

C77-5

#2150



**INTERNAL MIGRATION POLICIES IN
AN INDIAN STATE:
A STUDY OF THE MULKI RULES IN
HYDERABAD AND ANDHRA**

K.V. Narayana Rao

MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT STUDY GROUP

Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT STUDY GROUP

Jagdish M. Bhagwati

Nazli Choucri

Wayne A. Cornelius

John R. Harris

Michael J. Piore

Rosemarie S. Rogers

Myron Weiner

INTERNAL MIGRATION POLICIES IN AN INDIAN STATE:
A CASE STUDY OF THE MULKI RULES IN HYDERABAD AND ANDHRA

K.V. Narayana Rao

Migration and Development Study Group

Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

August 1977

Preface
by Myron Weiner

This study by Dr. K.V. Narayana Rao, a political scientist and Deputy Director of the National Institute of Community Development in Hyderabad who has specialized in the study of Andhra Pradesh politics, examines one of the earliest and most enduring attempts by a state government in India to influence the patterns of internal migration. The policy of intervention began in 1868 when the traditional ruler of Hyderabad State initiated steps to ensure that local people (or as they are called in Urdu, mulkis) would be given preferences in employment in the administrative services, a policy that continues, in a more complex form, to the present day.

A high rate of population growth for the past two decades, a rapid expansion in education, and a low rate of industrial growth have combined to create a major problem of scarce employment opportunities in Andhra Pradesh as in most of India and, indeed, in many countries in the third world. It is not surprising therefore that there should be political pressures for controlling the labor market by those social classes in the urban areas that are best equipped to exercise political power.

Dr. Rao focuses on the region of Andhra Pradesh known as Telangana (historically part of princely Hyderabad), where the major political controversy has been over the employment of local people as against migrants. Initially the demand for protection (the term "safeguards" was subsequently

used) came from middle class Muslims in the Muslim-ruled princely state of Hyderabad against the ruler's policy of importing his administrators from North India. In post-independence India it was the Hindu middle classes in the Telangana region who demanded preferences in government employment against the middle class migrants from the Telugu-speaking areas (in particular the Northern Circars districts) in eastern India. The common thread is a set of government policies known as the mulki rules whose history and consequences this monograph traces in considerable detail.

From the Nizam's Subjects' League in the 1930's to the Telangana Praja Samiti in the 1970's, there have been a number of interest groups agitating for the rights of mulkis against migrants. Prior to 1947 a number of steps were taken to enhance the opportunities for local people: the switch from Persian to Urdu as the official language of government improved the competitive position of local Muslims; so did the establishment of Osmania University (today one of India's paramount educational institutions) in Hyderabad. But the mulki rules, however inadequately enforced, provided the legal basis for giving preferences to those who were born in Hyderabad or had been residents of the region for at least fifteen years. The Hindu middle classes that took control of Hyderabad after 1947 were most reluctant to give up this legal protection, especially when it became apparent that their efforts to replace the dominant Muslim bureaucracy were being thwarted by the better educated, politically aggressive Telugu middle class migrants from Madras. When the Telugu-speaking areas of India were brought together to form a single linguistic state known as Andhra Pradesh, the Hindu middle classes of Telangana were particularly concerned about their ability to compete for positions in the state administrative services. And so the mulki rules were enshrined in a set of political agreements between the political elites of the respective

regions that formed the new state of Andhra.

In explaining the growth of demands for local preferences in public employment by the Telangana middle classes Dr. Rao points to four critical factors: (1) the rapid growth of education in the Telangana region, with high school attendance alone leaping from 82,000 in 1956-57 to 440,000 only a decade later; (2) a corresponding increase in the number of educated young people entering the labor force, as indicated by substantial yearly increases in registrations at the employment exchanges, especially in the urban areas; (3) the importance of employment in government in a state where over 600,000 persons work for state, quasi-government, and local bodies, and another 151,000 work for the central government; and (4) a growth in migration to Hyderabad city from the coastal Andhra districts by the educated middle classes seeking and (in spite of the mulki rules) obtaining positions in the state government and elsewhere.

Since the policies of reserving jobs and educational places for the people of Telangana raised fundamental constitutional questions about the rights of Indians to move from one place to another, and to seek educational opportunities and employment without discrimination as to place of birth, both the courts and the central government were increasingly involved in the controversies involving the mulki rules. One of the contributions of this paper is that Dr. Rao has succeeded in unraveling the complex laws, ordinances, court cases, and political formulas that together have made up these migration and employment related policies.

Perhaps the central feature of the Telangana claim for "safeguards" was their argument that only through such explicit policies could they be assured of government employment in competition with people from more "advanced" regions. An argument once used to support the claims of backward classes,

scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other minorities was now used on behalf of the majorities.

The claim by the majority community was, in reality, merely the claim of sections of the middle classes: the university students, the lower level (non-gazetted) civil servants, the lawyers and professional people, but these interests succeeded in arousing the emotions of the entire Telangana region by linking their own claims to employment with the broader issue of regional underdevelopment. The triumph of the Telangana Praja Samiti, a party committed to the claims of the mulkis, in the parliamentary elections of 1971 against the Congress party (headed nationally by the then-popular Prime Minister Indira Gandhi) stands as testimony to the success of the middle class in building a broader constituency to support their demands.

As a consequence of a series of complicated (and at times bizarre) court decisions, the Telangana political leadership concluded that the only way they could be assured of closing public employment in the Telangana region to outsiders was through creating a separate Telangana state. Dr. Rao describes the efforts by the central government to find a formula for ending the agitation that would keep the state intact, for the center feared that the bifurcation of Andhra would stimulate demands for the breakup of other states in India. He concludes with a review of the central government's Six Point Formula, which ended the mulki rules for Telangana, created regional development councils for the state, and, most critically, prevented the state from falling apart. It should be noted, however, that while in a technical sense the mulki rules were terminated, in fact the principles which underlay them were simply extended to all areas of the state. Henceforth, admission into educational institutions and employment in state and local governments would be under a system of preferences based upon place of birth. Where an

individual is born or has resided over a fifteen year period would determine his opportunities for admission into an educational institution or obtaining a position in the state or local government. In short, a policy initially intended to benefit the aspiring middle classes of the Telangana region of the state was extended to the middle classes in each of the regions of the state. Government policy was thus directed at slowing the spatial mobility of Andhra's middle classes.

Whether Andhra Pradesh policy becomes the prototype for other states in India remains to be seen. The central government was clearly trying to buy peace and unity for Andhra, not to formulate a larger national policy. In a number of statements made since the Six Point Formula was put into effect, the former Prime Minister made clear that she did not see the policies adopted for Andhra as a precedent for policies elsewhere. She evidently recognized that in a society in which educated employment continues to grow, the cry for ensuring local graduates preferential treatment in employment will be politically popular, but that to adopt such policies is to bring to an end one of the advantages of a common citizenship.

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Preface by Myron Weiner	i
List of Tables	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
THE GENESIS OF THE MULKI RULES	6
MULKI RULES UNDER THE LAST OF THE NIZAMS: THE CONTINUING URDUIZATION OF HYDERABAD	14
EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF ANDHRA PRADESH (1947-56)	27
MULKI AGITATION IN THE TELANGANA AND ANDHRA REGIONS	37
Appendix 1: The Six-Point Formula	69
References	71

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Birthplace of Officers of the Hyderabad Government in 1886	11
2	Literates by Religion in Hyderabad State in 1911 and 1931	17
3	Immigrants into Hyderabad State in 1911 and 1931 from Selected Provinces	22
4	Growth of Education in the Telangana and Andhra Regions	44
5	Immigrants from Madras State	45
6	Regional Breakdown of Immigrant Workers to Metropolitan Hyderabad, 1951-61	46
7	Immigrants into Hyderabad District from Other Districts of Andhra Pradesh in 1961 and 1971	48
8	Number of Applicants Placed in Employment Under Different Categories in Andhra Pradesh Through Employment Exchanges	50
9	Educated Applicants on the Live Register of Employment Exchanges in Andhra Pradesh (Year End Figures)	51
10	Estimated Employment in the Public and Private Sectors as of March 31, 1972	61

INTRODUCTION

The state of Andhra, consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas along India's delta region (formerly part of Madras state [Tamil Nadu]) was merged with the Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad state (Telangana) in central India in 1956 to form a unified state known as Andhra Pradesh, the first state to be created on the basis of language in independent India (see Figures 1-3). But by 1969 (and then again in 1972 and 1973) there was unprecedented agitation throughout the state demanding that the regions be reconstituted as separate states. While there were a number of issues involved in the movement for separation, perhaps the most critical was the controversy over what were referred to as the "mulki rules", a set of government policies concerning rights of government employment for "local" people as against migrants from outside the Telugu-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad state, known as Telangana. This monograph surveys these "mulki rules" from the time of their inception in the middle of the 19th century to their abolition by a constitutional amendment in 1974.

The first section of this paper examines the origin of the mulki rules, followed by a discussion in section two of their further development during the reign of the last of the Nizams, the traditional rulers of Hyderabad. Section three examines the controversy over the place of the mulki rules in the formation of the new state of Andhra Pradesh, and section four looks at the controversy over the implementation of the rules after the state was formed. Special attention is given to the controversies over university admissions, the sale of agricultural land, and domicile restrictions affecting

the respective rights of mulkis and migrants. The section concludes with an examination of the role of the central government in trying to resolve the conflict and preserve the unified state.

Figure 1: India at Independence, 1947, Detailing South India and the Nizam's Dominions of Berar and Hyderabad.



Figure 2: South India, 1947-1956. (Dotted lines indicate the 1956 division of Hyderabad, the eastern region being incorporated with Andhra to form Andhra Pradesh.)

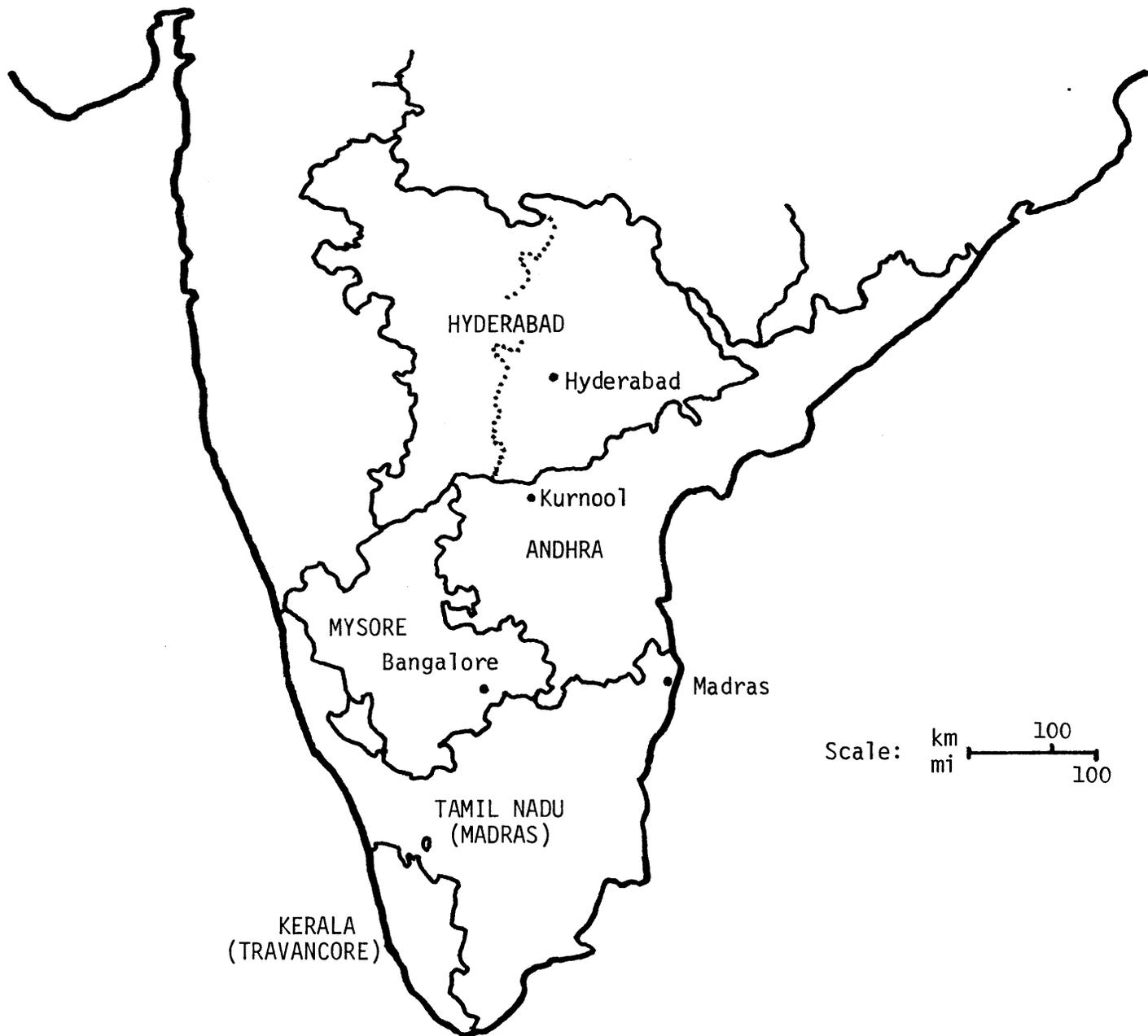
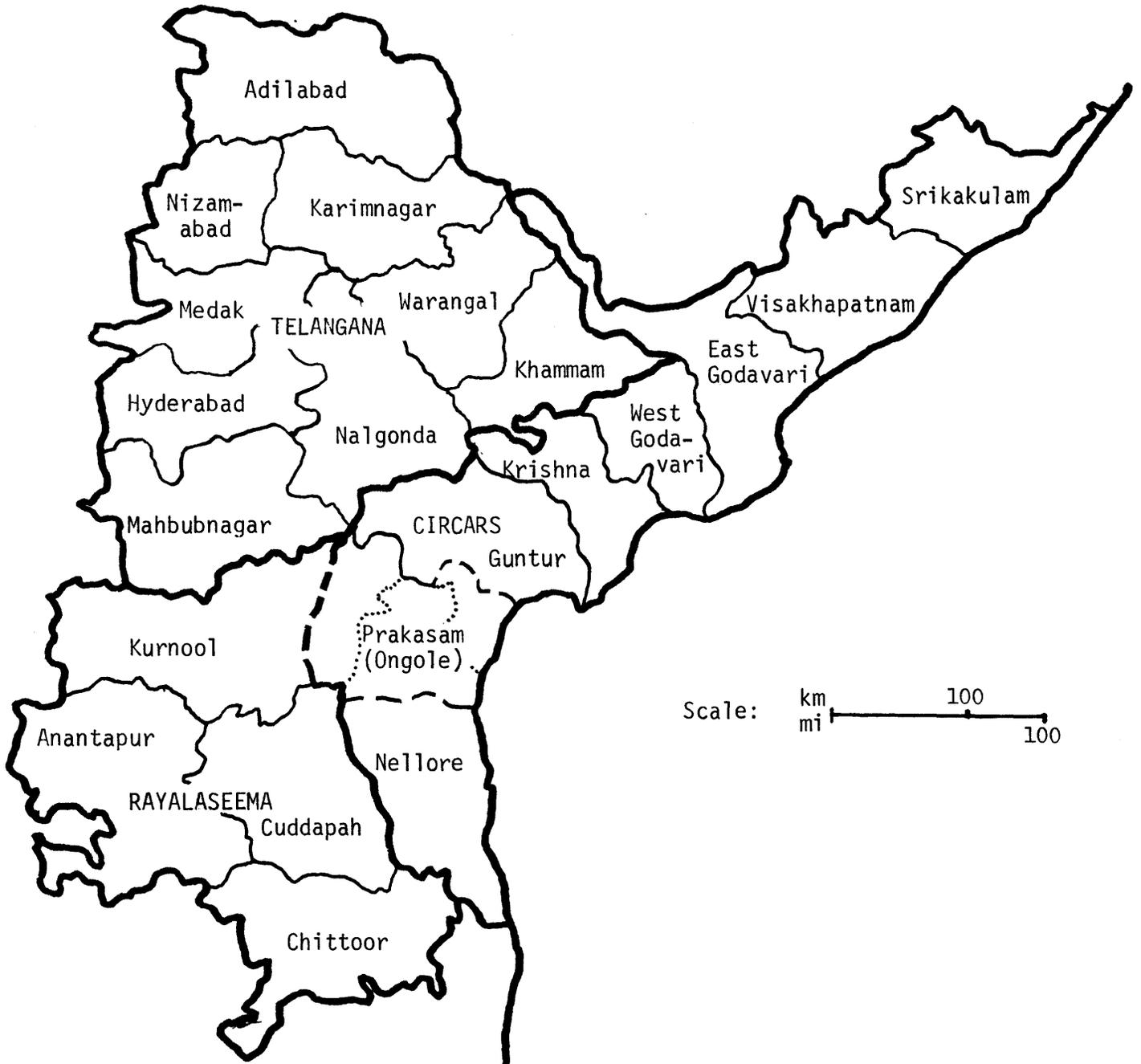


Figure 3: Andhra Pradesh, 1956-present, Showing Administrative Districts. (Dotted and dashed lines show boundaries prior to and after formation of Prakasam, respectively.)



THE GENESIS OF THE MULKI RULES

Hyderabad State Under the Administration of Sir Salar Jung

The largest and most populous of India's native states, Hyderabad state, was founded in 1724 by Asaf Jah, appointed Subedar (Governor) of the Deccan in 1713 by the Moghul emperor. Asaf Jah declared his independence of the empire but retained his title of Nizam-Ul-Mulki. Henceforth, his descendents would be known as Nizams of Hyderabad, and their subjects as mulkis (mulk meaning country; hence, mulki a native of the state, a "son-of-the-soil"). Non-mulkis were ghair-mulkis.

By the early 20th century the Nizam's dominions which comprised the state of Hyderabad were divided roughly into Marathi-speaking Marathwada and Telugu-speaking Telangana, the former including some Kannada-speaking districts as well. Ruled by a Muslim Nizam, 89% of Hyderabad's 1901 population were Hindu and 10% were Muslim and Urdu-speaking, the latter mostly in urban areas. The percentage of Muslim was generally higher in the Marathwada than in the Telangana districts (excluding Hyderabad district).¹

The three decades of Salar Jung's prime ministership in the 19th century (during the reigns of the fourth, fifth and sixth Nizams) were the formative period of Hyderabad's history. Described as "one of the best Indian administrators and statesmen"² of the century, Salar Jung found the state's administration in chaos.³ Fiscal disaster threatened the state; jagirs (traditional

¹According to the Hyderabad State Census of 1951, Muslims constituted 34% of the total urban population and 7% of the total rural population. The Muslim population of Hyderabad city was 22% of the total state population.

²Abdul Waheed Khan, p. 62. Salar Jung became Dewan on May 31, 1855, at the age of 24.

³Hyderabad State Committee, 1956, Vol. 2, pp. 255-258.

grants of the revenue from a tract of land as a means of compensating government officials) had been farmed out to money-lenders.⁴ Salar Jung established a government treasury and salaried state employees.⁵ In the course of his reforms he recruited talented ghair-mulkis (some of later fame) from the United Provinces, Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. Capable mulkis, it appears, considered government service beneath their dignity, and in consequence did not at first compete for administrative positions.⁶ A large number of Muslims from North India were appointed to senior posts in Hyderabad state under the influence of Salar Jung's aide, Aminuddin Khan, and Syed Ahmed Khan of Aligarh. Subsequently, friends and relations of the appointees migrated into the city and were provided with employment by one means or another.⁷ With the ascendancy of the North Indians the earlier influence of the Madrasis (from British-ruled Madras Province) and Parsees began to wane.⁸

Under these circumstances mulkis (particularly Muslim mulkis) became

⁴Elliot, 1974.

⁵Ibid.

⁶In those days service as a profession was looked down upon. While Jagirdars and Mansabdars were referred to as "Bashars" in state documents, government servants were known as "Nafars" and sensitive Hyderabadis of those days were most reluctant to be styled as "Nafar" instead of "Bashar". This unfortunate tendency of the then mulkis was the principal cause of the non-mulki invasion and the subsequent capture by them of the entire administrative machinery. (Syed Abid Hasan, 1938, p. 47.)

⁷For example, the work of one office would be split up into several branches. The partisans of the earlier officers would be retired with pay and, in their place, the new officer would bring in his friends thus making it necessary for the government to pay two salaries to the same post. (Server Jung, 1897, p. 7.)

⁸Jiwan Yar Jung Bahadur, 1932, p. 82.

restive and then openly hostile toward the ghair-mulkis.⁹ The issue for these early mulki aspirants was favouritism in the appointment of Hyderabad's administrators. There was as yet no major debate on the relative qualifications of mulkis and ghair-mulkis, nor had the opportunity-structure itself become a mulki issue.

Salar Jung was cautious and viewed both his ghair-mulki administrators and the British Residency officials as political and cultural threats to Hyderabad state. He avoided the use of ghair-mulkis both in his personal affairs and in those of the Royal Palace, declaring that for all their talents, ghair-mulkis could not possibly match the devotion of those who had served the state for generations.¹⁰ Thus, in 1868, toward the end of the reign of Afzal-ud-dulah (the fifth Nizam of Hyderabad), orders were issued for the first time instructing all departments of Hyderabad's administration to recruit only mulkis.¹¹ Fourteen years later, it was further specified that without prior permission of the government, persons who were not either subjects or residents of the Nizam's dominions could not be appointed to any post -- superior or inferior, permanent or temporary. The principles of merit and seniority in appointments and promotions of Hyderabad government

⁹ Mulkis refer to the ghair-mulki officers as "imported" officers. In this connection, knowledgeable persons distinguish between Muslims belonging to the Shia and Sunni sects. The Nizams, with the exception of the last, and the bulk of the Muslim population of the city and the state belonged to the Sunni sect. The last of the Nizams was a Shia. The migrant ghair-mulki Muslims from the north were usually Shias and held top positions under the Nizams while the Sunni Muslims were to be found, by and large, in the lower ranks. For want of adequate evidence, this aspect has not been further probed in this paper.

¹⁰ Jiwan Yar Jung Bahadur, 1932, p. 98.

¹¹ Aziz Jung, 1910, pp. 35-73. See sections 66, 69. This is a compilation of rules and regulations relating to finance and accounts through the end of the reign of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan. (The year given in the original is 1285 of the Hijri era. For the Fasli or Hijri years mentioned in the original, Aziz Jung gives approximate years in the Christian calendar.)

officers were also laid down at this time.¹² Additional clarifications were periodically issued as to who might be considered "subjects" or "residents" for purposes of government employment. The foundation of the mulki rules was thus laid during the administration of Salar Jung, and a policy initiated of promoting the interests of natives against those of migrants in the matter of government employment.

Salar Jung also espoused the principle of suitably educating and training mulkis for the efficient administration of the state. He proposed to send persons of good birth and education, to be selected by a Hyderabad committee of nobles and high state officials, to British India for training in the administration of the revenue, judicial, and other departments. His death occurred in 1883, before his intentions could be realized,¹³ and by 1891 instructions had been issued concerning the conditions and procedures for the appointment, where necessary, of ghair-mulkis. The mulki policy begun by Salar Jung was largely subverted by competing interests in the intervening years.

Mulki Rules under the Sixth Nizam

Salar Jung I was succeeded by his twenty-one year old son, Salar Jung II, who was English-educated and favourably disposed towards both the ghair-mulki officials and the Residency.¹⁴ The ghair-mulki Muslims pressured the

¹²Fathullah Khan, 1935, p. 146. The report of the Jurists Committee (1969, p. 1) gives the erroneous impression that the rules limiting appointments to mulkis were issued only after the Nizam's firman (decree) of 1919. The fact was that the firman and the regulations promulgated in pursuance of it merely reiterated principles already laid down.

¹³Report on the Administration of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominion, 1335 Fasli, 1927, pp. 72-73.

¹⁴Leonard, 1969, p. 3.

government for a change in the official language from Persian to Urdu.¹⁵ Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, the sixth Nizam, who was only three years old at the time of his father's death in February 1869, ascended the throne on February 5, 1884. Never proficient in Persian,¹⁶ he yielded to the pressures of the ghair-mulkis and, on February 21, 1884, ordered the change in the language of administration from Persian to Urdu.¹⁷ By the summer of 1886 the change to Urdu had been completed both in the court and in all departments of the administration.

In 1884 the Council of State, presided over by the Nizam, issued rules for the recruitment and training of mulkis for the various grades of service and departments in the state administration. The Hyderabad civil service class was started at this time, but operated intermittently.¹⁸ In 1885 and 1886 at the Nizam's request, Salar Jung II prepared lists of different categories of Hyderabad government employees that included their birthplace.¹⁹ Table 1 below summarizes the contents of the first civil list, submitted in March 1886.

¹⁵Salar Jung had said: "You Hindusthani people are not practised in speaking or writing Persian. The Persian language is a sign of the victory of Islam and points to our being a victorious people. You have effaced it in your country and are trying to reproduce the same effect here. We have conquered the country by the sword, and so long as I am living Persian shall also live." (Jiwan Yar Jung Badhur, 1932, p. 22.)

¹⁶Ibid., p. 244.

¹⁷Hyderabad State Committee, 1956, vol. 2, p. 323.

¹⁸Report on the Administration of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominion: 1335 Fasli, 1927, pp. 72-73. In filling vacancies the departments gave preference to persons directly recruited by them rather than to civilians trained in the Hyderabad civil service classes. The government treasury was burdened with the pay of these supernumerary civilians, and closed the class in 1891. It functioned again between 1913 and 1920 and was reopened in 1926.

¹⁹Salar Jung, 1886, p. 4; Salar Jung II, 1884, pp. 45-99. At almost the same time demands were made in some of the other native states and British Indian provinces for jobs to be reserved for different linguistic groups. In the

Table 1

BIRTHPLACE OF OFFICERS OF THE HYDERABAD GOVERNMENT IN 1886

<u>Birthplace of Officers</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total monthly salary²⁰ drawn by them</u>
Natives	246	57	75,867
Hindusthan	97	20	44,173
Madras	66	14	20,602
Bombay	36	8	24,194
Other countries	7	1	1,310
(Details not mentioned)	24		12,570
Total	476		178,716

It may be noted that the total monthly income drawn by officers from Bombay and Hindusthan (i.e., North India) is large in relation to their numbers, suggesting that they generally held very senior positions. After studying the list, the Nizam concluded that the proportion of ghair-mulkis to mulkis in the Hyderabad government was excessive and requested further information concerning their ratio in the lower services.

native state of Travancore in 1891 the Malayali Memorial, signed by ten thousand persons, was submitted to the King. They complained that foreign Dewans-Tamil Brahmins were regularly introducing their relations, castemen and friends into the state, thereby systematically excluding the native Malayalees from the higher ranks of the government. (George Woodcock, 1967, p. 232.) Similarly, the introduction of "Direct Recruitment by Interview" in 1891 led to Tamilians occupying all the important posts and created resentment among the inhabitants of the native state of Mysore. The latter began to press for their proper representation in the public services. (K.V. Viswanathayya, 1974, pp. 191-192.) In British India too the Biharis had been clamouring for the separation of Bihar from Bengal since the 1870's, because Bengalis were tending to monopolise the posts in Bihar. (See V.C.P. Chaudhary, 1964.)

²⁰The amounts shown here are in the Hali Sicca, later known as Osmani Sicca, the currency in the Nizam's dominions, Rs. 116 of which were equivalent to Rs. 100 in British India. The Nizam had his own currency, postal and railway systems.

The Growth of the Mulki Issue

The Nizam's limited intervention in the mulki employment questions chiefly affected urban-based Muslim mulkis. The switch in the language of government from Persian to Urdu, the language of the Muslim masses, doubtlessly improved their employment opportunities in the capital, where most government jobs were located. It did not help the majority Hindus.

The growing mulki - ghair-mulki controversy was reflected in the press of the time. Thus, the Hyderabad Record²¹ vigorously supported the cause of the mulki against that of the ghair-mulki, criticising in its editorials Asman Jah (successor to Salar Jung II) for failing to keep the earlier promises to appoint mulkis only. The state, it was said, was controlled by a clique of North Indians, with the result that local Muslims and all Hindus were excluded from positions of honour and authority.

Similarly The Mohammedan, which defined Hindusthanis as "men whose predecessors were invited by Salar Jung II", observed in 1901:²²

One of the evil results of [the Hindusthani Muslim's presence] is race hatred. The Hindu is held at arm's length where once he was an associate, nay a compatriot. The evil does not stop here. Between Mulki Muhammedans and the ghair-Mulki Muhammedans, a gulf rolls because of the arrogance of the Northern men who would have none interfere between them and their nobility -- no rival near the throne. Everything as a consequence is at sixes and sevens.

The growing antagonism between Hindu and Muslim mulkis over the inferior status of the former in the state was thus subordinated to and blamed on the mulki - ghair-mulki rivalry.

The ghair-mulkis in turn scoffed at the mulkis. Writing in The Hindu

²¹Sajanlal, 1956, p. 37.

²²The Mohammedan, October 6, 1901.

in 1899 Elahi Bux queries: "Where is to be found the mulki intelligence to be entrusted with administrative responsibilities in Hyderabad?"

Ridiculing the idea, he stated: "Such consideration of mulkis only for appointment to all posts is certainly imperative when the administration is deliberately intended to be a farce."²³

²³The Hindu, December 6, 1899.

MULKI RULES UNDER THE LAST OF THE NIZAMS:
THE CONTINUING URDUIZATION OF HYDERABAD

The Establishment of Osmania University

Osman Ali Khan, the seventh and the last of the Nizams, ascended the throne after the death of his father in 1911. By a firman (a royal decree) on September 22, 1918 he constituted Osmania University "to free the existing organisation of education in the dominions to an appreciable extent from the control of outside universities and to organise higher education within the state with reference to local needs and conditions."²⁴ In contrast to universities existing in India at that time, which used English, in Osmania University Urdu, the official language of the state and the language of the Muslim minority, was made the medium of instruction and of examination in all courses, including medicine and engineering. (English was a compulsory language.)²⁵ This policy, introduced by Sir Akbar Hydari, was said to have been more successful in injuring the native languages of the state than the introduction of English was in British India.²⁶ In addition, these features of education in Hyderabad served to widen the differences between the mulki middle classes and their counterparts in the British provinces.

²⁴See Osmania University Charter.

²⁵This may be compared with the Aligarh Muslim University which since its inception in 1920 has used English as the medium of instruction. The Nizam College, an elite institution, established in 1878 and affiliated to Madras University, continued to teach in English. About 1949 it became affiliated with Osmania University, which switched to the English medium in that year.

²⁶Ramanjuna Rao, 1962, pp. 66-67.

The Mulki Rules Perpetuated

Article 39²⁷ of the regulations relating to salary, leave, pension and travelling allowances of civil servants under the Nizam's government restricted employment to natural born subjects and residents except as authorised by the Nizam. According to note (1) to Article 39, if a person resided in the dominion for 15 years or served the government continuously for 12 years, he, his sons and his grandsons were considered to be dominion residents. In spirit, this made no substantial change in the rules and regulations already in force. The word mulki, used quite frequently in the Urdu circulars issued earlier, was absent in the English version of the regulations. The only new feature in these regulations was the provision regarding officers who were competent to give domicile certificates, particularly in the Berars,²⁸ Aurangabad cantonment, Secunderabad and other administered areas.

The administration of Hyderabad underwent a structural change on November 17, 1919, when the old cabinet council was dissolved and the administration of the state was entrusted by the Nizam to an executive council, with Sir Ali Imam, a ghair-mulki from Bihar, as the first president. Once again the principle of preferential treatment for subjects of the state over outsiders in administrative appointments was affirmed in a firman issued

²⁷The wording of the Article has been modified from time to time. The reference here is to the 1937 regulations.

²⁸The territory of Berar, which formed part of Hyderabad, was administered by the British Government on behalf of the Nizam of Hyderabad as the "Assigned Districts". By virtue of a lease in perpetuity its administration was taken over by the British in 1902. The territory was administered with the Central Provinces until 1936, when the Rendition Act integrated it with the Hyderabad municipality. The city of Secunderabad was created by the Second Act of Rendition (1945) when 3.6 square miles covering the civil area of Secunderabad cantonment were separated from the cantonment and transferred to the Nizam's control.

by the Nizam.²⁹

Education and Government Employment: Hindu-Muslim Imbalances

The 1920's witnessed a large increase in the educated population of Hyderabad state. Expenditures of the Department of Education increased from less than 1,400,000 Rupees to 10,000,000 Rupees between 1920-21 and 1934-35.³⁰ In spite of this increase, the literacy rate in Hyderabad was still very low compared to other native states: among males aged five years and over less than 9% were literate in Hyderabad, while the corresponding figures for the states of Mysore, Cochin, Travancore and Baroda were 17%, 46%, 41% and 33% respectively.³¹ Further, census data for 1911 and 1931 (Table 2) show that though more and more Hindus were getting the benefits of education they still lagged behind Muslims. This was particularly true for Hindus in the Telangana districts, who were woefully backward in literacy in comparison with

²⁹Government of Hyderabad, 1925, p. 85.

³⁰The number of educational institutions rose from 1036 to 4800 between 1920-21 and 1935-36, and the number of pupils rose from 66,484 to 364,252. There were, in 1920-21, hardly more than one thousand in the dominions who had passed the matriculation or the equivalent oriental titles examination. By 1938 on average more than 1100 per year earned the Hyderabad school-leaving certificate and the Osmania matriculation examination. The number of graduates, including holders of oriental titles considered equivalent to a B.A. in the dominions was estimated at about 200 in 1920-21. Osmania University from its inception to 1938 produced about 1100 graduates in its faculties of arts and sciences alone. In addition, the Nizam's College (which was affiliated with the Madras University) turned out more than 500 between 1911 and 1938. The university had also produced graduates in medicine, engineering and agriculture, some of whom later obtained degrees from foreign universities.

³¹Government Central Press, 1938, pp. 9-11.

Table 2

LITERATES BY RELIGION IN HYDERABAD STATE IN 1911 AND 1931

<u>Religion</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1931</u>
<u>HINDUS:</u>		
Total Population	11,626,146	9,699,615
Literates	266,968	391,317
Literates in English	8,838	38,872
Literates in Urdu	N.A.	78,418
<u>MUSLIMS:</u>		
Total Population	1,380,990	1,534,666
Literates	81,260	158,859
Literates in English	7,020	19,275
Literates in Urdu	N.A.	104,980

Sources: 1) Census of India, 1911, Vol. 19, Hyderabad Table 8, pp. 64-65.

2) Census of India, 1931, Vol. 23, Hyderabad Part II, Table 13, pp. 188-189. Those literate include 13,559 Hindu and 17,577 Muslim women.

Muslims.³² The continued dominance of the Muslims in the Hyderabad administrative services until 1948 was due in part to their higher literacy rates, particularly in Urdu (the official language of the state) and English.³³

³²The percentage of Hindu male literates above age 20 in Telangana and other districts is given below with the corresponding figures for Muslims in parentheses: Telangana: Atraf-I-Bulda 12 (18); Warangal 10 (28); Kareemnagar 5 (29); Adilabad 7 (23); Medak 7 (15); Nizamabad 8 (15); Mahbubnagar 6 (44); Nalgonda 7 (27); Other Districts: Aurangabad 13 (16); Bir 5 (8); Nanded 7 (6); Parbhani 11 (15); Gulbarga 7 (11); Osmanabad 7 (12); Raichur 7 (25); Bidar 5 (6). See Government of Hyderabad, 1938, Appendix I, pp. 20-23. Atraf-I-Bulda, literally meaning the area around the city, was equivalent to Hyderabad district without the city.

³³Out of 999 gazetted officers in various departments in 1947-48, 754 were Muslims. (Government of India, 1948, p. 20.)

Although the 1941 Census of Hyderabad observed that the people (referring to the Hindu Majority) were not prepared to make the best use of education, at least one critic claimed, to the contrary, that mulkis in politically active Telugu, Marathi and Kannada linguistic groups in the state were pressing continually for a greater number of schools, for instruction in their mother tongues, and for the abolition of Islam-oriented curriculae.³⁴ The government not only ignored these demands but also, after the beginning of the Andhra movement in Telangana in the 1920's (see next section), decreed that all educational institutions having more than 15 students required permission of the Nizam's government to operate. Permission was denied frequently and schools violating the provisions were closed down by the police.³⁵

As a consequence of the educational policy of the Hyderabad government, many ambitious young Hindus from the districts went to colleges in British India. When they returned to join the professions and the more modern section of the state administration, they brought with them connections to presidency politics similar to the North Indian connections of their Muslim counterparts. Eventually these linkages put them in touch with the growing movements of linguistic nationalism in Andhra and Maharashtra.³⁶

³⁴Quoted in Hyderabad Struggle Committee, 1948, p. 43.

³⁵Hanumantha Rao, 1948, pp. 81-85.

³⁶Elliot, 1974, p. 34.

The Growth of Limited Political Consciousness

The 1920's saw the growth of limited political consciousness in Telangana and subsequently in the Marathwada and Karnataka areas.³⁷ Telangana mulkis, in particular, gradually became aware of their disadvantaged condition in the state. The Star, an English weekly from Allahabad, in a series of articles in 1931 and 1932 vividly described problems faced by the Telugu-speaking people in securing employment in government service. Out of eighty-two who passed the Hyderabad civil service class and were appointed between 1913 and 1934, it was said, not one was from Telangana.³⁸

In British India the Indian National Congress movement had been in the forefront of the demand for Indianisation of government services since its foundation in 1885. In the Telugu-speaking districts of Madras province the cultural-linguistic Andhra (Telugu) movement, the Andhra Mahasabha, had since the 1920's demanded formation of a linguistic Andhra province, in part because Telugu-speaking people had not been adequately represented in the Madras province government.

By contrast, because the mulkis were not a homogeneous group either by language, religion, or class structure, virtually no mulki agitation occurred in Telangana for the Hyderabadisation of the state's administrative services.³⁹ Nor did they try to mobilize non-urban, non-middle-class Hyderabadis. The Nizam's rule was autocratic. Political liberties were curtailed in the state to the extent that no public meeting could be held even to mourn the deaths

³⁷Narayana Rao, 1973, pp. 270-273.

³⁸Narayana Reddy, 1973, p. 3.

³⁹Elliot, 1974, pp. 32-37.

of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Ansari, key figures in the National Congress movement.⁴⁰ Nor could Hyderabad Political Conferences be held within state boundaries.⁴¹ Under these circumstances the Andhra Mahasabha, which was founded in 1930, limited its role to urging the Hyderabad government to include Telugu-speaking officers among appointees to key posts in the state. Agitation could not be considered.

The political aspirations of the Hindu mulkis were drawn toward the nationalist movement outside Hyderabad state. A Hyderabad political reforms association was formed in 1919, but became lost⁴² in the enthusiasm of the Congress Nationalist "Khilafat" movement in which both Hindu and Muslim mulkis were active. During the 1930's, while constitutional reforms were being discussed in British India, the relationship between native states such as Hyderabad and the proposed Indian Federation became a matter of immediate interest to all mulkis. In January 1930 the Hyderabad Association was started by barrister Srikishen to maintain the political status and dignity of Hyderabad state, promote patriotism, and strive for reforms -- including the establishment of responsible government in the state. Muslim opposition to the last goal polarized the nascent political activity of Hindu mulkis against Muslim mulkis. Since the Hyderabad Association had been ineffectual, the Hindus now tended to favour possible British intervention.⁴³

⁴⁰Hyderabad Struggle Committee, 1948, p. 53.

⁴¹Hyderabad State Committee, 1966, Vol. 4, p. 50: the first four conferences were held at Kakinada (Madras), 1923; Bombay, 1926; Poona, 1928, and Akola (CP and Berar), 1931. (A brief review of the activities of the (Nizam) Andhra Mahasabha and its forerunner, the Nizam Rashtra Andhra Jana Sangham, formed in 1921, is given in Narayana Rao, 1973, pp. 270-276.)

⁴²Hyderabad Struggle Committee, 1948, p. 53.

⁴³Srikishen, 1952, pp. 110-112.

The Nizam's Subjects' League: The First Mulki Lobby

The Nizam's Subjects' League was organised in 1935 in Hyderabad to promote goodwill and cooperation between the various classes and communities of the Nizam's subjects, safeguard the constitutional rights and privileges of citizenship in Hyderabad, and seek establishment of a constitutional form of government under the aegis of the Asaf Jahi dynasty.⁴⁴

Its membership, which consisted primarily of some prominent liberal mulki Muslims of Hyderabad city and a few of their personal Hindu friends,⁴⁵ put forward the case of the mulkis without directly addressing the relative status differences among communities (Hindu and Muslim, urban and rural). The organization simply attempted to unite all Hyderabadis behind the demand that all economic resources -- jobs, contracts, licenses, and agencies -- should be in the hands of mulkis. Nawab Sir Nizam Jung Bahadur, retired member of the Executive Council in charge of political affairs, assumed the leadership of the organization.⁴⁶ The Nizam's government opposed the most

⁴⁴See Abid Hasan, 1935, for details. The creed suggested for the Nizam's Subjects' League consisted of (1) unflinching loyalty to the Asaf Jahi House; (2) preservation of the aristocracy, the Samasthans and Jagirs; (3) fair and equal access to services without distinction of caste or creed; (4) equality and full citizenship rights (freedom of speech, thought, person, religion, property) to all Hyderabadis; supremacy of the judiciary, and its independence from the executive; executive responsible to a legislature "fully representative of the various interests in the State" in such a way that no class or community would be in a position to dominate the rest; (5) Deccani nationalism; (6) Hindusthani as the common language of Hyderabad; (7) rapid industrialization of the state; (8) contractual relationship of Hyderabad with the Government of India; (9) sovereignty of Hyderabad except in those powers transferred to the Government of British India, and (10) federation as the solution to Indian problems.

⁴⁵The movement was accused of being "the ingenious creation of the Hindu Mahasabhaites, who have roped in the simple and credulous Hyderabad Muslims for their own communal ends." (See Abid Hasan, 1935, pp. 167, 171.)

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 150-151.

important of their demands, namely, the granting of equal civil liberties and rights to all Hyderabadis, gradual achievement of responsible government, and an independent and supreme judiciary.⁴⁷

The Ghair-Mulki Presence in Hyderabad: An Assessment of Census Data

The immigrants into Hyderabad state from adjacent Bombay, Central Provinces, Berar and Madras were very largely distributed in those districts of the state bordering the respective provinces. Immigrants from Uttar Pradesh, Ajmer Marwar, the Punjab and the Rajputnana were prominently concentrated in the city of Hyderabad, as shown by the censuses of 1911 and 1931 (Table 3).

Table 3

IMMIGRANTS INTO HYDERABAD STATE IN 1911 AND 1931 FROM SELECTED PROVINCES

	Population enumerated in							
	Hyderabad State				Hyderabad City			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	1911	1931	1911	1931	1911	1931	1911	1931
Uttar Pradesh	6627	2558	2772	2728	4578	3496	2151	2499
Ajmer Marwar	4186	602	2510	923	670	211	426	389
Punjab	3424	2220	1146	970	2756	2210	811	672
Rajputana	9612	4040	4659	2568	4200	1576	2217	1093

Sources: Census of India: 1911, Vol. 19, Hyderabad, pp. 107, 108.
Census of India: 1931, Vol 23, Hyderabad, Part II.

While the number of immigrants from these provinces fell between 1911 and 1931, the proportions of migrants living in Hyderabad city and of females

⁴⁷Hyderabad Struggle Committee, 1948, p. 54.

to males among the immigrants increased. It was these immigrants, located mainly in the administrative capital of Hyderabad, who aroused mulki ire. Comparing immigrants from Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) and Punjab to those from Madras, Bombay, Mysore, the Central Provinces (C.P.) and Berar (all of which are contiguous to Hyderabad state), Syed Abib Hasan remarked:

But the immigrants from U.P. and the Punjab are mostly those who come here to seek employment, thereby depriving educated Mulkis of an important means of earning a livelihood. Immigrants from Rajputana and Marwar come here as money lenders and trade on the poverty of the local people.

He also observed that North Indians formed a clique to keep others out of the administration; they regarded themselves as the state's rulers and displayed, in his view, an unpardonable superiority complex galling to the mulkis.⁴⁸

A major irritant was the de facto disregard for the mulki rules by the outsiders on the grounds that they were better educated and qualified. Administrative posts were restricted on these grounds to persons of the "urban classes" only.⁴⁹ This experience sensitized mulkis to the various excuses for ghair-mulki favouritism -- a recurrent and increasingly volatile issue in the region.

More Stringent Mulki Rules

In 1937 a special committee was appointed by the Nizam under the chairmanship of Dewan Bahadur Aravamudu Iyengar to study conditions obtaining in the state and make suitable proposals for the introduction of political reforms.⁵⁰ It received a number of memoranda which demanded the introduction

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 44-47.

⁴⁹ Narayana Reddy, 1973, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Government of Hyderabad, 1938, p. 136 et seq.

of fundamental rights of citizenship. Some memoranda accused the "non-mulki" of spreading the "venom of communalism", demanded the discontinuance of the practice of employing ghair-mulkis, be they Europeans or non-Europeans, and urged the formation of a Public Service Commission.

These demands may appear somewhat misdirected, in view of the decrease in migration from northern India by 1931 and the existence of mulki rules for about seventy years. In fact, resentment against the North Indian ghair-mulkis was accentuated by the large number of positions they occupied; their attitudes towards the mulkis; the increasing number of matriculates, graduates, and post graduates within the dominions after the establishment of Osmania University; and the growing unemployment during the depression of the 1930's. They had, it was felt, deprived the mulki of his bread and butter.

In addition, a large number of exemptions to the domicile requirement of the mulki rules may have been granted by the government in appointments in education (including to Osmania University), agriculture and other departments. Further, the natives of the state visualised a mulki as one whose forefathers for generations had lived in the state and served it loyally, while the legal definition of a mulki laid down in the civil service regulations was more limited. One may note in this connection the opinion of Nizam Jung on the mulki rules prevailing in the 1930's:⁵¹

This benevolent [mulki] rule enacts that a man who has lived in the Hyderabad State for 12 years or who has served the government for 12 years (however long ago) shall be a mulki in perpetuity: A son or grandson of the first favoured person [mulki] may, even after the lapse of a century, come from some far off country to claim this birthright. There is a romance in the idea. I do not believe there is any other state in the world that can compete with ours in such a thoughtless generosity. It is possible that the framers of our law may not have known the essential condition of domicile, namely, the

⁵¹ Ahmed, 1945, p. 257.

absence of intention to revert to the land of birth, or they may have regarded it as unduly obstructive to the spirit of adventure.

The Nizam's special committee recommended that:⁵²

Consistently with the sovereign rights of the Ruler, it is essential for the internal and external security of the State that the people should have an effective association with the Government. In order that such association of the people might be secured and their needs and desires properly ascertained it is necessary that public services should be manned by persons who have a lasting attachment to the State [i.e. the sons of soil]. An independent and impartial agency should be established to raise the standard of efficiency and the morale of the public services.

As a consequence of these recommendations, a comprehensive scheme of reforms announced on July 19, 1939 by the government proposed that the then-existing mulki rules should be made more stringent and suggested certain procedures for recruitment. These proposals were duly sanctioned by the Nizam.⁵³ The definition of mulki was also suitably amended when Article 39 was modified later (in 1945).⁵⁴

The period was one of declining governmental authority in Hyderabad state. The rise of the Communist movement in the villages of Telangana after 1945 diverted the government's energies to law-and-order concerns and its own doubtful survival. Hindu mulkis leaned increasingly toward the Congress National movement.

Other political issues outside Hyderabad, such as the formation of Pakistan and the future of the native states under consideration in British India, also shaped Hyderabad politics. Many middle-class mulki Muslims and masses in Hyderabad were becoming active in Ittehad-ul-Muslimin, a cultural-

⁵²Report of the Reforms Committee, 1938, p. 129.

⁵³Report on the Administration of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions for the Year 1348 Fasli (a.d. 1938-1939), 1941, p. 245.

⁵⁴Narayana Reddy, 1973, p. 4.

religious organisation, founded in 1926 in Hyderabad with the object of uniting the Muslims in the state in support of the Nizam. Soon these ghair-mulki administrators and advocates educated at Aligarh, who were sensitive to the Hindu (majority) domination in the nationalist politics of North India, transformed the Ittehad into a political body to convert untouchables and build a Muslim majority in the state. Bahadur Yar Jung, the founder of the Ittehad, claimed that the sovereignty of the state rested not with the Muslim ruler alone, but with the entire Muslim community.

In turn both Hindu mulkis and ghair-mulkis were establishing close ties with the Arya Samaj movement. The growing debate over the future role of different communities in the state thus overshadowed the mulki issue, which remained unresolved.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF ANDHRA PRADESH (1947-56)

The Police Action and After: The New Ghair-Mulki Presence

The paramountcy of British power lapsed in India on August 15, 1947. The Nizam, "the Faithful Ally",⁵⁵ did not accede to the Indian Union but signed a stand-still agreement on November 1947. As the Razakars (militant Muslim volunteers) created a state of terror, a vast number of Hindus fled Hyderabad state to the neighboring areas in the Indian Union. The Government of India intervened in the police action of September 13, 1948. Within a week the Nizam's forces surrendered and Hyderabad soon joined the Indian Union.

Steps were soon initiated to reduce the role of Urdu and the predominance of Muslims in the administration of Hyderabad. The Hyderabad army had been composed entirely of Muslims. Between 1946 and September 1948 about 50,000 Muslims were said to have been recruited in the police, military and excise departments. The share of Hyderabadis in these appointments had been very meagre.⁵⁶ In the wake of the police action many Muslims were thrown out of employment.

At the same time Hindu mulkis who had been excluded from government employment under the old regime and had entertained great hopes for the new regime were disillusioned when ghair-mulkis were appointed.⁵⁷ Furthermore, though the change to English as the language of instruction at Osmania University and as the official language of government was welcomed by Hindu mulkis,

⁵⁵Title conferred on the Nizam in recognition of his help in the First World War.

⁵⁶Srikishen, p. 158.

⁵⁷Government of Hyderabad, 1953, p. 20.

it was an obstacle to those who had already been trained in Urdu.

The issue of qualifications for service in the state's administration was dramatized when a large number of ghair-mulki policemen (seven to eight thousand, according to barrister Srikishen⁵⁸) were recruited -- 3,111 of these from Madras state. It had been discovered after the police action that 17,000 out of 22,000 villages in Hyderabad were without primary schools. Over 60% of teachers were untrained. As the government set about initiating instruction in the regional languages (Telugu, Marathi and Kannada), displacing Urdu in the schools, knowledge of the vernacular languages became an additional necessary qualification which justified recruitment of ghair-mulkis to Hyderabad. Agricultural assistants, too, were brought in from Madras. Once again, the mulki rules became a focus of urban mulkis' attention.

The Muslim elite which had dominated the state's administration before the police action was gradually being displaced by ghair-mulkis. The Telugu-speaking ghair-mulkis succeeded the North Indian ghair-mulkis as targets of mulki discontent. It was recalled by mulkis that the Andhras of Madras had exploited the mulkis when they had taken refuge in the neighboring Telugu districts of Madras from the excesses of the Razakars in Telangana in 1947-48. Further, the attitude of ghair-mulki officers toward the mulkis was one of contempt. Hyderabadis were described by these "imported" officers as either fools or knaves.⁵⁹ Mulkis in turn accused the ghair-mulkis of regionalism and nepotism.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Srikishen, p. 108.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Firing Inquiry Report, p. 19.

Mulki Rules from 1949 to 1955: Touchstone of Mulki Expectations

According to the mulki rules, embodied in Article 39 of the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations (1949),⁶¹ no person could be appointed in any superior or inferior service without the specific sanction of the Nizam, if he were not a mulki in terms of the rules laid down in Appendix N. Paragraph 1 of Appendix N stated that "a person shall be called a Mulki if

- (a) by birth he is a subject of Hyderabad State; or
- (b) by residence in the Hyderabad State he has been entitled to be a Mulki; or
- (c) his father having completed 15 years of service, was in the government service at the time of his birth; or
- (d) she is wife of person who is a Mulki."

A person was defined as a subject of Hyderabad state by birth if at the time of his birth his father was a mulki. A permanent resident in Hyderabad state for at least 15 years, who has abandoned the idea of returning to the place of his previous residence and has obtained an affidavit to that effect on a prescribed form attested by a magistrate was a mulki by residence according to Paragraph 3.

By a firman in November 1949 the Nizam confirmed the provisions relating to the mulki rules for purposes of appointment to government posts. The impact of the provisions in Articles 16(1), 16(2), 16(3) and 36(b) of the Constitution of India respecting the mulki rules was clarified from time to time by circulars issued by the government.

Hyderabad became a "Part B State" in January 1950 with the Nizam

⁶¹Broadly speaking all appointments with salaries not exceeding Rs. 40 per month were defined as inferior service and all others as superior service, according to Article 37(a) of the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations. The word mulki is not found in Article 39 of the fifth edition of the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations published in 1938. Nor is there any definition of a mulki. The seventh edition published on November 1, 1949 contains what are today usually called the mulki rules, i.e. Article 39 and Appendix N. In these rules reference is made for the first time to the Indian Naturalization Act of 1926.

designated as titular head (Raj Pramukh). A circular in June 1950 directed that the conditions of birth and descent (paragraphs 1(a) and 1(c) of Appendix N) should not be insisted upon for purposes of recruitment to government service. The qualification of residence of 15 years prescribed in the mulki rules (paragraph 1(b)) was saved after the advent of the constitution and would continue to be applied until a uniform policy in regard to residential qualifications was established by the Government of Hyderabad in consultation with the Government of India. Further, exemptions from the mulki rules, which were previously granted by the order of the Nizam, would now be granted only by the government.

The Hyderabad general recruitment rules, framed in November 1955 by the Raj Pramukh (in pursuance of Article 309 of the Constitution), superseded all previous rules and orders. They provided that no person would be eligible for appointment to state or subordinate services unless he (a) was an Indian national and (b) possessed a domicile (i.e. mulki) certificate issued by a competent authority under the rules of Schedule III, as evidence of his residence in Hyderabad state for a period of 15 years or more. The government could make exceptions in special cases. Schedule III merely reproduced the rules contained in Appendix N of the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations, but it was explained that the rules should be read in conjunction with the circulars and notifications issued by the general administration department.⁶²

⁶²This summary is based on the judgement of the Andhra Pradesh High Court in P. Lakshmana Rao vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and others, dated December 9, 1970.

The Hardening of Mulki Resentment: Provocation and Violence

The ghair-mulkis employed in Hyderabad state by 1952 can be classified in three categories: admitted ghair-mulkis who were employed on a permanent basis because of non-availability of qualified persons in Hyderabad state, ghair-mulkis appointed on a temporary basis, and ghair-mulkis who, by securing bogus mulki certificates, obtained jobs reserved for mulkis.

For persons in the first category exemptions from mulki rules had been obtained in most cases at the time of appointment, and the government could not discharge them from service. Persons appointed to temporary posts, unless their services were necessary, were being replaced by qualified mulkis. Action could be taken by the government against those in the third category if there was proof of deception. In fact, nepotism, corruption and appointments on the basis of bogus mulki certificates had been also prevalent before the police action;⁶³ however, it was only after the police action, and after the enforcement of the constitution, that these matters could be openly raised in public with a view to altering practices in favour of mulkis.

The growing opposition to employment of ghair-mulkis in preference to mulkis was evident in the innumerable questions asked by persons of diverse political views in the Hyderabad State Legislative Assembly soon after its inauguration.⁶⁴ The strong mulki sentiment was also reflected in July 1952, when the assembly discussed a resolution aimed at a government takeover of

⁶³Government of Hyderabad, 1953, p. 20.

⁶⁴See the questions by Ch. Venkatarama Rao (June 11, 1952), L.R. Ganeriwal (June 11, 1952), G. Rajaram (July 14, 1952), L.K. Shroff (June 21, 1952), K.V. Narayana Reddy (July 4, 1952), Mutyal Rao (July 8, 1952), and Gurua Reddy (July 18, 1952).

Osmania University. A section of the legislators opposed it because the admissions and appointments, until then more or less limited to the Hyderabadis, would be thrown open to all Indians. K.V. Narayana Reddy, a former lecturer in economics at the university and member of the State Legislative Assembly from the Telangana region, threatened satyagraha (peaceful resistance) in the event of such a takeover.⁶⁵ The government dropped the proposal in view of this strong opposition.

Another instance of the growing mulki opposition was the agitation in Telangana in 1952. A strike began in Warangal on July 26, 1952 as a consequence of a dispute over an alleged transfer of mulki teachers by an official said to be ghair-mulki, and disciplinary action was taken against some of them. The issue became politicised and soon led to agitation in Telangana in which assaults were organised on ghair-mulkis from the Telugu linguistic area of the neighbouring states. The agitation lasted until mid-September.⁶⁶

Mulki Reservations in Telangana Concerning the Telugu Linguistic State

A movement had begun in Madras Presidency in 1913, with the establishment of Andhra Maha Sabha, which while retaining as its ultimate goal the formation of a Telugu linguistic state comprising all the contiguous Telugu-speaking areas in India (native states included), aimed more immediately at carving out an Andhra state consisting of Telugu areas of Madras State. In

⁶⁵Golkonda Patrika, July 16, 1952.

⁶⁶K.V. Narayana Rao, 1973, p. 282. Considering the history of the Deccan under different rulers -- Hindus and Muslims -- Vasant Kumar Bawa asks whether there is an inevitable tendency towards cultural separatism in the Deccan and, if so, why it focusses on linguistic areas. See Vasant Kumar Bawa, 1974.

1953 the state of Andhra was formed with Rayalaseema and the Circars (Coastal Andhra). Thereafter, Rayalaseema and the Circars were referred to as the "Andhra regions." As there was no town in Andhra state to which all the administrative offices could be moved immediately, the town of Kurnool, in Rayalaseema, was designated the temporary capital of Andhra state because of the regional rivalries concerning the final location of the capital.

Popular, chiefly middle-class pressures throughout India for the reorganisation of states on linguistic-cultural lines led the Government of India to appoint the States Reorganisation Commission in 1953 to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the question of the reorganisation of the states of the Indian union. Thus, within less than five years of the police action, and within two years after the establishment of democratic government in the state, the future of the state and, in the event of its disintegration, the future of the different linguistic areas came to be seriously considered.

The concensus among Hyderabad politicians was that the state should be divided and the Marathi and Kannada linguistic areas merged, respectively, with the neighbouring states of Bombay and Mysore. Public opinion in Telangana on the disposition of that region remained divided. On one hand, though accents differed, the Telugu dialects spoken in Telangana and in the Andhra districts of Madras state were mutually intelligible, and there had been social contact between the populations of the two regions even before 1947. After 1950 both regions were exposed to the same political influences.

On the other hand, the influence of the Urdu language and Muslim rule was evident in the language, dress, and manners of the urban Telanganites, whereas in Andhra the English language and British rule had dominated. In both regions rural people were influenced by urban trends. Moreover, the Telugu speakers of Telangana and the two Andhra regions of Rayalaseema and the Circars were historically and culturally distinct from one another.

More directly, the interests of several Telangana groups were threatened by the prospect of union with the Andhra districts of the Circars and Rayalaseema. Telangana politicians who had come into their own a mere three years previously were uneasy at the possibility that in a united Andhra they might be pushed into positions of minor importance. Though comprising 50 percent of the area and population of Hyderabad state, Telangana had occupied a politically subordinate place under the Nizam.

Demands began to be made in 1950 that Telangana people should first be given the positions of Chief Minister of the state, President of the Hyderabad State Congress, and Mayor of Hyderabad.⁶⁷ This soon happened. B. Ramakrishna Rao became the first non-official member of the civil administration and later the Chief Minister of Hyderabad. Madapati Hanumantha Rao became the Mayor of Hyderabad. K.V. Ranga Reddy was elected to the post of President of the State Congress in 1953 and was succeeded by J.V. Narasing Rao.

The urban middle class and aspiring entrants into it expressed the strongest doubts about Telangana's future in a united Andhra state. They were especially apprehensive about the effect on the middle classes of large-scale in-migration of Andhra cultivators, students, lawyers, and unemployed youth in the event of a merger with Andhra. The aggressive, mobile people of the Circars were a particular worry.

The Gentlemen's Agreement

These apprehensions relating to economic development, employment, and other matters were well understood by the States Reorganisation Commission,

⁶⁷Reddi, 1967, pp. 106, 107.

which in its report in 1955 recommended that⁶⁸

It will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana, if, for the present, the Telangana area is constituted into a separate state, which may be known as the Hyderabad State with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of such unification.

The central leadership, though initially reported to be divided on the question of formation of one Telugu state, ultimately adopted this solution and suggested discussions between the Andhra and Hyderabad leaders concerning the various safeguards necessary to protect the interests of Telangana people in an eventual united state. The result was the Gentlemen's Agreement⁶⁹ of February 1956.

The Gentlemen's Agreement outlined measures to be adopted to protect the interests of the different sections of Telangana. Its politicians were assured of a fixed percentage of seats in the ministry, including representation for a Telangana muslim. Specified important portfolios were to be assigned to Telangana ministers. The interests of students were to be safeguarded by reserving for them all the educational facilities in the Telangana region. Existing service personnel were protected from undue retrenchment following integration. Most important in view of subsequent mulki efforts and aspirations, employment prospects were assured to Telangana people by laying down domicile rules for employment in Telangana. The mulki rules, in short, were to be perpetuated.

The sale of agricultural land was to be regulated, thus protecting the interests of agriculturists from severe competition. Surpluses in Telangana

⁶⁸Government of India, 1955, p. 107.

⁶⁹For the text of the agreement see Narayana Rao, 1972, pp. 82-84.

revenues were to be utilised in Telangana and efforts were to be made for its economic development. A regional council was to be established to watch over all these matters. The position of the Urdu language in administration was to be protected and a knowledge of Telugu was not to be required at the time of initial recruitment. Telangana congressmen were assured of a separate Congress Committee until 1962.

To avoid competition with skilled, English-speaking lawyers from the Circars and Rayalaseema, the Telangana signatories to the agreement wanted to retain a bench at Guntur, where the Andhra High Court had been functioning, but bring the principal seat to Hyderabad. This was not agreed to, but section 51(2) of the States Reorganisation Act provided for the establishment of permanent benches of the High Court at one or more places within the state at other than the principal seat of the High Court.⁷⁰

To preserve the identity of Telangana, the Telangana representatives desired at first that the united state be known as "Andhra-Telangana". Later they agreed to the name of "Andhra Pradesh".⁷¹ The state of Andhra Pradesh was inaugurated on November 1, 1956.

⁷⁰No such bench was formed in Andhra Pradesh, as there had been no demand.

⁷¹Narayana Rao, 1973, p. 303.

MULKI AGITATION IN THE TELANGANA AND ANDHRA REGIONS

The Gentlemen's Agreement Implemented

The first step in the implementation of the Gentlemen's Agreement was the incorporation of a new Article 371, by the Constitution (seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, by which the President was empowered to constitute a regional committee of the assembly. Thus a special responsibility for overseeing the implementation of the Gentlemen's Agreement was placed in the Central Government. Accordingly, the President issued the Andhra Pradesh Regional Committee Order, 1958,⁷² establishing a Regional Committee consisting of the members of the assembly representing Telangana constituencies, to have jurisdiction over the following scheduled matters:

Local self-government; public health and sanitation, local hospitals and dispensaries; primary and secondary education, regulation of admissions to the educational institutions in the Telangana region; agriculture, sale of agricultural land, cooperative societies; prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating liquors and of drugs which are injurious to health, development and economic planning within the framework of general development plans and policies formulated by the state legislature.

The Regional Committee discussed and reported on all non-money bills affecting the Telangana region. Differences of opinion between the Regional Committee and the legislature on the contents of bills were to be referred to the governor, whose decision in such cases was final. The Regional Committee also considered and passed resolutions recommending legislation or executive actions which did not involve any financial commitment apart from expenditures of a routine and incidental character. The Council of Ministers was normally required to give effect to such recommendations. In case the

⁷²For the text of the order see Narayana Rao, 1972, pp. 93-406, and Andhra Pradesh Legislature, 1972.

ministry felt it inexpedient, or felt that the Regional Committee was not competent to make particular recommendations, the matter was referred to the governor; his decision would be final and binding on the Council. Thus the Regional Committee was an essential organ in the law-making process, so far as scheduled matters relating to Telangana were concerned; and its recommendations, intended to safeguard the interests of Telangana, could not easily be ignored by the executive or the legislature.⁷³

By and large, the Gentlemen's Agreement has been implemented.⁷⁴ We will discuss in detail here those items which have had an impact on the educational and employment markets in Telangana and on the sale of agricultural land.

Restrictions on University Admissions

Outside competition for admission to Osmania University did not pose a problem until 1949, as Urdu had been the medium of instruction and examination. Students from the Circars had long attended distant universities such as Nagpur, Saugar and Banaras for post-graduate studies and higher technical and professional courses, as the number of seats in Andhra University was and remains inadequate in relation to demand. As regulation of admissions to educational institutions in the Telangana region was within the purview of the

⁷³Some critics opine that the Regional Committee did very little because of its political leadership, but a close perusal of its work shows that within its limited functions and powers it was active and successful. See K.V. Narayana Rao, 1972, chapters 4 to 7. Had the central government, which was vested with special powers to oversee the arrangement, shown a keen interest in the issue, there would not have been the Telangana agitation in 1969. The limitations on powers and function of the Regional Committee were realised late; an attempt was made in 1970 to modify the Regional Committee order.

⁷⁴Narayana Rao, 1972, pp. 311-318.

Andhra Pradesh Regional Committee, the Committee was quite active in formulating and amending the rules so as to reserve to residents of Telangana the bulk of the seats in all government institutions -- professional colleges, arts and science colleges, polytechnics, and Osmania University. These institutions were statutorily required to implement the recommendation of the Regional Committee. The High Court (of Andhra Pradesh state) held in the case of Ramakrishna vs. Osmania University that such reservation did not offend the principles embodied in Article 15 of the Constitution.⁷⁵

Private collegiate and professional institutions did not come under these regulations, and the Regional Committee did not seek to regulate admissions to secondary schools.

The Sale of Agricultural Land: The First Conflict with the Constitutional Concept of Common Citizenship

The 1951 Census of Hyderabad revealed that of all immigrants into Hyderabad state, those from Madras had taken most to agricultural occupations, principally as owner-cultivators but to a lesser extent as tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers. Their presence had had a beneficial effect on agriculture in Hyderabad state.⁷⁶ The Nizamsagar canal system in the Nizamabad district of Hyderabad state attracted the first wave of immigrants from these districts, in search of fresh opportunities in paddy cultivation in the 1920's.

S. Kesava Iyengar, referring to the land transfers in Hyderabad state during 1949-51, observed:⁷⁷

⁷⁵A.I.R. 1962, Andhra Pradesh, pp. 120-123.

⁷⁶Census of India, 1951, Vol. 9, Hyderabad Part 1A, p. 86.

⁷⁷Kesava Iyengar, 1951, pp. 116-117, 146-186.

In the Nizamabad district land transfers are on the increase in recent years on account of the influence of enterprising cultivators from the Andhra districts of Madras, who have been purchasing dry lands and developing them into paying wet lands under the Nizamsagar canal system. The average yield of paddy for the area is between 900 and 1000 pounds per acre whereas the peasants from Bezwada and Rajahmundry [by using the transplantation system] take out 3,000 pounds per acre. Especially in canal areas, land values have tended to increase steeply on account of enterprising immigrants from urban areas and from the Andhra districts of Madras.

The villages where raiyats (farmers) from the Circars settled were and are spoken of as Andhra colonies by the local people. Strong fears had been expressed before the formation of Andhra Pradesh that the raiyats from Andhra might buy up all the lands in Telangana that would be irrigated when the Nagarjuna Sagar and Ramapadasagar projects were completed.⁷⁸

In accordance with a resolution of the Regional Committee in 1959 the Revenue Department prepared the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Lands (Restriction of Sale) Bill. The Government of India, to whom it was sent for approval, wanted it to be modified to avoid the criticism that its provisions were parochial in character and conflicted with the accepted notion of common citizenship. After the Regional Committee was informed of these views no further action was taken.⁷⁹

Domicile Rules

Hyderabad was not unique in requiring residence in the state for the purpose of appointment to state government posts. In another state stringent domicile rules had been applied not only to determine eligibility for appointment to public services but also to regulate the awards of contracts and

⁷⁸Golkonda Patrika, July 25, 1954.

⁷⁹Narayana Rao, 1972, p. 307.

rights in respect of fisheries, ferries, toll bridges, forests and excise shops.⁸⁰

The States Reorganisation Commission strongly recommended that domicile rules in force in the states should be replaced by appropriate parliamentary legislation as contemplated in Article 35(a)(i) of the Constitution, since the domicile rules were not only inconsistent with Articles 16 and 19 of the Constitution but went against the conception of Indian citizenship.⁸¹

By virtue of Section 119 of the States Reorganisation Act and the Andhra Pradesh (Adaptation of Laws) Order, 1957, the mulki rules, preserved by Article 35(b) of the Constitution, continued in operation in the Hyderabad area of Andhra Pradesh.

Though it was stated in the Gentlemen's Agreement that the regional council should be empowered to deal with matters relating to services in the Telangana areas, the Andhra Pradesh Regional Committee Order, 1958, included no such provision.⁸² Parliament, in pursuance of Article 16(3) and Article 35, passed the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act in 1957. The central government subsequently promulgated the Andhra Pradesh Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Rules, 1959, which came into force on March 21, 1959. Similar rules became operative in the then union territories

⁸⁰Government of India, 1955, p. 230. The conditions to be satisfied for acquiring a domicile in that state were: (a) ownership of a homestead in the state; (b) residence in such a homestead for ten years; (c) a clear intention to live in the state until death; and (d) renunciation of the old domicile, which is to be established by circumstantial evidence, such as whether the applicant has landed property or other interests in his native place, or whether he pays frequent visits to that place. The report does not mention the name of the state.

⁸¹Idem.

⁸²It was only after the Telangana agitation that "the methods of recruitment and the principles to be followed in making appointments to subordinate services and posts under the state government in the Telangana region" were included in the purview of the Regional Committee.

of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura⁸³ on the same day.

The rules provided⁸⁴ that a person would not be eligible for appointment to a post within the Telangana area under the state government of Andhra or to a post under a local authority (other than a cantonment board) unless (1) he had been continuously residing within the area for not less than fifteen years immediately preceding the prescribed date, and (2) he produced, before the appointing authority concerned, if so required, a certificate of eligibility granted under these rules. Covered by the rules were all non-gazetted posts which carried a salary of three hundred rupees or less. For posts in the secretariat departments and offices of heads of state government departments situated in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, the requirement of residence laid down in the rule applied only to the filling of the second vacancy in every bloc of three vacancies filled by direct recruitment.

In response to the demand for jobs for the "sons of the soil" in public sector undertakings, the central government, by the Employment Exchanges (Compulsory Notification of vacancies) Act, 1959, required public sector undertakings to notify local employment exchanges of all vacancies carrying a basic salary of less than Rs. 500. It was hoped that this would give local people priority in such employment.

⁸³During the integration of the native states, continuance in service of permanent members of public services, or payment of reasonable compensation and continuation of pensions and leave salaries, were guaranteed by the Government of India. This applied in the case of Manipur, where the Government of India made suitable provisions for the employment of Manipuris in the various branches of public services, and in every way encouraged Manipuris to join them. See Government of India, 1950, Appendices 32 and 34, and Article 8(3) of the Manipur merger agreement.

⁸⁴The rules were published as an annex to G.O. Ms. No. 593, dated April 20, 1959.

Background of the Telangana and Andhra Agitation

Although the implementation of the Gentlemen's Agreement proceeded reasonably well, there was considerable agitation in Telangana in 1969 for stricter implementation of the Telangana safeguards. This was followed later by a backlash in the Andhra region in 1973 in favour of scrapping the mulki rules. In turn, each of these conflicts gave rise to demands for reconstitution for each region into a separate state.

The agitators in both places were mainly state government employees (especially non-gazetted, junior-level officers) and students. Each region had its own union of government employees bidding for central government attention and favour. And in each place attempts were made to mobilize villagers and farmers around broader regional concerns.

The major factors giving rise to the agitation were: (1) the rapid growth of educational facilities in both regions; (2) unprecedented immigration into the Hyderabad city/district from the coastal districts; (3) dwindling employment opportunities in the state as a whole; and (4) the projected 1969 expiry date of the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act.

(1) Increase in Educational Facilities

The increase in the educational facilities in the Telangana region at the high school and college levels during the decade 1956-57 to 1966-67 was far higher than in the Andhra region. The rise in capacity among institutions of technical education was similarly high (see Table 4).

Table 4

GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN THE TELANGANA AND ANDHRA REGIONS

	Telangana		Andhra	
	1956-57	1966-67	1956-57	1966-67
1. (a) High/Higher Secondary Multipurpose Schools	105	1,055	627	1,600
(b) Students	82,100	440,200	299,600	620,000
2. (a) Colleges (Including Professional Schools)	30	80	68	108
(b) Students	12,300	37,700	39,400	59,100
3. Technical Institutions:				
(a) Students in Degree Colleges	215	677	336	953
(b) Students in Polytechnics	370	1,410	490	2,093

Source: Planning and Panchayati Raj Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1969.

(2) Immigration from Coastal Districts

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, immigration from the Andhra region in general and the Circars in particular into Hyderabad city/district increased at an unprecedented rate. Many of these immigrants belonged to the middle classes.

There had been migration from districts in the Andhra region to the Telangana region and Hyderabad city even before the formation of Andhra Pradesh, but the steep rise in the percentage of females among immigrants into the different districts of Hyderabad state from Madras state⁸⁵ and in the number

⁸⁵It then included the area now comprising the Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh as well as the present Tamil Nadu and some areas in Kerala and Karnataka.

of those immigrants who were enumerated in districts adjacent to Madras state at the 1951 census reflects a rise in long-term family migration from the Andhra region into the state of Hyderabad (see Table 5).

Table 5

IMMIGRANTS FROM MADRAS STATE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% female</u>	<u>Residing in districts adjacent to Madras state</u>	<u>% female</u>	<u>Residing in other districts</u>	<u>% female</u>
1901	55,369	49	33,637	52	21,732	45
1911	67,821	49	46,932	51	20,899	44
1921	84,143	38	33,988	48	50,155	31
1931	132,954	23	50,391	25	82,527	21
1941	142,323	36	52,796	37	89,527	35
1951	129,455	50	83,563	53	45,892	47

Source: Census of India, 1951, Vol. 9, Hyderabad Part 1-A, p. 72.

Immigration into Hyderabad City

Following the formation of Andhra Pradesh the rate of migration into Hyderabad city increased sharply.⁸⁶ Of the migrants into Hyderabad towns between 1951 and 1961, 10% were from Hyderabad district and 35% were from other districts of Telangana. Those from the Circars and from the Rayalaseema

⁸⁶A note prepared by Waheeduddin Khan for the metropolitan Hyderabad development project shows the number of immigrants by year as follows: before 1951 - 124,930; 1951 to 1955 - 52,904; 1956 to 1960 - 102,774; and in 1961 - 48,741.

districts numbered 30,865 and 14,398 respectively,⁸⁷ constituting 15% and 7% of the migrant population. Immigrants from other states constituted 32%. The occupational distribution of the migrants from the Circars was also significant. Among migrants into Hyderabad district holding clerical and allied jobs, those from the Circars topped the list, followed immediately by immigrants from within the Telangana region, in which the capital is situated. Other Indian states, the Rayalaseema region, and other countries came next. Among immigrant administrative, executive and general workers, those from the Circars were also numerous (see Table 6).

Table 6

REGIONAL BREAKDOWN OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS TO METROPOLITAN HYDERABAD

1951-1961

(Percentage)

<u>Region of Origin</u>	<u>Craftsmen/ Production process workers and labourers</u>	<u>Clerical and related workers</u>	<u>Administrative executive and managerial workers</u>	<u>All categories</u>
1. Telangana	61%	31%	22%	45%
2. The Circars	9%	31%	13%	15%
3. Rayalaseema	4%	10%	4%	6%
Andhra Pradesh	(74%)	(72%)	(39%)	(66%)
4. Other Indian States	24%	27%	58%	32%
5. Other Countries	2%	1%	3%	2%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: Manzoor Alam and Khan, 1972, p. 22.

⁸⁷ Telangana consists of Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khamman, Mahboobnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal districts. The Circars comprise Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore. Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool districts constitute Rayalaseema.

Immigration into Hyderabad District

In the absence of published census data relating to migration into Hyderabad city from different districts of Andhra Pradesh in 1961 and 1971, data for Hyderabad district may be used to understand the pattern of migration from the Andhra region. The pace of migration from the Circars into Hyderabad district increased between 1961 and 1971. In both census years the largest numbers of immigrants were from the neighbouring districts of Mahboobnagar, Medak and Nalgonda (Table 7). Migration from all other districts in Telangana except Nizamabad and Adilabad also increased. However, what is most significant for a proper understanding of the relations between Andhra and Telangana regions is the increase in the number of migrants into Hyderabad from the four Circar districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur, from 39,348 in 1961 to 70,757 in 1971. From Ongole and Nellore districts immigrants numbered 4,653 in 1961 and 10,070 in 1971.

The reasons for this large immigration are not hard to find. Besides the tendency for capitals of state governments in India to attract immigrants from the different districts of the state, for Andhras the formation of Andhra Pradesh was the realisation of a long-cherished dream. As the government was stable and as there were no threats to the integrity of the state, a steady and increasing stream of migrants flowed into the city.

The rules relating to admissions to educational institutions and employment in the Telangana region were at best only a marginal constraint to migration from the Circars. In part this could be because admissions to high schools and private collegiate institutions were not restricted.

Table 7

IMMIGRANTS INTO HYDERABAD DISTRICT FROM OTHER DISTRICTS
OF ANDHRA PRADESH IN 1961 AND 1971

Region and District	1961 Census	1971 Census	Difference between 1961 and 1971
The Circars:			
1. Srikakulam	1,563	2,050	+ 487
2. Visakhapatnam	3,256	4,755	+ 1,499
	(4,819)	(6,805)	
3. East Godavari	8,420	16,145	+ 7,725
4. West Godavari	7,687	12,530	+ 4,943
5. Krishna	12,564	22,841	+ 10,277
6. Guntur	10,677	19,141	+ 8,464
	(39,348)	(70,757)	
7. Ongole*		4,170	+ 4,170
8. Nellore	4,653	5,900	+ 1,247
	(4,653)	(10,070)	
Rayalaseema:			
9. Chittoor	2,186	3,340	+ 1,154
10. Cuddapah	2,751	3,495	+ 744
11. Anantapur	2,771	3,400	+ 629
12. Kurnool	8,770	8,180	- 590
	(16,478)	(18,415)	

Telangana:

13. Mahboobnagar	53,794	61,505	+	7,711
14. Medak	51,044	57,967	+	6,723
15. Nalgonda	36,322	47,676	+	11,354
	(141,160)	(166,948)		
16. Nizamabad	9,795	7,895	-	1,900
17. Karimnagar	17,403	18,486	+	1,083
18. Warangal	13,541	18,920	+	5,379
19. Khamman	3,929	5,395	+	1,466
20. Adilabad	4,293	2,545	-	1,748
	(48,961)	(53,241)		

*Ongole district, formed in 1970 out of some areas of Guntur, Nellore and Kurnool districts, was later renamed Prakasam district in honour of Tanguturi Prakasam, the first chief minister of Andhra state, who came from the region.

Sources: (1) 1961 data are from Census of India, 1961, Vol. 2, Andhra Pradesh, Part 1-A(i), p. 437; (2) Data relating to the 1971 census have been obtained through the courtesy of the census office in Hyderabad.

(3) Increased Pressures for Employment

Vacancies listed in the employment exchanges provide some indication of employment opportunities in the state. This number rose in Andhra Pradesh only from 1,678 in 1956 to 3,263 in 1961; although the numbers of registered job-seekers in the corresponding years were 10,852 and 16,237 respectively. In 1962, owing to an expansion of the categories of persons eligible for registration, registrations rose to 308,298; for that year 35,841 vacancies were listed. The number of persons placed in employment increased from

26,077 in 1962 to 41,176 in 1965, but afterwards decreased (Table 8).⁸⁸

Table 8

NUMBER OF APPLICANTS PLACED IN EMPLOYMENT UNDER DIFFERENT CATEGORIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH THROUGH EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

Year	Central Government	State Government	Quasi-Government	Total Public Sector	Private Sector	Total	Total Registrations by the end of the year	Total Vacancies Notified during the year
1962	3636	16,886	5921	25,443	634	26,077	308,298	35,841
1963	4956	15,053	8121	28,130	1003	29,133	207,667	39,608
1964	4653	20,731	10,275	35,659	1918	37,577	227,054	48,547
1965	4246	23,863	10,255	38,364	2812	41,176	251,031	52,210
1966	3274	15,779	10,965	30,018	3768	33,786	238,401	43,500
1967	2253	10,236	5,596	18,085	4556	22,641	222,575	30,698
1968	3607	8,871	6,035	18,513	3431	21,944	236,995	29,524
1969	1744	12,565	4,619	19,928	2024	21,952	265,882	31,993
1970	1855	16,040	6,610	24,505	1549	26,054	312,210	35,690
1971	4068	11,941	7,990	23,999	1539	25,538	384,875	35,234
1972	4448	9,422	9,769	21,639	1836	23,475	294,837	33,105
1973	3152	13,156	9,704	26,012	740	26,752	317,030	35,860

Sources: Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, pp. 118-120; 1973, pp. 34-35.

⁸⁸Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, pp. 118-120.

1965 was the last year of the Third Five Year Plan. The three annual plans that followed saw a slackening in the tempo of development, which was reflected in diminishing new employment. Combined with the tremendous rate of increase in educational facilities, this led to a large growth in the numbers of educated unemployed as can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9

EDUCATED APPLICANTS ON THE LIVE REGISTER OF
EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES IN ANDHRA PRADESH (YEAR END FIGURES)

	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1965-66</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
1. Matriculates	29,632	40,134	46,646	68,784	109,812	109,784	128,337
2. Intermediates	5,536	8,467	19,278	24,750	14,550	35,382	34,930
3. Graduates in							
a. Engineering	94	425	1,298	1,340	1,688	3,234	3,350
b. Medicine	--	6	138	256	589	1,718	1,304
c. Other Subjects	3,756	4,272	8,130	11,806	23,011	13,318	35,324

Sources: (1) Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh, 1968, p. 242.
(2) Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh, 1973, p. 220.

The total number of persons employed by the state government of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the non-gazetted services, remained more or less constant between 1960-61 and 1956-66. (It was about 300,000 by 1970-71.)⁸⁹

The increasing migration of the Andhra middle-class families from the Circars districts into the capital intensified pressures on the employment market. Competition for jobs in Andhra Pradesh state in general, and in

⁸⁹Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, p. 120.

Hyderabad city in particular, became acute after 1965-66, when the suspension of the Third Five Year Plan (the "plan holiday") brought the tempo of development to a standstill. In addition to job competition, a feeling that the administration and Government of Andhra Pradesh were dominated by people from the Andhra region, who behaved condescendingly toward the Telangana people, gave rise to bitterness among different sections of the Telangana population. References to the people of the Andhra region by the Telangana non-gazetted officials⁹⁰ are reminiscent of the attitude of the mulkis towards the ghair-mulkis in the 1930's. Latent tensions between the regions became intense and were beginning to surface.

(4) Expiration of the Public Employment Act ... A Threatened End to the Legal Basis of Preferential Employment

The Government of Andhra Pradesh reviewed the operation of the domiciliary rules in 1968 and found that in regard to certain categories of posts, to which recruitment was by competitive examination, the proportion of successful candidates able to meet residency qualifications would be low if the examination was to be a combined one open to all. Therefore it recommended to the Government of India that the 1957 Public Employment Act and the 1959 Employment Rules should be extended for a further period of five years.⁹¹ At about this time (1968) the National Integration Council, constituted by the Government of India, also became concerned about job preference demands by

⁹⁰See Ranga Reddy, 1967, pp. 64, 174, 175, 216, 233; Narayana Rao, 1972, pp. 72-73; Venkateswara Rao, 1970.

⁹¹The Sunday Standard, November 24, 1968.

local residents.⁹²

Grievances of Telangana Employees, Youth and Politicians

Apart from the aspects of social change mentioned above, Telangana mulkis harbored other grievances which further sensitized them to the political and administrative dominance of middle-class Andhrans. The mulkis alleged (1) the neglect of Telangana's development as a consequence of non-utilisation of the Telangana surpluses; (2) injustices in the integration of the service cadres of Andhra Pradesh and Hyderabad; and (3) violations of safeguards relating to employment in Telangana areas.

(1) Telangana surpluses may be broadly defined as the surplus of receipts over expenditures, on different items allocated between the Andhra and Telangana regions in specified ratios. A set of principles was specified and agreed to in 1959. Periodic efforts were made to ascertain and utilise these surpluses for the development of Telangana in accord with the Telangana Regional Committee's recommendations. For the period of the Third Five Year Plan, for example, they were estimated to be 305.4 million rupees. The Telangana legislators suspected this to be an underestimate. An officer deputed by the comptroller and Auditor General in 1969, at the request of the state government, calculated the surpluses from November 1956 through March 1968 to be 382 million rupees. Stating that certain items of expenditure should not be included and suggesting its own methods, the Telangana Regional

⁹²See the statement laid on the table of the Lok Sabha in answer to question No. 2841, dated March 13, 1970. It recommended the removal of discontent in the various states, arising from the inadequate sharing of local people in employment opportunities in the public and private sectors, by giving a major share of employment to qualified local persons, bearing in mind at the same time the vital importance of common citizenship to national unity.

Committee estimated the surpluses for that period at 1,071.3 million rupees. Telangana's elites and politicians alleged that these surpluses were diverted to Andhra region, causing the neglect of Telangana's development. Finally, a committee appointed by the Government of India decided on the principles for allocating receipts and expenditure and determined the surplus for the same period to be 283.4 million rupees.⁹³

(2) Owing to differences not only in the scales of pay, but also in the rules of the Andhra and Hyderabad governments regarding such conditions of service as promotion, increments, probation, seniority and confirmation, some anomalies disadvantageous to Telangana service arose in certain departments in the preparation of integrated lists of seniority. Some of these cases are still pending in the courts. These disadvantages were proclaimed by the Telangana employees to be deliberate attempts by the Andhra officers to subordinate mulkis in the state government services.⁹⁴

(3) The Telangana employees often allege that the PE (RR) Act, 1959, was not implemented in good faith by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. But it has to be noted that by and large the residential requirement for appointment to state government posts in the Telangana areas was actually applied, with few exceptions. The figures of appointment from March 21, 1959 to the end of September 1968 show that 92,552 posts which required the residence qualification under the rules of 1959 were filled. Of these 88,164 were filled by persons with the requisite residential qualification, and 799 were filled by persons without the domicile qualifications for whom exceptions were made by the government. The remaining 3,589 posts were apparently filled

⁹³For a detailed study of this aspect see Narayana Rao, 1972, Ch. 4.

⁹⁴Ibid., Ch. 7.

by persons who were not qualified in accordance with the residential qualification and in whose case no exception was made by the state government.⁹⁵

Agitation in Telangana: the Enlargement of the Mulki Rules' Constituency

In July 1968 the Government of Andhra Pradesh had directed that no relaxation should thereafter be made to the Andhra Pradesh Employment Rules, 1959.⁹⁶ Yielding to persistent demands by the Telangana non-gazetted officers union, the Government of Andhra Pradesh further extended the domicile rule to cover appointments to the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board in the Telangana area.

This was the opening of the Pandora's box of regionalism. Considering such cases, the High Court of Andhra Pradesh held on January 3, 1969 that autonomous bodies such as the State Electricity Board did not come under the purview of the domicile rules.⁹⁷ Student agitation in Telangana for the strict implementation of the safeguards followed, which non-gazetted officers soon joined. Certain factional leaders within the Congress party, opposed to the Chief Minister, encouraged it. The opposition parties then jumped into the fray. From this point the demand for one or two thousand jobs per year per district became transformed into a violent mass struggle for a separate Telangana state. This has been interpreted as a failure of the

⁹⁵ Committee of Jurists, 1969, p. 4.

⁹⁶ All vacancies arising in posts specified in the rules within the Telangana area were to remain unfilled if qualified candidates possessing the prescribed residential qualifications were not available. All outsiders conditionally appointed to mulki posts were to be replaced within three months by candidates possessing prescribed qualifications. If they could not be so replaced, the concerned department should submit reports to the general administration department indicating the efforts made in this direction.

⁹⁷ The Indian Express, January 4, 1969.

linguistic principle on which Andhra Pradesh was established in 1956.

Given the situation the Chief Minister discussed the matter with leaders of various parties and arrived at an accord on January 19, 1969.⁹⁸ Following their agreement the state government appealed against the January 3 court judgement.⁹⁹ An order was issued relieving before February 28, 1969 all non-residents appointed on or after November 1, 1956 to posts reserved for residents of Telangana under the 1959 Employment Rules.¹⁰⁰ In deference to the wishes of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, a bill was passed by Parliament in March 1969 extending the operation of the Public Employment Act by five more years,¹⁰¹ and including a provision bringing into its purview statutory and other corporations financed by the government. By then however the situation in Andhra Pradesh had undergone a drastic change, due to several related court judgements.

Legal Strictures on Mulki Claims: Constitutional Principles Reasserted

Justice Chinnappa Reddy held on February 3, 1969 that "Requirement as to residence within the state" in Article 16(3) could only mean a requirement of residency anywhere within the state, not in a particular region of the state. Hence, Section 3 of the 1957 Public Employment Act and the rules based upon it were void and not enforceable.¹⁰² As the judgement threatened to

⁹⁸For the text of the agreement, see Narayana Rao, 1972, pp. 380-385.

⁹⁹A division of the bench dismissed the appeal on March 7, 1969.

¹⁰⁰G.O.MS.NO. 36 GAD (SR) department, dated January 21, 1969.

¹⁰¹The act benefitted Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura for five more years and expired in 1974. Later the respective state governments, by executive order, reserved jobs carrying a salary of Rs 300 or less to people with a minimum residence of three years in the state.

¹⁰²The Hindu, February 4, 1969.

intensify the agitation in Telangana and thus affect the integrity of the state, the government of Andhra Pradesh immediately filed an appeal. On February 20, 1969 a division bench of the High Court set aside the judgement of Chinnappa Reddy and validated the act and the rules. However, six weeks later, in hearing a similar case (A.V.S. Narshimha Rao vs. State of Andhra Pradesh), the Supreme Court of India declared Section 3 of the 1957 Act and the rules made under it unconstitutional as they related to Telangana.¹⁰³ The decision intensified the agitation in Telangana.

Central Intervention: Separatism Quashed

Telangana politicians were unanimous in blaming the Government of Andhra Pradesh for neglecting the development of Telangana and for failing to utilise the Telangana revenue surpluses set aside under terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement. They argued that Telangana could not develop as long as it was part of Andhra Pradesh and demanded the creation of a separate Telangana state.

The central government was not inclined to consider the demand, since if the demands for a separate Telangana state were to be conceded on account of its underdevelopment, similar demands from other parts of the country could not easily be rejected. There were backward areas in many states of India that were as undeveloped as the Telangana region -- for example, the Rayalaseema area in Andhra Pradesh itself and the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh. Further, Vidarbha in Maharashtra had already been pleading for separate statehood. The central government hoped to contain the agitation

¹⁰³Crisis in Andhra Pradesh: From Safeguards to Separation, 1973, contains the texts of the judgements of the Supreme Court of March 28, 1969 and October 10, 1972 and of the High Court of Andhra Pradesh of December 9, 1970 and February 18, 1972. It also contains the texts of the mulki rules, Gentlemen's Agreement (February 1956), All Party Leaders Agreement (January 1969), the Eight Point Formula (April 1969) and the Five Point Formula (1972).

by trying to remedy regional grievances.

The immediate problem was to see that the safeguards given to Telangana with respect to employment were implemented. For a decade the central government had only cursorily exercised its special responsibility, implicit under Act 371, for safeguarding the interests of Telangana: now it became deeply concerned. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself began to take keen personal interest in these affairs.

In accord with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's statement in the India National Parliament on April 11, 1969 a Jurists' Committee¹⁰⁴ was appointed to enquire into the possibility of providing appropriate constitutional safeguards to encourage public employment of people belonging to the Telangana region. The Committee reported that the guarantees of employment to people of Telangana could not be retained by amending the constitution in view of the Golaknath decision of the Supreme Court in February 1967, and it advised that recruitment be decentralised to the regional and district level to enable local people to get jobs. The Government of Andhra Pradesh had already, in March 1969, withdrawn certain posts from the purview of the Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission and entrusted recruitment for these posts to the district collectors. On the suggestion of the Jurists Committee¹⁰⁵ the Regional Committee Order was also amended in March 1970 to include inter alia the following:

- (1) Methods of recruitment and the principles to be followed in making appointments to subordinate services and posts (that is to say, services and posts for which openings are not noted in the Official Gazette) not including any service of district administrative officers under the State Government in the Telangana region.

¹⁰⁴The committee consisted of K.N. Wanchoo, former Chief Justice of India, M.C. Satalvad, M.P. and former Attorney General for India, and Niren De, Attorney General for India.

¹⁰⁵Committee of Jurists, 1969, p. 12.

- (2) Provisions securing adequate employment opportunities to the people of the Telangana region in the State Government, quasi-government institutions, statutory authorities and corporate bodies in the Telangana region.

The Mulki Rules Revived

The High Court of Andhra Pradesh ruled in 1970¹⁰⁶ that in view of the judgement of the Supreme Court of March 28, 1969 the mulki rules repealed by the 1957 Public Employment Act stood revived and continued to be in force as if that act has not been enacted at all. This momentous decision¹⁰⁷ revived the hopes of Telangana employees and strengthened the hand of government in the implementation of safeguards pertaining to services. The Chief Minister told the State Assembly on December 18, 1970 that the government would abide by the judgement and that it was considering proposals for regionalisation of the service cadres, as suggested by the Jurists Committee.¹⁰⁸

In the mid-term elections to Parliament held in March 1971, the Telangana Praja Samithi, which was formed during the agitation and was led by Dr. Chenna Reddy, a congressman, (currently Governor of Uttar Pradesh) ran on the sole plank of a separate Telangana state. The party won ten of the fourteen seats in Telangana, obtaining 48% of the votes. The Congress party (Mrs. Gandhi's party) trailed well behind with 37% of the votes. As a result of the initiative taken by the central Congress leaders, the Telangana Praja

¹⁰⁶P. Lakshmana Rao vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and others, December 9, 1970.

¹⁰⁷Narayana Reddy, 1973, p. 26.

¹⁰⁸The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 15(5), December 18, 1970, pp. 795-797.

Samiti merged with the Congress party in September 1971, under an agreement that the mulki rules would continue in the Telangana region. P.V. Narasimha Rao of Telangana became the Chief Minister in place of Brahmanna Reddy, who resigned.

On the eve of the 1972 elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Indira Gandhi assured the Telangana people that due protection, including constitutional amendment, would be given by the government for the continuance of safeguards.¹⁰⁹ But the following day, the full bench of the High Court of Andhra Pradesh¹¹⁰ stated that the mulki rules had been validly repealed. The government immediately appealed to the Supreme Court. The election manifesto of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee promised further steps "administrative, statutory and otherwise", depending on the final judgement of the Supreme Court, to safeguard the interests of the Telangana region in public employment.¹¹¹

The Supreme Court overriding the High Court¹¹² decided on October 3, 1972 that the mulki rules were valid and in force. The implications of the judgement were far reaching, as the mulki rules stipulated that all superior as well as inferior posts could be occupied by mulkis only. Thus all government appointments made until then that were in contravention of the mulki rules would be null and void, nor could anyone from the Andhra region aspire

¹⁰⁹Narayana Reddy, 1973, p. 28.

¹¹⁰V. Venkata Reddy and others vs. the Director of Industries and Commerce, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, dated February 18, 1972 - Writ Appeal No. 633 of 1970.

¹¹¹Quoted in Narayana Reddy, 1973, p. 29, 30.

¹¹²The Director of Industries and Commerce, Government of Andhra Pradesh vs. V. Venkata Reddy and others (C.A. No. 993 of 1972) dated 3/10/1972. See Crisis in Andhra Pradesh, 1973, pp. 148-150.

to any job in the capital of the state since it was located in the Telangana region. There was intense jubilation in Telangana, and extreme discontent in the Andhra region.

The Andhra Grievance: Employment in Hyderabad City Denied

In Andhra Pradesh as in other states, the state government is the largest employer, followed by local governments and quasi-government institutions. The central government employs less than each of these (Table 10).

Table 10

ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

AS OF MARCH 31, 1972

(Figures in thousands)

	Central Govt.	State Govt.	Quasi-Govt.	Local Govt.	Private Sector		Grand Total
					Larger Establishments	Smaller Establishments	
Andhra Pradesh	152	242	159	203	250	61	1067
India	2841	4282	2171	1915	6036	733	17978

Source: Government of India, 1972, p. 328.

The bulk of industrial investment since the formation of Andhra Pradesh had been in Hyderabad city. Investment by the central government from 1956 to 1969 amounted to 844 million rupees in Telangana, most of it in and around the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, while investments in the Andhra area totaled only 417.1 million rupees in Visakhapatnam. Private sector investments during the 2nd and 3rd plan periods were also largely in Hyderabad

city and its surroundings,¹¹³ and after 1969 a number of central government institutions were established there. Thus, compared with other towns in the state, Hyderabad afforded exceptional employment opportunities.

With the change in the language of instruction from English to Telugu (in 1969 for the intermediate classes and in 1971-72 for degree classes), the possibility of getting employment outside the state was almost ruled out for people of the Andhra region.¹¹⁴ Opportunities for employment had already been poor in the state, and the decision of the Supreme Court barred any prospect of government employment in the capital. In view of these factors and the already growing unemployment (see Tables 8 and 9) intense agitation was begun by students in the Andhra districts for scrapping the mulki rules. They were soon supported by the non-gazetted (lower) officers.

The Five Point Programme: Mulki Rules Reviewed

The Prime Minister announced her Five Point Programme on November 27, 1972. According to it, the Public Employment Act was to be extended to include civil assistant surgeons and junior engineers, with the proviso that the safeguards were to be in force only until December 1977 in the twin cities and December 1980 in the rest of the Telangana region. Regionalisation of various service cadres up to the first or second gazetted level was also proposed. A composite police force for the twin cities was contemplated.¹¹⁵

¹¹³Janasambadhs Sakha, 1969, p. 5.

¹¹⁴It is said that about 80% of the candidates study in Telugu, Hindi, Marathi, etc. Roughly 20% are permitted to continue in English-language schools, based on their marks on the English qualifying examination.

¹¹⁵Andhra Pradesh Legislative Congress Party, 1973, p. 5.

To give effect to the Prime Minister's Five Point Programme, the Mulki Rules Act passed by Parliament in December 1972 provided for a number of amendments to the mulki rules.¹¹⁶

But feeling persisted among Andhras that in view of the Mulki Rules Act they had become second class citizens in Hyderabad, their own capital. A number of Andhra leaders considered this an affront to their self respect. Opposition leaders and leaders of factions within the Congress party opposed to the Chief Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, made use of this opportunity to organize a popular movement in the Andhra districts. The inclusion in the Act of junior engineers and assistant civil surgeons, among whom there was large-scale unemployment (see Table 9), inspired gazetted (senior) officers to also join the movement.¹¹⁷ Lawyers boycotted the courts. The administration ceased to function. Soon the agitation had snowballed into a demand for constituting the Andhra districts into a separate state and involved almost all sections of the population. (No active steps were taken, however, to build a coalition with the sections of Telangana which had unsuccessfully agitated in 1969 for a separate Telangana state.) In view of the mounting pressures, President's rule was imposed in January 1973. By May 1973 the agitation had ended.

A new dimension was added to the political crisis by a judgement of the High Court on February 16, 1973.¹¹⁸ The Court noted that the definition

¹¹⁶For the text of the bill, see The Hindu, December 20, 1972.

¹¹⁷There were a good number of students who had undergone the costly professional courses -- medicine and engineering -- even paying donations of thousands of rupees for admission to colleges, including Kakinada Medical College, and Kakinada and Kakatiya Medical College (Warangal), both in Andhra Pradesh, and the engineering and medical colleges at Manipal in Mysore state. For them and for their parents, these restrictions in employment were grating.

¹¹⁸The Indian Express, February 17, 1973.

of mulki appearing in Mulki Rules 1(b) and 3 did not apply to all persons born in the former state of Hyderabad, but only to those who had come from outside the Telangana area of the Nizam's dominion, had resided in Hyderabad state for at least fifteen years, and did not intend to return to their previous residence.

The Six Point Formula

Since this new definition disadvantaged most permanent residents in Telangana, parleys soon began between leaders of different political parties in both Andhra and Telangana. A scheme known as the Six Point Formula, presented by K.C. Pant (Government of India Minister of State for Home Affairs) to the Congress members of Parliament belonging to both the regions, gained their approval in September 1973.¹¹⁹ It outlined a strategy for development, a method of recruitment, and a policy for admissions to educational institutions in different regions of the state. It also proposed a machinery for redress of grievances among government employees.

The Constitutional Amendment: The Regionalisation of Opportunity

President's rule was revoked in December 1973. Vengal Rao, who was born in the Andhra region but had been a prominent politician in the adjacent Khamman district of Telangana, became Chief Minister. The first step in giving effect to the Six Point Formula was the Constitution (Thirty Second Amendment) Act passed by the Parliament; it became operative on May 3, 1974. Under the Act the Regional Committee was abolished and the mulki rules ceased

¹¹⁹For the text of the Six Point Formula, see Appendix 1. A statement amplifying the various points was issued on October 22, 1973. See The Hindu, October 23, 1973.

to operate.

A Presidential order in June 1974 defined local candidates and local areas in Andhra Pradesh for purposes of admission to educational institutions. This divided the state into three local areas ¹²⁰ and specified that eighty-five percent of the "available seats" in every course of study in government institutions or universities were to be reserved for local candidates from the area in which the institution was situated.

Parliament enacted the University of Hyderabad Act in early 1974. Under it, admissions to the different faculties of the university would be open to all but in view of its location in the capital, local students would have preferential treatment. Master's degree level courses in about a dozen science subjects were started during 1975-76.

By another Presidential order the administrative tribunal envisaged under the Six Point Formula was constituted in May 1975 to deal with grievances with respect to government appointments, seniority, promotion and other allied matters. Considering such a tribunal unconstitutional and in violation of fundamental rights, some of the employees appealed to the Supreme Court, which has granted a stay.

The President issued still another order in October 1975 providing for organisation of local cadres and regulation of direct recruitment to public employment. The order establishes that each part of the state for which a local cadre has been organised with respect of any category of posts is a separate unit for purposes of recruitment, appointment, discharge, seniority, promotion and transfer, and other such matters. The state is divided into seven zones, two in Telangana, one covering the four Rayalaseema districts,

¹²⁰There are three local areas, one comprising the districts in Telangana region, the other comprising Nellore and the four districts of Rayalaseema, and the third comprising the remaining seven coastal districts.

and three dividing the remaining eight districts. Posts belonging to each of the fifty specified gazetted categories in each department and zone are organised into separate cadres. Each zone is regarded as a local area for direct recruitment to any non-gazetted category of services above that of lower division clerk. Also included were the categories of district administrative officers (tahsildars) and junior engineers. The districts are local areas for direct recruitment to posts in any local cadre under the state government, and posts in any department in the district equivalent to or lower than the category of lower division clerk. Of local cadre posts to be filled by direct recruitment at any time, 80% of lower division clerks, 70% of other non-gazetted categories and 60% of tahsildars and junior engineers are reserved for local candidates; 60% of the posts of civil assistant surgeons under the state government to be filled by direct recruitment at any time are also reserved for local candidates.

Posts in the secretariat, offices of heads of departments, special offices of establishments, state level offices or institutions, major development projects, and police officers of Hyderabad city are not covered by the order.

Organisation of local cadres and regulation of direct recruitment in this way has the effect of diluting the regional identity of employees from the Andhra and Telangana regions. The application of the principle underlying the mulki rules, reserving jobs for "sons of the soil", to the zones and the district may prove beneficial to job seekers from backward areas. The main forces creating agitation in the past, students and non-gazetted employees, have been appeased and divided, so it may be difficult for politicians to stir up antagonism in the future.

Until its abolition by the Constitution (Thirty Second Amendment) Act the Regional Committee for Telangana, by considering itself a protector of

the interests of Telangana people, had in a way preserved the political identity of Telangana. Now it does not exist. To take care of the development needs of the different regions of the state the government has created planning and development boards for Telangana, Rayalaseema and the Circars. Thus, the political identity of the three historical areas is preserved for purposes of economic development except in matters relating to employment. By separating the issue of employment for local people from the issue of regional development the central government hopes to dissipate the demands for separation and maintain a single state.

Appendix 1

SIX-POINT FORMULA

Statement issued by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh
on September 21, 1973.

We have had several discussions with Central leaders as well as amongst ourselves on the problems facing the people of Andhra Pradesh. We are satisfied that the present misgivings about the future of the State can be completely removed on action being taken in accordance with the following principles: -

- (1) Accelerated development of the backward areas of the State and planned development of the State capital with specific resources earmarked for these purposes and appropriate association of representatives of such backward areas in the State Legislature along with other experts in the formulation and monitoring of development schemes for such areas should form the essential part of the developmental strategy of the State. Constitution at the State level of a Planning Board as well as Sub-Committees for different backward areas should be the appropriate instrument for achieving this objective.
- (2) Institution of uniform arrangements throughout the State enabling adequate preference being given to local candidates in the matter of admission to educational institutions and establishment of a new Central University at Hyderabad to augment the existing educational facilities should be the basis of the educational policy of the State.
- (3) Subject to the requirements of the State as a whole, local candidates should be given preference to specified extent in the matter of direct recruitment to (i) non-gazetted posts (other than in the Secretariat, Offices of Heads of Department, other State level offices and institutions and the Hyderabad City Police), and (ii) the posts of Tahsildars, Junior Engineers and Civil Assistant Surgeons. In order to improve their promotion prospects, service cadres should be organised to the extent possible on appropriate local basis upto specified gazetted level, first or second, as may be administratively convenient.
- (4) A high power administrative tribunal should be constituted to deal with the grievances of services regarding appointments, seniority, promotion and other allied matters. The decisions of the Tribunal should ordinarily be binding on the State Government. The constitution of such a tribunal would justify limits on recourse to judiciary in such matters.

- (5) In order that implementation of measures based on the above principles does not give rise to litigation and consequent uncertainty, the Constitution should be suitably amended to the extent necessary, conferring on the President enabling powers in this behalf.
- (6) The above approach would render the continuance of Mulki Rules and Regional Committee unnecessary.

2. We are convinced that the accelerated development of the backward areas and planned development of the State capital are the major factors which will help in successfully implementing the above principles. We would, therefore, urge upon the Central Government to take a generous view in the matter of financial assistance to the State for the development of these areas.

References

- Abdul Waheed Kahn, Mohammed, editor. 1972. Brief History of Andhra Pradesh. Hyderabad: State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
- Abid Hasan, Syed. 1938. Whither Hyderabad.
- Ahmed, Zahir. 1945. Life's Yesteryears: Glimpses of Sir Nizam Jung and His Times. Bombay: Thacker and Company.
- Andhra Pradesh Legislative Congress Party. 1973. The Mulki Rules: Their Genesis and After. Andhra Pradesh.
- Andhra Pradesh Legislature. 1972. Select Documents on Telangana, second edition. Hyderabad.
- Aziz Jung, Nawab. 1909. Khazina-I-Finance Ja Hisab. Hyderabad (1319 Fasli).
- Bawa, Visant Kumar. 1974. "Some problems in the study of Hyderabad State." Itihas 1 (1).
- Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh. 1972. Economic and Statistical Bulletin 16 (3).
- Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh. 1973. Economic and Statistical Bulletin 17 (4).
- Chaudhary, V.C.P. 1964. The Creation of Modern Bihar. Patna: Yogeshwar Prakashan.
- Committee of Jurists. 1969. Report on Telangana Safeguards (Public Employment). New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- Crisis in Andhra Pradesh: From Safeguards to Separation. 1973. Hyderabad: Pemmaraju Publications Private Limited.

- Elliot, Carolyn M. 1974. "Decline of a patrimonial regime: The Telangana rebellion in India, 1946-1951." Journal of Asian Studies 34 (1).
- Fatullah Khan, M. 1935. A History of the Administrative Reforms in Hyderabad State. Secunderabad.
- Government of Hyderabad. 1925. Constitutional Rules of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. Hyderabad: Government Central Press.
- Government of Hyderabad. 1938. Report of the Reform Committee. Hyderabad: Government Central Press.
- Government of Hyderabad. 1953. Report: Inquiry Relating to the Firing in the City of Hyderabad on 3rd and 4th September 1952. Hyderabad: Government Central Press.
- Government of India. 1948. White Paper on Hyderabad. New Delhi.
- Government of India. 1950. White Paper on Indian States. New Delhi.
- Government of India. 1955. Report of the States Reorganization Commission. New Delhi.
- Government of India. 1973. Statistical Abstract, India 1972. New Delhi.
- Hanumantha Rao, Madapati. 1948. Telangana Andhradyamam, Part I. Andhra: Andhra Chandrika Grandha Mala.
- Hyderabad State Committee Appointed for the Compilation of a Freedom Movement in Hyderabad. 1956. The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad. Four volumes. Hyderabad: State Archives.
- Hyderabad Struggle Committee. 1948. The Hyderabad Problem: The Next Step. Hyderabad: The Socialist Party.
- Iswara Dutt, Kunduru. 1963. Prachinandhra Charitraka Bhugolamu. Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academi.

- Janasambadhs Sakha, Government of Andhra Pradesh. 1969. Facts about Telangana. Hyderabad.
- Jiwan Yar Jung Bhadur, Nawab, translator. 1932. My Life: Being the Autobiography of Nawab Server-ul-Mulk Bahadur. London: Arthur H. Stockwell Limited.
- Joshi, P.M., editor. 1975. Studies in the Foreign Relations of India from the Earliest Times to 1947. Hyderabad: State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
- Kesava Iyengar, S. 1951. Rural Enquiries in the Hyderabad State, 1949-51. Hyderabad: Government of Hyderabad.
- Leonard, Karen. 1969. Hyderabad. San Diego: Department of History, University of California San Diego.
- Manzoor Alam, S. and Khan, Waheeduddin. 1972. Metropolitan Hyderabad and Its Region: A Strategy for Development. Bombay: Asian Publishing House.
- Narayana Rao, K.V. 1972. Telangana - A Study in the Regional Committees in India. Calcutta: The Minerva Associates.
- Narayana Rao, K.V. 1973. The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Narayana Reddy, M. 1973. Facts about Mulki Rules. Hyderabad.
- Planning and Panchayati Raj Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh. 1969. Regional Development in Andhra Pradesh. Hyderabad.
- Ramanuja Rao, Devulapalli. 1962. Telugu Seemalo Sanskritika Punarujjivanam.
- Ranga Reddy, K.V. 1967. Sveeya Charitra. Hyderabad.
- Report on the Administration of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominion. 1335 Fasli [6 October 1925 - 5 October 1926]. 1927.

Report on the Administration of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominion. 1348 Fasli
[6 October 1938 - 5 October 1939]. 1941.

Sajanlal, K. 1956. "The Hyderabad Record." The Journal of Deccan History and Culture. July. [Quoted in Hyderabad State Committee, 1956, volume 3, pp. 37-38.]

Salar Jung II. 1866. Confidential Memorandum.

Srikishen, C. 1952. 45 Years a Rebel.

Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh. 1968.

Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh. 1973.

Venkateswara Rao, Adiraju. 1969. The People's Struggle.

Venkateswara Rao, Adiraju. 1970. Telangana Poratam.

Viswanathayah, K.V. 1974. "Public personnel administration - A study of its origin and growth in Mysore State up to 1967." The Indian Journal of Public Administration 20 (1).

Woodcock, George. 1967. Kerala - A Portrait of the Malabar Coast.
London: Faber and Faber.