this *Muslim State*, the premier state of India, rights of citizenship have been enjoyed equally by all the subjects of the State of whatever caste, creed or community." The Muslim community, which is hardly 11 per cent, is given an overriding influence over the Hindu community which forms 85 per cent of the total population of the State. This is obvious partiality. The report says that, "The importance of the Muslim community in the State by virtue of its historical position and its status in the body politic is so obvious that it cannot be reduced to the status of a minority in the Assembly." The Government have therefore given equal seats in the Legislature to Hindus and Muslims alike. This is another way of telling the Hindus who form the bulk of the population that they should never expect and can never claim the rights and privileges which the majority community automatically gets even without any constitutional measure or safeguard. They are like beasts of burden to carry heavy load of taxation for the dominating community, while their share is to remain limited in the privileges of citizenship. This is another way to establish communal autocracy in the State.

But all this is to be compared with the existing situation. At present, there is pure despotic monarchy coupled with Muslim autocracy of its making. The Hindus of the State had no better position than huers of wood and drawers of water. This is certainly a step in advance, though very small indeed. These constitution reforms, when translated into action can at best mean the freedom of civil liberties. But this

is the thin end of the wedge for all constitutional advance. English people received Magna Charta from their unwilling King John, and it was the first step for all constitutional advances which ultimately established the "Sovereignty of the people" over the monarch.



## CHAPTER XVI

### VICTORY

THIS DECLARATION should be compared with the demands made by the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj. The demands of the Arya Samaj were purely religious, and related only to the rights of civil liberties especially in the field of religion. It will be seen that their demands were entirely complied with. As regards the demands of the Hindu Maha Sabha, it will be found that the Nizam Government has gone a long way. There cannot be any doubt that this Scheme of Reforms constitutes a considerable advance over the rotten order of things that had prevailed. There is certainly one more point which requires special mention, namely, the introduction of joint electorates, for which the people in British India have been, and still are making incessant demands. It must also be compared with the Reforms already declared by other Indian States. Mr. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, welcomed therefore the announcement of Reforms and called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Maha Sabha and the All India Nizam Civil Resistance Committee to decide their attitude towards this question. He issued the following statement :—

"I welcome the announcement of Reforms by the Nizam Government as a wise move betokening on their part the change of heart for better.

"In spite of the ugly fact that the Reforms are tainted from the beginning to the end by an underlying assumption that the Muslims though in a 10% minority in the State are to be politically recognized on an equal basis with the Hindus who form a 90% majority, not on account of any special merit but only because they are Muslims, which assumption belies the Nizam's professions of treating all his subjects with equal justice irrespective of Race or Religion, and in spite of the fact that the seemingly disinterested claim in theory advanced by the Government that they have framed electorates on economical and functional basis in order to eliminate all communal bias, stands exposed in face by the astounding self contradiction which consists in the very next breath in reserving 50% seats in the Legislature for Muslims as Muslims, I shall feel no hesitation in stating that even these Reforms, halting as they are do constitute a substantial advance over the old rotten order of things and open out a constitutional channel which if the Nizam Government would only help the Hindus in all sincerity to work out, may lead to future expansion and fuller freedom.

"Thanks to the brave sufferings and sacrifices undergone by those thousands of our civil resisters, the Hindus have succeeded at last in effecting a constitutional breach in the citadel of fanatical autocracy wide enough for a triumphant march of forces of progress into its very heart.

"And therefore, I reciprocate the hope expressed by H. E. H. the Nizam in "a spirit of accommodation and response" for which he pleads, and assure him that the Hindus will never be found wanting in responsive co-operation with the Government to bring about restora-



tion of peace and amity provided that the peace and amity are not to be bought at the cost of their birth-rights as Hindus or subjection to any racial humiliations in future.

"Inasmuch as this announcement of Reforms on the part of the Nizam Government makes it incumbent and advisable to review and reconsider the attitude of the Hindu Maha Sabha in future towards this question, I have already called an emergent meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha as well as a meeting of the All India Nizam Civil Resistance Committee on the 30th July, 1939 at Poona.

The announcement of the Reforms is already bound to relieve to a great extent the keen tension that led the Hindus to fight out a grim struggle up-to-date and if but the Nizam's Government orders immediately a graceful release of all the Hindu civil resisters, rank and file, Hindusabhais or Aryasamajists, before the Working Committee of the Hindu Sabha meets at Poona such a chivalrous act on the part of the Nizam cannot fail to restore a peaceful and friendly atmosphere and to persuade the Committee to suspend the civil resistance movement and extend a hearty co-operation with the Government of the Nizam in working out a progressive, peaceful and glorious future for the State."

The Working Committee of the International Aryan League, however, wanted clarification on certain points which affected them. It was necessary that in the light of the declaration, old firmans, laws and regulations which laid restrictions on the civil and religious liberties of the people must be repealed. There was no reference in the declaration regarding the repeal of

these laws. The Working Committee therefore passed the following resolution for getting all points clarified :—

"The paragraph in the Reforms statement dealing with the question of freedom of association, speech and writing is intended to convey the assurance that the Aryasamajists as well as other subjects of His Exalted Highness the Nizam would have uninterrupted right of association and organization such as formation and functioning of Arya Samaj organizations and that the Arya Samaj as well as other organizations will have full freedom to convene public meetings and that all rules imposing restrictions in this behalf will be repealed.

"Doubts have, however, been expressed whether this announcement also implies the repeal of rules which restrict religious performances in the State. As these doubts receive some support from the rules regarding religious performances which are at present in force and have not been expressly referred to, it is, in the opinion of this Sabha, necessary to have the position clarified.

"As regards the Advisory Committee, the Sabha is strongly of the opinion that such fundamental and elementary religious and cultural rights for which the Arya Samaj has been fighting should not be the subject matter of any enquiry, much less an enquiry by an Advisory Committee attached to a Department of State and authorised only to submit a confidential report to the Department.

"The Committee therefore requests the President, the Hon. Mr. G. S. Gupta, to have the position clarified and also to take such action as the situation may demand from time to time.

"The Committee further advises the Satyagraha



Committee to see that jathas of satyagrahis should stay where they are encamped at present until further instructions."

To this the Nizam Government replied by issuing a special Communique issued on the 8th August 1939. It touches upon matters such as the formation of associations and organizations, the creation of a religious affairs committee, the holding of religious meetings, the taking out of religious processions, places of public worship, the opening of private schools, and the temporary ban on the entry into Hyderabad of outside preachers of all communities.

Regarding the formation of associations, the Communique declares that the provisions made apply to all organizations, religious or otherwise, and all creeds.

Referring to the Religious Affairs Committee, the Communique says that the Committee will deal with the manner in which any regulation of religious rights in the interests of law and order is framed and administered, and adds that "Government's policy, as has already been made clear, involves the granting of the maximum amount of freedom compatible with the public tranquillity and the fitting-in of the regulations to the greatest extent possible with the convenience of the public."

Regarding religious meetings, the communique states that the rules, unlike those for regulating public meetings, do not require even intimation when religious meetings or ceremonies are held within a building, public or private, including any enclosed space attached to the building.

In the matter of religious processions, the Communique makes it clear that permission is required for

such only on first occasion and that in the interests of all concerned, there should be a definite order laying down the route, etc., which may be followed in future years. Executive instructions are being issued emphasizing that the object of the rules is not to place a restriction on the processions of any community merely because they are "new."

Regarding places of public worship, the Communique, after examining the difficulties in the existing situation, states that Government will in due course make suitable rules governing these in the interest of public tranquillity. This also applies to existing buildings so used temporarily at present.

Referring to a suggestion in respect of the opening of private schools that intimation, instead of permission, should meet the requirements of the Department concerned, Government promise full consideration of the suggestion.

The Communique reiterates that the orders banning the entry of outside preachers will be in force only "until the atmosphere has cleared" and trusts that this satisfactory situation will come about in the near future.

There was a wide spread rumour that the Nizam had refused to agree to the declaration which he was eventually forced to make on account of the growing bitterness created by the civil resistance movement. He wanted that all activities must first cease, that the movement should be withdrawn unconditionally, and that he would then consider the proposal for granting any Reforms or the rights of civil liberties. The Reforms Scheme was practically complete and it was even announced that they would be declared on the 19th June



1939. It was also published that the declaration would be relayed on the Radio on that day. Even the time for that relay was declared. But the Nizam refused to sign the declaration at all. The whole ceremony had therefore to be cancelled. It is said that some of the Executive Councillors threatened to resign if the declaration was not made. Much pressure was brought upon the Nizam from all sides. At last he had to agree and issue the firman to that effect. But he felt it necessary to dispel the so-called rumours which had received wide publicity about the cleavage between the Nizam and his Councillors. In order to contradict them he issued the following firman on the 8th August 1939.

"I have been observing for some time past that there has been misunderstanding created in the minds of the people particularly their leaders, that the Ruler is a different entity and the Council appointed by him (which includes all responsible officers for the administration of the country) is a different body. In other words, they seem to think that there exists disagreement between them both, which is not correct.

"The Ruler in fact alone is entirely responsible for the good of the whole country and his advisers along with him. If, at any time, there arises difference on any question there is nothing new in it, because it is a common practice in the world that everybody gives his advice or issues orders from his own standpoint, which may be right or wrong.

"As is the saying, to err is human; and no human being can be an exception to this general rule. In short, the people should clearly know that the Ruler very often looks upon the advice and proposals of his Council with appreciation, thinking that they are all

only attached and loyal to him. They are not of a short-sighted and selfish nature. On the other hand, they are such that they do not attach any importance to anything except loyalty to the King and Country. What is indicated above should be sufficient to convince sensible people."

According to the statement issued by the President, the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the All India Hyderabad Civil Resistance Committee met in Poona on the 30th July 1939 and adopted the following resolutions:—

(1) "Whereas the campaign of civil resistance against the anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam's Government, launched and conducted so valiantly up-to-date by the Hindu Sanghatanists all over India, has succeeded to a great extent in welding Hindusabhaitis, Aryasamajists, Sanatanists, Sikhs, Jains, and all other constituents of our Hindu Nation so as to present a consolidated Hindu front for the first time in the recent history of our race, and has roused pan-Hindu consciousness throughout the land which has led them all to fight out this struggle with unparalleled enthusiasm under a common Hindu banner in defence of Hindu rights and in vindication of Hindu honour, and has succeeded in baffling and overawing all anti-Hindu forces and open hostility of Muslims on the one hand and the covert antipathy of the British Government as well as the treacherous attitude of the Congressites on the other, to such an extent as to record the moral victory in favour of the Hindu Sanghatanist forces, and whereas the heroic sacrifices on the part of those thousands and thousands of Hindu civil resisters have at last compelled the Government of the Nizam to announce the Reforms.



which it has haughtily refused to do for some 25 years in the past and which however halting, stingy and tainted with the flame-boyant pretensions to an everlasting Muslim supremacy in the State, do nevertheless amount to a constitutional breach effected by our Hindu forces into the citadel of fanatical autocracy that dominated the State up-to-date, and have persuaded H. E. H. the Nizam to plead for a spirit of accommodation, peace and amity and to promise to work out the Reforms as to lead to further constitutional expansion,

"this Working Committee of Hindu Maha Sabha in consultation with and consent of several Hindu Sanghatanist workers and leaders in the Nizam State resolves that the civil resistance campaign be suspended for the time being with a view to find out as to how the Nizam Government meets the fundamental grievances of his Hindu subjects in actual operation of the Reforms. It assures the Nizam's Government that if the hopes and promises held out by the Nizam in the announcement are realised in practice and its officers strictly compelled to carry them out in day to day administration, the Hindus will try to work out the constitution in a spirit of responsive co-operation. On the other hand it must be pointed out that the Muslim community too should realise from what has happened, that the only way to secure peace and progress for the Muslims too lies through their amicable, equitable, and cordial relations towards the Hindus.

(2) "The Working Committee further emphasises the fact that H. E. H. the Nizam should be pleased to grant forthwith a general amnesty to all civil resisters whether Hindusabhais, Aryasamajists or others and whether they are from the States or from outside

of it. Any delay or failure in this cannot but be a source of further irritation and effect adversely the attempt to usher in the period of cordial co-operation and constitutional progress.

(3) "The Working Committee draws pointed attention of all Hindu Sanghatanists in the State and outside to the important phase that the above suspension of civil resistance can only mean the beginning of intensive and constructive constitutional movement. The Hindus in the State should immediately form a Hindu party to rouse, to educate, and to consolidate their forces so as to be able to guard Hindu interests, political, social, and religious and press on to secure further constitutional expansion.

(4) "This Working Committee pays a worshipful tribute to the memory of the martyrs who laid down their lives in the Dharma-Yuddha against the Nizam's anti-Hindu designs and expresses its abiding gratitude towards all those Hindu Sanghatanists, Sikhs, etc., who had gone to the front and braving tortures, deadly assaults and imprisonments, fought in defence of the Hindu cause. It also records its sense of appreciation of those hundreds of thousands of Hindu Sanghatanists, who, each in his own ways, whether by financing, propagating or supporting the movement participated in it, and special indebtedness to Sjt. Y. D. Joshi of Hyderabad, Mahatma Narayan Swami, Dharmaveer L. B. Bhopatkar, Sjt. Davare, Chandkiran Sarda and such other most prominent leaders who led the Hindu Sanghatanists' jathas to fight."

After the clarification of the points which the Aryasamajists had asked for, the Working Committee of the Aryan League expressed its entire satisfaction and

decided to withdraw the movement of civil resistance. The Committee adopted the following resolution on the 8th August 1939.

"In view of the communique issued to-day by the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam clarifying certain points raised by the Sarvadeshik Sabha and particularly in view of the spirit of conciliation behind this clarification, and in deference to the opinions of highly-placed friends and well-wishers who have helped to bring about the above clarification and whose sympathy and support the Sabha greatly values, this Sabha feels itself justified to discontinue the satyagraha movement and does hereby declare its discontinuance. The Sabha also directs the Satyagraha Committee to disband the jathas stationed at different places.

"In the opinion of the Sabha the clarification referred to above represents an earnest attempt on the part of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam to most of the demands for which satyagraha was launched. The Sabha has taken the responsibility of discontinuance of satyagraha fully trusting the good intentions of His Exalted Highness's Government and relying upon a liberal interpretation of those declarations.

"This Sabha reiterates its declaration that the Arya satyagraha was undertaken in no spirit of defiance or hostility to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government nor in any way directly or indirectly to promote communal discord. The sole motive behind the movement has been the vindication of religious and cultural freedom."

After this, the struggle ended in full victory for the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj. Now

only one thing remained, and it was the release of the political prisoners. According to the Muslim calendar, the Nizam's birthday fell on the 17th of August 1939. Nizam's Government decided to release the prisoners from that day in memory of the anniversary of the Nizam's birthday. In all jails, even the political prisoners performed sacrifices and made prayers for long life and good health to the Nizam. They were given a sumptuous feast and were finally released in the evening. The prisoners and the jailors shook hands with each other and enemies of yesterday became the friends of the morrow. It was not possible to release all prisoners in one day. There was no sufficient provision of railway carriages to carry so many passengers. They were, however, all released to the last man within a week's time. Every day batches after batches of volunteers came out of all the State jails rejoicing at the victory they had achieved. The Nizam Government paid full cost of the return journey of all the prisoners. It alone amounted to more than a lakh of rupees. It was all well. All is well that ends well.



## CHAPTER XVII

## DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT

IT WOULD BE interesting to note the advance of the civil resistance movement from day to day. This is how history is built. The following notes are taken from the records in the Hindu Maha Sabha office, and from the information published in newspapers from time to time which became available.

1938

**JANUARY:**

The people in the Nizam Dominions made an appeal to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government to grant responsible government to the people and consent to their fundamental rights of civil liberties.

**APRIL :**

Mr. Waghmare, an enthusiastic worker in the State, started a journal called "Marathwada" in Poona because he could not get permission to do so in the State. Within a few months the paper was banned by the State Government. Mr. Waghmare changed names after names of his paper and continued its publication. The Nizam Government banned all of them when at last they prohibited entry of all the newspapers except the choicest few whom they had favoured most.

The Muslim goondas started a riot at Hyderabad on the 6th of April and assaulted the Hindu population. These assaults were made in the face of the police officers who stood watching and enjoying them. Many citizens of high standing and position openly declared that they were prepared to bear testimony and witness to these assaults made in the face of the police officers who not only not checked them, but stood silently watching them.

The President of the Hindu Maha Sabha wired on the 12th April to Nizam's Government to give protection to the Hindus who were being violently attacked by the Muslim goondas.

It was decided in the open session of the Democratic Conference at Sholapur to appoint a committee to investigate into the matter of disturbances in the Nizam State.

The Nizam Government laid new restrictions on all religious preachers who wanted to visit the Nizam State. Previous permission to preach was made compulsory.

**JUNE:—**

The Maharashtra Conference of Latur wanted to move a resolution that the Government should appoint an inquiry committee of officials and non-officials to investigate into the communal disturbances in the State. The resolution was disallowed for discussion or adoption in the Conference by the Taluqdar. The Conference, instead of yielding, decided to abruptly end the proceedings.

Veer Nariman was requested to conduct the cases of the 24 accused who were charged for murder in the Hyderabad riots. Mr. Nariman was refused

permission. Mr. Bhulabhai was then engaged, but he left the case abruptly in the middle.

Dr. Bansilal was attacked at his village AUSA, while he was standing in front of his door by the Muslim goondas.

#### JULY :

Some Harijan women were assaulted by the Muslim goondas at Naldurg. A religious procession of the Jains was attacked at Latur. A riot was started by the Muslim goondas at Humanabad.

The Committee appointed by the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha made its report which was published in newspapers giving a detailed account of the atrocities committed by the Muslim goondas and the position of the Hindu community in the State.

Senapati Bapat declared that he had made up his mind, to organize a movement to help the suffering Hindus in the State.

The Aryan Congress at Delhi sent a memorandum of their 14 demands to the Nizam Government. It embodied their demands for religious freedom in the State.

#### AUGUST :

The Nizam Government issued a notification on 22nd August prohibiting entry of fourteen newspapers in the State. The list of banned newspapers went on increasing from week to week.

#### SEPTEMBER :

The Nizam Government banned the State Congress organization on the 7th September by a notification, before that institution had breathed into existence.

On the 23rd September, Senapati Bapat issued a statement and started for civil resistance in the Nizam State. He was immediately sent back. Bapat declared to carry on propaganda for one month and then start on his campaign again.

#### OCTOBER :

The President of the Hindu Maha Sabha discussed the question of Hyderabad Hindus with the Hindu Sabha leaders in Poona, and with Messrs. Bapat, Bhuskute and others; and on the 11th October made his public declaration on the subject. Bhaganagar Hindutwanishtha Nisshastra Pratikar Sahayyak Mandal was started, and a committee was formed to carry on its activities with Mr. G. V. Ketkar as its President.

On the 21st October, Mr. Yashawantrao Joshi and five other young men carried a procession in memory of late Mr. Wamanrao Naik in defiance of the prohibitory order. They were arrested. This was the beginning of the civil resistance movement.

Three days later some persons who were interested in the State Congress activities declared that they were members of that body which the Nizam Government had banned. They were arrested.

On the 26th Veer Yashawantrao Joshi was sentenced to 21 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of 200 rupees. His other colleagues also were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment and fines.

On the 27th Sjt. Manikrao died in hospital. He was the President of a branch of Arya Samaj at Udgir and was shot by the Muslim goondas at the time of the Dasara Procession. His body was not delivered to his relatives by the police. The Aryasamajists took



a procession in protest of the action of the local authorities. Pandit Devilal and 20 other Aryasamajists were arrested.

The second batch of State Congressmen offered civil resistance at Hyderabad under the leadership of Pandit Taranath Teertha. The party was arrested.

On the 28th, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union took a big procession defying the police order. The police assaulted the party with lathis and scattered them away.

On the 31st, the second dictator of the State Congress Sjt. Nrisinhaji lead a small batch of volunteers to offer civil resistance. The party was arrested.

#### NOVEMBER :

On the 1st, Senapati Bapat left Poona for Hyderabad for the second time to offer civil resistance; the whole party was arrested and all except one were sent back. The one remaining being a subject of the Nizam State was sent to jail.

On the 2nd, Veer Yashawantrao Joshi and Sjt. Jukkalkar started hunger-strike in Hyderabad jail.

The fourth batch of the State Congress volunteers offered civil resistance. The whole party was arrested.

On the 3rd, Swami Ramanand was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

Five persons were arrested who had offered civil resistance on behalf of the Aryan Defence League. They were sentenced to imprisonment of various terms.

On the 4th, the second batch of Hindu Civil Liberties Union carried processions in defiance of the Police order. The whole party was arrested.

On the 7th, Sjt. N. V. Godse of Poona with his batch

of eleven volunteers left for Hyderabad to offer civil resistance on behalf of the Bhaganagar Nisshastra Pratikar Mandal.

Nanasaheb Deshmukh of Junnar who had gone to Hyderabad unnoticed by the Police offered satyagraha and was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

On the 8th, the third batch of volunteers of Aryan Defence League offered satyagraha and was arrested.

On the 9th, the fifth dictator of the State Congress and his party were arrested.

Mr. Vinayakrao Gharpure and other volunteers carried on propaganda in Shelgaon and other villages in the Nizam State and read in the public meeting "Trikal" which was a banned newspaper.

On the 12th, the fourth batch of Hindu Civil Liberties Union carried a procession under the leadership of Sjt. Mukhed. The whole party was arrested.

On the 13th, Sjt. Havaladar, the sixth dictator of the State Congress offered satyagraha and was arrested.

Sjt. Bhagawat of Poona and Reddi of Hyderabad State were sentenced to 12 and 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for their civil resistance to the State laws.

On the 14th, Sjt. Godse and his party from Poona offered civil resistance at Nampalli. The party was arrested.

The 7th dictator of the State Congress and his four compatriots offered civil resistance at Kachiguda. They were arrested.

On the 16th, Hindu students in the College Residency in Aurangabad were prohibited to sing the Vande Mataram. They went on hunger-strike.

On the 17th, the Nizam Government warned the



newspapers in the State not to publish any news about the satyagraha movement.

The first batch of Hindu civil resisters from Nagpur started on the 17th.

Fifth dictator of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union carried procession and distributed pamphlets. Sjt. Keshavrao Deshpande, Bende, Kotgire and the whole party was arrested.

The Hindu students of the residency of Osmania College at Aurangabad were allowed to sing Vande Mataram. The hunger-strike was withdrawn.

On the 21st, second batch of 9 civil resisters left Poona today.

The shibir for volunteers was opened at Poona to-day.

On the 22nd, 'Nizam Nishedh Din' was observed at Hyderabad, Mahabubnagar, Varangal, Mongheer, Nizamabad, Paithan, Vaijapur, Parabhani and other places on a large scale. There were wide-spread arrests at all these places.

On the 26th, Sjt. Laxmanrao Kulkarni, Santoshkumar, Bharadwaj and their party were arrested for taking a procession on behalf of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union through Sultan Bazar.

On the 28th, 25 civil resisters were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

On the 30th, Mr. Godse and his party were sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

Some State Congress civil resisters and their eleventh dictator Mr. Rama Reddi offered their apologies before the Chief Magistrate of Hyderabad.

### DECEMBER :

On the 1st, Vande Mataram struggle began intensely.

Senapati Bapat and his batch of twenty civil resisters were taken down at the Gulburga Station from the train and the whole party was arrested. It was illegal to arrest persons in the train because the Nizam Government had no control over that section of the railway. But as the civil resistance activities created an undesirable atmosphere in Hyderabad, the State Government wanted to divert the movement from outside to some other place. It was therefore necessary to arrest civil resisters before they could reach Hyderabad. The Government of India gave the Nizam Police the necessary power and authority to make arrests even when they were within the G. I. P. Railway jurisdiction. This facilitated the activities of the satyagrahis also, because henceforward instead of Hyderabad, Gulburga which was a nearer place became the centre of activities of the Aryasamajists and Aurangabad was already the centre of the Hindu Maha Sabha civil resistance.

On the 4th, thirteenth batch of the State Congressmen was arrested.

On the 6th, Mr. Bapat and his 19 volunteers were sentenced to imprisonment for terms varying upto two years.

On the 7th, 8 volunteers of Mr. Vaidya's batch offered satyagraha at Hyderabad. All were arrested.

Mr. Buni Reddi, a newspaper agent at Jangaon was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

On the 10th, notices were issued to the students of the Osmania University that they would be rusticated



from the college if they would not tender their apologies for singing the Vande Mataram song.

Hindu students were also called upon to dress in Muslim fashion. The Hindu students defied the order of the authorities, publicly burnt down the Muslim dress, and took vows not to enter the Osmania University till restrictions on Vande Mataram song were withdrawn.

On the 11th, 14th batch of Aryan Defence League was arrested.

On the 12th, 850 students were rusticated from the University who did not apologise in the Vande Mataram case.

Mr. Vinayakrao pleader, the 7th dictator of the Arya Samaj offered satyagraha at Aurangabad. He was arrested.

On the 13th, four volunteers offered satyagraha on behalf of Hindu Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Baburao More was sentenced to one year and the rest to six months' imprisonment.

On the 14th, wide spread arrests were made at different places in the Nizam State. Sjt. Madhavrao Vadgaonkar, Purushottamrao Chapalgaonkar, Ramrao Patil and Shripatrao Saundgikar, all men of high standing and reputation at Beed were arrested and their houses were searched.

On the 21st, Mr. Bhadkamkar carried a batch of 7 volunteers from Satara. The party was arrested.

Pandit Shyamlal died as a prisoner in the Bidar jail. His dead body was brought to Sholapur.

Five volunteers from Poona offered satyagraha at Hyderabad. All were arrested.

Mr. Dwarakadas and 9 other volunteers were arrested at Aurangabad.

On the 22nd, Sjt. Gandhi advised the State Congressmen to suspend their activities so that they may not be mixed up with the communal movement.

Mr. Kedar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University declared that those students who were rusticated from the Osmania University on account of the Vande Mataram struggle would be admitted in the Nagpur University and special facilities would be given to them.

On the 23rd, Mr. Kashinathrao Vaidya, the last dictator of the State Congress offered civil resistance on behalf of that organization. In his speech, however, he declared that he had, upon advice of Mahatma Gandhi, suspended all satyagraha activities.

On the 24th, the 3rd batch of 8 civil resisters left Poona for Hyderabad.

On the 25th, the All India Aryan Congress was held at Sholapur to discuss the problems facing the Aryasamajists in Hyderabad State, and decided to carry on the struggle of civil resistance. It was declared in the Conference that more than twenty-two thousand civil resisters had enlisted their names to offer civil resistance. Loknayak Aney, the President of the Aryan Congress, Hon. Mr. Ghanashyamadas Gupta, President of the International Aryan League, Pandit Bansilal, the organizer of the movement in the Hyderabad State were invited by Mr. Gandhi to see him.

On the 28th, the Session of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha was held at Nagpur under the presidency of Sjt. V. D. Savarkar. Resolution was adopted by the Maha Sabha to carry on the struggle of civil

resistance in the Hyderabad State. Fifty volunteers enlisted their names in the open session and large sums were collected.

On the 31st, the first batch of volunteers left for Hyderabad on behalf of the Hindu Sabha.

1939

### JANUARY :

On the 1st, the Working Committee of the State Congress issued a statement from Wardha explaining why they had suspended their activities.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a member of the Congress Working Committee sent Dr. Abdul Hamid to study the situation at Hyderabad on behalf of the Congress and to report.

The police charged four Aryasamajists for murdering one Musalman in the Holi festival. Mr. Lalsing was sentenced to death.

On the 5th, a batch of 22 Hindu Maha Sabha volunteers left Nagpur under the leadership of Dr. Paranjpe to offer civil resistance in the Nizam State.

Mr. Andurkar of Sholapur was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

On the 7th, a batch of 6 volunteers left Poona for Hyderabad.

On the 8th, Senapati Bapat and his batch of 22 volunteers were released from Gulburga jail.

On the 9th, Veer Yashawantrao Joshi was charged of high treason. Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar conducted his appeal at Hyderabad.

On the 22nd, the 22nd of every month was declared to be the 'Nizam Nishedh Din.' On this day processions

were carried, mass meetings were held, and volunteers were enlisted at all centres in Maharashtra. Circulars, pamphlets, posters and such other literature was circulated both in British India and the Nizam State. Volunteers skilfully managed to carry this literature unnoticed by the Nizam Police. They were surprised to see the next morning, posters pasted in different villages at prominent places.

The same day was declared by the Aryasamajists as 'Hyderabad day.'

Pandit Narayan Swami, the first dictator of the Aryasamajists left for Hyderabad the same day. He was however sent back.

On the 23rd, Dr. Anandrao Deo from Haridwar came to Poona and left for Hyderabad.

The volunteers, who went to offer civil resistance in the Hyderabad State at different places were assaulted by the Nizam Police and were severely injured.

Another batch of 6 volunteers left Poona for Hyderabad State.

Mr. A. S. Bhide and K. R. Kapare toured the Satara and Southern Maratha Districts for carrying on propaganda.

On the 25th, Mr. H. B. Bhide and 7 other volunteers left Poona for Aurangabad where they were arrested. Ten other volunteers were arrested the same day at Hyderabad.

On the 30th, a big batch of volunteers was sent from Bombay to Hyderabad.

A batch of 60 volunteers under the leadership of Pandit Narayan Swami again left Sholapur for Hyderabad where they were arrested.



On the 31st, Dr. Jogalekar of Chopda left with a batch of 8 volunteers to Hyderabad.

### FEBRUARY :

On the 3rd, a batch of 3 volunteers was severely assaulted at Tulajapur and arrested.

Messrs. D. V. Javadekar and Purohit of Dhulia left for Hyderabad to offer civil resistance.

Vande Mataram song was being sung in Nizam jails, when Mr. Hollins, the Inspector General of Prisons of the Nizam State had gone to visit the Hyderabad jail, the prisoners complained to him that the Police had assaulted them for singing the Vande Mataram song. Mr. Hollins upheld the action of the Police and when one civil resister, Mr. Reddi insisted that he would sing the song again, the jail Superintendent sentenced him to 24 floggings.

Some prisoners went on hunger-strike at this incidence.

On the 6th, Sjt. Motilal and Rajaram Reddi were also flogged 36 times each for singing Vande Mataram.

Mr. Gharpure translated the Vande Mataram into English and sent the translation with an appeal to Sir Akbar Hyderi. He informed the State authorities that the civil resisters would insist on singing the song at whatever cost. A few days later, permission to sing the song individually, was allowed.

On the 16th, a batch of 20 volunteers left from Nagpur to Hyderabad.

The 12th batch of 14 volunteers left Poona for Aurangabad under the leadership of Mr. Patkar.

On the 18th, Mr. Salunke of Pandharpur offered satyagraha at Tuljapur. He was arrested.

Mr. Oak of Mahad led a batch of 12 volunteers from Poona.

On the 19th, Mr. Yashawantrao Joshi was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for high treason.

Messrs. Kuvelkar, Lakhane and Khedkar were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for keeping communication with the civil resisters.

On the 20th, a batch of 15 students from Jalanapur left for Hyderabad.

Three hundred students of Gulburga High School defied the orders against Vande Mataram.

Mr. Pavankar of Nagpur led the third batch from Nagpur in the Hyderabad State.

On the 26th, the second batch of West Khandesh Hindu Sabha left for Aurangabad.

The fourth batch of 32 volunteers left Nagpur to offer civil resistance in the Hyderabad State.

Mr. Gajananrao Aradhya led the 4th batch from Pandharpur.

### MARCH :

On the 1st, a batch of 11 volunteers left Dadar.

A batch of 16 volunteers from Ajmer left for Hyderabad.

On the 2nd, Mr. D. D. Deodhar of Bombay led a batch of 16 volunteers. They were arrested.

On the 5th, 100 volunteers of the Hindu Maha Sabha offered civil resistance at 15 different places.

Mr. Baldeo, a prisoner in Nizamabad was given solitary cell punishment.

Eight volunteers were arrested at Bidar.

Sjt. Chandkiran Sarada, the Vice-President of the

Hindu Maha Sabha and the second dictator of the Arya Samaj led a batch of 64 volunteers to Gulburga. All were sent to jail.

The Hindu Maha Sabha volunteers offered civil resistance at Murum. All were arrested. Mr. Maganlal, a resident of that place garlanded the prisoners and therefore he too was arrested.

About 100 persons who were in the service of the Nizam State were dismissed on the charge of keeping communications with the civil resisters.

Mr. G. V. Damle of Ratnagiri left for Hyderabad.

On the 6th, a riot took place at Aurangabad between Hindus and Muslims in which two persons were killed and eleven wounded.

On the 7th, Mr. D. V. Godbole, Secretary of the Poona Hindu Sabha carried the 16th batch of 8 volunteers to Aurangabad.

On the 12th, the 7th batch from Nagpur left under the leadership of Mr. Joshi, a wellknown pleader of Bhandara.

A batch of young volunteers under the leadership of Mr. Band of Patan-Sangavi was arrested on the borders of the Nizam State in Yeotmal District.

On the 15th, a batch of 4 volunteers left Ahmednagar to offer civil resistance in Hyderabad State.

On the 16th, 17th batch of 12 volunteers was led by Mr. A. S. Bhide from Poona.

A third batch of volunteers left Dadar for Hyderabad.

Mr. G. B. Subbarao of Rajahmundry and 8 other volunteers were arrested at Hyderabad.

On account of the increasing number in Hyderabad jail a large number of prisoners was removed to Gulburga and Nizamabad jails.

On the 19th, Mr. Joshi, the Secretary of the Nagpur Hindu Sabha led a big batch of volunteers into the State. It was immediately arrested.

The Jail at Gulburga became overflowed with prisoners and camps were erected to accommodate the increasing number. In Hyderabad jail some prisoners had to be accommodated in the office room of the jail.

On the 21st, Mr. Avekhar pleader and Shamrao Pawar of Dhulia were given send-off when they left for civil resistance.

On the 22nd, Lala Khushalchand, the third dictator of the Arya Samaj left for Gulburga with his batch of 154 volunteers.

On the 24th, the 18th batch of 10 volunteers left Bombay to offer civil resistance in Hyderabad under the leadership of Phatak brothers.

On the 25th, a batch of 11 volunteers left Bombay to offer civil resistance.

On the 29th, a batch of 60 volunteers left Poona under the leadership of Sjt. Vishwasrao Davare.

On the 30th, Sjt. Bhayyasahab Dani led a batch from Umarched.

Dr. Paranjpe, Shringarpurkar, Purankar, Joshi and others who were under trial prisoners in Aurangabad jail and who fought their cases, were acquitted, because the Police could not prove charges against them.

#### APRIL :

On the 1st, Swami Brahmanand, a satyagrahi prisoner in Hyderabad Central Jail died.

On the 2nd, 23 volunteers left Poona to offer civil resistance in Aurangabad district.



On the 3rd, 17 persons were arrested in Sultan Bazar at Hyderabad for offering civil resistance.

On the 4th, Mr. Raj Reddi, the President of the branch of Arya Samaj at Gosh Mahal, was assaulted and violently beaten by the Nizam Police.

On the 5th, Pandit Balshastri Hardas led a batch of volunteers from Nagpur.

On the 6th, 40 volunteers left Bombay for Aurangabad to offer civil resistance.

On the 8th, a procession of Mahadeo was taken at Parbhani when it was attacked by the Muslims. Some 12 Hindus were wounded.

On the 9th, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha issued a statement reaffirming the decision of the Hindu Maha Sabha to carry the struggle to the finish. At that time some interested persons had tried to misguide the public about the Hindu Maha Sabha and it was openly talked and being published unwarrantedly that the Maha Sabha was going to withdraw the movement.

On the 9th, Mr. Kasture of Poona led a batch of 25 volunteers which was arrested at Vaijapur near Aurangabad.

Two volunteer Sanyasis offered civil resistance at Hyderabad. They were followed by a band of Hindu satyagrahis.

On the 10th, Mr. Sudhir Oak and his batch of 11 volunteers was arrested at Bir.

Mr. Kashinathrao Vaidya and the remaining 200 State Congress prisoners were set at liberty when they finally and unconditionally withdrew the movement.

A batch of Mavlas and one civil resister from Agra were given send-off at Poona.

On the 13th, Mrs. Priyag Bai Sardeshmukh and her sister offered civil resistance at Gulburga by distributing banned literature. They were however released immediately.

On the 16th, Prof. V. G. Deshpande of Nagpur led a batch of 7 volunteers to Hyderabad. The whole party was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

A batch of 300 volunteers from Ajmer proceeded to Gulburga.

The civil resistance prisoners in Nizamabad jail were assaulted by the Police.

A batch of 20 volunteers from Bengal left for Hyderabad.

Mr. Date of Poona led a batch of 22 volunteers to Aurangabad. The whole party was arrested. Messrs. B. G. Bapat, sub-editor of Trikal, Avekhar pleader of Jalgaon, Kapre, Kulkarni, Gangal, Ketkar, Joshi and others had accompanied him.

Mr. Vishwasrao Davare was arrested at Aurangabad.

On the 17th, a batch of 80 volunteers left for Aurangabad from Bombay.

On the 19th, news came from Hyderabad was that the Nizam Police assaulted the civil resisters and violently attacked them and drove them far away into the jungles. Mr. G. V. Ketkar wired the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State to make inquiry into the matter.

On the 21st, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar declared that he would lead a batch of volunteers on the 23rd. He informed the Nizam Police authorities that he would follow the whole procedure peacefully and expected the same treatment from them.

On the 23rd, Mr. Bhopatkar left Poona by

special train and reached Aurangabad via Bombay, Nasik and Manmad, where the party halted for some time. On the 26th, they arrived in jail safely.

This was the biggest batch which was led on behalf of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Messrs. Paisafund Ranade, S. V. Kelkar, Ramrao Kulkarni, and many other prominent Hindu Sabha workers had been in this batch.

A batch of 528 volunteers was led by Pandit Dharendra Shastri to Gulburga on behalf of Arya Samaj.

The third batch from Sind Hindu Sabha arrived at Hyderabad.

On the 26th, a batch of 40 volunteers left Manmad under the leadership of Mr. Bapat of Bombay.

#### MAY :

On the 1st, the police made a severe lathi-charge on the prisoners in Hyderabad jail. The civil resisters went on hunger-strike.

Pandit Satyanand died in Chanchalguda prison.

On the 2nd, Messrs. Kasture and his batch was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment.

On the 2nd, Mr. Vishnu Tandurkar died in Hyderabad prison. Another civil resister Mr. Chhotelalji died in Gulburga prison the next day.

On the 5th, Pandit Vedavrata, fifth dictator of Arya Samaj led a batch of 513 volunteers at Nanded.

On the 10th, Mr. D. K. Sathe led a batch of 26 volunteers to Paithan. The whole party was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment.

Mr. Anantrao Gadre of Bombay led a party of 200 volunteers from Bombay to Aurangabad. The party was arrested at Aurangabad Station.

A batch of 200 volunteers was led by Mr. Harikrishna Varma from Nagpur.

On the 12th, 49 civil resisters were arrested at Gulburga.

On the 13th, 46 Aryasamajist volunteers were led at Pusad by Swami Sundarnand.

A batch of 20 civil resisters was severely assaulted by the Nizam Police and the Muslim goondas at Paranda.

On the 14th, Mr. Vishwanathrao Kelkar of Nagpur offered satyagraha with his party at Aurangabad.

On the 15th, Prof. Gyanchandji led a batch of 584 Aryasamajists. The party was assaulted in Chanchalguda jail.

On the 20th, Mr. Kshire of Dhulia led a batch of 25 volunteers to Aurangabad.

On the 21st, Mr. Bhaskarrao Keskar, pleader from Hyderabad hoisted the Hindu flag in the Hyderabad High Court premises and shouted Jay to Sjt. Savarkar. He was arrested.

On the 22nd, Mr. Keshavrao Kelkar, a leading practitioner of the Poona Bar and a Hindu Maha Sabha worker, led a batch of 50 volunteers to Aurangabad. This was a special batch from Pandharpur.

On the 25th, the Bombay Government issued orders to the Aryasamajists to disband their volunteer activities in Sholapur District. They had therefore to shift their centre to Manmad.

On the 29th, Mr. Namdeo Pandurang, a civil resister died in Gulburga jail.

On the 31st, a batch of 11 volunteers offered civil resistance on behalf of Dadar Hindu Sabha at Nanded.



Fourteen civil resisters in Mr. Paregaonkar's batch were arrested.

### JUNE :

On the 1st, a batch of 9 civil resisters from Bhopal left for Hyderabad.

On the 5th, 22 volunteers from Aurangabad offered civil resistance. They were arrested.

Mr. Kshire and others from Khandesh, who were in his batch were also arrested to-day.

Nine volunteers from Panjab Narayan Sena were arrested in Aurangabad.

Mahashaya Krishna, the sixth dictator of Arya Samaj led a batch of a thousand volunteers to Aurangabad. The whole party was arrested.

Eighty volunteers of Hindu Sabha came from Manmad to Aurangabad. They were arrested.

Sixty-one volunteers from Chand Arya Shibir were arrested at Aurangabad to-day.

On the 6th, Sjt. D. P. Mehta, President of the Lonavala Hindu Maha Sabha led a batch of 8 volunteers to Aurangabad.

Mr. Shamrao Bodhani of Nanded wired to the Prime Minister to investigate into the violent attacks made by the Police on the public. Mr. Bodhani was arrested. He is an influential landlord of Nanded.

On the 7th, a violent and cowardly attack was made in cold blood by the jail Police and the goondas on the prisoners in Aurangabad jail in the evening. Mr. D. K. Sathe and 20 other civil resister prisoners were severely wounded. Next day, the Police entered every ward and attacked the prisoners individually and violently beat them.

On the 9th, Mr. N. C. Kelkar wired protest of the lathi-charges on peaceful prisoners to Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Resident and the British Government.

On the 10th, Mr. Savarkar issued a statement appealing to Maharashtra to intensify the struggle, and warned the Nizam Government that they would have to bear the responsibility of these atrocities.

On the 12th, Bapuji Aney issued a statement condemning the actions of jail authorities in Aurangabad.

Mr. Bapurao Joshi of Mahad led a batch of 30 volunteers to Aurangabad. The party was arrested.

Mr. Ganpatrao Garde led a batch of 17 volunteers to Hyderabad.

One Aryasamaji prisoner in Aurangabad jail died. He was already removed to the Civil Hospital in the city from the jail.

On the 13th, 37 civil resisters offered civil resistance at Vaijapur near Aurangabad.

Shree Shankaracharya of Jyotirmatha, who was requested by the Nizam Government to see the situation of the Hindus in the State, had visited several places in the State and discussed matters with local influential men. He also visited the prisoners in all jails both the Aryasamajists and the Hindusabhais. He had formulated a scheme of compromise. But all his efforts had ultimately failed. He sent his report to the Prime Minister that the grievances of the Hindus were just and must be redressed.

On the 15th, Mr. Vishnushastri Kelkar of Nasik led a batch of 61 volunteers. The whole party was arrested at Halgaon and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

Mr. Babarao Kale of Barsi led a batch of 20 volunteers to Paithan. The party was arrested and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment. They were brought to Aurangabad jail and immediately transferred to Hyderabad.

Mr. Paregaonkar was arrested at Kaygaon.

On the 22nd, Pandit Dnyanendraji of Arya Samaj led a batch of 170 volunteers to Gulburga. The whole party was arrested.

On the 25th, Pandit Bhaddhadeo, seventh dictator of Arya Samaj led a batch of 500 volunteers from Lahore to Aurangabad. The whole party was arrested and severely beaten at the jail gate at the time of their entrance.

Baba Madansing Gaga led a batch of 9 Sikh volunteers. All of them were arrested.

On the 26th, Guru Mahant Jagannathdas led a batch of his 70 disciples to Aurangabad.

On the 29th, lathi-charges were made on prisoners in Parbhani jail.

On the 30th, Mr. Fakir Chand, a satyagrahi prisoner in Hyderabad jail died.

#### JULY :

On the 1st, Mr. Mukhansing died in Lingampalli hospital. He was removed there from Hyderabad jail.

On the 5th, Mr. Bhopatkar was removed to Gulburga jail from Aurangabad.

On the 12th, Messrs. A. S. Bhide and Vagh pleader of Satara led a batch to Hyderabad. There they tried to see the Resident. His interview being refused, they hoisted the Hindu Flag in the adjoining court-yard and shouted jay. They were arrested but later released.

Mr. Kondiram Pandit and the party were arrested at Chikhalgat.

Mr. Ambokar pleader from Central Provinces led a batch at Aurangabad. The party was arrested.

On the 19th, the Nizam Government declared the Reforms.

On the 20th, the Arya Samaj suspended the movement.

#### AUGUST :

On the 1st, the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj withdrew the movement in consideration of the Reforms.

On the 12th, a young civil resister Sadashiv Vishwanath Pathak of Tadavale (Dist. Sholapur) died. He was given very heavy work even when he was ill and suffering from wounds made by the Police in a lathi-charge.

On the 17th, release of all the political prisoners was declared on the Nizam's birth-day. Within one week, all the prisoners were released.

The above is a day to day diary as appeared in newspapers. It is neither complete nor absolutely accurate. Because many times the reports published in newspapers were based on plans which were afterwards changed by the leaders of the jathas on account of the circumstances prevailing at that time; and after their arrests, no reports were available. But on the whole, it represents a true picture of the happenings from time to time. Many other contemporary events were happening both in the Nizam State and in India, but as they were not directly connected with this movement, they are not reported above.