

## **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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 22<sup>nd</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 to 17<sup>th</sup> 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 country side 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 moulti 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 tehcocratic 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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## **Websites**

**[www.hyderabad.com](http://www.hyderabad.com)**

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## **Interviews**

Personal interviews of eminent scholars on Hyderabad History.

Interviews with people who lived during the days of Police Action in Hyderabad.