

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

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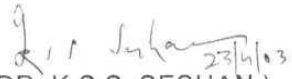
This is to certify that I, T. UMA have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.

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 Hyderabadi'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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