

ACCESSION OF HYDERABAD STATE TO THE
INDIAN UNION - A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL
AND PRESSURE GROUPS : 1945 - 1948

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This is to certify that I, T. UMA have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other university.

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PREFACE

The euphoria of India attaining independence from the British proved short-lived because there were many problems which confronted independent India. One important problem was the integration of the princely states to the Indian Union. The stand of the ruler of Hyderabad, one of the largest princely states in India would certainly have an impact on India.

At the time of Independence, there were about 500 princely states in the Union of India covering nearly two-fifth of the area of the country and inhabited by 90 million people. When the call was given by the Union Government for the princely states to join the Indian Union, called the 'Instrument of Accession', most of them did not mind signing it and surrendering to the control of the central authority over the three areas of defense, external affairs and communication because they were only surrendering what they never had. Sardar Patel, India's first Deputy Prime Minister had to play a very tactful and diplomatic game with regard to the states accession because it was thought that resorting to military force might not produce the desired results.

The three princely states, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh however refused to join the Indian Union. Mir Osman Ali Khan, seventh in line to succeeded as Nizam of Hyderabad on 29th August 1911 issued a *firman* on 3rd June, 1947 stating that he would not send any representation to the Indian or Pakistani Constituent Assembly but would remain independent.

Hyderabad, at that time, had a population of 17 million with an area of 82,000 square miles. Though 85% of the population in Hyderabad were Hindus, all the important posts of administration were occupied by Muslims. The Sardar urged the Nizam to conduct a referendum, but the Nizam refused, succumbing to the pressures of Ittchad-ul-Muslimeen, a group which spearheaded the anti-integration movement. The Indian leaders decided to be very firm. Pandit Nehru declared that no independent state could desire to have foreign territory right in its very heart. By and large the people of Hyderabad were also keen on joining the Indian Union. They voiced their opinion under the banner of the Hyderabad State Congress. They wanted freedom with any "quotation marks". They wanted the feudal, autocratic state of Hyderabad to be changed into a democratic, progressive and prosperous state. But the Razakkars, led by Kasim Razvi, wanted to give the struggle a communal character by asking the Muslims to be prepared for any sacrifice. There were clashes between the Razakkars and the Congress workers. The Hyderabad government banned the hoisting of the Union flag on Independence Day.

During this time, an important feature which dominated the socio-economic life of the people of Hyderabad, especially in Telangana, was feudal exploitation. During the period, 1940-42 the Andhra Maha Sabha joined hands with the communist movement and they became transformed into an anti-Nizam united mass militant organization. They led the youth, the peasants, the traders, the manufacturers and the middle classes. The masses responded enthusiastically to the Telangana movement. It shook the very foundation of the Nizam's rule itself.

On the other hand, the Razakkar army was formed under the leadership of Kasim Razvi. They raised the slogan of 'Azad Hyderabad'. When the union

government realized that no amicable settlement could be reached, they decided upon military intervention to force the Nizam to accede to the Indian Union.

The Police Action which was christened 'Operation Polo' was successfully conducted on 13th September, 1948. Consequently, Hyderabad became a part of the Indian Union. Major General Choudhary who completed the Police Action became the military governor of Hyderabad till 1949. In 1950, a civil servant, M.A.Velodi, I.C.S., became the Chief Minister and the Nizam was designated the Raj Pramukh.

The present study aims at analyzing the integration of Hyderabad State to the Indian Union. Studies on the administration, industrial and agrarian relations and management of civil service, etc have been attempted by various scholars. But the present study seeks to highlight primarily the role of the Nizam vis-a-vis the British government and the Indian Union. The study is also aimed at finding out the exact nature of the entire process of accession, the socio-economic group involved, the strength and weakness of the Nizam's administration as well as the impact of the Telangana Armed Struggle. The study is limited to the period between 1945-48. The study extends upto 1948, the year of the Police Action in Hyderabad.

This study endeavors to seek answers to the following hypothetical questions:

1. Why was the Union government so keen on the accession of the princely states to the Union and what did they hope to achieve through it?
2. What were the forces, which exerted pressure on the Nizam to remain independent, and what methods did they adopt for doing so?

3. What attempts were made by the Nizam to get external help to achieve his objective?
4. Did the Nizam feel that he could resolve the problem in his favor if he referred the matter to the UNO?
5. Were all the Muslims in the state in favor of an independent Hyderabad state?
6. Why did the growing bourgeoisie and peasant class want a replacement of the Nizam's government?
7. Did the Police Action in Hyderabad bring the much desired peace and tranquility?

There have been a number of well-known historians who have enriched the writings of the history of Hyderabad. It is interesting to note that most of the books written on Hyderabad are not published by Hyderabadis living in India.

Regarding the question on the status of Hyderabad State in India, well-known books like K.M.Panikkar's, *Indian States and Government of India*, Lee Warner's, *Native States of India*, Robin Jeffery's (ed), *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States* and V.P.Menon's, *The Transfer of Power in India*, are of immense value. All of them have enumerated the status of a native state mentioning even the status of Hyderabad.

A review of the Urdu books written and published in Pakistan also throws a lot of light on the history of Hyderabad during the period of the last Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan. The most important among them are Ibrahim Jalees', *Do Mulk Ek Kahani*, and Mushtaq Ahmed Khan's, *Hyderabad Ke Zawal Ki Vnkahi Dastan*. The impression one gets from these works is that the Majlis and Nizam's effort to assert Hyderabad's

independence proved a failure and the State itself collapsed due to the idiosyncratic leadership of the Majlis chief, Kasim Razvi as well as the seventh Nizam. Another interesting work is *Musahidat* (Observation) by Hosh Bilgrami who was the Private Secretary to Mir Osman Ali Khan. It covers the events of Hyderabad during the last ten years of the Nizam's reign. Although he was always known as a courtier who was a flatterer of the ruler, his account is critical of Osman Ali Khan and he holds the Nizam and the Majlis jointly responsible for the collapse of his kingdom. The Nawab of Chattari's book in Urdu titled, *Yaad -I-Ayyam*, in three volumes holds the Majlis responsible for the collapse and he is less critical of the Nizam.

Birkenhead's book "*The life of Sir Walter Monckton of Brenchley*, London, 1969, explains the influence of Walter Monckton as chief advisor to Nizam. He says Sir Walter tried to steer the Nizam away from the alliance with the Majlis. His loyalties were to the State's interests and not to any particular ideology.

The Indian accounts of Hyderabad also have a mine of information and are focused on matters they considered most important during the period of the Nizam's rule. K.M.Munshi's, *End of an Era*, Bombay, 1957 gives a detailed account of how the Nizam was so suspicious of him and he also writes on the influence of Razakkars on the Nizam's government.

Sardar Patel's, *Select Correspondence, 1945-50, Volume I and II*, Ahmedabad 1977, gives a vivid picture of the deteriorating condition in Hyderabad state which warranted the Police Action in Hyderabad.

The '*Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*' Volume III and IV ed. by Ramesan and the *Highlights of Freedom Struggle* by Sarojini Regani are compilations of source material which also bring to notice the materials in the State Archives. They have a nationalistic view and are quite critical of the Nizam's government while explaining the events leading to the Police Action. Also holding nationalist views are the books *Memoirs of the Hyderabad Freedom Struggle*. Bombay, 1967 by Swami Ramananda Thirtha and V.H.Desai's *Vandemataram to Jana Gana Manu, Saga of Hyderabad Freedom Struggle*, Bombay 1990. They are very useful since they give a first hand account of the events that unfolded in the drama of Hyderabad's freedom struggle. They also contain interesting statistics and documents on the birth and growth of communalism and list of Legislative Councils and educational pattern in Hyderabad State.

Omar Khalidi's works *Hyderabad after the Fall, Hyderabad State under the Nizams 1724-1948* and *Bibliography of British Residents in Hyderabad* is an invaluable account of Hyderabad history. The articles in *Hyderabad after the Fall* narrate the Hyderabad's experience immediately after the 1948 military operations. His books give an insight into the Muslim society in Hyderabad.

There are also a host of writers writing on Telangana Armed Struggle in the Nizam's State both in English and Telugu. P.Sundarayya's *Telangana People's Struggle and its Lessons*, Calcutta, 1972, B.Narsing Rao's *Telangana - The Era of Mass Politics*, Hyderabad, 1983, Barry Pavier's *Telangana Movement 1944-51*, Ravi Narayan Reddy's *Heroic Telangana* are but few of the accounts of the heroic struggle of peasants against the feudalistic pattern in Hyderabad State nurtured by the Nizam's government.

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru edited by N.Gopal is an eye-opener to the carefully thought of and planned Police Action in Hyderabad.

Narendra Luther's *Memoirs of a City*, Hyderabad, 1995 combines the sweep of popular history with the rigour of historiography. The author has revived some of the faded dreams of the old Hyderabadis and stirred the memories of a bygone era. It highlights the role of different people involved in the struggles of the former Hyderabad State.

Ian Austin's, *City of Legends*, truly gives a legendary tale revolving around the personalities who shaped the destiny of Hyderabad. *Hyderabad - 400- Saga of a City* ed. K.S.S. Seshan. Contains papers showing the currents and cross currents in the Political, Religious, Socio - Cultural , Economic, Administrative and Educational life of the people. It also reflects the composite Culture resulting from the interaction between the native and non-native cultures in a multi lingual setting.

V.K.Bawa, the administrator turned historian in his book, *Nizam between the Mughals and the British* highlights the role of Salar Jung as an administrator and the role of the Nizam vis-a-vis the Mughals and the British. *The Last Nizam* by the same author throws light on the historical developments that took place during Osman Ali Khan's reign. He highlights the constitutional and administrative changes in the Nizam's State and how the state could not survive in the face of democracy.

One of the latest books written on Hyderabad history is *The End of Patrimonialism - Politics and Political Culture in Hyderabad 1911-1948* by Margrit Pernair. The book focuses on the rule of the seventh Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, from 1911-1948, and

on the role of the social and political elites in the State. Its objective is to study social action and its values within the framework of the State, and the rules by which the games were played in it.

Another interesting work is Lucien Benichou's book, *From Autocracy to Integration*. His account of the role of Walter Monckton, constitutional adviser to the Nizam is also interesting. According to him, Monckton advised that Hyderabad should reach out for a treaty with India to diffuse the situation after the Indian Independence.

Bilquis Alladin's book '*For The Love Of A Begum*' is an interesting account of the relationship between the British Residents and the Nizams. It brings out the romance between the British Resident, Kirkpatrick and the daughter of a Muslim noble man, Khairunissa, which has evinced keen interest on further study and writings in this period. Though not historically sound, it provides interesting reading to a layman.

William Dalrymple's *White Mughals* is a historical thriller based on the love affair between James Achilles Kirkpatrick, the British Resident at the court of the Nizams from 1798-1805 and the beautiful Khairunissa from the Nizam's court. The author tells the tale of the Englishman who adopted the Muslim way of life after converting to Islam for the love of his begum. His book has generated a renewed interest especially in the British Residency (now Women's College Koti) to restore it to its former condition.

There are also some Ph.D dissertations submitted by different research scholars of History, Saidulu in his M.Phil dissertation stressed on irrigational systems in the Hyderabad State. V.Ramakrishna Reddy has also written on the economic history of

Hyderabad with special reference to Warangal Subha between 1911 and 1950. T. Uma gave detail account of the "British Residents in Hyderabad" during the period 1800-1911, in her M.Phil dissertation, titled, British Diplomacy in Hyderabad.

The present study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter I deals with the circumstances leading to the foundation of the Hyderabad State. The different influences on the seven Nizams who ruled over Hyderabad, starting with the power of the British Resident and ending with Osman Ali Khan's 'Corterie' till September 1948. Chapter II highlights the events that led to the political awakening in Telangana State. The state of Hyderabad was lagging behind in political consciousness compared to Andhra due to several factors. Prominent among them being the feudal and autocratic rule of the Nizam. The Nizam Andhra Maha Sabha was established with the aim of opening the eyes of the people to the prevailing conditions. It aimed at a social economic and political revival and became a precursor to the establishment of the Hyderabad State Congress, which continued the good work begun by the Sabha. The Hyderabad State Congress though bogged down with many restrictions on it by the Nizam's Government, including the ban since its inception, did yeomen service in bringing about the political awakening. It was very clear in its stand on Hyderabad joining the Indian Union after Independence and achieved its goal. It was fortunate to have the services of many able leaders who guided the political destinies of Hyderabad efficiently.

In the feudal state of the Nizam, a number of evils prevailed like the Jagirdari System. The system of forced labour was intolerable and it made the life of the Telangana people one of utter degradation and the movement for its abolition became wide spread. The leadership for this movement was given by the Communists who emerged as a force to reckon with from the 1940's. They systematically worked for

creating an awareness and unity among the peasants, provided the protection they needed from their cruel masters and later from the Razakkars. When the Nizam preferred to ignore the movement, it gave a fillip to intensify the peoples struggle. Chapter III deals with the Peasants Armed Struggle under the leadership of the Communists and how they became a powerful force that could not be ignored.

The rise of the Razakkars gives a new turn to the history of Nizam's rule in Hyderabad. They were the military wing of the Ittehad - ul Muslimeen established to bring about initially unity among the Muslims. In course of time the Razakkars under Kasim Razvi, an intelligent lawyer from Lattur turned communal leader, whipped the communal passions of the Muslims and added a new dimension to Hyderabad politics. They were allowed to grow to such an extent that they could not be contained even by the ruler. The Nizam came under their influence and took a stand which lead to his doom. The Police Action led to the dismemberment of the Razakkars. Chapter IV deals with the role and influence of the Razakkars .

Chapter V explains the circumstances which led to the growth of the Arya Samaj movement in Hyderabad and their role in countering the unjust rule perpetrated by the Nizam. The Arya Samaj was a strong movement which was started in the late 19th Century. It was intended not only for reform but also a revival in the Hindu society. They were clear in their ideology of not tolerating any atrocities committed on Hindus who were the majority by the minority. They turned militant while expressing their protest to the oppressive Muslim rule. They made public the glaring inequalities and preferences in the Nizam's rule. Their protests led to many communal riots and

loss of many innocent lives. Through all these trials and sacrifices, they were determined to continue their struggle against injustice.

The VI Chapter deals with the events leading to the Police Action. When the British left the shores of Independent India leaving it divided into two sovereign states, there were other great problems in store for new India. The greatest problem was the native states which refused to accede to the union, one of them being Hyderabad. The Nizam who was under the influence of the Razakkars announced that he wished to remain independent of India. When every diplomatic and peaceful method failed to make the Nizam see reason, the Union Government realized that there was no option left but to conduct military action on September 13th, 1948. The Operation Polo and its effects are explained in this chapter.

Chapter VII is in the form of summary and conclusion.

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My discussion with people from different walks of life who witnessed the Police Action was also very enlightening and added a special dimension to the picture of Police Action days in Hyderabad. My thanks to all of them who spared their valuable time.

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Independence of India marked that end of a long night of slavery under the British, but it was the beginning of a new effort among the people of Hyderabad state whose ruler laid a claim to independence. At the time of Indian Independence and the division of the country into India and Pakistan, the princely states numbering about 600 were expected to join the Indian Union. Many did so, including Mysore, Baroda and Gwalior, but the Nizam of Hyderabad took a different stand. The ferment that was created led to the people's struggle. This movement culminated in the Police Action in Hyderabad in 1948 leading to integration of Hyderabad state to the Indian Union. The period from August 1947 to September 1948 was a period of all shades of nationalist opinion.

The city of Hyderabad founded in 1591 by the fifth Qutub Shahi ruler, Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah played a remarkable role as the largest princely state in India. The erstwhile Nizam's dominion of Hyderabad comprised of the present day Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh, the districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur in Karnataka and the Marathwada region, comprising of Mannad, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Barsi, Nanded, Sholapur, Oamanabad and Akalkot of Maharashtra. The state was an extensive plateau with an average elevation of about 12,00 feet. The dominions farmed a lateral square situated between 15°10' and 21°50' north latitude and between 74°45' and 81°35' east longitude¹. A trigonometrical survey of the region shows the area to be 97,837 square miles. Its area is more than that of England and Scotland put together, equal to that of France and five times that of Switzerland. The length of the State from east to west is 456 miles. Its breadth from north to south is 384 miles. It has an average elevation of 1,250 feet and is intersected by ranges of hills with summits rising from 2,500 ft. to 3,500 ft. The surface of the country has a general slope from north to south-east.²

¹ Some Aspects of Hyderabad in Indian Historical Records Commission, 30th Session, Hyderabad, 1954. P21

² Administrative report of this Highness the Nizam's Dominions for 1294 fasli (1883-85) in Andhra Pradesh State gazetteers Office, Hyderabad.

The history of Asaf Jahi rule in Hyderabad begins with Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I (1724-48) who was one of the strongest personalities to emerge during the chaotic period following the decline of the Mughal power after the death of Aurangzeb. He held the position as Subedhar of Deccan in 1713 but was recalled to Delhi within two years.

In 1720 during Faukh Siyar's reign, he was sent to Malwa as a Subedhar but soon managed to find a band of faithful adherents and set himself up as Viceroy of Deccan. He was recalled again to Delhi within a year. In 1724, he fought and killed Mubariz Khan, the former Subedhar of Hyderabad. He declared himself the ruler of independent State of Hyderabad and the Mughal Emperor conferred on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. By the time of his death in 1748, the 1st Nizam had left the impress of his personality on the affairs of South. He succeeded by his son Nizam Ali. Between 1798 and 1800 the British persuaded the second Nizam to enter into the Subsidiary Alliance Treaty under which the British were allowed to station a permanent armed force in Secunderabad, ostensibly to protect the Nizam from his internal and external enemies, but actually to keep him and his court in a permanent State of subjection to the British, by then the ascending power in India. Thus the Nizam had no say on matters of war and peace. By signing another treaty of 1802, Nizam Ali Khan further empowered the British to trade freely in Nizam's dominions. The British Resident stationed at Hyderabad was the virtual ruler, whereas the Nizam acted as a mere nominal head of the State. The Nizam had no power to even select his own Prime Ministers who was often appointed on the whims of the British. The political compulsions and administrative constraints resulted in serious financial crisis in the state which staggered under the heavy debts payable to the East India Company.

The Resident was sent to maintain friendly relations between the British and the Nizam and at the same time to keep a watchful eye on the Nizam's relationship with other European power, the French and native powers like the Marathas and the rulers of Mysore. The Residents influence was such that in due course he penetrated into almost

every aspect of the Nizam's Government, reducing the Nizam finally to a nominal ruler. The first British Resident to arrive in Hyderabad was John Holland in 1779. But the sixth Resident, James Achilles Kirkpatrick's eight-year term (1798-1805) in Hyderabad is considered the most eventful. The authority of the Resident grew as the company's power to interfere in the administration of the State grew. The Nizam was therefore slowly drawn consciously or unconsciously into the gambit of British Imperialism.

In course of time the Resident's relation with the Nizam was not strictly political. They freely mingled with the upper class natives and also managed to impose some of their English Customs in the society. Captain James Achilles Krikpatrick who got the magnificent Residency built, took a Hyderabad Muslim bride Khairunissa³. He married her according to Muslim ritual and brought her to the Residency and built the Rang Mahal for her. Prior to 1800, the Residents were accommodated in one of the houses of a noble. Kirkpatrick got the permission to construct a permanent building. He was given a sixty-acre site on the river Musi by the Nizam for the construction of a new house. Kirkpatrick ran into problems for such was the frightening proportions of the plan that the Nizam on examining it, went away from the durbar agitated, for the plan for "the house was as large as the Nizam's Kingdom itself!" Later, on the advice of the minister, Meer Alum, Kirkpatrick presented the same plan on a smaller card to the Nizam who immediately signed with relief and gave his approval⁴. Phillip Davies in his book remarks that the Residency was an architectural expression of supreme power for political ends. "The Resident's authority must either be seen as it must be felt".⁵ The life of the Resident equaled the pomp of the local nobility. If the Residents imitated the lives

³ The Kirkpatrick - Khairunissa romance has suddenly come alive with the publishing of the book *White Mughals* by William Dalrymple. The setting of *White Mughals* is the British Residency now housing Osmania University's Women's College. The book has generated a renewed interest in the building and work has been started to restore the building to its former condition. While in the city recently, the author was quoted in *The Hindu* 26th November 2002 as saying that "He marvels so little has been written about Hyderabad. Nowhere else in India has the past been more neglected as in Hyderabad." He cites the destruction of large fund of material from the A.P.State Archives (damaged by rain) and the public neglect of Raymond's tomb (Saroornagar) as examples of indifference to heritage. According to him, Jagdish Mittal's exquisite collection of Mughal and Asaf Jahi miniatures and illuminated manuscripts were reportedly turned down by Salar Jung Museum. He says, "I am hoping the book will atleast generate some interest in restoring and maintaining some of these monuments and records."

⁴ M.G. Briggs, *The Nizam -His History and Relations with the British Government*, Vol.11, Delhi, 1985 P.P.69-70.

of the Hyderabad nobility, the nobility too mimicked the life of the British Resident in course of time. This included the western style of dressing, the western food that became part of the cooking routine in the households, buying of horses and carriages, even western modes of greeting and entertainment. Kirkpatrick who mingled with the locals freely transformed protocol from cold diplomacy to an intimate relationship with the durbar. His understanding of the local traditions and use of colloquial expressions were remarkable. On one occasion when the successor of Nizam Ali Sikhandar Jah was seriously ill, he passed a bag of one thousand rupees thrice around the head of His Highness very much like a Hyderabadi to ward off the malevolent eye.

But it was this British institution that destroyed the dignity and vitality of the State. The Resident's imperialism was evident in his interference in the succession of the Nizams, in the appointment of the Diwans and in every little aspect of the administration of the State. In course of time the public began to attribute every action of the Nizam to the sinister advice of the Resident who was being called, in a rare case of bad manners of the Hyderabadi, "Kothi Ka Salaah". Dr.Ashwin K. Bakshi who has done a Doctoral work on Residency says, that the power behind the throne in the Nizam era was not any Begum, but a white man with a changing name.⁶

By mid 17th century, Hyderabad was at the height of its glory. It was a city beyond compare. Tavernier and Thevenot, European travelers who had visited most of the important cities of India including Shahjanabad and Akbarabad in the Mogul empire lavished undiluted praise on Hyderabad. Even Moghul historians described Hyderabad as a resort of heavenly peace and worldly comfort. The affluence is evident from the observation of Tavernier and Thevenot who report of 30,000 dancing girls registered on the municipal rolls and mention an annuity of over 3 'A lakh towards their welfare.⁷

⁵ Phillip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj-British Architecture in India* - 1660 - 1947, London, 1985, p-95.

⁶ Ashovin K. Bakshi, Deccan Chronicle dated 15th May, 1997 P7

⁷ Deccan Chronicle, May 1, 1997 p.5

Tavernier, a jeweler by profession was amazed at the great wealth of the Golconda Sultans. Bernier, another famous French traveller who visited several parts of Moghul India between 1656 and 1668 found Hyderabad to be one of the most beautiful cities in the east. Count Modave visited India three times between 1757 and 1777. He describes at length the city of Hyderabad. He says regarding customs,

"I have not seen any city where the customs of the capital of the empire (i.e. Delhi) more carefully followed than in the case of this one".⁸

The development of the British Indian history would have been entirely different if these princes had not extended their help to the British during those fateful days of the 'Mutiny'. They not only supplied men and money and provided shelter to British fugitives; in many cases they directly participated in the field against the enemy. Lord Canning was so impressed by their loyalty and devotion that he described these princes, as a :

"Breakwater to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave".⁹

The strong British connection and influence slowly alienated the Nizam and the nobles from the common man. Another important factor of alienation was the economic conditions prevailing in the State of Hyderabad.

The princely state of Hyderabad with indirect British rule retained its ruling class. The ruling class was based on the Jagirdari System of the Mughal empire. Jagirs were given to nobles and other leading servants of the ruling dynasty. Although they were supposed to be transferable they soon became hereditary. Their administration was uniformly inefficient due to the system of absentee landlords and scattered nature of the Jagirs. The initiative of the Jagirdars was snatched by another landlord group-deshmukhs

⁸ K.S.S. Seshan, "Hyderabad as seen by the French Traveller, Count Modave" in K.S.S. Seshan ed. *Hyderabad-400 Saga of a City*. Hyderabad, 1993. P.54.

and they became the main base of the rural economy. The deshmukhs often owned thousands of acres of land. Most of their land was either let out on tenancy or remained fallow. The Deshmukhs combined money lending with landlordism. Their role became more important with the introduction of the requirement that land revenue must be paid in cash. The life and activities of the deshmukhs created hatred among the lesser peasants and created a grave situation. The economy was further worsened with the advent of the World War II. "Total victory, unconditional surrender and destruction of your opponents economy was the war aims of 1939-45". Certain sections of the economy were developed to meet the special needs of the war which others were allowed to decay.¹¹ The peasant always had the feeling that the Government was promoting the exploiter at the expense of exploited.

The representative body like the Chamber of Princes, (composed of representatives of small states), which was set up as a result of the Montague Chelmsford Reforms had no impact on the Nizam, Osman Ali Khan. He simply ignored it.

Osman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII, the last of the Nizams was born on April 6, 1886 in Hyderabad and was destined to rule his Kingdom through two World Wars, the greatest upheaval India had ever experienced. He was Mahboob Ali Khan's second child and was the Seventh Nizam. Osman Ali Khan was quite unlike his predecessors, especially the immediate one, the charismatic Mahboob Ali Pasha. In contrast to his father, Osman Ali Khan was a sober power politician, who could neither charm the masses nor the historians. The unhappy end of his reign, comprising the rule of the radical Muslim party, Ittehad-ul -Muslimeen, the Communist uprising in Telangana and the military confrontation with the Indian Union, may have contributed to the fact that this epoch to a large extent is still waiting for adequate historiographical treatment.

¹ Raj Kumar Preeth & Rameswari Devi, *British colonial policy towards Indian States*. p.2.

¹⁰ Barry Pavier, *The Telangana Movement - 1944-51*, New Delhi, 1981. p4.

¹ *Ibid*.p.32

Once it became clear that the British were leaving India, the Nizam of Hyderabad was getting ready to declare himself independent of Indian Union. But a definition of an Indian State during British rule never stressed on the concept of independence of a State. An official definition of Indian States is to be found in the third schedule of Indian Act No.VII of 1871, in which it has been defined,

"As any state in India which is under the protection as political control of the Majesty's Government or of which the Government has acknowledged the supremacy of the British Crown"¹²

When Hyderabad went on appeal to the Security Council of U.N. regarding her station on remaining independent of India, the representatives of India argued that the complaint of Hyderabad was not an international question and that it was a domestic question. They affirmed that Hyderabad was a part of India and the Security Council should therefore not hear the complaint of Hyderabad.

The intention of the British Government was that the Princely States should be left free to join either with India or Pakistan, or to remain Independent, though with such statements there was usually coupled the fervent hope that these states would choose to join with one or other of the two new dominions. Prime Minister Atlee, on July 10, 1947 made a statement thus;

"With the ending of the treaties and agreements, the states regain their independence. But they are part of geographical India, and their rulers and peoples are imbibed with a patriotism no less great than that of their fellow Indians in British India. It would I think be unfortunate if, owing to the formal severance of their paramountcy relations with the crown, they were to be islands cut off from the rest of India."¹³

Raj Kumar Preeth and Rameswari Devi, *Op.Cit*; p.1

¹³ Clyde Eagleton, "The case of Hyderabad before the Security Council" in ed. Omar Khalidi (ed)*Hyderabad After the fall*. Kansas, 1988, p.70

The attitude of Hyderabad towards Accession

Even before the Indian Independence Act went into force, Hyderabad had been considering becoming part of proposed new state of India. She had, indeed taken a leading part in the movement towards a Federal India in 1935, and the decision to divide India put her into a position of great difficulty. This was expressed by the Nizam in a Firman of June 11, 1947,

"The basis of division of British India is communal (i.e. religious). In my state however, the two major communities live side by side and I have sought since I became ruler, to promote by every means good and friendly relations between them....By sending representatives to either of the constituent Assemblies, Hyderabad would seem to be taking one side or the other".¹⁴

In the given situation, the Nizam signed the Standstill Agreement in 1947 with the Indian Union handing over major areas like External Affairs and Defence to Indian Union. But in course of time he came under the influence of the Razakkars and violated the terms of the stand still agreement. The word 'Razakkars' means volunteers. But they grew rapidly and became militant as danger of attack from India grew. It forced the Indian representative in the Security Council to state that

"the Nizam had become not a free agent, but a person under the control of a set of gangsters and therefore India was forced to interfere."¹⁵

Under the above guidance of Sardar Patel the Police Action was initiated against Hyderabad State on September 13th, 1948 and Hyderabad had no choice but to submit. Under the new Indian Constitution, Hyderabad was incorporated into the state of India and the Nizam submissively participated in the ceremony by which it was done. It was a successful accomplishment of the most difficult work of integration and consolidation

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 75

¹⁵ *Ibid*. P. 76

and Sardar Patel stands out as most unrivalled and even Bismarck's achievement in the active work of unification of 38 states of Germany pales into insignificance.

The next chapter deals with the political awakening in Hyderabad. The role of the Andhra Maha Sabha and Hyderabad State Congress in bringing about a political revival in Hyderabad is assessed.

CHAPTER - II

Role of Andhra Maha Sabha

And

Hyderabad State Congress

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

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

The Andhra Maha Sabha, the Arya Samaj, the Civil Liberties Union and the Hyderabad State Congress played an important role in bringing awakening among the people of Hyderabad. While the Telugus of Madras Presidency became politically active during the years following Vande Mataram movement, their brethren in Hyderabad state became politically conscious only during the 1920's.¹

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

In the matters of political awareness, the people of the region were 50 years behind those in the neighboring states. This was elucidated by the freedom fighter Mandumala Narasinga Rao in his book, *'Fifty Years Of Hyderabad'*. He pointed out that the people of Hyderabad requested the then Nizam in 1935 to introduce the system of local self-government, which was implemented by the British regime in 1885 in the other states.

The circumstances which hastened the establishment of the Andhra Jana Sangham was an incident that took place in the Nizam State Social Conference held at Hyderabad on 12th November, 1921. A.Venkata Rama Rao, a leading lawyer of Hyderabad who got up to speak in Telugu on a resolution was shouted down by the audience. This opened the eyes of the Telugu audience to the true position of Telugu language. That very night, the Andhra Jana Sangham was started which later was renamed the Nizam Andhra Jana Sangham. The Andhra Jana Sangham aimed at the social, economic and cultural revival of the people of Telangana. But even prior to this, about half a century ago, the first occasion for the growth of public opinion in Hyderabad was provided by the Nizam government's acceptance of the Chanda Railway Scheme in 1883 which meant that the government had to hand over all the stations from Hyderabad to Wadi to a British company. Prominent Hyderabadis, Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, father of Sarojini Naidu, felt that the scheme was not in the interests of the Hyderabad state. Dr.Aghornath became the first dissident to be exiled by the Nizam's government.

In 1892, the Arya Samaj was established and it immediately assumed a political color much to the chagrin of the government. The Nizam's government had banned all political meetings and conferences in the state and the first Hyderabad Political Conference in 1923 had to be organised outside the state in Kakinada.² Every effort was made to prevent any serious nationalist political activity in Hyderabad.

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

² According to K.S.Vaidya in the book, *The Hyderabad State Congress*, Hyderabad, 1946, permission to hold a conference on **13th September 1924** was not granted because, as the order stated, the object of the conference was not solely moral, educational or cultural but is political. After several attempts to hold political conferences in the State failed, it was held at **Akola Berar** on **27th August 1931**. p3

during the years 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1928 respectively. By 1930, it came to be known as Andhra Jana Sangham. In its conference in Devarkonda in 1931 under the presidentship of B.Ramakrishna Rao, most of the delegates spoke in Telugu showing thereby that the efforts of the Andhra Jana Sangham to foster Telugu language in Hyderabad state had not gone in vain.

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

The aim of the Maha Sabha during this period was also to eradicate the Purdah system that was prevailing in Hyderabad and other areas of the state which had no basis in the Dharmasastras. Emphasis on the need for female education and banning of child marriage were equally important. In all, 13 conferences were held in different parts of the state under the patronage of local landlords, merchants and other elite. In the initial stages, it faced great difficulties even to secure permission for conducting routine

meetings. The text of the letter by R.Gnenevix Trench, Revenue and Police member will highlight this matter. In his letter dated August 3rd 1932 he writes,

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

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

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

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

Kumari, Madapati Manikyamma, Burugula Anatha Lakshmi Devi including many others.

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

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

The Maha Sabha took up the cause of a number of disgruntled elements in the society, thus ensuring their support and also widening the base of their movement. They organized the rich merchants in the Telangana region. These merchants always had to cater to the requirements of the government officials on tour either by selling commodities at concession rates or giving them freely. They found in the Sangham a

place to represent their grievances in an organized manner. A book entitled '*Freedom of Merchants*' was published in Telugu and circulated to all the merchants.⁴

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

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

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

⁴ N.Ramesan,ed. *The Freedom Struggle In Hyderabad*, Vol IV Hyderabad, 1966 p.67.

⁵ P.R.Rao in his book, *History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh*, states that the growing cultural and political awareness of the Hindu citizens of the state perturbed the Nizam's government. In order to perpetuate its autocracy, it decided to implement a systematic policy of cultural annihilation of the Hindus. In the beginning of

technological and agricultural education among the masses. The *devadasi* system that was prevalent during this time, also caused deep concern among the members of the Sabha and they appealed to the people that such women should be married and rehabilitated. When the postal rates were increased, the Sabha requested the government to bring down the prices of the post cards to the previous level.

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

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

the 20th century, Hyderabad was declared an Islamic state and during the reign of Osman Ali Khan, the steps to Islamize Hyderabad state were intensified. P 273.

As a result of the efforts of the Andhra Maha Sabha political awareness was taught to the people and the idea of starting a "Hyderabad State Congress" on the lines of the State Congress Committee in the neighboring Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka states took shape.

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

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

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

In the Christmas week of 1923 the annual session of the Indian National Congress and the Khilafat conference were held at Kakinada. Due to the breaches in the east coast line of the Bengal - Nagpur Railway, many delegates from Bengal and

the North reached Kakinada via Hyderabad. Important leaders like Shaukat Ali, Mohammed Ali, C.R Das, Vallabhai Patel and Sarojini Naidu addressed large gatherings that assembled at various railway stations on the Nizam State Railway. The Hyderabad delegates took the opportunity to arrange a meeting of the Hyderabad delegation and the visitors. This meeting came to be popularly known as Hyderabad Political Conference. The meeting was called outside the Hyderabad State since the Nizam's government had banned all political conferences in the State under an order called *Gasti* No. 53.

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

The second Political Conference of the Hyderabad state was held at Bombay in the last week of November 1926. It was presided by Y.M. Kale who highlighted in his speeches the number of injustices prevailing in the Nizam's rule. Freedom of press was unknown he said. Land grabbing was the order of the day. He also gave a call for Hindu-Muslim unity.

The third Hyderabad Political Conference was held in Poona in May 1928. The highlight of this session was the honor it received by the presence of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. He also made a short but brilliant speech on the occasion. Netaji said,

"It is not possible for me to say much on the present topic for my knowledge of the internal affairs of states is very meager...In British India we have the white bureaucracy or autocracy but in the Native States the people have to fight with the brown bureaucracy or autocracy. The character of both is much the same. We are all striving for the establishment of a democratic government...I, therefore, thank you all and hope that we will be enabled to do something more tangible and take more interest in our brothers of the States.⁶

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

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

⁶ N.Ramesan,ed *The Freedom Struggle In Hyderabad*, Vol IV, Hyderabad, 1966 Pp65-66

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

P.V. Narsimha Rao was born in a well to do agricultural family in 1921 in Warangal. He had to join the Nagpur University where he completed his graduation. Later he took the degree in law from Poona. During his stay in Poona, he acquired a high degree of proficiency in Marathi. On his return, he joined the struggle against the Nizam and became a member of the Andhra Maha Saba finding his policies too militant, he became a follower of Swamy Ramanadha Thirtha. He participated in the State Congress at Chanda. During the "Join Indian Union" movement, as a lawyer, he also joined the Pleaders Protest committee and boycotted the law course. He was also known for his crisp and fearless writings. His loyalty to the Congress continued even after the Police Action and he held number of portfolios in the Union Cabinet. He became the Prime **Minister** of **India**. in 1991.⁸

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

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

⁸ Narendra Luther in his book *Memoirs Of A City*, summing up of the political achievements of P.V. Narsimha Rao says "It seems as Goethe said about Napoleon, that he went forth to seek virtue and ended up by getting power" p 279

on its working during most part of their existence and **all** the obstacles and hardships, they worked undaunted to achieve their goal. Though a number of Congress leaders worked tirelessly for the political awakening in Hyderabad one of the leaders, **Swamy Ramanand Thirtha** stands foremost among them. He was truly the guiding spirit during this period. Through his selfless leadership, he gave a firm direction to the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. The Swamy saw in the princely state the danger of an unnational, non secular entity perpetuating itself in India's body politic. Therefore cutting down all political diplomacy and with characteristic bluntness, he said that the apex should go and the pyramid should be dismantled.

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

"In so far as Hyderabad is concerned, the paramount power has remained paramount not only protecting the highest feudal monarchy in India and the world but also utilized the supreme position for modeling the imperial layouts of political department of the government of India."⁹

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

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

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

¹⁰ Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, State Congress President's memorandum to the British delegation, *Deccan Chronicle*, January 26, 1946

Seeing the rapid strides of Andhra Maha Sabha, the **Karanese** speaking people formed the Karnataka Parishad in February 1937 and the Maharashtra Parishad was formed in 1937. The second session of the Maharashtra Parishad took place in Latur in 1938. **Swamyji** attended the session. He was asked to speak at several places in the celebration of Ganesh Utsav. He delivered an inspiring message on Janmashtami day at Osmania University. It was after this that he was appointed Convener of Sub-Committee to deal with problems of civil liberties in Hyderabad state. Thus he entered the political arena in 1937. When he was 20 years old, Gandhi had given a **call** for boycott and he wholeheartedly joined the people's movement. When Tilak died on 31st July 1920, the news came a great shock to him. Tilak left a message to hundreds and thousands of people and inspired them for dedicating themselves to the cause of Indian freedom. This had a great impact on him. He decided to dedicate himself to the service of the motherland. In his words, he said, "I shall be a life long **Brahmachari**"¹¹.

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

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

¹¹ Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, *Memories of Hyderabad Freedom Struggle*, Bombay 1967, Pp3-4

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

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

In January 1938, a convention of Hyderabad people was held under the presidentship of Madapati Hanumantha Rao. The convention expressed its dissatisfaction at the recommendation made by Aravamudu Iyengar Committee and urged the Nizam to introduce responsible government in the state. In the year 1932, the Nizam in order to surmount the growing political agitation in the state, appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Aravamudu Iyengar¹², a local lawyer to suggest political reform. The reforms suggested by the committee fell short of the expectation of the people. Swamy Ramananda also realized that there was a strong desire among the people to curb communal feeling and develop national outlook. It was stated that the object was the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of HEH the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi dynasty. Therefore in July 1938, leaders like Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, Burugula Ramakrishna Rao, Ramachari Joshi, Digambara Rao Bindu held a meeting and decided to launch the Hyderabad State Congress at any cost. They decided to enroll hundreds of primary members and organize a general body meeting in September that year.

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

¹² In 1938, the government appointed a Political Reforms Committee under the presidentship of **Diwan Bahadur Arvamudu** Aiyangar to look into the question of institutions necessary for helping the government to obtain knowledge of the needs and desires of the **people**. **The** Committee proposed the creation of an enlarged Legislative Assembly with 42 elected members out of a total strength of 85. It suggested a number of Advisory Committees consisting officials and nominated non-officials. The assembly had no final authority to legislate or withhold legislation or to pass the budget or appropriate revenues of the state. The ruler could veto bills passed in the assembly and enact laws not approved by it.

Narasing Rao by lifting the ban provided that the following six persons, M. Hanumantha Rao, **Kashinath** Rao Vaidya, G. Ramachari, Vinayak Rao Koratkar, B. Ramakrishna Rao, and Janardan Rao Dasai, would submit a joint application making the request and giving the undertaking to postpone the General Body Meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress.

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

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung in a further interview assured M. Narasing Rao that the Government would not insist on an alteration of the name of the Hyderabad State Congress but would insist on the guarantee that had been asked for regarding Unity talks. The Nawab wanted assurance from the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress that the meeting of the General Body would be postponed until the conclusion of the Unity talks. A resolution was passed by the Provisional Committee in response to this to postpone the meeting of the General Body of the Hyderabad State Congress for a fortnight provided that Government was prepared to lift the ban so as to ensure the success of the Unity talks.

M. Hanumantha Rao, Kashinath Rao Vaidya, and M. Narasing Rao saw Ali Yavar Jung with a draft of the application for the lifting of the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress, for his approval. The draft contained a general assurance that the unity talks had a favourable start and there was every hope of a settlement being reached.

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

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

On 28th September, 1938, M. Narasing Rao addressed a letter to the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress expressing his regret at the failure of his negotiations with the Government regarding the lifting of the ban from the State Congress and requesting them in his personal capacity to consider the postponement of the General Body Meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress for a fortnight in order to ensure a calm atmosphere.

On the same day, the Provisional Committee adopted a resolution that inspite of the Government not lifting the ban, they would not say or do anything which might disturb the calm atmosphere necessary for M. Narasing Rao's talks for a fortnight.

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

In the second week of August, 1938, an appeal was issued by the Provisional Committee which ran as follows :-

"The Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress urges the people of the State irrespective of caste or creed or section or class to join the State Congress and strengthen the movement for responsible Government.

There is evidently a great need for the inauguration of a sound movement based purely on national lines in the State at this juncture when very important constitutional reforms are about to be introduced in the near future by the Government and various social and economic schemes for the reconstruction of the state are under consideration. A recognition of this urgency has led to the inauguration of the organization called the Hyderabad State Congress, the aims and objects of which are as follows :-

The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is attainment by the people of Responsible Government under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

This Premier State of ours can no longer lag behind others politically in view of the great political progress and constitution changes happening fast in the adjoining British Indian Provinces and Indian States.

This communal conflict in the land is too well known to need any mention. At such critical juncture, the duty of cementing harmony among the communities lies not only on the shoulders of the Government but also on the people themselves, who sincerely believe that unity and mutual co-operation between the communities living in the land is necessary before any

social, economic and political progress could be attained.

There can be no question of suppressing the growing public agitation, for such a step is neither possible. The problem is not that, but of diverting the consciousness into right channels and developing a patriotic movement on proper lines.

The aims and objects of the Hyderabad State Congress are such that there can be no room for any difference of opinion about them. It is evident that for the achievement of these objects, we require the active unit and co-operation of all communities in the State. Such a consummation is impossible until an organization, the ideals of which are loftier than the narrow objects of any communal institution, is established in the land. A wave of inter-communal harmony can thus be made to flood the country sweeping away the communal differences and dissensions from the land. It is, therefore, opportune that a national organization should be established wherein all the people of the State, irrespective of communities they belong to, can participate equally and build a common institution attracting the respect of both the people and the Government.

We reiterate in conclusion that the ultimate goal of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment of Responsible Government built on a strong foundation of our basic loyalty to the ruler and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty and the creation of sincere unity and harmony among all the communities to join the Hyderabad State Congress and strengthen the efforts for the attainment of Responsible Government by their conduct and participation, diverting thus the present consciousness in the country from the

communal trend to the progressive and national path of patriotism.¹³

This made the Nizam apprehensive as the word 'Congress' had become a nightmare for him. On September 9th, the Nizam issued an order banning the Congress in the state¹⁴. This way even before the Congress took birth it was banned in the state. As a result the Congress leaders had to go underground and carry on their activities subversively. The Prime Minister of the state, Sir Akbar Hyderi said that they had

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

In spite of the objections, Swamy decided to formally inaugurate Hyderabad State Congress on 24th October 1938. Immediately he was arrested because he offered Satyagraha.

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

1. "Fundamental rights should be conferred upon the people immediately and all rules, regulations and circulars restricting freedom of speech, association and of the press and religious processions etc., should be immediately cancelled.
2. The Government should recognise Responsible Government as the object of Constitutional Reforms in the State.

¹³ N.Ramesan ed . *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol.IV. Hyderabad 1966.Pp132-135

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

It was stated in a notification in a *Gazette Extraordinary* on September 8,1938

3. An immediate installment of Responsible Government should be granted on the lines of the proposals in the report of the Hyderabad People's Convention with proper modifications to make Responsible Government more effective and real.
4. Although the Hyderabad State Congress considers the principles of reservation of seats for any community as another form of communalism it will be prepared to agree, as a purely temporary measure to ensure for not more than 10 years in all that a certain percentage shall be reserved to the minorities in the Legislature.
5. With regard to State Services the Congress will not, on principle, advocate any reservation of percentage on communal lines and would suggest the immediate appointment of a Public Service Commission consisting of officials and non-officials with a view to remove nepotism and for establishing an equitable and just selection for the services.
6. The Congress would guarantee the cultural religious and educational rights of any minority in its scheme in any reasonable manner.”¹⁶

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

¹⁶ N.Ramesan, op.a7.Pp 147-148

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

The State was passing through critical times and great changes were eagerly expected. People had become restive and were clamouring for recognition of their right to share in the administration of the State. The various repressive measures adopted by the Government within the last few months instead of damping their enthusiasm had strengthened the popular agitation. The Committee, therefore, felt that it was not wise on the part of the Government to repress a people who were enlightened and knew what they were doing. Repression only hardens people and increases discontent.

The Congress also felt that in spite of this surcharged atmosphere and the repressive policy of the Government, the people had revealed a considerable amount of restraint at the present juncture. It would be an error if the present inaction and calm is misinterpreted. The Provisional Committee therefore appealed to the people to strengthen the hands of the Congress by supporting the organisation. They however, reminded the people that truth and non-violence were the sheet anchor of the State Congress and they should act in accordance with this ideal. The State Congress definitely disbelieved in untruth and violence and discountenances communalism.

To the Government also, the Provisional Committee made a fervent appeal in the interests of the State and the public to rescind the ban on the formation of the State Congress and allow it to carry on its work. It suggested to the Government that the only way of combating communalism was to open the floodgates of real Nationalism and allow it to work its course. The State Congress, they proclaimed, is the only organisation that opens these sluices and it would not be in the interests of the State to ignore this fact."

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

"In view of the situation created by the Government ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress, the Committee of Action reiterates the birth right of the people to organise political associations, and declares hereby that the ban on the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been defied by accepting the draft constitution and electing a Working Committee. Keeping the situation created by the Government ban in view, the membership of all the primary members has been suspended, absolving them of any responsibility, whatsoever. The Working Committee consisting of the following members will organise the State Congress, carry on its activities and adopt measure to face the situation created by the Government ban in any manner they consider proper.

President:	1. Govind Rao Nanal.
General Secretary:	2. H. Ramkishan Dhoot.
Members:	3. Ravi Narayana Reddy
	4. Sreenivas Rao Borikar.
	5. Janardan Rao Desai.

At this juncture when we are forced inevitably to take this course of action, we would like to state that we bear no hatred or malice towards any community or individual. We are second to none in our love for the land and the country. We want to live as self respecting and free citizens. It is our love, and not hatred or malice, that has induced us to resort to this last method of action, and we hope that we will not be misunderstood or misinterpreted in any quarter whatsoever.

Let it be remembered that the Satyagraha that has been launched should be individual in its character and we appeal to the public in general and Congress minded persons in particular to avoid public meetings and demonstrations for the present as far as possible, till further instructions. It should be particularly kept in mind that the creed of non-violence and truth is the sheet anchor of the State Congress and nothing contrary shall be done. Individuals willing to join this Satyagraha movement should do so by declaring themselves as primary members of the Congress, propagating the Congress ideals of Responsible Government and the creed of communal unity and non-violence, enrolling Congress members and also distributing the State Congress literature.

The Committee once again thanks the nationalist press of India for having espoused the cause of the Hyderabad State Congress. It is desirous of making their position clear, with regard to the sympathy that is being shown from outside the State both from press and platform. It has been declared by the State Congress more than once, that this is purely a non-communal political organisation having nationalism as its very basis. So, we would like to state that we welcome only that kind of sympathy that is consistent with our principles.

In conclusion, the Committee appeals to the public in general and the youth of the State in particular to stake everything at the altar of political and civil liberty, which is the birthright of every citizen and for which the State Congress stands. We further appeal that they should enroll themselves in their thousands as primary members of the State Congress to vindicate its prestige.¹⁷

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

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

"I have been nominated by the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress as the first Dictator with all the powers of the Working Committee vested in me. I intend to begin the work of the State Congress today after 3 p.m. near Putli Bowli Police Station, with my four Organising Secretaries. I request you to¹⁸ please take notice of this and take necessary steps. "

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

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

¹⁷ *Ibid* Pp 149 - 150.

¹⁸ *Ibid* p151

success of the movement. He drew their attention to the basic assumption of a Satyagrahi in the words of Mahatmaji himself: -

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ *Ibid* p 158

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

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

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

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

glory and power of the state. Another important fact is that it was absolutely non-communal in outlook⁰.

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

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

"You have been giving me stone when I had asked for bread".¹

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

²⁰ K,S. Vaidya , *The Hyderabad State Congress, Hyderabad* 946. pp 11 and 12. "It is ironical that the Hyderabad State Congress as declared an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation" p 13
N.Ramesan *op.cit* p 61.

entitled "*Said The Sardar*" brought out by D.G. Bindu in 1950, the Sardar is reported to have said at Aurangabad as follows,

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

I felt that so far the matter had been left as a mere conversation. I, therefore, decided to write to him and asked if the invitation held good. Sir Akbar replied that it did hold good but offered some excuse of other. Ultimately, Sir Akbar died. He went to other regions and took the invitation with him. Now, of course, I do not need any invitation to come to Hyderabad. India is one and indivisible. There is no

difference between one unit and other under the Constitution."²²

In the prevailing situation, Swamy Ramanand had no option but to decide to resort to civil disobedience once again so that matters may come to a head. He also addressed a letter dated 10th September 1940 to Sir Akbar stating that with deepest regret he has to resort to Civil Disobedience owing to the attitude of uncompromising opposition shown by the government of the HEH towards the Hyderabad State Congress.

Even while the ban on the State Congress continued, the Nizam government representative wrote to the Congress on 25th December 1939 stating that if a suitable change was made in the name of the State Congress the government would have no objection²³. Therefore the State Congress decided to change its name to 'The Hyderabad National Conference'²⁴. But the Judicial, Police and Home Secretariat replied to it on 29th February, 1940 to say that though the name had changed, the object of the institution was the same as it was of the banned State Congress and therefore its activities would be deemed unlawful²⁵.

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

²² *Ibid* p. 170

²³ The letter from the Home Secretary to K.S.Vaidya dated 25th December 1939, No. 308 -P (Very Urgent) Judicial Police and Secretarial, reads as follows," Dear Mr. Vaidya, I am desired by the government to inform you that on a suitable change in the name of the State Congress being affected, the order under Section 13, Public Security regulation, shall not be held to apply by reason of Section 14, provided that it has no affiliation or association with any outside organization. *Ibid* p. 20

²⁴ *Ibid* p 22

⁵ This was conveyed to M.S.Vaidya thus justifying the ban.

"Since your organization aims at a form of Government, deriving authority from the majority in the legislature, it is directed against the principle, recently made the subject of official pronouncement that the needs of the people must continue to be determined by the undivided responsibility of the ruler for the welfare of the subjects."²⁶

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

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

²⁶ Narendra Luther *opcit* p - 280.
²⁷ *Ibid* P.p. 280-281

Time passed but the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress continued. The negotiations between the Congress and Government continued till 1945. Earlier it was Vaidya who represented the Congress, now it was Ramachari. Earlier Hydari headed the Government team, now it was Chhatari. Then the Home Secretary was Azar Hussain, now it was Ali Yavar Jung. The actors had changed but the act did not. The Congress continued its demand and the agitation continued inspite of large scale arrests.

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

"It is with deepest regret that I have to inform you that we feel compelled to offer Civil Disobedience owing to the attitude of uncompromising opposition shown by the Government of H.E.H. towards the Hyderabad State Congress in spite of its efforts to placate the Government to the highest extent possible. The Government has made it impossible for the Congress to function normally. They have rejected every advance made by the congress. There is, therefore, no course left but to offer Civil Disobedience in respect of the regulations or rules that interfere with our individual liberty.

As an organization, we are denied the right to preach the ideal of Responsible Government, even under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty. We simply claimed the right to educate the people politically by popularizing the ideal of Responsible Government. The ban, which is re-imposed, is a denial of the most fundamental right of freedom of association and negation of all civil liberty although the Government have time and again declared that there is full liberty of forming political associations.

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

Let every one of us remember that "form may perish but spirit shall thrive." We should be prepared to pay the price for the ideal we hold dear²⁸."

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

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

⁸ N. Ramesan, ed *opcit*, Pp 191-194

Excellency. I hope that Your Excellency shall consider this matter with sympathy and shall settle it immediately."²⁹

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

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

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

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

The ban was finally lifted on 3rd July 1946³¹. The Cabinet Mission came to India in 1946 and had discussion with a number of groups in India. The Hyderabad

N.Ramesan ed. *opcit* Pp 201 - 202

³⁰ *Ibid* Pp 204 - 205

³¹ In the letter from the **Judicial Police and General Secretariat** dated 3rd July 1946 to Ramachari, it stated "The Government had been pleased to lift the ban in the State Congress... the Government hopes that the State Congress will reciprocate by displaying the same spirit of goodwill and cooperation as has actuated the Government in removing the ban." This is a letter published as appendix 13, in the Hyderabad State Congress by K.S.Vaidya. p 42

government came to the conclusion that it would remain an Independent state outside the Indian Union³².

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

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

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

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

³² Sarojini Regani, *Highlights Of Freedom Movement In Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1972, p197

³³ B.Ramakrishna Rao, *Integration of Hyderabad State Congress with Indian Union*, Commemoration volume, 1963, p8

³⁴ Hyderabad State Congress *Pradham Aadhi Veshan*, 16,17,18th June 1947 - Adhyaksh Bhashan by Swamy Ramananda Thirtha - the booklet is in Hindi.

As a result, people violated the ban order and hoisted the national flag throughout the state.

The Hyderabad State Congress also made certain demands which were summed up thus:

- 1) Hyderabad government should immediately announce that Hyderabad will join the Indian Union.
- 2) It should decide to participate in present Constituent Assembly and send elected representatives of the people.
- 3) It should convene Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise to frame democratic constitution based on responsible government under the aegis of the ruler of Hyderabad as an integral part of free India.
- 4) Install an interim government in the meantime.
- 5) It should also confer full civil liberties³⁵.

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

N.Ramesan *opcit* p 281.

The privileges enjoyed by the minority were too great for them to forego easily. They knew that if they became a part of the Indian Union they would have to forfeit many of the privileges. After the Police Action, when the new administration was setup it was noticed that in a state where the Muslims constituted barely 13% of population, virtually every senior appointment was held by them. The list of officials in the secretariat revealed that out of 16 secretaries only one was a non-Muslim. Out of 118 officers in the Secretariat, only 13 were Hindus and 4 Christians. The total non-Muslim representation in the senior levels worked out to less than 15%. The glaring imbalance was often pointed out by the State Congress³⁶.

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

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

³⁶ **Narandra** Luther, *Memoirs of a city*, Hyderabad 1995 P. 350

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

Ali Yavar Jung was also a member of State delegation which conducted negotiations with the Government of India regarding the Standstill Agreement. In 1947, a note on the state's independence and the introduction of constitutional reforms was prepared and was presented to the Nizam by Nawab of Chhatari, Ali Yavar Jung and

Walter Monckton in a meeting on the 19th of August. When the Nizam saw the note he lost his temper with Ali Yavar Jung. He also remarked angrily that the Muslims had no confidence on him. After this Ali Yavar Jung submitted his resignation.

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

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

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

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

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

of Indian Government also entered the state from all sides and liberated the state from the despotic rule of the Nizam.

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

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

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

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

³⁷ ed. By N.Ramesan, *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol IV Hyderabad, 1966, P281

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

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

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

CHAPTER III

Conditions in Telangana And The Role of the Communists

The celebrated Telangana Armed Struggle of peasants against the tyranny of the autocratic Nizam's rule constitutes one of the glorious chapters in the history of Nizam's State of Hyderabad and its freedom movement. This dramatic story has been told by different groups of people namely the Communists, the academics and even the feminists. We have even first person accounts of the Communist leaders of the struggle, memoirs of nationalists, historical accounts based on primary documents, sociological analysis of the insurgent villages and oral histories. Despite the difference in perspective, most narrators agree that the revolt was an understandable and admirable struggle of poor villagers against the tyrannical and oppressive system of landlordism¹.

Before we go into the discussion on the movement led by the Communists, it is important to study the nature, character and economic condition of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad.

Biggest of all the 600 odd princely states, agricultural farming was the mainstay of 60-70% of the people. But micro-level studies of different areas revealed that yields of all the principal crops turned out far lower than expected or even when compared to distant British provinces resulting in a low standard of life.

The politics of the state of Hyderabad was built on a combination of the economy, autocracy and religious communalism.

¹ According to Raj Bahadur Gour "Telangana was a land of 'Jhecls' (lakes and tanks) and jagirdars of deshmukhs and their destitutes. From a plane of the 'Deccan Airways' of those days, one could see the chain of tanks fitted like diamonds on earth. But walking on earth, he could across the terror of the tyrant and the misery of the toiler" in his foreword in the book *Telangana Struggle- Memoirs* by Arutla Ramachandra, translated from Telugu by B.Narsing Rao Reddy, New Delhi 1924.. P III

The Telangana area was covered with vast forests and underdeveloped countryside. The communications had always been poor and the region as a whole could be called neglected.

The Telangana region suffered the tyranny of the feudal regime of the Nizam. The power structure was a pyramidal one with the British imperialists on top, next to them the Nizam and under him a line of subordinates - jagirdars, Zamindars, deshmukhs, patels and patwaris. Down below, crushed by the weight of all these officials were the common people of Telangana.

The ruling class in Telangana was based on Jagirdari system of the Mughal Empire. Jagirs were given to nobles and other leading servants of the ruling dynasty. Although they were supposed to be transferable, they soon became hereditary². Their administration was uniformly inefficient due to the system of absentee landlords and scattered nature of the Jagirs. Later this initiative was snatched away by another landlord group called the deshmukhs and they became the main rural base of the rural economy. They owned thousands of acres of land. Most of their land was either let out on tenancy or remained fallow. The deshmukhs combined money lending with landlordism. The deshmukh system of allocation of whole villages to some was introduced by the Nizam when Salar Jung I was the Prime Minister on the advice of the British after the 1857 Revolt, sometime in the 80's of the 19th century. This was to be an instrument to keep the peasant under control and create a social class wedded to the

² According to the report of The Agrarian Reforms Committee, 1949, Hyderabad. "The jagirdars of Hyderabad do not have any right to the soil. They are entitled only to revenue accruing due from the land. A **jagir** is a free grant of one or more villages as a reward for some conspicuous service **rendered** or for maintaining the status and dignity of the grantee. P 3

new colonial system and prepare to defend it in its own interests. This role of the **deshmukh** became more important at the end of the 19th century with the introduction of the requirement that land revenue must be paid in cash.)

Viewing the deplorable conditions, **Kesava** Iyengar wrote a letter to B.Abdy Collins, an ICS Officer serving as Director General of Commerce and Industries in the Hyderabad government. He stated,

"In Warangal I find that the rural economy is dominated by tyrannical, short-sighted landholders oppressing the landless tenant or penniless serf (baghela). I find that if I have to record the truth as such, and incorporate all my data with the report, it is bound to throw light on the discreditable ways of these big landlords individually. And these with their influence and sway would try their best to discredit their enquiry³."

Eledroos, who was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of the Hyderabad State forces was approached in late 1946 to send out the military to bring the situation in Telangana which was under the grip of the Communists back to normal.

³ Barry Pavier, *The Telangana Movement (1944-51)*, New Delhi 1981. p 7.

In Warangal land amounting to 3,80,000 acres though cultivable was not taken up for cultivation, it was **all** cultivable waste" due to the defective policy of land distribution and land **allotment** followed by the state. The absentee and disinterested persons or organizations were given thousands of acres for land development which yielded poor results. Other reasons like poor application of improved seeds, manures, pesticides and methods of cultivation, meager funds for agricultural development and irrigation which resulted in low crop yields. Thus according to him, it was the improper utilization of vast resources resulting in low yields and standard of life which led to the Telangana "peasant uprising in 1946, for details see V.Ramakrishna Reddy's paper entitled "Agricultural production in the former Hyderabad State - 1911-50 - A micro study" presented at the national seminar **conducted** by the Department of History, OU in March 2002.

He explains that it is necessary to know the policy of land distribution in Hyderabad State.(The first type of land is called Sarf-e-khas ⁴or Nizam's private estate and it was mainly around Hyderabad city or the **Atraf-e-Balda** (literally meaning around the city. The administration of these lands was done by officials who were paid from the Nizam's treasury and had nothing to do with the state governments. The second type of land was Dewani. It was state land where District Collectors and Revenue Officers were appointed as in the rest of the Indian Dominion and all taxes and revenue went to the State treasury.

The third type was the Samasthas and Jagirs. The samasthas were old Hindu ruled principalities. The owner had rendered military services to their rulers. They paid a nominal tax to the Hyderabad government. Along with these were the Jagirs which were owned both by Muslims and the Hindus. These were allotted to various families from ancient times for court or military services rendered or expected to be rendered but the Jagirs paid no land tax or revenue to the government and all income went to the Jagirdars. There were also 'Paigahs' which means household crops, originally created for raising corps of troops to be at the disposal of the ruler, but with passage of time and the land grants made, they acquired a feudal and hereditary nature. These Paigah Ameers had their own civil administration and even kept small armies. ⁵)

⁴ The Sarf-e-khas land was the property of the Nizam. These lands comprised of 1,961 villages covering an area of 8,000 square miles. These lands were merged with Diwani in February 1949.

El doros "*Hyderabad of the Seven Loaves* "pp 154-156

The following table will give an idea of the analysis of a Jagirdari area.

Table No. III - 1

Sl.No.	Name of the District	Diwani	Sarf-e-Khas	Exempt Jagirs	Non Exempt Jagirs	Total
1.	Atraf-e-Balda		573	78	225	876
2.	Nizamabad	521	1	45	184	751
3.	Medak	551	13	157	207	928
4.	Baghat	83	1	117	77	278
5.	Mahboobnagar	698	15	430	288	1431
6.	Nalgonda	1002	15	27	212	1256
7.	Total	2855	618	854	1193	5520

Source: Issued by the Hyderabad Struggle Committee, Socialist Party, in The Hyderabad Problem. The Next Step. Bombay, 1948. Appendix, I, p.1

One of the main problems in the field of agriculture in the Nizam's state was its excessive dependence on rainfall. When the labour census was taken in 1935, there were 12,34,883 cultivators occupying 2,17,43,309 acres of land. It works out at 17.6 acres per head while in the year 1928 each cultivator had 19.2 acres as his holding. Thus agricultural holdings were slowly getting smaller and smaller⁶. With the small size of holdings and the cultivation of only rain-fed crops, the cultivators have to leave

⁶ **Mazhar Hussain**, *Report on Labour Census. 1935*, Hyderabad 1937 p 16.

their fields during the off-season and serve as agricultural laborers etc, as their holdings were not sufficient to support them and their families throughout the year⁷.

The Sarf-e-khas or Crown Lands brought the Nizam the untaxable income of Rs.2,50,00,000 annually and the area was 8,109 square miles. Besides Paigahs, Samasthans (Hindu princes) and Jagirs comprised 25,629 square miles and the people who lived in these areas were directly under the rule of their overlord or of the Nizam himself⁸. The administration report of the government in 1939 says that the average rainfall was below normal. Hence Kharef and Ali were seriously affected and the yield was disappointing⁹.

The government in its reports lay many claims to the efforts made by it in the field of agriculture to improve the produce and to better the condition of the agricultural laborers. A Hyderabad Farming Association was formed which published its quarterly magazine "*The Hyderabad Farmer*". This journal was very popular. At a request from the association, the government sanctioned an amount Rs. 10,000 during the year 1931-32 for giving grant in aid to deserving farmers with a view to help them in improving and equipping their farms according to the advice of the department¹⁰.

Agricultural research also continued on a regular basis and in the year 1939-40. Plant breeding work was carried out on five of the most important crops (rice, castor, wheat, cotton and Jawar) with the object of evolving plants that would give an increased output of better quality. Demonstrations were given to cultivators. As a result

⁷ Ibid p 17

⁸ Sadat Ali Khan, *Brief Thanksgiving*, Madras, 1959

⁹ Report n the Administration of HEH, the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1349 F. (1939-40) Hyderabad 1942, p (vi)

Annual Administrative report of the Department

the total area under new and improved varieties of crops increased to 9,04,415 acres in 1939 according to government reports. The budget grant of the agricultural department for the year 1939 was Rs. 10, 28,900".

Wide publicity by the government was also given to the three Debt Relief Regulations namely the Land Alienation Regulation, the Debt Conciliation Regulation and the Money Lenders Regulation. The year 1938-39 was the first year of the working of these measures and the government watched with anxiety their effect on rural credit. It was found that the Sowcars who were antagonistic to these measures stopped lending money with the result that the agriculturists were put to much inconvenience. It was quite natural that the credit should shrink as a result of the Debt Relief measures. As a matter of fact, the government found these shrinkages to be in the long run in the best interest of the agriculturists, as it would promote thrift and self help and greater independence among them¹².

Efforts were also made by the government to bring the administration of the jagirs in line with the Diwani administration with the cooperation of the Jagirdars. The Government made the following progress in that direction: - Compulsory Settlement of Jagirs:- The Legislative Council passed the Bill for amending the Land Revenue Act in order to enable the government to introduce the Survey Settlement in the jagirs and grant *patta* rights to holders of land in those areas but its final sanction and enforcement was held up due to the Jagirdars submitting memorandums to the government requesting reconsideration of some of its provisions. The matter therefore was under consideration of the government for a considerable

Report n the Administration of HEH, the Nizam 's Dominions for the year 1349 F. (1939-40) Hyderabad 1942, P 77-78

Report on the Administration of HEH, the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1348 F. (1938-39) Hyderabad 1941, p 18

period of time¹³. Discussions were also in progress to arrive at a settlement in respect of recovery of land revenue in Jagirs and administration of nation-building activities in jagirs¹⁴.

The government also proudly published a report on the agricultural publications in the year 1938-39. The thrust seemed to be on making remarkable progress in high quality agricultural production and all round prosperity. The following was the list released by them.

¹³ *Report on the Administration of HEH, the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1351 F. (1941-42)* Hyderabad 1945, pp 20-21

¹⁴ *Ibid* p 21

TABLE - HI - 2

Table showing ~~the~~ Report on Agriculture Published by the HEH Nizam's Government..

S. No.	Title	Author	Where it was
			published
1	Annual Administration report of Department of agriculture of 1345 F	Issued by the Department of Agriculture	Department of Agriculture, Hyderabad Deccan
2	Annual report of research Experimental work of Department of agriculture	-do-	-do-
3	Red Hairy Caterpillar (Urdu leaflet)	-do-	-do-
4	Chemical Examination of Samples (English leaflet)	-do-	-do-
5	'Hyderabad farmer' (Quarterly)	Issued by Hyderabad Farmers Association	-do-

Sources: Annual Administration report of Department of Agriculture for the year 1347 F (1937-38), Hyderabad, 1939. p 47

Unfortunately, in spite of the high sounding efforts of the government in the form of research, publication and regulations, the benefits could not filter down to the ordinary peasant and he looked to a more dynamic force to provide the solution to his problems.

World War II had devastating effects. Total victory, unconditional surrender and destruction of one's opponents were the war aims of 1939-45. Certain sections of the economy were developed to meet the special needs of the war while others were allowed to decay.

The Communists found the situation created by the war as an opportunity to emerge and carve a niche for themselves. A split began to occur in the Hyderabad State Congress with the emergence of the new brand of Communist leaders. Ravi Narayan Reddy, the hero of the 1938 Satyagraha, when released from prison came into close contact with the communist leaders of Andhra region. Differences began to appear between nationalist leaders like M.Rama Chandra Rao and Ravi Narayan Reddy. These difference though very mild at the beginning created a split between the two groups. By the 8th conference of Andhra Maha Sabha in Chilkapur in 1941, the tussle between the two factions became more basic and fundamental. The Communists looked upon the World War II as the people's war and struck a different note from the Congress while the non-Communist groups were persuaded towards the Quit India policy of the Indian National Congress, the Communists were openly helping the war effort. The Hyderabad government, trying to protect its own interests, patronized the Communist workers and enlisted their services for the war efforts.

Another prominent Communist leader was Mukhdum Mohiuddin. The leaders established contact with the Communist Party of India which seized the opportunity of winning a separate Andhra state as a potential communist province, an Indian *Yenem* where from to liberate the entire country.¹⁵

K.M.Munshi in his book, *End of an Era*, describes the Communist technique as the Trojan horse technique. The objects of the Comrades association formed in 1940 in Hyderabad was so vague that many nationalists which included the Congressmen and the Muslims were blinded and walked into the Comrades parlour. According to

The hardships faced by the peasants provided a convenient ground for the Communists to assume leadership¹⁶. One of the gory practices that began was the grain levy during World War II. The government started collecting a grain levy which affected every village in the state. The revenue collectors entered each village with a stipulated quota of grain to purchase at below market prices and they had to meet the quota or face disciplinary action from their superiors. Centralized locations were marked out where the peasants at their own cost had to carry the grain and supply the required amount. The wealthy villagers bribed the revenue collectors not to collect from their hands, hid their surplus grain underground and sold it in the black market. Thus the collection would fall hard on those villagers who could at least afford to supply grain¹⁷.

The woes of the peasants were enormous. The number of taxes they had to pay only kept increasing. Small disputes which are quite normal among people in villages was an additional source of revenue for the landlords. The parties had to pay dispute tax to the landlord and also a bribe for the settlement of the same. The tax even chased the men to their cremation, which otherwise would be a permanent release from their

him, the Communists in Hyderabad first endeared themselves to the progressive leaders of the Andhra Maha Sabha. Ravi Narayan Reddy, once elected as **president** of the Maha Sabha secured ascendancy, persuaded those members who had State Congress affiliations and drove them out of it. Pp86-87.

A delegation of World Federation of Democratic Youth visited Telangana in 1946. Olgo, the Soviet representative in the delegation is reported to have remarked after what she saw in Suryapet "Now I can see what Russia would have looked like in Czar's time." Arutla Ramachandra Reddy op. cit. p iii "The landlord's exploitation of the people and their mute sufferings pained me and evoked a feeling of disgust. I was looking forward to an opportunity to serve and liberate them from this oppression." Said Ravi Narayan Reddy in *Heroic Telangana*, Delhi 1973. p 5

John B Roosa's article titled "Nationalism painted red" which appeared in the Indian Express, 15th August 1997, states that the Hyderabad government continuing the grain levy even after the war provoked the continuation and actually expansion of the Communist part's campaign in Hyderabad State. According to him, the Communists projected themselves as a popular front against the **British** rule in which all nationalist forces could function.

burden. The body cannot be reduced to ashes unless a tax is paid. Along with these penal dues, the people were subject to many cruel punishments like running in the front of the landlord's cart, standing in the sun for hours with heavy stones on the back etc. Taxation was so heavy that people were unable to pay and gave up their lands.

The lands that were given up in lieu of the debt invariably went into the hands of the deshmukhs who were also the moneylenders. Of all the Deshmukhs, the most hated was Ramachandra Reddy of Jangaon in Nalgonda who owned 40,000 acres of land in 40 villages. He made the peasants do forced labour in his field and extracted Nazrana (presents in cash or kind) for births, marriages or deaths in the family. He had a local court where the only way to get a favourable judgement was a bribe. He built himself a fine house for Rs.2 lakhs. In one of the incidents, a peasant called Bandangi stood up against him when he tried to interfere in a land dispute and inspite of his brother using Ramachandra's help, Bandangi after several years, actually won the case. But on his way back home, he was murdered. This further increased their hatred towards the Deshmukhs and the local people erected a shrine where Bandangi fell and offerings are made to this day¹⁸.

The Bhagela's condition was most miserable during this period. The origin of a baghela was typically that of a landless member of one of the lower castes, often from an untouchable caste who would be obliged to offer her or his labour as security for debts and work for the creditors till the debt was paid. The wages for this work would be deducted as loan. But the wages were so low and the interests so high that the debt remained unpaid. When the Baghela died, the debt was inherited by his heir, so there was a generation of agricultural labour giving totally unpaid labour to the

¹⁸ Barry Pavier, *Telangana Movement (1944-51)*, New Delhi, 1981. p 6

Deshmukhs . Vetti - forced or compulsory labour - was demanded without notice or payment from the villagers who were not sufficiently wealthy to resist the Deshmukh's demands. Another group of cultivators were the Asami Shikmis who were tenants at will paying rent either by agreement or according to what was paid the previous year.

When the condition of the Bhagela's deteriorated, the government intervened and restricted it to annual contracts by a regulation known as "Hyderabad Bhagela Agreements Regulation" which received the assent of His Exalted Highness the Nizam on 1st Shaval 1345 (23-3-1345²⁰). The Tahsildars were asked to give publicity to these regulations. The social workers also worked hard to publicize it. But there were many difficulties in its implementation. In most of the Taluqs, the landlords were very powerful and the indebted labourers too timid and backward to complain.

The government realized in 1938 from the previous year's report that the Bhagela regulation introduced by the government was not effective in its existing form, the question of amending it could be discussed in a committee of selected officials and non-officials. Thus a committee was formed under the Additional Revenue Secretary and a Bhagela Agreement Bill, which was a great improvement on the Regulation, was passed²¹.

It was also during this year that the Record of Rights was promulgated in Aurangabad, Vijapur and Crangpur Taluqs²². A tenancy committee was also formed to make a detailed enquiry in the condition of tenantry.

¹⁹ *Ibid* p.6

²⁰ This was passed in the year 1935, Mazhar Hussain, *Report on the Labour Census 1935*, Hyderabad, 1937, p 46.

²¹ Report of the administration of HEH, The Nizam's dominion in 1348F (1938-39), Hyderabad 1941. p.p 20-21

²² *Ibid* p 21

In addition to the existing woes of the peasants, the Second World War aggravated the situation. The impact of World War II on the state was felt only after 1942. The financial position was not disturbed during the first three years of the war and the revenue in the shape of the excise, customs and forest wealth increased considerably. The developmental activities also increased. However the years following 1942 recorded a different trend in the Communist finances. The government was faced with an increase in expenditure on "war measures" including civil defense maintenance of internal security and food supply. The continuous rise in price level and consequent measures to control the supply of essential commodities and their prices involved the government in serious administrative difficulties in successive years. The financial policy of the government during these years was governed by the principle of providing as much assistance as possible to war measures. No effort was spared in utilizing all available factories and mills for war purposes. The Hyderabad state provided not less than Rs.9 crores in the form of direct and indirect payments for war expenditure. The financial help rendered by means of investment in Government of India loans, which stood at over Rs.50 crores in 1945 was in no way negligible. The finances of the state were governed by the exigencies created by the war. The following table shows the way in which the state's debt started increasing between the years 1938 and 1950.

TABLE NO. III - 3

The state debt from 1938-39 to 1949-50 was as shown below.

Year	Debt (Rs.Crores)
1938-39	7.56
1939-40	7.56
1940-41	7.56
1941-42	10.00
1942-43	9.73
1943 - 44	9.64
1944-45	18.36
1945-46	23.16
1946-47	27.82
1947-48	38.80
1949-50	54.96

Source: Budget Documents in *Finance's and Fiscal Policy of Hyderabad State (1900-1950)* by B.K.Narayan. published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad in 1973 in A.P.State Archives.

The above table shows the marked increase in state debt during the year 1949 - 1950

The Communist Party of the State of Hyderabad came into existence in 1939. Leading members were sent by the Andhra Communist Party to guide the destinies of the Communists in Telangana. They realized that the Communists could become a force to be reckoned with only if they concentrated on villages where the feudalistic abuses were rampant. The leading members of the Andhra Sabha with leftist leanings

like Ravi Narayan Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddi, V.Alwar Swamy, Devulapatti Venkateswara Rao developed close personal contacts with Andhra Communist leaders like P.Sundrayya, Chandra Rajeswara Rao, M.Basavapunnaih and others.

When the Congress launched the Civil Disobedience Movement during 1930-32, a number of young men from Telangana including Ravi Narayan Reddy went to the coastal Andhra districts of Madras Presidency and participated in the movement. They returned greatly influenced by Nehru's ideal of socialism.

As a part of their perspective, the Communists managed to take over by 1941 the Andhra Maha Sabha. They organized campaigns like "Education Week", "Anti-forced Labour week" etc. The most important was the grain levy campaign. They brought out leaflets explaining what the levy was and how people were fleeced by corrupt collectors. Thus, they got themselves known all over Telangana as people who fought for the peasant's interests.

The Communists were able to rise to prominence because the Congress had been suppressed and by taking hold of the Andhra Maha Sabha it earned credibility for itself. By organizing its base in the villages it was able to defeat the Arya Samaj, something which even the Congress failed to do. Their programmes were very clear and agrarian-based. They worked for abolition of forced labour, illegal eviction and return of illegally seized lands. The branches of the Andhra Maha Sabha which was now fully under Communist influence established branches popularly known as 'Sangams' or associations.

One of the unique characteristics of the struggle was the spontaneous participation of the masses of rich, small peasants, tenants and landless labourers united against the oppressive feudal Jagirdars and the government of the Nizam under the leadership of the CPI. Under Communist leadership the rich and middle peasants organized the poor peasants, tenants and landless labourers. By the end of July 1946, the struggle spread to 300-400 villages in Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam and karimnagar districts. All the villages in Nizam's government stopped functioning and they were replaced by Sangams²³.

The government in the latter part of 1946 banned the Andhra Maha Sabha and arrested thousands of Communist workers. The landlords with more reinforcements of Police, entered the villages and found that people refused to perform vetti, while the small farmers refused to give their part for compulsory levy. The coercive efforts of police and officials failed. The agricultural laborers and tenants did not agree to be evicted from the occupied lands.

At a crucial juncture, in July 1946 when India was on the threshold of freedom, the Nizam's government was preoccupied with a number of things. It was hatching plans to declare its independence and convert the state as a bastion of Muslim power²⁴.

According to **K.M.Munshi** in his book, *The End of an Era*, the sangams grew very strong and took violent action against those who came in the way of their activities, particularly the village officers. Whenever the Nizam's government tried to take action against them they went underground or crossed over to Vijayawada from which place they continued to direct their operation. The police raids were common. In Devaruppula, 1000 men from Reserve Police and army in thirty trucks encircled and raided the village. They dragged men out of their houses with rope. Three hundred were arrested. From the neighboring **Kadavendi** village. 2000 people arrived under leadership of **M.Somi Reddy**. They asked the army and police to leave and there were heated exchanges and arguments. The police fired at **Somi Reddy** who fell on the ground and died and 350 people were arrested. Such was the ferocity and intensity of repression.

On Independence Day, people were not even allowed to hoist the National flag. There was tight political security around the office of the State Congress and the Hyderabad Student's Union. They had to hoist the flag at 10.am but ten minutes before ten, hundred students came out of the University Office with the slogan "We demand responsible government. Join the Indian Union." The police was taken by surprise. Yashoda Ben, the

Naturally it could not pay any attention to the development in the interior of the villages of the state. The Communists fully exploited this situation to their advantage. By championing the cause of peasants, they became popular with the masses who were incidentally all Hindus. Therefore the Communists became saviors not only of the landless peasants but the entire Hindu community²⁵.

It was also during this time that much brutality was inflicted on the villagers by the Razzakars. The harassment of the Razzakars became unbearable in the villages. The State Congress party, which was mainly urban based, was unable to render any help to the villages. Therefore the peasants and workers under the leadership of the Communists organised into groups of volunteers called Dalams to fight Razakkars. Parallel governments were set up in 3,000 villages by establishing village republics.²¹ The Communists by governing the sympathy and support of the villages tried to foster their ideology among the masses. The Communists decided to launch an armed struggle on a three-point strategy. First, to create guerilla squads to launch simultaneous attacks on all enemies of the peasants. Second to create, "Grama Rakshaka Dalams" or village protection forces consisting of sympathizers of the party to fight the harassment of the Razzakars. Third, was the creation of the "Vidhvamsaka

Communist women's leader of Hyderabad addressed a gathering of women in the city and hoisted the flag. In a gathering in Begum Bazar which hoisted the flag, the police appeared an brutal lathi charge followed. The brute police official rushed to Brij Rani, who was delivering the address but a slap came from the brave woman. The police officer apologized to her but she was sentence to six years imprisonment. With police brutality rising, the youth showed new signs of determination to fight to the last ditch. *Glorious Telangana Armed Struggle*, R.B.Gour, Delhi 1973. p 10.

⁵ When the repression intensified, the party reviewed the struggle and formulated a policy and programme of action. 1) Those who collaborate with the Nizam's government or engage in attacks on the people are enemies and their properties are to be confiscated and distributed among the poor. 2) Small landlords, if they cooperate with the people, can be considered allies and 200 acres can be left to them. 3) Enforce complete non-payment of taxes and levy grain to the government. 4) Protect people from police raids by guarding the villages. 5) The village leaders should not sleep in the villages during nights. 6) The programme of training in guerilla warfare for defense of villages and self-defense should start. 7) **Leadership** to be built at village level. see for details,

A.Ramachandra Reddy's *Telangana Struggle*, New Delhi 1984. p 58

²⁶ D.N Dhanagare, *op cit*, p.198-199

Dalam" or destruction squads to destroy bridges and culverts to hamper the movement of the government forces and the Razzakars, who usually traveled in jeeps and other motor vehicles.²² The main scene of activity was confined to Warangal and Nalgonda.

Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour one of the leading Communist leaders gives a picture of Hyderabad and the events leading to the Telangana Armed Struggle.

"The peculiarity of Hyderabad State is that in the Asafjahi period it was virtually the 'Prison of the People'.

The Asafjahi kings were faithful to the British and depended on them for their very survival. They broke up the Telugu territory for the purpose. Northern Circars were surrendered to the French for keeping their armies in Hyderabad. The British took them over from the French later. The Rayalaseema districts (known as Ceded Districts) were ceded to the British for affording protection' to the Asafjahi rulers.

As if the British were not enough, Salar Jung created in the eighties the Zamindari system, and now the jagirdars, the deshmukhs and the Zamindars were the props of the Asafjahi rule. Eleven hundred and odd jagirdars ruled over 37% of villages, and one-third of the population of the state, the total population being 18 million. Sarf-e-khas' - Nizam's personal jagir - comprised 40% of the area of the state and included very fertile land.

Thus the three currents of people's struggles - the cultural, the democratic, political and the agrarian combined in one powerful strain that explains the abandon with which the people fought.

The Communists in Andhra Maha Sabha were building up mass struggles under their banner to the embarrassment of the liberals. In the year 1941, the movement against 'vetti' (begar-forced labour) started under the leadership of Andhra Maha Sabha. The

⁷ P.R.Rao, *History of Modern Andhra*, Delhi, 1991

War had thrust its own miseries. The forced collection of levy grain was challenged and resisted by the Andhra Maha Sabha, in particular the Communists.

The 1941 Chilkur Session of Andhra Maha Sabha was a turning point. Ravi Narayana Reddy was the President.

It was in 1943 that the struggle in defence of kauldars (tenants) cultivating landlords' land on rent, began. The issue was that the kauldar must own the produce of his labour on land. The centres of this struggle were the villages of Daopadu, Noorjahanpuram and Bhaktalapuram in Suryapet taluqa. And the comrades who were organising this movement were provisionally expelled from the Andhra Maha Sabha by the then leadership of liberals. And the government arrested these comrades and sentenced them (Coms. Tirmala Rao, Raghavender Rao and Subba Rao etc.,) to various terms of imprisonment. This was the first shot.

The next phase was re-occupation of the land, illegally occupied by the landlords.

The third phase was occupying the surplus land of landlords. Here we had to face the problem of determining the ceiling of land to be left to the landlords. We drew a lesson from the decision of the Vietnam Communist Party in this regard. In their struggle against the French Imperialists, they fixed quite a high ceiling to draw or even neutralise sections of landed gentry in the anti-imperialist struggle.

We fixed the ceiling at 200 standard acres. Quite high from any standard, but very essential in the great struggle against the Nizam, for democracy, for cultural advance and to initiate the agrarian reforms.

1944 was the year when the Andhra Maha Sabha's eleventh Session was held at Bhongir. Ravi Narayana Reddy became the President, defeating the right wing liberal candidate.

Then followed the great upsurge. The struggle for democratic rights, combined with anti-feudal struggle for land, and for the crop raised.

It was in February 1945 that the first Palakurthi Conspiracy Case was foisted on comrades Arutla Ramachandra Reddy, D. Subba Rao and others. The government obliged the Deshmukh, Vishnur Ramchandra Reddy, by foisting an attempt to murder case on these comrades.

Then came the Khammam Session of Andhra Maha Sabha in April 1945. Com. B. Yella Reddy was elected President. But he could not attend as he was interned in his village. Ravi Narayana Reddy presided over the Conference. It was here that we passed a resolution demanding a constituent assembly to determine the future of Hyderabad. The strategy worked out was that our comrades in Andhra area would demand Visalaandhra and we, in the State, will ask for a constituent assembly to include Marathwada and Karnataka too, in the battle.

The movement for land also continued assuming new heights. In November 1945, was launched the famous struggle for protecting the crop raised by Ailamma in Mundrai (Suryapet Taluqa) on the tenancy land of Vishnur Deshmukh, whose goons were preparing to rob her of her labour. Youth from neighbouring villages were mobilised. And the second Palakurthi case was foisted on our comrades.

Then we enter 1946, the year of great upheaval. Vishnur goons attack on the people in Kadavendi in July 1946 and Com. Doddi Komarayya was martyred.

Then followed in November the event in Pata Suryapet where our comrades clashed with Nizam's police and Com. Sarsa Narsaiah was killed. In the same month Devaruppala Village saw the people clashing with Nizam's armed forces and two comrades laid down their lives. In Kamareddygudem the Nizam's armed forces faced people's resistance.

Pulgilla Jagirdar called to his rescue the state army and a pitched battle ensued.

In December 1946, the great struggle of Mallareddygudem took place where three women laid down their lives resisting the Nizam's army.

This was the time for a formal decision to task to arms and resort to guerrilla war. 1947 saw a lull in the struggle, but in reality this was the time to prepare for launching their right royal battle and making the necessary arrangements for the assault. Then came in September 1947, the call for armed resistance in the form of a joint statement by Com. Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy and Makhdoom Mohiuddin.

On November 23, 1947, took place the battle of Pallepada first of its kind against the police. One policeman was killed and the arms were snatched by our squad. On November 28, 1947, some five thousand people marched with Reddy Flags and the Tricolour in Alair. The police fired at the demonstrators killing six and injuring some fifty seriously.

On December 28, 1947, a historic fight took place at Addagudur with the people and our squad on one side and the police on the other. Two policemen were killed and Com. Sayanna and two other comrades were martyred.

But 1948 was the year of great resurgence of Telangana peoples' struggle.

On January 2, the Ravulapenta fight, where two of our comrades laid down their own lives was waged. On February 2, of Renukunta took place the fight. On February 20, took place the Ragipadu fight where our valiant fighters smashed a gang of 8 Jawans and seized their arms. On 1st April, our comrades fought and smashed a Razakkar camp and seized the arms.

These are only some of the events of the period. But the movement has spread to Nalgonda, Warangal (including the present-day

Khammam), Karimnagar and Adilabad districts, with some echo in Medak, Nizamabad and Hyderabad districts.

The struggle was sustained by distribution of surplus land to the landless and the land hungry.

It must be noted that over 5,000 villages were liberated and cleansed of Nizam's hordes. The local merchants and cultivators cooperated and saw to it that essential supplies were maintained.

During this struggle about 25,000 of our cadres and ordinary people were arrested, and 4,000 of our cadres and ordinary people were arrested, and 4,000 of our comrades were killed. We could liberate about 5,000 villages, and about 10 lakh acres of land was distributed.

But what has to be emphasized is that the impact of this struggle projected into the future also, and influenced the government policies after 1952 elections.

The Tenancy and Agricultural Land Reforms (Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings) Act that was passed in Hyderabad Legislature was unique in the country. About 40 lakh acres of rented land because the property of the cultivators under Section 38-E of the Act. Most of the protected tenants because owners of the land they were tilling.

Bulk of the land distributed by us during the Struggle was retained by the beneficiaries. In some cases, the landlords compromised with the tillers and sold the land away to them on easy terms.

Thus, the Telangana Struggle is a book in itself of evolution of tactics of struggle in accordance with the experience and preparedness of the masses. The party had to provide the leadership and the wherewithal to conduct the struggle. The sweep of the movement was the outcome of the three currents - the cultural, political and the agrarian. The party provided leadership to all its components, and we see the result --the Telugu people are united, democracy is established and we reap the fruits of whatever agrarian

reforms have been secured. Much more has to be achieved - and this experience must inspire us to take the steps forward.²⁸

Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, a noted journalist explained that the communists created,

"A magic and radically transformed the Slavish people to heroes, creating great heroes from nothing, from inert mud."²³

The Communists made extensive use of cultural programme to propagate their ideas and establish their hold. They propagated through burakatha, golla suddulu, vuyyala pata, kolatapu pata, Bhajans and dramas. There were about 120 songs sung under the title of 'Telangana Porata Patalu'. The Communists also influenced the Andhra Praja Mandali (A.P's theatre association) and they produced a very popular play '*Ma Bhoomi*' written by Sundara and Vasi Reddy. Another work, *Prajala Manishi* by Vettikota Alvaraswamy also became very popular.

Among all the cultural activities the Burrakatha was very popular. It could be staged easily as the presenters were few and they did not need any backdrop for their stage performances. One such Burrakatha presented read as the following. There are two actors.

One of them says,

"As the sun shines equally on all mankind, so shall the workers inherit equally the earth".

Another actor,

²⁸ Raj Bahadur Gaur, *Random Writings*, Hyderabad, 2002. Pp.147 - 155.

²⁹ P. Sundarya, *op.cit* p.114

"The rich and the proud shall be butchered like goats and the horny feet of the toiler shall splash in the blood of kings."

Chorus:

"March comrades, to cast down your oppressors." ³⁰

Possessing modern weapons, the Communists never lacked funds. In case of need they could always replenish their war chest by a raid or two on the houses of the wealthy in the rural areas. Their squads were strictly organised and led by trained personnel some of whom were discharged ex-army men.

After the state was liberated by police action in 1948, law and order was re-established. Many of the communist leaders went underground to intensify the movement and to establish communist rule by force. But once the Government of India deployed the armed forces and hardened their stand against the Communists, they gave up their Armed Struggle and agreed to participate in the democratic process of the country. Ravi Narayan Reddy who was arrested in September 1951 was released on 5 December, 1951 to enable him to participate in the first General Election under the constitution of India. The people in the villages were also in a quandary after the Police Action, over continuing the backing to the Communists as they perceived the Union government as a people's government. This led to a gradual fall in the common man's support for the guerilla movement. In 1951, the Communists voluntarily surrendered arms and thus ended a glorious chapter of Telangana Armed Struggle.

³⁰ Barry Pavier, *The Telangana Movement 1944 -51*, New Delhi 1981. p 101. The Communists made a new pledge for their comrades. It read thus, "I, a citizen of glorious Telangana and a son of the great Andhra people, pledge not to lay down my arms till the destruction of the Nizam's rule over my motherland is **achieved**...I will revenge myself against the Nizam's hordes mercilessly and without hesitation...I'll shed blood for blood and take life for life... I promise that I am prepared to die in battle against the enemy rather than live while my people and I

It is note worthy to make a special mention of **Makhdum** Moinuddin in the following lines.

Makhdum's multi - dimensional personality was well described by Abbas, when he said:

"Makhdum was a glowing flame as also cool drops of dew"

"He was the call of revolution as also the soft-tinkling of the payal."

"He was knowledge, he was action, he was wisdom"

"He was the gun of the revolutionary guerrilla and also the sitar of the musician."

"He was the odour of the gun powder and also the fragrance of jasmine."

"It is this pleasant combination that makes up the man - Makhdum."

Born on February 4, 1908, in Andol, a village in Medak district of Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh, Makhdum's childhood carried the deep impressions of rural poverty arising out of feudal exploitation.

His forefather, Rasheeduddin, came to this part of the country from Azamgarh, along with Aurangzeb's armies. His grandfather from his mother" side, Syed Jafar Ali, came to Deccan in 1657 from Shahjahanpur. Makhdum lived a life of utter penury, when in school in Hyderabad. A tandoori roti' and chalona' (a sort of cheap curry) - all in three paisas of Nizam's currency –was his breakfast-cum-lunch.

are slaves under the bloodthirsty tyranny of Nizam." for more details see Rajendra Prasad, *The Asaf Jahs of Hyderabad Their Rise and Decline*, Delhi 1984.

Later when he joined college, he was staying in the basement of a mosque in Sultan Bazaar (Hyderabad), along with a friend of his and sold pictures of actresses and the like to earn his bread.

It is this poverty that made him the mellow and the militant - the gentle colossus - that he was.

He wrote in his famous poem '*Haveli*' (The Balance).

"There is a long darkness and ruin all around,
How frightening and deep dark are these wide
Cracks in the wall;
Where in live snakes and scorpions
Which shelter the rich and the mahajan' the Brahmin and the
Mulla."

Here Makhdum lashes out with full force of satire at the decadent feudal system of murder and robbery, of death and devastation, and with a prophetic self-confidence calls out to life to assert muster and mobilise, and raise the banner of liberty' on the ruins of this sinful society.

"This phase of his life coincides with the rise of a group of youth in Hyderabad city, inspired by socialist ideas. They founded the Comrade's Association. Makhdum was associated with this organization right from its founding. With the turn of the decade, in the beginning of forties, the pent-up anger of workers stirred by the war-time spurt in prices, led to a wave of strikes and large scale unionization.

On August 16, 1946 the All-Hyderabad Trade Union Congress was founded, with Makhdum as the President. The movement in Hyderabad started with humble beginnings against forced labour and included tenants refusing to quit and reoccupying lands illegally taken over by Deshmukhs. This led to clashes between peasants and the Deshmukhs' goondas combined with Nizam's police. Arrests, beatings, and firings were everyday news of the period.

In October 1946 came the blow - C.P.I. was banned. All of us had to go underground not knowing what it meant — '*Glue to Earth*' was the Central Committee instruction from Com. P.C. Joshi.

On 11th September 1947, the Party decided to launch the Armed Struggle as the last resort. There was no option left.

This was also the view of the then Left in the State Congress. They organised armed attacks on border posts in Marathawada area.

It was in Bombay that he wrote his* famous poem on Telangana.

"The sons and daughters of the forests,
The mountains and the fields;
Have risen, swords in hand, with
All their mighty indignation.
The sickle is shining,
The plough is rising high,
The foundations of feudal rule are shaken,
The palaces of the rich are tottering,
The cruel rule of the Halakus
And the Tsars is crumbling.
The king, the Seventh Asafjah
Has started fainting under the heavy
Blows on his forehead."

He then came away to Hyderabad and took over the Secretaryship of the communist party. He was arrested in 1949. In the jail he wrote the famous poem 'Qaid' (Captivity) -

"The aspirations of a captive youth
Go to sleep,
Shackled in chains,
The tinkling noise of the chains,
(of captivity) when
Changing sides (in the bed)
Points even in sleep to the surging
Life within.
My only regret is that the vast treasure
Of my valuable years of life
Was spent in the four walls of the prison,
And not offered to the cause of
Breaking open the prison,
That my country was."

In 1952 he was released to contest in the elections. He lost the parliamentary seat, but won the assembly seat in a by-election from Huzurnagar.

In 1956, He whole-heartedly worked for the unity of Telugu territory and formation of Andhra Pradesh against those who wanted a separate state of Telangana.

This was Makhdum who saw both the dawn mixed up with the remains of darkness and also the smiling future which could be reached through gallows and sacrifice.

Makhdum. He lives through our history and our literature.”³¹

Thus the Communists were a great pressure group who made a great impact in the region of Telangana. Nothing succeeds like success and the Communists had proved that especially in the villages of Nalgonda and Warangal. The efficiency of the Nizam and danger of the Razzakars caused not only harm but also gave scope to the communist by bringing them general support of the public.

After the integration of Hyderabad State to Union, the new administration in Hyderabad issued the Jagir Abolition Regulation in August 1949 and Agrarian Enquiry Commission to recommend comprehensive land reform legislation. They did it mainly to neutralize the communist influence.

To curb the armed revolt of the Telangana Peasants, a number of false cases were booked. The charges leveled against them were attempt to **murder**, dacoity and arson.

³¹ Raj Bahadur Gour, *Random Writings*, Hyderabad, 2002. P.p 1- 11

In the year 1950 the Telangana Defence committee was formed at Bombay . Dr. NM. Jayasooriya was elected its President. The committee besides arranging the defence of the Telangana peasants was also raising funds. They also formed a Hyderabad Peoples Defence Committee with V.K. Dhage as President in defence of Telangana Peasants and youth involved in Telangana Struggle.

In the year 1953 there were 325 criminal cases pending in Hyderabad. 75% were for charges of murder and 25% for attempt to murder , dacoity and arson. The committee provided legal defence to almost all cases.

As a result of these efforts twelve of the accused sentenced to death got the reprieve . They were

1. Janardhan Reddy
2. Magi Venkiah
3. Manumantu
4. Raghupatty Reddy
5. Kuluru Yeliah
6. Ghullam Dastagiri
7. Vadla Paiah
8. Adipudi Mallah
9. Chinasetty Reddy
10. Dasi Reddy Nariah
11. Kurma Lingiah
12. Mungala Samuel

On this occasion the vice President of All China Federation of Labour wrote one letter to Mrs.Latifi, the Secretary of Telengana Defence committee.

"We have received your letter dated May 7th from which we learned that due to efforts by you and your committee and the support of lovers of justice and democracy throughout the world the reprieve of these twelve prisoners has been secured. We express our joy over this event and request that you will convey our wannest consolatory regards to them."¹²

"Armed Struggle lost the wind in its sails for many reasons. During the later part of the revolt the rich and the middle peasants in 1946 withdrew their participation. But the poor peasants continued the struggle inspite of failure of leadership, for there was no choice left for them between starvation and slavery and armed resistance. They had to select a path of their own choice. There was also no attempt to link the organised struggle of workers in factories and mines with the peasant movement Therefore, this weakened both the struggles because the Nizam's regime never faced the combined force of the organised working class and the peasants.

The tragedy of the Telangana revolt was that the poor villagers who struggled against an oppressive system of landlordism were never integrated into the nationalist movement and their gains were not respected by the post-Independence Congress leaders, who ordered an anti Communist war of counter insurgency after the police action that victimized many villagers. Those villages where Sanghams were active were attacked by the Razzakars and if a village stayed clear of CPI then it remained undisturbed. With the lot of the peasants remaining vastly unchanged, the youth of the villagers in the present day are a picture of cynicism and outrage." What can we do?" they ask in despair. But the spirit has not yet faded among the old warriors. They say,

³². Manohar Raj Saxena, *Historic Telangana Peasants Struggle and Legal Battle* , Hyderabad, 2000. p.8

"We are ready to take up another Armed Struggle and put an end to corruption and anti-people governments, but it should be a mass movement"³³."

The communists thus rose to prominence seizing the opportunity created by the economic conditions prevailing in Telangana at that time. There were a number of grievances for the communists to thrive and become popular, they acquire a hold over many areas comprising many the districts of Nalgonda and Warangal, they took up issues that caused concern, they made extensive use of cultural programmes to propagate their ideas. They truly were looked upon as saviours for the people. They established parallel government in the villages where they had a strong hold, but their hold weakened after the police action. The people were also in a dilemma over continuing their support to the communist as they looked up to the new government as the people's government. The communist also gave up arms by 1951 and joined the main stream. Thus they added a glorious chapter in the liberation struggle of Hyderabad.

The next chapter deals with the rise of the Razakkars.

³³ *Deccan Chronicle* dt August 15th 1997 p 9, Reporter - N.Vani Srinivas

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF RAZAKKARS

The story of India celebrating her independence reads differently in Hyderabad. On 15th August 1947, the Nizam declared, " We are neither with free India nor with Pakistan, we are free and independent". He went to Mecca Masjid to offer a prayer of thanksgiving. A congratulatory meeting was held at Abids crossroads because now His Highness had become "His Majesty". Offerings were made to him at this meeting. Little did the Nizam know that this pomp and pageantry would not last even for a year.

The Muslim politics of Hyderabad today, in terms of its political predilection and the socialization process of both the leaders and the led is partly a hangover of the conflict between a communal set up and a demand for responsible secular government in the past.

Hyderabad had been continuously under Muslim rule since the 15th century and at a later stage had become a part of Moghul empire. It was more or less a self contained unit with its own currency, communication, army and judiciary.

Hyderabad was for all practical purposes an Islamic State ¹. Muslims and Muslim institutions all over India and even abroad used to look upon Hyderabad for its traditional patronage. The bias in favour of Muslim institutions was so heavy and obvious that at one time the Executive Council of the Nizam advised him "not to identify himself with Islamic movements outside the state, except perhaps Aligarh"².

¹ Home Secretariat, Ecclesiastical Department No. 18/12 File No. 64 of 1311F. dated (April 7, 1909) in A.P. State Archives.

² Minutes of Nizam's Executive Council May 20, 1936, INST, 47 list 10, S.No.1 14, File No. 198 of 1941 State Archives records.

A study of the size and composition of the Hyderabad State would give us an idea of the irony of the rise and influence of the Razakkars. According to the 1941 census, of the 16 million people of the state, 13% or about 2 million were Muslims, 81% or about 13 million were Hindus and the remainder about 1 million were chiefly Christians.³

Hyderabad was the major area in India where a political and social structure from medieval Muslim rule had been preserved more or less intact. At the head of the social order stood the Nizam, the absolute ruler, inordinately rich. Hyderabad also had a handful of very affluent industrialists operating on a very big scale. The state held, as a rule, 50% or more of the capital in important enterprises, a device which enabled the Nizam to keep and extend his control of affairs, as well as his wealth and to subsidize the chosen, normally Muslim entrepreneurs. The next group in the social ladder were the administrative and official class, who were chiefly Muslims. The lower strata of the government employees were also manned predominantly by Muslims. Therefore the Muslims of Hyderabad formed as it were an "upper caste". The rule of the Nizam had a distinctive and deliberate Islamic tinge. All the members of the Muslim community, in varying degrees, participated psychologically in the Muslim dominance. The Muslim was more conscious of belonging to the Muslim community scattered throughout India concentrated in Pakistan and stretching across the world.

Wilfred Cantwell, "Hyderabad Muslim Tragedy" in Omar **Khalidi**, ed. *Hyderabad After The Fall*. Kansas, 1988. p.1

Political activity in Hyderabad had evoked a lot of interest by 1947. Four main organizations existed, each being related at least in principle to a major political body outside the state⁴.

The Nizam was quite conscious and apprehensive of the political stirrings in the state. In spite of the efforts of the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Sir Ali Imam to induce the Nizam to set up an Executive Council, the Nizam reduced it to impotence and suppressed all political activities.

In 1926, Mohammed Nawaz Khan, a retired official in the Nizam's service founded the *Majlis-I-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen*. Its objective was to unite the Muslims in the state in support of the Nizam and reduce the Hindu majority by large-scale conversion to Islam. The *Majlis* it is believed was formed as a defence mechanism with religious overtones to unite the fragmented Muslims belonging to different groups. It was formed to combat Arya Samaj which had started penetrating the masses with its mission of reconversion of Muslims. It was first known as *Majlis -e- Ittehad -e-Bainul Muslimeen* (Council For Unity Among Muslims). A fifteen-member executive was elected and Qilendar declared the first secretary. Later the word 'Bain' (among) was dropped to make it more precise. The objectives of the organization were stated thus:

- To unite the various Islamic Sects within the Islamic principles for the preservation of Islam.
- To protect the economic, social and educational objectives of Muslims.
- To express loyalty to the state and to the ruler and to respect the state laws.⁵

4

Hyderabad was a battlefield of four struggling powers, His Exalted Highness, *Majlis-I-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* (known shortly as *Ittehad*), the Hyderabad State Congress and the Communist Party of India. According to K.M. Munshi in his book, *End of an Era*, *Bombay, 1957*, p. 119.

The Nizam was fully supportive of these moves.

The rise of Ittehad to active politics only began in the 1930's. It was a reaction to the effects of the Government of India Act, 1935 and its follow up movements. The Act had recognized the federal principles for the entire country. The Congress began to demand the inclusion of all princely states into the Indian federation. The Hyderabad government and the Nizam had sympathy for an All-India Federation but the Nizam was not inclined to the immediate entry of Hyderabad without preserving her position. The Hindus in the state began to feel that the Government belonged to the Muslims and that they had no status in the society. They stated resenting the domination of Muslims. This, among the Muslim circles, was interpreted as their tendency to rebel. These mental reservations among both the communities could only fan communal tension in several districts. Majlis, hitherto a mainly dormant religious body woke up. On February 14th, 1938 Abdul Qadeer Siddiqi, Head, Department of Islamiyat, Osmania University presided over a Majlis meeting which added a political clause to its constitution.

Muslims were urged to strengthen a political base for themselves. Bahadur Yar Jung's efforts to organize Muslims at the political level yielded quick results. The number of Majlis units grew rapidly. He made Majlis the center of all Muslim political, economic and cultural movements of this period. Its popularity was in keeping with the Islamic tradition of mixing religion and politics. To quote him:

Muneer Ahmed's Ph.d dissertation titled *Muslim Politics in Hyderabad* 1980, p.50

"If the goal is not Quranic, it only leads to a hell of insults and disaster. Majlis considers such politics whose source is not Quran as mirage".⁶

«

In the same year of the founding of the Ittehad, the British under the pretext of misrule in Hyderabad, appointed four British officials to take charge of important departments of the state, which included Revenue, Police and Industries. One of them would be a member of the Executive Council but the Muslims deeply resented what they called the encroachment. They launched the **Mulki** movement to eliminate all non-Hyderabadis from position, power and influence. The famous slogan of the movement was "Long live the Nizam, the Royal Embodiment of Deccani Nationalism". This quietly disturbed a number of non-Mulkis of the state who were mostly Muslims from north India. They were interested in diverting the passions which the movement had raised. They therefore raised the slogan of "Muslim Sovereignty of Hyderabad." Therefore, this became a pro-Muslim movement and therefore anti-British and anti-Hindu. Bahadur Yar Jung emerged as the leader of the Muslims and the Ittehad under him became a powerful communal organization. Its aim was to thwart the political aspirations of the Hindus and the progressive Muslims. To reiterate his stand on anti-Hindu communalism, he set out to convert the Hindus and gained the title of the crusader among Muslims.

All these developments stirred up the other three political parties against the Ittehad. The Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress began to take up the cause of non-Muslims. All of them raked up communal issues in **politics**.⁷

His speech at the Karachi session of Muslim league, 1943.

The three parties mentioned above also made some mistakes to rouse communalism. According to him, a book, "**Bhaganagar Struggle**" written by S.R. Date of Maharashtra created unnecessary communal ill feelings in Hyderabad's Muslim circles. This book depicted the Muslims and Muslim rulers as aggressors who at the point of sword, converted a number of Hindus into Muslims. This book published at a time when ill feelings were rather

A non-cooperation movement or Satyagraha was started during 1938 by the three parties against the Nizam's government. This made matters worse, as to an average Muslim, especially among uneducated classes, it appeared that the aim of these parties was to oust the Muslims from Hyderabad and make them lose the privileges they had, which they were not prepared to forego.

In 1937, Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Finance minister was made the Prime Minister. Sir Akbar though not a fanatic by any means, had to do some tightrope walking. Though he swore by Hindu-Muslim unity, the government he presided over worked unhindered to strengthen the Ittehad. It banned the State Congress and interfered with the religious freedom of the Hindus as never before. Even the educational policy of the government was aimed at promoting the Urdu language. The Osmania University's primary object was to attract fanatic Muslim scholars imbued with the Muslim doctrine. Most of the non-Muslims chose to join colleges affiliated to Madras University; because even if they did join Osmania University, their chances of joining state services were very meager.

Impact of the **Razakkar** domination on Hindus:

Sir Akbar, though he claimed to be non-communal, did much harm to the Hindus. They were by a slow process eliminated from the Public Works Department and the Accounts Department. His good relations with the British kept his position secure. The table below shows the number of Hindus and Muslim officials in the civil department in the year 1931.

high was naturally a cause for further worsening of situation .see for details, see El, Edroos, *Hyderabad of the Seven Loaves*, Canada, 1992, p. 110.

TABLE No. IV - 1

Table showing the number of Hindus and Muslim Officers in the Civil Departments of the HEH Nizam's Service in 1931.

Department	Hindus	Muslims
Secretariat	16	54
Finance	15	26
Revenue	20	196
Judicial	12	136
Police & Jail	13	40
Education	53	183
Medical	45	41
PWD	34	62
Miscellaneous	40	126
Total	248	864

Source: Classified list of officers of the civil department of HEH the Nizam's Government for the year 1931, compiled in Accountant General's Office, Hyderabad, Government. Central Press, Hyderabad.

Every effort was made by the Nizam under the influence of Razakkars to crush the Hindus in the state in order to maintain the Muslim dominance. The State Congress was declared unlawful on the ground that it was a communal organization. Hindus, in course of time, were prevented from building or repairing temples in any locality where Muslims resided. Hindu temples were often desecrated, but the culprits were rarely

traced, and even if they were, they were never punished. While Hindu religious teachers were prevented from delivering discourses, the Muslim leaders earned on the vigorous campaign of proselytizing the Hindus.

Many efforts were made by the Ittehad and the Nizam's Government to woo a helpless Hindu into Islam. The poor Harijans in the village found it hard sometimes to resist the temptation or the pressure and therefore several conversions took place. A starving Harijan family would allow one of its members to become a Muslim to earn his reward, while the rest of the family including his wife would remain a Hindu. In many cases when the pressure was relaxed the converts would revert to their ancestral religion.

Rise of **Kasim Razvi**

When the time came to choose a successor to Bahadur, the choice of the Nizam was Kasim Razvi, a practicing lawyer from the district of Latur now in Maharashtra. He was a graduate of the Aligarh Muslim University and was the head of the local Ittehad.

Kasim Razvi, as the leader of the Muslims, took his role very seriously. He had a goal and a mission to accomplish. He wanted to liberate the Muslims of the Deccan from the Indian Union.⁸

According to El Edroos **the** Commander-in-chief of **the** Hyderabad army and author of *Hyderabad Of Seven Loaves*, the rise of Kasim Razvi and the Ittehad was really a reaction in the Muslim circles of Hyderabad to the Arya Samaj agitation, which was being carried out in the Hyderabad state. An average Muslim felt insecure and it appeared to him that aim of these parties was to oust the Muslims from **Hyderabad. p.111**

As president of Latur District, Majlis in Osmanabad districts, he had grown in public stature by offering his entire property to the Majlis cause and was there after referred to as Siddiq-e-Deccan⁹.

Razvi thought of giving prominence to the Razakar wing of Majlis to face the situation of post independence and began a phase marked by communal fanaticism and militancy¹⁰.

This title was conferred by Jung on Razvi as he had followed the **illustrious** example of the first Caliph, Abu **Bakar** Siddiq who in the early days of Islam had placed all his belongings at the disposal of the prophet for the cause of Islam.

The Razakkar organization had been established by **Bahadur Yar Jung in 1938** at a time when Hyderabad military was held up at the Second World War.

The zeal with which Kasim Razvi wanted to accomplish his mission was unmatched. It was quite contagious and appealing to most of the Muslims. He insisted that it was the right of the Muslims to enslave the Hindus. He was also encouraged secretly by a number of men who were trying to realize their interests and dreams through this man who was now intoxicated with the dreams. But unfortunately he wanted to achieve his goals in an inhuman and insensitive way. He led a number of attacks on terror-stricken Hindus and created fear among those villagers who were unarmed.

Those who supported Razvi secretly felt that once he was successful in lifting the banner of Islam in Deccan, the Muslims in North India would flock to it and support them. The Hindus would also reconcile themselves to the divine right of the Nizam to represent the Muslim community and would not look beyond the borders to their co-religionists in India for help. They were also under the assumption that the Government of India was too unstable and its army too ill-organized to take any strong action against Hyderabad. They also felt that if action was taken, the Muslims of India would rise as one man and overthrow it.

Razvi with undaunted devotion and unwavering faith built up the Razakkars and moulded them in the role of Holy Crusaders. A Razakkar was to take the pledge to sacrifice his life while joining the corp and the number of volunteers kept increasing.

Activities of Razakkars:

The Razakkars did many things to make their presence felt. They held demonstrations in the towns; they harassed everyone who favored accession to the Union. They overawed the public by staging marches.

The Razakkars also had a good network of espionage and propaganda. They also had abundant means at their disposal. It was quite obvious that they had a very prosperous benefactor helping them. ¹¹

The Razakkars also enjoyed the support of the then Police Commissioner, Nawab Deen Yar Jung. Mir Laik Ali another prominent businessman was one of the main financiers of their movement.

Steadily the Razakkar movement was gaining popularity and the present Darussalam, which ironically means Abode Of Peace, was their headquarters and stronghold. Many intelligent writers and poets were swept in the tide of emotion created by the Razakkars and were engaged in its propaganda. Fasihuddin gave control of *Parcham* to Ibrahim Jalis allowing him to write whatever he pleased. His only stipulation being that he should not forget to "share the proceeds". A big room had been allotted to Ibrahim Jalis and his colleagues in Darussalam, where about 10 or 15 people were allowed to stay. Boarding was free. Mirza Zafrul Hasan was in charge of

According to K.M. Munshi in *End of an Era*, it was undoubtedly the Nizam's **Government** which built up the Razakkars. The Razakkars demanded free transport from Nizam's State Railway and Road Transport Service of state. All arms recovered by the government from Hindus were used by the Razakkars p. 38. But according to Major General Syed Ahmad El Edroos in the book *Hyderabad of Seven loaves*, "it has been mentioned often by the Indian Press and even Indian leaders that the Hyderabad Army was in league with Razakkars and helping them with arms, ammunition and training personnel. But it was absolutely incorrect." According to him, the Hyderabad army itself was short of equipment, arms and **ammunition**. p. 116

radio propaganda. From seven in the morning till midnight propaganda speeches and poems were broadcast from Radio Hyderabad and Aurangabad and one had to admit that it was done effectively.

Akthar Hassan, one of the members of the Progressive Writers Association in Hyderabad, says that a Muslim who spoke against the Razakkars was considered anti-Muslim. When he openly criticized the activities of the Razakkars his house in Mallepally and also his sister's house were attacked. Then Akthar Hassan got a chance meeting with Kasim Razvi while traveling by train. He got an opportunity to discuss many things happening in Hyderabad at that time including Politics, Press, the Nizam and the rights of the Muslims. The topic of the Islamic war of liberation was touched upon. In response to some of his objections Kasim Razvi replied,

"There is no institution of kingship in Islam, but we want to keep our King alive, administering him morphine so as to guard the interests of Muslims and it is in their interests that this state should continue its existence." ¹²

The Nizam had made it clear that unlike other Native States he would not sign the Instrument of Accession with the Indian Government after independence. He sent to Delhi a delegation consisting of Walter Monckton, Nawab of Chattari and Sultan Ahmed for talks with Mountbatten. The talks dragged on until the end of September 1947. Finally the Nizam agreed to enter into a Standstill Agreement for one year. On 22nd October, 1947, the Hyderabad delegation returned home with the draft of the Standstill Agreement for the signature of the Nizam. The Nizam after much deliberation with his Executive Council agreed to sign the Agreement on 27th October 1948. But this news incensed the Razakkars.

From the excerpts of the tape interviews of Akthar Hassan, editor of Urdu daily, *Payam*, done before his death. It appeared in the *Deccan Chronicle* on August 15, 1997, p.6

A mob converged on the Prime Minister's official residence; Shah Manzil (The Shah Manzil is now the Raj Bhavan, the official residence of the Governor of Andhra Pradesh), and set fire to his house. The police kept aloof and the army stayed in the barracks. The crowds demanded that the Nawab of Chattari and other members of the delegation should not leave for Delhi. The Nawab was too courteous and gentlemanly to punish anybody. After this no respect was left for the government or for its chief. No effective action was taken against the culprits.¹³

Regarding the Standstill Agreement Razvi said,

"Some say that the agreement gives respite to India. She would become more and more powerful each day and would pose a threat to Hyderabad. But why shouldn't I suppose that we have gained time with its conclusion. Why shouldn't I believe that India in view of her political disorder, racial and religious differences, and in view of the international situation would become more and more powerless with each passing day"¹⁴.

Hyderabad was referred by Sardar Patel in a broadcast on August 15th, 1948 as "Cancer in the belly" and by V.P. Menon as "Pakistan's Island within India".

In 1948 November, the Nawab of Chattari resigned. He served during a difficult period and bore his cross bravely. Laik Ali took over as Prime Minister. Laik Ali was Razvi's man and enjoyed the confidence of Jinnah. The Nawab of Chattari was a confidant of the Nizam and a loyal servant of the state. But the Nizam under the

¹³ According to Sadat Ali, in his book, *Brief Thanksgiving* 'Madras, 1919', the Nawab of Chattari was popular in Hyderabad. His unassuming manners, his courtesy and personal charm would have made him a generation ago, an ideal Prime Minister of the Indian State. But times had changed and the Government came under the influence of *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen*. p. 10

¹⁴ *Jinnah*, Urdu daily, Hyderabad. Dec. 20, 1947

influence of the Razakkars took no heed to any of the sensible advice given by these Ministers.

The Nawab's loyalty to the State can be proved from a speech he made at a function held in honor of Commander-in-Chief as Chief Guest during World War II on 12th April 1944. He said,

"His Exalted Highness has always looked upon this war as his own and his government and people are at one with him. These ties, coupled with the hands of an alliance contracted over 200 years ago which is as effective now as then, are not of monetary consequences, they have stood the test of time and are likely to be strengthened all the more to mutual advantage in the days to come".¹⁵

A new delegation approved by Razvi consisting of three members, namely Moin Nawab Jung, Abdul Rahim, the Ittehad leader and Pingali Venkatarama Reddy, a courtier of Nizam was sent. Finally on 29th November 1947, the Nizam entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Government of India.

The following arrangement was agreed upon as per the stand still Agreement:

Article 1: Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matter of common concern, including External Affairs, Defense and Communication, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before the 15th August 1947 shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between and Dominion of India (or any part there of) and the Nizam.

This speech appeared in the Summary of Hyderabad's war effort - 1939-44, Hyderabad **Government Central Press, 1944.**

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any regret on the dominion.

- 1) To send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order, or
- 2) To sanction troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will **not** be unreasonably withheld, any troops so sanctioned to be withdrawn from Hyderabad's territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

Article 2 The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purpose of this Agreement to appoint Agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

Article 3 (1) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountacy functions or create any paramountacy relationship.

(2) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance here of, shall be deemed to create in favor of either party and right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to delegate from any right which, but for this agreement, would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

Article 4: Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangement hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by these arbitrators.

Article 5: This agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year. In confirmation whereof the Governor General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures. ¹⁶

A look at the background to the negotiations between Delhi and Hyderabad is necessary at this stage. The Delhi government was living through one of its weakest moments. With Partition came the ugly communal riots in Punjab and open fighting in Kashmir. There seemed a real possibility of war with Pakistan. An economic and administrative breakdown at home was also possible. On the other hand, the Nizam felt he had increased in strength after August 15th and he regarded this period as the expansion of his autocracy. India had conceded the Standstill Agreement to Hyderabad, only to give time and opportunity to accede with grace and dignity. But the Nizam's government approached the negotiations in a quite different spirit. It was not prepared at this stage to sacrifice sovereignty. Thus all these factors led to mounting tension, both between the governments and the peoples concerned.

The Nizam began to violate the terms of the Standstill Agreement. He notified that the Indian currency was not legal tender in his state and also banned the export of gold. It was very clear that the Nizam entered into Standstill Agreement only to gain time to procure arms. Sydney Cotton of Australia was engaged to procure arms and ammunition from different parts of the world and smuggle them into Hyderabad.¹⁷

White paper on Hyderabad, 1948, Government of India, Appendix II, p. 45

Sydney Cotton was an Australian Jew. He had been a fighter pilot with the British Air Force in the 1st World War. He was staying in the then famous Percy's hotel. According to him when on a business trip to Hyderabad he was horrified by the suffering the Indian blockade was causing the local population and was determined to help them. It was Cotton who suggested they ask the Security Council of the United Nations to intervene. He knew the Indian Government would retaliate and he would fly in the urgently needed weapons and medical supplies. He did it even at the risk of being shot down by the Indian Air Force planes: Ian Austin's, *City of Legends*, Calcutta, 1992 p.p. 183-184.

Atrocities Of Razakkars:

The atrocities of the Razakkars on innocent people increased after the Standstill Agreement was signed.

In Aurangabad, two Hindus were brutally killed by Muslims. The police who took the suspects into custody were also threatened and they were forced to release them. Many of the Razakkars openly extorted money from wayfarers. The houses of even the poor were looted and their women molested.

Even the Bishop, Rev. Edwards, Head of the Diocese of Medak, Church of South India came to K.M. Munshi¹⁸ who was appointed as Agent General in Hyderabad after the Standstill Agreement to complain about the situation prevailing in his diocese. In his letter dated August 5, 1948 the conditions in the Diocese of Medak were summarized under three heads: The General State of Lawlessness, Open Conflict and Established Rebellion. He wrote,

"It was distressing the other morning to visit a village on the outside near the ally and to find it mostly deserted as a result of looting by a band of Razakkars the previous night, the attack being accompanied by serious bodily injuries. Nevertheless the Christians are being subject to pressure through attempts at bribery and threats... Appeals have been made against

¹⁸

As a result of the Agreement of November, 1947 Agents General were exchanged between India and Hyderabad. Zahir Yar Jung was stationed in Delhi while K.M. Munshi was posted here. The status of the Agent General was not well defined and even as Munshi believed he was the successor of the all-powerful British Resident, the Nizam disabused his mind of any such notion by not allowing him to use the Residency. He had to take a military bungalow in Bolaram in the midst of the Indian army establishment. On the eve of the Police Action, the State Government moved him from his official residence in the cantonment, Dakshina Sadan and placed him under the protective custody at the lake view guesthouse. Munshi took care to send all his diaries, state papers and manuscripts of the novel he was writing in a sealed cover to Buch, who was the Joint Secretary in the Defense Ministry. See for details Narendra Luther, *Memoirs Of City*, Hyderabad, 1995 p. 306.

the shooting of unarmed villages on new suspicion, and the indiscriminate burning of villages, but they have been of little avail.¹⁹

The Government of India was getting concerned about the events being unfurled in Hyderabad. Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter to Sardar Patel dated 23rd July 1948 said,

"You are aware of the fact that there is every chance of the Hyderabad state Govt. referring their dispute with us to the United Nations. We should not wait for this reference and then think about it. We should therefore take immediate steps to prepare our answer and to clear up our own minds as to the attitude we should take... very probably Hyderabad has been intriguing with the Arab and other Muslim countries and possibly borrowing money into their coffers. We are asking our ambassadors there to do what they can do to counter this. It is rather difficult for them to do what they can to do much in the circumstances. Nevertheless they have to be on the alert."²⁰

The Nizam in a letter to Clement R Atlee, Prime Minister of England alleged that a serious situation had arisen as a result of India's attempt to force Hyderabad to accede to the Union .He appealed as "a staunch friend and faithful ally of the British Government" for help in the difficulties with which "I am now confronted". Commenting on the letter of the Nizam to Atlee Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a letter to Prime Minister,Atlee saying,

"The Government of India have made repeated attempts to arrive at a peaceful settlement in regard to Hyderabad...The statement made by the Nizam that the state had been denied supplies of medical stores, Chlorine for the purification of water supplies, and salt is completely untrue, and large quantities of medical supplies and chlorine have been sent to Hyderabad... Hyderabad is the only state that has no trace of self-government or responsible government. A feudal regime persists there and this has been made far worse by the encouragement given to the Razakkars who kill and rape, burn and loot. You will appreciate that this state of affairs has produced great reaction in the Indian public and

K.M. Munshi, *End Of An Era*, Delhi, 1991, p. 184, 185

² *Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, ed. G. Gopal, New Delhi, 1976. p. 196

the government of India have been strongly criticized for not taking effective action to put an end to these atrocities”²¹

Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter to Lord Mount Batten dated **August.1, 1948** wrote,

"The Hyderabad affairs continue to simmer. The Razzakars have become quite rabid and nobody seems to be able to control them. One of the Ministers of Hyderabad Government, Joshi who has been hand in glove with Kasim Razvi and the Razakkars resigned recently and made a long statement. This statement gives a ghastly account of happenings in Hyderabad state and of the atrocities that the Razakkars are committing... Our position briefly put is, that it is impossible to carry on any negotiations till two things happen, the banning of Razakkars and a new Government in Hyderabad.”²²

In a letter to V.K. Krishna Menon on 15th August 1948, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote,

"... What is forcing our hands apart from an almost universal demand, is the progressive deterioration of the situation inside Hyderabad. Our reports indicate that some kind of terrorism prevails in parts of the state. Murder and arson are committed by Razakkars and forcible conversions are taking place. The European Residents there are themselves getting frightened at these developments. We had recently a letter from British missionaries there appealing for help. It is frightfully difficult for us to look on, while this kind of thing is happening on a considerable scale in Hyderabad State. I doubt if any Government can sit tight in view of this developing situation. Even our British Military advisors are coming round to the opinion that Hyderabad must be dealt with in a military way fairly soon.”²³

In another cable to V.K. Krishna Menon, Nehru wrote :

"Situation inside the state is getting intolerable. Razakkars stopped a train the other day and attacked and looted passengers'... one village

²¹ *Ibid*, Pp 197-198

²² *Ibid* Pp202-203

²³ *Ibid* P207

which resisted Razakkars onslaught for 3 days had to give up fight when munitions gave out. The village Headman was beheaded and his head carried about on a pole.... Police action against Razakkars and their sympathizers in Hyderabad cannot therefore be postponed much longer".²

Kasim Razvi, just before the Police Action had the brain wave of visiting Delhi to see Sardar Patel and the Indian Government and to acquaint them of his point of view. However the Indian Government thought otherwise and nobody of importance gave him either an interview or took any interest in him with the result that Kasim Razvi returned, home more determined than ever to create friction between Hyderabad and the Government of India.

Kasim Razvi made a series of inflammatory speeches on his return to Hyderabad. On June 9, 1948 he said,

"There is a need for the banks of Musi and Jamuna to converge. We would unfurl the Asafia Flag on the Delhi Red Fort".²⁵

He followed it up on June 27th the same year,

"It is constantly being said for the last six months that Hyderabad would be attacked. The Indian Union cannot attack Hyderabad for another 600 years. If she does, she would destroy herself.... The day Hyderabad is attacked I would not be responsible for the safety of the Red fort. A fire would spread in every direction"²⁶

A month later, in July he said,

²⁴ *Ibid* p. 215

²⁵Recorded in *Rabbar-e-Deccan* dated June 9th, 1948, p.3

²⁶ *Ibid* dated **June 27, 1948** p. 1

"If Hyderabad's fate would be that of Junagadh then Red Fort's fate would be worse."²⁷

According to K.M. Munshi, the Agent General of India in Hyderabad, the Razakkars would sing provocative songs while crossing the residence of his and other nationalist leaders staying in the city on the eve of Police Action. They were trying to give a psychological edge to their position. One of their popular songs sung while crossing the Dakshina Sadan was,

"we shall force Nehru to bow low at the feet of the Nizam. We shall bury Patel and Munshi in their graves"²⁸.

N.G. Ranga one of the leaders of the National Movement found a good ally in Munshi when he was appointed the Indian Agent in Hyderabad. He requested him to personally visit the affected border villages on both sides. The Nizam's government refused to assure him requisite protection. For one whole day both of them toured the Andhra border areas. Everywhere rural masses thronged to Munshi, with their tales of attacks made by Razakkars. After reaching Vijayawada, Munshi declared in a huge meeting that Delhi would have to take Police Action. That declaration was outside his book of instructions. But it was so characteristic of Munshi, at once a romantic and a man of action. Soon afterwards, Sardar ordered Police Action.

About this incident Munshi used to tell,

"Rangaji you certainly put me in the lions den". I answered but Munshi Sahab, "you bearded these lions in their own dens".²⁹

²⁷ *Ibid* dated July 28, 1948 p.28

²⁸ K.M. Munshi, *End of an Era*, Delhi, 1991 p. 116

N.G. Ranga, *Distinguished Acquaintances*, Vol-I, Hyderabad 1976, p.p 272-274

Akthar Hasan, editor of the Urdu daily, *Pay am* replying to **Kasim** Razvi's speeches wrote in his paper,

"If the Muslims of the state insisted upon their so called rights then a terrible future awaited the state".

The newspaper *Payam* conducted an opinion poll among respectable and educated Muslims and the conclusion was that 70 percent were against the Majlis and the Razakkars. According to Akthar Hassan, the idea of Independent Hyderabad was supported by capitalists like Laik Ali, the owner of Nizam Sagar factory and Sirpur Paper Mills, Khan Bahadur Alladin and others who thought that if Hyderabad joined the Indian Union they would not survive against the might of the Tatas and the Birlas. But Kasim Razvi felt that Hyderabad had to be kept independent and Nizam had to be retained in order to protect their religion. The Nizam was all the time playing a double game. On the one hand, he had accepted the Government formed by Laik Ali, on the other hand he was negotiating with the Indian Union through Zain Yar Jung.³⁰ There were number of non-officials in the state and among them, Ali Nawaz Jung and Zulkhadar Jung had a sobering influence on the Nizam and were liberal in outlook. Nawab Zain Yar Jung was in favor of Hyderabad joining the Union of India. He was therefore removed from Hyderabad and sent as Hyderabad's Agent General in Delhi as per the terms of the Standstill Agreement where he made unceasing efforts to create goodwill between the Government of India and Hyderabad but he could not succeed much because of the increasing influence of Razakkars on the Nizam after his departure to Delhi.³¹

According to opinion of Akthar Hassan **expressed** in his interview which appeared on 15th August 1997 in *Deccan Chronicle*, Nizam had accepted the Laik Ali Government under pressure. He was only interested in the perpetuation of his rule and therefore, sometimes he looked at the Laik Ali and Kasim Razvi as allies and at other times at the Indian Union. He was more inclined towards going the Indian Union. At a political level, an **agreement** had already been reached and he was trying to get one **year's extension** for this agreement.

This view was expressed by El. Edroos in his book "*Hyderabad of Seven Loaves*", p. 118. The author also explains that he was called by the Nizam and was asked his opinion on Razakkars. The author explained that the

Nawab Zair Yar Jung, mentioned earlier was a distinguished engineer and architect. He married into the Bilgrami family and thus got the opportunity to join the inner circles of Hyderabad. His wife was Ruqquia Begum Bilgrami, who was the daughter of Dr. Syed Ali Bilgrami a great scholar. She had inherited from her father great literary tastes. She went to an English school, Perse just outside Cambridge. She took her Honours degree in History from Newnham College, Cambridge. At the time of her death in 1947, she was the Principal of Women's college, Hyderabad. She was only 50 years old then. She occupies a unique place in the history of educational development in Hyderabad because at a time when religious fervors and tempers were high, she, though religious, did not have the slightest tinge of fanaticism or narrow mindedness.³²

Ruqquia Begum Bilgram's cosmopolitan attitude and broadmindedness was inherited by her son, Sadath Ali Khan. He joined the Department Of Information in the Government of Hyderabad. He was able to have a broad perspective towards the issues plaguing Hyderabad. He had a deep desire that the problems in Hyderabad should be settled amicably and peace should prevail. He had great regard for Mahatma Gandhi and with great difficulty he got an appointment to meet him on 28th January, 1948, two days before his death..

Razakkars could be dealt with from the military point of view. He said he could disarm them and make them completely impotent if he was given a free hand in the matter. But the Nizam mentioned that he was advised not to take any drastic action against Razakkars p.p. 118-119.

³² Sadath Ali Khan, *Brief Thanksgiving*, Madras 1959 p. 10

According to Sadath Ali, when the Indo-Hyderabad problem was discussed, Mahatma Gandhi replied with a smile and said "Princes were like children". Gandhi was quite optimistic that the Hyderabad problem would be solved soon.³³

In the 1952 General Elections, Sadath Ali contested representing the Congress in Ibrahimpet constituency. He won the seat and claimed that his victory

"was a tribute to the Congress party and to Mr. Nehru's secular policy."³⁴

Another person who tirelessly worked for creating broadmindedness among Muslims and enabling them to adopt a positive attitude was Fareed Mirza, one of the seven Muslims who openly advised the Nizam to accede to the Indian Union. He was a graduate from Osmania University in 1940 and appointed Tahsildar in 1941. He resigned from Government service on 15th July, 1948 to protest against the activities of Razakkars and the Government's one-sided policy. He joined the Government service as Deputy Collector on 18th August 1949. He was very impressed with the initiative and leadership of Nehru and even secretly attended the AICC session of Congress in Bombay in 1942 and was very impressed with the struggle for freedom. He read an editorial, which appeared in an Urdu weekly, *Khadim*, the editorial read, "Is this independence or eternal slavery". In it the editor, Mr. Mulla Abdul Basith, strongly criticized the policy of Laik Ali Government and addressed it to restore good relations with the Indian Union. Fareed Mirza wrote a letter to him congratulating him on his courage and soundness of his views.

³³ Sadath Ali, *op.cit* p.25

³⁴ Ibid, p. 26

Fareed **Mirza**, *Pre and Post Police Action Days In The Erstwhile Hyderabad state - what I saw, Felt and Did. Hyderabad, 1976. p. 10*

Fareed Mirza not only condemned whatever he saw as unjust, he was also a man of action. While working as Tahsildar he wrote a letter to the first Taluqdar of Nanded district explaining his distress over the atrocities committed by the Razakkars. The gist of his letter reads thus,

"Sir, the subversive activities of the Ittehad Muslimeen Razakkars are on the increase day by day Government and its officers have been so completely dominated by the Ittehad Muslimeen that they do not take any action against the Razakkars. But very often the atrocities of Razakkars are connived at. They commit acts of loot and arson and burn the houses of innocent people and the Government officers content themselves by looking on these acts with indifference and even sometimes with amusement. As a Muslim, I am entirely overcome by a sense of utter shame that such inhuman acts should be committed by members of my community. As a member of the Government whose duty is to safeguard the lives and property of its poor subjects, which it is not doing, I feel a great pain and I have therefore decided to resign my post as an act of protest".³⁶

In another letter the copies of which were submitted to Subedar Saheb of Aurangabad for information, the Revenue Member and the Prime Minister, he wrote,

"The members of the depressed classes are also taking possession of hundred of acres of land by force. In this way hundreds, nay thousands of rightful owners of their land have been dispossessed of their lands. The right cause for the Government would be to legislate in the matter and obtain records from Jagirdars and big landholders to see how much land they can cultivate personally and the remaining land should be acquired on payment of some compensation. The present system is not the correct system of helping the depressed classes. I also believe that a permanent agreement should be reached with the Indian Union and this would be beneficial to Hyderabad and also to Muslims."³⁷

Ibid, p. 13

Ibid, p. 14

The Tahsildars prevailed on him not to resign and urged him to take up charge in Biloli.

Fareed Mirza along with Mulla Sahed met Baker Ali Mirza and the three of them decided to issue an appeal to Muslims and point out the dangers of the Ittehad's policies and give details of Razakkar activities. This statement was also signed by Nawab Manzoor Jung, a staunch nationalist. Many other Muslims felt that policies of Ittehad was wrong but were not ready to come out of it openly especially those who were still in Government service. The statement was later signed by three other retired prominent Muslim officers. The statement appeared on 13th August 1948 and it was published in the Urdu Newspaper, *Payam*.³⁸ The Paper which contained the statement was in great demand.

The *Nizam's Gazette*, an Urdu daily reacted to it by calling these seven people as seven traitors of the country. All Ittehad papers condemned them. One of them even stated that this statement was issued at the instance of the government of India. Kasim Razvi reacting to it stated that any hand raised against the honor and self-respect of Muslims would be put down and cut. It also appeared in the press that the government was stopping the pensions of those signatories who were retired government servants. The government had also asked the four pension-signatories, why the pension should not be stopped because of their treacherous activities. Mulla Abdul Basitt gave a fitting reply. He hit back by saying that traitors were those who created hurdles in the achievement of these ends. He said,

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The statement issued contained all the details of Razakkar atrocities. They quoted Nehru's statement which appeared in *The Hindu* on 10th August, 1948 which said "Accession does not mean that Hyderabad should become the slave of India. It means that everybody in every part of the country should get Independence. Accession means equality". The details of statement can be obtained from Fareed Mirza's book *Ibid*, p. 18-21

"Our asking for responsible government and agreement with the Indian Union could never be termed as treason."

Sir Mirza Ismail was one of the ablest Prime Ministers that His Exalted Highness the Nizam could secure for his Government. Sir Mirza was a seasoned administrator who had efficiently directed State affairs in Mysore and Jaipur. He had been requested several times to accept the reins of Hyderabad administration. But it was ordained that he should come in the first week of August, 1946 to Hyderabad. The liberal views of Sir Mirza were so pronounced that it was quite impossible that Muslim Leaguers would welcome his appointment in such a key position for Musalmans.

He inspired great expectations but unfortunately this was not the universal feeling in the State. Let us read what Sir Mirza himself had to say about this :

"What an enormous amount of work there was to be done in Hyderabad and what a wonderful country it could become! This hope, this ambition, was not destined to be fulfilled. Although I was there for only ten months, I am neither sorry I went nor that I left so soon. With the withdrawal of British control, I found, as I had anticipated, that it was impossible to stay. The Nizam was bent upon independence. Even more so were that wretched band of foolish Muslims called the *Ittehad-ul-Muslameens*. A few sentences from an intercepted Press telegram sent to the *Ittehad* paper in Hyderabad (reproduced below) will show what a poisonous lot of people I had to deal with. They were bent upon moving heaven and earth to see me out of Hyderabad."

The intercepted Press telegram reads thus,

"While Muslims of India are boycotting the so-called Constituent Assembly which has lost all its importance as a constitution-making body and has been reduced to the position of All India Congress Committee, Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, himself a Muslim and Chief of Muslim Dominion of Hyderabad, is hobnobbing with Congress leaders in lobbies of constituent Assembly almost every

day. Sir Mirza is seen in corridors flirting with Congress members and greeting them with folded hands like Hindus. Sometimes, he was heard saying "Namsthe" "Namaskaram." He is also believed to have said that the Hindus being in a great majority, would rule in the long run despite all difficulties."

Sir Mirza realized that though he was exerting to harness his energy and talents fully for the cause of justice and fairplay he was not certain he could prevail against the mischievous onslaughts of unscrupulous and imprudent people upon the Nizam, whose firmness and trust was his last resort. He writes,

"I found that even senior officers of the State, many of them, had lost their heads. I should have been a thorn in the flesh of these people. So, when I came to Bangalore for summer recess, I reviewed the position and came to the conclusion that I should not go back to Hyderabad. I had also a suspicion that the Nizam would not regret my departure."

Sir Mirza Ismail wrote on May 15, 1947 to H.E.H. the Nizam as follows -

"It is with the deepest regret that I have to ask Your Exalted Highness to relieve me to the high office with which you have been pleased to entrust me. At a time which is perhaps, the most critical the Dominion will ever know, I came to Hyderabad at your Exalted Highness's invitation, full of enthusiasm and with deep attachment to Your Exalted Highness's person and dynasty. I was determined to devote my lifelong experience and the capabilities which God has given me to the right solution of the many problems with which the future of the Dominion is beset. In the pursuit of this earnest desire I had planned many things which in the fullness of time would have assuredly contributed to the greatness and glory of Hyderabad and to the happiness and prosperity of your people. I could only succeed in such a task if I were assured of your Exalted Highness's full support and sympathy.

I have had the misfortune to find myself opposed at every turn by a certain section of the local Musalmans who, in my opinion, are set on a course that is suicidal to the State. I have not taken a single step that has been detrimental to their real interests. On the other hand, I have done all that is humanly possible to serve, but in vain. At the instigation of arch-conspirators who have other ends to serve, they have carried on a vigorous and calculated campaign of vilification against me.

It has been my further misfortune to find that I have lost the confidence of Your Exalted Highness. The intrigues and agitation to which I refer are, I firmly believe, directed as much against the interest of Your Exalted Highness as against myself. But, while a word from you would have stopped the campaign at once, you have maintained silence, and the agitators have given the impression that they enjoy Your Exalted Highness's goodwill and patronage.

Only recently, I wrote your Exalted Highness from Berar saying and unless Your Exalted Highness could give me your fullest confidence and support it would not be possible for me to carry on. As that support has not been forthcoming, there is no alternative for me but to ask to be relieved. In spite of the sad memories of my stay in Hyderabad, I shall always pray that God in His mercy, may protect the Asafjah Crown from the dangers that I see looming ahead."

Sir Mirza Ismail left Hyderabad for Bangalore. Sir Mirza whose decision in the matter was final was sure to send his resignation in a week. Thus Hyderabad Musalmans and Nizam lost the mature guidance of a sagacious administrator.

On the morning of 22nd August, the tragic news of the murder of Shoebullah Khan, a staunch nationalist and editor of *Imroz* was received with great sorrow. It was evident that he was murdered only because of his political views.

¹ N. Ramesan ed. *History of Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*. Vol.-IV Hyderabad 1966 Pp 276 - 278

Before things could really go out of hand the Indian Government successfully conducted the 'Operation Polo' or Police Action against Hyderabad as detailed in the

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chapter, "Police Action In Hyderabad". In four days the Razakkars were reduced to nothing.

According to Akthar Hasan, editor of Urdu daily, *Payam*,

"No doubt the Razakkar indulged in a lot of goondaism and oppressed other communities, but it should be said that in comparison to whatever Razakkars did, the wrongs perpetrated on the community in the course of Police Action and thereafter was ten times graver for which documentary proof is available".⁴⁰

These acts created lot of resentment and fear among the minority community.

Fareed Mirza wrote that

"Eight months have passed since police action and still arrests continue to be made in connection with the acts committed before the police action."⁴¹

Dr. Masood, Assistant Director ICSSR, Osmania University expresses great sadness while reminiscencing on atrocities committed during the post Police Action days. He belongs to the village Tamsa in Nanded District, one of the worst affected during this time. He says that 23 people were shot dead during this time. According to him, three of his uncles were also among them. He readily recollects the names of some of them killed.

1. Azam Khan
2. IsaqUddin

⁴⁰

Akthar Hassan interview which appeared in *Deccan Chronicle* on 15th August 1997, p.6

Fareed Mirza, *Op cit* p. 43

3. Imam Uddin
4. **Sardar** Uddin
5. Anwaruddin

He mentions the name of Mohammad Ali Khan who was his uncle and the president of the Majlis. According to him he was shot dead and his daughter was forcibly married to a Hindu. He recollects the name of the Marwari local leader Bansilal, who instigated the perpetrators of the crime to come to that area. The people were shot and the dead bodies were thrown into their burning houses. He laments that the Nizam foolishly came under influence of Kasim Razvi and tarnished his image. "What is the benefit of ending Nizam's rule?" he queries.

"Today if you meet people who lived during the days of Nizam they always claim that they were happier then. Now there is more corruption, unemployment and water scarcity. After independence every political party forgot its mission. The Nizam's feudal rule was brought to an end but the new government was full of feudal lords." ⁴²

According to him it was Marathwada lobby in Congress which strongly fought for accession to the Indian Union. These leaders made it a Hindu Muslim struggle. For them, Kasim Razvi was their enemy because he wanted to keep Hyderabad independent. The hatred between them was evident from the fact that the atrocities committed in Marathwada region was more than in Telangana region during the post Police Action days.

He also recalls an amusing anecdote about the war strategy of Razakkars. When the Karimnagar army chief asked for arms and ammunition from Hyderabad the office replied " I have just booked 2 wagons of weapons". He did not know that there was no train from Hyderabad to Karimnagar. This revealed the ignorance of the Razakkars.

Dr. Masood concludes that if Hyderabad had remained independent, then the Razakkars would have been called the 'freedom fighters'⁴³.

A three man special tribunal in a single unanimous judgment delivered, convicted Syed Kasim Razvi, Razakkar leader of Hyderabad of the charge of conspiracy and abetment of the murder of Shoebullah Khan, editor of *Imroze*, the Urdu daily of Hyderabad and sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for life on each count. ⁴⁴

Kasim Razvi rose up smartly and accepted the sentence passed on him by the Tribunal. ⁴⁵ He said, "I am very much thankful to your Honors" and took his seat. The tribunal in its judgment delivered on 10th September, 1950 awarded Razvi seven years of hard labor in the Bibinagar dacoity case and life sentence in the Shoebullah murder case. An appeal was filed in the High Court and the plea of the defense was upheld and life sentence quashed. Sentence of seven years rigorous imprisonment was upheld. He was placed in Chanchalguda jail and assigned the number 20063 and given the job of cutting grass in the jail compound. In 1954, he was shifted to the Yeravada jail in Pune where he served the rest of his sentence. He was released on 11th September 1957 on completion of his term. Kamil, an old friend of Razvi came to receive him. Both of them embraced each other and Razvi was surprised to see that there was no crowd of

⁴³ My interview with Dr. Masood on 8-1-2003

⁴⁴ The report of the Judgment in *Deccan Chronicle* Hyderabad Sept. 12th 1950.

⁴⁵

Lakshmi Reddy, former lecturer in History, Nizam College says in her interview to *Deccan Chronicle*, "I remember I went for the trials of Kasim Razvi in the Chanchalguda jail. He was a brilliant speaker **and defended** himself so well." *Deccan Chronicle*, Aug 15th, 1997 p. 16

friends and admirers. They reached Hyderabad on 12th September. Razvi realized that times had changed and he had become irrelevant.⁴⁶

He had decided to go away to Pakistan. On questioned by scribes as to why he would not stay here he said,

"What shall I do? I am an Ex-Convict. I can't practice. How shall I sustain myself?"⁴⁷

His friend accompanied Razvi to Bombay and saw him off at the airport. A young man clenched his teeth at him and said

"Bastard, they should have shot him instead of letting him go to Pakistan".

That was the last remark, which Razvi heard in India.

In the evening, Radio Pakistan concluded its News Bulletin with an unusual reference to weather. "The weather over Karachi was fine today," it said. That was the code message to say that Razvi had arrived safely in Karachi. Razvi was nobody in Pakistan. He started his practice among refugees from India. He died unwept and unsung on 15th January 1970. He was sixty-seven, when he died.⁴⁸

The Razakkars thus added a not so happy chapter in the history of Hyderabad State and its accession to Indian Union. Credit must go to **Kasim Razvi** for the charismatic personality, which he possessed, which drew large numbers from all rank

46 He called for a general body meeting of the Ittehad and 40 out of 140 members turned up. It was in this meeting that he nominated Abdul Wahid Owaisi as his successor. Narendra Luther, *Hyderabad Memoirs Of A City*, Hyderabad 1995, p. 361

⁴⁷ *Ibid* P. 362

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.363

and file to him. If only he had thought right probably many ugly events could have been avoided.

Kasim Razvi had made feeble attempts to organize the dispersed strength of the Razakkars. History would never forgive him for not prohibiting the dispatch of unarmed Razakkars to the border areas. Quite a few were slain in their enthusiasm with no artillery worth the name and with no squadron stationed at Karachi, as was widely rumoured, a token and helpless struggle lacking planning and foresight against the Union forces with a complete military division lasted for 5 days. The Razakkars were demoralized and fought vain battles. The area commander had no instruction in the event of an attack. With the small army and large frontier to defend, little resistance was in evidence except for the first two days.

Thus when the Razakkars began the process of making Hyderabad a complete Islamic state the nationalists could not remain silent. Any prominent muslim who was a nationalist was charged with treason. The Razakkars feared that the privileges they enjoyed under a muslim ruler would be lost with the end of the muslim rule. Kasim Razvi had once ordered that if any body would go against them his tongue shall be cut and his hands should be clipped. Hence police action seemed the only solution to contain such atrocities.

The next Chapter deals with the role of the Arya Samaj

CHAPTER V

ARYA SAMAJ AND ITS ACTIVITIES

Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 at Bombay by Maharishi Dayanand Saraswathi, has been hailed as one of the most potential and dynamic socio-religious movements of the day. It had a great impact on the life and thinking of the people particularly of the Hindus in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to Dr.K.P.Jaiswal,

"The foundation of the Arya Samaj marked the beginning of vital changes in the social, religious, educational and national life of the vast majority of the people of India, as well as among the followers of the various faiths of the world."¹

Speaking on the role of Arya Samaj, Yogi Arvind Ghosh of Pondichery said,

"Dayanand was the real harbinger of the Indian Renaissance which opened up new directions and fresh hopes for millions of people who were groaning under the worst kind of slavery resulting from social, religious, cultural and political decadence."

In the light of the above statements the role of the Arya Samaj during the latter part of the reign of the last Nizam, Osman Ali Khan becomes very clear. The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad gave an impetus to the political awakening and paved the way for political emancipation at Hyderabad.

The political problems in Hyderabad related mainly to injustice of the minority rule over the majority. The minority of the ruler's community aspired to grow in strength through religious planks. Proselytizing the members of the majority community was one of the easy means to add to their own numbers. This was quite justified as long as the means are fair and merely persuasive. But when unfair means were employed the situation became quite explosive.

D.Vable, *The Arya Samaj The Most Revolutionary Movement of India*, New Delhi.p.4.

The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad state was founded in 1880 in Dharur Taluk of Beed district which acted as head office to guide its activities. In 1892, the Arya Samaj of Hyderabad was started in Residency area, later renamed as Sultan Bazar. The first President here was Pandit **Kamata** Prasadji Misra.²

The teachings of the Arya Samaj had penetrated long ago into Hyderabad even before the dawn of the 20th century. But its impact was felt from the time Pandit Keshava Rao Koratkar, a great patriot and lawyer was elected the President of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad and he continued to remain at its helm 1932. He infused great vigour into the activities of Arya Samaj. He established many branches of Arya Samaj throughout the state and helped the spread of education through libraries and schools. The *Satyarth Prakash* of Arya Samaj was rendered into Telugu in 1921. They even rendered financial help to movements outside Hyderabad like the Moplah rebellion in Malabar.³ Their activities attracted an enthusiastic band of workers who vowed to protect the interests of the majority.

The Ganesh Utsav, to celebrate the birthday of the popular Hindu God, Ganesh was started in Maharashtra by the great Revolutionary leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It served as an effective means of public awakening through the media of songs, lectures and melas.

In 1895, for the first time in Hyderabad, Ganesh festival was held at Shah Ali Banda and Chaderghat and it evoked a good response. The festival at Chadharghat was

M.L.Nigam, *Romance of Indian Culture*, Hyderabad 1991 p.58

Moplah uprising which started as a cultivator-landlord riot turned communal in Malabar.

organized entirely by students. This greatly helped in rousing public opinion. They also provided a training ground for workers in constructive social action.

Due to the influence of the Razakkars on the Nizam, a number of restrictions were brought on the Hindus by the government. L.B.Phatak the editor of Maratha weekly, *Nizam Vijay*, had brought out a brochure in 1931 in English under the title "Religious Disabilities of Hindus in the Hyderabad State". The facts below are from that brochure. A circular was issued by the government regarding religious celebrations,

"...The Dasara is a great festival for the Hindus in which music processions form a leading part. Its character is jubilant, but it may synchronise with Moharrum which has a melancholy character. Therefore the government issues the following circular dated 13th Aban, 1326F, 1916 By Order of HEH the Nizam's government according to which All Hindus of Hyderabad city and of the districts should perform their worship without any sort of music. Batkamma (goddess) should not be brought out and Hindus should not play music even in their household temples".⁴

As a result of such restrictions, tempers rose on the side of the majority community. Often it led to riots between the two communities. One of the earliest riots during Osman Ali Khan's reign was the riots at Gulbarga, and this incident was conveyed to the Secretary of State in London by the Viceroy (Foreign and Political department) in Simla through a Telegram. The subject of the Telegram read 'Hindu Mohamadan Riots at Gulbarga in the Nizam's dominions'.

"On 11th August, a Hindu procession passed a mosque during prayers. The Mohammedans objected and the

From a document written by late Shri M.N.Joshi in the unpublished collections of V.H.Desai.

procession was turned back by magistrates' orders. The mob was dispersed by Police after some stone throwing. The next day the Mohammedan religious is said to have been insulted while a Mohamedan procession was passing a Hindu temple... Riots got out of hand. Police Superintendent was shot and in the end police dispersed the mob by fire, killing one and wounding seven. Nizam on 19th issued a *firman* appointing a commission of enquiry. It is alleged that tense atmosphere had been created by Muslim proselytism.... Accounts in Times of India allege Mohameddians to have been aggressors and to have deliberately damaged their mosques with a view of exciting Mohammedan feeling against Hindus. Apparently practically all the temples in the town were raided and damaged and idols destroyed... The government is undertaking repairs to temples and mosques."⁵

There was strange religious activity started by a Muslim by name Siddiq Dindar in 1929. He declared himself to be as the Avtar of Chenna Basweshwar held in high regard by Lingayats. Siddiq Dindar said that Islam was the modern form of the preachings of Chenna Basweshwar. He delivered speeches belittling the Avtars of Rama and Krishna and irritated the feelings of the Hindus. Sri Mangala Dev, a preacher of the Arya Samaj was invited to counteract the harangues of Siddiq Dindar. Another learned scholar, Pandit Ramachandra Dehlavi who had read the original Quran and its commentaries also came to Hyderabad.' This propaganda on both the sides

⁵ Telegram Rno, 1350-8 dated 28* August 1924, dispatched at 3-30 p.m. in F.No. 84(2) poll. 1924 (Foreign Political)

⁶ Pandit **Ramachandra** Dehlavi was considered the Prince among Preachers. Since his speeches made a great impact there was great pressure on the State authorities to somehow implicate the Pundit and curtail his influence on the Hindu and Muslim population of the State. On the third day of his meeting, he was served summons at 9.30 p.m. signed by the Subjudge at Bidar requiring him to answer a charge of insult to Islam on the basis of a lecture delivered at **Halikhd** in September 1933. The news of his prosecution created a great sensation all over India. A telegram was sent by Sri Narayan Swamiji, President of the league to HEH the Nizam of Hyderabad and **another letter on the same subject was addressed to Professor. M.Sudhakar**, Secretary of the League. Because of

began to embitter mutual relations. The followers of Siddiq believed to be five hundred strong wore the green turban of Muslim divines, the saffron robe of Hindu Sadhus and beard in the style of the Sikhs. When the situation in a village grew tense, they led the Muslims against the Hindus. Siddiq increased his proselytizing activities unchecked⁷. The Hindus on January 10th 1932, submitted a petition to the Nizam to check his activities. When the opposition became too strong, the Nizam's government imposed some kind of restriction on Siddiq's activities but he continued to function till 1948. Though the Razakkars looked upon the Deendars with contempt, they tolerated them as convenient allies for the terrorization of the Hindus⁸. Another circular issued requires that no processions even those organized in connection with religious ceremonies; could be conducted without the previous sanction of the Ecclesiastical Department. Circulars were issued to ban music to be played in front of a mosque. Another circular denies Hindus the right of constructing new temples and of repairing the old ones, whereas the states funds principally drawn from the Hindu population are made available for the erection, maintenance and upkeep of mosques, both in Hyderabad and outside. The Hindus were also not allowed to look after their educational and cultural interests.

"The state controls the entire education of its people and neglects the cultural interest of the Hindus as against those of the Muslims which it fostered with special care and religious zeal."⁹

the agitation launched against the prosecution, the Nizam's government dropped the case proposed to be filed against him. But the Pandit was deported.

⁷ According to Pandit Narendrajī in his book, *Jeevan Ki Doop Chav*, Hyderabad 1998, "Deendar wrote a book, "*SarvaareAallaam*" in which he ridiculed Yogeshwar Krishna and the goddesses.

⁸ K.M.Munshi, *The End of An Era*, Bombay 1990, p.41

All the rules regarding private schools, public meetings were published by the Standing Committee in the Hyderabad Peoples Educational Conference.

There was glaring injustice in representation of different communities in legislatures and civil services. They were not based on size of the population. In the Indian States Journal of 6th May 1931, there appeared a note on recruitment to civil services. The note gave a picture of the pattern of application, nomination and selection of candidates. 441 Muslims had applied as against 91 Hindus. From among them, 275 Muslims and 54 Hindus were nominated. Ultimately 34 Muslims and four Hindus were selected¹⁰

The lopsided policy of the Nizam's government and their efforts to increase the number of minority at the expense of majority was questioned and checked by the Arya Samaj. Thus, the Nizam's government changed their attitude towards Arya Samaj and began to place a number of impediments before it. It grew so much that even the normal functioning of Arya Samaj had become impossible. They failed to secure the legitimate rights of religious worship and practice."

The Nizam's government began to impose restriction on the Arya Samaj preachers. One of the first victims was Pandit Chandra Bhanu. He was served a deportation order by the State on 17th September 1932. Due to such injustice they began the constitutional fight with the Nizam's government. It was a fight between patience on one side and persecution on the other. They lodged their protests initially through

Extract from the minutes of Hyderabad Civil Service Committee meeting held on 17th Khurdad, 1341 in A.P. State Archives.

" According to V.Yashoda Devi in her article, "Social and Religious reform Movements in A.P. in the 19th and 20th century" in *Social and Reform Movements in the 19th and 20th Century*, edited by S.P.Sen, Calcutta 1979.

"Unlike the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj was revivalist in nature. They also undertook earnestly the work of social reform. The missionaries of Arya Samaj like Adipudi Somanatha Rao were engaged in receiving converted Christians and Muslims into the fold of Hinduism through a purification ceremony. p365 This probably irked the Nizam's government.

resolutions, memorials and representations. They were finally driven to utter helplessness and **desperation**.¹²

The Nizam's government would often bring a last minute ban on the anniversary celebration planned by the Arya Samaj much in advance. They were not allowed on most occasions to go on a procession. When the grievances of the Aryas increased, the President Mahatma Narayan Swami submitted a memorial dated 9th August 1934, to his Exalted Highness seeking his personal and gracious intervention for the redressing of Arya Samaj grievances. He explained in detail the role of the Arya Samaj as a universal organization and the decades of its service in the Nizam's government. He cited the services of some of them who worked as loyal and distinguished subjects of the Nizam. He lamented that a highly respected and renowned person like Pandit Ramachandra Dehlavi was treated so badly. He also pointed out that on the death of Pandit **Keshava Rao**, a judge of Hyderabad High Court of Judicature and pioneer of Arya Samaj, the Kotwal had served a notice that only a resolution on the occasion could be passed but no speeches were to be delivered. Therefore it was quite natural that such an order should provoke resentment, foster discontent and produce needless heart burning. He urged the government not to make any restriction on entry of Arya Samaj preachers in the state. No discrimination be made, their religion and their logical literature may not be forfeited without proper enquiry¹³. After a long wait, a reply from the Political Member of HEH Nizam's government was sent. He wrote

¹² The case of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad from the Collections of *Harishchandra Heda Gyanakumari Heda Samvai Seva Trust*. D.A. p6. Pandit Narendraji along with other distinguished addressed a gathering in **Halikhed**. He said "paap se daro paapi se nahi"(fear sin, not the sinner) This had a great impact on the youth who were determined to fight the atrocities of the Nizam's .from , Narendraji, opcit, p.32,33.

An intimation regarding this **memorial** along with the copy of the same was also sent to the Political **Secretary**, Foreign and Political **Department**, Government of India. The memorial submitted by the president was not even acknowledged by the Nizam in *The Case Of Arya Samaj* opcit, p.8.

"I am now desired to inform you that there is no question of putting any restrictions in the way of the followers of any religion or sect in Hyderabad state. HEH, the Nizam's government is and always has been impartial in the treatment it accords to its subjects, of whatever religion or sect or denomination they may be ... I am to add therefore that there has been no idea of putting the Arya Samajists in particular under any special disabilities."¹⁴

But the debate between the Aryas and the Nizam's government continued as there were many misgivings on the part of the government. Shri Narayana Swami, Swami Swatantranand and Acharya Ramadev came in a deputation to see for themselves the conditions in the state. They were allowed to move freely and address meetings. But the moment they left the state all the restrictions were revived with greater vigour.¹⁵

In 1935, the first Taluqdar of Bidar ruthlessly dealt with Arya Samaj at Nilanga. in Bidar district. Havan Kund and Samaj Mandir were desecrated and destroyed. The Samaj registered its protest against this sacrilegious action of the Taluqdar. Nawab Zuloader Jung, the Police Secretary of the State ordered the Taluqdar to reconstruct the Mandir and the Havan Kund, spending money from his own pocket.¹⁶

But the attitude of the government was very stiffened. The Samaj could not celebrate any functions, meetings relating to death anniversary and birth anniversaries dates of great personalities, religious ceremonies, fairs, Nagar kirtans, literary activities, conduct schools or have Havan Kund or unfurl 'OM' flags. After intensified endeavors, the Samaj was permitted to start an under weekly, *Vaidic Adarsh* in 1934.

¹⁴ Letter No. 212 dated 11th September 1934 in Case of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad State, p.p 25 - 26

⁵ Narandra, *Arya Samaj in Hyderabad*, Delhi, 1975. P.4

¹⁶ *Ibid* p.5

But the fearless and frank tone of Pandit Narendraji in it displeased the government and its publication was stopped by a government order in 1935.¹⁷

In 1936, at Humnabad - Manik Nagar, the Arya Samaj workers had commenced their preaching work. A few musalmans picked up a quarrel with a 'Nagar Kirtan' party and there was a scuffle and a clash. The police appeared on the scene encouraging the musalamans to chastise the Aryans. The two famous brothers Bansilal and Shamlal and Pandit Narendra were arrested. At Umerga, a worker by name Ramachandra was found to have a copy of Satyartha Prakash. It was seized by the police as a seditious book. A Great agitation had to be made after which the Satyartha Prakash was returned to Ramachandra.

When the circular No.53 which forbade all meetings of every character was issued in 1937, the Arya Samaj protested against it by holding celebration without any prior sanction. That year, an Arya Samajist, Veda Prakash, was persuaded to accept Islam but on his stubborn rejection to do so he was murdered at Gunjoti.

An All India Aryan Conference was held from 25th to 29th December 1938 in Sholapur now in Maharashtra. The president of the session Sri Madhav Sri Hari Annay addressed the Nawabs and Rajahs saying that

"in today's world they need the help of the people to govern and to hand over responsibility to them"¹⁸.

¹⁷ According to Rajendra in his book *Asaf Jahis of Hyderabad*, Delhi 1984, The Arya Samaj, which was basically a movement of religious reform, inevitably strayed into political territory to take the cause of the majority community in Hyderabad which was living under unspeakable disabilities.

Brahmadutt, snathak op cit p9

The Arya Samaj defied the order of the government in 1938 that their permission be sought before a Havan Kund was constructed anywhere.¹⁹

The resentment in the majority community and the high-handedness of the government led to a number of communal riots in the year 1938.

- At Gulbarga, in 1938 riots burst out because a few drops of colored water soiled the dress of a Musalman during Holi celebration. Prominent Hindu local leaders were arrested and sentenced.
- The notorious Dhulpet communal riot took place in Hyderabad in 1938 when 21 active workers of Arya Samaj were arrested.
- A serious riot took place at Vidigir during the Dasara celebration in 1938 in which Shiv Shyamlal was arrested along with 20 colleagues. He died in Bidar jail. It is reported that some foul play was the cause of his death.
- To stop the activities of Pandit Narendra, the government arrested and sent him to Mannanoor.

During this period an open letter was written to Sir Akbar Hydari, the Premier of Hyderabad. Though initially he was very broad minded and benevolent he played into reactionary hands and thus had disappointed the people of Hyderabad. Excerpts from the letter which was published and printed are given below.

“ Your Excellency, pardon me for the liberty but I believe even great men need sometime be told some plain home truths... you have an eye for merit and appreciate good work done by others, Although prejudiced against Arya Samajists, your sincere regard for the service rendered by them in plague and in influenza is well known ...You have never lost any opportunity to exercise your influence to utilize your position for the good of the Muslims... The yeomen

Narendra Arya Samaj in Hyderabad, Delhi 1975p.5

contribution you have made to the perpetuation of Muslim stewardship of Hyderabad by the inauguration of the Osmania University cannot be equaled by any one before or after you...By the acquisition of the Railway you have opened fresh avenues of services for Muslims, who were in microscopic minority in the Railway services before acquisition by the Government ... The reasons for your change in attitude, Sir Akbar, can I think be traced to the last communal riots in Hyderabad. It is an open secret that you were surrounded by reactionaries during these riots. The whole blame for the riots was piled on the poor Arya Samajists and the Hindus by the Information Bureau. In trying to placate a small but loud section of the Muslim reactionaries, you did not do fair justice to a large section of the oppressed citizens. It would shatter the faith of any people in an administration which could tolerate the members of its militia to go about as Goondas rioting in the streets. In spite of the repeated demands of the Hindu leaders for an impartial enquiry into the riots, and may I ask you a plain question, why did the Government shirk this inquiry? The Government only hauled up the leaders of Arya Samaj and prosecuted them for murder and rioting. The fair plea of the accused for an impartial jury was turned down and all the twenty-four arrested were sentenced to life imprisonment... I hope you are not unaware, Sir Akbar that the shattering of people's faith in its administration leads to the overthrow of the latter... It is a pity you should have rejected the conciliatory proposals of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai for withdrawing these cases together with cases against Muslims. You did not also pay any heed to the very reasonable demand of the people for the liberal modification of the rules regarding public meetings. If these two things were done, I am sure people would have patiently waited for the promised reforms and any agitation for an accelerated pace of the reforms would have been only constitutional.

I must end this arduous task, Sir Akbar by a summary review of the latest events. Whereas the banning of the government servants from communal organization both Muslim and Hindu was a broad gesture of impartiality on the part of your government its practical application lacked honesty when it could allow government servants like Bahadur Yar Jung and Moulvi Abdul Haq to continue their open communal and political agitation inside and outside Hyderabad... The ban on the Congress by accusing it of communalism inspite of its avowed non-communal character in outlook and practice manifested how deeply you have played into the hands of reactionaries. The government can put down an agitation but how can it suppress the burning discontentment which is raging in and is bound to increase day by day among the masses!...Have the lessons of History been lost on a statesman like you?...Lastly may I plead that it is not too late still and there are men who have yet faith in your personal statesmanship and who will willingly respond to the call for friendly reconciliation if a sufficient practical gesture is made from Government. May I trust this will be forthcoming?"²⁰

Obviously, no damage control was done on the part of the government and the 1938 Satyagraha by Arya Samajists was inevitable. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi also wrote several times inviting the attention of the government but of no avail. As a last resort it was decided by them that a strong fight should be put up with the Hyderabad government without which the matters could not improve. The words of the Nizam and his actions hardly matched as far as his impartial rule over all subjects of his dominion were concerned.

²⁰ *An Open Letter to Sir Akbar Hydari, Sd . a Hyderabad.* This was published by Mr.Ragavendra Rao Sharma, at the Vaidik Ashram, Poona in 1938.

The year 1937 was the silver jubilee year of the Nizam's accession and one of the most jubilant gatherings seen for many years was the Jubilee Darbar held on the first night of the Jubilee celebrations, attended by Hyderabad princes and princesses, members of the Executive Council, noblemen, prominent citizens and many state guest among whom were a number Indian Ruling princes. At the Darbar, HEH the Nizam received an address from the 14 million subjects, tender, sincere and loyal felicitations on the occasion of the silver jubilee of his reign. The address read by Sir Kishan Pershad expressed the allegiance and loyalty of the subjects to the Nizam. The Nizam in his reply assured that his life was dedicated to the welfare of his beloved subjects. He said, "To be their servant is a source of pride and distinction to me".(He also added,

"Nothing can give me greater pleasure than to see as I see today that addresses on this occasion have been presented by subjects unitedly without distinction of class, sect or religion. This is a blessing which seldom falls to the lot of any ruler."²¹

The good intentions of the ruler remained only on paper and speeches. Meanwhile the League of the Arya Samaj took stock of the situation and opined that it could no longer can be ignored or disregarded. They demanded an early settlement of a number of grievances. Some of them are mentioned below.

- 1) Circular no.53 prohibiting public meeting should be cancelled.
- 2) Restrictions regarding religious ceremonies should be removed.
- 3) Circular prohibiting the opening of "Akharas" and private schools should be cancelled.
- 4) Cases relating to communal disturbances should be investigated by an impartial tribunal.

- 5) There should be complete freedom for the observance of Hindu and Arya festivals when these coincide with Muslim festivals.
- 6) No victimization of Aryas in state service should be allowed and they should have complete freedom for hoisting and flying OM flags on their houses and Arya Samaj temples.

Prohibitory orders were issued on Barrister N.F.Nariman, the well-known criminal lawyer of Bombay, who was called to defend the accused from the Aryas. His entry was banned on the extraordinary grounds of his political views.²²

When there was a spate of uncalled for murders of Aryas by Muslim fanatics, an open letter was written to Sir Akbar Hydari by the Secretary of Arya Samaj, Prof. Sudhakar. Extracts are given below.

"Dear Sir Akbar Hyderi,

Disquieting news of the murders of Arya Samajists by Muslim fanatics have created sensation all over Hindu-India. Ved Prakash was martyred at Gunjati, Dharam Prakash at Kalyani and Maha Deva at village Akolaga ... You have recently delivered your convocational sermon to Dacca university students, preaching against communalism. But have not the news of these murders the result of Muslim communalism and fanaticism-reached your ears? ...An astute administrator like yourself is hardly expected to allow things to drift in the manner they are drifting. Please take steps to stop this drift so that it may not become too late."

²¹ The *Eastern Times, Hyderabad* 19th Feb 1937 special Jubilee Number, p.20

The *Case Of The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad State* from the collection of H. **Gyan Samvai Sevak**. p.60

²³ *Ibid* p.p 65, 66

The Arya Samaj could not and would not also tolerate the Tabligh propaganda organized and strengthened by the government.²⁴ The Arya Samaj in their meeting on 9th October 1938 declared Mahatma Narayan Swami as the First Dictator and his orders would be final. He was to be entrusted with the task of starting a mass movement of Satyagraha to redress their grievances in Hyderabad. He entered Hyderabad on 31st January 1939. But the police arrested him and drove him to Sholapur. But he offered Satyagraha again in 1939 at Gulbarga. He and his followers were arrested and sentenced to one years' rigorous imprisonment.²⁵

The second dictator was Shri Kanwar Chanda Kurana Sharada, who, with his batch, offered Satyagraha on 5th March, 1939, and later Shri **Khushal** Chand who assumed the name "Anand Swamy". He went with a batch of 154. The fourth dictator was Rajguru Dhurendra Shastri later it was Swami Dhruva Nand who led with a large following. Dhurendra Sastri and his 530 followers were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. The fifth dictator was Pt. Vedvrata later Swami Abhedha Nand and the sixth was Mahashaya Krishan. The seventh was Gyanendra. In addition to these leaders of the Satyagraha movement who were all well-known all-India figures, there were other dictators and volunteers from Hyderabad itself. The names of the dictators are Shesha Rao, Dattatraya Prasad, Digambar Rao Shivangeerkar; Shanker Rao Patel, Andhori Nivrithi Reddy, **Ahmadpur**, Digamber Rao Latkar, Ganpat Roa Kethle, **Kalam**. About 12,000 Satyagrahis were arrested of which 5,000 were Hyderabadis. Pandit Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar was nominated as the eighth dictator. He was about to offer

They were freely allowed to, both forcibly and conciliatorily, convert people in prisons and schools, into Islam.

⁵ There were number of leaders and 'dictators' that emerged for the Aryas during this period, there was no dearth of Satya Grahis inspite of harsh repressive measure adopted by the government. In the book *Arya Samaj in Hyderabad*, by Narandra a graphic detail of the ill treatment of the Satyagrahi prisoners in Jails is given . Against the apprehensions of all leaders of Arya Samaj the Satyagrahis remain disciplined and exercised great moderation.

Satyagraha with 8,000 Hyderabad Satyagrahis on the 21st of July 1939. But the Nizam's Government announced certain administrative reforms and hence the Satyagraha was suspended.

This was followed by a number of arrests of Arya Samaj leaders. Some of them were

1) On 5th March 1939 Kuwar Chandkaran Sharada along with 100 satyagrahis was arrested in Gulbarga. He was later sentenced to one-year rigorous imprisonment.

2) On 22nd March 1939, Kushalchand was arrested in the Gulbarga railway station along with 160 Satyagrahis. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in Gulbarga prison.

3) On 4th April 1939, Dhurendra Shastri along with 501 satyagrahis was arrested.²⁶

More than 12,000 satyagrahis were actively involved in the struggle with the Nizam's government.²⁷ Initially the Nizam's government was contemplating coming to some understanding. But the leaders of the 'Anjuman Ittehad -ul-Muslimeen' prevented the government from doing so and the government had to retrace some of its steps.²⁸

Due to tremendous pressure exerted by the satyagrahis, the government instructed the Aryan authorities to send a deputy with whom they would discuss and clarify the reforms to be introduced. Almost all the demands of Arya Samaj were conceded to. On 8th August 1939, the declaration was made that the Arya Satyagraha had been suspended. The years following the Satyagraha, the Arya Samaj decided to take up constructive work. They decided to set up educational institutions called Keshav

²⁶ Brahamadutt Snathak, Hyderabad Satyagraha par **pramanik** Dasthavej , Delhi, 1990 p.p 11 - 13.

²⁷ *Ibid* p. 33

²⁸ Pt. Narandra , *Op.cit.*, p.8

Memorial High School on 20th July, 1940 and the foundation stone was laid on 20th September in the same year by Sri Ghanashyam Singh Gupta. The organizers yearned to have Hindi as the medium of the instruction in the High school, but they could not achieve their objective till 1948.

Speaking in a radio broadcast on 21st August 1989, Shri Brahmadatt Snathak on the Hyderabad Satyagraha he said, "The Satyagraha launched in 1939 was not against the Muslims but against the oppressive rule of the Nizam". He said in the Satyagrah, the Sikhs, Jains and even a few muslims participated. He said that even Sardar Patel admitted that the 1938-39 Satyagrah spearheaded by Arya Samaj prepared the way for the accession of Hyderabad ten years later. It was a test of fire and the Arya Samaj came out victoriously.

This satyagrah has been considered an important landmark in the history of Hyderabad freedom struggle and the government in recognition of it has been honouring those who bravely participated in it by granting pensions to them²⁹.

Reminiscing fifty one years later about the 1939 Satyagraha, Brahmadatt Snathak in 1990, writes that a number of Satyagrahis came from outside Hyderabad also to join the Satyagraha. Leaders from Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Hyderabad and Gujarat emerged as 'dictators' in different phases of the Satyagraha. They put forth fourteen major demands before the Nizam's Government

Initially, the State Congress and All India Congress were critical of the Satyagraha but when they saw the success it achieved the congratulatory messages poured in from all of them. Mahatma Gandhi also gave special commendation Brahmaddatt concludes,

"I was only 20 years old then and the only child of my parents, it gives great pride that the Satyagraha has been recognized by the Indian Government as a part of the National Freedom Struggle"³⁰.

Regarding the reaction of the Muslims in the state, the Muslims of Hyderabad in February, 1939 submitted a memorandum to Sir Akbar Hydari pointing out the indifference of state towards the agitation started by the Arya Samaj and warning that if the movement was not suppressed within a fortnight they would come forward to combat the agitation on behalf of the state, and the ruler who belonged to the Muslims and not bother about the consequences that might follow.³¹

The situation and attitude of the Nizam's government towards the Aryas had not improved and in a conference held at Udgir in 1942, 26 resolutions were adopted. They impressed upon the government that reforms were violated at every step and if the government did not try to retrieve these steps the Arya Samaj would not be held responsible for any of the consequences.³²

³⁰ *Ibid* pp 94 and 95

³¹ Department of Investigation Bureau (DIB) Report of Hyderabad agitation, 6th May 1939, Government of India, Home - Political, File No.42/3/39(NAI) in Basudev Chatterji's ed. *Documents on the movement for Independence in India*, 1938 . Part III., ICHR, New Delhi 1999. p . 3063.

³² The government did not take any heed to this and the houses and shops of Hindus were attacked and burnt, Peaceful processions were shot at in many places like Bidar, Humnabad, Nagar Karnool , and Hingoli, Jogipetha and Tarkheda according to Pt. Narandra in his book *Arya Samaj in Hyderabad*. p. 12

Between 1942 and 1945 five Aryan conferences were held in different parts of Nizam's dominions. It brought solidarity and unity among the Aryas.

A conference was held at Udgir in 1942 under the Presidentship of Pandit Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar. Pandit Narendrajji was the Secretary. The conference was held on 12th and 13th of February, and 26 resolutions were adopted. It impressed upon the Government that the agreements reached and terms laid down in the Reforms were being violated at every step. If the Government did not try to retrieve these steps, the Arya Samaj shall have to gird up its loins to meet the situation and it would not be held responsible for any of the consequences. But the Government did not take any heed, as it was wont. At Aurad Shahjahni in Bidar district, the Muslims attacked the shops and houses of the Hindus and Aryans and burnt them when doors were closed. One person who showed some resistance was killed. Mahatma Gandhi ordered a sum of one thousand five hundred rupees to be sent to the aid of the sufferers. Even the Samaj collected Rs.2000/- for the same cause. Deshabandhu and other Aryan workers of the place were arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Permission was not granted for the annual celebrations at Chincholi and Gunjoti

On 3rd March 1942, when the Aryan procession was peacefully passing at Humnabad, Sri Shivachandra and his three colleagues were shot dead by the Musalmans. At Nagarkarnool and Hingoli, a cruel assault was made on Hindus by the Muslims and the culprits were discovered by the police only among the Aryans who

were later sentenced. The same miserable tragedies were enacted at Jogipetha and Tarakheda. On 10th December 1942, the shops of the Hindus were looted at Gulbarga to ensure they were paralysed financially so that they might not patronise the Samaj activities. No steps were taken by the Government to punish the real wrong doers or to root out such tendencies.

In 1943, the Arya Samaj celebrated the Aryan Conference at Nizamabad. Shri Ganapat Kashinath Shastri was elected to preside. The same resolutions as in the previous conference were reiterated. But one very significant resolution related to the establishment of one hundred *Pathashalas* and volunteer corps which numbered 25,000. Sri Dattatreya Prasad's speech at the conference was found by the police as quite objectionable and action was launched against him in the court. Pandit Naranderji was also found guilty of a speech delivered by him at Gulbarga. Pandit Naranderji was sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment. Unmindful of all these calamities, the Samaj established a Swadhyaya Mandal Study circle at Ghatkesar for training preachers and celebrated 26 annual functions at the branches in districts and held Vedic Saptahas at 29 places throughout the State.

The third annual conference of the Samaj was celebrated at Narayanpeth. Rai Suraj Chandji presided over the deliberations. The new feature of this conference was the celebration of Mahila Sammelan, Arya Kumar Sammelan, the Updeshak and Mantri Sammelan. This year the Sindh Muslim League had resolved to put a ban on the *Satyartha Prakash*. An All India agitation culminating in Satyagraha protected the book against this fate. Hyderabad State Arya Samaj fully supported the protest movement.

A communal clash took place at Nizamabad on the occasion of the Dasera. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha demanded that an investigation should be made to find out the culprits but the Government did not give up its negligent attitude. In 1944, the strength of Aryan missionaries rose to three hundred; the Pathashalas and the number of pupils receiving education also showed a commendable increase and therefore a new edition of the Telugu *Satyartha Prakash* was brought out.

In 1945, a training centre called Upadeshak Vidyalaya was started at Nalgonda. The trainees received coaching for carrying on the preaching work. Sri Badradev and Pandit Narendraji toured several places and collected a fund of Rs.7,000/- with which the Vidyalaya made a beginning.

The fourth Aryan Conference took place at Gulbarga on 22nd, 23rd and 24th of April 1945, under the Presidentship of Rajha Narayan Lal Pitti. The police authorities were determined to create some disturbance. In the very presence of the Police authorities Pandit Vinayak Rao, Shri Ganapati Shastri, Pandit Narendarji and a worker, Sri Hiralal were severely beaten. Pandit Narendarji suffered from a fracture in the leg. Widespread resentment spread all over the State and the Police Department was compelled to degrade one Sub-Inspector of Police and four constables. Due to the illness of Narendarji, Sri Krishna Dutt worked as Secretary. Efforts were made to get the ban on entry into the state put on Arya Samaj leaders.

The fifth Aryan Conference was celebrated at Warangal in 1946. Pandit Vinayak Rao presided at the Conference and Shri Krishna Dutt was the secretary of the Conference. Pandit Narendarji was released and the ban put on his movements and speech was lifted.

Sir Mirza Ismail assumed the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad and a hope for a better situation was expected. Permission was granted to start a weekly, “*Aryabhandu*”. Many Arya Samajists languishing in jail for communal riots were released. A minister of such liberal views could not continue in Hyderabad. Circumstances so conspired that he had to submit his resignation and leave Hyderabad.³³

On 15th August 1947, when India attained Independence, Hyderabad, was trying to assert its independence. It was during this time that the sixth annual conference of Arya Samaj took place at Jalna. It passed a resolution that the Nizam should integrate his dominions with the Indian Union and immediately allow the formation of a responsible government.

During the period from 15th August 1947 to 17th September 1948, thousands of Hindus had left their houses and crossed into the Indian territory due to the Razakkar menace. Arya Samaj had set up camps for such refugees in places like Sholapur, Pandarpur, Barsi, Bijapur, Umaarkhade, Buldhana, Amaravathi and Vijayawada and every possible help was given to them.³⁴

Pandit Vinayak Rao was the president of the Lawyer's Protest Committee. He collected authentic information about the Razakar atrocities and sent a report to New Delhi and therefore was arrested. Swami Swathantra Nandji worked as Field Marshal

³³ Pt. Narendra *Aryasamaj in Hyderabad*, New Delhi 1975. p.p. 12-14

³⁴ V.H Desai in his book “*Vandemataram to Jana Gana Mana*”, Bombay 1990 gives the details of the Atrocities committed by the Razakkars. p .p 185 –189.

and accredited lieutenant of Mahatma Narayan Swamiji. He arranged and managed the Satyagraha camps most efficiently and with exemplary tact and perseverance.

When Hyderabad declared Independence, K.Joshi, printed a pamphlet making clear the intentions of the majority community in Hyderabad. The extracts are as follows,

"Hyderabad cannot suppress the democratic aspirations of the people any longer. In this age of democracy it is an admitted fact that sovereignty rests with the people. Hyderabad cannot be an exception to this rule... The people of Hyderabad cannot be politically isolated from the rest of India. Hyderabad groans under the heels of feudal bureaucracy today. It is politically backward and economically poor. The standard of literacy is very low. There is no freedom of speech in the state... Responsible government is the only panacea to these evils."³⁵

These are the people who laid down their lives fighting the oppressive rule of Nizam of Hyderabad.

1. Shyamlal
2. Ram
3. Mahdavi Rao
4. Swami Kalyan Sen
5. Malkan Singh
6. Dharm Prakash
7. Pandurang
8. Shanthi Prakash
9. Lakshman Rao
10. Bhakt Arora

- 11.Nandu Singh
- 12.Badan Singh
13. Chotelal
14. Fakhir Chand
15. Bheem Rao
16. Arjun Singh
- 17.Baidnath
18. Dayanand
19. Radhakrishna
20. Mahadev
- 21.Paramanand
22. Vishnu Bhagvad
- 23.Satyanand
24. Ved Prakash
25. Ramnath
26. Dharm Prakash
- 27.Purushotham
28. Venkat Rao
29. Mathu Ram
- 30.Govind Rao
- 31.Rathi Ram
32. Tarachand
33. Ashrafi Lal
34. Manick Rao
35. Mahadev

³⁵ Krishna Charya Joshi, *Hyderabad Today*,_Hyderabad 1947

36. Satyanarayana

37. Brahmachary

38. Narasingh

Source : **Brahmadatt Snathak's** *op.cit* p 6

For the first time after 48 years the Hyderabad Satyagrahis were honoured in an Aryan Conference in Ajmer. A long number of people gathered from different parts of India. Brahmadatt Santhak speaking on this occasion said,

"2,500 Satyagrahis were nominated by him for awarding them pension as freedom fighters. But only 50 out of them have started receiving pensions"³⁶.

The account of Pandit Narendarji, one of the stalwarts of the Arya Samaj movement in his autobiography titled, "*Jeevan Ki Doop Chaav*" gives a vivid picture of the conditions in the Hyderabad state during Osman Ali Khan's rule.

Pandit Narendarji's association with Hyderabad government began from the time his father took up service in the Nizam's administration. His family served the Nizam faithfully and therefore they were given the rank of Mansabdar. But after the death of his father, he was not allowed to inherit this privilege on the grounds of some accusations made against him. Nawab Fakiyar Jung Bahadur representing the government wrote to him stating that even after warning he was working against the Nizam's rules and regulations. When he asked for the right of Mansabdari, the Nawab replied,

³⁶ **Brahmadatt Snathak** *op.cit.* Pp 56-57

"Don't fight the Nizam but write an apology letter and then you will get it back".

But Narendra was not willing to beg. He decided to find a purpose in life. He said,

"Troubles always make you more experienced. For achieving every good work you need to take the path of thorns. You should not be worried about the sun and shade in life".

It was during this time that a man by name Siddiq Deendhar claiming to be a reincarnation of Lingayat sect addressed a number of meetings in Hubli, Darwar, Mysore, Gulbarga and Raichur. He met the lingayats and also other Hindus and was on the job of converting them to Muslims. He had the backing of the Nizam. Deendhar wrote a book "*Sarvare Aallaam* " in which he ridiculed Yogeshwara Krishna and the Hindu goddesses. He told the Muslims,

"The Muslims may be less in number but the ruler is a Muslim so don't worry, you will be on top. The Muslims will be ultimately successful".

To counter Deendhar, Pandit Ramachandra Dehalviji from Delhi came to Hyderabad in 1929. Chandulal the head of the Arya Samaj invited him as he was well versed in Quran. He spoke at length to large gatherings for five days. He exhorted "Don't get scared, be bold". He spoke on the topics like *Atma*, *Paramatma*, Materialism and Vedic Religion. He spoke vehemently against caste system.

Pandit Narendraji bought the *Satyarth Prakash* in Urdu and began to read it. He found the job in Sarfe Khas land administration office for a salary of Rs.

50/- per month. The first thing he did with his salary was to become a member of Arya Samaj by paying a membership fee of 25 paise.

He got so involved in the work of Arya Samaj and resolved to remain single. He was greatly influenced by the speeches of the great orator Pandit Chandra Banu, an expert in Vedic principles when he came to Hyderabad in 1930. With the initiative taken by him Narandraji was sent to study in an ashram in Lahore.

The first time Pandit Narendra participated in Satyagraha was in 1932 when Mahatma started his fast unto death in the Yeravada Jail against the 'Harijan Award' introduced by British which was intended to create rift between Hindus and Muslims. He came back to Hyderabad in 1933. When he was asked to address a gathering he spoke on “*Quran me Vaidon Ka Tej*”. It caused a great impact on people. He along with the number of prominent Arya Samaj leaders of Hyderabad went to Halikhet to participate in a gathering addressed by Dehalviji. This gave a fresh lease of life to Hindus. The author also spoke on the topic, “*Paap se daro, paapi se nahee*” (fear sin not the sinner). It had a great impact on the youth especially to fight the atrocities of the Nizam's rule.

It was during the three day Nizam State Conference that the decision to start the Weekly Paper “*Vaidek Adarsh*” (Principles of Vedas) was taken. He was given the responsibility to bring out the first edition of the *Vaidek Adarsh*. It became very popular.

On 18th April 1935 a notice was given by the Nizam's Government to him asking him to show cause why no action should be taken against him. The *Vaidek Adarsh* had boldly exposed the atrocities of the Nizam's Government. The Muslim papers started propaganda against him. The Nizam slammed a ban on all his writings and speeches .

Pandit Narendra also worked as the President of Arya Samaj for four years. The Government was disturbed by the growing number of Arya Samaj followers, which reached 50,000 by 1935, and they started putting a lot of pressure on the Arya Samaj. Narendraji continued to address a number of meetings especially for the youth which greatly irked the Government. For this he was sentenced to six months imprisonment and a fine of Rs.200/-.

In 1938, a procession was organised by the Arya Samaj on the occasion of **Holi**. At the instance of two lawyers, Pasha Miya and Mohammed Saheb, the Muslims started attacking the peaceful Arya Samaj procession. There were clashes and casualties on both sides. The Arya Samajists were sentenced to jail for abetting violence. According to Narendraji, while in jail one of them, Shyamlalji became very ill and the doctor prescribed medicine to which the assistant Jailor mixed poison and he died.

There were many times he escaped death narrowly in his valiant struggle against the Nizam's oppressive rule. While attending the conference in Jadcherla, there was an attempt on his life. Suddenly a youth from the back seat of his car tried to kill him with a revolver, but he escaped by the skin of his teeth.

The Nizam's Government had a strict surveillance on him and his activities. All the letters written by him from prison and also from his home were scrutinized by the Government. On another occasion while he was returning from Nizamsagar, during the night, two youths who were hiding fired at the vehicle he was traveling. Shri Ganga Ram, an Advocate who was traveling with him was hurt and was bleeding. But Narendra narrowly escaped as the bullet brushed the Gandhian Cap he was wearing.

Narendra was actively involved in the call for "Join India Movement" given by Swami Ramanand Thirtha in August 1947. When the Nizam refused to accede to the Indian Union. After integration, he contested in the first General Elections representing the Congress Party and became an M.L.A. His yeomen services to the State of Hyderabad can never be forgotten.³⁷

A special mention must be made of Narayan Rao Pawar who was called the daredevil of Hyderabad. Narayan Rao Pawar immortalized his name in the history of freedom struggle in Hyderabad by sending shock waves down the spine of the then mighty seventh Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, by making an assassination bid. He was an Arya Samaj activist and was one of the suicide squad of three - Gangaram, Jagdish and Pawar. They were armed with four bombs, two revolvers and a bottle of poison each. They wanted to attack the Nizam when he went on his customary drive in the evening from King Kothi to Mecca Masjid. He positioned himself in the All-Saints lane and Gangaram at Boggulkunta and Jagdish a little further down.

³⁷ Summary of the Autobiography of Pandit Narendra, "*Jeevan Ki Doop Chaav*" in Hindi. This summary is translated by the present researcher into English

As the Nizam's car turned the corner he pulled a bomb and charged out of the lane pushing a police constable stationed there to make his way towards the speeding car. As a quirk of fate would have it, the bomb missed the target and hurt five others. The next moment the police constable pounced on him, held his arms while another kicked at his ribs, immobilizing him with pain. After that he could neither throw another bomb or consume poison. The Nizam returned to King Kothi, foiling even the attempts of his two other friends who were waiting for the convoy. Pawar was 21 then, and working as a lawyer at the High Court. He was greatly inspired by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who said, "Give me blood and I will give you freedom ". Their plan was to eliminate Mir Osman Ali Khan and then bank on the prospect of pitting his two sons Azam Jah and Moazzam Jah against each other for the throne and hoped the resulting chaos would give an excuse to Sardar Patel to send the Indian army.

Pawar was charged under various laws including waging a war against the King and sentenced to imprisonment. The punishment was death and Gangaram was given life imprisonment. When questioned on how he faced the trial, he replied,

"It was an agonizing experience. The police tortured me, but the judiciary was polite. The sessions court itself appointed a lawyer for me, who asked me to change my statement that I threw the bomb only to bring the issue of levy to the Nizam and not to kill him. But I refused to do so."

About the story of his release he said,

"It is a long story. The Nizam was about to execute the death sentence on me in the second week of September 1948. But the Police Action stopped it and General Choudhary commuted it to life imprisonment. But it took the Congress regime a year to release me

unconditionally on August 10 1949. The Congress leaders were under tremendous public pressure. Swami Ramanand Thirtha reluctantly agreed to my release. It took them one more year to remove my name from the black list prepared by the Nizam." *

Asked about the treatment meted out to him after the fall of Nizam he said,

"The new government led by Congress leaders treated me as a militant and as one against 'ahimsa'. They had to release me unconditionally from jail only after Pandit Narendraji brought pressure on the government."

He says,

"It was only the visit of Sardar Patel to the city which brought light into my life. Following his initiative on August 10, 1949, I walked out into a free world and an independent country in my dreams."

In the article, "A Tryst With Destiny", V.H.Desai asks,

"How far have we fulfilled our pledge to take our country forward on the path of freedom and progress? Year after year we go out to welcome this day with crowded memories of our long struggle for freedom. But memory should not be a burden of the past but an inspiration for the future. Indeed India's struggle for independence was not just a negative movement but a rigorous course of spiritual education. This education which shaped the soul of our fighting patriot to the divine mould of Truth and Non-violence is the pathway to India's destiny... It is high time we awake to life and protect our hard won freedom as we have yet another tryst with destiny; to make our country the leading light of the world."³⁹

³⁹ The above matter is collected from excerpts of the interview which was published in the *Deccan Chronicle*, August 15, 1997 p TV and an interview which appeared in *Indian Express*, September 12, 1998, Special Supplement, p.1.

³⁹ *The Hindustan Times* August 15th 1992 .p.7

Thus the role of Arya Samaj as a pressure group in Hyderabad state cannot be underestimated. They took active part in keeping up the ideals of the Arya Samaj till the end. They were not provocative but when intimidated they would not take it lying down. They were not going to meekly accept the growing injustice and oppressive rule of the Hyderabad state especially against the majority. At no stage could they be sidelined. They were able through their 1938 Satyagraha make the unjust highhanded rule public and national. They took active part in the politics as well as in religious and social revival of the society. The frustrations of the majority community had become so high that the leaders were willing to pay any price in order to change the existing order. Arya Samaj preached equality of all human beings and stressed in equal opportunities. They realized that this was lacking in Hyderabad. Though some scholars blamed the Arya Samaj for becoming militant and inciting communal passion, the Samajists justified their action by stating that they had no choice. Their initiative of setting up refugees camps in the face of Razakkar menace made them popular. Thus their part in helping the integration of Hyderabad into the Indian Union cannot be ignored.

The following Chapter deals with the Press and its Role in Hyderabad.

CHAPTER VI

The Role of the Press

The Press played a great role in moulding public opinion towards the achievement of freedom in Hyderabad. Though the odds were heavily against them **they strived** to achieve the purpose for which they came into existence.

There were many obstacles for the growth of Press in Hyderabad State. The impact that education had in Andhra as a part of Madras Presidency was lacking in Hyderabad, which was ruled by the Nizam. This was an important reason for the delayed awakening in Telangana. Another important impediment was the discouragement given to the language of the majority, Telugu. Urdu, the official language, was spoken by a small sector and the majority, that was 86% of the population, spoke mainly Telugu in addition to Marathi and Kannada. The Nizam was keen on evolving an educational policy, which was directed at supplanting the local languages by Urdu. The state-aided education was given only through Urdu or English. The Osmania University was lavishly financed by the state and its primary objective was to attract only Muslim scholars who could effectively influence the young educated Muslims.

The government did not allow even the private institutions to impart education in the language of the people. The people of the state were denied the most elementary rights of citizenship. Though the Nizam announced the formation of the Executive and Legislative Council on 17th November 1919 with Sir Ali Imam as its President, the people did not enjoy any civil liberties .

It was the gross and deliberate neglect of the Telugu language by the Nizam's government, which led to the origin of struggle in Telangana which later snowballed

' M.Fathu Ilah Khan "*A History of Administrative Rreforms in Hyderabad State*, 1965 Hyderabad P.p. 91-95.

into the freedom movement. "Sri Krishna Devaraya Andhra Basha Nilayam" set up in 1901 by **Komaraju** Lakshmana Rao was the first library in Telangana. It was followed by "Sri Raja Raja Narendra Andhra Basha Nilayam" at Hanumakonda in 1904, Andhra Samvardhini at Secunderabad in 1905 and Vignana Chandrika Grandha Mandali at Hyderabad in 1906².

The Andhra Jana Sangham, which was formed in 1922, aimed at the social, economic and cultural revival of people of Telangana. They made great efforts to open Telugu schools, libraries, publish Telugu books and promote historical research.

In spite of all the impediments, among the people of Hyderabad city a small group of English educated people could not remain untouched by the social and political developments of British India. But all efforts were made by the Nizam to squash their zeal.

The latter half of the 19th Century was characterized by vigorous journalistic activity though the climate was not conducive to its growth. A number of newspapers and journals in Urdu, Persian, Telugu, Maratha and English came into being. Some of them were started only to celebrate the accession of Mir Mehboob Ali Khan and ceased publication soon after. It is estimated that about 22 papers and periodicals existed in the 1890s. The early price was quite low from what it is today. The press dispatches in English papers were in the form of long stories laced with comments and observations of the their correspondents. Compared to the papers in Bombay and Madras who wrote boldly, those published within the state showed considerable circumspection and their tone was respectful towards the Nizam, the nobility and officialdom.

² V.Hanumantha Rao(ed), *A.P Year Book, Hyderabad*, 1984. p 42

The Urdu press which was dominant had no correspondents. Even local news would take a week to get into print. There was no advertisement in the papers and so subscription was the only source of the income. The amount of subscription varied according to the status of the subscriber. Thus the Nizam's Government paid one rate, and the resident's office another.

The papers had to carry something to tickle the ego of the nobles. Above the masthead was a declaration of loyalty to the Nizam. Most papers carried the *firman*s of the Nizam. If the Nizam sent a poem of his, it had to be published on the front page. It had to be printed as it came, not even a comma could be changed.

No policy was followed for granting permission to start a paper. Depending upon the territorial jurisdiction it was solely a matter of the will of the Kotwal or Resident to grant the permission or not.

During the Osman Ali Khan period, the editor and publisher of the paper had to fulfill three conditions. 1) He had to be educated 2) He had to have adequate finances 3) He had to be married. The last condition was put to ensure good behaviour on the part of the Journalist- probably an ingenious way of ensuring a docile person. But there were journalist who risked even their marital happiness and financial security to publish what they felt was right.

As early as the 19th century there were a number of restrictions on the Press by the Nizam. Some of the restrictions were

They were not to write against the British or the Nizam.

- There should be no debate or discussion on religion.
- They should not create any fear or tension among the people.
- There should be no anonymous writings.
- No false opinion should be created in the people.

The editors were expected under this circular not to publish anything that might

"threaten an injury to a Government servant or tend to prejudice the mind of the people against His Highness the Nizam's Government or any of its Officers".

This action of the Government was severely criticized in the press of the day. The Urdu paper *Shoukat-ul-Islam* refused to sign the agreement and commented upon it in very strong language with the result that it was suppressed. The following remarks show the reaction which the circular had produced in Hyderabad at the time: -

"The circular issued by the Home Secretary to the Native papers in Hyderabad, which you copied from *The Deccan Times* some days back, defines very clearly the character of the despotism that guides the destinies of over ten millions of His Highness's subjects. To expect any Editor to discharge the duty he owes to himself no less than to the public after binding himself not to publish anything that may "threaten an injury to a Government servant or "Tend to prejudice the mind of the people against His Highness the Nizam's Government or any of its officers is to expect him to accomplish what is impossible; and to think that any man with a modicum of self-respect will subscribe to such a ridiculous "agreement", is to count too much upon the hectoring or terrorizing policy the Home Secretary has hitherto pursued. If this circular has been called for -I mean if the officials cannot afford to stand a moment without the "thick -coating" that mercenary writers can invest them with for a consideration, if their doings are such

as cannot bear the light of day—what becomes of the tall talk that all that people in power do is fair, that there are data for each document issued, and good reasons for each step taken. The Nawab Mehdi Hassan evidently mistook his vocation and the master he would have to serve when he entered the service of His Highness the Nizam—a prince who has "so much" to do with an enlightened people like the English and a liberal Government like theirs. What an acquisition he might have been as a censor of the Press under the Czar of all the Russia. But then I forget that in Russia people do not rise by flattery and wield power without intelligence."³

In Addition to the difficulties under which the Press in those days was labouring, it was difficult even to get permission to start a news paper. According to the editor of an Urdu daily , when he explained his intention of starting a news paper, Mr. Crawford, the first Assistant Resident retorted quickly.

"We don't want such a paper, and that is the reason why you will not get permission to start it. Is not the reason clear enough?"⁴

Many of the news paper including *The Deccan Times* had notified to its staff that the paper will stop publication soon. They felt that they could not work under the new restrictions laid down by the government. Every editor was made to sign an agreement which stated that he and his successors will not commit the following acts.

³ N. Ramesan, ed *History of Freedom Movement in Hyderabad*, Hyderabad 1976 p41.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 44

"To print or publish any words or sketches or hints which might incite disloyalty towards the British Govt, or the Government of H.H. the Nizam or result in discord among the members of various races, nationalities, religions or communities, irrespective of whether these communities live within British territory or the territory of H.H. the Nizam."

"To intimidate or cause pain to any person or instigate anyone to offer money or something else in lieu of money or any other thing signed or sealed which might serve in lieu of money to another person or—give illegal gratification to him".

"To threaten with injury a Government Servant or such other person as is supposed to be connected with a Government servant and by that means to induce the Government servant to do a particular act in the discharge of his duties or fail in the discharge of duties or delay the discharge of his duties".

"To print or publish any anonymous writings in their paper".

"Any such news about the Government, His Highness or any officer of the State which might adversely affect public opinion and about the authenticity of which full proof has not been obtained."

"If I, or my representatives or successor disregard any of the above conditions the Government will be entitled to forbid the publication of my paper, in which case myself, my representative or successors shall not be entitled to any compensation or damages. These responsibilities will be in addition to the responsibilities which are imposed upon me,

my representatives or successors under the ordinary laws in force at the time."⁵

One of the earliest newspapers, '*Hyderabad Record*' condemned the high-handedness of the British Residents in Hyderabad and they could not continue for long and had to stop publication by 1892. Those journalists who continued to write boldly were either forced to leave the city or they were taken into police custody⁶. The '*Hyderabad Record*' championed the cause of the Nationalist movement and downtrodden people. It vigorously espoused the cause by giving free publicity to its activities. The paper was quite critical about the activities of the residents of Hyderabad and says in one place

"As soon as they cross the Red Sea they leave their conscience behind with one noble and single exception and that in the person of Mr. W.B. Jones".

In view of these facts the Residency Officials looked down upon the paper and as time passed on they would not tolerate its bitter attacks upon the residency. So they stopped subscribing for it. The *Hyderabad Record* could continue only for 5 years.

In spite of all the restrictions made by the Nizam's government, the Telugu newspapers strived to spread the ideas of nationalism. They were simple in style, soul stirring, had an emotional appeal and created a real political movement. The number of Telugu works increased after 1920. But most of them were either banned or forfeited under some pretext or other by the government. Some editors were warned, while others were prosecuted. In spite of all the efforts made to emphasize on the importance

⁵ *Ibid* P.p 50 -52

⁶ Rudra, a popular barrister of Hyderabad and correspondent of "The Pioneer" was forced to leave the city as he criticized the government, see for details P.R.Rao , *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, Delhi, 1991. P 134

of Telugu language and popularize it, the Nizam's government came down heavily on it. Y.M.Kale who presided over the second Hyderabad Political Conference at Bombay in 1926 said:

"The dominant languages are thus Telugu and Marathi; Urdu being the language of only 1/10th of the population and mostly restricted to big cities. It is common knowledge that both Telugu and Marathi are cultured languages having plenty of literary merit and will stand comparison to any of the spoken languages of India".⁷

He also added the

"Freedom of Press within the dominions is unknown. Inside the dominion, no free speech is allowed and if external help is offered it is stigmatized as outside interference and as such disallowed. Thus there is a systematic and well-planned tyranny that is practiced. The people are always terrified and demoralized and are afraid of speaking even privately".⁸

The first Telugu journal was started in 1912 by Srinivas Sharma from Mahboobnagar. It was called '*Hitabodhini*'.⁹ He also started a printing press '*Sarojini Vilas*' and the paper had nearly 500 subscribers. But he sustained a great loss and the paper could not flourish and it was closed in two years. In 1917, Swami Venkat Rao of the Divine Life Society started a monthly journal called '*Andhra Math*' from Secunderabad but it did not survive beyond eight months. A series of Telugu publications began after 1920 but none of them could survive for long due to

N.Ramesan ed. *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol.IV, (1921-47) Hyderabad; 1966, p. 59.

⁸ Ibid, p. 61.

⁹ According to J.Nataraja in *History of Indian Journalism* New Delhi, 1954, The *Satyadoota* started in Bellary in 1835 by missionaries is mentioned as the first Telugu newspaper by some scholars. p.64

Some of the important publications in Telugu in the 19th century in the Andhra region were *Vivekavardhini* of Veerasalingam (monthly) in 1874, *Andhra Prakashika* in 1885 by Partha Sarathi Naidu, *Sasilekha* in 1894 by G.Seshcharyulu. 'Telugu Press' by Subramanyam in *History of Modern Deccan*, (1720/24 - 1948) Hyderabad 2000 p252

government harassment, especially those who raised a voice of protest against the autocratic rule of the then government or demanded more freedom of speech and of association. Some of the weeklies and journals started were

1. In 1920 - V. Seetaramachander Rao started a Telugu weekly called *Telugu Patrika*.
2. S. Narashima Rao started a weekly in 1920 called *Neelagiri* from Nalagonda.
3. In 1920 - a paper called *Andhra bhyudhayam*.
4. In 1923 - *Saiva Pracharini* from Warangal.
5. In 1925 - Sri Bhaskar started a biweekly from Secunderabad called *Nedu*.
6. In 1925 - Bhagya Reddy started a fortnightly called *Bhagyanagar Patrika*.
7. In 1925 - *Golkonda Patrika* was started by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy.
8. In 1927 - P. N. Sharma started *Sujatha*.
9. In 1934 - D. Sharma started a monthly from Secunderabad called *Deccan Kesari*.
10. Smt. R. Satyavati Devi started a monthly from Secunderabad called *Telugu Talli*.
11. Veerabhadra Sharma started another monthly from Secunderabad called the *Vibhuti*.
12. D. Ramanuja Rao started a monthly called *Shobha* from Warangal. This was stopped during the Razakkar movement and it was revived in 1950¹⁰.

The government passed different orders banning and forfeiting the various Telugu publications that had begun under different groups. Under the category of

¹⁰ The Telugu Press played two important roles, one of a warrior by criticizing the anti-Indian policies of the British government and secondly the role of a priest in preaching patriotism to the people. K.Subramanyam *op.cit* p 260.

Proscribed or Forfeited works was '*Bharatha Gitamulu*'¹¹. Another casualty in this group was *Maharani Jhansi Lakshmibhai Natakamu*¹².

Another category was banned under the heading, Dramatic Performances. Two examples of this were *Navayuga rambam*¹³ and *Swarajya Rathamu*¹⁴.

There was another group was 'Warned Works' under Press and Registration of Books Act. Under this Act, warning was given so that if the individuals continued publishing their works action would be taken. The printers of Maneli Press Bezwada were warned under Press and Registration of Books Act¹⁵.

There were certain editors who faced greater trial for their endeavors. The editor and correspondent of '*Ryot Patrika*' was prosecuted under section 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code¹⁶. In still other cases, criminal proceedings were initiated for offences under Section 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code. The charge against them was that they attempted to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.

The year 1925 marks the beginning of a new era in the political life of Telangana, inasmuch as, it was in that year that the Andhra Mahasabha came into existence and also in the same year the *Golkonda Patrika* was started by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy as a bi-weekly. The birth of the *Golkonda Patrika* also saw the death of

¹¹ G. O. Ms. No. 212, Publication Department, dated 12/4/1921

¹² G. O. Ms. No. 643-4, Publication Department, 8/6/1931

¹³ G. O. Ms. No.520, Publication Department, 17/8/1921

¹⁴ G. O. Ms. No. 83, Publication Department, 28/1/1922

¹⁵ G. O. Ms. No. 234, Publication Department, 22/4/1921

¹⁶ G. O. Ms. No. 258, Publication Dept, 28/4/1921.

the *Telugu Patrika* and *Neelagiri*. The services of the *Golkonda Patrika* are too well known to require further recounting. Suffice to say that Suravaram Pratap Reddy was one of the pioneers of the political movement in the State who braved all storms for the cause which he had willingly espoused.

Qazi Abdul Gaffar, the eminent man of letters and the editor of the *Payam* started a Telugu daily called *Sandeshamu* in 1945 which had hardly a life of six months.

1945 also saw the birth of two Telugu Dailies namely the *Telangana* and the *Meezan*. The *Telangana* was financed by Rajagopal Mudaliar and *Meezan* by Calcuttawala. The *Telangana* was edited by a very talented journalist B.R. Chari and *Meezan* by a well-known man of letters, Adavi Bapi Raju. The *Telangana* tried to support the nationalist movement but had to close down within a couple of years. The *Meezan* was essentially a daily of feudal outlook and supported the activities of the Government. Shri Adavi Bapi Raju had to quit *Meezan* when the financier asked him to attack the Congress in indecent language. The *Meezan* continued its publication till the Police Action in 1948. The *Nizam Vijay* was founded in December 1920 under the joint patronage of Vaman Naik and Keshav Rao. Laxman Rao was its editor and proprietor. Laxman Rao Phatak was member of the Hindu Political Association, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Social Service League. He was a friend of Raghvendra Rao Sharma. The editorials were based on news items supplied from districts and coloured by imagination. The paper was suspended in August 1929 but the editor secured permission for two other papers *Lokashikshan* and the *Nagarik*. The Director of Public Instruction found fault with the *Nagarik* and it was stopped. The *Nizam Vijay* was revived in January 1930 and again it published objectionable news.

The *Golkonda Patrika* was edited by Balakrishna Reddy and published by Jayaram Krishna Reddy. But the paper was practically in the hands of persons like Madapati Hanumantha Rao and S. Pratapa Reddy. The former editors of this paper included personalities such as M. Narsinga Rao, and B. Ramakrishna Rao. These politicians were well-known. The *Patrika*, as an organ of the Central Andhra Association with pro-Congress policy, was financed and supported by the Hyderabad Reddy community. It had successfully achieved its object in spreading the Andhra Movement in the Telangana districts. It generally dealt with matters related to Sanghams and Begar. The *Patrika* was equally enthusiastic regarding educational advancement. It also condemned the activities of the Urdu papers.

The Telugu newspapers did yeomen service in criticizing and highlighting the violation of civil liberties in the Nizam state. The *Andhra Patrika* and the *Krishna Patrika* took the lead. The news of the prohibition of library annual meetings at Tippi in Nalagonda district in 1928 was published in *Andhra Patrika* on 3rd October 1928. In the same year, on 10th October the paper criticized the government restriction even on non-political meetings and said that it only created unrest among the people. The *Krishna Patrika* stated in its paper on 27th May 1922

"The subjects of native states are doubly immersed in slavery. They have no freedom of speech at all".¹⁷

With the Indian National movement gaining momentum in British India, its effect could be felt in native states as well. The Nizam, who was honored by the British even during the 1857 revolt for suppressing the flames of revolt in South India, swung into action again. He brought a number of restrictions on the political activities in the state. If any meeting was to be held, the objective of the meeting, the list of speakers and

K.Subramanyam *op cit* p.86

invitees should be given in advance to the police authorities and no meeting could be held without their permission. The *Congress* another bold newspaper gave a fitting reply to these restrictions. It stated:

"Such highhandedness will serve to awaken the people. Ideas of Independence have a tendency to go up higher and higher like a rubber ball, the more they put down."¹⁸

The *Andhra Patrika* in its paper on 12th January 1924, published an instance of Nizam oppression against an official for participation in Congress activities and the paper strongly criticized it. The newspapers of this time condemned the prohibition of entry of national leaders, stopping peaceful processions and lathi charge of police on volunteers¹⁹.

The Press had a dual role to play. It not only highlighted the evils prevailing in the line but also sort to purge by bringing an awakening among the people. This was highlighted in *The Hindu*:

"The ruler is despotic. The Press is by no means free. There is no codified law. The administration of the law of repression is more severe than in the neighboring British districts."²⁰

In the year 1923, *The Hindu* published a series of articles by the famous journalist, Nihal Singh under the caption, 'Hyderabad Today'. Even while praising the Nizam for his efforts at social reform and educational progress, he blamed him for personal rule.

¹⁸ *The Congress* 24th December 1929. p.1

¹⁹ The *Deccan Chronicle* was banned for 16 months (from September 1939) because the government found many of the articles in the paper objectionable. For three weeks the paper was published from Vijayawada and brought in, but even this was denied entry into the state subsequently. Permission was given for publishing the paper from Hyderabad from December 1st 1940 - "*Deccan Chronicle*", 15th May 1997 under the caption "Breaking History", p.2.

²⁰ *Hindu* 2nd August 1922 p. 2

This greatly enraged the Nizam and he banned the circulation of the paper for two years. But the matter published in this paper was made use of by the Telugu journals like *Krishna Patrika*. They touched on various topics like economic problems, highlighting the heavy taxation system and also pointed to the communal character engulfing the Nizam government, which led to the gross neglect of Hindus. Nihal Singh in one of his articles stated,

"The government posts are altogether, especially the higher posts are held by Muslims who constitute but a small minority."²¹

He also stated that the poor representation of Hindus in services was not an accident but the result of anti-Hindu policy.

The *New India*, another English daily published the proceedings of Hyderabad state conference held in 1926 in its newspaper under the heading of 'Misrule of Nizam'. It was published on 1st December 1926. They listed the misdeeds of the Nizam Mir **Osman** Ali Khan. Some of the allegations made were 1) Removal of Hindus from important positions of the government. 2) Making of Osmania University, a sectarian University and giving of prominence to Urdu and neglecting the other local languages.

The English papers like the *Hyderabad Bulletin*, the *Deccan Chronicle* and the *Daily News* had an appeal to the enlightened section of the educated community and therefore they were uniformly balanced in their views. These papers always resorted to a middle course between timidity and aggressiveness. The policy of the Nizam's Government was such that the local papers were allowed to criticise the affairs relating to the Government of India in a very frank manner. But anything that criticized a

²¹ *The Hindu* , 11th August 1923 p.4

Hyderabad official or the Head of a Department was interpreted as either communal or political.

The story of the *Marathwada*, a weekly published from Aurangabad by Anand Rao Waghmare, was very unique. The paper was always virulent and aggressive in criticising the policies of the Hyderabad Government. Later it shifted its headquarters to Sholapur in the Bombay State where the Congress Ministry was in power. Thursday was the day in the week on which this paper was published. Its articles were always unpalatable to the Government. Friday was a weekly holiday in the State and the paper would achieve its object of injecting unpleasant ideas into the minds of the readers when the Government would take a decision either on Saturday or Sunday to ban the entry of the paper into the State. But the editor was clever enough to secure permission of the Bombay Government immediately for publishing another paper to issue on Thursday and get it circulated in Hyderabad under a different name. This trick continued and about dozen names were changed by the paper, when the Political Department and the Press Commissioner of the Hyderabad Government became fully aware of and issued a list of papers in all languages which alone were allowed to enter the State. Such an inclusive list could not become comprehensive and exhaustive to welcome all innocent and good papers and hence the Information Bureau had to add the names of several good papers which stood banned for no fault of theirs.

A small book titled 'Publicity Campaign Against The People In The Hyderabad State' as bulletin No.8 of the 'Hyderabad People's Condition' was brought out in 1938. The series very forcefully described the publicity campaign unleashed against national leaders and their activities for securing democracy.

While highlighting the financial condition in the state, the Press exposed the yawning gap between the privileged and unprivileged. While explaining the abject poverty of poor masses, they highlighted the extravagance of the ruling class and its coterie. The *Krishna Patrika* in an editorial on 1st October 1927 wrote that the native kings were spending not less than 13 crores of rupees annually on prostitutes, drinks, foreign goods and foreign trips. Another paper *Satyagrahi* wrote as to how the nobles spent money at the cost of the poor. On 31st August 1925 wrote,

"Every pie spent by the Rajahs on their extravagant pleasure was a loss to the common man who did not have even a single meal a day."²²

The *Krishna Patrika* in a feature 'Letters from Hell' satirically attacked the Zamindars.

Most of the newspapers also made a strong plea for constitutional reforms in Indian states. The *Krishna Patrika* while pleading for political reforms in the states noted that people of Native states were "doubly immersed in slavery."² The Press also made constant appeals to the Native rulers not to cause any obstacle to the Indian National movement and to offer instead a helping hand to the attainment of independence by India and to reform themselves. They wrote against any efforts made to build an impenetrable wall between the people of British India and the subjects of the Indian Princes to oppose the desire for independence among the people of British India.

When India gained independence, the Nizam pompously declared that he would remain independent of the Indian Union. But the State Congress launched the 'Join

²² *Satyagrahi* 31st August 1925, p 3

²³ K. Subramanyam - "The Press in Andhra and Princely States 1920-30" in *Itihas*, Vol. XVII, Jan June 1991

India' movement. The Press helped in great measure to highlight the political implications of the Nizam's decision and evoke a response from different sections in Hyderabad. The Zonal Officers of State Congress, located at Vijayawada, Kurnool and Chanda also did commendable work through underground activity in bringing about an awakening among the people. Congress workers in disguise sneaked into the Nizam's dominion from the border areas and carried on their activities with courage. Under the auspices of the Hyderabad State Congress, a Telugu weekly, *Saradhi* was launched from Vijaywada with Talluri Ramanuja Swamy as its editor and it strove for unification of the State in the Indian Union. Similarly the *Hyderabad weekly* edited by Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, the *Telugu Desam* weekly started by V.B. Raju made valuable contributions to the cause of unification of the State within the Indian Union and in rousing patriotic sentiments and courage among the people of the State.²⁴ V.H. Desai, a great nationalist, was arrested under Defence of Hyderabad Rules for writing in *Free Press Journal*, *The Blitz*, *The Forum*, *Samyukta Karnataka*, *National Herald*, *Tej* and several other outstation papers. He was locked up in the Chanchalguda Central Jail where top leaders of political parties including Swami Ramananda Thritha were imprisoned²⁵.

It is appropriate here to make a special mention of V.H.Desai one of the most prominent journalists of this time. He was a Hyderabad-based *Correspondent* representing, curiously enough, almost all the dailies banned by the Nizam's Government, namely, *Free Press Journal*, *The Forum*, *Blitz*, *Tej*, and *Samyukta*

²⁴ *Deccan Chronicle*, May 15th 1997 p16.

²⁵ V. H. Desai in his book *Saga of Hyderabad Freedom Struggle*, Bombay 1990 says that while in prison he hit upon the plan to produce a 12-page tabloid in order to inform and provoke. They launched a jail journal called 'The Democrat' and he became the editor. The editorial staff wrote out the pages in long hand and when the back braking job was over the issue - prized solitary copy was ready for circulation. Its theme song: 'Let Democracy grow in feudal Hyderabad and let the Nizam join the mainstream.' p.2.

Karnataka during the last phase of the Freedom Struggle in the Nizam's State of Hyderabad.

When he was hardly 16 years old, with like-minded friends such as Sitaram Pisolkar, Narahari, S. Tunga and a host of others, were itching for some kind of secret underground activity to fight the autocratic rule of the Nizam. He soon found himself in the vortex of secret political conclaves. Thus the small room housing the Mandali became the nerve-centre of their activities which consisted mostly of distribution of pamphlets, circulars, etc. issued by the State Congress from time to time.

The other facet of the activity, purely professional in character, came in for close surveillance by the Nizam's Government. His news coverage sent through mail was not affected though his telegraphic despatches were censored heavily. A family friend who served in the Intelligence Department of the Government hinted to his elder brother that he should be warned and if possible restrained. Ironically enough, his two elder brothers—one in the Nizam's Army (Ranga Rao Desai) and the other in the Nizam's Government Service (Dhanna Rao Desai) did not however discourage him in any manner.

One incident which lingered in his mind was his encounter with the Director of Information who was then known as "Nizam-e-Ittelat". The Director was Mohammed Taquiuddin, a gentle and kind looking person. One morning he was summoned to his office and received like a VIP. He politely prefaced the sermon with a brief observation that he was young with a bright future which he felt would become a reality if only he gave up my "anti-social activities" and turned over a new leaf.

He even offered him a job in his own Department because of his journalistic background. All the while, I listened to him with respect and some amusement. Then he proceeded to give a graphic picture—almost a blow by blow account - of his underground activities; to his utter surprise and shock, it was all very accurate . He was all praise for the Nizam's Intelligence Department and its lynx-eyed sleuth hounds. This interesting encounter with the "Nizam-e-Ittelat" turned out to be but a prelude to a new phase of his career, and according to him a more exciting one.

The police soon raided his house as well as the office of the Karnataka Mitra Mandali, seizing all newspapers and correspondence. He was arrested in the premises of the Mandali. He was sent to the Chanchalguda Jail,

He was lodged in the European ward of the jail, a preferential treatment: all the members of the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress, leaders of the Arya Samaj and the Communist Party of India were already there. He felt proud to be in their midst and share the honour of rubbing shoulders with front-rank politicians of the day. The galaxy included Swami Ramananda Tirtha, B. Ramakrishna Rao, K.S. Vaidya, H.C. Heda, Maqdoom Moinuddin, B.S. Mahadev Singh, A.R.V. Chary, Dr. G.S. Melkote, Pandit Narendraji, Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy, Dr. M. Channa Reddy, S.Alwar Swamy, Dattatreya Awaradhi, S. Hanumantha Rao, M. Jaigopal Naidu, Sitaram Pisolkar, Krishnacharya Joshi, Bridhichand Choudhary, Dattartreya Pershad, Bojjam Narasimlu, D.V. Pangrekar and a host of others.

As they kept awake till 2 a.m. anyway, while behind bars, they we decided to produce daily a '*Wall Journal*' that would educate, enthuse good ideas, satirise men and

matters; and thereafter paste the journal at the main entrance of the dining hall where everyone could read it.

In Jaigopal Naidu they had a fine artist, while Hanumantha Rao could write a beautiful hand. And as a journalist, Desai could provide political themes, captions, news stories and format. All this went into the columns of the Wall Journal that came out as '*Bandal Gazette*' (Nonsense Gazette!) When the first issue of the '*Gazette*' was pasted at the main entrance of the dining hall, many eyebrows were raised, mostly in admiration and partly in consternation. The '*Gazette*' did not fail to make digs at the detained leaders, especially at their irresponsible stances. This did make an impact on them. Slowly but steadily they changed their attitude. They became more and more alive to the challenges ahead. The change of heart was exactly what especially those belonging to the younger generation desired and yearned for.

Spurred by the initial success of '*Bandal Gazette*' they decided to launch a manuscript jail journal. *The Democrat*, for the political re-education of the detenus of all shades of opinion and schools of thought. There was a need for the basic raw materials like pen, paper and ink.

The jail official (Daroga) in charge of their Ward was a Muslim from Uttar Pradesh, a nationalist at heart. Encouraged by this, they slowly broached the idea of a manuscript journal and sought his help in the procurement of paper and ink. Enthused by the idea, the official smuggled in regularly Government stationery under cover of darkness after 9 p.m. Thus was born '*The Democrat*'.

The editorial staff consisting of four political detenus, Jaigopal Naidu, Dattatreya Awaradhi, S. Hanumantha Rao and V.H.Desai went into action one night when everyone was fast asleep. They wrote in long hand the first issue of '*The Democrat*'. This nocturnal appeared every fortnight. By clapping of hands or by beating of the thali someone would announce the reading session of the jail journal. The detenus used to assemble in large numbers and listen in pin-drop silence.

The Wall Journal '*Bandal Gazette*' and '*The Democrat*' brought about a sea-change in the attitude of the inmates in the European ward. Desai was attracted the Communist Leaders and he joined their ranks. This enabled him to study closely and intimately the working of the minds of the leaders lodged in the European Ward, and thus gave him a new sensation of understanding the political overtones in the respective parties' role in the freedom struggle vis-a-vis the future of the Native States, especially the Nizam's dominions of Hyderabad.

According to him, his liaison with the detenu-leaders, more especially with Pandit Narendraji, exercised a healthy impact on him and widened his political horizons.

The Jail Superintendent eyed these dismaying developments with indignation and contempt. To restrain their activities he made the first move by shifting Swami Ramananda Tirtha from the Chanchalguda Jail to the Sangareddi Jail. Then came Desai's turn; before long, he was also shifted along with eight others.

He had spent over six months in the Chanchalguda Jail. On the eve of my transfer He left the copies of '*The Democrat*' with his friend Jaigopal Naidu. They were being shifted to the Gulbarga Jail.

Here he came into close contact with that fiery revolutionary poet, Kaloji Narayana Rao, and Babulal Verma of Kanpur. They made a splendid team on the intellectual plane. When he unfolded his plan to re-start '*The Democrat*', the response was one of universal acclaim. However, it was with great difficulty that they could smuggle in paper, ink and pen.

In the new venue, the first issue of the '*The Democrat*' was ready. '*The Democrat*' was released in an open ground in the presence of about 500 political detenus.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha was shifted to the neighbouring ward of the Camp jail of Gulbarga Central Jail from the Sangareddi Jail. Frequent messages used to be exchanged between Deasi and Swamiji specially for use in '*The Democrat*'. The paper thus became an effective communication channel. '*The Democrat*' became the organ voice of their determination. Our long ordeal was coming to an end. Four days after the historic 'Police Action' they were all released on September 22, 1948. According to him the curtain fell on a most memorable phase of his life. In the annals of Indian journalism, the jail journal *The Democrat* broke new ground, thus laying its claim to immortality. It blazed a glorious trail motivating, galvanising and rallying political detenus of many schools of thought under one banner at a crucial juncture in the Hyderabad State Liberation Struggle during 1947-48.²⁶

The jail authorities watched with alarm the growing popularity of *The Democrat* and even clamped down an artificial scarcity of writing paper and ink. The government of India watched with concern the growing defiance of the Nizam's government. It was

at this juncture that K. M. Munshi took over as India's Agent General in Hyderabad. It was during this time that the Nizam was under the influence of the Razakkars and they gave a tough time to K. M. Munshi. Though his task was not a bed of roses he was not moved by the threats made by Razakkars and gave his views boldly and exposed the situation in the state. It was during this time that Sir Kingsley wrote in *The New Statesman* and *The Nation* dated March 20 1948 about the conditions prevailing in Hyderabad under the caption, "Who Rules Hyderabad".²⁷

The situation was deteriorating with each passing day and Kasim Razvi was making inflammatory speeches to make the situation worse. Raja Bahadur Aravamudu Aiyangar, one of the leaders in Congress wrote thus to a friend in high position in New Delhi on April 14 1948,

"The situation is deteriorating day by day there has been an exodus for the third time of the Hindu population of this place...Local papers dare not give correct news. They are censored and you will have noticed that the *Deccan Chronicle* has been for the last so many weeks, until first a day or two ago, been keeping the Editorial column blank with a big question mark. The entry of papers like *Free Press Journal* of Bombay and *The Indian Express* of Madras has been banned. In regard to the papers that are not banned, the packets of papers are opened at the Airways office and if the authorities entrusted with that duty find that there is something objectionable from their point of view, they completely confiscate the whole of that days bundle of papers. If any one dares to publish a statement, he is interned".²⁸

²⁶ V.H. Desai's , " A page from Hyderabad Freedom Struggle in K.S.S.Seshan ed *Hyderabad 400 -Saga of a City*, Hyderabad 1993 pi25-132

²⁷ Ibid. p.27.

²⁸K. M Munshi, *op.cil*, p.145

On the other hand, there were number of papers from Pakistan which were allowed free entry into Hyderabad. There were no restrictions on them. This was highlighted only when the ban was imposed on them after the Police Action in Hyderabad. According to an order notified in notification no.88 dated 7th Ardibehest, 1358F in Government Gazette No.26, dated 28th Ardibehest, 1358F(28 March 1949) it placed a ban on entry into Hyderabad the following newspapers and periodicals:

1. *Dawn*, Karachi (Eng)
2. *Jung*, Karachi (Urdu)
3. *Watan*, Karachi (Urdu)
4. *Watan*, Karachi (Gujarati)
5. *Dawn*, Karachi (Gujarati)
6. *Al Najmu*, Karachi (Urdu)
7. *Insaf*, Karachi (Urdu)
8. *Insaf*, Karachi (Gujarati)
9. *Hayat*, Karachi (Urdu)
10. *Jehad*, Karachi (Urdu)
11. *Karachi Samachar*, Karachi (Gujarati)
12. *Al Jamaat*, Karachi (Urdu)
13. *Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi (ENGLISH)
14. *Al Islah*, Karachi (Gujarati)
15. *Pakistan*, Karachi (Urdu)
16. *Sahar*, Karachi (Urdu)
17. *Daily Nawai Waqat*, Karachi (Urdu)
18. *Al Aazal*, Karachi (Urdu)
19. *Zamindar*, Lahore (Urdu)
20. *Inquilab*, Lahore (Urdu)

21. *Musalman*, Lahore (Urdu)
22. *Jadid Nizam*, Lahore (Urdu)
23. *Anjum*, Karachi (Urdu)
24. *Nawai Pakistan*, Lahore (Urdu)
25. *Imroze*, Lahore (Urdu)
26. *Pakistan Times*, Lahore (ENGLISH)
27. *Paigam*, Karachi (Urdu)
28. *Al Aman*, Karachi (Urdu)
29. *Payam E Mashiq*, Karachi (Urdu).²⁹

There were number of Urdu papers in Hyderabad which were unbiased and nationalist in character. One of the oldest was *Musheer-i-Deccan* owned by Baji Rao. But it followed a mild policy and did not hesitate to criticize the government and it was stopped for its severe criticism regarding the railway affairs for two and a half years³⁰.

Payyam edited by Kazi Abdul Gaffar was very balanced but not liked by Ittehad. Abdul Gaffar's father had good relations with the British and earned the title of Khan Bahadur. But Abdul Gaffar did not like the British. He worked for a few years with the British and fought with his British Superiors and resigned. He turned to journalism after he took to import and export business where he lost a lot of money. In 1931 he came to Hyderabad and after 2 years started the Urdu Daily *Payyam*. It was a progressive paper and was apposed to the communal policies of the Ittehad and the general feudal system prevalent in the State. He became an enemy of the communal elements in the State because of his writings but he stood firm. When Sir Mirza Ismail became the Prime Minister of the State in 1946, Abdul Gaffar was appointed Director

²⁹ In Gazette Ordinary dated 10th August 1950. No 15.

³⁰ ed. N. Ramesan, *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*; Hyderabad 1966 p.84.

of Information. But Sir Mirza could not remain in office for long because of the reactionary elements who worked against him, as a result Abdul Gaffar was also dismissed from service. He left Hyderabad in 1947. But at the time of his departure, he sent the Nizam a letter running into twenty one foolscap pages. In this he warned him against "the dictatorship of the political charlatans" who under the guise of protecting the rights of their co-religionists were in fact trying to establish a fascist domination over the Nizam, whom they were using as a pawn in their game of Power politics. He told him about his corrupt bureaucracy which had aligned itself with communal elements and said that every thing that was happening had his alleged backing and support. He recalled that he had pleaded in vain with the Nizam for a fair and just form of government. If he favoured one community, it would lead to a civil war. Nothing less than responsible government could save Nizam's position and his refusal to do so "will always mean utter disregard of public welfare". Referring to the "Fire eating Razvi" and his threats he said that his constant provocation drenched in angry threats and dripping with humiliating ridicule and contempt has served, as nothing else could have done to rouse the complacent Hindu. It may not be accused of exaggeration if I say that apart from the outside influence, the Hindu majority of this state has been goaded into action by constant pin pricks and reckless shouting of the Majlis leaders, who encouraged by your exalted highness's support and much advertised patronage and the deplorable inactivity of the government, has gone to far to recede". He deplored the treatment meted out successfully to Sir Akbar Hydari, the Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Mirza Ismail and prophesied "That the final outcome of the negotiation with the union government is not going to be much different from what Sir Mirza envisages". He concluded by suggesting the adoption of the "Self evident maxim that no ruler can rule without the support of the public opinion representing the Majority of his subjects". By the time the letter was delivered to the Nizam Abdul

Gaffer moved out of the range of the Nizam's authority. It is obvious that Nizam paid no heed to the warnings contained in the letter and met the fate which Abdul Gaffer had predicted³¹. The *Nizam Gazette* was a semi government paper and maintained a very high standard and was generally above criticism. But there were certain papers and news agencies, one in particular called *Deccan News*, which had a particular fascination for communal and exaggerated news³².

Mohib Hussain was one of the pioneer of Journalism in Hyderabad. He edited three journals and carried on a campaign for social and educational reforms among women. He was also an opponent of the purdah system. This created a furore among the orthodox muslims and the government stepped in to close one of his journals dealing with the problems of women. He raised his voice of protest against the discrimination between the European and Indians by the police and in criminal courts, and like Mulla Abdul Qayum, criticized the two nation theory. Those who talked of Hindus and Muslim as two nations were described by him as "deadly snakes". In 1904, he suddenly turned away from active social and journalistic work and embraced mysticism and spiritualism. He spent the rest of his life as a recluse.³³

A special mention has to be made of the young journalist and editor of *Imroze*, Shuebullah Khan who fell a prey to the strategies of his enemies. He was brave and resolute in his objectives. His soft spokenness concealed the zealous champion that was in him. He first joined the weekly *Taj*, but when it was banned for attacking the Nizam and activities of *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen*, he decided to join *Rayyat* a weekly edited by Narsinga Rao. When *Rayyat* was banned he started his own daily *Imroze* with the help of few friends like B. Ramakrishna Rao. As the editor of *Imroze*, Shuebullah wrote

³¹ flarcnder Luther, *P.p* 313 - 315

³² N.Ramesan *ed.op.cit* p.85

Narender Luther, *op.cit* p. 233

fearlessly that Hyderabad was destined to be part of Indian Union and there was no question of the Nizam remaining independent. Born on October, 17, 1920 at Subraved in Khammam district, Shoebullah Khan did his B.A. from Osmania University. As a young man he was greatly attracted to the Non Co-operation Movement. From the beginning Shoebullah Khan stood apart for the views that he held. He was a staunch opponent of communal fanaticism.

Shoeb wanted to prove that no religion had a monopoly of the truth. "If we are truthful, His wisdom comes to us". Shoeb was among those few nationalist Muslims who did not see eye to eye with the fascist rulers of his time. He was a democrat to the core. He knew that no one had the courage to tell the people the horrors of the Raj and it was left to him to speak the truth through his columns of the daily, *Imroze*.

Shoebullah fell from the grace of orthodox Muslims for his ideas of iconoclast, his break from the past, his craving for the new order of things which sounded heretical and revolting though much of the imagery in his early writings were drawn from the Islamic legends. At no time did he fail to voice the surging urges of the down trodden. Perhaps he, more than any others in Hyderabad, represented the urges and aspirations of the harassed and suppressed people of the state against the mighty power of the rulers.

On August 21st 1948, Shoeb criticized Razvi fearlessly in his editorial and was also a signatory to the statement issued by Manzur Jung and his friends against the government. Razvi gave a warning, "If hands were raised in the state they would be cut down and those hands and hands controlling them."

He met a martyr's death in the early hours of August 22nd 1948 at Hyderabad by the Razakkars. He was shot at and his hands were cut off with a sword as a retaliatory measure for his writings. According to V.H Desai in an article published in *National Herald* on August 22nd 1987, Lucknow edition, "The scene of Shoaibullah's murder was gruesome, the assassins were pouncing on Shoaibullah Khan who was helplessly knocking the door of his house, the door opened, his wife stood dazed on seeing him drop dead. His only witness was his brother in law and he said he saw two persons attacking Shoaibullah with swords who was crying "*Mere ko math maro*". Munim Khan fired the shot at Shoaibullah.

All national Muslim editors were threatened by letters and phone messages that the fate of editor of Imroze would overtake them if they supported freedom struggle launched by the State Congress.

It was Imroze again which flashed the news of his death, without being submitted to censor. Writing an obituary, Baqar Ali Mirza who was an eyewitness to the last rites of Shoaib said ".... Some thought it was un-Islamic to pay last respects to such a death. As his body was being covered with earth, a thought came to me, how much communication has degraded religion and to yield to that meant death..."³⁴

The people of Hyderabad could join the mainstream of Indian Polity only after the great sacrifice made by warriors like Shoaibullah Khan.

As explained in the earlier chapter, there were a number of broadminded Muslims like Fareed Mirza and Akhtar Hasan were members of Progressive Writers Association

³⁴. V.H.Desai "Martyrdom of Shoaibullah" in *National Herald*, August 22nd 1987. p 4

and editor of Urdu daily *Payam* who tried to make the Nizam see reason through their columns and appeals.³⁵ But all of them faced very difficult consequences.

Considering the many hurdles, placed on it, the work done by the press is commendable. They were used by the nationalist to voice their opinion, to bring to light the undemocratic practices and mould the public opinion. Journalists like V.H.Desai and Shoebullah Khan , were undaunted in the face of any threat. They were willing to pay any price in order to highlight the unjust situation prevailing in Hyderabad.

Thus the Press did yeomen service to highlight and even advise remedies for the decay that had set in Nizam government. It definitely had a major role to play in the Freedom movement. Though many hearts were touched and moved, the Nizam remained unmoved. Hyderabad had to pay the price in the form of Police Action.

The following Chapter deals with the Police Action and the Surrender of Hyderabad.

³⁵ In his article, "Razakkars, a blot on the history of Hyderabad" in *Deccan Chronicle*, dated August 15th 1997, p IV Akhtar Hasan, a member of the Progressive Writer's Association and editor of the Urdu daily, *Payam* says that even educated Muslims influenced by the propoganda of Razvi considered them Anti- Muslim for their opinions. **Kasim** Razvi often said whoever wrote against them would be destroyed.

CHAPTER VII

Police Action and the Surrender of Hyderabad

September 17, 1948 was a red-letter day not only for the people of erstwhile Hyderabad state but also for the whole nation as it was only on that day that the struggle for a free India was complete. The newly liberated country freed one of its major princely states, Hyderabad, from the clutches of the Nizam, who dreamt of establishing a sovereign nation within India. The Police Action, which was started on 13th September 1948 and ended on 17th September, was considered one of the momentous weeks in Hyderabad.

The historic struggle to liberate Hyderabad State in which different streams of people participated is remembered even today by historians, social scientists and students of political science, besides the generations which witnessed the gory saga.

The prospects of Partition, seemed to give some chance for the princes to assert themselves and regain what had been lost to the British. But they were reminded too painfully by Jawaharlal Nehru that it might be very dangerous for them to ignore the rapid and rising demands of their peoples for democratic power. The British Labour government had been persuaded to give up paramountcy over the states in the same way as British power was withdrawn from India. It became the special effort of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Lord Mountbatten to find a peaceful political solution of integrating these states to the Union. V.P. Menon¹ persuaded Lord Mountbatten to demonstrate his gratitude to Sardar for having agreed to the proposal for Partition, by using his great personal influence over Indian princes in favour of Indian unity. Menon weakened the resistance of princes to integration by putting before

¹ V.P. Menon rose to be the Secretary of Ministry of States in the Government of India from a mere assistant at the bottom rung of officialdom.

them a picture of what might be the dire fate awaiting them, once the leaders of the neighbouring and the Government of India encouraged their people to rise in revolt against not only the ruler's governments but also against their traditional rights, privileges and family security. Lord Mountbatten pleaded with the maharajas to bow heroically and patriotically before the dictates of history, as the powerful British emperor was getting ready to go away and thus win the appreciation of the leaders of the New India and gratitude of their peoples.

Despite the call given some states like Travancore, Mysore, Hyderabad, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bhopal, Kashmir wanted to declare independence. In Travancore, and Mysore, their Diwans mesmerized the maharajas with fanfare of Independence and proposed to send representatives to the Pakistan government. Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore resisted accession to India but had to bow to popular will in the state that asserted itself in a powerful upsurge that shook his authority.

Some States stored up arms and armaments, recruited and trained soldiers and built Ordnance factories. But thanks to lightning-like diplomacy of Menon, and thunderbolt-like command from Sardar, most of the states decided to accede to India.

Menon was a great help to Sardar in negotiating with thousands of Indian princes and thousands of experienced and traditionally skilled advisers and succeeded in persuading them to preside over the liquidation of their age long constitutional princedoms. This is a story that could add luster even to the Arabian Nights²

² N.G.Ranga, *Distinguished Acquaintances*, Volume II, Hyderabad.p.242 - 248.

There were two kinds of movements launched in Hyderabad - one was the freedom movement and Hyderabad's integration and the other was the momentum gained for a Telugu identity. The establishment of Krishna Deva Raya Andhra Basha Nilayam in 1901 was a positive step in this direction. As far as the writings of this period are concerned again there were two distinct groups. For example V.K.Bawa and others have written in favour of Nizam .While V.H.Desai and others have reflected the anti-Nizam stand. Organisations like Arya Samaj have taken very strongly the efforts of the Nizam to declare independence.³

The people of Hyderabad retired to bed on September 17th, 1948 to wake up to a new dawn. But there were so many people who played their part to unfold this drama in history. The events leading up to the most fearful days in Hyderabad's history have spawned their own legends, bristling with drama and irony.

The people of Hyderabad state, 16,000,000 in number, were an integral part of the great communities of India closely connected by social, religious and cultural bonds. 86% of them were Hindus, 12 1/2 % Muslims, 1 1/2 % Christians and others. Of them 7,000,000 spoke Telugu, 4,000,000 Marathi and 2,000,000 Kannada. Urdu was spoken mostly by the ruling Muslim group, till the new policy of the Urdu-ising the state was introduced.⁴

The *Indian Express* in its special supplement, wrote as to how the day when India became free, was felt by the people in Hyderabad.

³ Professor Radhakrishna Sharma, Retired Professor of History, Osmania University also expressed these views during my interview with him on 27th May 2001. *

⁴ According to K.M.Munshi in his book *End Of An Era*. "It was this Hyderabad which the Nizam hoped to make an independent Islamic state. To him it all seemed so simple." p.xxiii

"We did not understand what Independence Day meant on August 15th, 1947. It took us a whole year for that. While the rest of the country was celebrating the attainment of Independence, we were crushed by a tyrant who was dead set against joining India"⁵

Said **Katam Lakshminarayana**, freedom fighter.

The British gave the Nizam three options - one, to join Pakistan, two to remain an independent country and three, to join the Indian Union. Vehemently opposed to India as he was, the Nizam declared on 27th August 1947 that Hyderabad was an Independent and Sovereign state. Thus, Hyderabad was still mired in the feudal rule of the Nizam. August 1948 was a period of struggle by all shades of nationalist opinion.

Events had been moving at a breathtaking pace in the subcontinent from 1946 with the British declaring that they would leave India by 1948, and the British Parliament adopting the Indian Independence Act based on the proposals of June 3, 1947 which envisaged British withdrawal and partition of the country into two Sovereign States of India and Pakistan by August 15.

Having embarked upon such a radical redrawing of the map of the subcontinent, the British government. (Either deliberately or out of much trumpeted liberal values of respect for treaties and rights of native rulers) left the choice to the rulers of Princely States to either join India or Pakistan or even to remain Independent. Even before August 15, many native rulers whose states were contiguous to India had signed the Instrument of Accession with the exception of Junagadh and Hyderabad. Kashmir was trying various options.

⁵ **Kantham** Lakshminarayana, freedom fighter expressed his opinion in the paper, *Indian Express*, special supplement Sept 12th 1998, p.1

Lord Mountbatten had also written to the Nizam that in view of the special position and peculiar problems of Hyderabad. Both Nehru and Sardar Patel felt that Lord Mountbatten should continue to negotiate with the Nizam even after August 15th. Accordingly on August 12th, Lord Mountbatten informed the Nizam that an offer of accession would remain open in the case of Hyderabad for a further period of two months. But the Hyderabad problem remained intractable for over a year after August 15, 1947.

In 1947, when the British handed over power to India in New Delhi, the Nizam actually declared himself independent. The idea of acceding to India or even to Pakistan was contrary to his concept of his State's power and dignity, and the state was, in his view, inseparable from himself. Osman Ali Khan even rejected the advice of his own constitutional advisors, including Walter Monckton, a close friend of Lord Louis Mountbatten who hoped to ensure that Hyderabad enjoyed a high status in the Indian Union. Thus he asserted an Independence, which was not justified by historical evidence or by his actual position. The Nizam declared through a *firman* that Hyderabad would remain independent and not join the Constituent Assembly. Kasim Razvi unfurled the Asafia Flag and declared the flag was the emblem of the suzerainty of God on earth and exhorted the Muslims to defend it to the last drop of their blood. Even the *Deccan Chronicle* of June 24, 1947 reported,

"His Exalted Highness will assume Sovereign status and powers on or about August 15, 1947, by which time it is expected that the Indian and Pakistan areas would have assumed the status of Dominions of the British Common Wealth it is learnt"⁶

⁶ The article published on on 15th August, 1947 was reprinted in *Deccan Chronicle* on 15th August 1997. p2.

By August 15, 1947, the fate of Hyderabad remained uncertain. Kasim Razvi in his speeches and statements asserted that Hyderabad was always independent and never subject to British paramountcy and therefore it had no obligation to join the Indian Union. Any number of proposals made by the Government of India were rejected by the Nizam, Razvi and Laik Ali, the Prime Minister. Negotiations continued for months till a Standstill Agreement was signed in November 1947⁷. The Government of India made it clear that this was only an interim government that must eventually lead to accession and a responsible government. But this transitory arrangement was misused and abused by the Nizam and Razvi to gain time to strengthen the state armed forces and Razakkars with modern weapons. Even a proposal for an Assembly with 40% representation to Muslims who were only 13% of the population was not acceptable.

Ever since the Standstill Agreement was signed a number of delegations had visited Delhi for negotiations. One such delegation arrived in Delhi on 22nd May 1948, and after discussions with the State's Ministry left for Hyderabad on 26th May. Laik Ali, the Prime Minister of Nizam accepted the principle of overriding legislation by the Government of India and proposed to increase the strength of the Hyderabad army although he denied it later. He also carried with him an invitation from the Nizam to Nehru to visit Hyderabad. Nehru sent a telegram to the Nizam in reply to that. It read

"I greatly appreciate your invitation to visit Hyderabad. As I told your Prime Minister, my many preoccupations make it practically impossible for me to leave New Delhi. However, if the negotiations now in progress, between the Government of India and Your Exalted Highness' government result in the certainty of a mutually satisfactory settlement, I shall be happy to give priority to a visit to your capital over other matters."⁸

⁷ Details of Standstill Agreement are mentioned in the earlier chapter

⁸ S.Gopal, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Volume VI, New Delhi, 1972, p.p.223-224.

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a series of letter to several prominent persons connected with the security of Independent India and the latest political developments. Writing to Sardar Patel on 11th April 1948, he mentions about the visit of Nawab Ismail Khan, prominent leader of Muslim League in Uttar Pradesh, and the Nawab of Chattari. According to Nehru, they were very perturbed about the developments in Hyderabad. Sarojini Naidu suggested to them to go to Hyderabad and tell the Nizam how much his policy and specially the activities of Razakkars were injuring the Muslims of India as well as the Nizam himself. The attitude of prominent Indian Muslims including Mohamed Ismail of Madras who was the President of the Muslim League in India was that the Indian Union must take strong action in the situation, that Razvi should be brought to trial and that a democratic government should be established in Hyderabad State.⁹

In a letter to Sardar Patel, Nehru wrote,

" We do not want to impose our will on any state and it is our earnest desire to avoid conflicts and quarrels... We therefore concluded the Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad last year with the hope that in the course of year, the people's desires would be fulfilled. But no sooner the ink in which the agreement was signed was dry, the Hyderabad government violated the agreement. Hyderabad is the only state where so far there has been no change in the nature of the government... The Ittehad Muslemeen and its volunteers are committing violence on the people, trying to overawe and coerce them with bullets. The present state of affairs definitely cannot be allowed to go on." ¹⁰

In a speech at a secret session of the AICC, Bombay, on 16 April 1948, speaking of the policy on Hyderabad Nehru said,

⁹ Ibid pp213-214.

¹⁰ S.Gopal.ed. *Selected Works of J.Nehru*, Vol VI, Delhi 1972, p.p 214, 215

"I would like to assure the AICC that the Government of India are fully alive to the seriousness of the situation developing in Hyderabad State.... If the Nizam's government or the Razakkars take any aggressive action, the Government of India will certainly takes steps to safeguard the interest of the people concerned."

Again speaking at a public meeting, in UthagaMandalam in the far south on 2nd June, 1948 Nehru stated,

"We have made it perfectly clear to Hyderabad that there will have to be a solution to this problem and that ultimately there must be accession. There is no other way, and it is not possible for Hyderabad to walk out of the Indian . Union. Responsible government is inevitable because in the modern world we cannot allow a feudal government as in Hyderabad to continue." ¹²

Writing to Vallabhai Patel on 6th June 1948 Nehru had stated a similar view:

"To come back to Hyderabad we have to view Military Action from the point of view of our present capacity as well as from the other consequences flowing from it. These consequences may well be far reaching to various parts of India as well as Pakistan.... I arrived at the conclusion therefore that Military Action should only be indulged in Hyderabad when the Hyderabad government or their Razakkars etc make it impossible for us to desist from it. Of course in such circumstances we have to take action because in action may produce worse results"

Jawaharlal Nehru also took certain Interim Defence measures. There were instructions to Army commanders round about Hyderabad and to the local government concerned. The instructions were as follows,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.p 217-218.

¹² From the *Hindu*, 3rd June, 1948 p.2

¹³ S. Gopal. Ed., *Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru* vol. VI, New Delhi, 1972 p.227

"With the exception of articles of food, salt, medical stores and chlorine for purifying the water supply, all other articles should be denied entry into Hyderabad state and strict blockade should be maintained in regard to these other articles. In the case of any doubtful article, reference should be made to the Government of India." ¹⁴

On the other hand, Hyderabad was making frantic effort to purchase arms. For this purpose Major General El Edroos was sent to London and his mission was to get automatic weapons and anti tank guns. Major General El Edroos was the commander of the Hyderabad army. He makes his views very clear in the book he authored, *Hyderabad Of The Seven Loaves*. Even regarding the position of the Hyderabad army he writes,

"I realized the hopeless situation which we were in and any clash by our troops with the advancing Indian army would have only led to ill feelings and probably harder terms of surrender. A copy of my plan was submitted to the Hyderabad Government. But the Government under the influence of the Prime Minister Mir Laiq Ali returned the copy with the remarks that he was the best authority in this vital matter and he was to hold the Indian army at bay for about three months and by that time, help from Pakistan would come. He found it almost impossible for Hyderabad to purchase arms and ammunition from abroad as Hyderabad was not recognized as an independent country. Even if arms and ammunition were purchased from Europe or Middle East, it would be impossible to import them into Hyderabad. Bombay, Madras and other seaports were all closed to Hyderabad traffic. And it was next to impossible to get them through Goa due to the land route between Goa and Hyderabad being watched by the Indian authorities. But

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.243

the Hyderabad Government totally ignored the clauses in the Standstill Agreement.”¹⁵

The task of K.M.Munshi who was appointed the Agent General of the Government of India in Hyderabad was no bed of roses. He had to contend with the Trinity who were ruling the destinies of Hyderabad at that time - Mir Laik Ali, Nawab Moin Nawab Jung and Kasim Razvi who made no secret of their hostility to Munshi¹⁶.

The leaders of Ittehad were delivering speeches that there would be a bloodbath in the whole of South India if accession to the Union were effected. Kasim Razvi also made many irresponsible speeches. He threatened,

"If the Indian Union venture to enter Hyderabad, the invaders will see the burning everywhere of the bodies of one crore and sixty-five lakhs. The Muslims will not spare others when we ourselves are not allowed to exist.”¹⁷

With the atrocities continuing unabated, the Government of India issued a White Paper on Hyderabad on 26 July 1948. Sardar Patel declared in the Constituent Assembly that Hyderabad had become an ulcer in the heart of India and this ulcer had to be operated. The White Paper made it unequivocally clear and without mincing words that

"The Government of India cannot afford to be a helpless spectator of orgies of misrule in Hyderabad. If the law and

¹⁵ El Edroos, *Hyderabad Of Seven Loaves* P.P. 134-135. The major sounded quite prophetic during the days of discussion on Standstill Agreement with the Nizam. When asked how long the Nizam's army could hold out against an attack by the Indian army he replied "Not more than four days". Narendra Luther, *Memories Of A City*, 1995 p. 324

¹⁶ K.M. Munshi born in 1887 was a leading lawyer in Bombay and later at the Supreme Court. He founded the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan with branches all over the country. According to N.G. Ranga he had a hard task with a Nizam who never bent his knee before any but a Viceroy.

From the article titled "Unholy Terror" by K.M.Munshi, which appeared in *Deccan Chronicle*, Aug 15, 1997 p.3

order situation there, which already shows signs of collapse, further deteriorates and thereby imperils peace and good order in India, the Government of India would unquestionably be involved." ¹⁸

It is quite clear that Jawaharlal Nehru was keeping Lord Mountbatten informed of the developments regarding the Hyderabad issue. In his letter dated, August 29th 1948, he wrote,

"...We have been having a very difficult time here and I have felt more than ever the weight of responsibility that has been cast upon me. Grave decisions have to be made by us and the alternatives between which we have to choose are equally undesirable. Also as often in life, we search frantically for the lesser evil... Hyderabad has been a running sore for a long time, but now it has become an intolerable nuisance or something much worse ...All this leads to the conclusion that some military action must be taken fairly soon and fairly swiftly against Hyderabad, if we are to save a deteriorating situation ...Please rest assured that whatever the provocation, we are not going to declare war against anybody. But we may well have to take what we call Police Action against Hyderabad State in the near future... we miss you here."¹⁹

On 10th September 1948, the Nizam appealed to the UNO to intervene. The Government of India was prepared for this move of the Nizam as it is indicated in a letter of Nehru to Vallabhai Patel on 23rd July 1948. He says

"You are aware of the fact that there is every chance of Hyderabad State Government referring their dispute with us to the United Nations. We should not wait for this reference and then think about it. We should therefore take immediate steps to prepare our answer and to clear up our own minds

¹⁸ V. H. Desai, *Vandemataramto Janaganmana Saga of Hyderabad's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay, 1990 p. 167

¹⁹ S.Gopal, *Selected Works of J.Nehru*, Vol. VI New Delhi, 1972.p.221-222.

as to the attitude we should take. I hope therefore the States Ministry is thinking about this and preparing for it."²⁰

In September 1948, the Nizam sent a delegation to the Security Council with a complaint that the situation between Hyderabad and India had become grave and constituted a threat to peace. The delegation left via Karachi. It was now time for decisive action by the Indian Government. On September 10, 1948 Nehru issued an ultimatum, "With great regret we intend to occupy Secunderabad." The same day England evacuated British subjects from Hyderabad to return and ordered all British officers to resign from the Hyderabad Army, so that they will not be forced to fight against an erstwhile British dominion (India).²¹

Jawaharlal Nehru in his letter to V.K.Krishna Menon dated, 29th August, 1948, clearly pointed out that a military action against Hyderabad was becoming a must. He stated thus:

"I am convinced that it is impossible to arrive at any solution of the Hyderabad problem by settlement or peaceful negotiation. Military action becomes essential, we call it as you have called it Police Action...The reported reference of the Hyderabad issue to the U.N. produces a certain complication, but that is hardly reason for our holding up any action that would otherwise be justified. There is no point in holding it up because, if the U.N. goes into this matter, it will be a somewhat prolonged affair as it usually is. A prolonged postponement would certainly have very bad results in many ways."²²

S. Gopal, ed., "Letters to Premiers of Provinces" in *Selected works of J.Nehru* Volume VII, New Delhi 1972, p. 195

Ian Austin, *City of Legends, The Story of Hyderabad*, Calcutta, 1992 p. 188

²² S. Gopal, *op.cit* p.223.

It is interesting to note that Nehru for a long time was reluctant to solve the Hyderabad Problem at one go by Police Action in September 1948. Durga Das, a former editor of the *Hindustan Times*, narrates in his memoirs titled '*India - from Curzon to Nehru*',

"There were days of tenseness and high drama in New Delhi particularly in the Cabinet. Pt. Nehru still wanted a peaceful solution, for fear of Pakistan's reaction while Patel was pressing for Police Action soon after Mountbatten left. The hurdle for Patel was removed when Mountbatten who was trying for special status for Hyderabad left on June 22, 1948. After Mountbatten left when Nizam still talked of further agreement, Patel publicly declared, "Agreement has gone to England". Twice Sardar Patel had fixed the Zero Hour for action against Hyderabad and on each occasion he was compelled to cancel it. When the Zero Hour was fixed for the third time (13th Sept) he was determined to see it through and he announced that the army had already moved into Hyderabad and nothing could be done to halt it. Nehru was worried whether it would provoke retaliation by Pakistan." ²³

On September 12th, Jinnah died and Nehru was sure that there would be no interference from Pakistan.

Since the Nizam and his government refused to disband the Razakkars and other private armies and to facilitate the return of Indian troops to Secunderabad, where they used to be stationed before, in order to restore law and order Indian troops entered the Hyderabad Territory at 4:00 am on 13th September from three sides, West , South and North.

23 How Hyderabad Escaped the Fate of Kashmir" in *Hyderabad Watch* at www.Hyderabad.com" p.p 1 & 2

Nehru held a question-answer session at the press conference in New Delhi on 10th September 1948, Three days before the Police action. He followed it with his own statements. One of the most important aspects he stressed was the Razakkar menace.

"There is no doubt that the state of affairs in Hyderabad has been very bad and progressively worsening. Any person who does not openly submit to any demands from the Razakkars plays with his life. You might have in mind at least two cases - that of a young Muslim editor of a paper who was shot down; of another young Muslim, you may have noticed, his hands were cut off. So you see the state of affairs in Hyderabad is sinking into a state of barbarity."²⁴

In his speech in Bombay on 15th September 1948, Nehru explained that Police Action was initiated to end terror.

"Our first year of freedom has seen much sorrow and suffering through out the country. During the critical period, the Father of our Nation was snatched away from our midst leaving us in deep anguish and sorrow....In Hyderabad our army is doing a magnificent job. They are rapidly advancing on all fronts. This is an indication of our strength. I hope the operation will end soon..."²⁵

The invasion of Hyderabad by the Indian army was called by different names. Popularly it was called Police Action and the operation was named "Operation Polo".

Hyderabad had a large army with a tradition of hiring mercenary force. It comprised of the manager of Sarf - I - Khas lands, the Paigah Nobles, Arabs, Guards and Razakkars who were themselves about 200,000. They were commanded by Major

²⁴ S. Gopal, *op.cit* P.p.234-235.

²⁵ S. Gopal, ed., "Hyderabad H-Police Action in Hyderabad" in *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 7, New Delhi, 1972, p. 244.

General El Edroos. Though the authorized strength of the Hyderabad forces under the state forces scheme was 7,000, it was raised to 13,000 in 1947. By April 1948, the strength of the regulars was 22,393 while 7,000 more men were under training and an additional force of 4,870 men was undergoing training under different names such as customs and constabulary. The strength of the Police Force had also been raised to 38,000. There were 15,000 Home and Civil Guards.²⁶In the face of the concentration of troops, the invasion on Hyderabad by the Indian Union was inevitable²⁷.

The final plan for the Operation Polo was based on the "Goddard Plan". There were two major thrusts - a Western thrust through Sholapur - Hyderabad axis and the Eastern thrust along the Vijayawada - Hyderabad axis. Thrusts were also to be made from the South to protect the Railway Communications and from the North in the Jalna area. The Indian Task Force commanded by Major General J.N.Chaudhari led the thrust from Sholapur. The first obstacle to overcome was the Naldurg Fort, which stood on the Sholapur Secunderabad Road, about 19 kilometers from the state border. City by city was captured; all Razakkars who resisted were quickly overpowered. The unit heading northward met no resistance of any kind. They safely entered the town of Osmanabad after intense bombardment and continued northwards with the objective of turning east towards Latur.

While varying reports were pouring in from different fronts, the worst fate appeared to be that of the airfields and landing strips all over the country. The airfields of Warangal, Bidar, Raichur, Adilabad, and Aurangabad were being incessantly showered

²⁶Ibid.p.241

²⁷ Ian Austin in her book *City of Legends* says the invasion was code named "Operation Polo" possibly to assuage world criticism of the violent act of aggression. It was known, euphemistically, as a simple "Police Action"; small raps over the knuckles to get the Nizam back in to line P. 189

with heavy bombs by the Indian Air Force. They were all so defenseless and yet the bombing was so frenzied.

On day two of the operation by the afternoon Aurangabad was captured. The only link the Hyderabad Government had with the outside world was through the wireless and that was with **Mushtaq Ahmed**, the Agent General of Hyderabad at Karachi.

Meanwhile, the Hyderabad Government was pinning great hope and faith in the U.N.O to stand by right against brute force.

The complaint of Hyderabad was presented in a cablegram dated August 21, 1948, addressed to the President of the Security Council. A summary of it read as follows.

"The Government of Hyderabad in reliance on Article 35, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the U.N requests you to bring to the attention of the Security Council the grave dispute which has arisen between Hyderabad and India, and which unless settled in accordance with International law and justice, is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Hyderabad has been exposed in recent months to violent intimidation, to threats of invasion and to crippling economic blockade which has inflicted cruel hardship upon the people of Hyderabad... The action of India threatens the existence of Hyderabad, the peace of the Indian and entire Asiatic continent, and the principles of the U.N. Hyderabad, a state not a member of the U.N. accepts for the purposes of the dispute, obligations of the Pacific Settlement provided in the Charter of the United Nations."²⁸

²⁸ Clyde Eagleton, *The Case of Hyderabad before the Security Council*, in Omar **Khalidi** 's ed *Hyderabad After the Fall*, Kansas 1988 pp64-65

This was followed by a cablegram dated, September 12, 1948, in which the Government of Hyderabad in view of the "officially proclaimed intention of India as announced by its Prime Minister to invade Hyderabad" asked that the complaint be put upon the agenda at "the earliest possible date such as Wednesday, 15th September. On the following day a cablegram informed the Secretary General that Hyderabad had been invaded.

The Hyderabad delegation filed all the requisite documents and concluded all formalities hurriedly. The earliest that the meeting of Security Council could be convened was on the afternoon of the 16th September. With the exception of the delegate of Nationalist China, who was in favor of India and Russia, which appeared noncommittal, the attitude of all other delegates was solidly against "the aggression committed by India". The Indian delegation also arrived under A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar and they put forth their defense strongly. The representatives of UK, USA, France, Syria, Argentina and Canada had made no attempt to conceal their disapproval of the "aggression" committed by India.

A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, the leader of the delegation to UN was a man of great reputation. He was an advocate in Madras, was a member of Legislative Council, had attended the Round Table Conference, was a member of the War Cabinet, Pacific Council (1942-43) and leader of the Indian delegation to the UN. His brother, A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar and he were called the Mudaliar twins and were the idols of non-Brahmin youths of the Justice party of the 1920's. Even the British knew the worth of Ramaswamy Mudaliar and he was asked to join the Viceroy's Council first as member and later on as Vice-Chairman, next in honour only to the Viceroy. Having gained his place in the Central Cabinet of the Viceroy he displayed his latent sense of

national selfrespect. Genuine patriot that he essentially was in the many wartime international conferences in which he represented India and pleaded with all the sweetness of his supreme eloquence for an honourable place for India and human rights. Lakshmanaswamy on the other concentrated on medical studies and educational cause. His services were used for the development of education in India, particularly Madras. He was Vice Chancellor of Madras University for over two decades.

On day 3, many Razakkars were killed and many were taken prisoners. The Indian Army occupied Latur and Moinabad. Suryapet was captured. The Musi Bridge was also partially destroyed by the retreating Hyderabad army. On day 4, Sept 16th they passed through Zahirabad to reach Bidar.

All though the period of operation the Nizam was in constant touch with Mir Laiq Ali and the army headquarters. When they began to take stock of the situation, the Nizam realized that Pakistan remained a silent spectator. The Hyderabad army put up a hopeless show and the Security Council was yet to meet and the Indian armies were racing towards the capital from all directions. The Nizam felt that his own person and his family were in serious danger.

By the morning of 17th September, it was reported through Railway sources that the Indian troops had reached Bibinagar and were well on their way to the capital.³⁰ Meanwhile, they received the news of the issue of Hyderabad being taken up in the Security Council. Moin Nawaz Jung, the leader of the Hyderabad delegation was invited and he very forcefully presented the case of Hyderabad at length and appealed

²⁹ N.G.Ranga, *op.dt* p.p.253-257.

³⁰ This message was apparently wrong which was realized much later says Mir Laiq Ali in "The Five Day War" in Raza Ali Khan's *Hyderabad - 400 Years*, p.58

to the Security Council to intervene at once and put a stop to the bloodshed and make it possible to achieve lasting peace³¹.

Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, urged that time was limited and every hour counted. He went on to say,

"The situation demands immediate action by the Security Council not only under Chapter VI of the Charter relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes, but also under Chapter VII which bears on the action of the Security Council for enforcing its decision for safeguarding the peace of the world. In that chapter, Article 39, of the Charter enjoins the Security Council the duty to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and that it shall take appropriate action. Who can doubt that these conditions are now present?"³²

When it was the turn of Ramaswamy Mudaliar to speak, he furnished documentary evidence to prove that Hyderabad was never an independent state and as such had no status to approach the Security Council.³³

Sir Benegal Rau the then representative of India, taking the same position at a Security Council meeting later in May, 1949, said, "Hyderabad was not a state in the international sense before the Indian Independence act. She is not now by virtue of the Standstill Agreement and the arrangements which followed it; and she cannot be one at any time in the future if India is to live. We cannot defy or ignore geography. It follows that any dispute with Hyderabad is not an international dispute. All matters relating to Hyderabad are now dealt regularly by the government of India as matters of domestic concern. see for details Clyde Eagerton, *opcit* p.p.67,68

³² Clyde Eagleton, *Ibid.*, p.67.

³³ A.R. Mudaliar said, "In my Government's view, Hyderabad is not competent to bring any question before the Security Council, that it is not a state; that it is not independent; that never in all its history did it have the status of independence; that neither in remote past nor before August 1947, nor under any declaration made by the United Kingdom, nor under any act passed by the British Parliament, has it acquired the status of independence which would entitle it to come in its own right to present a case before the Security Council" In Clyde Eagleton's, *"The Case of Hyderabad before the Security Council"* in Omar Khalidi's *Hyderabad After The Fall*, Kansas, 1988, p. 67

The President after hearing both sides said that the next meeting of the Council could be convened at the earliest only on 18th September. But the most serious question was that, Would Hyderabad hold the situation on the battlefield till that time? ³⁴

On day 5 With the Hyderabad forces being routed from all directions, the Hyderabad government under the Prime Minister Laik Ali resigned. The Nizam went on air and asked his remaining forces to withdraw. He banned the Razakkars and allowed the Union troops to occupy Secunderabad and Bolarum. The police action ended.

The Hyderabad Army represented by Major General El Edroos surrendered and Major General G.N. Chaudhary took over as military governor. On 24th November, he took over as civilian governor following the Nizam's accession to the Indian Union.

All the dreams of the Nizam, which even included buying Goa from Portuguese, which could open a naval front, had come to an end. His desire to make India accept a "Second Partition" after the birth of Pakistan remained a dream.

It saw also the end of the reign of Asaf Jahi dynasty. It signaled the end of the last resistance of Princely States against merger with the Indian Union. Thus the prophecy concerning the seven loaves had been fulfilled when the Indian Army entered the domain of the last surviving vestige of the Mughal rule in India.

The events that followed the Police Action were very quick leading to a total change in the political scenario. After the surrender of Hyderabad army, Mir Laik Ali, the

³⁴ Raza Ali Khan, Op.cit.p 55

Prime Minister and Kasim Razvi were arrested. On September 23rd 1948, the Nizam withdrew his complaint in the Security Council. The merger of Hyderabad dominions into the Indian Union was announced. Major General Chaudhari took over as Military Governor of Hyderabad and stayed in that position till the end of 1949. In January 1950, M. K. Vellodi, a senior civil servant was made the Chief Minister of the state. The Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan was designated 'Raj Pramukh'. After the 1952 General Elections, the first popular ministry headed by B. Rama Krishna Rao took charge of the state.

The Nizam in his *firman* of 24 November 1949, declared and directed that the constitution of India should be the constitution for the state of Hyderabad. A formula agreement was signed on 25th January 1950, between the Governor General of India, representing the Indian Government and the Nizam. The agreement had four articles. As per Article 1 The Nizam with effect from 1st April, 1950 is entitled to receive his privy purse of Rs.5,000,000 annually free of all taxes, this payable only to the present Nizam for his life time. For his successors, provision will be made subsequently by the Government of India. Article 2, provided that the Nizam will be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all the funds, shares, securities and other private properties movable as well as immovable. Article 3, provided, the Nizam and the members of his family shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territories of the state immediately before the 15th day of August 1947. According to Article 4 The Government of India guarantees the succession according to law and customs to the *gaddi* of the state and to the personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles of HEH, the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Hyderabad Legislative Assembly consisting of elected representatives on the basis

of adult franchise was inaugurated by the Nizam on March 23rd 1952. The Nizam had no influence on the composition of the ministers that governed Hyderabad until 1956.

In 1956, Hyderabad was merged in the new linguistic province of Andhra Pradesh. Although Nehru offered to appoint the Nizam as governor of the new province, the Nizam refused and retired from all public life.

Osman Ali Khan died on 24th February 1967 at his King Kothi Palace. His body was kept in one of the verandahs of the palace for the public to pay their last homage to him. The people of Hyderabad who had heard much about the last of the Nizams and had not seen him, rushed to have a look at him. His body was taken to Macca Masjid for funeral prayers and he was finally buried in Masjid Joodi near his mother's tomb.³⁵

According to an anonymous army officer of the last Nizam's days, though the autocracy of the Nizam had undoubtedly a pro-Muslim, anti-Hindu aspect to it, what is not emphasized is the fact that many Hindu Deshmukhs and Jagirdars formed a part of the support base of the Nizam. A section of Dalits joined the Razakkar forces and a number of Hindu religious *maths* lent support to the Nizam's regime. There was a great backlash against innocent Muslims after the Police Action. Thousands of Muslims were massacred by Hindu communal elements in Gulbarga, Raicur, Latur and Osmanabad. The Muslims had also participated in large numbers in the struggle against the Nizam. The CPI had Muslim leaders who fought in the struggle in Gulbarga, like Makhdoom Mohinuddin who came from Hyderabad.

³⁵ Ibid.p.p.93-94.

According to Akthar Hasan, a member of Progressive Writers Association and editor of the Urdu daily, *Payam* has this to point out,

"No doubt the Razakkars indulged in a lot of goondaism and had oppressed other communities but I have to say this that in comparison to whatever Razakkars did, the wrongs perpetuated on the community in the course of Police Action and thereafter was ten times graver for which documentary proof is available. After a few months Nehru sent Sunderlalji and Qazi Abdul Ghaffar to Hyderabad. They particularly toured Osmanabad and other areas where indescribable crimes were committed. The report that Sunderlalji submitted about the situation here never saw the light of the day. I read a few excerpts of it. It is a terrible heart rendering report. When Sarojini Naidu who was the Governor of UP heard of the tragedy of her Hyderabad after Police Action, it is said she wept." ³⁶

After the Police Action, K.M.Munshi asked the Nizam to make a broadcast welcoming the Police Action and withdrawing his complaint to the Security Council. It was the Nizam's first visit to the Radio station. There was no red carpet spread for him. No music or anthem was played before or after the broadcast. The speech was in English. He had signed many letters earlier indicating his intractability but now he had to retrack his words. The glory of defiance had belonged to others; the humiliation of public apology was his. After the broadcast he drove back to King Kothi to brood, but the crowds gathered on the streets were jubilant shouting without any fear for the first time, national slogans. The tricolor was fluttering joyously. There was clapping and cheering, shouting and shrieking. People threw flowers at soldiers sitting on top of armored cars and waving to crowds. Then slowly the lights began to fade. Vans were going up and down announcing the imposition of curfew from 7 pm to 6 am. Soon

³⁶ These are excerpts from taped interviews of Akthar Hassan done before his death translated from Urdu to English by M.O. Faruqi which appeared in *Deccan Chronicle*, dated 15 August; 1997 p. 6

there was a quiet everywhere. The city slid into a sleep, exhausted and retrieved. Tomorrow would be a new dawn.³⁷

Thus, practically speaking the case of Hyderabad in the Security Council was also finished. Under the new Indian Constitution, Hyderabad was incorporated into the State of India. The item remains upon the agenda of the Security Council but there is no indication of interest in that body. The Security Council has been condemned at the way it dealt with the case of Hyderabad. It was felt that legal rights were embarrassingly clear and a satisfactory political settlement could have been agreed upon with little difficulty. In all other cases, the Council had tried and had frequently achieved a solution, in this case it did not even try.

One sad event that occurred during this period was the death of Salar Jung III. He was a passive observer in this drama. He had been it is believed threatened by Razakkars with death if he expressed his views too much in public.

The gradual disbandment of the Hyderabad armed force also had begun.³⁸

Summing up the efforts of India in the Police Action, Jawaharlal Nehru concluded that

"The Muslims of India deserve every congratulation for the part they took in this business. As for the Nizam we have no desire to be unjust or ungenerous to him personally. The

³⁷ narender luther's article titled, "*Hyderabad's Longest Week*" which was published in *Express Week* dated September 12, 1998 P.p.1 and 3

³⁸ According to El Edroos in his book, *Hyderabad Of Seven Loaves*, the Pathans were sent back to Pakistan, the Arabs to Arabia, the Moplas to Malabar coast. The Muslim refugees who came from Berar were sent back. The few British officers in Hyderabad were sent to U.K. with all their assets, p.p. 144-145.

situation, however is full of revolutionary possibilities and we have to proceed cautiously anyhow³⁹"

Many felt that the last years of the Nizam overshadowed his previous years. It is also necessary to know all the good that the Nizam had done. According to them the very purpose of partition of India would have been defeated if Hyderabad had also to secede. Many of the residents saw bloodshot eyes in the people of Hyderabad.

"It was the firm action of Sardar Patel that saved Hyderabad otherwise it would have been another Kashmir. As Indian troops were marching into Hyderabad many people had no idea as to what was happening. That is what frightened them. I saw bloodshot eyes in people whose families were involved. Their anger was so great that they were not even willing to answer questions on Razakkars."⁴⁰

An interesting account is given by Austin in her book about the last days of a few people who played an important role in the drama of Police Action.

=> El. Edroos it is believed died in Bangalore, a lonely bitter man and was buried a pauper.

=> Laiq Ali, the last Prime Minister of Hyderabad disappeared to Pakistan after a thrilling escape from house custody. His escape was greeted with silent toasts all over Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

³⁹ S.Gopal, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, New Delhi, 1972 p.266

⁴⁰ Interview with Professor Radha Krishna Sharma, Retire Professor of History, Osmania University on 27th May 2001

=> Kasim Razvi died unhonoured and unwept in Pakistan, after serving his sentence in Hyderabad goals.

=> Major General Chaudhary, who rose to be the Chief of Army staff passed away many years after he had retired, mourned by the whole army, and by all those who had come to know him⁴¹.

Though the Operation Polo lasted a very short time, the debates and discussion on it and its nomenclature are very wide and interesting. While Jawaharlal Nehru decided to call the Indian army's march into Hyderabad a mere "Police Action" many of the people, prominent among them being, D.F. Karaka, a leading Bombay journalist wonders, why a

"Lieutenant general, three major generals and a whole armored division had to be called out to effect a mere police action. A police inspector and a handful of sepoys armed with the familiar *lathis* were usually enough for Police Action in the days of the British."⁴²

One also gets an idea of the ethnic composition of the Indian army during Operation Polo. An interesting comment made by an unidentified Indian military expert claimed that about 700 Muslims left the army after it invaded the Muslim state of Hyderabad in 1948. This report was published nearly 40 years later by the *New York Times*, 14th June 1984. But none of the Indian army officers have confirmed it.⁴³

⁴¹ Ian Austin, *"City of Legends, The Story of Hyderabad"* Calcutta, 1992, p.p 196-197

⁴² Omar Khalidi's, *"The 1948 Military Operations and its Aftermath, A Bibliographic essay"* in Omar Khalidi's *ed Hyderabad After the Fall*, Kansas 1988 p200

⁴³ *Ibid* p.201

The reaction of the International community also needs to be noted. Most of the British newspapers roundly condemned the Indian invasion. They were shocked at the blatant use of force in the land of Mahatma, the apostle of ahimsa. It was quite inevitable that it would eventually become an integral part of India. But when the figure of 800 killed was mentioned by no less a person than V.P.Menon in his book, "Story of Integration of Indian States" it left many astonished.

Some of the Britishers felt that Britain did not stand by Hyderabad in its hour of need. Arthur C. Lothian, one of the last British residents at Hyderabad said

"I felt ashamed at the tacit British abandonment of the premier princely state."⁴⁴

The reaction to the Hyderabad issue was quite unexpectedly harsh in Pakistan. An angry crowd gathered at the Indian High Commission in Karachi to protest the attack on Hyderabad.

Another fact to note is the migration on large scale the Hyderabad Muslims overseas. Shortly after the military operations, cabinet ministers, top civil servants and others associated with the previous government left for Pakistan. It is estimated that about 250,000 came from across the Hyderabad State.⁴⁵ Number of Muslims who remained in Hyderabad during the post Police Action period had a very rough time. Number of officers and clerks were dismissed, compulsorily retired, asked to leave unofficially, demoted or suspended from active duty. Some of the officials voluntarily resigned under psychological pressure.⁴⁶ The language of the civil administration was

⁴⁴ Ibid p203

⁴⁵ Ibid p208

⁴⁶ Ibid p209

also switched from Urdu to English giving the new regime yet another pretext to reduce the Muslim staff of the state secretariat stating lack of proficiency in English.

With regard to the position of the Nizam, Osman Ali Khan, though he was designated Raj Pramukh, he steadily withdrew more and more into the recesses of his palace at King Kothi. He took minimal interest since he was reduced to a figurehead. Before he died in February 1967, the Nizam had nominated his grandson Mukaram Jah to succeed him, since he was quite disgusted with his two sons, Azam Jah and Muazzam Jah who only squandered money on drink and debauchery. Mukaram Jah is the son of Muazzam Jah.

According to a report of the post Operation Polo massacres, unlike the city of Hyderabad, the districts of Hyderabad state witnessed large-scale massacres, rape and destruction and seizure of Muslim property during post Police Action days. Deeply moved by the grim stories related to him, Mohamed Yunus Salim, a young state attorney, persuaded Nehru to appoint a team to investigate and report on the killings and the destruction of property. According to Salim, Nehru in "his personal capacity" and not as the Prime Minister of the country appointed Pandit Sunderlal, Qazi Abdul Gaffar and Yunus Salim to tour the affected areas of the state with the reluctant consent of Vallabhai Patel, head of Home ministry responsible for provincial and internal security.⁴⁷

During November and December 1948, the teams made an extensive tour of the state and compiled a comprehensive report on the large scale killings, rape and

⁴⁷ *A Report on the post Operation Polo massacres, rape and destruction or seizure of property in the Hyderabad State* by Pandit Sunderlal and Qazi Mohammed Abdul Gaffar in Omar Khalidi's *Hyderabad After The Fall* USA 1988 pp95-97

destruction and seizure of Muslim property. It is believed that Sardar Patel was incensed when he read the report. Also some portions of it was smuggled to Karachi in early 1949 and broadcast over Radio Pakistan to India's great embarrassment. The report was suppressed and never allowed to be made public. According to the report, atleast 200,000 Muslims were in fact slaughtered in the aftermath of military operations. Fragments of the report were obtained from owners who wished to remain anonymous. The English report states that it was extremely dangerous for Muslims to travel in railways or buses. Any Muslim passenger discovered was dragged out of the train and arrested in a humiliating manner. To mention a few incidents following Police Action,

"In Jalna upon the arrival of army, the residents were assembled in the maidan. The Muslim residents were divided into alleged Razakkars and non-Razakkars. The alleged Razakkars were to be summarily shot to death, merely upon the accusation of someone that they were Razakkars. In Ganjyoti paygah, there were 500 homes belonging to the Muslims. Two hundred Muslims were murdered by the goondas. The army had seized weapons from Muslims. Muslim women were raped by the troops. According to Pasha Bi, a resident of Ganjoti, "All the young Muslim women here were raped." In Gogi Shahpur taluq, the residents were put to similar torture by the goondas. The Sikh troops armed with guns were watching the murder although they separated the children from the men about to be killed by pickaxe or sword, yet they forced the children to watch the ghastly scene of their elders bloody death. The walls and the pulpit of the Gogi mosque had been pulled down. Amina Bi, a resident of Gogi jumped into a well with her infant daughter Shahzadi. Some of the burned down Muslim homes were inspected and it was found that skulls and bones of those murdered

were strewn about the houses The troops neither stopped the killing nor participated in it."⁴⁸

There were lot of women who lamented for the loss of male members' who were their bread winners. It was a great loss for the mothers, sisters and daughters. The following lists shows some of these women and their relation to the victims of the communal riots

Garwar Bi	Son,	Rasul Sahib
Imam Bi	Husband	Guru Sahib
Sultan Bi	Son	Mehboob
Zahra Bi	Sons	Muhammed Usman and Nazir Ahmed
	Sons of Husband's brother	Abdul Rahman, Abdur Rahim, Rasul, Ibrahim and Bashir Ahmed
Halim Bi	Three Sons	Ghuru Bhai, Nazir Ahmed and Ahmed Husain
Karim Bi	Son-in-law	Mohammed Umar
Karim Bi's sister	Son	Abdullah
Kulsum Bi	Husband	Chanda Sahib
Chanda Bi	Husband	Chanda Miyan
Mahasil Bi	Husband	Ahmed Sahib
Chanda Bi	Husband	Abdur Rahman
Sultan Bi	Son	Ghulam Rasul
Ayesha Bi	Sons	Mohaamed and Basheer
Chanda Bi	Husband	Hussain Sahib
Mahbub Bi	Son	Ismail Sahib
Aman Bi	Husband	Nanhe

⁴⁸ *Ibidp* 101-109

Hussain Bi	Husband	Qasim
Fatima Bi	Husband	Maqbul

Many women had fled to the jungle and therefore the names of many Muslim men murdered were not known.

The following is the list of atrocities committed in brief

Killed:

1. 2,000 belonging to Shapur alone
2. 2, 300 belonging to Sagar who had come to Shapur
3. 500 in Gogi
4. 1,000 in different villages around Shapur.
5. 125 at Gogi proper
6. 1,000 women committed suicide by falling into wells as a result of maltreatment.
7. 500 children killed and thrown into wells.
8. Most of the houses belonging to Muslims at Shapur were either looted or burnt or destroyed
9. The value of movable property destroyed is estimated to be Rs.5 crores.
10. Most of the lands and other immovable property belonging to Muslims have been occupied by the members of other communities.
11. More than 2/3rds of the houses at Sagar and Gogi have been burnt or destroyed.
12. Most of the mosques have been demolished.
13. Copies of the Holy Koran were either burnt or were torn into pieces and thrown into streets for being trampled over.

14. At Gogi houses were set on fire and Muslims were thrown into flames.

The only effort made to stop the carnage and effect damage control was initiated by the Hyderabad State Congress Committee. They entrusted the village Panchayats the work of collecting goods looted. But efforts in this direction were not very successful as the members of the Panchayats were those who were themselves the ring leaders and goondas and responsible for the atrocities committed by them.⁴⁹

Thus the Hyderabad state did not add a happy episode in the transformation of India into a free and united nation. While most of the princely states made the decision to join India, Hyderabad took a different stand. This posed a great challenge to the Indian government. Even the Stand Still Agreement was violated by the Nizam, he began to work on mobilizing support from outside India. By appealing to the UNO, the Nizam caused great anxiety and embarrassment for India. Thus the Indian Government had no choice but to prepare for a military action on Hyderabad for integration. The accession became imperative, keeping in mind the defence and internal security of India.

Thus the "Good Old Days" had gone. The amazing life style of the Nizams of Hyderabad had passed into legend.

The last chapter is a summary and conclusion of the Thesis.

⁴⁹ Appendix to the report on condition of Muslim residents of Shapur, Gogi, Sagar and other villages around **Shapur Taluka** after 17th September, 1948 in O.K.p.p.1 13-115.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

The story of the beginning and the end of the State of Hyderabad is linked to the political conditions prevailing in India, during their respective times. It owed its birth to the turmoil of 18th century politics in India. It survived and thrived with the support it got from the foreign powers, especially the British. The British though were using the Nizam as a pawn to further their interests in India, it is quite obvious that they did not want to take up the administrative responsibility of all provinces in India. Therefore they created this body of Native Rulers who remained loyal to them for allowing them to be called "Independent" rulers. In this guise of protection, they interfered in the affairs of the native States and the Native rulers meekly submitted to them. All they got from the British were a few titles which had no value. The Nizam of Hyderabad was not only the first Native ruler to sign the Subsidiary Alliance but throughout the stay of the British in India, he remained loyal to them. The loyalty soon turned into dependence on the British. They owed their very existence to the British. This worn out relic of the Mughal Empire would have long before the end of 18th century been thrown out of the political scene had the East India Company not maintained them in its own interest. But the people of Hyderabad had to ultimately pay a heavy price. The British and the Nizam had a nexus and the princes had been used by the British as buffers to control the people's movements. Thus the political situation before and after the Police Action was a turbulent period full of emotion.

The events that unfolded in the entire period of almost half a century preceding the Police Action mark the follies committed by the Nizam which led to his doom fall. Though in the initial period of his reign he always vowed to work for the welfare of the people and continued it even in the speech he made during his Silver Jubilee Celebrations, he could not keep his promises till the end of his rule or rather the termination of his rule.

The administration of the Nizam became quite unpopular and ultimately shook the foundation of the kingdom. With the support of the British, the Nizam

functioned like an irresponsible potentate in matters of internal administration. In this respect, he was subject only to the control of the British Resident, and through him, of the Governor General. He maintained his hold over the state because of the enormous wealth he had collected and with the help of a subservient feudal order, as also with the support of the Muslim community which had a vested interest in maintaining a pro- Muslim rule. When he realized that the British would be leaving soon, he began to make a number of decisions most of which were not wise for himself or for the state. Ever since the implementation of the administrative changes enunciated by him in the Executive Council, the intentions of the Nizam were clear. He was not willing to work towards Hyderabad moving towards self-government. Instead, he preferred to heed to the advise of and play into the hands of the coterie. Any petitions or constitutional agitations were crushed in the state. The waves of nationalism that spread through the rest of India were bound to have an effect on Hyderabad. But he ignored this. The thwarting of these forces was bound to create protests and outbursts. When he could think of no other way to survive, he began exploiting communal tension. He exercised his power with weapons, which were so medieval in character, like patronage, arbitrary power, espionage, intrigue, and religious fanaticism. Political consciousness had widely spread among the people. It was found that the rule of a single administrator, however able and distinguished could not be compared with the advantages of a Constitutional form of Government.

The Government, responding to these changes in the attitude of the people, began to lay restrictions on them, instead of becoming flexible to change. Restrictions began to be placed even on public meetings. On 22nd September 1937, Sir Akbar Hydari held a special session of the Legislative Council. There, as the president of the Executive Council, he delivered the special message of HEH the Nizam appointing a special committee under Dewan Bahadur Aiyangar, to keep in view the existing conditions in the state and to report a suitable alternative. The constitutional reforms were announced in July 1939 and it was far from satisfactory and condemned by both the Hyderabad State Congress and the Ittehad - ul -Muslimeen. While the Hyderabad State Congress

condemned them as reactionary and unsatisfactory, the Ittehad Muslimeen opposed them on the ground that the association did not want any constitutional changes but were in favor of keeping the rights and privileges of Nizam intact as they looked upon him as the symbol of the Muslim political and cultural sovereignty. The above two indications clearly shows the two different paths adopted by the two important organizations and it became clear that the twain would never meet. It was at this juncture that the Nizam began to clearly play one group against the other. While the Hyderabad State Congress initiated Hindu - Muslim unity talks, the Ittehad opposed the responsible government concept thus widening the yawning gap between the two. While the Ittehad could make any statements and get away with it, the State Congress was banned even before it began to voice its opinion. The heinous crimes of the Razzakars went unchecked. Kasim Rizvi's inflammatory statements ignited the flame of communalism. Communal riots were rampant. A national organization like the Congress was referred to as a Hindu organization by no less a 'responsible' person like Mir Laik Ali, the Prime Minister of the Nizam. There was always an effort made to increase the numerical strength of the Muslims. There was a poor representation of Hindus in the administration though they were in majority. For all practical purposes, Hyderabad became a Muslim state. The Hindus had the difficult task of fighting on the Nizam one hand and the British on the other.

With the increase in discontentment in the majority community and the exploitation by the Hyderabad government, the Congress had to launch Civil Disobedience movement. In spite of the best efforts made by the Congress to compromise with the government, the government of the Nizam showed an uncompromising opposition towards them. The frustrations were so high that the leaders were willing to pay any price in order to change the existing order. The stand taken by the Nizam alienated him from the major part of his subjects. They had remained loyal to him but he had let them down. There was a real struggle for responsible government in Hyderabad. It was in such an atmosphere that the Arya Samaj

had assumed leadership in the political struggle and voiced openly and boldly some of the heinous crimes committed on the majority by the minority under the auspices of the Hyderabad government. It had to take on the role of a body to bring political awakening and pave the way for political emancipation in Hyderabad. Arya Samaj preached equality of all human beings and stressed on equal opportunities. But they realized that this was lacking in the Hyderabad state. The Arya Samaj never had a dearth of scholarly and experienced leaders who really took the fight to the enemy's camp. This caused a lot of concern to the government and they tried to suppress it through banning its meetings and functions and increasing police atrocities on the Samaj. The Arya Samaj continued its work undaunted. Though some of the scholars blamed the Arya Samaj for becoming militant and inciting the communal passions, the Samajists stated that they had no choice. According to them, no self - respecting society could bear the insults and atrocities lying low for long. During the period from 15th August 1947 to 17th Sept 1948, thousands of Hindus had to leave their houses and cross into Indian Territory. Due to the Razzakar menace, Arya Samaj set up refugee camps for such refugees in a number of places like Sholapur, Pandapur, Barsi, Bijapur, etc. The pent-up feelings in them provoked one of their leaders Narayan Rao to throw a hand grenade on the motorcar of the Nizam for which he was sentenced to twenty years rigorous imprisonment. Some of them collected authentic information about Razzakar atrocities and sent a report to New Delhi for which they were arrested. They even collected vital information like Sidney Cotton's supply of war material to Hyderabad and conveyed it to KM Munshi, the Agent General of India in Hyderabad. Thus, their role in Hyderabad state attaining independence cannot be undermined. Even Mahatma Gandhi was all praise for the Satyagraha Movement for its magnitude, non - violent character, discipline and sacrifice and regarded it as surpassing all other such Satyagrahas. The Arya Samaj made it clear that the Government could not ignore popular sentiments. Their role was constructive as they not only exposed the feudal, fanatic rule of the Nizam but also worked tirelessly to put an end to the woes of the people. They were a strong pressure group the Nizam could never ignore.

Another pressure group to whom the Nizam succumbed was the Razakkars. As soon as India was declared independent, the Itteched - ul - Muslimeen influenced the Nizam to declare his independence. The State Congress had to undergoes undue hardships when they celebrated the "Join the Indian Union" day celebration all over the state. Even Swami Ramananda Thirtha, the President of the State Congress was arrested. The National flag was not allowed to be hoisted - all these restrictions were placed by the government at the behest of the Razakkars. Even from the 1930's, the Ittehad made it clear that the Nizam could make no constitutional change which would diminish the past privileges of the Muslims. The process of making Hyderabad a complete Islamic state had begun then. While Hindus were prevented from building or repairing a temple, the Muslims divines were allowed to freely carry on a vigorous campaign of proselytizing the Hindus. By a systematic policy, the Hindus were elbowed out of all-important administrative posts. The state-aided education could be given only in English or Urdu. Any prominent Muslim who was rational in outlook or agreed to a compromise with the Hindus was charged with treason. One of the prominent Muslim officials, Fareed Mirza wrote along with six other likeminded persons, condemning the acts of the Razakkars and the policy of the government. They were immediately branded as "seven traitors" of the country and public opinion stated that they should be punished as severely as traitors. The Press also reported that the government was stopping the pensions of those signatories who were retired government servants. All this was done because of the privileges they enjoyed under a Muslim ruler and they feared they would have to forego this with the end of the Muslim rule. But little did they realize that with the forces of modern concepts like Democracy and Liberalism in operation all around the popular aspirations of the people could not be suspended for long. The old order would have to yield place to the new. The graceful transfer from one phase to another could have been so peaceful and non-violent. But they did not have the foresight to envisage an inevitable new order and the repercussions that may follow the change. There seemed a reversal of trend after the Police Action in Hyderabad. Even eight months after the Police Action,

arrests were made in connection with the acts committed before the Police Action. Many of the Muslims felt that they were harassed to such an extent that they would flee Hyderabad for safer places like Pakistan. The policy of the Government of India after the Police Action was to allow anybody who wished to leave Hyderabad could do so with their assets, for any foreign country. Most of the culprits who masterminded and persuaded the Nizam to remain independent ultimately left the country. They were not willing to stand by a "Raj Pramukh" as they did to the Nizam. It was the common Muslim who suffered the backlash of repression from Hindus after the Police Action. The Muslims were dragged, it is reported, from houses, beaten, kicked and insulted in many ways by some goondas in the presence of hundreds of non - Muslims and many military and police officers. These connivances among different groups created general resentment among the minority community. They became the victims of time, this created suspicion between the two communities and this tension prevails even today. In whichever locality the community that is in majority has the upper hand. There was complete panic in the rank and file of Razakkars. Thousands of them not only discarded their uniforms and threw them away; they threw their weapons in the lakes and wells all over the countryside.

The Nizam was made to announce over the radio, that he had used till then to extensively promote himself and his rule, that he had resigned. Kasim Razvi had to serve seven year imprisonment for being convicted for his crimes. The Police Action was a Cakewalk for the police and a 'Waterloo' for Kasim Razvi. Kasim Razvi had once ordered that if anybody would go against them his tongue shall be cut and his hands should be clipped. Hence Police Action became necessary to contain such atrocities.

The rise of the Communists seems natural with the economic conditions prevailing in Telangana at that time; the feudal exploitative society encouraged by the Nizam was bound to create much resentment especially among the peasants. Most of the prominent Communist leaders like Ravi Narayan Reddy and Mokhdum Mohi - ud - din had their

political roots in the State Congress. These two leaders soon established contact with the Communist Party of India, which began to immediately seize this opportunity of creating a Communist province and using it as a base to liberate the entire country. Ravi Naryan Reddy first proved himself as a great Congress worker on account of his resourcefulness and enthusiasm and was selected the president of the Maha Sabha, the Communists secured ascendancy in the organization and drove out those who had State Congress affiliations.

There were enough opportunities provided by the grievances in Telangana for the Communists to thrive and become popular. The levy of food grains during the World War II gave them enough opportunities to establish 'Sanghs' to protect the villages. By November 1946, the Communists had obtained control of several villages, rendering them almost inaccessible to the state officials.

The Communists did not play a constructive role when India attained Independence. They openly started a campaign of violence in many parts of the country. They believed that the Nehru Government would never gather strength to overcome the confusion that would follow independence. But when the Nizam's police and the Razakkars harassed the villagers during the period between 1947-1948, they joined the Congress in organizing a resistance movement against them. The village squads soon established centers of resistance and gave battle to the armed forces of the state and the Razakkars. The communists thus acquired a hold over many areas comprising mainly the districts of Nalgonda and Warangal. Thus, the Razakkars by their acts of violence exposed the people of Telangana to not only their activities but also provided the opportunity for the Communists to secure a firm footing and giving them scope to gain the general support of the public and thus became architects of a countryside chaos.

When the process for transforming India into a free and united nation began, the Hyderabad episode was an unhappy one. It turned out to be ugly and disgraceful. It was a testing time and an ordeal for all the Indian Princes. But a large number of them either due to their patriotism or sensing the inevitable made the* supreme choice of merging with the Indian Union. When Hyderabad decided to remain independent of the Indian union, the Indian government had a great challenge before them. Any hasty or immediate action would have provoked or incited Pakistan to becoming aggressive over India. At any moment it could turn a communal issue. The Nizam was offered the Standstill Agreement for the immediate future of Independent India. But the Nizam began to violate the terms of the treaty. He began to work on mobilizing support from outside India. He appealed to the UNO. India had to now answer the world body and justify her actions in Hyderabad. Hyderabad truly caused great anxiety and embarrassment for India. Osman Ali Khan and the Ittehad drove Hyderabad to its doom. The most faithful ally of the British aspired to the leadership of Muslims to independent statehood and even dreamt of a corridor to Portuguese Goa. The Nizam used the Ittehad till it became a demon, which destroyed his options. The Nizam was thus a clever man utterly destitute of wisdom.

Even while India realized that things had gone out of hand and was preparing a military action for integration, there were many rumors which caused pain for her. Often the strength and numbers of the Hyderabad army was exaggerated. But India decided that Hyderabad had to be won over at any cost. How India was integrated is regarded as one of the great marvels of modern world history, By conducting the 'Operation Polo' under General J.N.Choudhary which lasted just four days, Hyderabad was acceded to the India Union. Thus were the cobwebs of the British empire in India drastically removed, and it was done in an incredibly short span of time. Sardar Patel has a major share in the credit and distinction of this great feat. Thus as the White Paper issued by the Government of India on Hyderabad made it clear that accession was necessary for

practical reasons of geography, all compelling defense and internal security requirements and India's organic unification was imperative.

The question that comes to our mind is what if Hyderabad had remained unintegrated with the rest of India? If such a thing, which now seems remote, had taken place the rest of the country would have felt outraged. The communal factions would have enlarged. The Muslims who are now accepted as an integral part of our democratic society, would have come to be looked upon as hostile. The Police Action was very timely too, even if it had delayed, it would have allowed the Razakkars to grow beyond control. They must have carried activities endangering the peace and security of the country. The integration of Hyderabad state to Indian Union truly marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new future which seemed both promising and challenging.

INTERVIEWS

Recalling 15 August, 1947, has evoked mixed responses from the people who lived in Hyderabad during that time. While some of them are saddened by the fact that they could not see the Indian flag being flown in Hyderabad, others were saddened by the way Hyderabad was forced to join the Indian Union.

According to Badrivishal Pitti, Industrialist, he went to Bombay to see the excitement of Independence since in Hyderabad there was nothing happening.

Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, Trustee, Sarojini Naidu Memorial Trust and nephew of Sarojini Naidu said, "On August, 15 we were sitting by the radio listening to celebrations everywhere. We secretly flew the India flag in our homes. I remember clearly the time my wife and I went to Tarbund road to watch the Indian army marching into Hyderabad after the Police Action."

Mrs. Lakshmi Reddy, former lecturer in History, Nizam College said, "I was only 13 years old, but I remember my family sitting around the radio to listen to Nehru's speech at midnight." Her father Gopal Reddy was a Zamindar. According to her "Kasim Razvi's father was a moulvi and he taught my father Urdu. I remember I went for the trials of Kasim Razvi in the Chanehalguda jail. He was a brilliant speaker and defended himself so well".

All these people were interviewed by Rama Rao Shekhar and excerpts of it appeared in Deccan Chronicle, August, 15, 1997, p.16.

Mr. H.Thyagarajan.

I was a student of Nizam College at the time of Police Action. All of a sudden on hearing the news of the invasion of Indian army, our very good Muslim friends turned hostile towards us and felt that they now belonged to another group.

As the Police Action progressed the Razakkars kept announcing through the Hyderabad Radio that the Hyderabad army was doing very well and we would soon reach the Red Fort! It was only in the dark cover of our hostel rooms, in the lowest volume we heard the news on the All India Radio about the real scene in Hyderabad and were so relieved that we would soon be part of the Indian Union.

Sri E. Thyagarajan IRS. Retired as Assistant Collector of Customs and Central Excise.

Mr. Azhar Hussain

Mr. Azhar Hussain's father, Syed Iqbal Hussain was the secretary of the SarfeKhas lands during the Nizam Osman Ali Khan's rule. According to him, the Nizam's rule was very good. He did not show any partiality and the Jagirs and Samasthans were given to both Hindus and Muslims. They had to pay a part of the revenue to the Nizam.

The Nizam was very keen on receiving gifts, nazrana, and he expected all the prominent Hindu and Muslim subjects to visit him on every important occasion. At least one Ashraf was given as a gift to the Nizam by every visitor on every occasion.

Though the Nizam did not approve the Razakkars in a moment of weakness he came under their influence and this led to his image being tarnished.

Mr. Hussain played for the club Deccan Blues and was a prominent Rajni trophy cricket player till 1962.

VANAJA IYENGAR

Stating her experience during the Nizam's rule she writes that she went to college in Purdah. She states that what was paradoxical about Hyderabad was that while it was an Islamic techocratic state and the Nizam was autocrat committed to orthodoxy, the atmosphere it self was liberal. The Muslim girls of the aristocracy and the upper middle classes came to schools and colleges in large numbers. She studied in the women's college. They had an active students union and Princess Durr- e- Shewar. Princess of Berar and the older daughter-in-law of the last Nizam was its President and Patron. The Princess according to her was very beautiful and dignified. She has also visited the Princess home in Bella Vista which is now the Administrative College of India.

Mrs. Iyengar retired as the principal, Koti Women's College.

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