

Socio-Economic Basis of Communal Riots in Hyderabad ✓

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VEDANTAM GIRI

**CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067**

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To my parents

Dharma Chary

Rupa Devi

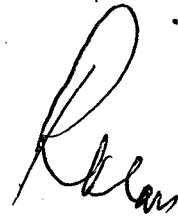
DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled "Socio-Economic Basis of Communal Riots in Hyderabad", submitted by Vedantam Giri, is in partial fulfilment of twelve credits out of a total requirement of twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree in this University and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.



Prof. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN
Chairman



Prof. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN
Supervisor

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V. GIRI

INTRODUCTION

The present study, **Socio-Economic Basis of Communal Riots in Hyderabad**, outlines briefly the causes for the frequent outbreak of riots and the animosities between the two communities, the Hindus and Muslims.

In the first chapter entitled 'Theoretical Perspective on Communalism', I have sought to interpret and expose communalism for what it is, to know what its roots and social functions were during the period of its birth and growth in the colonial period and why it developed to the extent of resulting in the partition of the land. In the second part of the first chapter, I have briefly analysed socio-economic basis of communalism in India. In this regard I have tried to highlight the aspects of India's social, economic, political and cultural life that were responsible for the growth of communalism.

The second chapter deals with the growth of the city of Hyderabad. The present metropolis of Hyderabad was originally confined to the south banks of the river Musi. The various causes, like the setting up of the Residency on the north bank, the creation of Secunderabad and increasing commercial ties with Bombay, shifted the axis of the city's growth towards north. The political events such as the Police Action of 1948 and the Reorganisation of States Act of 1956 are briefly analysed. Hyderabad, the present capital of the state of Andhra Pradesh, is the fifth largest metropolitan city in India after Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, and Madras.

In the third chapter, an endeavour is made to highlight the demographic profile of Hyderabad. Attempt has been made to present the growth of the population of old city of Hyderabad since 1881 (the first official census) to the present census, 1981. These facts tell about the high level of congestion prevailing in the old city. I have also dealt with increase in the immigration to Hyderabad since 1901, variation and density of population in municipal wards, sex composition, composition of population according to religion and language and the level of civic amenities in the old city area. With the help of above data, it is found that the old city has not only a densely packed population but one which suffers due to the lack of proper civic amenities in the area.

In the fourth chapter, I have examined the major communal riots between 1978-1983. In this period there was a qualitatively different change between the two communities, Hindus and Muslims. It was in this period a spate of communal riots, major and minor, took place in the old city Hyderabad.

In the fifth chapter, an attempt is made to understand the underlying structural factors that are responsible for the continuation of religious conflict. It is also explained why as an ideology, mass mobilisation emerged in particular area in Hyderabad, what were the economic and political compulsions that led the elite of two communities - the Hindus and Muslims - to use separate paths on overtly religious grounds. On the basis of my field study, I have formulated the social,

economic and political factors that led to foment the communal riots in Hyderabad. An attempt is also made to point out certain basic administrative problems that are associated with treating religious communities as coherent wholes and as a consequence treating conflict between them on purely superficial and false level of religious interests and fears.

CHAPTER - I
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE
ON
COMMUNALISM

The term communal in literal parlance in many parts of the world, is sometimes used as the neutral adjectival form (as in communal representation), but in India it is generally associated with a narrow, selfish, divisive and aggressive attitude on the part of a religious group. The term 'communalism' refers to the functioning of religious communities or organizations which claim to represent them, in a way which is considered detrimental to the interests of other groups or of the nation as a whole. The term usually implies some kind of political involvement. However the numerous associations concerned solely or exclusively with the religious and cultural affairs of particular sections of the population are not regarded as manifestation of communalism.¹

Prabha Dixit uses the term communalism as a political doctrine which makes use of religio-cultural differences to achieve political ends. "It is only when a deliberate choice is made by a community to initiate political demands on the basis of religio-cultural differences that communal awareness turns into communalism in the form of a political doctrine."²

Grace Jones defines communalism as that tendency which seeks to promote religious or sectarian grouping of a

1. Donal E. Smith, India a Secular State (London, 1963), p.454

2. Prabha Dixit, Communalism : A Struggle for Power (Delhi, 1974)
p. 1

people for political purposes. The connection between religion and politics runs very deep. Religion both in the West and in the East, influences political and non-political process and affects the operation of the institutional framework of the State. Even in the developed countries where secularism has been accepted as an operative principle and where it is strengthened by the progress in the field of science and technology, religion continues to be more than a matter of personal and social significance.³ The reaction seems to be as pointed out by Grace Jones, that "basic religious beliefs survive in disguised forms in moral assumption and cultural norms and they continue to mould the attitudes of many people such institutions as the family, marriage and the education system. This influence is exerted in a concealed way either at the individual sub-conscious level or through the medium of indirect pressure politics, and it is therefore impossible to assess with any precision. It is none the less real for that."⁴

The spirit of communalism leads the 'communalists' to do some material wrong, insult, injustice or injury to

3. Grace Jones, The Political Structure (London, 1976) edn 2, p.32.

4. Ibid, p.36.

the other community or to its property, interests or rights. The aggrieved community naturally resents this and a "communal issue consequently arises between the two communities".⁵

This is what happened between both the communities in pre-independence period. Modern political consciousness was late in developing among the Muslims. As nationalism spread among the Hindus and Parsees of the lower middle class it failed to grow equally rapidly among the Muslims of the same class. Hindus and Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder during the Revolt of 1857. "The political success of British resulting in the loss of power by many Hindus and Muslims alike and the political measures of Lord Dalhousie created a common sense of frustration and hostility against the British which made them forget atleast for the time being, their mutual differences and struggles. The Mutiny of 1857 was the result of their joint efforts".⁶

The Mutiny, its origin, development and final defeat was very revealing to the British. They realized how their eastern edifice had almost come to dust by the

5. R.M. Agarwala, The Hindu-Muslim Riots : Causes and Cures (Bombay, 1943), p.10.

6. Balraj Madhok, Hindustan on the Cross Roads (New Delhi, 1946), p.20.

co-operation of Hindus and the Muslims and how they had been able to crush it by rousing the racial feeling of Sikhs and Gorkhas against the Purbias. They learnt their lessons from the Mutiny, digested them and began a new policy which has not only undone the centuries of adjustments between the Hindus and Muslims but has also revived the old struggle for power in new and more subtle and dangerous forms.

The policy that British Government now began to pursue in India was not a new one. It was a policy well tried in other British colonies and possessions. In pursuit of this policy they naturally began to emphasise the existing religious and racial differences and bring to light new one where they could. They also began to introduce this policy in the country's politics in many subtle ways.

The ground for working of their policy was provided by the economic factors, the yet incomplete synthesis of Hindu-Muslim cultures, the revivalist movements among the Hindus and Muslims and the educational backwardness of the Muslims. The policy began with the introduction of the principles of social and religious counterpoise in the army and political oppression of the Muslims who were considered

to be the real instigators of the Mutiny. "They were excluded from army and Government offices and were branded as disloyal."⁷

The Muslims who were already sullen at the loss of the little power they had enjoyed, reacted under the advice of Muslim ulema by a sort of boycott of Western education who had now become the only passport for an Indian to get government service. The Wahhabi movement begun by Syed Ahmed Bareilly early in the 19th Century continued unabated after the Mutiny. It was bitterly anti-British and provided the British with another cause for neglecting, if not oppressing the Muslims. "It can be argued that as the British domination in India with vast resources at its command, posed a great danger to the hegemony of the Muslims in their country's life (and indeed a total breakup of their social and educational system seemed imminent) they reacted strongly and bitterly in order to reform and maintain what they had inherited from their predecessors."⁸ The old medieval order was crumbling and the cracks were becoming more visible day by day. This is perhaps why we find in

7. Ibid p.22.

8. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan (Bombay, 1963), p.8.

this so called Wahhabi movement an aspect of political resistance against the encroachment of the non-Muslim powers together with "a conscious effort to reform and rejuvenate Muslim society in terms of purging the religion of its accretions and corruptions."⁹

But before long both the Government and the Muslim community under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan felt the need of a change in their policy towards each other. The factor that weighed most with the British Government was the growing political consciousness among the Hindus. The Hindus who had got an early start in Western education in presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay began to adopt themselves to the new circumstances slowly but steadily. They took part in the meagre commercial and industrial opportunities now left to the Indians and also entered the learned professions in large numbers.

The Government soon realized that Hindus, being in overwhelming majority in the country and being educationally and politically the most advanced, would be the first to demand political power and that their position could be

9. W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India (London, 1946), p.161.

effectively checked by allying itself with comparatively backward Muslim community and setting it up as a counter-pose to the Hindu community and its political organisations.

Fortunately for the British government and unfortunately for the country Sir Syed Ahmed Khan arrived by a different set of reasoning and as a result of different set of circumstances, at the conclusion that the two interests of a Muslim community lay not in associating with the Congress or the Hindus against the Government but in siding with the Government. Anglo-Muslim friendship according to him was the best policy for the Muslims.

The factors and reasoning that led Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to advocate Anglo-Muslim friendship were the consciousness of the backwardness of the Muslim professional classes and their incapacity to compete with the Hindu professional classes, who had a much longer start, without British help. The causes of comparative backwardness of Muslim professional classes which had them throw their lot with the British government may be briefly described as under :-

"Muslim middle classes had a late start in Western education. The reasons were their early apathy to the English education under the Fatwas of the ulemas and sullenness at the loss of power."

*They lacked the traditions of business and office work. Ancestors of most upper class Muslims had been foreign military adventurers. But military openings were now closed to them and they could not take to trade, industry and other professions as readily and efficiently as Hindus had done.

*Those of the Indian Muslims are of low origin because they were converted from the low caste Hindus mostly.

*The early centres of Western education and new trade and industry were the presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta all of which lie in predominantly Hindu regions. So the Muslims of Delhi and Lucknow could not take the advantage of Western education.*¹⁰

To this economic backwardness was added a new Islamic consciousness as a result of the revivalist movements and University education when they took it up.

The same was the case with the Hindus. The revivalist movements like the Arya Samaj and the Sri Rama Krishna Mission created a sense of pride in India's glorious past, and brought back to memory the vandalism of

10. Op cited, Hindusthan on the cross roads, p.23-26.

Mahmud and massacres of Timur. Besides it, the Suddi Movement led by Arya Samaj and the Tanjim Movement led by the Muslim organisations "generated illfeeling between the Hindus and Muslims of the Punjab during the period 1926-1935."¹¹ The cry of Arya Samaj was 'Back to Vedas' and it turned out to be an aggressive militant movement "It was an attempt to convert the defensive and the static Hinduism into an aggressive missionary zeal."¹²

The Hindus and Muslims who pursued their social and religious ways side by side for centuries suddenly began to find themselves in two different social and cultural hemispheres. These revivalist tendencies among the Hindus and Muslims by emphasising the diversity of culture and religious heritage have aggravated the bitterness existing between the different communities and have militated against the evolution of a common national outlook.

But inspite of this Aligarh movement and its opposition to the INC, the latter organisation went on gathering strength every year. A considerable number of

11. Anandku De, Islam in Modern India (Bombay, 1932), p.180-181.
12. Jawaharlal Nehru, Glimses of World History (Allahabad, 1934), p.436.

educated Muslims continued to associate with it. It had some Muslim presidents as well. Mr. Badr-ud-Din Tyabji presided over the 3rd session held at Madras in 1887. "He made efforts to persuade his coreligionists to participate in the national mainstream by joining the Congress, as he very strongly felt that Muslims should make a common cause with their fellow-countrymen on the issues which concerned the whole country."¹³ In fact it may be said that inspite of the Alligarh movement a considerable portion of both Hindu and Muslim advanced classes agreed in secularising their group consciousness. As the Congress gathered strength and its demands under the influence of men like Bal Gangadhar Tilak tended towards extremism, the British government became more and more alarmed and began to think of new ways of breaking the power of the nationalist movement. The scheme it hit at was the partition of Bengal in 1905.

Though the avowed reason for this partition was administrative convenience, the real motive, soon became clear was to chastise the Bengali Hindu professional classes and to win over the support of the Muslims who were to be in majority in the new province of Eastern Bengal.

13. A.G. Noorani, Badruddin Tyabji (New Delhi, 1969), p.150.

"Taking advantage of the situation, Lord Minto now decided 'to start the Muslim hare' through his speech about the special claims of Muslim community and the 'command performance' of His Highness the Agha Khan's deputation in which the main actors behind the scene were Lord Minto's Private Secretary, Colonel Dunlop Smith and Mr. Archbold, the then Principal of the Aligarh college. Soon after, the All India Muslim League was founded and its first session was held at Dacca in 1906. The provision of separate electorates under the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was considered a victory for the league.

The introduction of separate electorates widened the gulf between the religious communities and permanently closed the possibility of secular outlook on the problems of the community. The communities participated in politics as religious entities. The result was as Harold Gould says, that "Muslims came to regard their religious identity more and more as demarcator of different life styles, power needs and economic interests which they felt set them apart from the Hindus. The manoeuvres which followed the advent of separate Muslim electorates in 1916 symbolised the politicisation of the religiously demarcated ethnic identity."¹⁴

14. H.A. Gould, "The Emergence of Modern Indian Politics", Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Part II (July 1974), p.181.

The Lucknow Pact did create a momentary patch up unity which continued for the few years of the Khilafat movement. But it did great harm ultimately to the country's cause. The Congress by making this pact recognised that the Muslims as a community were different from the rest of the Indians and thus by implication prepared the ground for the two nation theory. Further by accepting the principle of communal electorates it gave a tacit approval to an anti-national policy and thus began to descend from the high pedestal of unchallenged nationalism. The same desire to oblige Muslims to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity led by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to support the Khilafat movement.

Between 1919 and 1931 many unity conferences were held but without any solid results. The two Round Table Conferences could not solve the communal problem and so came the Communal Award of 1932, which further extended the system of communal representation and gave the Muslims a further price in the form of higher weightage in all the provinces and the centre. The next phase which is decisive from the point of view of understanding the communal problem at present began with the passing of the Government of India Act 1935 which gave Provincial Autonomy with a federal but

irresponsible centre. The separation of Sind had constituted a definite block of Muslim majority provinces in the North-West. So the Muslim League favoured the acceptance of the provincial part of it but opposed the federal part because it provided a Hindu majority centre. So the Muslim leadership began to realize that they must have a definite sphere of power which they could wield unhindered by Hindu competition and unfettered by a Hindu majority centre. The result was the reorganisation of Muslim League at Lucknow in 1937 and the demand of Pakistan in 1940. The British Government in pursuit of its traditional policy of counterpoise and Congress under the influence of the mania of Hindu-Muslim unity at any cost have further complicated the problem by encouraging the Muslims to stick to such demands.

"The spirit of separatism once generated and recognised by the constitution grows on what it feeds on and is now expressing itself in a philosophy of its own, culminating in a demand for the dismemberment of the country and a territorial separation of its communities on the ground that they cannot compose their differences in any other way."¹⁵

15. Dr. R.K. Mookerji, A New Approach to Communal Problem (Bombay, 1943), p.4-5.

In the Swadeshi Movement and the Gandhi dominated Congress, religious sentiments of the people were constantly exploited. Hindu symbols were used to mobilise the people. The Muslim community too adopted a similar strategy of using Islam for political purposes. Whether it was Syed Ahmed Khan's Aligarh movement or Ameer Ali's Muslim Association or whether it was Mohammad Ali's khilafat movement or the Moplah Rebellion or the Pakistan movement, Islam has been a constant factor. It has been the unbroken thread of Muslim politics. The leaders wanted the members of the community believe that they were fighting for the cause of Islam. "Serious Hindu-Muslim riots in 1920 added to the general communal tension. Increasing the feeling developed in some sections of the Congress that Gandhi was completely ignoring Hindu interests in his ill conceived attempts to secure the cooperation of Muslim minority, and that his compromises only led to larger Muslim demands."¹⁶

The root cause of the idea for Pakistan lay in a fear psychosis of the upper class Muslim elite which feared Hindu domination over a Muslim minority at the end of British

16. Richard D. Hambart, "Hindu Communal Groups in Indian Politics", in Richard L. Park and Irene Tinker, eds., Leadership and Political Institutions (Princeton, 1959), p.214.

rule. "This fear became the seed for separatist tendencies, and with the system of separate electorate injected into Indian constitutional experiments, the rift between the two communities developed rapidly. Gandhi tried to patch up the differences as much as the British tried to widen them, and the more the country progressed towards political freedom the greater became the rift."¹⁷

The first open reference to Hindus and Muslims as two separate nations was made during a session of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in Oct..1938. The two nation theory was elaborated by Jinnah in 1940 in an article in Time and Tide. Jinnah said "Hinduism and Islam represent two distinct and separate civilizations and moreover, are as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are nations of Europe."

The evocation of Islamic unity in pre-independence period in India led to the development of a powerful mass movement behind the demand for creation of Pakistan, causing the formation of two successor states to the British Empire instead of one.

17. Manmath Nath Das, Partition and Independence of India (Bombay, 1980), p.59.

The Indian leadership headed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel accepted the Mountbatten plan which brought about the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two sovereign independent states, India and Pakistan, in the hope that this would settle the age old communal problem, and in two countries the Hindus and Muslims would live in peace.

But the subsequent events have proved that the partition of the sub continent has created more problems than solving them. In the west zone of Pakistan, the non-Muslim population has been completely liquidated "In India, the process of liquidation of Muslims has checked at the cost of crucifixion of Gandhiji at the hands of Hindu fanaticism."¹⁸

The division of India and provinces created a storm which added fuel to the communal fire. The Muslims looked upon the Hindu as the archenemy who transformed the Pakistan of their dreams into the truncated and shrunken Pakistan of Mountbatten Plan. The feeling was reciprocated by the Hindus who looked upon the Muslims as the architects of the division of their country. The feeling grew that since

18. Ansari Hamevi, "Whither Indian Muslims", Mainstream (New Delhi), Republic Day Special, January 1968, p.17.

division had been forced upon the country, each community should go to its own homeland. Neighbours and citizens of a single state, they became foreigners in their own land. Large scale rioting had begun in Punjab even before the birth of independence. News of the riots disturbed the atmosphere even in the Hindu majority areas where the Muslims suffered for the fault of their brethren. Fear supreme and the so called minorities fled from the land of their faith to the land of safety, creating the refugee problem a problem of immense magnitude because "not only human well being but human emotions were involved."¹⁹

The tragedy of the Indian national movement was that from the beginning an overt and covert use of religion and religious slogans was taken up for political purposes. Following the legacy of Tilak and Aurobindo, Gandhi used Hindu terminology like Ram Rajya, Kiratan during prayer meetings and supported certain movements like Go-Rakhsha and Harijan Sevak Sangh which had appeal mainly for Hindus. He did not try to bring about any fundamental modification in the extremist legacy in the Congress to build a secular image on a scientific basis. It is called a "Ram Rahim"

19. Ishwari Prasad and Subedar, Hindu Muslim Problems (Bombay, 1974), pp.213-214.

approach because Gandhi preached respect for all religions and included some Christian hymns and Islamic values in his prayer meetings. In this perspective no critical examination of religion as a social-cultural institution, let alone a frontal attack on some of the values and attitudes it sanctified, was considered necessary.

Gandhi's view of religious unity was, by and large, accepted by other leaders in the Congress, with the exception of Hindu nationalists on the Right and the socialist group on the Left. Jawaharlal Nehru who had a secular vision, however, did not attach sufficient importance to the communal problem. To him communalism was a pathological condition of the body-politic which would vanish with economic and social-development. A typical statement in Nehru's speech was :

"Personally for me the Hindu-Muslim question does not exist. I venture to say that in spite of the gravity of the problem, it does not exist because it does not affect the masses. I have once likened it to ghosts. There are foolish people who believe in the existence of ghosts and get frightened, but that does not mean the wiser people should also believe in ghosts. Similarly for me the Hindu-Muslim problem does not exist because it does not affect the masses" (Nehru's speech at Christian National Party, Bombay, June 13, 1931).

But the 'ghost' assumed not only a living form but became and has continued to cast its ugly shadow on various aspects of Indian life. While not disagreeing with Nehru's analysis that communalism was a struggle for power among the

Hindu and Muslim middle classes and did not affect the masses, it has to be accepted that religion, which is used by the communal leadership, has deep roots among the mass of the people of all religious persuasions. Nehru also conceded that religion transcends all other differences for the masses and if not discarded for political purposes, it would continue to be used to arouse the masses emotionally by interested parties, individuals and groups.

The Congress, no doubt, tried to follow a secular national path in the struggle for freedom, but its tactics were not always secular. Besides, its secular demands did not have favourable response from the Muslim middle classes on account of socio-economic considerations. For example, the Muslim middle and upper class leadership did not support the most fundamental and secular demand of broadening of franchise and greater representation in legislature and administration (in fact they preferred nomination to election till 1919 in certain provinces) on account of the socio-economic and educational backwardness in certain regions. Since franchise was based on educational and property qualifications, the Muslims could never hope to get representation proportionate to their population ratio on the basis of joint electorates. Furthermore, the principle of majority rule, too, did not appeal to them

because, unlike in the Western countries where a minority party is potentially an alternative government the Muslim League, a sectarian organisation based on religious affiliation, could not possibly convert to its viewpoint a majority of the electorate. Once again one agrees with Nehru that the conflict between the two was, therefore, economic, but it was, therefore, economic, but it was always given a communal colour. But Gandhi and Nehru could not stem the tide. Gandhi combined in him two persons, Gandhi the politician and statesman and Gandhi the apotheosis of Hinduism. While Gandhi as a politician realised that without Hindu-Muslim unity Swarajya could not be achieved and he strove hard to bring about early consummation of this wise, unfortunately, he did not realise that whatever he did or said as a Hindu or that he used religious slogan to attract the masses, it could be misinterpreted by the Muslim communal leadership and could prove a setback to secularism and national unity.

Persons like Nehru understood the situation and analysed it clearly but did not assert themselves. Nehru observed that the want of clear ideals and objectives in our struggle for freedom undoubtedly helped the spread of communalism. The masses saw no clear connection between their day-to-day suffering and the fight for swaraj.

Nehru bemoaned the lack of leadership to cultivate secular values and a revolutionary scientific temper among the people but did not assume it himself. In fact he accepted Gandhi's leadership even on some of the crucial issues. Failure of Gandhi to divorce near-religious slogans and terminology from political struggle combined with the predominantly pro-Hindu antecedents of other prominent leaders like Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Purshottam Das Tandon and others, as well as half-hearted attempts by secular leaders like Nehru, gave the Congress a dominantly Hindu orientation despite frequent denials by the Congress and its insistence on its national and secular character. The situation was exploited by the communal Muslim leadership to project the Congress before the Muslim masses as a Hindu body. Consequently, the attempts to settle the communal problem with mutual agreement failed.

The Congress leadership blamed the 'divide and rule' policy of the British for their failure to arrive at any real settlement with the Muslim League. They felt that once India was able to overthrow foreign rule, the problem could be settled more amicably. Undoubtedly, the British outmanoeuvred the Congress whenever some success was achieved in this direction; the Lucknow Pact is a case in point.

The Congress, however, did very little to build mass unity. Nehru knew that the minorities were afraid that



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"bigger numbers might politically overwhelm a minority" and to him "members meant the peasantry and workers, the masses of all religious faiths, who had long been exploited not only by foreign rule but by their own upper classes. Having assured the protection of religion and culture etc, the major problems that were bound to come were economic ones which had nothing to do with a person's religion. Class conflicts there might well be but not religious conflicts, except in so far as religion itself represented some vested interests." This was the scientific explanation based on secular thinking. But Nehru also realised that "the people had grown so accustomed to think along lines of religious cleavage and were continually being encouraged to do so by communal religious organisations and government action that the fear of major religious community, that is the Hindus, swamping others continued to exercise the minds of many Muslims."

To Nehru, therefore, communalism followed by organisations based on single religious pursuit, stood for obscurantism, separatism, superstition, status quo in relation to vested interests, reactionary political philosophy and fascism. It was an antithesis of secularism which was synonymous with modernism, democracy, national integration and radical social change. In Nehru's words, "The real

conflict (between Hindus and Muslims) had, therefore, nothing to do with religion, though religion often marked the issue, but was essentially between those who stood for a nationalist-democratic socially revolutionary policy and those who were concerned with preserving the relics of a feudal regime." Religion to Nehru was a private affair, a mode of worship, and hence should have nothing to do with politics. Himself an agnostic, he did not realise the depth of religious emotions. This position of Nehru was criticised by the Hindu communal leadership which in fact is a tribute to his secular thinking. He was sarcastically referred to as "English by education, Muslim by culture and Hindu by accident of birth."

Gandhi, a deeply religious person himself and a man of the masses, believed that religion could not be divorced from politics. He had faith in the universality of religion and tried to bring the various communities together through religious medium. But born in an orthodox Hindu family, he by and large practised Hindu precepts, occasionally including principles and practices of other religions as the basic principle of secularism rather than negation of religion or divorcing religion from politics.

It is this legacy of Gandhi-Nehru model of secularism which was inherited and which got imbibed in the various

Congress resolutions and later in our Constitution. The political struggle during the thirties, however, got vitiated with religion and communalism getting pre-eminence over secularism, leading to one of the worst communal strifes/during the forties. The circumstances in which India became independent was most uncongenial for establishing a secular state, but with Nehru as the Prime Minister and Gandhi giving a valiant fight to violent communalism and in the end becoming a martyr to his concept of secularism, India did not succumb to the pressure of the Hindu communal forces to declare India a Hindu state.

Unfortunately, however, both Gandhi and Nehru were dismayed by the turn of events. Gandhi who felt that communalism was a by-product of the 'divide and rule' policy and Nehru who coupled it with socio-economic factors, were shocked at the intensity of communalism even after the departure of the British. But the fact remains that social, culture and political integration has not taken place even after thirty years of Independence. A review of the post Independence era is necessary to analyse the dismal situation and the causes responsible for it.

From the partition, the Hindus emerged stronger and the Muslims weaker than during the British period. The Hindus, even if they lost some territory, retained their

leadership almost intact. Their elation at becoming independent after centuries was increased by the 'heady wine' of power as the spread of the democratic principle reached the furthest and smallest hamlet. It is not strange, therefore, if a tremendous upsurge of self assertion took place, and it is also not strange that in a heterogenous country the upsurge was unilateral. "Since the majority community, perhaps with varying motives, had played the major part in the freedom movement, it was perfectly natural that they should consider themselves, and act as if they were, the chief beneficiaries of freedom."²⁰

In the strained atmosphere, caused by impending suicide of British power, every Hindu-Muslim difference has appeared to magnify itself a hundred fold while points of contact have seemed to shrink into nothingness. Thus if a Muslim slaughters an extra cow, the Hindus whom cows are sacred, storm furiously, while if the Hindus frolic musically in the remoter vicinity of a mosque the Muslims promptly riot.

20. M.R.A. Baig, The Muslim Dilemma in India (Delhi, 1974), p.151.

"The creation of Pakistan rocked the secular outlook of the Hindus who began to nurse of sense of injury. What the Muslim community got out of independence and partition was a sense of insecurity, frustration and uncertainty."²¹ The Hindu community on the whole remained intact while the Muslim community was truncated and split into three groups - in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. It is pointed out, therefore that the Muslims of independent India emerged as a new community and their position is no longer similar to what it was prior to independence. The result is continuing mistrust between the two major communities of the country. "Since the two nation theory is no longer valid, the Muslims in India are faced with the dilemma of their new role in the country - their political identity is still to be firmly established."²²

Consequently in the independence period, the nature of Muslim demands also underwent a considerable change. In the pre-independent period, the basic demands were political ones, justified in terms of historical importance of Muslim community in India and separateness of

21. Moin Shakir, Muslims in Free India (New Delhi, 1972), p.1

22. Ibid., p.6.

their religion and culture. In the post independence period the basic demands have been cultural ones particularly the demand for the preservation and protection of Urdu politics and have been used as the means rather than the end. "Only in recent years has Muslim political organizations reemerged in the north with an inclusive list of political demands."²³

The minority status of the Muslims in India became complicated and painfully stressed by the communally oriented sections of the majority community as a consequence of the formation of Pakistan. The total number and proportion of Muslims in the population complex of India has dwindled and as a community their political allegiance has been questioned, their economic or social status has declined, unemployment has spread and generally during the last 20 years they have lived groping for light. The process of adjustment is made difficult due to many factors."²⁴

*In the immediate post independence period, the general tendency was for Muslims to withdraw from politics

23. Paul Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India (Delhi, 1969), p.183.

24. Rasheeduddin Khan, "Modernization", Seminar, (June, 1968), p.29.

for fear of becoming targets of Hindu hostility. The advice given to Muslims by one of the Ulema in 1950 was to keep away from Politics."²⁵

The mutual incompatibility of some religious practices of the two communities generally had been the proximate cause of these clashes. But the climate of social life, viz. segregation and absence of rapprochement in spite of common residence, is their nurture medium. The origins of some of the riots of post independence day do not conform to this description. "They are much more disturbing to the mind of a patriotic Indian, making him nervous on the score of national solidarity. They indicate to some extent a militancy whose repercussions may be very serious."²⁶

Some other factors causing communal tension if not disorder, are : the complete isolation of the two communities - Hindus and Muslims - from each other, the continued hostility between India and Pakistan, the apparent contradiction in the constitutional provisions identifying 'majority' and 'minority' according to the religion of the

25. H.E. Husenain, Indian Muslims : Challenge and Opportunity (Bombay, 1968), p.35.

26. G.S. Ghurye, Social Tensions in India (Bombay, 1968), p.9.

people on the one hand and the party position on the other, the Sanskritization of Hindustani and the fall of Urdu as an official language, and the like. The worst feature of this tension is that it is only helping the two opposing groups of communal dogmatists to grow almost on a reciprocal basis, each feeding the other with the hope of settling their score violently. In such a situation, in order to win the support of the masses of one's community, the grievances are formulated not in one's class but community. This can best be done by adding a few religio-cultural demands to the down to earth economic demands on the one hand, and, by mythologising the community's past on the other. Thus, we see that the communalists among all the communities have often glorified their respective pasts and give a call for reviving that past. They also give a call for the survival of their respective religions.

It can be said without any doubt that all religions preach love, affection and peace and no religion is the cause of communal riots. But the fact remains that the fanatic Muslim and Hindu leaders have developed a special vested interest in perpetuating religious, social and other kind of differences to enable them to retain their hold on the common masses. The position of Muslim religious leaders

has been strengthened due to the revival of Islamic fundamentalism in adjoining West Asia. This in turn has had an unsettling effect on the psychology of the average Indian Muslim, making him feel more rootless to identify himself closely with the rest of his countrymen. Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and Jana leaders consider Muslims of having extra territorial loyalty. The Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha at its 48th session held at Sholapur (Maharashtra) in May, 1964 adopted a resolution suggesting that the Muslim citizens of India be decitizenised and sent to Pakistan in exchange for Pakistani Hindus. In his book 'Bunch of Thoughts' the RSS leader Golwalkar has referred to the Muslims, Christians and the Communists as internal threats on the grounds of there being votaries of ideologies having an "Un Indian" or "extra Indian origin". "Mental allegiance has been, in fact, the universally accepted criterion for nationality. Mere common residence in a particular territory cannot forge unified national society with common character and qualities. The new comers should bring a total metamorphosis in their life attitudes and take a rebirth, as it were, in that ancient lineage."²⁷

27. M.S. Golwalkar, Bunch of Thoughts (Bombay, 1966), pp. 128-129.

"It is true to some extent that Muslims are religiously bound with Muslims of other countries and support the Arab cause. But this is only on humanitarian grounds and owing to the basic principle of Islam, that is, millet or brotherhood. But politically they are loyal to this country."²⁸

In India unfortunately, religion has been invoked for political campaigns. The religious harmony of variety displayed during the Revolt (1857) and not and could not put an end to that aloofness from each other. In urban areas where Muslims are concentrated - often the two communities had their separate localities-mixed living was not very rare, but the separate localities were more conspicuous for an observer's eye to catch. Since most of the localities came up during Muslim rule, the social separateness in this sphere cannot be attributed to any particular dislike, but on the other hand can be traced to the desirable compactness for religious purposes. A mosque, an Idgah and such other communal requirements could be easily used if the Muslims were concentrated in a locality close to them. This can be said about the Hindus also and

28. H.A. Gani, "Communalism and National Integration", Mainstream (New Delhi), 28th March 1981, p.24.

about the followers of other religions. Unfortunately, in India we still have certain and fairly widespread vocal sections in the Muslim society particularly in the ranks of Ulema, who have not been able to overcome the needless fixation with the 'golden age' and the medieval conception of shariah, traditions and scholasticism. This has resulted in stifling meaningful efforts for realistic reforms and change in the post feudal contemporary life of the Indian Muslim community.²⁹ In order to analyse the nature of communal riots in modern India, one has also to understand the role of various classes, social organisations, political parties-communal as well as secular-and the aspirations of the elites of the communities involved in the conflict. It also needs to be understood that religion by itself is not the root cause of communal bitterness and conflict. But it is a powerful in the hands of those interests which seek to play their game through it. In other words, it is wrong to suggest that every deeply religious person is necessarily communal. A cursory look at the personalities during the national movement proves this point. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and

29. Rasheeduddin Khan, "Perspectives and Prospects", Seminar, February 1974, p.18.

Zakir Hussain were more religious minded than M.A. Jinnah, a thoroughly Westernised person, but it was the latter who promoted communalism to achieve Pakistan.

A survey of issues involved in promoting communalism makes it clear that communalism is born of secular issues like, for example, the question of discrimination against Muslims and Sikhs or in the matter of distribution of jobs, river waters sharing, territorial disputes, etc. In fact communalism became a political issue when the Indian National Congress demanded Indianisation of administration and legislature and introduction of elective system on which the Muslim elite felt that they would not get their due on population basis. The uneven development of different communities leads to a situation where an inter-communal cohesive class structure does not develop, be it proletarian or capitalist class structure. Thus the upper class of less developed community feel a strong sense of rivalry vis-a-vis their counterparts in the other community which has the upper hand. This was true of Hindu-Muslim relation in pre-independence India and remains true till today.

The political conflicts between the Muslim and Hindu power elite in the medieval period, were not guided by the considerations of separate religious and cultural identities.

They do not bear any resemblance with the communal politics which developed in the 20th century when two communities were politically organized by certain sections of their elite on a religio-cultural basis leading to the formation of communal political parties. This development was not the result of religious antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims, but was connected directly with the rise of nationalism in India and the Indian aspiration to move towards democratic ideology and institutions.

The concept of the secular state assumed great importance in India after Independence, particularly in view of the communal holocaust on the eve of Partition. The relations between Hindus and Muslims was at the lowest ebb and pressure was strong from Hindu communal forces to review the nature of the Indian state. But in view of the moral and political influence of Gandhi and Nehru, the body of opinion against any discrimination against any community, gained strength. The Constitution of India, which came into force on January 26, 1950, embodied the ideas and model of secularism which had been developed in pre-independence India. The Preamble summed up this concept. Some of the main provisions of the Constitution in the Chapter of Fundamental Rights - Articles 15, 16, 23 and 29 - guaranteed, subject to public order, morality and health,

to all citizens, freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion. Untouchability, the age-old bane of Indian society, was abolished and its practice in any form was made a punishable offence.

In view of the secular and democratic principles, separate electorates were replaced by joint electorates with reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Backwards Castes. It was also made clear that since there would be no state religion, religious symbols or practices of one religious community would not be observed in Government offices and state-aided institutions. But in order to guarantee protection to religious and cultural minorities, it was laid down that offices connected with religious or denominational institutions should be reserved for adherents of a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination. Though meant to safeguard the interests of minorities, this provision has been one of the important factors for deviation from secular and democratic principles and has been responsible for encouraging communalism.

Socio-Economic Basis of Communalism in India

It is extremely important to understand the socio-economic basis of communalism in India. There is a great

deal of confusion about it and it is often understood primarily as a religious conflict.³⁰ Religion is only one of its aspect, although on account of its emotional appeal it is a very important aspect. But this factor has given rise to a great deal of confusion. It is, therefore, necessary to discover the socio-economic roots of this problem in order to understand it properly.

It is necessary to have some clarity about the expression 'socio-economic basis' and its exact implication and then proceed to examine what bearing it has on the problem of communalism. "Those who seek to appropriate the greater portion of social wealth which is scarce anyway, use caste and creed idiom, apart from other ideological justifications - what these days is termed legitimization - in order to make it acceptable to those whom they seek to dispossess. Caste hierarchy, although not very much different from class hierarchy in functional terms, certainly had greater social acceptability as a religious category."³¹ Religion has great mobilizing potential and it is sought to be exploited by vested interests. Thus

30. Anwar Ali Engineer, "Socio-Economic Basis of Communalism", Mainstream, (New Delhi), 9th July 1983, p.15.

31. Ibid... p.15.

socio-economic issues, projected in religious idiom, acquire an emotional base around which communal polarisation then occurs. However, for the masses the linkage of socio-economic category with the religious one remains rather obscure, and the religious category comes to dominate their imagination.

The best example of how a socio-economic or socio-political struggle gets transformed into a religious one is provided by communalisation of Indian History. History through which the past glory of a community or a country is sought to be projected provides another potent mobilizing force from the communal point of view and hence it has been tapped to the maximum extent by communalists of all hues in the sub-continent. Political struggles, where religions differed, were projected as struggles against 'religious tyranny' or against foreign domination (where the religion did not differ it was construed as rebellion against the central authority). Thus Satish Chandra says, "This is carried a stage further by depicting all movements opposed to central government, irrespective of their own objective and social content as Hindu resistance to Muslim tyranny. Thus leaders such as Rana Pratap and Shivaji, who fought for regional independence and represented certain social classes, are regarded as national heroes fighting against

oppressive foreign rule."³²

"The early nationalist historians as well as colonial historians, it has been pointed out by more than one recent writer, had accepted a communalist perspective of their very treatment of Hindus and Muslims as two separate communities, even if one stressed rapprochement between them and the other irreconcilability. The overthrow of these communal categories was therefore, a fundamental break and one from which, there should be no sliding back. Hence the secular historians today insist on the primacy of economic."³³

Hindu and Muslim communalists thus project Indian History in terms of an unrelieved struggle between the two religious communities in India with hardly a redeeming feature. However, in fact, those whose understanding is not encumbered by such communal categories view Indian History as an arena of struggle between socio-economic classes rather than between religious communities.

Communalism emerged during our struggle for independence and kept on going into higher and higher gear as the

32. Satish Chandra, "The Roots of Hindu Communalism", in B.N. Pande, ed., National Integration (1970), p.35.

33. Gyanendra Pandey, "Liberalism and the study of Indian History", Economic and Political Weekly, 15th October 1983, p.1789.

day of independence drew nearer and nearer. The communal imbroglio brought about vivisection of our country which resulted in massacre of innocent people on both the sides of the communal divide. During the early fifties, communal forces looked as if they had gone into hibernation. The explanation will have to be sought, apart from other factors, in the socio-economic situation and socio-political climate in the country.

The Muslim elite from UP who had fought the battle for a separate nation migrated to Pakistan - their dreamland - those left behind were leaderless and too dazed to assert themselves. In the absence of such a competitive conflict, communalism - socio-economic and socio-political phenomenon - could not have sustained its growth in an organized way. Small skirmishes of course continued due to immediate grievances here and there.

However, this interregnum was short lived. The dynamics of social change in India brought into existence new conflicting forces polarising around class, caste and communities.

Here in order to understand the socio-economic basis of communalism in post-partition India, it must be remembered that Muslims in India failed to produce a viable capitalist class. "The Muslim community began to evince within their

own ranks a socio-economic antagonism similar to that in the rest of Indian society. The predominant trend stemmed from the advancement of the capitalist mode of production in the country."³⁴ The ruling classes among the Muslims were predominantly feudal, and feudalism continued to lose ground in independent India. However the expanding economy, however slow its growth rate might have been, did throw up a class of petty-bourgeoisie among the Muslims in medium sized towns. "In the course of the social transformation since independence, a new Muslim bourgeoisie emerged. By the beginning of seventies, this bourgeoisie had definitely come to occupy the socially and politically dominant position in the power structure of Muslim community."³⁵

Communalism in post partition India struck stronger roots in medium sized towns like Jabalpur, Jamshedpur, Aligarh, Allahabad, Shivandi etc. Communalism in modern India is a product of competition between petty bourgeoisie classes in medium sized towns."³⁶ Thus the assertion of communal or regional identity is directly linked with the share of limited economic resources. As the aspirations are

34. Joachim Heidrich, "Islam as a political Factor in India", Link, 15th August 1983, p.93.

35. Ibid p.93.

36. Asgar Ali Engineer, "Socio-Economic Basis of Communalism", Mainstream, 9th July 1983, p.17.

rising faster in comparison to the sluggish economic development, conflict occurs among the different sections of society. The rising aspirations are expressed by these sections through the medium of either regional or religious-cultural identity as has been manifested in Assam and Punjab. It should be added here that communalism is also manifested through the socio-political process in India's democratic polity. Votes are cast more on caste and community basis. Due to slow rate of capitalist growth Indian society continues to be traditional, and caste and communitarian ties retain their traditional strength; in fact in the democratic polity with its ballot box orientation, these traditional ties have acquired a new strength of their own. It has also led to the reemergence of reincarnation of casteist and communal forces in post partition India. The politicians who seek an early path to power exploit to the full the emotional appeal of caste and communitarian ties. Needless to say, such an appeal aggravates tension. However, this is not to suggest that these are the only factors responsible for outbreak of communal violence. There are several others. Of late anti-social elements have been playing a significant role. Smugglers, illicit liquor dealers, unlicensed arms manufacturers, strike breakers in certain industrial and mining

belts, all seek political patronage and receive it readily as they help swell support for political parties through terror tactics. In order to gain political respectability they also want to project themselves as champions of their respective communities during the riots. They create riot situation, if there is none, on occasions of religious festivals. It must also be understood that the quarrels over religious processions etc. are not of a religious nature as often made out but always have political overtones. In this respect it assumes a socio-political if not a socio-economic character. The role played by the Shiv Sens in the Bhivandi riots in 1970 and 1984 are clear examples.

The emergence of Vishwa Hindu Parishad recently is an interesting phenomenon. Its aggressive campaign on the question of conversion has dangerous communal overtones and this campaign has resulted in several bloody riots in central, southern and northern parts of India. Conversion itself has been motivated by socio-economic factors, rather than by religious preference or theological involvement. Harijans who are mercilessly exploited by upper caste Hindus are denied human dignity convert themselves or threaten to convert to Islam or Christianity in order to avenge this result. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad refuses to acknowledge

this reality and instead blames "Arab money" thus stepping up hatred. The VHP is exploiting deep-rooted religious prejudices to make political capital. "It is not for nothing that Parishad has chosen for its current campaign three Mother symbols - the cow, the Ganga and Bharat. Such symbols help to strengthen obscurantism and make the common folk forget the reality of the complex socio-economic forces that go to make or mar the present and future of a country of seven hundred million people."³⁷ The Parishad has a Margadarshak Mandal which includes the chiefs of Peeths, Maths and various Hindu sects. They are supposed to "conduct and guide the religious, moral and ethical functions of Indian society." And it has set up a Dharma Sansad - Parliament of Religion - with an adhoc committee of seventeen members who are to "deliberate upon issues of public importance in religious field and social fields." The Meenakshipuram episode came as a boon to the Parishad. It raised the scare of a conspiracy by Pan-Islamic Fundamentalism to convert eighty million poor Harijans and tribals to Islam with the help of petro-dollars, and launched what it called Sanskriti Raksha Yojna.

37. Narendra Sharma, "Hindu Parishad : Aims and Backers", Mainstream, 26 November 1983, p.6.

The stepped-up campaign by the VHP has again brought the question of religious or religio cultural identity into sharp focus. It is basically the socio-economic factors which induce different communities to assert their identity. In other words identity-assertion is related to our social situation. Talking of 19th century Bengal, Rafiuddin Ahmed says, "This middle class insistence on an exclusively Islamic identity was no doubt intensified in the late nineteenth century by the economic competition and the political rivalry with the Hindu bhadralok."³⁶

It has been often observed that during the period of socio-economic crisis a multi-ethnic or multi-religious society is faced with a question of assertion of separate identity. Further, in a ballot box oriented democracy polarization of ethnic or religious identity increases chances of pressurising politicians into conceding demands. However, the main advantage of identity assertion of an ethnic or a religious community is taken by its elite. Identity serves as a mobilisation force as far as the masses are concerned. Formation of Pakistan and later on of Bangla Dosh are good examples of how religious or

36. Rafiuddin Ahmed, The Bengal Muslims, 1871-1906 - A Quest for Identity, (Calcutta, 1981), p.110.

linguistic identity, when the entire community suffers from a sense of having been denied its legitimate share, is exploited by the community elites for their own ends, leaving the masses high and dry. Communalism has, unfortunately, become an integral part of the socio-political life in India. It may be paradoxical but a point worth noting that communalism appeals to both - those who are on the decline and those who aspire to rise, though for different reasons. In fact in the face of socio-economic changes, the communal role of different political parties, even those claiming to be ideologically secular, needs to be carefully examined. Therefore the whole problem should be viewed in the perspective of the dynamics of socio-economic changes and development. The socio-economic basis of communalism can be well understood from the analysis given above. Communalism, thus is a very complex phenomenon and to merely equate with religion is not an oversimplification but misleading. In a deeply religious society where religion permeates in every aspect of human life, religion becomes a powerful instrument in the hands of exploiting classes and politically ambitious forces to mobilise the common masses to achieve their goal.

As the social and economic basis of communal riots in Hyderabad is to be viewed in all India perspective, let us take stock of Muslim problem region-wise which gives us

an insight into the present study. Firstly, in the North-East there is a considerable population of Muslims in Assam and West Bengal. There are around 20.03 per cent Muslims in Assam and 20.46 per cent Muslims in West Bengal. The Assamese Muslims in urban areas are comparatively well-to-do but in rural areas there is considerable poverty. The rural Muslims in Assam are far more backward as compared to the Hindus. Their average landholding is not more than two to three bighas.

The Bengali Muslims are found more in rural areas of West Bengal. In Calcutta city which has considerable population of Muslims (around 14 percent) there is considerable number of Muslims from Bihar and U.P. Muslims in West Bengal both Bihari as well as Bengali are quite poor and backward. The Bohra Muslims, who are tiny minority among Muslims in Calcutta are a mercantile community and are comparatively better off.

The Kashmiri Muslims are quite proud of their Muslim identity and also have the advantage of being in majority in their own State. There is considerable poverty among the rural Muslims in Kashmir, and due to its geographical location development of industries is also rather difficult.

Although they border on Pakistan, they have chosen secularism as their political ideology and thus they are kingpin of

secularism among Indian Muslims.*³⁹

The Muslims of U.P. (15.48 percent) and Bihar (13.48 percent) have far greater weightage in Muslim politics in India than actually warranted. The political leadership of Indian Muslims is also mainly drawn from this region. The Muslims from this region consider themselves as the real Muslims and culturally more advanced than other Muslims like Bengali, Assamese, Gujarati or Tamilian Muslims. Economically the Muslims of this region are poor and backward. But in this belt we have great number of Muslim artisans who have acquired great reputation in their respective fields. However, most of these artisans are mere wage earners. However to be fair, it must also be admitted that economically the situation is not all that bleak for Muslims in this region. In centres like Moradabad, Meerut, Bihar-sharif, Aligarh, Benares etc. a section of Muslims have achieved a degree of prosperity. They are now competing with their Hindu rivals and this also becomes a cause of communal conflict.

Muslims in Western India are roughly 8.66 percent of the population of the areas. In this region they are

39. Asgar Ali Engineer, "Structural changes Among Muslims", Link, 13th August 1981, p.101.

chiefly in Gujarat and Bombay, a few Muslim business communities like the Bohras, Khojas and Memons. These communities have experienced from the expansion of trade and commerce and have achieved a degree of prosperity. However, they can be hardly said to be controlling industry or finance as the community of Parsis does. The economic condition of other Muslims in this region is not quite good. This region too has many centres of communal violence like Bhiwandi, Malegaon, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Godhra etc. The Muslims in M.P. and Rajasthan are extremely less backward.

The Muslims in South too are not a homogeneous group. The Muslims in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh Kerala and Tamil Nadu have distinct identities. In Karnataka and A.P., Muslims in urban centres like Bangalore and Hyderabad speak Urdu and have separate culture. But the scene in rural areas is quite different. They speak native language and are culturally integrated with the Hindus. Due to the abolition of feudalism the condition of Muslims in A.P. in general and Hyderabad in particular had greatly deteriorated. They face extreme poverty and misery. But of late, due to the migration of large number of Muslims to West Asia, the economic condition of Muslims in Hyderabad and some other areas of A.P. has improved.

The Tamil Muslims are culturally highly assimilated group. Due to high degree of linguistic and cultural assimilation communal conflict in Tamil Nadu was practically unknown till recently. In Kerala there are large number of Muslims (19.5 per cent). Like Tamil Nadu in this state too, there had been commendable degree of communal harmony.

Communal politics in the state of A.P. in particular in Hyderabad city should be viewed in this all India perspective. The cities of India which have experienced Muslim rule at one time or another in their history, have retained their historic core, what is popularly termed as the 'walled city' or 'old city'. Cities which come to our mind when we think of this problem are Hyderabad, Delhi, Ahmedabad etc. Of course, the old cities are not merely a phenomenon familiar to metropolitan cities but are a feature also of smaller towns mentioned above.

The one common feature among all the above mentioned cities is their reputation as communal trouble spots. At these places with their old cities, where, the majority of the Muslim population resides have had frequent communal riots in the past few years. A few examples of these are the riots in the Old Cities in Delhi in May, 1974, in Aligarh in October, 1978 and May, 1979, in Moradabad in the year 1980.

and the riots in Meerut in October, 1982 (which soon spread to old cities in Aligarh and Moradabad).

The old city of Hyderabad experienced communal riots after a decade of peace in the year 1978. There were over three instances of rioting in that one single year, which left many people dead and destroyed property. There were riots again in November, 1979, January, 1980 and in July 1982 and 1983.

What is evident from the frequent communal clashes is not so much the concentration of members of minority communities but their lives have not benefitted from the expansion and industrialisation of the city as a whole. These walled or old cities have remained congested, dingy and overcrowded with civic amenities as poor as they were before.

In this dissertation, I would like to study the old city Hyderabad from the perspective of social and economic basis that is (1) economic deprivation is one of the important variables of separatist identity and (2) low economic status of a community increases its sense of insecurity vis-a-vis majority community.

Methodology : - Data for this study was collected through both primary and secondary sources.

Secondary sources included census reports, and the General Administration Reports of the Nizam's rule,

procured from the state ARCHIVES. The Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad office in the old city were also approached for comparative data on population, the level of civic amenities of the wards in the old city and the other parts of the city.

A primary survey of a sample of the old city residents was carried out with the help of an interview schedule. The interview schedule kept in view, the need to elicit information on the social and economic background, the potential for communally oriented activities in the area, and low levels of civic amenities.

The areas thus identified for conducting the survey were spread all over the old city. The pretesting of interview schedule was done in Shah Ali Banda area in ward No.20. The areas where the survey proper was conducted were Yakutpura, outside Goulipura, Chandrayangutta, Moghulpura, Syed Ali Chabutra. The sample size was limited to 40 households keeping in view the constraints posed by time and resources. The sampling method used was random technique. Every fourth house in the selected street (randomly chosen) was identified, and the respondents mostly the male members in the households were interviewed. The same procedure was followed in all the areas. Thus there are 16 Muslims and 24 Hindus in the sample.

CHAPTER - II
GROWTH OF THE CITY OF HYDERABAD

Hyderabad being located on the cross roads of the Krishna and the Godavari in the peneplained Telangana, and between the Archaean Crystallines and the Deccan Trappes, is a natural focus of the cultures and economics of these river basins and geological areas. This natural tendency was reinforced by the emergence of the multi-lingual state of Hyderabad and the subsequent development of the State's network of rails and roads which radiated out of its capital city, Hyderabad.

Regionally, Hyderabad lies on the convergence of national highways and trunk, air and rail routes which link it with the different culture areas of the country, the national capital Delhi and other metropolitan centres such as Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Madras. Hyderabad is, therefore, a natural meeting-point of languages and cultures of north and south India. This is reflected in the predominance of two languages in Hyderabad, one north Indian (Urdu or Hindustani) and other South Indian (Telugu), and is morphologically expressed through its diverse culture zones. This meeting of cultures has also brought about their fusion and thus beneath a veneer of diversity runs a strong current of unity.

The present sprawling metropolis of Hyderabad was originally confined to the south banks of the river Musi.

Tracing its history further it was the fortresstown of Golkonda which having become highly populated gave birth to the new city of Hyderabad situated on the important route of the Deccan, i.e. in the direction towards the port town of Masulipatan. The founding of Hyderabad was the outcome of compelling circumstances, a product of specific historical forces. With the fall of Vijayanagar following the Battle of Talikota in 1565, Golkonda gained rapidly in commercial importance. In its heyday Vijayanagar has an unrivalled reputation among traders from far and wide. Golkonda, though prosperous in its own right, was at that time a mere fortress town confined within a circumference of three miles, not counting the few extensions just beyond its protective walls along the main route to Masulipatan. During the 25 years between the decline of the Vijayanagar empire and founding of Hyderabad, the Deccan did not witness any major wars. The Vijayanagar trade and with its also Vijayanagar's prosperity, were, so it appears, diverted to the advantage and good fortune of Golkonda. Increased commercial activity brought in its wake rapid population increase. Inevitably, over crowding in the fortress led to acute shortages of living space and water; mismitation prevailed and led to recurring outbreaks of epidemics. That, in short, is what recorded history points

to in connection with the factors which led to the founding of Hyderabad.

The Golkonda fort had become overpopulated and totally built up without any scope for further expansion within it.¹ The then Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, in 1578 seized with the situation, ordered for a bridge to be built at the narrowest point of the river Musi, with the eventual idea of constructing of new city on the south bank. But the construction of the new city itself could not be taken up because of the Sultan's illness, followed by his death. Sultan Ibrahim was liberal minded in religious matters. He extended his patronage to Telugu poets like Rudra Kavi, Timma Kavi etc.²

Ibrahim Qutb Shah was succeeded by Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah in 1581. He had inherited a prosperous kingdom which reached its zenith during his rule. During his reign the military population alone was more than 40,000 in addition to the ever increasing civilian population. Trade and commerce flourished in early part of his reign making the capital of his kingdom overcrowded creating

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1. Balaram Murthy, A Brief History of Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad, 1975), p.208.
 2. Chalapathy Rao, History of Telugu People (Tirupati, 1978), p.27.

problems of different nature. Thus the demographic factor was most important in laying the foundations of Hyderabad.³

This led to the fort becoming even more overpopulated and congested. Concomitant with such a situation were the insanitary and unhygienic conditions which gave rise to epidemics like cholera and plague. These epidemics became a regular feature taking heavy toll of lives.

Distressed by this situation, the nobles of the court in a petition prayed to the Sultan for taking up the construction of the proposed city on the south bank. Thus started the chequered growth of Hyderabad on an auspicious day in the year 1591 A.D., when the king laid the foundation for his future capital.

The reasons for selecting the south bank for building the new city, rather than the land towards the northern and western parts of the fort are cited by Prof. Alam as follows. "No other part near the commanding fort combined the favourable features of an open, grass-covered, gently sloping, well-drained land, a location on the main commercial highway of the kingdom and a large perennial irrigation tank (Jalpalli) available for domestic use.

3. H.K. Sherwani, "Qutb Shahis", in Sherwani and Joshi, ed., History of Medieval Deccan (Hyderabad, 1973), p.425.

The inhospitable character of the higher land to the west and north of the fort precluded expansion there."⁴ Thus established, Hyderabad became the premier commercial centre of the kingdom surpassing Golkonda in matters of trade and commerce.

Hyderabad was "planned on a grid pattern consisting of two main roads running East-West, and North-South and intersecting at the Chaminar (the four minarets) the city centre."⁵ This led to the formation of four quarters or blocks, each of them being allotted to a section of the population ranked according to their importance in the court.

Accordingly, the North-Western part of the city was occupied by the Sultan who built many fine palaces and gardens. The North-Eastern quarter was set apart for the residences of the nobles.⁶ Herein also were located the residence and offices of the Peshwa (Prime Minister). Adjoining the Prime Minister's office a series of thickly populated settlements sprang up and these were inhabited by the merchants, artistes and commoners.

4. Manzoor S. Alam, Hyderabad, Secunderabad (Twin Cities): A Study in Urban Geography (Bombay, 1965), p.2

5. Alam, *ibid.* p.3

6. S.K. Sinha, Medieval History of Deccan, A.P. Government Archaeological Series No.24 (Hyderabad, 1968), p.139.

In 1640 the "Moghulpura Lashkar" (Cantonment) was established in the south-eastern quarter of the city, pushing the growth of the city in the direction of the commercial highway of the kingdom i.e. towards Masulipatam.

The city was not only expanding in the direction of the trade route, but also towards the Golkonda fort. This part of the city known as the Karwan suburb, was thickly populated by the commoners.

Within the short period of time, Hyderabad became the commercial centre of the Kingdom, and started surpassing Golkonda in matters of cultural, political and administrative importance. However this period of steady growth and expansion of the city and its establishment as a financial, cultural and political centre of the kingdom was brutally halted by the annexation of the Golkonda fort by the Mughals in 1657.

The military campaign by the Mughals bestowed a premature death to the growth of Hyderabad city. It was totally plundered and looted by the invading armies and fine palaces and gardens were destroyed.

Concomitant with the above steps Hyderabad was dethroned from its pedestal of being the premier city of the Deccan which position was usurped by Aurangabad, which became the capital for the whole of the Deccan. This step

was taken as Aurangabad was nearer to Delhi, the Mughal capital, which facilitated better military and administrative control for the Mughals over the whole Deccan.

Thus steeped into a state of neglect and decay, Hyderabad continued to languish till the establishment of the Asaf Jahi dynasty. "It was in the midst of strife, resulting from the action of disintegrating forces in the Mughal empire that Nizam-ul-Mulk succeeded in effectively restoring the imperial authority in the Deccan. He saw the danger to which the Mughal empire was exposed and realized the evils which had overtaken it. With the rare tact and courage he undertook the stupendous task of restoring the Mughal conquests and reestablishing the Imperial authority in the Deccan where ultimately he was destined to found a dynasty."⁷

In the fluid situation of his era in the late 17th century and early 18th century, he found to his convenience to break away from the Mughal empire and assert himself an independent ruler of the Deccan. For this reason it is said that Hyderabad, like the now defunct principalities

7. Yusuf Hussain, The Life and Times of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. (Bombay, 1968), p.149.

of Bengal and Oudh, was founded in rebellion and ingratitude.⁸ "The Asaf Jah dynasty had yet to consolidate its gains. This consolidation was achieved by a process of political prostitution."⁹ After the death of Asaf Jah I, there followed a protracted struggle for power over the Deccan and Ali Khan with the support of British, was able to emerge as the new ruler in 1761. Hyderabad could regain its importance only in the reign of Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1796), where he shifted his capital from Aumgabad to Hyderabad. Thus Hyderabad once again became the capital after a long spell of neglect.

With the return of political stability, the nobility (who had fled to Aumgabad) and the commoners from Golkonda fort returned to Hyderabad. Trade and commerce again picked up and slowly Hyderabad became the premier city of the Deccan.

Land revenue, commerce and city building regained their importance and lost footing and expansion of the city took place chiefly towards the south and beyond the wall (completed in 1740). Dilapidated palaces and buildings were

8. Romesh Thapar: Storm over Hyderabad (Bombay, 1947), p.6.

9. Romesh Thapar : Ibid, p.7.

pulled down and in their place new palatial structures were constructed. To facilitate the increasing trade and commerce three more grand bazars and one wholesale bazar (on the north bank) were set up in 1798. During this period the commercial importance of the thoroughfare leading towards Charminar from the south bank was established and it became the nerve centre for commercial transactions.

However, the year 1798 is historically important for it was in this year that the Nizam concluded his Subsidiary Alliance treaty with the British East India Company. "The Nizam and his forefathers have all along been steadfast allies of the British crown and Government. His Government was compelled, right up to the date of transfer of power from Britain's hands, to rely on the British for protection against external aggression and internal disorder and refrained from increasing Hyderabad's army, arms and equipment as it would have done, had the British not been there."¹⁰ The agreement stipulated for the permanent residence of 5000 British East India Company's troops and the establishment of a cantonment.

10. Hyderabad's Relations with the Dominion of India, Prepared by the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, Govt. Press (Hyderabad, 1948), p.3.

Hyderabad in turn, had always voluntarily placed her resources at the disposal of the British for fulfilling the requirements of the imperial defence over and above her treaty obligations.¹¹ The Britishers under one pretext or the other had made successive amputations reducing the size of Hyderabad. Large slices of territory (Berar, Ceded districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur and Eastern districts of Masulipatnam giving access to Hyderabad) had been slashed and the State gradually shrunk. With the gradual infiltration of their power into Hyderabad the interference of the company was extended to other spheres also. The extension of the Company's interference in the Civil Administration of Hyderabad was a moral obligation as some high officers of the Company thought, on the part of the Company's government "to protect the rayats against the oppression of the minister and his agents."¹² A direct relation between the English and Hyderabad existed through the Resident who had remained in Hyderabad since 1768 and obviously affected Nizam's judgements.

11. John Lord: The Maharajas (London, 1972), pp.79-80

12. N.G. Chaudhuri, British Relations with Hyderabad 1798-1843 (Calcutta, 1964), p.149.

According to the agreement a cantonment was established and was named Secunderabad after the Nizam, Secunder Jah. It was situated five miles north of Chazminar, near the Hussain Sagar lake. In the same year permission was granted by the Nizam to the British Resident, to build his Residency on the north bank 'to smoothen the way for an understanding between the parties'.¹³ Although Nizam had made stray attempts to assert himself and tried to resist the British attempt to dominate his domestic policy on the plea that he should be taken as a faithful ally rather than a subordinate ruler, he was snubbed.¹⁴ British paramountcy had dominated every sphere of Hyderabad's political life and was tolerated under protest. The British had made gestures for such a unilaterally beneficial relationship. His Exalted Highness had the unique dynastic title, 'faithful of the British Government' and Nizam in this capacity had contributed generously for the British war effort and had placed his army at their disposal.

The establishment of the British cantonment north of Hussain Sagar lake created a lot of trading opportunities

13. Y. Husain, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence between Nizam Ali Khan and the East India Company (Hyderabad, 1958), p.29.

14. R.J. Moore, The Crisis of Indian Unity (Oxford, 1974), p.133.

and a thriving native market called the General Bazaar, came into existence to cater to the needs of the military population. A native settlement also grew around the cantonment.

In the year 1836, the barracks were shifted further north to the outlying suburbs of Trimulgherry, Bolaram and Bowenpally. Yet, Secunderabad whose mainstay was commercial activity continued to flourish because of the economic concessions granted to it in the Subsidiary Alliance treaty of 1798.

Secunderabad though a British cantonment with a distinct cultural milieu and a commercial economy as opposed to the feudal economy of Hyderabad, continued to grow together as "the two were fused into the through their military and economic association."¹⁵ Around the British Residency which completed in 1806 a native settlement came into existence because of the secure and peaceful atmosphere prevailing there. Many bankers and commoners from the Karwan area and the outlying suburbs moved into the Chaderghat area because of the peaceful conditions prevalent in the area. Many Europeans who were in the

15. Manzoor S. Alam, Hyderabad, Secunderabad (Twin Cities) A Study in Urban Geography (Bombay, 1965), p.8.

service of the Nizam's court also preferred to stay near the Residency.

Secunderabad developed, not unlike civilian sectors in other British army cantonments, into a large commercial settlement. It soon became the normal channel of commercial contacts between Hyderabad State and British India. But there were also marked differences of religion, caste and language between the twin cities. While Muslims comprised 52.2 per cent of the population of the Hyderabad division in 1951, their proportion in Secunderabad's population was only 15.1 per cent. In 1961, Scheduled Castes comprised 15.2 per cent of the total population in the Secunderabad Division, as against 9.9 per cent in Hyderabad. English and Telugu rather than Urdu, were in common use there. Secunderabad was and continues to be unlike Hyderabad, in that, it was differently composed as far as religion, caste and language of its population are concerned, was more outward oriented and did not share Hyderabad's orthogenetic cultural process.

Another notable feature of this dirigistic urban expansion, i.e. founding of Secunderabad, was that it had involved leap-frogging of considerable space in the north of Hyderabad's built up area which was eminently suitable for urban uses.

These factors contributed to the growth of Hyderabad north, while Secunderabad freed from the military barracks was slowly growing in the direction of Hyderabad, fusing Hyderabad and Secunderabad into one composite whole.

With the introduction of the Railway transport in 1874, the trade ties between Hyderabad and Bombay increased, while those between Hyderabad and Masulipatam decreased in importance. This development made Secunderabad the commercial centre of the twin-cities. "The moderately developed industry was dominated by the Government and few individual Muslims. The urban industrial infrastructure was largely financed by Muslims and they owned the major industry."¹⁶ As a result of this development, Secunderabad's retail and wholesale trade increased in leaps and bounds.

All the above factors, namely the setting up of the Residency on the north bank, the creation of Secunderabad, the decline of Masulipatam as an important trading centre, and the increasing commercial ties with Bombay, shifted the axis of the city's growth towards the north which was previously in the direction of the southern port town of

16. P. Waghmare, Communalism in Hyderabad State (Hyderabad, 1948), p.10.

Masulinstam. Added to these factors were the establishments of railway workshops in Secunderabad and four factories near Hussain Sagar which together became the nuclei of new settlements with large employment potential for the natives.¹⁷ All these factors helped Hyderabad north and Secunderabad to grow and expand to accommodate the increasing numbers.

In such a situation came the floods of 1908, which devastated and inundated the thickly populated areas of Chaderghat and the walled city. The floods the worst in the history of Hyderabad caused great damage, by destroying property and killing many people. The floods made the Nizam transfer his residence from the walled city to the Chaderghat area. Some state offices were also shifted to the northern parts of the city after the floods. But the mass of population residing within the walled city however continued to stay in it. The river front areas previously populated were converted into playgrounds and parks and in their background prominent public buildings such as High Court, the Central Hospital the State Library etc. were constructed. Permanent measures to control the floods in

17. V.M. Reddy and R.R. Rao : Andhra Under British Rule (Hyderabad, 1975), p.17.

the river Musi and its tributaries were taken with the construction of two reservoirs in 1917 and 1927 respectively, on the two rivers.

Thus we find that with the flood of 1908, a great deal of internal reorganisation of the city had taken place. Many important functions were shifted from the southern parts of the city to the northern banks. The south lost its political clout also, when the Nizam shifted his residence to the northern bank. We have already noted that Secunderabad had become the commercial centre of the city with the development of the Railway network with Bombay. Hence we find that an all round decline in the importance of Hyderabad south had set in.

But the south of Hyderabad was not about to disintegrate or decay. This situation was averted because of the introducing of suburban railway and road transport facilities contributing significantly to the unification of Hyderabad north and south. Also transport facilities played an important role in opening up new industrial centres in Hyderabad north, thereby fusing Hyderabad north, into commercial economy of Secunderabad as opposed to the economy of Hyderabad south.

Compared to this urban growth in newly established Andhra Pradesh, urban development in the former Hyderabad

State was very meagre. Of the total population of Hyderabad State, only 13% was urban; and of its 240 towns, only two were Class I cities. If Telangana is excluded in Marathwada region the urban population was only 5% of the total, there were no cities, and only nine towns with over 20,000. Because of Andhra region's greater economic vitality the dynamic elements of urban growth were more marked here than in Marathwada region. These dynamic aspects acted as a distinct challenge and stimulus to the twin settlements of Hyderabad-Secunderabad when they took over the administration of Andhra Pradesh. The industrial phase of the twin cities started in 1874 with the establishment in Hyderabad a mechanical workshop for the Public Works Department. By the turn of the century two railway repair workshops (Loco and Signal) were erected in Secunderabad, and the Mint, a cotton ginning, spinning and weaving factory and a tile factory were set up in Hyderabad. The installation of a 1,000 Kwh. thermal power station in Hyderabad in 1912, and the impetus of the First World War stimulated the growth of medium to small power operated industries such as cigarette and button factories, a distillery and an iron foundry. Between 1929 and 1933, as a result of State encouragement, Hyderabad made marked industrial progress. With in four years the industrial area included many large and

modern factories turning out matches, home pipes, pottery and raw edible oil. The structure of the older units with financial assistance from the state, was rationalised their output increased and their market extended even to foreign countries. The industrial growth of Hyderabad was accelerated during the Second World War. Yet this artificially inflated manufacturing on the one hand produced an unstable industrial base, and on the other it was adversely affected the cottage industries and handicrafts.

Political Events : The first elections under the act of 1935 with Federation, Provincial Autonomy and Responsible Government as the lure were held in 1937 and the Congress could muster a majority in seven out of eleven provinces to form the Government. Hyderabad now could no more remain a safe island in the political waters. After all the Congress governments, in Bombay and Central Provinces, surrounded the State and could render moral and material support to political activities within the State and demonstrations from outside. "Consequently their demand for representative government on the pattern of states bordering Hyderabad was planned and organised."¹⁸

18. Ramenanda Tirtha, Memoirs of Hyderabad Freedom Struggle, (Bombay, 1949), p.43.

Apart from the above events recent political events and decisions played a major role in shaping the history of Hyderabad. These are two Acts of Rendition 1936 and 1945, the Police Action of 1948 and Reorganisation of States Act 1956.

Rendition Acts : The first Rendition Act of 1936 made the Residency areas a part of Hyderabad Municipality (earlier these were being solely administered by the British resident with the Nizam having no power over them).

The second Rendition Act of 1945 created Secunderabad Municipality by separating the civilian areas from the cantonment areas. These civilian areas were placed under the Nizam, which helped the integration of the two cities, as they now had one common ruler.

Police Action of 1948 : The sub-continent was partitioned and granted independence in 1947. "The problem of the States was aggravated by the stubborn realities of geography. The territories of Indian States were dovetailed into, and closely interwoven with, those of what was British India. Even when the map showed solid blocks of the Indian States the territories were so irregular that the States had enclosures in the provinces and vice versa."¹⁹ The Nizam

19. K.L. Gaube, Hyderabad or India (New Delhi, 1948), p.86.

of Hyderabad had some hesitation as to whether he should merge with the Indian Union or remain as an independent Princely state. He invoked Standstill Agreement in support of his move to place his affairs before UNO. The most fatal mistake ever committed by the Government of India was to give the Nizam the Standstill Agreement in which the balance of advantage lay with Hyderabad and which is contrary to the treatment meted out to over 300 Princes of India.²⁰ Little did the Government of India suspect at the time that the Nizam and his advisers conceived the Standstill Agreement only as a ruse to gain time and to "secure the elimination of the Indian army which was a serious obstacle to the operation of their plans."²¹ But the operation of Standstill Agreement has not fulfilled the hopes raised by its conclusion as the decision to join the Indian Union or remain independent was taken out of Nizam's hands by the Razakar atrocity and the consequent Police Action of 1948 initiated by Sardar Patel.

20. L. Sunderam, Hyderabad-Our diseased Limb (New Delhi, 1949) p.8.

21. The Hyderabad Problem - Issued by Hyderabad Struggle Committee Socialist Party (Bombay, 1948), p.62.

The operation against Hyderabad was named as 'Operation Polo' by the Army Headquarters. It was a two pronged attack, the main force moving along the Sholapur-Hyderabad road covering a distance of 186 miles while another division marched along the Vijayawada-Hyderabad road. This operation against Hyderabad became famous in the history as the 'Police Action'. "There was some stiff resistance on the part of the Hyderabad forces only on the first two days after which the resistance completely collapsed and complete demoralisation started."²² The tiny minority who for hundreds of years ruled over vast numbers of Hindus, in the Princely State, were subjugated by the Police Action. Consequently the cream of the Muslim elite left for Pakistan in large numbers. "With the formation of the first popular ministry, the people of Hyderabad State were brought into the mainstream of Indian national life."²³

These events which are mentioned above initiated an economic crisis in Hyderabad, though it was resolved to some extent by the influx of local landlords who invested in commerce, buildings and industries.

22. Regani Sarojini, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad, 1975), p.233.

23. Ibid... p.234.

The elite class of the State before its merger with the Indian Union in 1948, was mostly Muslim, although the State's population comprised an overwhelming Hindu majority. This fact lay at the root of what came to be regarded as Hyderabad's composite culture, which now is on its way out. In essence, therefore, this was only an orthogenetic expansion process of a minority's culture, legitimized by the political hegemony of that minority. Again, this fact can perhaps partly explain why segregation among the city's residential areas on the basis of caste and religion, though not entirely absent, is relatively subdued as compared to that on linguistic and class bases.

Reorganisation of States Act of 1956 : The Reorganisation of States has changed the regional setting of Hyderabad city and has introduced innovations in its growth pattern. In November, 1956, Hyderabad State was dismembered and the city of Hyderabad became the capital of the enlarged state of Andhra Pradesh. This radically changed the administrative boundary of the State commanded by the capital city as also the social, cultural and economic conditions of its administrative region. These in regional economy and culture influenced the trends of culture and economy in the metropolis. Among others the significant indicators of such changes are the linguistic composition of

population, industrialization and urbanisation. "The setting up of a States Reorganisation commission gave yet another opportunity to the people of Hyderabad to get rid of the hated Nizam and unite with their brethren beyond the Princely borders."²⁴ The Reorganisation of States in 1956 led to Hyderabad being chosen as the capital of the new state of Andhra Pradesh, which was carved out from the erstwhile parts of the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Hyderabad State in 1956. Thus after the reorganisation of states, Hyderabad city gained jurisdiction over a larger territory, and its loss of the agriculturally weak Marathwada region was more than made up by the acquisition of the intensively utilised, well-irrigated and highly productive lands of Andhra region with their strong and more stable economy. Consequently, wholesaling of agricultural produce gained great prominence in the metropolis where agricultural industries started to expand. An equally important consequence of this event has been the stalling of the orthogenetic cultural process in Hyderabad. It has, however, not been completely

24. Raj Bahadur Gour, Telangana Tangle (New Delhi, 1969), p.3.

supplanted by a heterogenetic process in all areas of the city. Consequently, the 1960s have been marked by a cultural hiatus. In the past, cultural dualism in Hyderabad meant differences in the ecological and morphological characteristics between clearly demarcable areal units such as, Secunderabad and Hyderabad, or Hyderabad North and Hyderabad South. By and large, these areas represented distinct patterns, developing at varying rates along paths that appeared to be non-convergent. Cultural dualism has now acquired different dimensions. While there are, on the one hand, strong indications of (a) a reduction in the differences because of religious and linguistic composition between Hyderabad and Secunderabad, and (b) their physical fusion through the expansion of built-up areas, on the other, differences between Hyderabad South and rest of the city seem to have become more pronounced. Perhaps the most doquent and depressing indication this are the vast areas of blight in Hyderabad South.

Hyderabad now as the capital of the State of Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest metropolitan city in India after Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras. Its choice as the State capital, with the attendant availability of infra-structural facilities, made it a favourable locale for setting up of new industries by entrepreneurs. Apart from

private concerns, Hyderabad is the home of many Central Government undertakings also such as BHEL, NFC, HAL to mention a few among them. Thus from a population of 379,643 persons in 1881 when the first census was taken it has now grown into a metropolis of 2.4 million people (provisional estimates of 1981 census) and has become the major industrial city of Andhra Pradesh, as also its capital.

The affects of this economic growth of the city have, however, not been felt in the old city in Hyderabad. People there are still steeped in poverty and continue with their age old vocations, without the help of modern technology seeping in to benefit them. With the abolition of the Jagirdari system, the mainstay of the feudal economy, this part of the city has lost its economic base, and has been virtually stagnating for years. Almost all the parts of the walled city experience conditions of blight and slum like appearances. The post 1956 cultural features have literally touched only the fringe of this area, the only major impact has been the colonization of its south-eastern periphery. In one sense, therefore, cultural dualism in Hyderabad had today become a close synonym for rapid and slow urban development, if not for growth and stagnation.

A survey conducted in 1977²⁵ showed that of the 1331 houses surveyed 51.24% of the houses were catcha houses, while 43.06% were pucca houses. Over 47.97% of these buildings were more than 50 to 70 years old. Thus from these figures one can draw a mental picture of the living conditions of the old city, that interests us in this study.

25. Mohammad Afzal, "Urban Development and Planning in Hyderabad" A Case Study of Old City, Mimeo paper presented at a workshop held in the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, February 1982.

CHAPTER - III

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF HYDERABAD

(WALLED CITY)

The first official census of Hyderabad was carried out on 16 February 1881 by Moulavi Chirag Ali, Revenue Secretary under the administration of Sir Salar Jung, the then Regent of Hyderabad State. In 1881 the city of Hyderabad and its suburb Secunderabad were treated as two separate towns, while in 1891 census the two units, in accordance with the instructions of the Census Commissioner of India, constituted one city. Though Chendurghat Municipality between 1901-1921, Residency Bazar between 1901-1921 and Secunderabad Municipality and Secunderabad Cantonments between 1931-1951 were separate entities, they were not counted individually as towns. Rather, they were shown as forming part of Hyderabad City.

The city proper population was 1,23,675 comprising 61,031 males and 62,644 females. The city occupied an area of 2.5 square miles, while Secunderabad and suburbs put together covered an area of 19.53 square miles with a total population of 2,31,287. Hyderabad city which at that time constituted only the walled city was densely populated with 49,470 persons per square mile while in Secunderabad and suburbs the population was more spread out with a population density of 11,871 persons per square mile. When the population density is taken as a whole for the Hyderabad city including Secunderabad and the suburbs the population

density works out at around 16,134 persons per square mile.

Thus in those days Hyderabad was half as thickly populated when compared to Bombay which had a density of over 32,000 persons per square mile.¹

Table 1

Density of the population of Hyderabad, Madras and Bombay.

City	Population Density per sq. mile in 1881
Hyderabad	16,134 persons per sq mile
Madras	15,031 persons per sq mile
Bombay	32,000 persons per sq mile

Table 2

Area, population and Density of Hyderabad city.

1881 Census

	Area of the city	Total population	Density per sq mile
Walled city	2.5	1,23,675	49,470
Secunderabad and suburbs including Residency Bezars	19.53	2,31,287	11,871
Total	22	3,54,962	

1. Moulavi Chirag Ali, Hyderabad Under Sir Salar Jung, vol. IV (Hyderabad, 1881), pp. 25-26.

Thus even in those days we find that the walled city was a thickly populated area compared to the other parts of the city.

Of the city population (walled area) 63.09% were Muslims and 36.82% were Hindus, other religions being poorly represented. Till today more or less the same proportion is being maintained.²

The distribution of Population by Religion in Hyderabad city - 1881

Religion	Population	Percentage
Muslims	78,025	63.09
Hindus	45,543	36.82
Others	Negligible	.09
Total	1,23,568	100.00

Source - 1881 Census

The census became a decennial feature and these were carried out in 1891, 1901 and 1911 also.

2. Alam Manzoor and Waheeduddin Khan, Metropolitan Hyderabad and its Region : A Strategy for Development (Bombay, 1969), pp.111-112.

The second census taken on 25 February 1891 had a distinguishing feature in that for the first time a report on the census was published simultaneously along with the volume containing tables. Unfortunately it was not possible to lay hands on this report, as it was not available either at the archives or at the other libraries in Hyderabad.

Population variation between the Years 1881 to 1921

Hyderabad city	Years				
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Population	3,54,962	4,28,731	4,63,173	5,01,646	4,04,187
Variation in population	1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911	1911-1921	
	36,513	34,442	38,473	97,539	

Source census - 1921

We find from the above table, that the population of Hyderabad has been steadily increasing from 1881-1911. But in the period between 1911 to 1921 we find that the population was actually decreased by about 98,000 persons. This was because of epidemics like plague and cholera which raged through the city and took toll of thousands of lives in the

intervening censal period. Added to the above epidemics was influenza which again killed thousands of people.

A General Administration Department Report of the year 1916-1917 describes the havoc caused by plague - "plague took a heavy toll in the city and also in the districts. In the city alone there were 15,453 attacks and 13,579 deaths. There were altogether 63,179 deaths in the State as against 42,908 cases and 34,949 deaths in the year 1915-1916. Due to the above reasons the population of Hyderabad decreased from 501,646 to 404,187 a difference of over 97,000 persons."³

Decrease in Density of the city population 1901-1921

	1901	1911	1921
Density per square mile	9,426	10,012	7,925

Source - Census 1921

In 1921 the city was divided into various Zones. What is now known as the old city divided into two parts.

3. General Administration Report, 1915-1916, pp.25-26.

There were the (1) city Anderun (walled city) with an area of 2 square miles (2) the city Berun the area outside the walls but not including Chanderghat area and Secunderabad, with an area of 9.46 sq miles. Hyderabad is also naturally divided into two parts by the river Musi. They are South and North Banks. The portion of the city on the southern bank of the river is an elongated trapeziumshaped plain which is bounded by Mir Alam Tank, Falaknuma hill, Saroor-nagar tank in the South West, South and East at distances of six, three and four miles respectively from Charminar. The North Bank covers north Hyderabad and Secunderabad. This covers over two thirds of the civic area of the two cities and its physical features, especially on the west, are typical of Telangana. The North Bank can be subdivided into Direct Musi Drainage Area and Hussain Sagar Drainage Area. All these divisions of the city had lost in population since 1911, as already noted above due to influenza and plague, epidemics, and also due to floods in the river Musi. "Until 1908 the Musi was liable to occasional flooding during the rainy season and some of these floods wrought havoc in the city. Of the twelve catastrophic floods recorded since 1572 the last, on 23 September 1908, was the worst." A beneficial result of this tragic occurrence, however, was that the Musi and the Esi were dammed to

eliminate the danger of floods and to prove a permanent source of large water supply for the two cities.

A General Administration Report of the year 1921 says that the congested areas of the city proper (old city) like Akbar Jah Bazaar and Sultan Shahi were improved. In this case of Akbar Jah Bazaar the improvement was done by laying out new cross roads and constructing pucca drains. In the case of Sultan Shahi area, the slum areas were acquired and the places were opened out by constructing a number of roads. Model houses for the poor constructed in the locality.

These facts tell us about the high level of congestion prevailing in the old city already in 1920. Sixty years later the situation aggravated further. During the census of 1931, Secunderabad and Chaderghat came to be included in the Hyderabad Municipality. The city's population increased from 404,187 in 1921 to 464,894 in 1931. The net increase being 62,787 persons. Hyderabad city now included the following divisions (a) Hyderabad Municipality (b) His Exalted Highness The Nizam's Cantonment (c) Residency Bazaars (d) Secunderabad, including Trimulgherry and Bolaram.

But within the city Anderun and Berun quarters, city Anderun wards were more thickly populated than the Berun wards. With only 2 square miles of area and a population of

69,272 persons the city Anderun area, in 1931 was more congested than the city Berun areas. The population of these two sections of the city was 68,543 and 152,512 persons respectively. City Berun and Chaderghat areas now occupied 11.18 sq miles, and 21.82 sq miles, while the walled city Anderun area occupied only 2 sq miles. This effectively speaks of the high density of the persons in the city Anderun area.

Some of the areas such as, Darus-Shafa, Purana Naveli, Nurkhan Bazaar, Fealkhana, Moghalpura, Pathergatti, Sultan Shahi etc. have all become slum like and redevelopment schemes were being implemented in these areas.

The census report of 1931 reads as follows.

"On the whole the population of the city Anderun (within the walled area) is thinning out and that of Chaderghat increasing. This is but natural and commensurate with the sanitary and housing conditions⁴ prevailing in the walled city. Thus even though there was decrease in population between years 1901-1931, in the walled city, we find that it remains as congested as it was, when compared to the other parts of the city.

4. Census Report of 1931, pp.14-15.

Census of 1941 : During the census of 1941 the population of the city increased from 466,894 in 1931 to 739,159 in 1941 showing an increase of 59.2%. In those days Hyderabad was the fourth largest in India with Calcutta, Bombay and Madras being ahead of it respectively.

Census of 1951 : Consequent on the abolition of Hyderabad Cantonment, the whole of the area falling within its jurisdiction has been merged with Hyderabad Municipality on 1 April 1951. The population of Hyderabad city was 860,366 in 1951, which means an increase of 84% in fifty years - an annual mean of 6.9%. The great increase recorded in 1921-31 was largely due to the incorporation into Hyderabad of Chaderghat in 1930; its population was virtually half that of the city's total in 1931, although the actual increase in the two populations considered separately was not more than 5%. In the two subsequent decades because of rapid industrial development, improved sanitation and hospital facilities, and because of political conditions in the state and the country between 1947 and 1951 these declining trends and slow rates of growth were replaced by high percentages of increase, 84% in 1931-41 and 60% in 1941-51. Owing to this rapid rise in population, Hyderabad's built up areas, by 1951, extended far beyond its then municipal boundary which was doubled to enclose

such extra-mural extensions, soon after the census in 1951.

The half century's growth of population in Hyderabad (1901-1951), compares well with that of seven other metropolitan cities of India. Of these seven cities only two showed a higher overall percent increase of population than that of Hyderabad. These were Delhi, the national capital since 1911 and a city which received a tremendous influx of Hindu refugees from West Pakistan in 1947-48, and secondly Bangalore, the most important industrial centre in the Deccan Plateau. The calamitous famine in India in 1898 checked the country's rate of population increase in the decade 1901-11. In the epidemic-stricken decade of 1911-21, moreover, the other seven cities, owing to their better sanitation, were not as severely affected as Hyderabad, the only one in which the population actually declined. The Great Depression of 1929-30 did not permit a rapid increase of population in the major cities of India in 1921-31, but in the following two decades the pace of urbanisation accelerated owing to the stimulus provided by war-time industrial development and by political factors, causing a large influx into Indian cities. In these twenty years Hyderabad's population increased faster than in the seven other cities except Kanpur and Delhi. This

increase in population was not so much due to natural causes as to immigration.

While Hyderabad supports fewer people than the great industrial and commercial cities of India such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras, it is nevertheless notable in containing more inhabitants than industrial Ahmedabad (in the West), Bangalore (in the South) and Kanpur (in the North). This may be accounted for by the concentration of autocracy and wealth, economic privilege and top heavy administration which until 1948 was partly feudal and partly bureaucratic.

Immigration :- In Hyderabad since 1901 the population has increased more by the influx of immigrants than by any other cause. Although the number of immigrants up to the census of 1931 was small, -viz. 200,000 in thirty years (1901-31) being only about 10% of the population in each previous decade, yet until then immigration was the exclusive cause of Hyderabad's population growth. Of these immigrants 95% were from within the state, attracted to the city by its overwhelming economic, social, and cultural importance. The restrictions imposed on the entry of the immigrants from outside the state, called alien or non-mulkis, discouraged their movement and kept their number low even upto the census of 1941, only 5% of the total immigrants. Muslim immigrants into the city were

relatively numerous for it was the capital of a Muslim State and therefore they had better prospects for employment than non-Muslim communities.

Thereafter there was striking increase in the number of immigrants from 64,000 recorded in 1941 to over 200,000 in 1951. This was due firstly to the integration of Hyderabad State with the rest of India by which restrictions on the entry of non-Muslims into the city were removed; these contributed 25% of the immigrants by the time of 1951 Census. Over 70 per cent of the immigrants, during 1941-51, came in the last four years as a result of disturbed political conditions in Hyderabad State. Muslims congregated in the Walled City, and non-Muslim arrivals centred either in Secunderabad or in north Hyderabad. Of the total influx of the twin cities in 1941-51 over 75% (170,000) settled in Hyderabad, and their number represented about 20% of the city's population and 48% of the increase for the decade. In Secunderabad the immigrants formed 37% of the population and accounted for 66% of its increase.

For 1958-59 the mid year population estimates for Hyderabad and Secunderabad respectively were 1,392,000 and 192,000, an increase of 61.6% and 13.6% over the census figures for 1951. If the municipal figures are accepted as correct then the inevitable inference is that during

these eight years (1951-59) there was little inflow of immigrants into Secunderabad. The current influx of immigrants is mainly of Hindus from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema and has averaged annually 100,000 since 1957.

In Hyderabad during the decades 1901-11 and 1911-21 the deaths exceeded the births by 6,336 and 27,650 respectively, and in 1921-31 the crude death rate was 24.5 as against a birth rate of 18.3. These trends towards decline were due to famines, flood and epidemics and to inadequate medical facilities. The sanitary and medical improvement which have continued since 1941 (such as laying of sewerage system, opening of new and large modern hospitals) have appreciably reduced the death rate in Hyderabad and partly account for the city's fairly high natural increase in population by 69.2% and 34.7% in 1931-41 and 1941-51 respectively.

Variation and Density of Population in Municipal Wards :

An examination of population growth by wards shows the way it is sifting and sorting out within the city. Hyderabad city contained thirteen municipal wards in 1901, but as the city's boundaries were expanded it was redivided in 1951 into twenty three wards, of which eight are south of the river. Secunderabad is divided into twelve municipal wards.

The shift in Hyderabad's centre of economic activity to the north of the river has altered the relative distribution of the population. In 1901 the municipal wards south of the river covered only 35.6% of the city's area, but held 54.8% of its population while in 1951 they occupied much the same fraction of the area (34.3%) but only 38.6% of the city's population. In the fifty years the municipal area in the north increased by 75% and the population by over 230%, and although in the south there was a comparable percentage increase in area (65%) the population increased only by 72%.

The table given below sums up the relative position of south and north of Hyderabad with regard to increase in area and population :

Absolute and Per cent increase of area and population, 1901 and 1951.

Unit	1901		1951		1901-1951	
	Area in sq miles	Per cent of the city	sq miles	Percent of the city	Absolute inc sq miles	Per cent inc.
North Hyderabad	20.8	64.4	36.4	65.7	15.6	75.3
South Hyderabad	11.5	35.6	19.0	34.3	7.5	65.1
Hyderabad City	31.3	100.0	55.4	100.0	24.1	80.0

Unit	Population					
	1901		1951		1901-1951	
	Popu- lation	Percent of the city	Popu- lation	Percent of the city	Absolute increase	Per cent inc.
North Hyderabad	159,469	45.2	527,886	61.4	368,717	231.7
South Hyderabad	192,861	54.8	332,480	38.6	139,619	72.4
Hyderabad City	351,032	100.0	860,366	100.0	509,336	146.0

Because of a rapid increase in population settlement areas has expanded at a faster rate in the north where the concentration of administrative offices, business firms and industrial plants makes the north more dynamic.

Of the twenty-three municipal wards in 1951, the boundaries of seven have not changed since 1901. These happen to cover the earliest settled parts of Hyderabad except the Golconda area. The boundaries of the rest have been so much altered that their variations in populations cannot be calculated. The seven wards represent the decaying and deteriorating parts of the city. In six of them population continuously declined until 1931, and moreover between 1901 and 1951 in only two of them did the population increase by 133% and 275% otherwise in the remaining five the net increase of population in fifty years was negligible.

In 1901 Hyderabad's average density of the population was twenty seven persons per acre, but by 1951 it was reduced to twenty four, mainly owing to an extension of municipal limits, to large tracts of sparsely populated land. As a result of this, many wards of 1931 whose boundaries were changed and generally extended in 1951 suffered in their average density of population between 1931 and 1951. The population of Secunderabad between the census of 1941 and 1951 increased by 135%, but owing to a comparable increase in administrative area (125%) its density of population increased only from 30 to 30.8 persons per acre. On a ward basis Secunderabad had a much higher density of population than Hyderabad.

Sex Composition :- Hyderabad's female ratio of 999/1,000 males is very high compared with 859/1,000 for urban India in 1951. Even among the cities and towns of the former Hyderabad State none had so high a female ratio. This high figure in the city is largely due to Hyderabad's being a centre until 1948 of Muslim feudal society in which feudal lords maintained large harems. Compared with the national urban figures the female ratio even in Secunderabad is very high, 966/1,000. It may be that well to do Hindu families from the surrounding rural area, with high female ratios, moved their to avail themselves of its educational and other

facilities. Moreover during the communist disturbances in Telangana, female outnumbered male immigrants.

Sex composition in urban areas is affected by their occupational structure. In India, industrial and commercial towns have fewer females than administrative towns, such as Hyderabad and Secunderabad. According to a socio-economic sample survey for Hyderabad and Secunderabad for the period 1939-55, there were only twenty-seven females for every thousand male immigrants. That is among the immigrants female ratio is low.⁵

In the two census counts since 1931 the female ratio in total population of Hyderabad has been successively improving being 47% (1931), 48% (1941) and 49.6% (1951). Among other reasons it might be given that a large percentage of government employees are residents of Hyderabad City, and while serving elsewhere in the state they leave their families behind to avoid dislocation of their children's education. However this increase in the female ratio points out that the number of non working population of the city was gradually increasing, which is not very helpful in city growth.

5. S. Kesava Iyengar : A Socio-Economic Survey of Hyderabad-Secunderabad City Area, Government Press, 1957, p.94.

Composition of Population according to Religion and Language :-

It is in their composition of population according to religion and language that the twin cities reflect most clearly in their past historical and cultural associations. According to the 1951 census, the population was composed of nine religious groups distributed over thirty "mother tongues". Of the nine religious groups Hindus (46%) and Muslims (52%) naturally predominate with Christians statistically a very poor third. The other six religious groups, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, Jews and folk of "tribal religions", had a combined population of only 3525. A Muslim majority in the capital of a state composed of overwhelmingly Hindu population resulted from the domination for centuries of Muslim feudalism in that city. In Secunderabad the population ratios were broadly comparable to those of the state; Hindus formed three quarters of its population, approximately one-sixth Muslims, about one-fourteenth were Christians, and the very small remainder had affiliation to other religious groups. Because of its long association with the British, Secunderabad is an important centre of Christian population and a regional centre for Christian Missions of various denominations.

Language, which cuts across religious distributions, is even more representative of the cities differing historic

associations. The city of Hyderabad is surrounded by overwhelmingly Telugu speaking areas yet Urdu, which until 1948 was the official state language, is the city's principal language. Urdu until 1948 was the official state language and a medium of instruction upto University level. Owing to this it was the principal subsidiary language of Secunderabad and for conversation main language in both cities.

Growth of Population (1951-61) : The population of the city of Hyderabad during the decade 1951-61 has risen by only 70,716 or 8.2%. The rate of growth was even less than 1% per annum as against the national urban growth rate of 1.8%.

Population Growth - 1951-1961

	Population		% increase or decrease	Abso- lute growth	Sex Ratio females per 1000 males
	1951	1961			
Hyderabad City	860,366	931,082	8.2	70,716	942.9
Secunderabad	161,807	187,471	15.9	25,664	940.1
Cantonment	63,549	78,412	23.4	14,863	769.6

The absolute increase of 70,716 in Hyderabad City's population during the decade 1951-61 almost equals its rate of natural increase and thus excludes the possibility of growth by migration. This decade almost covers the First and Second Plan periods, during which industrial development was strongly stimulated and various city building activities were initiated by the government. These spiralled up land values and attracted immigrants from the surrounding rural areas and even distant minor urban centres. It was during this decade that Andhra Pradesh was formed. This was followed by a great influx of state and private offices and population into the capital of Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad). This inflow of population caused a steep rise in residential and commercial rentals.

As per the Census reports of 1961, over 30,000 dwellings have been added in Hyderabad during the period 1951-61, but this has neither relieved the housing situation nor has checked the rise in house rents.

After a detailed account of census reports about density and growth of population during the first fifty years of this century (1901-1951), let us focuss our attention on the population variation in different wards between the years 1961-1971 and 1971-1981.

The Population Variation Between 1961-71 and 1971-1981.

Wards	1961-1971	1971-1981
17	32,500	33,817
18	25,903	19,930
19	17,160	22,924
20	20,144	3,100
21	3,897	4,478
22	11,379	19,296
23	12,434	3,244

From the above table we can see that the population has been steadily increasing in all the wards during the years 1961-1971 and only in ward 23 (Chamminer) has been no increase during the years 1971-1981.

The increase in population without a matching increase in the level of civic amenities like water supply, sewerage, drainage system, transport network etc. meant that a greater number of people have to share the existing resources. This leads to lot of pressure on the existing amenities. The broad bilingual and bi-religious character of almost the entire city repeatedly reflects in the symbolic and institutionalised segregated centres for Muslims where their traditional culture is preserved and nurtured. The demographic diversity of Hyderabad also

demonstrates itself in the dispersal of the communities. While the Hindu community is well-dispersed in the city, 70% of the total Muslim households are located in depressed areas as against 10% of their Hindu counterparts.

Level of civic amenities in the Old city area

The modern era of the twin settlements and their fusion into a great metropolis followed a catastrophic flood which dislocated life in Hyderabad. The flood of 28 September 1908 was subsequently followed by events of economic and political significance which changed the social, cultural, political and economic structure of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

The old city being the capital of the Nizams had provision for the establishment of civic amenities during their rule. Whatever facilities in regard to civic amenities that are to found in the old city today were provided during the Nizam's reign. Piped water supply, drainage and sewerage lines, hospitals, roads etc. were all constructed during the Nizam's reign and practically no addition to civic amenities has been made.

A typical Indian slum has been described as a "chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed and generally neglected area which is over-crowded with ill-

repaired and neglected houses.⁶ This is equally true of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. There are many large and small portions of the twin cities containing poor quality residences and substandard dwellings which are also socially the most disorganised, because of the unscrupulous and criminal tendencies of their residents. The blighted areas are concentrated mainly within the walled city in Yakutpura, Debiroopura, Malakpet, Chandreyangutta, Shah Ali Band etc. All these areas are plagued by the inadequate civic amenities.

Water Supply : In 1894, the first scheme of piped water supply was commissioned for the city. The population south of river Musi were supplied from the Miralam Tank. This scheme did not serve all the areas of the old city, but only the lowlying areas.

The floods in 1908 in the river Musi, led to the construction of two balancing reservoirs on the river Musi and its tributary. These reservoirs are Osmansagar and Himayatsagar completed in 1920 and 1927 respectively. As a permanent flood relief measure and also as drinking water reservoirs, these two were constructed on the advice

6. Report on the "Slum Clearance Seminar" - Bombay 1957; Town Planning Department, 1969, p.29.

of Sri Visvaswarayya and have continued to serve the people of Hyderabad even today.

Though commissioned to supply 14 million gallons for 7 lakh people, these two reservoirs in fact supply water to more people today, as can be seen from the statistics which show that there has been an increase of population in the city.

Though constraints in water supply are being faced in many areas of the city, the problem is more acute in the old city. This is because of the enormous increase of population in the old city which is now over 3 lakhs, and is still supplied with the same small sized pipes. This means that with limited hours of water supply in almost all the areas the old city residents suffer from chronic water shortages and are put to lot of inconvenience.

Hospitals : Only two government hospitals are present in the old city area. They are the government (Ment) Hospital and the Government Maternity Hospital. These are the institutions which were built by the Nizam during his reign. They were taken over by the government later. However no new hospitals have been constructed for the old city residents. For treatment of serious ailments, they have to cross the river because almost all the hospitals are located either in Hyderabad north or in

Secunderabad.

Government dispensaries are present in the Old city, but there are not many.

The above information on the level of civic amenities available in the old city reveals to us that there have been no improvements in the urban infrastructural facilities commensurate with the increase in population, but these facilities have tended to stagnate at the levels at which they were created by Nizam's government.

Hence we find that old city has not only a highly densely packed population, but one which suffers due to the lack of proper civic amenities in the area.

CHAPTER - IV

COMMUNAL RIOTS BETWEEN 1978-1983

Urban life being mostly chaotic is prone to tensions and the consequential conflicts. The ecological explanations to these tensions, the problem of poverty, overcrowding, slums, houselessness, unemployment, crime, traffic and several other factors in the city add to the peoples feelings of insecurity, want and deprivation. Such situations of physical and psychological discontent produce strong indignation and wrath which can ignite the flame on the slightest provocation. In fact, politics in both the urban and rural settings and more so in urban areas, arises out of those latent and demonstrable conflicts and their management is considered as one among the many responsibilities of the government. Communal conflicts or communal violence is only an aspect of the larger problems of urban tensions and violence. It becomes the most important expression of the broad urban conflicts in a situation of concentrated communalism where in the postures of different communities by sheer weightage of numbers and residential segregation awaken communal consciousness desires stray conflicts to settle scores that are related to the past and are meaningful in the exercise of political and economic power of the present. Hyderabad manifests one such communally tense situation where major sections of both the majority and minority in certain parts of the city consolidate on communal lines to initiate and react to any

provocation.

The formation of Andhra Pradesh with Hyderabad as the capital did not change the situation much although the frequency of the riots remained much less than comparable situations in other parts of the country. Various disorders in different localities mostly in Hyderabad south and its adjoining areas right from the days of the first popular government have strained public life in Hyderabad and helped the infrequent large scale riots in the city. Some of these such as the accidental destruction of a mile stone adjacent to the historic charminar in 1968 and its overnight transformation into a temple or the yearly Ganesh processions in the old city did not damage much either in terms of persons or property but have brought the deep cleavage between the two communities and have psychologically disturbed collective life to help a small violent and determined number of rioters to play havoc and paralyse normal life in extreme explosive situations.

Despite the tradition of apparent amity between the two major communities, partly developed through personal rule in the erstwhile Hyderabad state, the city in addition to minor skirmishes has seen major communal riots since 1978. In this chapter, the major communal riots that took place between 1978 to 1983 are dealt with. Since 1978 the incidence of communal violence have almost become periodic.

1978

There were ill feelings between two communities of Hindus (members of Bhoi community) and Muslims Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (MIM) workers in sabzimandi area since a long time in connection with a piece of land near Bhoiwada and a bundh call given on 3 April 1978 in connection with the Rameeza Bee who was allegedly being raped and her husband Ahmad Hussein alleged to have been murdered by the Nallakunta police on the night of 29 March 1978 added fuel to it. While the MIM workers supported the bundh call, the Congress (I) workers and others opposed it. When MIM workers tried to close the shops forcibly on 3 April in Sabzimandi area, the members of Bhoi community objected to it. As a result there was a clash between about 1000 Muslims and 20 Hindus. The police dispersed the unruly mob and arrested 14 persons in this connection and a case was also registered at Police Station Teppachabutra. Violence broke out again on 16 April in Sabzimandi area when one of the residents was hit by a stone, while he was in Saibaba Hotel (a Mosque existed opposite to this hotel) and the police lobbed 13 tear gas shells to quell the unruly crowds. One person died and 21 persons (7 Hindus, 14 Muslims) were injured in this clash.

There was damage to the properties of both the communities to the tune of about Rs.1,58,400.

Violent communal incidents occurred in Sabzimandi and adjoining areas of Police Stations Tappachabutra, Mangalhat and Hussainialam from 27 Aug¹ to 4 Sept¹ 1978. When one Hafeez Khan resident of Sabzimandi was allegedly assaulted by Sreeramulu, a pan shop owner at Bhoiguda on the night of 27 Aug. "Exploited by unsocial elements and misguided by vested interests the communal fanatics armed with lathis, spears and daggers went berserk indulging in unabated hooliganism and struck terror in the areas. Even as the police reinforcements started moving into the area and after the curfew has been imposed the violence continued."¹ Following the tense situation curfew was clamped in Sabzimandi and surrounding areas on 28 August. The following are the particulars in this connection.²

No. of police firings	:	Nil
No. of cases registered	:	180
No. of persons died	:	Nil
No. of persons injured	:	118 (34 Hindus and 84 Muslims besides 11 police personnel)
Loss of property	:	Muslims Rs.1,67,000 Hindus Rs.6,04,000

1. Deccan Chronicle, 29 August 1978.

2. Police Commissioner Office - Confidential Records.

"The worst sufferers due to the disturbances and the resultant curfew were the poor and the lower class who form a chunk of thickly populated areas. Rikshaw-pullers, panshopkeepers, vegetable and fruit vendors, hawkers and petty businessmen who depend on their day to day earnings were badly hit."³

On the intervening night of 2 September, some unknown miscreants broke open the doors of Yodugulla Jagadambika Temple (situated very close to Dabeerpura crossing) and ransacked the temple and throw away the diety and other articles on the banks of the drainage canal. Some pieces of beef were also thrown in the temple. As a protest against this, some youngsters (Hindus) demanded closure of shops in the locality. But the shopkeepers did not oblige them and ultimately it resulted in a communal clash. The miscreants went on a rampage and attacked the shops and houses. Curfew was clamped on 3 September in the limits of Pein Bazar and adjoining areas of Police Station Chanderghat. One person died and 39 persons (12 Muslims and 28 Hindus) were injured in this clash and fifty cases were registered.

3. The Hindu, 30 August 1978

1979

There were communal clashes in the Chaminar on the night of 8 September 1979 during the Ganesh Idol Immersion procession. It all started when a youth, named Sadenand, collapsed due to exhaustion⁴ and a few persons spread the rumours that some hooligans hit him with a stick. Some of the processionists went on rampage attacking pan shops on the Shah Alibanda road. The members of other community retaliated by pelting stones. As the procession moved, at Madina Hotel a section of youths indulged in acts of vandalism and attacked few shops of other community. The police made a lathicharge and burst tear gas shells to bring the situations under control. In all 39 cases were registered at Police Stations Chaminar, Chatrinaka, Moghalpura, Mirchowk and Hussainialem⁵ in this connection and 73 persons were arrested and 35 persons were injured. There was no casualty. The loss of property of both the communities was about Rs.1,50,000.

4. Visalandhra (Telugu Daily), 9 September 1979.

5. Records of Police Commissioner Office, Chaminar.

Violent communal incidents took place from 23 November 1979 to 7 December 1979 in the old city when the MIM leaders gave a call to the Muslims to close down their shops to express their resentment over the 'Kabs' incident on 23 November. A group of Muslim youth went around Charminar on the morning of 23 November asking the shopkeepers to close down their shops. When approached, the proprietor of 'Agra Hotel' - Gulzar Houz - refused to close his shutter and consequently a clash ensued between the proprietor and the Muslim youth in which stones were pelted on both the sides. Thereafter, the Muslims (belonging to MIM) in groups indulged in acts of vandalism and went on a rampage attacking Hindu shops. They burnt down many business concerns and few residences belonging to Hindus in various localities in the old city. The Hindus also retaliated by attacking Mosques and shops belonging to Muslims in some of the localities in the city.

"That a solemn occasion of registering indignation at the sacrilegious act of armed take over of a holy place of worship, in this case, the Grand Mosque of Mecca, should have led to a large scale arson, loot and violence between sections of citizens as happened on Friday in the parts of the city is highly deplorable ... A joint Hindu-Muslim demonstration against Mecca outrage would have been in

keeping with the city's long and glorious tradition of communal harmony, instead the occasion triggered off mutual attacks and destruction of property."⁶ The police had to open fire twice (on 23 and 24 November) to quell the unruly crowds indulging in arson and loot. As the situation was tense curfew was clamped in division II and III (old city) on 23 November and lifted on 7 December 1979. Following are the particulars in this connection :

Total number of cases registered :	518 (Div I, III, VI)
No. of persons died :	One Muslim
No. of persons injured :	146 (72 Hindus and 74 Muslims besides 11 police personnel)
No. of persons arrested :	1253 (746 Hindus and 507 Muslims) ⁷

Communal clashes took place in Tappachabutra area on 26 December when some Muslim boys belonging to MIM were allegedly beaten up by the Janata Party worker during the election campaign, in connection with mid term elections for Lok Sabha scheduled to take place on 6 January 1980.

6. Daccan Chronicle (Editorial) 25 November 1979.

7. Police Records - Commissioner Office.

The miscreants attacked shops, houses etc. and also set fire to some shops. The police burst tear gas shells and brought the situation under control. 32 cases were registered at Police Station Tappachabutra and 36 persons (19 Hindus and 9 Muslims) were arrested in this connection. 9 persons (2 Hindus and 7 Muslims) were arrested and there was no casualty.

1980

The city witnessed violent incident again on 3 January 1980 following a quarrel between one Balajiah alias Bobby, a Gowli and Hussein at Sollekhidki (old city) due to previous enmity in which one Marwadi youth was stabbed to death.⁸ Several cases of stabbings were reported and the miscreants (belonging to both the communities) attacked houses, shops and indulged in loot and the police burst teargas shells to disperse the unruly crowds. Curfew was clamped on 3 January evening in division I (Chamlnar area) and in some parts of division II

8. Deccan Chronicle, 4 January 1980

and division III as the situation was tense. On 7 January the police opened fire at Jandagalli, under police station Rein Bazar when about 500 Muslims and 200 Hindus gathered and started pelting stones at each other and attempted to set fire to some houses in the locality.⁹ On the day of polling i.e. 6 January a clash ensued between the supporters of MIM and Janata Party workers at polling station (No.65; situated at Allagadda under Police Station Mangalhat) and the miscreants when dispersed by the police resorted to stabbing, arson and loot in the location of Machiwadi, Haidarwadi, Chorsha Jinsi etc., of Police Station Mangalhat and Shahinayat Gunj. The police burst teargas shells and brought the situation under control. The curfew was lifted in the old city on 13 January. In connection with the above incidents in all 110 cases were registered at Police Stations Mughalpura, Chattrinaka, Charminar, Hussainialam, Rein Bazar, Kamatipura, 247 persons (163 Hindus and 84 Muslims) were arrested. Eight persons, one in police firing and seven due to stabbings died and 69 (44 Hindus and 25 Muslims besides five police personnel) were injured in these clashes.

* * * * *

9. Police Records.

The arrest of a local mechanic by name Chotan of Police Station Rein Bazar led to a communal riot on 29 September. On 27 September, the Kachiguda Railway Police Station arrested Chotan for driving a locomotive unauthorisedly. The mother and sister of Chotan abused a neighbour, suspecting her to have given information to the police about his presence in the house. On 28 September younger brother of Chotan and some others assaulted her. This resulted in a free for all between both the communities who freely used lathis and sticks. Consequently tension mounted in Yakutpura, Brahmanwadi and surrounding localities of Police Station Rein Bazar where eleven houses and four shops were attacked and looted, followed by heavy stone pelting. Seven persons (4 Hindus and 3 Muslims) were injured and properties were damaged to the tune of Rs.8,900 in this regard.

1981

On 14 January 1981 i.e. on Sankranti festival day a Hindu was flying a kite in Tappachabutra Police Station limits and the same was snatched away by a Muslim boy. There upon an altercation took place between them. At this juncture several Hindus and Muslims gathered on either side

of the place and resorted to pelting stones on each other, resulting in simple injuries to 8 Hindus and 5 Muslims.¹⁰ The Muslims and Hindus also attacked each other at Zlaguda and Mayakal Daddi in this connection resulting on injuries to 5 Muslims and 5 Hindus. However, the situation was brought under control by the local police immediately.

* * * * *

On 21 May a marriage procession of Hindus was attacked by some Muslim youth at Moulana Hotel, Chennai Nade Ali Bagh with sticks, soda bottles and stones, due to previous enmity (in connection with playing of music in front of Badi Masjid earlier)¹¹ resulting in injuries to the processionists. The miscreants retreated when the processionists began attacking houses and pan shops of Muslims in the locality in retaliation. These news spread like wild fire to the neighbouring areas and miscreants of both the communities indulged in acts of vandalism and loot in the localities of Police Stations Rain Bazar, Madamnapet

10. Police Records

11. Enadu (Telugu Daily) 22 May 1981.

and Sayeedabad on 21 and 22 May. The Police rushed to the spot and brought the situation under control.

* * * * *

On 4 July a Hindu procession was taken out from Dood Bowli to Osman Bagh, Sandaguda where they offered Pooja at a snake pit. While they were returning towards Dood Bowli via Chand Bibi Mosque, the music band party stopped playing the bank near the Mosque. But the processionists forced them to continue the music even at the Mosque also, and some of the processionists entered the mosque and damaged the wooden grill and notice board. This led to a clash between the Muslims (present in the Mosque and those living in nearby areas) and the processionists and they pelted stones on each other, resulting in injuries to three Hindus. As a sequel to this incident, there were some sporadic incidents of attacking each other (i.e. Hindus and Muslims) in the limits of Kamatipura Police Station on the next day.

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The city was rocked by the violent communal incidents for a period of 11 days from 12 July to 22 July. Three Honalu processions from Pardhiwada Harijan Basti, Afsalgunj and Sabzimandi were being taken out towards Lungex Houz. When the procession was passing through the post office opposite Bada Bazar Mosque, one of the Muslims present at the Mosque took objection to playing the music. At this juncture an altercation broke out and one of the processionists stabbed a Muslim. Thereupon the Muslims (present at the Mosque and also those living nearby) attacked the processionists with lathis and stones. While retreating the processionists attacked one Shauket Ali a rickshaw puller, who died on the spot. On their way towards Teppachabutra and Sabzimandi, the processionists indulged in the acts of vandalism and resorted to stabbings and assaults. Seeing this, the Muslims who were present at Bada Mosque, ran into lanes and by lanes and resorted to stabbings of Hindus indiscriminately. Since the news spread to other parts of the city both Hindus and Muslims indulged in stabbing and violence in the localities of South, West and East zones. A platoon of Central Reserve Police was deployed in different areas of the old city and about fifty police vehicles were patrolling the areas, but groups of people suddenly emerged in the winding lanes and by lanes of the

old city to attack innocent passers-by. The old city presented a deserted look as the shops remained closed following the imposition of curfew. The busy foodgrains market of Osman Gunj and Mahboob Gunj were also closed. The functioning of Post and telegraph offices has seriously affected in parts of Hyderabad. While fifty five post offices could not function three telegraph offices have been closed down. The life of citizens in the curfew bound areas became a nightmare. In localities like Purana Haveli there was no water supply because workers could not go out to repair a fault. The police had to resort to firing on 13 July at Sabzimandi to disperse the unruly crowds resulting in the death of 2 persons. The curfew which was clamped on 14 July in the city was lifted on 23 July as normalcy was restored. 34 persons (15 Hindus and 19 Muslims) died and 179 persons (94 Hindus and 85 Muslims) were injured in these riots. Important leaders of MIM and BJP were detained under National Security Act in connection with these communal incidents. 194 Hindus and 190 Muslims were arrested in this regard. The properties of Hindus worth about Rs.26,170 and of Muslims worth about Rs.40,105 were damaged in these riots and in all 227 cases were registered.

Thereafter there were no violent communal incidents in the city during the year 1981.

1982

The Hyderabad city was free major communal disturbances during the year 1982, except for the following incidents :

On the intervening night of 2/3 May 1982, one Suraj Singh, who was not having good relations with his neighbour Shakeen Bee (a Hotel Keeper), was proceeding in a rickshaw to join a barat procession and was beaten up near Chistichman Mosque by some Muslims. By this time another barat procession of Lodhas had crossed the Mosque and gone about hundred yards ahead. When Suraj Singh cried for help alleging assault by some Muslims a large section of processionists, who got infuriated, proceeded further towards Gandhi Hanuman via Razdarh Khanpet and attacked houses of some of the Muslims. They also waylaid the pedestrians passing through hillock passage of "Gandhi Hanuman" and beat up three Muslims, one of whom succumbed to injuries. The local police brought the situation under control, arrested thirteen persons (in specific cases) besides making seventy preventive arrests and registered eight cases in this connection. There was loss of property to the tune of about Rs.8,400 in these riots.

* * * * *

On the intervening night of 3 and 4 June, a Hindu marriage procession passing through Pochamma temple, Sultan Shahi was attacked by the miscreants. This resulted in a communal clash, when members of both the communities clashed with each other violently resulting in the death of 2 persons and injuries to 13 persons. "It is learnt that the motive of attacking the marriage procession was that some miscreants wanted to take revenge against the bridegroom who had already married a girl, a daughter of a rickshawpuller belonging to another community."¹²

1983

Hyderabad witnessed three major communal riots in 1983. Never before in Hyderabad was such major conflagration took place between the two communities. This time the riots also spread to the new city which the relatively free from disturbances.

Hyderabad city (i.e. south zone and some places of west and east zone of Hyderabad) was rocked by violent communal incidents from 5 January 1983 to 15 January 1983, following a clash that ensued between Narendra (BJP) and

12. Deccan Chronicle, 3 June 1982.

Amanulla Khan (MIM) along with their supporters at Nalla Vagu, near Chandrayan gutta on 5 January on which date General Elections to the State Legislature Assembly were held. (Both these persons contested from the Chandrayangutta Assembly constituency in the above elections). Several communal clashes occurred in the limits of Chandrayangutta, Chatrinaka, Moghalpura Police Stations, while stray incidents took place in Mir Chowk, Rein Bazar and Kamatipura police stations of south zone. Curfew which was imposed in south zone on 5 January continued upto 18 January with a relaxation of different spells from 9 January to 18 January. Eleven persons (3 Hindus and 8 Muslims died) and 74 persons (49 Hindus and 25 Muslims) were injured in these riots. 166 cases were registered and properties worth about Rs.1,92,250 and Rs.85,936 of Hindus and Muslims respectively were damaged/lost in these disturbances. 208 persons (86 Hindus and 122 Muslims) were arrested in this regard.

* * * * *

Hyderabad city was rocked by violent communal incidents for a period of 3 days from 28 May to 30 May following a clash that ensued between a marriage procession-

ists and the Muslims at Christ Chaman Mosque on the night of 28 May 1983, over playing of music in front of the Mosque. Major communal disturbances took place in the limits of Police Stations Mangalhat and Asifnagar, while stray incidents occurred in the limits of Police Stations Tappachabutra, Shah Alibanda, Kamatipura and Narayanguda. The police had to open fire at Jali Hanuman under Mangalhat police station on 29 May to quell unruly mobs indulging in arson etc., resulting in injuries to one person. Properties worth about Rs.14,800 of Hindus and Rs.51,800 of Muslims were either lost or damaged.

* * * * *

On the night of 9 September, a meeting of Muslims United Front (MUF) was held at the residence of Syed Vikaruddin Qadri, Editor of Rehnama-e-Deccan at Zeba Bagh, Asifnagar, to discuss about the alleged desecration of the Masjid-e-Ibrahima in the premises of Allwyn Metal Factory by Hindu workers.¹³ Taking advantage of the incident at the Allwyn Factory the MUF with full knowledge that

13. Police Records.

9 September happened to be Friday, where large number of Muslims gather at Mosques, felt it was the best opportunity to exhibit their strength as they had done earlier and decided to give a "jolt to the present government."¹⁴ Saleuddin Owaisi, President of AIMIM, gave an inflammatory speech explaining the incident of Allwyn Factory and the other organisations¹⁵ also gave a call late in night of 8 September for observing 'Hyderabad Burchh' on 9 September to bring the large section of Muslim community into the picture. The leaders stated that they would be available at Darus-Salam and directed youth, students and MIM cadres to make burchh successful. The leaders also exhorted the Muslim youth to attack the police, if they interfere in the burchh call. It may be recalled that 10 September, happened to be Vinayak Chauti (Ganesh festival) on which day thousands of Ganesh idols would be installed all over the city which would all be taken in a massive procession on 21 September. It is also a fact that there has been resentment against Ganesh celebrations amongst Muslims ever since the celebrations started on a mass scale in 1980.¹⁶

14. Enadu (Telugu Daily), 25 September 1983

15. Jamat-i-Islami, Temir-i-Millet.

16. Enadu: (Telugu Daily), 20 September

Such a bandh call in close proximity of a cluster of festivals and celebrations of Ganesh chaturthi on 10 September on which day thousands of Ganesh idols are installed all over the city, 'PANKAH' procession by thousands of Muslims to Durgha Yousifain, Nampally on 13 and 14 September, Bakrid festivity on 18 September was a deliberate and sinister act calculated to disturb the communal harmony and public peace with an ulterior motive has conclusively been established by the subsequent events.¹⁷

In pursuance of the Hyderabad Bandh call given by the MUF, large number of Muslim volunteers wore black badges and hoisted black flags on shops and road junctions, moved in various localities in the old city and got the shops and establishments closed. Tension mounted when the Hindus refused to close their shops at some places. At Mallepally a group of students and other youth belonging to Muslim community created tension, while trying to close down the shops including the shops of Hindus resulting in heavy stone pelting and attack on police. Stones were freely pelted on Hindus who had gathered at Ganesh Pandal

17. Police Records.

near Jet cafe Mallepally. When the situation was going out of control, the police was compelled to open fire in defence. Two Muslim youth who were active participants in the attack, received bullet injuries and died subsequently.

The Muslims belonging to MIM with the help of youth and students mobilised a huge congregation numbering about 15,000 for the afternoon Friday prayer on 9 September in Mecca Masjid. Even before the afternoon prayers were completed before the Sermon of Priest (Kutbah) a large number of Muslim youth and students (of MIM) came out and surged forward carrying bamboo poles holding black flags shouting slogans "Nare-Takbeer-Alla Ho Akbar" with a view to attacking and desecrating Bhagya Laxmi Temple by breaking the police cordon. These groups also pelted stones on RTC and private buses and damaged them ... They indulged in a stabbing spree selecting Hindus as victims by means of the wearing apparel and their identifiable indications. "Unlike the earlier stabbing incidents which occurred in narrow serpentine lanes and bylanes covered by police patrolling, this time violence erupted during day light and in busy streets."¹⁸

18. Deccan Chronicle, 24 September 1983.

The communal elements of both the communities resorted to stabbing and assaulting the members of other community for a period of twenty days from 9 September to 28 September 1983. "How deep rotted and pervasive the communal clashes is can be gauged by the fact that even as the Chief Minister Rama Rao and other leaders were touring the affected areas many stabbings occurred."¹⁹ During these riots, the type of injuries (stabbing by selected and trained people), simultaneous incidents of loot and arson, of spreading of identical rumours in all parts of the town, the emergence of a small crowd in every vulnerable part of the town and indulging in the same type of loot, arson and attacks, go to suggest that there is an organised element, that is engineered and executed by an organisation wedded to a fascist ideology.

In these clashes 105 persons (60 Hindus and 42 Muslims) including police personnel (3) were stabbed out of which 39 persons (24 Hindus and 15 Muslims) died apart from two Muslims who died in police firing on 9 September. About 518 persons (267 Hindus and 251 Muslims) were arrested and 146 cases were registered in this

19. Ibid.

connection. Curfew which was clamped on 23 September 1983 in some areas of old city, was lifted completely on 18 October 1983 following restoration of normalcy.

The latest bout of bloodletting is by far the worst the city has ever seen. Over the 18-day stretch, as the Ganesh Chaturthi got under way, 41 people were killed—mostly by knife-wielding hoodlums who stalled the streets and narrow lanes of the old city for lone victims. The police have had their work cut out for them trying to keep the communities apart. As the sporadic violence continued they called in heavy reinforcements from neighbouring states. By 20 September, there were nearly 10,000 men of the Central Reserve Police Force, the Border Security Force, the Tamil Nadu special police and the local force patrolling the streets. The show of strength was unfortunately not enough. Strangely, Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao tried to avoid imposing a curfew even after the Ganesh Chaturthi procession taken out by the Hindus on 21 September led to fierce clashes. It was only 23 September when four people were stabbed in separate incidents around the city that Rama Rao decided that a curfew was unavoidable. His decision came soon after a senior Intelligence Bureau officer arrived in the city from New Delhi and Mrs. Gandhi wrote to him from Paris voicing her

concern about the violence. Rama Rao's reluctance to impose curfew was the subject of considerable criticism. There was speculation that he had made it a prestige issue. Commented the Hindu trenchantly : "The fact that the police did not resort to the imposition of curfew even under grave provocation is not the mark of wisdom especially when it has not been found possible to stem the rot."²⁰

It is very unfortunate that old city of Hyderabad be rocked by communal violence time and again. At the slightest provocation, communal feelings flare up and engulf the old city. This makes one feel that communal virus is deep rooted in that part of Hyderabad. For the past several years, communal riots have been occurring periodically in the old city. Whenever they occur one hears a spate of appeals for communal harmony ... issued by the Chief Minister and other political leaders. This has almost become a periodic ritual. But regrettably the government has not succeeded in ridding the old city of communal feelings. The measures adopted in the past to curb communalism do not seem to have had the desired effect because they were not designed to eradicate fully the

20. The Hindu (Editorial), 20 September 1983.

canker. "Now is the time for the state government to identify the factors that foment communal prejudices and take drastic steps to end the problem once and for all."²¹ A dispassionate assessment of the situation in the old city reveals that politicians of all sorts are responsible to a great extent (as it is evident from riots which occurred in September 1983) for the prevalence of communal feelings. Over the years the socio-economic backwardness which characterises the old city has become a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous elements to embarrass the government. Inciting communal riots has become an easy thing for many unsocial elements, and whenever they occur they spread like wildfire. Many innocent people are killed as happened during the past few years. The murderers are too clever to allow themselves to be caught by the police. This problem which has become serious in the recent past (especially since 1978) should be tackled on a different footing.

21. Enadu (Telugu Daily), 6 June 1982.

CHAPTER - V

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASIS OF COMMUNAL RIOTS IN
HYDERABAD**

The primary data presented in this chapter was gathered through a survey of 40 households in the old city of Hyderabad. The survey was conducted in the month of June, 1984, soon after the communal riots which took place during the by-election of Asif Nagar constituency from where the Majlis candidate Dr. Vikaruddin had contested and won the seat against the Telugu Desam candidate, G. Narayan Rao who was strongly supported by the BJP and other opposition parties except the Cong(I). BJP had earlier withdrawn its candidate in favour of Telugu Desam Party (TDP). It was alleged that RSS workers had campaigned in favour of the TDP candidate and it was a keen fight. This has been a traditional Majlis seat. The earlier Majlis candidate had died, necessitating a by-election.

The sample design was formulated with the help of Mr. Radhakrishna, section officer in Census Office. The sample was designed on the basis of his experience and knowledge of the old city rather than on an abstract criteria. The criteria for the selection of the areas where the survey was conducted were (i) prevalence of heterogeneity in terms of the mix of Hindu and Muslim population (ii) density of population and (iii) from among

areas that were tension prone.¹

The 'universe of investigation' for this survey - areas and interviewers are indicated in Table-1.

Table-1

(The Areas, Wards and Interviews)

Ward No.	Area	No. of inter-views held
17	Yakutpura	10
19	Outside Gowlipura and Chandrayangutta	10
21	Patta Surj	10
23	Moghal Pura Syed Ali Chabutra	10

The size of the sample was restricted to 40 households only, keeping in view the constraints posed by time and resources.

Data was collected through an interview schedule. The sample was initially pre-tested in the month of May, 1984 in the Shah Ali Banda area in the old city. Ten

1. In all the major riots since 1978 these areas were severely affected and kept under curfew because of instances of stabbing and arson.

percent of the sample was interviewed for pre-testing. The interview schedule was later modified keeping in view the results and experiences of the pilot study.

The interviews were conducted in every fourth house of the street randomly chosen. It was predominantly an interview of male members of the household who were available for interview except in the lone case of a female respondent who was interviewed both because she was accessible and also willing to take part in the interview.

Though about 70 percent of the population in the old city are Muslims², yet it was not considered necessary to leave out the Hindu section of the population, provided they came within the sample. This was done because even though the old city is dominated by the Muslims, a significant number of Hindus have always been residing there and working for erstwhile Nizam's administration. This Hindu population has continued to live in the old city. Hence to elicit a fuller picture of the problems in the area, it was thought

2. Manzoor Alam and Waheeduddin Khan, Metropolitan Hyderabad and Its Region : A Strategy for Development, (Bombay, 1972), pp.111-112.

that the sample should include an adequate number of Hindus. Thus it emerged that 16 Muslims and 24 Hindus were interviewed who belong to different walks of life i.e. from lower and upper strata and also the people who migrated from North India for services and business. The survey was conducted over a period of 20 days. The results of the survey are presented in this chapter. This chapter deals with the density and activity profile of residents in the context of the present study i.e. socio-economic basis of communal riots in old city.

To start with, we found out that most the respondents interviewed have lived in the old city for generations. This can be seen from Table-2.

Table-2

Years of Residence in the Old City
(Figures in brackets are percentages)

<u>Years of residence in the old city</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Less than 15 years	3 (7)
16 to 20 years	6 (15)
Since birth	5 (12)
Since over two generations	24 (60)
Total	40 (100)

Twenty-four respondents out of 40 have deep rooted ties in the old city, which is seen by the fact that generations of their forefathers have lived in the old city. Only 3 respondents have been living in the old city for less than 15 years. Six of them have lived in the old city for more than 15 years and the remaining 5 since their birth.

Education

Educational qualifications of the respondents is classified as under :

- (i) Pre-matriculation
- (ii) Matric and vocational education including training in Polytechnics, ITI, etc.
- (iii) Graduates
- (iv) Post-graduates and persons with professional degrees like MBBS, Engineering and also oriental course graduates of Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

Based on the above categories Table 3 shows us the distribution of respondents, according to their educational qualifications. We find that most of the respondents, i.e. 67 percent of them have low educational qualifications (prematriculates and matriculates) the remaining 33 percent comprise both the graduates and professionally

Table-3

Educational qualifications of Respondents
(Figures in brackets are percentages)

<u>Educational qualifications</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Prematric	15 (37)
Matric and vocational	12 (30)
Graduation	7 (18)
Post graduate and professionals	6 (15)
Total	40 (100)

educated. Education being an important requirement for securing jobs, we find that most of the respondents cannot aspire to well paid jobs whether in private or in public sector organisations. The implication of this comes out in the job profile of the respondents.

Occupation :

Occupational levels are divided into following categories.

- (a) **Self employment:** includes traders (cloth and Kirana merchants) embroidery (especially women), service personnel who own their own business

(tailors, battery charges, cobblers, autorikshaw drivers, cycle and taxi owners, auctioners and bakery owners and workers), gold smiths and handicrafts men mainly brass workers, silver leaf workers (Panni) and Pan shop keepers.

- (b) Private sector employees
- (c) Government sector employees
- (d) Professionals: whether employed in governmental or private institutions including doctors, lawyers and teachers.
- (e) Others: Include students and retired personnel and unemployed respondents.

Table-4

Occupation of respondents
(Figures in brackets are percentages)

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Self employed	12 (30)
Private sector	2 (5)
Government sector	10 (25)
Professionals	5 (12)
Others	11 (28)
Total	40 (100)

We find that 35 percent of the respondents are self employed (not under the government scheme) and the remaining 65 percent is distributed among the other categories of occupational classification. Most of the respondents from our sample are self employed and the bulk of them is constituted by those who have studied only upto matriculation i.e. 30 percent. Even those who are employed in the private sector have studied only upto matric, which means that they held only lowly paid jobs (daily wage earners).

The above statistics indicate that educational qualifications of a majority of the respondents not being very high, their employment opportunities are also very limited, and where they do get employment, it will be seen that they had only lowly paid jobs. Further they are cut away from the modern education and scientific outlook because of the overburden of traditional beliefs, feudal sentiments and revivalistic tendencies. They also strongly believe that scientific education is against their religious faith and practice. Though they practice religion and follow tradition, there is no chance or opportunity or intellectual quest to study deeply the religious philosophy of Islam. Even Sufism has become a non-existent factor in their life. They have even cut off

from the strong bonds of muslim brotherhood because of the economic crisis which they face resulting in the clash of values between the traditional norms and new aspirations.

Table-5

Income of Respondents

<u>Income groups</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
With no income	3
101-400	8
401-700	12
701-1000	10
1001-1300	3
1300-1600	1
1601-1900	1
Total	40

The respondents in lower income groups also include fruit vendors (Guava fruit and mangoes) daily wage earners like hotel workers-age from 8-30 years - who are called Chaiwales (Tea bearers) and Beharwales (literally 'outsiders', i.e. bearers serving in the outside portion of the restaurant) Surprisingly, all the Beharwales are children between age group 8 - 16 years . when the hotel cleaners (mostly boys), cycle hifazat

owners, mechanics and rickshaw pullers were interviewed, surprisingly all the answers given by them were - 'the riots are the creation of big shots for their vested interests'. Further, they also stress that because of these riots the wage earners have become permanent victims. They also say that during the curfew period (sometimes prolonged to 48 hrs to 60 hrs, and more) they literally starve as their earnings are stopped. The entire family will have to observe an imposed 'fasting'. The police atrocities also affect these innocent workers in the combing operations. Sometimes the aged parents will be waiting or stuck-up somewhere during the period of riots and curfew. Sometimes even the dead bodies are not traced. This is the case with both Muslims and Hindus who belong to the lowest strata. As the saying goes, 'who mourns for the orphan'. This is the echoing unsung song of the oppressed people. Says Mohammad Ahmad, the owner of a chain of bangle shops: "Those who live without work, that is free-loaders and rich, think in terms of Muslims and Hindus, but those of us who have to work every day in order to earn a living do not think in these terms." His views are echoed by a Hindu trader, Ram Pershad Bajaj, who says: "Hyderabad is the Sangan of Hindu and Muslim cultures. The spirit of co-existence will not die."

Says Yusuf Hussain, the owner of a tiny confectionary shop: "Osman Ali Pasha (i.e. the late Nizam of Hyderabad) told us that Hindus and Muslims are like his two eyes, both are necessary and inseparable."

But for all the optimism, there can be no doubt that the scars of communal upheaval run deep. There is an edge of fear in the narrow alleys of the old city.

Table - 6

The number of single earner households in the case of Hindus (Figures in the brackets are percentages)

<u>No. of single earner households</u>	<u>Other households with more than one employed member in the family</u>	<u>Total</u>
10 (42)	14 (58)	24 (100)

Table - 7

The number of single earner households in the case of Muslims (Figures in the brackets are percentages)

<u>No. of single earner households</u>	<u>Other households with more than one member employed in the family</u>	<u>Total</u>
5 (61)	11 (69)	16 (100)

From Table 6 and 7 the difference in the household income between Hindus and Muslims, can be explained by the fact that in the case of the Hindus households 42 percent of them have only one employed member in the family. Whereas in the case of Muslim households 31 percent of them have only one employed member in the family. This means that in the case of Muslims 69 percent of the households have more than one member in the family who are employed and augment the total household income, whereas in the case of Hindus only 38 percent of the households have more than one member in the family who are employed. The larger percentage of the family being employed boosts up their total household income. It is also found that several unfortunate Muslim ladies and immature girls are brought into the new city and Secunderabad for open prostitution or sold to brothel houses. Apart from the dark nights and cold evenings, even during daylight just a thousand yards away from chief minister's house (near Abids Bus Stand) brothel bargaining goes on. The so-called cosmopolitan city is surrounded by not only black marketers, smugglers but also pimps. The deposition of a pimp Shahen Shah before Mukhtad Commission during Hamiza Bee case is a standing example.

This sort of economic insecurity and deprivation is suffered by many Muslims of the old city.

Let us now see as to how many respondents are owners of their houses. Of the 40 respondents 24 said that they were the owners of their houses. The remaining 16 said that they were tenants. Apparently most of these houses were inherited by the respondents.

As can be seen from Tables 8 and 9 the respondents have been living in these houses for many years.

Table - 8

Number of years of ownership of the houses

Number of house owners	24
Owners during past 1-10 yrs	3
Owners during past 11-30 yrs	7
Those who have inherited family property	14
Total	24

Table - 9

The length of residence in that building
(Figures in the brackets are percentages)

<u>Years of residence in the building</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Less than 15 years	9 (23)
15-20 years	15 (37)
Since birth	4 (10)
Since one or two generations	12 (30)
Total	40 (100)

Table 9 shows us that a part from the 23 percent who have lived for less than 15 years, the remaining 77 percent of the sample respondents have been living in the same house for more than 15 years. Forty percent of them have been living in the same building since their birth.

These facts tell us why the old city dwellers do not want to leave that area, even it is beset with many problems like lack of proper civic amenities. Leaving that area for most of the residents means ~~se~~ leaving ancestral

ties with a land and a house that was inhabited for generations by their forefathers. They have also become the victims of overcautiousness and security. This has resulted into a segregated locality and false idea of unity of minority against the shadow fight of majority. This kind of separatism is not only exploited by the communal parties in the old city but also creates a consciousness of separation. Thus the old city is politically divided into a 'Hindu' enclave and a Muslim enclave that contributes to the sustenance of mutual doubts and tensions. In fact, those who exploit this situation by a sort of background scheming are well established people who want a separate recognition in political field for their economic exploitation. Here the network of money has become the main basis of politics.

Consequent to their low level of livelihood pattern, not withstanding the fact that 69 percent in the case of Muslims and 58 percent in the case of Hindus have more than one employed member in the household - the owner of property resort to subdivision of their buildings and houses to earn that much extra income. It is also a fact that majority of middle class families are economically dependent upon one person income. This is also leading to a

sort of frustration which is erupting socially as a communal riot.

Table - 10

Number of Hindu and Muslim respondents who own houses (Figures in brackets are percentages)

	<u>House owners</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Number of Hindus who are house owners	18 (73)	6 (25)	24 (100)
Number of Muslims who are house owners	9 (36)	7 (43)	16 (100)

Thus with high percentage of house owners among both Hindus and Muslims and their low economic profile, we find the respondents belonging to both these communities sublet their houses so as to capitalise on their inherited ancestral property. There are also instances where the landlords (owners) belong to one religion and tenants belong to another religion. In such cases one has become the protector of another during the tense situation. Recently at the time of communal riots in Hyderabad (January 1984), the riot situation provided a revengful way out against the tenant litigants. House owners have taken advantage of the

situation and forcefully vacated their tenants. This is not only the case among the people of different religious community, but also within the same religious community. All these cases reveal an interesting and bizarre aspect of the riots. Prof. Waheeduddin Khan, Director of Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS) says that this is because of non-democratic functioning of society and despotic functioning of government. He further adds that the rule of law has become a colossal failure.

A point which is of importance that emerges from the analysis of the socio economic data on the interviewed individuals in the old city is that, their low income from employment is compensated by drawing on the capital asset that they possess like the inherited ancestral property, which procures them money from subletting part of their houses.

A corollary to the subdivision of inherited property of course is the fact that this contributes to congestion in living space in the old city and creates pressure on the already limited civic amenities. Whereas in the other parts of the city there are open spaces for buildings to come up and infrastructure facilities can be extended to these newly constructed buildings, in the old city, there is little scope for laying additional infrastructural facilities

like expansion and widening of roads, laying down of parks, play grounds and the construction of buildings for additional schools and hospitals.

The problem in old Hyderabad, like the older built up areas of in any city, is one of haphazard growth and congestion with all services and basic facilities stretched beyond a reasonable limit. Both the leader of the Majlis Mr. Owaisi and the leader of the BJP Mr. Narendra harp on this aspect to muster support. Owaisi canvasses support amongst those in the transport business including truck operators and drivers and auto rickshaw owners who back him, and Narendra amongst the business community, especially the Marwaris. During the 1981 communal clashes, the then Chief Minister, Mr. Anjiah, in a bid to placate the Muslims, set up the Quli Qutb Shah Urban Development Authority. The authority was supposed to be responsible for the planned growth of an area of 25.5 sq. miles out of the total 69.3 sq. mile covering the state capital including the entire old city and Karwan and Golconda on the northern side of the river. However it could not take off ground.

Table - 11

Analysis of respondents perception of development of old city (Figures in brackets are percentages)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Building of new offices	29 (72)	11 (28)	40 (100)
Establishing new industries	32 (80)	8 (20)	40 (100)

It is clear from the responses that 72 percent favour building of new offices and 80 percent favour the establishing of new industries in the old city. Most of the respondents complain that in the absence of civic amenities and modern municipal layouts more particularly industrialisation, the revivalist tendencies are gaining momentum and the secular forces are losing ground. If industrialisation process is generated by opening of factories, small cottage and handloom industries (for both men and women), building of marketing complexes and housing complexes in a planned way, then it may lead to an active economic life and change the present situation. Industrialisation may not be an immediate panacea to the communal problem but it would certainly sow the seeds of goodwill and social understanding and communal harmony in

a given factual society of secular democracy that is committed for socialism. This will create a kind of security among the minorities for their betterment of life and avoid the search for livelihood overseas.

The government has shown its continuous indifference for the development of old city in many ways. "It has refused the suggestion made by the Minorities Commission for a socio-economic survey to be made in the old city."³ Asif Pasha the chairman of Andhra Pradesh Minorities Commission says: "The government shot down the proposal though it would have cost only Rs.2 lakhs. It shows the poor appreciation for collecting data vital for any longterm development plan. Even the Minorities Commissions' reports, three of which have been submitted to the government, are yet to be tabled on the floor of the state legislature."

Now it is abundantly clear that the communal virus thrives and expands in the quagmire of illiteracy, backwardness and obscurantism. There is much poverty in the old city and some of the unhygienically congested areas look like vast congregations of poverty and backwardness. Once these social and economic evils, which are inter-

3. India Today, 15 October 1983, p.24.

related, are removed the communal virus would automatically lose much of its lethality. There is need for some structural changes in the riot prone areas.

Here it is apt to observe why a minority, Muslims in case of old city, segregate themselves from the new city residents. Lapance conceptualised the Muslims as a 'Minority at will'.⁴ The characteristics of a community that is minority at will, are that they undergo voluntary segregation for reasons based on retaining their religious and/or social identity and to practice their own customs and rituals. Hence their activities also reflect these tendencies. In the context of the problem under study the activities which are important, firstly, are the types of schools to which they send their children. The second type of activities are typical of the ghetto residents are those which foster group consciousness and solidarity. Under this category of activity profile are included those relating to cultural programmes and group solidarity demonstrations such as through processions, meetings etc.

Here we found it interesting to separate Muslim responses from Hindu responses, so as to see how these two

4. J.A. Lapance, The Protection of Minorities (California, 1960), p.21.

communities react in an atmosphere plagued by economic deprivation. Hence a part of the chapter has been devoted to the activity profile of old city residents.

ACTIVITY PROFILE :

The following is an analysis of the data on the shopping habits of the old city residents regarding their daily purposes and shopping for festivals. As in most cases the purchase of daily consumption items like rice, dal, wheat, meat, vegetables is done in the old city market. This can be seen from the following table.

Table - 12

The areas where goods for daily consumption are purchased (Figures in brackets are percentages)

<u>Place of shopping</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Old city	36 (90)
Other parts of the city	2 (5)
Others (those who take from their own shops)	2 (5)
Total	40 (100)

Ninety percent of respondents in the interview schedule wanted to buy their goods from a particular area. The

Reasons given were long established shopping habits in that area and nearness to the area of their residence. Only five percent of them gave the reason that they go to other parts of the city because they find goods cheaper there.

Table - 13

Place where festival purchases are made by the Hindus and Muslims (Figures in brackets are percentages)

<u>Community</u>	<u>Place of shopping</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Old city</u>	<u>Other parts of the city</u>	<u>Others</u>	
Muslims	10 (62)	4 (25)	2 (13)	16 (100)
Hindus	6 (25)	17 (70)	1 (5)	24 (100)
Total	16 (40)	21 (92)	3 (8)	24 (100)

We find from table 13 that 62 percent of the Muslims do their shopping in the old city, while only 25 percent of them go for shopping in other areas. In the case of the Hindus we find that 25 percent of them purchase their requirements from the old city and 70 percent of them from other areas of the city. Thus a majority of the Hindu respondents do their festival shopping in the other parts of the city.

Interestingly it is found out that during the Ramzan season the whole area of Madina building market in the old city will be overcrowded by people doing shopping for clothings, shoes, slippers, and all other festival materials including perfumes. For this new improvised shops come-up for the season. To exploit the situation even the north Indian shoe makers and tradesmen would come to Hyderabad to do swift business. Sometimes this kind of profit making will go up to 100 percent and there is no public protest against this. Just before the festival, shopping goes round the clock even by overlooking the traffic jams. Almost all the Muslims who were interviewed told that the goods for Ramzan festival are bought exclusively from the old city.

Let us now see whether the old city residents send their children to schools located in other parts of the city or to schools located in the old city. Here differentiation between Hindus and Muslims, show us that irrespective of their educational qualifications, all Muslims send their children to schools in the old city itself as can be seen from table 14.

Table - 14

Choice of schools by Hindu and Muslim respondents (Figures in brackets are percentages)

<u>Community</u>	<u>Location of school</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Old city</u>	<u>Other parts of the city</u>	
Muslims with school going children	6 (100)	-	6 (100)
Hindus with school going children	9 (56)	7 (44)	16 (100)

It is interesting to note that the well to do families of Muslims intend to send their children to the Christian convents, missionary schools like Grammar School and Aliya,⁵ which are located in the new city. There are some educational societies sponsored by the Muslim cultural organizations which run the educational schools like Darul-uloom, Darushafa, Anwar-ul-uloom (Mallepally), Mumtaz college, Madrase-e-Aiza, Urdu Adabi Trust (Nimmayatnagar), (There are certain hospitals which strictly observe the purdah system namely Muslim Zanana Hospital, Purani Haveli).

5. Madrase-Aliya was meant for the children of Muslims of higher strata generally Nawabs and Jagirdars or Nizam officials in the erstwhile Nizam government.

If socio-economic and political tensions strengthen Muslim alienation, the community's own efforts to preserve its distinctive ultra conservative ways in certain aspects of life further isolates it from others. Muslim society in India is considerably influenced by the conservative elements among its traditional elites and institutions - the Mullahs, the Madarssas or Islamic seminaries where religious teaching is imparted to young boys. A.R. Sayeed of the Jamia Millia Islamia Delhi, argues that the style and content of the education remains virtually as it was at the end of 17th century. "In Madarssa type of education, not only thought but time is also frozen. An important part of Muslim society is consequently at sea when it comes to its ability to compete with Hindus in the job market."⁶

Some representative spokesmen of the community also blame school level education for reinforcing stereotypes. Says Hyderabad poet Bano Tahira Sayeed: "Muslims need better education and history books should reflect events in a better light."

In the case of Hindu respondents a comparison between their educational qualifications and their choice

6. B.S. Gupta, "Politics of Insecurity", India Today, 19 September 1980, p.21.

of schools located in different parts of the city offers interesting evidence as can be seen from Table 15.

Table - 15

Educational qualifications and choice of schools by Hindu respondents (Figure in brackets are percentages)

<u>Educational qualifications of the respondents</u>	<u>Location of the school</u>		
	Old city	Other parts of the city	Total
Prematric	8	1	9
Matric	6	2	8
Graduates	-	3	3
Post-graduates and professionals	1	5	6

Respondents with matriculation and pre-matriculation qualifications send their children to schools located in the old city.

The two graduates and four post graduates and professionals send their children to school located in other parts of the city as can be seen from the above table. We find that the better educated among the Hindu respondents prefer sending their children to schools located in other parts of the city, because it is evident that they feel that schools in the old city have low academic standards.

Hence we find that Muslims get segregated from the larger metropolis by carrying on all their essential activities in the old city, whether in terms of their occupation, shopping or sending their children to schools.

Even though Hindus have their places of work located in the old city, but they commute to other parts of the city for purposes of shopping and sending their children to school. Hence the Hindus in old city when compared to the Muslims have more ties outside the old city area. However it should be stated here that the north Indian settlers among the Hindus like Marwaris and Agarwals with Hindi and Rajasthani as their mother-tongue have also segregated themselves for want of special recognition under minority language protection, and they have started separate schools like Agarwal schools, Marwari schools, Rajasthani schools. Different institutions like Mahavir Hospital, Agarwal Siksha Samiti and Vivekvardhani Educational Society are run by Jains, Agarwals and Maharashtrais respectively.

Communally Oriented Activities : In an area as congested as the old city, the two communities do live in proximity. According to Prof. Manzoor Alam who did a study in 1967, the percentage of Muslims in the old city is 71 percent⁷

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7. Some of the localities in the old city are exclusively dominated by Shias. These areas are Darushafta, Purana Haveli and Noorkhan Bazar. Though there is no tension among the Shia-Sunni Muslims, it is found that there is no perfect harmony.

while the Hindus constitute 28 percent.⁸ These figures may of course have changed in the last decade and a half.

The density of the population in the old city adds to difficulties. Predictably the density of the population in this area is very high with an average of 60 persons to every acre in contrast to 41 to an acre in the rest of Hyderabad. And 7 lakh of the 25 lakh residents in the state capital live in the old quarter south of the River Musi. Demographic data reveals that while two out of every five persons are Muslims in the entire city, at least three of every five Muslims live in the old quarter. Says Asif Pasha, Chairman of AP Minorities Commission, "We too have our North-South divide and the South is under developed."⁹

It has become a regular feature in the old city to observe religious festivals with much more apparent vigour, zeal and fanfare than it was done in the past. This has come about partly because of increase in fundamentalism in both the communities and partly because certain political parties are deliberately using religion and religious divisions for political ends, and for fostering communal politics. Advantage is taken of religious festivals or

8. Alam and Khan, op. cit., p.111.

cultural occasions for exhibiting communal passions and group solidarity. This results in inciting and intimidating the members of the other community.

Since certain cultural components of the two communities are in conflict with each other, increased emphasis given to exclusive community symbols finds expression in such a congested area as the old city of Hyderabad in tension and conflicts.⁹

In order to ascertain the perception of cultural and religious activities in this area, the interview schedule for this study included certain questions. The responses are analysed as follows :

A series of questions on neighbourhood gatherings were asked to find out who organise them, and where are they organized? Questions about respondents' perception of these cultural gatherings and the role these gatherings play in community life were also asked.

Cultural and religious gatherings are held in all areas both by Hindus and Muslims. There are not many permanent associations, but temporary bodies which are formed for organising these so-called cultural programmes

9. Ratna Naidu, The Communal Edge to Plural Societies (New Delhi, 1983), pp.1-25.

in many of the areas. The purpose for which these programmes are arranged and the role they play in community life are perceived differently by each respondent. Names of some of the permanent associations are given below :

The names, localities and activities
of permanent associations

<u>Name of the Association</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Activities of the Association</u>
Saraswath Academy, Akhand Koti Bhakt Samaj, Mitra Youth Association	Outside Gowlipura	Drama, Music and Bhajan programmes in nearby temples
Bharat Gurwardhak Samatha	Syed Ali Chabutra	Literary, Music and Dances
Pulla Banda Club		
Young Men's Centre	Moghulpura	Sports, Drama and Music
Arya Samaj Locality Leaders	Yakutpura	Drama

Even though these permanent associations are in existence, however many of the cultural gatherings are organized by the people in the locality who are not necessarily members of these associations. They collect funds and conduct the programmes, on an ad-hoc basis.

Majority of the respondents said that these gatherings play a vital role in fostering communal unity

and religious consciousness among the members.

In our sample we found that Hindus have more cultural programmes than the Muslims. 90% of the Hindus reported that these programmes helped in increasing group solidarity and religious consciousness among the members of the Hindu community. The Hindu respondents said that this was essential because as they were in a minority in the old city, they constantly needed to emphasise the solidarity of their community, which in their opinion was possible by organising more cultural programmes with strident religious overtones.

These replies clearly reflect their attempts to increase communal solidarity and to make these events an exhibition of show of strength-ominous signs predicting the existence of communal tension among the respondents.

As to where these programmes are organised, many of the respondents replied that these were organised near the temples and other prominent public places and that they were usually held by temporarily occupying roads and through-fares.

It is generally known that instead of fostering development of aesthetic ideals and cultural values, the so called cultural programmes contribute to generating communal tension and animosity.

PROCESSIONS :

Processions are taken out by both the communities on practically every important religious occasion. These processions and gatherings serve the purpose of exhibiting communal strength and for intimidating members of the other community, thereby creating a sense of uncertainty and fear among members of the other community. This generates a cycle. In turn the leaders, both religious and political of the other community try to organise bigger processions to assuage the feeling of the members of their own community. The manner of exhibiting strength between the two communities is an unending feud.¹⁰ Recourse to religion is taken apparently to further fuel tension between the two communities.

To the question whether the processions are taken out on important festivals, 92% of the respondents answered in the affirmative and five respondents refused to answer. Processions are taken out on both Muslim and Hindu festival days. The religious organisations have played their own dubious role in several ways. Ganesh Chaturthi (Ganesh Procession) and Durga Navarathri

10. See Naidu Ratna, op. cited, Chapter on Riots.

particularly have become times for the Hindus to show their upper hand. The finale of the Ganesh Chaturthi is now 8 days a mammoth procession that virtually passes through many parts of Hyderabad. It is reported in the following way ; "Oddly enough the huge procession is the handiwork of Chenna Reddy who struck a deal with the Hindus in 1979."¹¹ It is alleged that the Hindus were allowed to take out one huge procession if they in turn allowed the Moharram procession to pass through the Hindu areas of the old city. Since 1980 the Arya Samaj, the BJP and others under the banner of Bhagyanagar Ganesh Ustav Samiti have been taking out the Ganesh Chaturthi procession. Says Samiti's President V. Ramechandra Rao : "The procession is an old tradition but we have combined it into one to prevent attacks by miscreants to which smaller processions were vulnerable." However the motives of taking out of procession are questioned by the leader of the MIN, Mr. Owaisi, "The Arya Samajists are not idol-worshippers. Then why are they encouraging such a procession ?" asks Owaisi.

The success of Ganesh processions has also prompted Owaisi to make his own show of strength. In

11. "The Communal Convulsion", India Today, 15 October 1983, p.23.

1982 he was mainly responsible for introducing an innovation called the "PANKAH" procession. This takes the form of procession of pankahs taken on decorated vehicles or cycle rickshaws which are brought out for the annual urs of the famous Hazrat Yusuf Saheb and Hazrat Shareef Saheb buried in the Nampally dargah. In 1983 the procession was held on 14 September exactly a week before the Ganesh procession. Sober Muslim scholars say that such processions are not an Islamic tradition Prof. Anwar Moazzam of Osmania University says: "It has nothing to do with Islam. For vested political interests it is taken out as a show of strength."

68% of the respondents believe(though factually it is not true) that most of the processions were there in the past also. But what is instructive is the fact that 63% of them say that the size and number of these processions have vastly increased and these have become the outward manifestations of deep-seated insecurities of the communities. Sometimes processions are taken out and bandh calls are given not in protest against police atrocities, government policies or rise in prices, but in protest against events outside. A big procession was taken out when the Mosque in Jarusalem was damaged by

by Israel in 1979. Unfortunately this led to a major communal riot in the old city Hyderabad.

Asked to attribute the reasons for the increase in the size and the number of processions the following answers were given.

Table - 16

The reasons for the increase in the size and the number of processions.

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

Reasons	Frequency
Population Increase	10 (25)
Increased religious consciousness	7 (17)
Communal Competition	15 (38)
Communal sentiments exploited by political forces	4 (10)
Others	4 (10)
Total	40 (100)

We find that 38% of the respondents feel that the communal competition is the main reason which explains the increase in the size and number of processions.

Population increase is given as the reasons by 25% and increased religious consciousness accounts for 17% of the sample.

There were also questions relating to specific, social, cultural or political associations which organise these processions. 21 respondents names the various parties and organisations which organised these processions. The remaining respondents said that these processions were organised by the people in locality collecting funds and making the necessary arrangements. The fund collection has become levies on the people living in those areas where processions are organised.

Questions were asked about the role of political parties and outside elements. The political parties which were identified as promoting these processions are the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Congress (I) and the Majlis-Ittehadul-Muslimeen. Among the socio-cultural organisations which figured prominently were the Arya Samaj, Rashtriya Swyam Sevak Sangh (RSS) and the Jamait-I Islami.

While there are several Muslim organisations which claim to represent the muslims in the state, but the most important of them in the city of Hyderabad is the Majlis, which has been claiming to play the role as the champion

of Muslim interests. Majlis had its birth in old Hyderabad State where the majority of the people were Hindus and the ruler was a Muslim. "There have been 4 distinct phases in the life of the Majlis."¹²

- (1) 1928 to 1938: During this period its main aim was to unite the various sects of Muslims in Hyderabad state, in other words its accent was on religion.
- (2) 1933-1944: This is the period during which it became a predominantly political organisation.
- (3) 1944-1948: This was a period when Majlis developed a paramilitary wing called the Razekars. The role of the Majlis ended with the Police Action as a result of which the state of Hyderabad was merged with Indian Dominion. Majlis ceased to exist about 9 years.
- (4) 1957 to the present: Majlis was revived and continues to play an active political role.

The beginning of Majlis in Hyderabad where, though the Hindus were in majority, the Muslims were ruling elite "can be traced to religious intention."¹³

12. Rashiduddin Khan, 'Muslim Leadership and Electoral Politics in Hyderabad' - A Pattern of Minority Articulation-I, Economic and Political Weekly, April 10, 1971 p.786.

13. G.Ram Reddy, "The case of Majlis in Andhra Pradesh" in David Taylor and Malcolm Yapp, ed., Political Identity in South Asia (London, 1979), p.124.

The Majlis and BJP are engaged in a political battle for the supremacy in the old city. Amongst both the communities political parties and religious organisations have exploited insecurity to serve their own ends. Says Dr. Anwar Moezzam, Professor in Osmania University: "Communal tension is fomented in their own political interests by the activists of MIM, the Arya Samaj and more recently the BJP. It is not the desire of the average Hindu or Muslim." Adds M.T. Khan, writer and convenor of the Purana Shahar Nagarik Suraksha Samiti: "The history of communal clashes in Hyderabad is synonymous with the growth of the anti-social and anti-national MIM and the consequent favourable, climate created for the RSS to become popular."

The note worthy growth of extremist organisations including RSS and Jamat-I Islami is a subject that cannot escape the attention of any careful observer. The strength of the militant Hindu organisation have been built over the past few years. This was in evidence in recent Ekatmata Yagna. Jamat-e-Islami is also stated to have extended its influence to every part of the old city. The Ekatmata Yagna procession, which was claimed by the organisers to be a great success witnessed the active participation of hundreds of RSS volunteers in militant

formations. The popular response to this was whipped up by an elaborate display of posters and distribution of leaflets urging unity among Hindus. Both RSS and Jamat are financially sound. While the Jamat is alleged to be financed by some affluent petro-dollar sources, RSS is stated to be enjoying a lavish backing of mostly indigenous influential business houses and Marwaris. It is also generally believed that the BJP gets outside elements into the city during the riots. The violence becomes handiwork of organised and trained elements who come from places like Nagpur, Bombay, Aligarh and Lucknow.

The respondents were asked whether they had enough space for the initial meetings at the start of procession. The respondents replied in the negative. They added that these processions usually started from the nearby locality, temple or mosque where people could assemble on roads, creating a lot of inconvenience to other users of the road.

It is also lack of enough space within the old city that creates an atmosphere for communal tension. Often the procession moves through those parts of the localities which are inhabited by members of other communities and a chance remark, or a gesture or an act is all that is needed for the anti-social elements in the

mob among the spectators to spark off a riot.

Certain observers believe that most of these riots which start on petty issues, would not flourish at all, if enough space is provided for meetings to articulate grievances, express solidarity and collective sentiments.¹⁴

Another interesting feature in the old city is the presence of temples and mosques around the corner, near each other. In almost every locality that the present researcher visited, he found that a mosque and a temple were in close proximity. The acts of worship that are done by one community are often regarded as inconvenient noises by the other community. This is to some extent is due to the proximity between the place of worship of the two communities. But the difficulty is that neither a temple, nor a mosque can be shifted to another area or locality because it could possibly hurt the sentiments of the community concerned. However we find that there has been a mushrooming of temples in the old city in the last few years. Similarly existing and old mosques are being renovated and expanded.

14. Shatrugna, "Andhra Pradesh: Riots in Hyderabad", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XVI, No. 39, p. 1416-1419.

This encroachment programme of creating roadside temples, mosques and Matts even by overlooking the Municipal traffic rules, is a dangerous development. The police and the government have become surprisingly helpless and silent spectators. There is no effective law in practice to stop such encroachments. In fact the most glaring and blatant encroachment started with the creation of Mahalaxmi Temple abutting into the historic, Charminar by converting a mile-stone into a diety and a diety into a temple by Marwari communal elements. This defiant symbol of communalism remains a potential point of communal clashes because it is very near to the historic Mecca Masjid the city's biggest mosque, where thousands come to pray, overflowing into the streets facing this erstwhile milestone which has been overnight made into a temple. Similarly in front of the Chaderghat police station a mosque is being erected just in the middle of the road. Everywhere in the city, more particularly in the old city we find such intrusions going on for years.

Another important thing to be noted here is that, of late, the Arya Samajists and Hindu communal elements are changing the age old names of important localities and places, and giving them Hindu names. For example Aliyabad is now being popularised as Aryabad, Mozam Jahi

Market is now being called Vinayak Market, Hussain Sagar is referred to, particularly during the hue and cry of the Ganesh Chaturthi Mela-as Vinayak Sagar. During the mela times the Chief Minister, Cabinet Ministers and Police Officials are all present, but they don't dare to condemn the attitude of communal elements. Thus this has become an irritant to the minorities. The successive governments obviously under the pressure of communal *groups* motivated revivalism and communalism, have connived as blatant exhibits of Hindu Chauvinism.

All the political parties have to bear their share of blame for the way things have developed. Successive chief ministers including K. Brahmananda Reddy, J. Vengala Rao, M. Chenna Reddy and T. Anjaiah failed to take stern action against communal organisations.

Even the fledging Telugu Desam played into the hands of the MIM when they enlisted its support for P. Upendra, the Party General Secretary, when he contested the Himayatnagar by-election early this year.

Riots :

During the past four or five years riots have become an yearly and seasonal feature in the city of

Hyderabad. The year 1982 was relatively a peaceful year without any major riots but the new year 1983 saw the communal disturbances on a large scale. Asked whether the disturbances have increased in the past few years all the respondents answered in the affirmative.

A list of nine reasons were given to them and they were asked to select the most important five among them, which they felt contributed to communal clashes.

The nine reasons given were :

1. Congestion in living conditions
2. Organisation of cultural programmes of different communities in close proximity resulting in irritation.
3. Organisation of processions on narrow roads and by-lanes resulting in disturbances.
4. Route of processions converging on places of worship and creating disturbances.
5. Poor civic amenities.
6. Poor Job opportunities.
7. New people coming into the locality and creating trouble.
8. Instigation of political leaders and parties.
9. Lack of proper police protection in the area.

Table - 17

Respondents perception of reasons for riots

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

Reasons	Yes	No	Total
Congestion	7 (18)	33 (82)	40 (100)
Proximity of cultural programmes	22 (55)	18 (45)	40 (100)
Processions of Narrow roads	33 (82)	7 (18)	40 (100)
Processions on sensitive route	34 (85)	6 (15)	40 (100)
Civic amenities	6 (15)	34 (85)	40 (100)
Job Opportunities	32 (80)	8 (20)	40 (100)
New People	17 (43)	23 (57)	40 (100)
Political Instigation	31 (77)	9 (23)	40 (100)
Police protection	18 (45)	22 (55)	40 (100)

As can be seen from Table 17 the respondents feel that the following five reasons contribute most to disturbances in the old city. These five in their order of

importance are (1) Routes of procession converging on places of worship and creating disturbances (2) Organisation of processions on narrow lanes and by-lanes (3) Poor Job opportunities (4) Instigation by political leaders and parties (5) Organisation of cultural programmes in close proximity.

The respondents include pre-matriculates and matriculates and the graduates. All the above respondents emphasise on poor job opportunities which leads to economic insecurity and inflammatory nature of processions and instigation by political leaders and parties. Poor job opportunities is given equal weightage. Pre-matriculates give more importance to the organisation of cultural programmes in close proximity, the matriculates lay more credence to the fact of new people coming into the locality and creating trouble.

The preferences of the graduates and post graduates throw light on their perception of the reasons for riots. This group emphasises on economic and social problems and adds that no political party bothered to assuage their feelings about these problems. Lack of police protection comes next in the preference.

Analysis of respondents perception of the functioning of the administration during riots and at other times is as follows:

Table - 18**Role of administration during a riot****Figure in brackets are percentages)**

	Yes	No	Total
Better Policing of the locality	25 (62)	15 (38)	40 (100)
Formation of peace committees	26 (65)	14 (35)	40 (100)
Police Communally divided	33 (83)	7 (17)	40 (100)

62% of the respondents feel that better policing of the locality should be done during a riot. The large of police is bad because 83% of the respondents think that police is communally divided. Mr. V. Ram Rao (BJP) said that it was not correct to state that adequate police bandobast arrangements were made in old city to control the situation. In recent riots, he says, even the force deployed was not adequate. The lightning arrangements in many lanes and by-lanes of the old city were also not enough to prevent crime. Attacks on police men and officials was a new feature this time. One respondent, a post graduate complained that two police stations in his locality namely the Gowlipura police

station and Panch Mahal Police Station were closed down. This however could not be verified from the authorities concerned. He opined that due to the closure of these two stations, mischief makers have enough time to create trouble and disappear, before police reinforcements can be rushed in. The important fact here, is the respondent's perception of police security, which he seems to think is very inadequate. The general criticism against police of old city is as follows :

- (1) Lack of effective leadership, indecision and lack of initiative.
- (2) Gross under estimation of events and failure of intelligent planning. Complacent attitude and improper appreciation of the situation in the early stages, leading to ineffective action in the initial period of trouble.
- (3) Shortage of man-power at police stations and of armed police.
- (4) Failure to take effective action and lack of impartiality in some cases.
- (5) Failure to organise proper patrols and pickets in riot-affected areas.
- (6) Failure to utilise and conserve available police force properly, showing lack of planning and organisation.

- (7) Poor system of public relations and communication due to which spread of false rumours go unchecked. Help of press not mobilised to counteract them.

Even the police admit that they do not expect the future to be completely trouble free. Out of the twelve policemen interviewed from different police stations most of them opine that a number of young men on both sides have been trained to wield the knife. Experienced policemen in the city say that they will have to be alert when the festival season comes. They plan to have six more police stations in the old city and four regional police control rooms for the entire metropolitan area. Superintendent of police Mr. Narsinham of Charminar branch says that they also plan to have a special cell to deal with the communal problem.

From Table 18 it is found that 65% of the respondents favoured peace committees, but most of them reported that peace committees are not found in their areas. Majority of them said that peace committees are formed in their localities, but added that most of these committees have not had any success in their main function of defusing communal tension. The respondents voiced that the establishment of citizens committees is desirable for promoting communal harmony. They should be permanent

bodies, and not an adhoc arrangement. In order to meet specific contingencies, the peace committees should be composed of a wider cross-section of the people representing different walks of life, those who could command the confidence of the community in general. Recently the Chief Minister, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao, has announced the formation of a Shanti Sena, while the BJP not to be left far behind, has set up Shanti Yatras. The other parties including Congress (I) and Telugu Desam have their own citizens committee for peace. But all these efforts may not be enough unless politicians on both sides of the divide make a concerted bid to get together to mend the schism between the two communities and genuinely work for inter-communal peace and harmony.

CONCLUSION

Hawker distributing newspaper early in the morning, a milk vendor coming from a nearby village, a rickshaw puller waiting for a customer, an advocate starting for home in his scooter after closing his office - these are the type of persons who have become unsuspecting victims of the sporadic but unabated stabbing incidents during the communal riots in Hyderabad. This sort of incidents occur mainly in the Old City, in localities in and around Charminar, Shalibanda, Mir Chowk, Tappa Chabutra, Chatri Naka, Falaknema - usually referred as the "Purana Shahr" (Old town) or "Baida Shareef" in Hyderabad. And these old city areas have been in news about communal clashes and riots for more than half-a-dozen times during the past five years. These areas have been under curfew for a total of 112 days during the sixteen communal incidents since 1978. From the historic Charminar region, moving southwards one enters the Falaknema area, which is populated by the middle class and lower middle class Muslim and Hindu families on both sides of the roads. The social tensions which these families have to contend

with is obviously overshadow^{ed} by their struggle to earn a livelihood.

The Old City today suffers from frustration like an individual who has seen good times but had fallen into disgrace. The growing physical distance between Hyderabad South and the newly emerging work centres in the city and in the urban agglomeration units is also a disadvantage to the former, as it places the increasing employment opportunities and purchasing power beyond the convenient reach of Hyderabad South job seekers and traders. Developments in metropolitan Hyderabad since the turn of the present century, have been such as the widen differences between Hyderabad South on the one hand and Hyderabad North and Secunderabad on the other. The areas to the north of the river have virtually monopolised all modern institutions and services which developed in the city during the past eight decades. For instance educational institutions, administrative offices of the Government, banks and commercial houses, all large and medium scale industries are located in this new part of the city. Hyderabad South has, in effect, become cut off from the mainstream of development in the city.

Forty years ago Basheer Bagh (which is today at the centre of the city) was regarded as an outlying area where people were afraid to settle down. Those days people went for deer hunting in the 'jungles' of Malakoot and today the city has spread about 10 Km beyond Malakpet on the Vijaywada road. Paddy was raised in the fields at Mallakunta and Ameerpet twenty years ago, today they have become highly prized residential colonies. The fulcrum of power has shifted away from Charminar region due to historical reasons. Charminar is an area of special depression because families are socially disorganized and economically depressed. The mood of frustration due to lack of jobs, lack of opportunities and lack of hope has made people in these areas look at each other with suspicion and distrust, as if the 'other fellow' is the sole cause of their troubles. The lack of educational opportunities for children is singled out as the major cause and index of backwardness. The feeling that the Muslims of this area are being neglected is the principal plank of the Majlis-Ittehadul-Muslimoon headed by Salahuddin Owaisi which has consistently won three Assembly seats from the Old City area since the first general elections in 1951. Today, Majlis has given up

its old slogan (like "We are the rulers") but it demands more jobs, more civic amenities, better schools etc.

In recent years the Old city is undergoing a demographic transformation. Some Hindu families living there are selling away their properties at a premium to those Muslim tenants, who are capable of investing their Gulf earnings in real estate. A large number of artisans and technically skilled workers such as motor mechanics, carpenters and bus drivers had migrated to the Gulf countries in search of better prospects. It is estimated that one out of ten Muslim families in the Old City have one relation abroad who is remitting money with which these families are acquiring house sites, houses or buying jewellery. Land prices which were ruling at Rs.40 a sq. yard in 1967 are now hundred times more - i.e. Rs.400 a sq. yard reflecting this buying spree. About Rs.65 crores is now estimated to be available in banks in Hyderabad. An investment guidance bureau opened in September 1983 is now trying to tap this money. As things stand the large amounts of liquid cash ~~ashed~~^{ashed} away in the banks add to the increasing insecurity of the two communities.

Given the existing mental attitudes and the dispersal of communities professing various religions in

different locations, there is special urgency in identifying the sensitive areas so that particular attention can be given to the law and order problems that have been arising from time to time. It was in this context that the Centre emphasised the need to draw up contingency riot control schemes for selected areas, sometime in 1981, but it would now seem that not much has been done in this regard. Even the Quli Qutub Shah Development Authority which was constituted by the former Chief Minister T. Anjiah languished for want of funds. And it almost folded up with several members resigning from the body in protest against lack of funds. This continued indifference to a problem that is beset with dangerous consequences to the whole society if left unattended appears somewhat strange, for it is not as if communalism is going to die a natural death. It was also suggested to the Andhra Pradesh Government that the schemes intended to control riots should be tested by rehearsal exercises to remove bottlenecks and to enable an adequate assessment of the methods to deal with the clashes so as to ensure that there is neither hesitation nor over-reaction. There is no positive evidence of recourse to this wholesome suggestion either. If the anti-social elements that are behind the thuggery know for certain

that they have very little chance of escape, that in itself would be an effective deterrent to their activities. There is really no alternative to a constant show of preparedness on the part of authorities to tackle ugly communal situations.

What the government should be worried about is the identification of the causes for the prevalence of communalism. Treating the whole thing of merely a law and order problem will not help with the government or the people very much. There is an urgent need for a new strategy which should include cohesive and energetic socio-economic measures. There are some communal minded politicians in several parties, who have developed a vested interest in the continued backwardness of the old city. If this backwardness is removed and the old city is exposed to the new social, economic and political influences it would go a long way in checking the periodic manifestation of communal feelings and riots there. Most of the localities in the Old City are overwhelmingly inhabited by the poor and educationally backward people who are very vulnerable to all negative scruples including communalism. The mischief is done by rabid communal leaders and hired agents from outside, as is evident in the 1983 riots. If the old city could be brought on par

with the newly developed parts of Hyderabad, the communal leaders will find their traditional political base very much eroded.

The communal elements receive much encouragement during elections, the latest example is the 1980 riots. There were in the past few instances of some prominent leaders pampering communal elements in order to win keenly contested elections. When the position of a party or a leader is at stake the persons concerned unashamedly exploit the dormant communal prejudices. This is the tragedy of the Old City where communalism has become a politically exploitable commodity. This is not purely a law and order problem but also a basic problem of socio-economic transformation. The old city of Hyderabad is in need of a major process of change that would give new life and values to its teeming population.

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