

Liberation of Hyderabad State: A Study

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Introduction

On September 17, 1998 the Government of Andhra Pradesh celebrated the Fifty years of Liberation of Hyderabad State with much pomp and fun-fare. The occasion was marked by many seminars and meetings aimed at reviewing and recollecting the history of anti-colonial and anti-feudal struggles in the Nizam's state. The celebrations generated much heat and controversies, with each group magnifying its own contributions and belittling or misinterpreting the role of others in the liberation struggle. In a way these debates bring to light the limitations of one-sided interpretations and emphasize the need for a more meaningful interpretation of the historical forces and processes that led to the merger of Hyderabad state with the Indian union. The present paper does not claim to have unearthed any new facts unknown to the historians. It only makes a humble attempt to study the actors and events in their context and examine the processes that put an end to the feudal rule of the Nizams and facilitated the integration of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union.

History of Hyderabad State

After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal power started declining. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Emperor, the *subedar* of the Deccan, Mir Qumaruddin Khan, also known as Nizam-ul-mulk, asserted his independence and founded Hyderabad State in 1724. After his death in 1748, Hyderabad State got entangled in Anglo-French conflicts. The Nizam-ul-mulk's successors, Muzaffar Jung and Salabat Jung (1749-62) took the help of the French against their rivals. With the decline of the French power, Hyderabad State gradually came under the control of East India Company. In 1800 Nizam Ali (1762-1803), who succeeded Salabat Jung, agreed to disband the French troops. In return, the East Indian Company agreed to keep a permanent force at Hyderabad. For the maintenance of the Company's forces, the Nizam ceded to the Company all the territories south of the River Tungabhadra. Apart from the ceded districts, the Nizam also lost control over Northern Circars, Guntur and later Berar, Osmanabad and Raichur. During the regime

of Nizam Ali, Hyderabad State lost its sovereign powers to a considerable extent and became subservient to the Company rule.¹

The Nizam swallowed all that humiliation that the British inflicted upon Hyderabad State. But the citizens did not accept the British authority so easily. There were frequent revolts against the Company authority. Mubariz-ul-Doulah, the brother of Nizam and Gulam Khan, the Nawab of Kurnool revolted against the Company. When 1857 Revolt started, the Company troops at Aurangabad expressed their solidarity with the rebels and refused to cooperate with the British. The first and second Cavalry of Hyderabad contingent troops refused to leave the borders of the state and declared that they would not fight against their own co-religionists. Jamadar Chhhide Khan, Turrebaz Khan and Moulvi Allauddin inspired the people to revolt against the British. All these revolts were brutally suppressed.²

The Nizam remained loyal to the British and helped them in suppressing the revolts. In recognition of his role, the British government returned back Osmanabad and Raichur to Hyderabad State. The Nizam exhibited his loyalty to the British even in the World War I and received the title, 'His exalted Highness', an honor no other Prince in India had received. The Nizam was also given the title as 'Faithful Ally of the British Government'. The British never gave up its right of interfering in internal affairs, yet it allowed considerable autonomy to Nizam to rule his subjects, to the extent, it would not affect the British interests adversely.³ This tacit understanding allowed the Nizam to continue his feudal rule without any interruption up to 1947.

Nature of the Nizam State

Geographically Hyderabad State occupied a pivotal position in the heart of the country. It was spread over 82,000 square miles and had a population of about sixteen millions. Hyderabad was a composite state with three distinct zones - Telengana (9 districts), Marathwada (6 districts) and Karnataka (2 districts). According to 1951 census, 90 lakh Telugu people, 20 lakh Kannadigas, 40 lakh Maratha and 21 lakh Urdu-speaking people lived in the state. Although only one-eighth of the total population spoke Urdu, the Nizam patronized Urdu language at the cost of other languages. Urdu was made the official language of the state and also the medium of instruction from the upper primary school level to the university level. Linguistic, educational and cultural aspirations of the Telugu, Maratha and Kannada speaking people were neglected. Only the Urdu speaking and Urdu-knowing people were given preferences in administrative jobs. For example, in government jobs there were about 60,000 Muslims, but only 16,000 Hindus. Similarly, in police and military, there were only 6,000 Hindus, whereas the corresponding figure for the Muslims and the Arabs together stood at more than fifty thousand.⁴

Hyderabad was declared a Muslim state, in spite of the fact that 90 per cent of its

citizens were Hindus. Efforts were made to immigrate the Muslims from other parts of the country with intention in increase the Muslim population. The Nizam patronized Muslim communal organizations like Anjuman-Tabli-Gulisthan and Majlis-e-Ittehadul-Muslimeen, which encouraged conversions and asserted the Muslims' right to rule Hyderabad.⁵ Many restrictions were imposed on the rights of the Hindus to practice their customs and beliefs.

The economy of Nizam's State remained feudal. About 40 per cent of the territory were under Jagirdari system. The Nizam and his relatives had their own territories known as '*Surfekhas*' and '*Payegas*' respectively. The income generated from them was used to meet the personal requirements of the king and his family members. The remaining 60 per cent the land, called *Diwani* or *Khalsa*, were under the direct control of the government. Although it was claimed to be a *Ryotwari* area, much of the land was taken over by different feudal lords, *Deshmukhs* and *Deshpandes*. Around 10,000 villages with land measuring 1 crore and fifty lakh acres were under their control.⁶ The peasants were forced to work as tenants in these lands and were subjected to merciless exploitation. High interest rates up to 200 per cent were charged on loans and various illegal methods were used to suck the blood of the real producers. The Nizam State imposed many taxes on different sections of the people. In the villages the weavers, traders, dhobis, shepherds, dalits and other working masses were expected to provide free services to the feudal landlords, village officials, and police personnel.⁷

It was but natural that democracy would be anathema to the rulers in such a feudal state. The people were deprived of all kinds of civil and political liberties. Formally there was an executive and a legislature with nominated members. No political parties, no demonstrations and no public meetings were allowed in the state without the consent of the government. Several restrictions were imposed even on the freedom of press.

Such a theocratic, authoritarian, feudal rule which remained indifferent to the aspirations and needs of the majority people was bound to give birth to several contradictions within the society and make the state vulnerable to different social forces which it itself had given birth to.

Linguistic and Cultural Awakening

As a reaction to the deliberate neglect of the languages and cultures of the majority people, Hyderabad State witnessed a socio-cultural awakening in the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1901 Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rao started a library named '*Srikrishan Bhashandra Nilayam*' in Hyderabad. A literary association named the '*Vignana Chandrika Grantha Mandali*' was established in 1906 to promote publication of popular books in Telugu on science and literature. The library movement, so initiated spread to different towns in the state. Many journals and weeklies like *Neelagiri Patrika*, *Telugu*

Patrika, Prema, Navashakti, Nizam Vijay etc., published during this period, catered to the social and cultural needs of the Telugus, Kannadigas and Marathese.

Education was one of the most neglected sectors in the Nizam's state. In 1946 Hyderabad had only one university, one degree college and five intermediate colleges. Higher education was accessible only to the well-to-do sections. The school education was no better. In the state, altogether, there were 31 high schools, 105 middle schools, and 4000 primary schools in the state. If that was the situation in 1946, one can well imagine what could have been the position at the beginning of the century. The anti-people's nature of the education policy of the government compelled many conscious individuals to come forward to start educational institutions. Maharashtrian leaders like Keshav Rao Koratkar, Vaman Naik etc., took initiative in founding the *Vivek Vardhini Pathasala* in 1906. In 1907 the *Nutan Vidyalaya High School* was founded in Gulbarga. Pandit Taranath ran a national high school named Hamdard High School in Raichur. Madapati Hanumantha Rao established a Girls' High School in Hyderabad with Telugu as medium of instruction. When the Osmania University refused to recognize the institution, the students took examination at Karve Institution, Bombay.⁸

Realizing the plight of Telugu language and Telugu people in Hyderabad state, Telengana intellectuals formed Andhra Jana Sangham in 1922 with the aim of improving the social, economic and cultural status of the people of Telengana. A central organization called *Andhra Jana Kendra Sangham* was formed to coordinate the activities of different Andhra associations. The centre published many books, promoted research activities and encouraged women's education. In 1930 the centre transformed itself into Andhra *Maha Sabha* (AMS). Very soon AMS units were formed in different towns. AMS played a very important role in rousing the consciousness of the Telugu people in Telengana. In course of time, thanks to the participation of the leftists, the agenda of AMS gradually shifted from socio-cultural aspects to economic and political issues.⁹ The popularity of AMS encouraged the formation of *Maharashtra Parishad and Karnataka Parishad* with similar objectives and programmes. These linguistic organizations maintained close contacts with their counter parts across the border, resulting in a sense of linguistic identity and oneness, which at a later date led to the demand for the linguistic reorganization of the state.

Early Response to the Nationalist Movement

Being a faithful ally of the British, the Nizam was against allowing any kind of criticism or agitation, which might displease the British rulers. He tried his best to insulate his citizens from what was happening in the rest of India. Despite its best efforts, the Nizam government could not prevent its people being influenced by nationalist ideas blowing across the subcontinent. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885, the enlightened middle class intelligentsia in Hyderabad welcomed it. Persons

like Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramachandra Pillai and Aghornath Chatopadhyaya played a prominent part in building up public opinion in favour of the Indian National Congress (INC). Mulla Abdul Qayum joined the INC and even appealed to the Muslims to take part in the Congress activities. The newspapers like '*Hyderabad Record*' played a creditable role in spreading the nationalist feelings. Following Tilak's line, *Ganesh Utsav* celebrations were organized by Arya Samaj to instil nationalist feelings. Nationalist-minded intellectuals used to meet in the house of Aghornath Chatopadhyaya to discuss about Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods.

Following the arrest of Tilak, many secret societies started in Marathwada districts of Hyderabad State like Osmanabad, Aurangabad and Nasik. Mr. Jackson, the collector, who was responsible for sending Tilak to prison, was shot dead at Nasik. Many nationalists who were suspected of the crime were punished. The Nizam government prohibited the starting of *Bhajan Mandals* and objected to the selling of articles like lockets and buttons with inscriptions of *Vandemataram* on them.

In 1920's the Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements received overwhelming response from the public. Inspired by Gandhi, many people - both. Hindus and Muslims began running *Charkhas* and wearing *Khadi* clothes. This phase was marked by Hindu-Muslim unity. Many Hindu leaders like Vaman Naik, Keshav Rao Koratkar and Muslim leaders like Inayat Ahmed, Moulvi Syed, Jamat Ali Shah etc., addressed the public from the same platforms. The Muslim intellectuals like Badrul Hasan and Jafar Hassan helped in spreading the Khadi movement and even in raising contributions for Tilak Swaraj Fund. In turn the Hindu leaders contributed to the Khilafat agitation fund.¹⁰

Perturbed by the growth of pan-Indian consciousness, the Nizam government issued a *firman* on September 14, 1921, forbidding the holding of political meetings. The government also made efforts to stop the entry of Indian nationalist leaders. Newspapers like *Kesari*, the *Swarajya* and the *Hitawad*, published in British India were banned in the state. To check the further growth of national consciousness and the Hindu-Muslim unity, the Nizam encouraged the formation of *Majlis-Ittehadul-Muslimeen*, a Muslim communal party in 1927. The Majlis proclaiming its loyalty to the throne vowed to keep Hyderabad a Muslim State forever, It whipped up communal sentiments and made efforts to wean away the Muslims from national, democratic, anti-feudal struggles taking shape in Hyderabad State.¹¹

Arya Samaj Activities

In 1892 Swami Nityananda Saraswathi started Arya Samaj activities in Hyderabad. Unlike in other regions, where it remained basically a socio-religious organization, because of the theocratic nature of the Nizam's rule, Arya Samaj became a rallying point for the assertion of Hindu identity. From the very beginning, Arya Samaj directed its

activities against the British as well as the Nizam's rule. As early as in 1895, Arya Samaj began organizing Ganesh Utsav celebrations to rally the Hindus. Arya Samaj actively participated in the Swadeshi movement. The Arya Samajists, organized *havan kund*s, unfurled *Om* flags and led several demonstrations. Countering the proselytising activities of the Muslim communal organizations, Arya Samaj undertook *Shuddhi* programme to bring the converts back into the hold of Hinduism.¹²

Its nationalism tinged with Hindu communal orientation was a constant irritation to the Nizam State. The government made several attempts to restrict their activities. It branded Arya Samaj leaders as non-mulkis and anti-Muslims. Many Arya Samaj leaders were imprisoned and brutally punished. Several activists were Arya samaj were injured and even killed in communal riots. The government openly sided with the Muslim communalists and came down heavily against Arya Samajists. Protesting against the government's attitude, Arya Samaj organized a massive *Satyagraha* in 1938 with the support of other Hindu organizations like Hindu Mahasabha, Rashtreeya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), Hindu Civil Liberties Union etc. Arya Samaj could mobilize number of volunteers from other parts of the country in support of *Satyagraha*.¹³ Even in the prisons, braving police lathis, some *Arya Samaj Satyagrahis* like Ramachandra Rao, who later became popular as *Vandemataram* Ramachandra Rao, continued their protest.

Apart from taking up independent initiatives, many Arya Samaj activists were associated with Hyderabad State Congress and various cultural and linguistic organizations in the state. Arya Samaj had a considerable support in and around Hyderabad city. Many of its leaders came from Marathwada region. Altogether Arya Samaj had 750 *Shakhas*. It had the backing of Marwaris, Gujarathis and a section of Hindu landlords.¹⁴

Hyderabad State Congress

Certain Congress members in Hyderabad tried to constitute Congress Committee in 1918. But they had to confine themselves initially to social activities like propagating the use of Khadi, upliftment of Harijans, working for Hindu-Muslim unity etc. As they were not allowed to take up any political activities, the Congress supporters had to organize Hyderabad Political Conferences outside the state - first in Kakinada (1923), and then in Bombay (1928), Poona (1923) and Akola (1931), and tried to bring pressure on the Nizam to constitute a responsible government. The Hariपुरa session of the Congress, under the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose, passed a resolution in favour of extending the Congress activities to the princely state.¹⁵ Inspired by this move, the Congress members in Hyderabad met and took a decision to constitute Hyderabad State Congress. They decided to call for a conference on September 9, 1938 to elect the Executive Body. The Nizam's government reacted to this immediately and imposed a ban on the State Congress on September 7, 1938.

Protesting against the ban, prominent Congress leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddy from Telengana, Govinda Rao Nanal from Marathwada, Janardhan Rao Desai from Karnataka and Ramakrishna Dhoot representing Hyderabad offered a Satyagraha on October 24, 1938. It was at about this time that Swami Ramamanda Thirtha was sent to Hyderabad to organize the Congress party. He soon proved his leadership skills by activating the agitation. Under his leadership, Satyagraha picked up momentum. But as this Satyagraha movement took place side by side with the Satyagraha offered by Arya Samaj and its allies, it gave an opportunity for the Nizam to brand the State Congress as a communal body. In view of such criticism, the State Congress withdrew Satyagraha upon the advice of Mahatma Gandhi.¹⁶

There was a lull in the Congress activities for a few years. The political dynamics however, again picked up momentum with Quit India movement. Many prominent leaders like Ramananda Thirtha, Pandit Narendraji, Vimala, bhai Melkote, Padmaja Naidu, Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao, Kaloji Narayana Rao etc., were arrested in Hyderabad for participating in the Quit India movement. Members of Maharashtra Conference and Karnataka Conference also actively involved in the movement. The Congress leaders openly appealed to the Nizam's government to lift the ban on the State Congress, restore civil liberties and constitute a responsible government.¹⁷

The political situation within the country and in the state changed dramatically after the Second World War. Finding it unable to continue its imperialist hold over the Indian subcontinent, the British government decided to relinquish power and sent the Cabinet Mission to India to negotiate the formalities. The All India State People's Conference held in June 1946 under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru severely censured the Nizam's government for denying civil and political liberties on the Nizam's government. All these events compelled the government to lift the ban on the State Congress in April 1946.

Leftist Movement in Telengana

While the State Congress was basically fighting for civil liberties and responsible government, the communists took the initiative in mobilizing the peasants and the landless labourers groaning under the feudal subjugation and exploitation. The Andhra unit of the Communist Party of India (CPI) took special interest in building up Communist party units in Hyderabad State. Dissatisfied by the 'go-slow' attitude of the Indian National Congress, many radicals in the State Congress turned towards the socialist ideas. Leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Ella Reddy, V. Raja Reddy etc., who were in the State Congress, joined the CPI. Progressive intellectuals like Maqdoom Moinuddin who started Comrades Association also came in contact with the Communist Party. Socialist-minded student leaders like D.Venkateswara Rao, S. Ramanatham etc., who played active role in Vandemataram movement in 1938, also joined the communists.

Apart from them, youngmen like V.D. Deshpande, Chandra Gupta Chodhary who were already associated with 'National Front Group' in Marathwada region were contacted. With all these members, a regional communist party was formed in 1943. The leftists organized the workers in different factories and public sector units. They also gave shape to the progressive students' movement in the state.¹⁸ They succeeded in extending their hegemony over *Andhra Maha Sabha* and established *sanghams* in Telengana villages to mobilize the peasants and the landless against the feudal exploitation.¹⁹

Student's and Youth Movement

The growth of nationalist movement in the country had its impact on the students and youth in Hyderabad State. The Osmania University, established by the Nizam, became a centre of political dissent in the state. The university authorities were known for their anti-Hindu and pro-Islamic stand. The Hindu students studying under the university had to face discrimination and humiliation from time to time. The government was emphasizing on learning of Urdu, Arabic and Persian, ignoring the local languages, namely Telugu, Kannada and Marathee. All this discontentment found its expression during the *Vandemataram* movement in 1938. The Hindu students in the Osmania University hostels began singing *Vandemataram* song in the prayer hall much against the wishes of the authorities. The university authorities, known for their communal bias, over reacted to the students' protest and closed down the hostels. Consequently, the university students intensified their agitation by calling for *bandhs* and picketing. They refused to wear university uniform and raised other long pending demands of the students. The students from other parts of the state also joined the agitation. To curb the students' movement, the university expelled hundreds of student activists and tried to see that they don't get in other universities as well. However, the Nagpur University came to the rescue of the students and admitted them. Far from curbing the students' movement, the authoritarian way in which the authorities tried to deal with the nationalist sentiments of the youth, only helped in turning the students and youth against the misrule of Nizam. Many of the student leaders of this agitation like P.V. Narasimha Rao, Hayagrivachari, D.Venkateswara Rao, Dharma Bhiksham etc., later became important leaders in the Congress and Communist parties.²⁰

The students' movement, so started, did not confine only to the Hindu community. Although the communal policy pursued by the Nizam's state tried to wean away the Muslims from the nationalist movement, a section of the progressive Muslim youth led by Maqdoom Moinuddin, Ghulam Hyder, Hasan Ali Mirza, Mirza Hyder Hussain etc., inspired by nationalist and progressive movements in the country, started 'Comrade Association' with the help of their Hindu friends. The association, which declared independence, peace and progress as its goals, remained secular to the core and attracted many-a-progressive intellectuals in and around Hyderabad city. The left oriented students and youth, under the guidance of Andhra Maha Sabha, Comrade Association and

Communist Party of India, All Hyderabad Students' Union (AHSU) in 1941. Soon AHSU became a rallying point for all the progressive sections of the students' and youth opposed to the rule of Nizam.²¹

Hyderabad State on the Eve of Indian Independence

By 1946 it became clear that Great Britain was willing to quit India. Because of the communal flare up, the partition of British India into India and Pakistan became inevitable. The Nizam, sensing the implications of the new developments, tried to mobilize his own forces to protect his authority. He introduced piece-meal reforms in the administration and tried to win over the conservative sections within the Hyderabad State Congress.²² Despite differences in their ideologies, Arya Samaj, Hyderabad State Congress and the communists rejected the reform proposals and demanded that Hyderabad State should join the Indian union.

The Hyderabad State Congress, led by Swami Ramananda Thirtha, intensified Satyagraha movement and unfurled tricolour flags in public places on August 15, 1947, defying the Nizam's orders. Certain radicals within the Congress set up a working committee to mobilize the public opinion in Bombay, Andhra and Karnataka regions. They set up border camps in different places to intensify the struggle. Similarly, the Hindu militants also intensified their activities under the guidance of Arya Samaj. They also set up border camps at Sholapur, Osmanabad, Amaravathi, Pandharpur etc., to offer resistance to the Nizam's forces.²³ Some of its activists attempted to assassinate the Nizam by hurling a bomb on his car. Some Arya Samajists worked as spies and sent information about the military preparations of the Nizam's government to the Indian government. On September 11, 1946 the communist party and its mass organizations gave a call for armed resistance against the Nizam's rule. The people of Telengana region, particularly the peasants and the landless labourers responded to the call and actively participated in the anti-feudal struggle. The movement spread from Nalgonda and Warangal districts to Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Medak and Adilabad districts. The peasants fought against the *jagirdars* and other landlords and liberated 3000 villages. Nearly 10 lakhs acres of land were distributed among the peasants and the landlords, the police and *razakars*.²⁴ The rule of Nizam virtually ended in many parts of Telengana.

For long, the majority of Muslims kept themselves away from anti-feudal struggle because of the influence of the Muslim communal organizations. The nationalist Muslims hesitated to join the State Congress because of its links with some Arya Samaj leaders. However, as the crisis deepened, a section of democratic and nationalist-minded Muslims started opposing the Nizam's rule. Many radical Muslims like Maqdoom Moinuddin, Rafi Ahmed, Mirza Hyder Hussain etc., joined the communists. Shoyab-ulla-Khan the editor of *Imroze*, at the cost of his life, criticized the atrocities of the *razakars* and the Nizam's police in Bibi Nagar and Nizamabad. Many eminent Muslim leaders also

appealed to the Nizam to disband the *razakars*, dissolve the government and accede to the Indian union.²⁵

Despite all these happenings, the Nizam did not see the writing on the wall. Without realizing his dwindling support base, the Nizam dreamt of making Hyderabad an independent Muslim State. Blinded by the advice of the leaders of the *Majlis* party and the *razakars*, the Nizam made efforts to woo the British leaders, sent feelers to Pakistan and made efforts to win over the moderates in the Congress. The *razakars* were given a free hand to whip fanaticism among the Muslims and create terror in the minds of the majority Hindu community.

End of the Nizam's Rule

On August 15, 1947, the state power was formally transferred to the Indian national bourgeoisie. The formation of a nation state requires dissolving of all feudal principalities and creation of a national market. The Union Ministry led by Nehru and Patel sought to achieve this goal by pressurizing the princely states to accede to the Indian Union. Although almost all states fell in line with the union's demand, the Nizam refused to join the Indian Union. In view of the special relationship that Nizam had with the British government, the Indian government initially hesitated to take direct action against Hyderabad State. India's confrontation with Pakistan over Kashmir issue in 1948 also compelled the Indian leaders to make a cautious move in the case of Hyderabad. Hence India entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Nizam on November 29, 1947. According to the agreement, the Nizam State agreed to follow the Indian line with regard to defence and external relation, but retained control over his subjects.²⁶ Through the agreement, both the Nizam and the Indian government bought time to mobilize their own support for a final showdown. By appointing an agent of Hyderabad in Karachi, by banning the Indian currency, by giving loan to Pakistan, by procuring arms and ammunition from abroad and by not heeding the advice of India on the question of curbing the *razakar* activities, Nizam sought to assert himself as a sovereign power.²⁷ Meanwhile, the internal contradictions in Hyderabad intensified further, bringing pressure upon the Indian State to intervene. The Indian government took serious note of the growing menace of the *razakars*, the rising influence of the communists and the Nizam's efforts to procure arms and ammunition from abroad. Once Kashmir problem was settled and Lord Mountbatten left India, the Indian government decided to send armed troops to take possession of Hyderabad State. Sensing the inevitable, last minute efforts were made to rouse religious feelings and mobilize the Muslims in support of Nizam. The Nizam's government also made an appeal to the UNO to intervene. Having failed to garner sufficient support - internal as well as external, the Nizam allowed himself to be led by Khasim Razvi, the leader of *razakars*, and his puppets in the government.²⁸ With 20,000 armed *razakars*, 42,000 state troops and many *pathan* irregulars, the Nizam sought to confront the Indian State. But when the Indian troops actually started moving on

September 13, 1948 from Kurnool, Sholapur and Vijayawada, the disorganised and demoralized forces of Nizam and of the *razakars* got scared. They offered little resistance to the Indian troops in Tulzapur, Naladurga, Osmanabad and Omega. After two days, their resistance collapsed and the Indian troops marched ahead towards Hyderabad. Having lost all hopes, On September 17, 1948, the Nizam ordered for a cease-fire and accepted to surrender to the Indian troops.²⁹ On September 18 the Indian troops entered Hyderabad and General J.N. Choudhury took charge as the Military Governor of Hyderabad. Thus ended the 224 years of Nizam's rule.

Concluding Remarks

An attempt has been made in this paper to highlight the socio-political context that necessitated and also facilitated the so-called Police Action in 1948. A feudal, theocratic, authoritarian rule of Nizam produced its own anti-thesis in the form of linguistic organizations, Arya Samaj, Hyderabad State Congress and the Telengana peasant movement. Although the ideologies and objectives of these organizations and movements differed from one another, each of them contributed in their own way to the weakening of the Nizam's hold over Hyderabad. By the time the Indian government decided to intervene, the Nizam had already antagonized the majority of people. Having alienated completely from the masses, the Nizam's forces found it unable to offer any resistance. Neither the *razakars*, nor the arms and ammunition he procured from abroad, could protect the Nizam's rule. The Indian troops could occupy Hyderabad in just four days. When one contrasts it with the time that the Indian army took to suppress the Telengana peasant struggle, which continued even after the fall of the Nizam, it becomes clear that it was the people who mattered ultimately. It would, therefore, be unfair to give all credit to Sardar Patel or to the Indian army, ignoring about fifty years of anti-feudal and anti-colonial struggle in Hyderabad State.

While emphasizing the primacy of internal contradictions, one should not ignore the impact of external forces. As stated earlier, despite his efforts to insulate Hyderabad State from the rest of India, the Nizam could not prevent his citizens from getting influenced by what was going on in other parts of the country. In this respect Hyderabad was very different from Kashmir and the Northeast. Although it had its own specificities, Hyderabad State was tied to the rest of Indian in so many ways. All anti-Nizam's forces, namely, Arya Samaj, Hyderabad State Congress, the communists and linguistic organizations, had links with their counter parts in British India. Even though the Indian nationalist leaders were not allowed to enter Hyderabad State, the people of the state were exposed to the crosscurrents of nationalist sentiments blowing across the country at that time. These external events and factors did play an important role in activating the internal contradictions in Hyderabad.

If seen from this angle, it becomes apparent that the credit for 'Liberation of Hyderabad'

cannot be attributed to any individual or association or political party. The two-hundred year old rule of the Nizams came to an end due to the over determined effect of many interrelated internal and external processes that the very nature of the Nizam's State had generated.

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20. P.R. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141; also S. Regani, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.
21. K. Pratapa Reddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 56-59.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
23. S. Regani, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
24. C. Rajeshwara Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

25. K. Pratapa Reddy, *op. cit.*, p. 176; also Ravi Narayana Reddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
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