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Omar **Khalidi**: Hyderabad: After The Fall. Wichita, Kansas: Hyderabad Historical Society, 1988. XIII, 219 p. US\$ 20, – .

“*Kiâ hûâ is shahar kô?*” (What has happened to this town?) is the title of a film¹ documenting the religiously motivated conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad in September 1984. Indeed, the state of affairs in the Deccan has become unstable. Especially since 1978 there had been massive upheavals between both religious groups. The fightings in late 1988 might have been one main motive of O. Khalidi to edit the book under review. The publication was financed by a member of the Qu’aiti family, originating from the Hadhramawt, South Arabia. There had been a migration of Jemenites to Hyderabad since centuries due to existing economic ties between Arabia Felix and South India. The Qu’aitis were in the 18th century enrolled as leading army officers or mercenaries by the *Nizâm* of Hyderabad. Gradually they became influential and could partially hold their positions to the present day. Apparently, it were their stakes that made the edition of the book possible.

O. Khalidi has compiled 12 articles – most of them already appeared in different journals during the 1950s and 1960s – dealing with the history of Hyderabad, its social structure before and after the Indian intervention in 1948, as well as the Muslim desintegration in the Deccan. Following the chronological way in which the book compiles the articles, its content can be summarized thus:

Prof. W.C. Smith [1950]² gives a socio-historical background of Hyderabad, highlighting the Muslim dominance – specially in the fields of politics, higher and lower administration, education and trade – over the Hindu majority which consisted mostly of lawyers and peasants. The cultural heterogeneity was manifest in the Muslim’s orientation towards the Muslim World and the Hindus’ orientation towards India. The Muslim political hegemony cristalized in the *Nizâm*’s refusal to accept Hyderabad to be part of the India Union in 1947. In spite of the support of the *Maylis-e Ittihâd al-Muslimîn*³ and some communist groups, the *Nizâm*’s stand for autonomy could not encounter the Indian intervention. Hyderabad was conquered by the Indian army in September 1948. The integration of Muslims into the sovereign, Hindu dominated nation was, however, possible only partially: The main problem for the Muslims was not of being treated unjust but “the difficulty of building up for themselves any status at all”. (p. 23) The desorien-

¹ Directed by Deepa Dhanraj; commentry by Keshav Rao Jadav; production by Deccan Development Society, Hyderabad 1986.

² The figures in parentheses indicate the date of the article’s publication.

³ For this movement refer also Bernstorff, Dagmar (ed.): *Wahlkampf in Indien*, Düsseldorf 1971, pp. 46 ff.

tation was accompanied by a spiritual crisis, resulting from "the impact of an assimilated modernity or an old-world way of life and its *Weltanschauung*; and the loss of power" (p. 24). Thus, the article's title is "Hyderabad: Muslim Tragedy".

Mir Laiq Ali, President of the *Nizām* Executive Council, 1947–48 (Cabinett of the *Nizām*) narrates „The five day war” for Hyderabad in a detailed account [1962]. After giving an overview of the strategical and topographical situation of Hyderabad and its infrastructure, he documents its military potential stating the desolate organization of its army. In spite of the *Radākār*'s support (*Majlis-e Itihād al-Muslimin*) the Indian army got hold of the city in only five days. However, the Hyderabad issue was put before the United Nation Security Council, because the Indian intervention had ignored Hyderabad's sovereignty.

"The case of Hyderabad before the Security Council" is documented by Prof. Clyde Eagleton [1950]. According to the "standstill agreement" between the *Nizām* and the Indian Government on 27th Nov. 1947 only Hyderabad's external relations were to be regulated by Delhi. While the *Nizām*'s delegate to the Council argued that India had denied the principles of independence and equality as laid down in the Charter, India was of the view that Hyderabad had never been independent but it had been under "paramountcy" of the Britians. However, the paramountcy of states was not given to India through the Government of India Act 1935. Moreover, other "official statements show that the intention of the British Government was that the Princely States should be left free to join either India or Pakistan, or to remain independent" (p. 69). However, the Indian Government argued that their army had attacked because the *Nizām* "had become 'not a free agent, but a person under the control of a set of gangsters'" (i.e. *Radākārs*; J.M.) (p. 76). Documenting the discussion in the Security Council, Eagleton states that it kept "the matter indefinitely upon its agenda with no intention of acting upon it" and concludes that this only can darken still more the reputation of the Council although the "legal rights were embarrassingly clear". (p. 88) The historian Zubaida Yazdani deals with "The End of an Era" [1985] summarizing the changes that took place at the highest level in administration after the military takeover in 1948. According to an agreement signed between the Indian Government and the *Nizām* in 1950, the latter was guaranteed a handsome rent and his property as well as all privileges for him and his family and the "succession according to laws and customs of the gaddi (throne; J.M.) of the state" secured. After some landreforms and the nationalization of infrastructure and communication, Hyderabad was merged into the new linguistic province of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. The *Nizām* himself stayed as an "ornamental figurehead" who finally died in 1967.

An original contribution to the book is the editing of "A Report on the Post-Operation Polo Massacres, Rape, and Destruction or Seizure of property in Hyderabad State", based on a survey conducted in Nov./Dec. 1948 (Urdu/English) by P. Sundarlal and Q. Muhammad Abdulghaffar. This report was, however, "suppressed and never allowed to be made public" (p. 98). Although it had had official character, it was later declared unofficial by Patel, probably because of its outcome: Different localities were surveyed and details about the victims furnished. It was stated that only Muslims suffered from the discriminatory and plundering aggression. One might call it – as Khalidi does – a pogrom (p. 95). Zahir Ahmad, a civil servant and diplomat, in a very personal account, gives a picture of the desorientation prevalent among the Muslim community – specially the upper class – in "Hyderabad on the Eve of the States' Reorganization in 1956" [1965].

The first of two articles by the political scientist Theodore P. Wright Jr. documents the "Revival of the Majlis Ittihad-ul-Muslimin of Hyderabad" [1963]. This movement became popular in spite of the resistance of *Congress* and *Jam'iyat al-'Ulamā'-e Hind* because they regarded the *Majlis* as communal. Created in 1927 as a religious cultural movement, it became political during the 1930s and 1940s. After its defunction in 1948, it was revived by the end of the 1950s. Wright opines that it was the coalition of the *Congress* with the *Muslim League* on the one hand and the frustration of the Muslims on account of the miserable economic situation on the other that made the political revival possible. After documenting the programme of the *Majlis*, the author states that it could not gain support in the 1962 elections due to internal differences.

In his "National integration and Modern Judicial Procedure in India: The Dar us-Salam Case" [1966] Prof. Wright advocates a solution of problems in a complex society through traditional community methods of arbitration rather than solution through political systems.

Prof. Rashiduddin Khan opines in his "Major Aspects of Muslim Problem in Hyderabad" [1971] that "the end of the Nizam's suzerainty was also the death-knell of the dominance of Muslims in those sectors of employment in which for generations they enjoyed a near-monopoly" (p. 150). With the annexion there was a brain-drain on account of migration to Pakistan, leaving un-skilled in Hyderabad. The situation became more crucial with the slow elimination of Urdu which "is taken by the bulk of the Urdu-speaking Muslims as a 'grand design' of the fanatical sections of the majority community that is trying to subvert the very foundations of an important segment of Muslim culture in India". (p. 154) Accordingly, Muslim participation in State legislature and Parliament is not proportional to the Muslim population and finally gives "undue weight to the community-oriented Majlis as the articulator of the demands of the bulk of Muslims, which then naturally acquire a negative slant". (p. 155)

"The Muslim Community in Bidar since 1948" is focused by Prof. Ratna Naidu [1972]. This microstudy of a ruling Muslim minority finds the situation of Muslims becoming worse due to the bad education system and because of a shift in the criterias for upwards mobility. The Government seems uninterested in improving their situation. On the contrary, the education policy is based on communal lines, resulting in little cultural inter-action. "... whereas the government bends over backward to help and give prominent positions to a few qualified Muslims, there is in fact no consciously thought-out policy for the masses of Muslims who continue to be socialized to a mediaeval [sic!] world" (p. 172). The anthropologist and administrator Akbar S. Ahmad sheds light upon the "Muslim Society in South India: The Case of Hyderabad" [1985]. He observes that the Muslim society is mostly viewed from a North Indian perspective while the South is regarded as an "appendix". Historically, there was a predominant cultural synthesis between Hindus and Muslims in the South, while communal riots were a pretty new phenomenon. In contrast to that the Hyderabadis – since the 19th century – suffer from an "Andalus syndrome ... yearning for a past that is dead but will not be buried, a fear of an uncertain future which is still to be born" (p. 174). After giving a concise history of Muslims in the Deccan and the role of Urdu, Ahmad argues that after the "Police Action 1948" many of the middle class migrated to Pakistan, while many peasants, both Muslims and Hindus, came to Hyderabad city. The settlers began to regard the *mulkis* (Hyderabadis) as exploitive, creating a new substrat for com-

munal tension. The increasing number of riots has its roots in socio-economic realities: Employment opportunities in Arab countries have brought about new social problems, since Muslim households now show up with luxury goods, while they also sell their daughters to Arabs. This has created jealousy among the Hindus. He concludes that "contemporary Indian society . . . is fast becoming an anarchy" (p. 186).

Usama Khalidi tells the story "From Osmania to Birla Mandir: An Uneasy Journey" starting from the modernization period in Hyderabad which she puts around 1917. While modern forces mostly hailed from the *Shi'ites* the traditional forces were among the *mashâ'ikh*. The former could push through their interests mainly through the media, however, a great part of them migrated to Pakistan leaving a desolate situation behind. This was taken up by the *Tablighi Jamâ'at*,⁴ which then became popular. Since the 1970s the author witnesses once again a heavy exodus of brain and brawn to the Persian Gulf, USA and Europe. The remittances are used to acquire luxury goods while women are married to Arabs. A new phenomenon in Hyderabad is the increase of female working enhancing the economic status of Muslims.

Finally, the editor gives a bibliographic essay: "The 1948 Military Operation and its Afermath" which is very useful for further study, comprising also the latest publications on the topic.

Summing up, O. Khalidi has done good work bringing different aspects of Hyderabad together in one book thus providing insight into a current problem: The Muslim minority in India. However, as frequently found in edited books, the academic weight of the individual contributions varies. Next to well researched articles one may find f.e. eye witness accounts. Some voices of "victimized" Hindus would have made the book more comprehensive.

A minor critic could be the difference in lay-outs of the articles resulting from the mere compilation and reprint, the lack of maps, index and sources – specially in the case of statistical data – as well as of explanations of abbreviations, some printing mistakes and the incoherent transcription. As the motive of the publication seems to have been the latest riots in Hyderabad, an analysis of these developments could have enriched the volume. Neither has there been any attempt to comment on the ties with the Islamic World via the influence of international Islamic organizations. By not doing so, the editor re-establishes the already existing isolation of Indian Muslims in general and South Indian Muslims in particular.

Nevertheless, the book is worthwhile reading, especially for those among the Islamists, for whom Islam begins with the Prophet and ends with Khumayni, diachronically as well as synchronically. It provides information on a hitherto highly neglected area: Muslim India.

J. Malik, Heidelberg

⁴ Established by Muhammad Idrîs Kândhelwî (d. 1944) near Meewat in India.