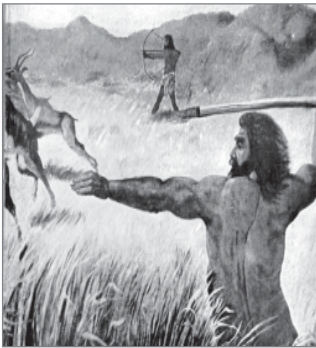


TRC Journal of Telangana Studies

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July - September 2019



A Mesolithic Scene, A man is shooting an arrow tipped with a sharp microlith at an antelope. The other is throwing on a deer a spear tipped with a sharpened stone (Reconstruction from the Museum of Evolution of Life, Chandigarh)



'Bonam' is an abridged word in the local dialect and stands for 'Bhojanam' or 'meals', Bonam.



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Foreword : A Note from the Publisher

Releasing the second issue (July-September 2019) of TRC Journal of Telangana Studies, a bilingual, peer-reviewed academic journal. With its wide scope, it aims to make connections with the general public, academia, practicing professionals, and researchers in history, archaeology, arts and literature of the Telangana region.

Let me introduce myself to all the esteemed readers. I received a Bachelor of Technology degree in civil engineering from Mysore University. At the postgraduate level, I studied urban and regional planning at Jawaharlal Nehru Architecture and Fine Arts University. I have been a heritage activist for over two decades now. I am deeply concerned about the environmental and cultural heritage issues and founded Telangana Resource Centre (TRC) for advance research and advocacy in these areas.

There is a lack of quality academic research, especially in English language, on Telangana. Professor Adapa Satyanarayana and other eminent scholars in the state have extended their hands of support to TRC and came forward to undertake such initiative. We jointly decided to start the TRC Journal of Telangana Studies with the purpose of disseminating proper information, sharing rigorous academic research and exploring the hidden sections of Telangana's history, culture and society. TRC has always endeavoured to promote original academic research and will look to continue in the same vein in future.

This journal focuses on the historical context of the culture of Telangana and the influence of progressive social movements on the fabric of the state. This journal is unique in that it will be presenting all contemporary research on various aspects of life in Telangana under one cover.

In the second issue, academic papers on diverse topics are included which will reveal untold history, art, archeology and culture of Telangana to the readers. It covers topics relating to prehistory, folklore, popular culture and modern history, with a focus on the Integration of Hyderabad State into Indian Union in 1948. These include original research in the form of articles, book reviews and contextual works.

As the publisher, I am expressing my deepest gratitude to all the members of the editorial board and who have contributed articles to the 1st and 2nd issue (April-June 2019/ July-September 2019) of the TRC - Journal of Telangana Studies. I am thankful to the guests who participated in the inaugural programme of "TRC-Journal of Telangana Studies" organised at Auditorium of Salarjung Museum on 19th June. 2019. I am also thankful to the Director for sparing prestigious auditorium for the journal-release programme. I hope this journal will make you knowledgeable about the affairs of Telangana and will encourage necessary discourse. With this, I wish you a pleasant reading.

-Vedakumar Manikonda

Publisher

TRC Journal of Telangana Studies

Hyderabad,
29.06.2019

EDITORIAL

The second issue of TRC Journal of Telangana Studies covers topics relating to prehistory, folklore, popular culture and modern history, with a focus on the Integration of Hyderabad State into Indian Union in 1948. Sivanagi Reddy's article, "Techniques of Making Rock-Cut Monuments" reviews the history of rock-cut technology right from prehistoric times till 14th century in the Telugu States. He has observed that the Buddhist technology employed in rock-cut caves in the States disappeared during 1st century CE due to lack of royal patronage. He has also mentioned about the Karukonda (Buddhist) and Kapparaopeta (Jain) caves belonging to the pre-Christian centuries in Telangana. He described, Brahmanical caves hewn in and around Vijayawada belonging to c. 5th century CE and Nayanagullu and Gandharikota caves belonging to the period from 9th to 13th centuries. A .K. Goel in his article entitled, "Our Mesolithic Ancestors" has presented a general survey of prehistoric life of the people and delved into the fancy area of rock paintings of Mesolithic Age in Telangana. It focused on field reports of the rock art sites like Pandavulagutta explored by State Archaeology Department about three decades ago and the sites like Mannemkonda, Kotha Chittaarayya and Paatha Chittaarayya explored by Dyavanapalli Satyanarayana about three years ago. Kandukuri Ramesh examines the historical significance of Peasants' Struggle, during 1946-51 in the Telangana region. He has made an attempt to examine and assess objectively the movements' different currents and facets. He argues that initially, the sporadic skirmishes were rolled over by artisans and oppressed sections against feudal practice of *vetty* (forced/free labour). Later, the movement got wider and deeper implication when it was joined by Peasants', against the dictatorial tendencies of feudal elements and Landed gentry. Finally, the Peoples' movement was culminated into peasants' Armed Insurrection against the Dictatorial Regime of the Nizam and the 'liberation struggle' against the Nehru government.

The current fashion seems to favour private sector participation in urban water supply projects. The concept is labelled Public-Private Partnership. This approach has the wholehearted support of the World Bank, developed countries and, of course, those developed country commercial enterprises, which are usually newly privatised corporate entities. These entities are active in the exploitation of this new type of infrastructure opportunities in developing countries, including India. Gautam Pingle in his article, "Madras

Water Supply”, establishes that this concept is nothing new and its application to the urban water sector in India is nearly 230 years old. Naga Sridhar’s article captures the political games, compulsions and of the crucial years of 1947-48 by taking a fresh look into the turn of events and popular perceptions of Hyderabad’s integration into Indian Union. . It examines and evaluates historiographical positions and flags of points for further research into this key area of Indian history in particular and Telangana history in general. Zeenat Khan highlights the multidimensional character of Operation Polo, which led to the loss of Kingdom by the Nizam. She argues that in the aftermath of “Operation Polo” or “Police Action”, thousands of people have lost their lives in a carnage and the outrage has largely gone acknowledged; apology never sought nor offered. Panduranga Reddy’s article analyses the multidimensional character of the integration of Hyderabad state into Indian Union in 1948. It also seeks to clarify the nature of police action and its consequences. In the history of modern Telangana, 17th September, 1948, has been the most contested one and various interpretations have been offered by scholars. According to the scholar, it was purely a military intervention and people had no role whatsoever in it. Kolams are recognized as a Primitive Tribal Group (or Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group) living mostly in Adilabad and Kumram Bheem Asifabad Districts. Their language, life and culture have close affinity to their counterparts of Dravidian people. Few of the best Dravidian and primitive tribal elements are traced best in their marriages which are described in the songs the Kolams sing on the occasion. A Kolam writer, Atram Mothiram has compiled some of the best songs and presented in this issue. A short write-up by Anjayya contextualizes cultural significance of the celebration of Bonalu festival in Telangana. Suda Rani reviewed the Book, “Hyderabad 1948: An Avoidable Invasion” written by Syed Ali Hashmi.

This issue of TRC Journal aims at enhancing the interest of scholars to explore hitherto neglected areas of the History and Culture of Telangana. The Editorial Board encourages well-researched articles of new facts, findings, interpretations and analysis based on authentic sources with multi-disciplinary approach. I hope that our effort at encouraging research in regional history will find scholarly acceptance from our readers.

Hyderabad,
27.06.2019

-Adapa Satyanarayana
Editor,
TRC Journal of Telangana Studies

TECHNIQUES OF MAKING ROCK-CUT MONUMENTS IN ANDHRA AND TELANGANA: AN ENQUIRY

- E. Sivanagi Reddy

Archaeological investigations in Andhra and Telangana have revealed that human habitation during the Palaeolithic period was concentrated mainly along the banks of rivers and in the forests as this was convenient for collecting food materials and taking shelter in natural caves or caverns. The Mesolithic people also continued to live in natural caves and sub-terranean passages which have been noticed at Muchchatla Chintamanugavi¹ and Belum² in Kurnool district. During the Neolithic period people continued to live in natural caves and under serpenthood shaped rock-shelters as noticed at Dupadugattu³, Sanganonpalli⁴ and Uppair⁵ in Mahboobnagar district, Telangana, and at Kethavaram⁶ in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh (AP). During the course of the evolution of Neolithic society, people began to live in pits, cut into the ground as dwelling pits which have been uncovered at Utnoor⁷ in Anantapuram district, Veerapuram⁸ in Kurnool district, Nagarjunakonda⁹ and Gandluru¹⁰ in Guntur district in A.P. Evidence of scooped dressed activity during the Megalithic period has been noticed under the serpent hood shaped natural rock-shelters at Budigepalli¹¹ in Karimnagar district in Telangana. Scooping and cutting the rock for funerary buildings is also known from Jonnawada¹² in Nellore district in A.P.

During the Mauryan period excavation of rock-cut caves can be seen in the natural caves of the period at Ramgarh and Budhani.¹³ Similarly, in Telangana also, natural caves at Kapparaopet in Karimnagar district, seem to have been used by *Jaina* ascetics as dwelling places and hence the hill in which they lived is called as Munulagutta,¹⁴ meaning 'the hill of the ascetics. Here, the natural rock inside the cave was fashioned into four rock-cut beds to be used for *sallekhana*, a ritual practiced by *Jaina monks* during their last days. Based on the recovery of the coins of Simuka Sātavāhana near the caves, these caves are dated by P.V.P. Sastry to the 1st century BCE.¹⁵

In India, the practice of rock-cut technology for monumental buildings was, for the first time, initiated during the Mauryan times and the earliest caves excavated are the caves called after *Lomas Rishi and Sudama* caves at Barabar and Nagarjuni hills in Bihar. These were scooped during the reigns of Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha.¹⁶ These earliest examples of rock-cut buildings are the exact replicas of, probably the then existing wood and thatched

structures. The caves in Barabar and Nagarjuni hills were excavated into the hardest rock. Their carving and polishing was with a unique technique, which began and ended there within the same century. This method of rock-cut technology of the Magadhan region in all probability, served as models to the early examples of such rock-cut activity in the Western Deccan, Telangana coastal Andhra and Orissa. The beginning of rock-cut technology in the Western Deccan has been noticed at Ajanta, Bhaja, Kanheri, Kondavite and Pitalkhora and this goes back to the 3rd century BCE¹⁷ The Orissan examples at Udayagiri and Khandagiri on the other hand, were excavated by the Chedi King Kharavela in the 1st century B.C.¹⁸ Rock-cut technology in early Andhra can be considered co-eval with the Mauryan experiments or be attributed to a slightly later date.

The monuments made with the help of rock-cut technology in Andhra can be studied in several varieties such as *chaityagrihas*, *stūpas*, *vihāras*, and cave temples. All the major religious faiths, viz., the Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism have been affiliated to monumental buildings made with this technology. The earliest rock-cut monument has been reported in the form of a *chaityagriha* at Guntupalli in West Godavari district in A.P and the earliest vihāra in the same technique, has also been reported from the same site. Those at Rampa Errampalem and Sankaram Visakhapatnam district in A.P have also been found in the same region and belong to an early period. Monolithic stūpas cut-out of rock- boulders have been reported from Karukonda in Khammam district of Telangana. Rock-cut temples of the Brahmanical faith have been found near Vijayawada and its suburbs, at Bhairavakonda in Prakasam district in A.P and at Gandharikota and Adavi Somanapalli in Karimnagar district, Telangana. A few Jaina rock-cut caves have been noted at Sangamayyakonda in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh belonging to the 12th Century CE Thus it can be seen that rock-cut technology began to operate from as early as the 3rd century BCE and continued upto the 14th century CE It is however significant to note that it is coterminous with the brick and stone built technologies in early Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

Rock-cut *vihāras* in Andhra Pradesh have only been found located at places like Guntupalli, Rampa Errampalem and Sankaram in Coastal Andhra. It is in this sub-region that the geological pre-requisite of the existence of suitable rock for excavation of caves was readily available. At Guntupalli¹⁹ five rock-cut viharas with rectangular halls and cells have been reported. The front

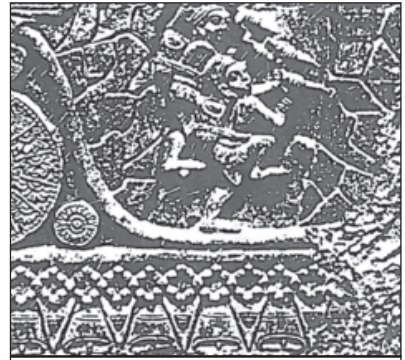
facade was carved with three doorways, and two cells had windows on either side. The portion above the doors and windows was decorated with horse-shoe arches with finials. The ceiling portion of the facade looked like a *chaitya* window, with radiating ribs again, resembling a wooden structure²⁰. The rectangular halls were pierced with openings into cells, sometimes containing raised beds and pillows which were also cut in rock. Niches were provided in the walls probably to keep the lamps. Scholars like I.K. Sarma²¹ opine that these cells were residential in nature. It has also been suggested that there was an evolutionary pattern from single cell to a row of cells in quadrangular form, found at Guntupalli²². Small channels were seen on the floor, in all probability meant for drainage. A drain or sewer known as *niddhamana* or *niddhamanamāgga* has been mentioned in literature.²³ Based on the palaeography of a Brahmi inscription found on the steps leading to the monasteries and the crude finish of the *vihara* with its plain walls bereft of any decoration, it has been suggested by scholars that a date of 2nd century BCE.²⁴ be assigned to these caves.

Three rock-cut residential cells intended for Buddhist monks, square, rectangular and circular on plan, have been reported from Rampa Errampalem and Pandavulametta and also cut out stupas as seen at Sankaram²⁵. The square cell here has a screen wall at the entrance to shed light into the interior of the cell. This is new technological innovation when compared to the Guntupalli caves where windows were provided with cavities in the wall to probably fix wooden frames with wooden door leaves.

A few *Jaina* caves with their entrances carved with simple jambed designs have been reported from Sangamayyakonda²⁶ in Srikakulam district in A.P. These caves are bear the carvings of the *Jaina tirthankaras*. Based on stylistic grounds of sculpture and architecture, these caves are dated to 12th century CE. The absence of decorative motifs denote that the rock-cut technology discontinued from this period onwards, for, we do not have any rock-cut monument excavated after this period. Some caves being unfinished or semi-finished, furnish good dues for the study of the different techniques adopted in scooping, chiselling and smoothening the walls, ceiling and floor surfaces of these monumental buildings, For this we have evidence coming from the caves of the Barabar hills, Nasik and Ajanta in the Western Deccan, from the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves in Odisha and most importantly from our point of view from Guntupalli in Andhra, Based on their individual observations different methods of scooping have been proposed by scholars

like Dehejia²⁷, Nagaraju²⁸, Gupta²⁹ and Mohapatra³⁰. According to Gupta³¹ the work was of two types: One type of scooping was used for removing the matrix of the rock so as to obtain a hollow interior. The other type of scooping was used to chisel out the rough surface as per the plan, in height and depth. In the first type of the work involved blocking and 'rough chiselling' techniques. In this connection Gupta³² cites the example of the Barhut sculpture which depicts the method of rock-hewing in blocking technique³³. The sculptural panel from Barhut³⁴ shows the method of excavation of a hill for making a cave. The sculptors were using long pointed tools and chisels for scooping the rock³⁵. For cutting the upper portion, the workers had made landing steps by fixing nails at regular intervals without using ladders for scaffolding.

After completing the process of blocking and rough dressing, fine chiselling was undertaken with pointed chisels, as seen from the walls of the Guntupalli example. The sculptors have left extant some marks on the walls and also some stone ridges to follow upon the work. However this is left incomplete the chiselling of ridges were gradually removed with grooves to obtain a flat surface Gupta³⁶ calls this work of removing the ridges as 'pecking'. In this method, the final shape of the cave arch, ceiling, walls and flooring was obtained, after which a fine smooth surface was attained by using the flat chisels. The walls and ceilings might have been rubbed with stones mixed with sand and water so as to remove all the chisel marks³⁷. Finishing was probably done simultaneously on the outside when the interior work was going on, cutting of the mass between the architectural members, probably went on side by side, as Vidya Dehejia has observed from the 'unfinished cave V' at Ajanta.³⁸ The cutting of the cave according to her, began from the ceiling, downwards, thus minimising the need for scaffolding in the preliminary stage. On the other hand, SP Gupta has opined that the work of cutting the cave progressed from bottom to top upwards. Kail however, agrees with Dehejia in this regard.



*A Sculptural Panel Showing Sculptors
Excavating a cave, Bharut*

On observing some of the unfinished rock-cut cells at Guntupalli, the process and techniques of excavation can further be explained. In the first stage, the design was drawn on the rock which was then cut to get a

perpendicular line so as to obtain a clear vertical face. This enabled the workers to proceed with the plan into a verandah or hall or the cells inside. After making the initial arrangements for minimum scaffolding, the cutting was probably started from the ceiling. In the next stage the horse- shoe projected gables over the doors and windows were taken up for workmanship and these were blocked out. Raised beds and niches were also carved accordingly.

At Guntupalli, for instance, it must have taken at least four to five years for completing both the *chaitya* and the *vihāras*. This is on the basis of an estimate provided by S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro³⁹ in the case of the Buddhist caves at Yun-Kang in northern China, excavated during the 5th century CE.

During the period from beginning of the 5th century CE the activity of cutting the rock for building Brahmanical temples has been noticed at the Undavalli, the Mogalrajapuram and the Akkanna-Madanna caves near Vijayawada⁴⁰ in Vijayawada region, the caves at Bhairavakonda⁴¹ in Prakasam district belonging to 5th-7th centuries CE, and the caves at Gandharikota⁴² and Adavi Somanapalli⁴³ in Karimnagar district of Telangana which belong to the period between the 9th-14th centuries CE.

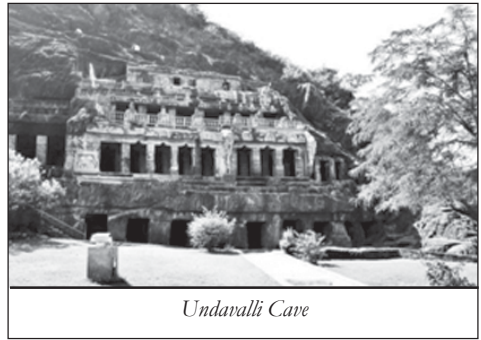


Rock-cut caves at Guntupalli

After the lapse of four centuries, the rock-cut tradition was revived for religious shrines, this time those of the Hindu faith. The caves at Mogalrajapuram and Undavalli were cut in sandstone while at Bhairavakonda the rock cut into was a schistose intrusion, in the hill particularly chosen, owing to its soft nature for scooping. Here, it should be mentioned that the earlier Buddhist caves were cut in Khondalite stone. There are two rock-cut caves in the Akkanna-Madanna group, five each at Undavalli and Mogalrajapuram. The cave temple in each case, contains a with a single shrine chamber and sometimes with three cells. At Bhairavakonda, the rock-cut caves are eight in number, similar in plan, with a square chamber in the rear and a pillared hall in the front. In the early caves at Vijayawada the beams, brackets and pillars were short and massive, devoid of sculptural decoration and with minimum inter columnar space like the Pallava cave temples.⁴⁴ The pillars of

the early phase of rock-cut activity initiated by the Pallava architects were massive and short and their rectangular pillared hall tendency for the pillars of the latter phase to become thinner and taller was a sometimes they were flatter with an oblong section and the space between them was wider. The *mandapas* of the Pallava cave temples were divided by an inner row of pillars and the pilasters into artha and *mahamandapas*.⁴⁵ The pillars of the facade clearly resemble more the conventional type of contemporary structural temples.⁴⁶ The *mandapas* of the cave temples at Vijayawada were divided into proximal and distal sections, the outer corresponding to the *mahamandapa* and the inner to the *arthamandapa*. The front elevation of the facade was often cut to a varying depth into the sloping face of the rock according to the degree of the slope. The required height of the facade, was cut with an *adhistana* as at Mogalrajapuram, having a flight of rock-cut steps in front. The top of the pillars was cut with massive *taranga* capitals with beams. The overhanging ledge projecting above the beam was left as a *kapota* and was sometimes made with decorations.

The Durga cave at Vijayawada⁴⁷ is the earliest, followed by the Akkanna-Madanna caves, with archaic features such as plain pillars. The development is seen in the next stage of rock-cut technology in these caves where the triple shrine caves was provided with *taranga* type of capitals for the pillars. Besides a spacious open front and decorated mouldings, on *adhistāna* and *prastara*⁴⁸ at the Nataraja Cave were also noted as improvements over the earlier caves.



Undavalli Cave

The Undavalli caves being the largest of the group at Vijayawada, reveal further developments in the rock-cut technology when compared to the Buddhist caves of Guntupalli in terms of plan, elevation, execution and amenities provided, like having stepped entrances with balustrades, spacious pillared halls for congregation and festive occasion, a broad opening on the front side, allowing sufficient light into the interior *mandapas* and even into the cells. Access from one storey to another was possible through the rock-cut steps. Excavated in three storeys in receding order, excluding the unfinished ground floor, these caves are akin to the Do-tal and Teen-tal caves at Ellora.⁴⁹ The pillars of the ground floor were massive and without bases or capitals

whereas the pillars of the upper stories had the *taranga* capitals. The portion above the beams was carved like a cornice with Küdu decorations.

The softer nature of the mass and low tensile strength naturally allowed the sthapatis and workers to go deeper into the rock as at Undavalli whereas the hard granite rock at Mamallapuram⁵⁰ restricted the size of excavation. The process of excavation was done by the blocking and pecking techniques, as denoted by the chisel marks in the unfinished caves. After excavating the ground floor, some portion on the top was removed by scooping to obtain the vertical face. The design of the first floor and other floors was done by this method in descending order. The door jambs were carved with *dwarapālas*.

At Bhairavakonda⁵¹ in Prakasam district, a further development in rock-cut technology is observed, as, here the hill was scooped into caves at different levels presenting a panoramic view to the visitors. The front side slope was cut and totally removed to attain an open terraced front court, giving access to the temples and to accommodate more people on special occasions. The pillars of the facade were carved with *asvāpāda*, fluted shaft and there was a special arrangement of the kudam, disc and *taranga podikas*.



Nataraja Cave

At Adavi Somanapalli⁵² a new technological development can be seen as in the case of the first cave. The rock surface here has been cut perpendicularly and then scooped into the plan of a mandapa supported by two non-functional crude pillars. In the second cave a beam and cornice were introduced and the pillars were cut with square bases, octagonal sections in the middle, and a square block, topped by *taranga* type of *podikas* below the beams. In the third and fourth caves, shrine chambers with a door-way were added by scooping. Some art motifs such as jambs have been depicted. The next stage of development is seen in the fourth cave where its flat ceiling was plastered with lime to obtain a smooth surface and then painted depicting some Puranic themes in different colours. On close observation it is noticed that the process of cutting the rock was the same as in the case of the above examples. The walls and ceilings were dressed flatly and were rubbed with stones to attain a smooth finish. Pillars were cut to a height of 2 metres whereas

the height of the ceiling was 2.20 metres. Based on stylistic grounds these caves have been dated to the 9th century CE.

Recently Dr. Jaisetty Ramanaiah has reported rock-cut caves called Nayanagullu at Koyyuru⁵³ in Malhar mandal, Bhupalapalli district in Telangana datable to the 8th Century CE. At Gandharikota⁵⁴, there are a few rock-cut cells hewn into the natural rock on the southern face of the local hillock. On the hind wall were hewn some triangular niches for keeping lamps. The presence of mortice holes in the door sills indicates some sort of wooden doors for the cells. The roof portion was constructed with dressed stones above the rock-cut walls. The door-ways were carved with designs suggesting a date of about the 13th century CE.

The rock-cut technology initiated by the Buddhist architects during the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. in costal Andhra disappeared from the 1st century CE. because of the lack of patronage that had been mainly fostered by royalty and merchants. This in turn was due to the decline in trade on the coastal port towns of Andhra. It was during the 5th-6th centuries CE. that the rock-cut technology was resumed in the same region in the excavation of some Brahmanical cave



Nayanagullu Caves

temples. The caves in and around Vijayawada, and after two centuries, at Bhairavakonda have been scooped into pillared halls, with ante chambers and sometimes, with three levels of excavated structures. The techniques employed at Bhairavakonda were more akin to those found at Mahabalipuram in Tamil Nadu, a region contiguous to costal Andhra. There were few rock cut caves in Telangana as noticed only at Gandharikota and Adavi Somanapalli in Telangana. After a lapse of three centuries the activity was found at some Jaina caves at Sangamayyakonda in north costal Andhra. Artistic and architectural embellishments to provide sufficient light in the interior could not be fully achieved in rock-cut technology as a limited scope was possible for these. Further, from the early medieval times onwards building of free standing stone



Gandbarikota Cave

temples in almost all sub-regions gained momentum, supported by munificent grants offered by the local chiefs, nobles, and royalty. This hindered the progress of rock-cut technology and finally it disappeared by the 14th century CE. in Andhra and Telangana regions.

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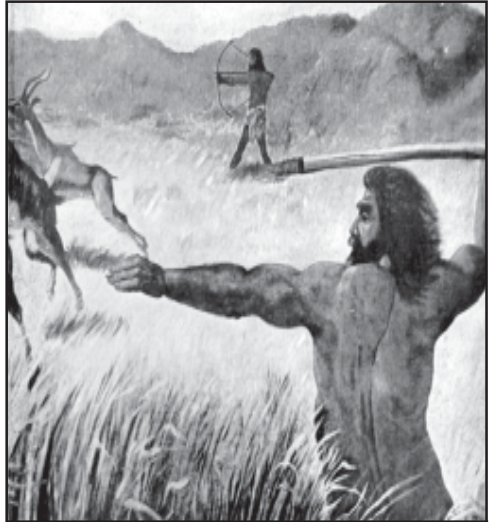


OUR MESOLITHIC ANCESTORS

-A.K. Goel

‘The transitional period between the end of the Paleolithic and beginning of the Neolithic is called Mesolithic. It began about 10,000 BCE and ended with the rise of agriculture and polished stone tools in the Neolithic Age from about 7500 BCE to 1710 BCE.’¹

The most important characteristic of Mesolithic period is tiny stone implements called microliths. They are widespread and have been found across the Indian landmass. Karnataka (Raichur, Belgaum), Telangana (Nagarjuna konda), Maharashtra (Ellora and Hathkambha) and Madhya Pradesh (Bhimbedaka) are particularly rich in Mesolithic sites. Microliths occur in the sands of Godavari, Wainaganga and other rivulets and distributaries in the upper peninsular region. These tools were crafted by hunting, gathering and fishing people living in camps near water courses around elevated areas. They had developed the bow and arrow technology and knew handmade pottery as well. Some ornaments were also made to decorate their body.



A Mesolithic Scene, A man is shooting an arrow tipped with a sharp microlith at an antelope. The other is throwing on a deer a spear tipped with a sharpened stone (Reconstruction from the Museum of Evolution of Life, Chandigarh)

Around 8,000 BCE, domestication of dog is the major achievement of Mesolithic hunters. Early men hunted wild horses, deer and wild cattle with the help of their rough traps, spears, bows and arrows. They consumed flesh softened on fire and the wolves took care of the rest. Therefore, wild wolves became the camp followers of early Mesolithic hunters. Reason is simple. Heaps of bones and wild animals got accumulated around these hunter camps and wolves as scavengers found the food aplenty. Thus, wolves started hanging around these human dwellings.

‘Then, out of fun, the early man captured their cubs and tamed them. These young wolves, kept as pets in captivity and bred selectively over

generations developed as guardians of human camp sites. In the beginning, they became tame, harmless but did not breed in captivity. That is when women came into picture. They, due to their inherent gentleness and patience played an important role in developing domesticated breeds of dogs.³ Once domesticated, these animals developed intelligence and utility. Women, due to their gentleness and patience were instrumental in domesticating small animals.

These domesticated dogs, in good numbers were of great help to Mesolithic hunters. Between them, enough fleet footed animals such as deer, antelopes, foxes, jackals and rabbits were hunted down. Food supply multiplied; so did population of the early man. The domestication of dog was a revolutionary advance in the life of hunters and food gatherers. It opened out new possibilities of living with abundant and diversified dietary. The evolutionary process led to still more useful results. 'As Zeuner observes, 'Once the dog had become a member of the human society, the control and later domestication became possible of certain small ruminants which had always constituted an important part of the diet of the dog's ancestors'. These are the goat and the sheep. Their domestication in future was to play an important role in hills and peninsular India.⁴

Prior to Mesolithic age, our ancestors lived in caves. They had survived the storms of the Ice Ages. In fact, caves were refuge for the cave bear too. These animals were some ⁵ meters (16 feet) long and weighing some 400 kilograms. Their size terrified opponents. Just imagine; entering a pitch dark cave chamber just to discover it being already occupied by a family of cave bears. Energized by the fire and armed with superior tools, our ancestors wiped out cave bears by the end of last Ice Age. The competition for safe and cozy caves was won. But, the fear of cave has not left us, even today.

They left plenty of evidence of their cave life such as bones, hearths and weapons. But, our Mesolithic ancestors left something much more, the most incredible gallery of prehistoric art. Safely ensconced within cave premises, with enough leisure at this disposal, our ancestors turned creative artists. They sketched animals, painted them and left an incredible gallery of prehistoric art. It is indeed amazing to think that, at one time, lions, panthers, bears, rhinos and mammoths roamed in jungles while our ancestors were busy in sketching these animal figures and painting them in the safe confines of their caves; a rare combination of home as well as the creative work place.

ROCK PAINTINGS IN TELANGANA

Discovery of Pre-historic rock paintings in the sand stone rock shelters of Pandavulagutta near Ravulapally, H/o Tirumalagiri village in Regonda

mandal has put Telangana State on the map of Rock art sites of India and the world. These rock paintings demonstrate the extent to which the prehistoric man has developed the aesthetic urge in him in spite of his preoccupations in the fight against the nature during the day to day straggle for existence. The Rock art paintings consists of hunting, fighting scenes, honey collection, dancing, music, riding and other ritual representations. The animals depicted in Rock painting are bison, buffalo, antelope, deer, elephant, rhinoceros, wild goat, tiger, horse, leopard, giraffe, hyena, cheetah, crocodile, scorpion, porcupine, crab, frog, crawling insects, fish, tortoise, lizard, langur monkey, bear and dog, birds like eagle, vulture, crane, peacock, crow, beehives, butterfly. The symbols depicted are such as honeycombs, cross, circle, swastika, fence like and trap like geometric designs, symbolic representations of sun, human figures both stick type and triangular bodies and anthropomorphic figures. Weapons such as bow, arrow, sword, and lancer are also seen. The Rock Art sites reported from Telangana are located in Warangal (Pandavulagutta in Ravulapalli, Devarlagutta in Bandala and Kossyagutta in Narsapur villages), Khammam (Neeladri hillocks in Ramachandrapur village), Mahabubnagar (Durgam, Dhupadugutta, Mudumala villages), Medak (Edithanur, Wargal, Sivar-Venkatapur villages), Karimnagar (Regonda) and Rangareddy (Kokapet village).

PANDAVULA GUTTA

Pandavulagutta is the local name of a group of weathered coarse grained granite hillrange, located about 1km east of Ravulapalli, a hamlet of Tirumalagiri Village, (Regonda mandal, erstwhile Parakalataluk) on the Warangal –Mahadevpur road.

‘The village derives its name from the painted frescoes in one of the rock shelters which depict the scenes of the epic ‘Mahabharata’. Interestingly, the village comprises of ‘Mudiraju’ caste people who claim their descent from the Pandavas and speak of the paintings as the work of their own ancestors. It would not be out of place to mention that the Gotra (clan name) of the majority of the patrilineal people of the Mudiraju caste group is “Pandava”.. Perhaps the ancestors of the present day Mudiraju caste during the historical times might have coined the term ‘Pandavulagutta’. The rock shelter, containing the frescoes datable to the medieval period, is also an important sacred cult spot for the villagers.’⁵

In times of drought, the villagers perform certain rituals in this rock shelters, propitiating their ancestral heroes who will induce the rain God to

bless the village with good rains. It is their firm belief that as soon as the ritual is completed, rains will come immediately to the region.

The entire region around the undulating hill range together with the broken valleys in between is covered by thick vegetation cover of tropical dry evergreen and deciduous forest species. This forest cover sustains wild fauna in considerable number even today. The wild fauna include herbivores like Nilgai, black buck, hare, Porcupine etc. The carnivores include Hyaena and fox. It is gathered that in the past, the forest cover in this region was much thicker and even tigers roamed in the hills and occasionally preying upon the domesticated animals of the village. During the Mesolithic times, the region around Regonda must have been very densely forested. Water resources at this site are almost perennial, bearing water upto 9 months in a year.

RECENT EXPLORATIONS

After the formation of the Telangana State, several new sites have been explored belonging to Mesolithic period. Some of them located in Mahboob nagar and Mancherial districts are described as follows:

MANNEMKONDA

The rock art site is in Mannemkonda hillocks and is located at a distance of 20 km from Mahaboobnagar town. Approaching from Raichur road, one finds a heap of boulders called Podupurayigattu in front of Bodagattu Hill. There is serpent hood like rock shelter on the bottom fringes of the hillock. On the roof of the rock shelter, there is a rare and one of the earliest rock-art of Telangana.

There are two groups of paintings - one is on the roof of the cave and the other is on the eastern wall of the cave looking towards west side plain areas. Both are in red ochre colour. The roof painting is beautiful and intact even today, undisturbed for thousands of years. The measurements of the painting are about 3 feet x 1 foot. A series of four creepers with one to three buds each are painted.

The wall painting has been eroded by the leakage of rain water through the ages and hence we can see now only the southern and northern parts of the painting, not the central portion in between the two sides. The measurements of the painting are about 3 feet X 1 foot. It looks like a carnivore - either a bison or an elephant with head down and trunk up. The thick ochre colour of this painting appears to be older than the roof painting. The artist

of the two paintings appears to be professional since the curves in the paintings are drawn with ease at a stretch, not drawing inch by inch.

To know the age of the paintings, supporting material remains were searched. The author picked up two pottery pieces and a finely ground stone in the loose debris of the cave. The close observation of the pottery pieces reveals that they were hand-made and baked red. This indicates that by the time of their production, pottery wheel was not invented or not brought in touch with the people of this area. But the finely ground stone utilized for grinding food grains and vegetables indicates the next age of the pottery.

In view of these material evidences and the paintings which have similarities with their counterparts in the nearby rock shelters of Sanganonipalli, Potanpalli and Dupadgattu, within some 5 – 10km radius from this site, it can be said that these paintings of Mannemkonda were drawn by the people of Mesolithic Age and its succeeding Neolithic Age which existed in Telangana in between 10,000 years and 3000 years before present.²⁶

KOTTHA CHITTHAARAYYA

Two new prehistoric painting sites have been explored in the Buggagattu forests located at a distance of some 10 km from the district headquarters Mancherial.

This cave locally called Chittarayya Gundu is oriented towards northward and located at a distance of one kilometer from the Buggagattu Anjaneyaswami temple in its north western corner. The prehistoric paintings were drawn at five places on the sand rock walls of the 50 yard long cave. The first space has only one petroglyph of an ox engraved in one foot length. The second and third spaces are the main chittaruvulu on which several tens of red ochre paintings were drawn. The most important paintings of the spaces include the animals - horned bulls in rows, deers, antelopes, porcupine and monitor lizard.

Some men were depicted as controlling the oxen with weapons. The paintings also include a priest with thick red ochre halo around his head. Similar painting is also found nearby but in faded red color. The Naikpod tribals of the region, who invoke the deity Chittarayya for three days in every three years, call the priests as tappetagoollu (big dappulu in Telugu). The fourth and fifth spaces are expressing only faded red ochre oxen.

With regard to the corroborative evidences of the paintings fortunately one can find hundreds of microliths in front of the cave. The Mesolithic Age

people inserted the small chips of chert stone (one-inch long and centimeter width) in the full cleavage of fist fit logs to make knives, sickles, etc. sharp implements, in between 8,500 B.C. to 3,000 B.C. It also appears that the cave continued to be inhabited by the people during the subsequent ages - Neolithic and Megalithic - as it is revealed by the human paintings with metal weapons and physical grinding stones.⁷

PAATHA CHITTHARAYYA

Paatha Chittarayya Gundu is located in the deep forests at a distance of 2 kilometers from the first cave. Its projection towards northward is more than the cave of Kottha Chitthaarayya and hence it seems to have provided more safe accommodation to the humans. But unfortunately most of the prehistoric paintings depicted on its wall spaces have been dimmed due to the recent distilleries cooked here for illegal liquor. Only a half-foot long ox figure in red ochre color at one place and a foot-long ox in white color at another place are clearly visible on the 30 feet-long wall space of the cave. But there appears every possibility to retrieve several paintings by way of scientific / expert chemical cleaning of the cave wall.

‘Since the similar material evidences found at the Kottha Chitthaarayya Cave are also attested in front of this site too, the age of this Cave also might belong to the Mesolithic age or it might have existed a bit earlier too as its name Paatha (meaning old) sounds.’⁸

THE POPULATION PROFILE DURING THE MESOLITHIC AGE

The end of the Paleolithic Age is broadly dated to be 10,000 BCE. It also marks the beginning of the Mesolithic Age. The estimates of the world population at this civilisational juncture are however not unanimous. ‘Mc Evedy and Jones’⁹ have estimated it to be 4 million while ‘Thomlison’¹⁰ has estimated it to be 1 million on the lower side and 10 million on the higher side. Taking both the estimates together, we can say that the world population would have been between 1 million and 10 million at that remote juncture during 10,000 BCE.

With these limits for the world population, let us estimate the likely population of the Indian sub-continent and by the same logic, the likely population inhabiting the land demarcated as Telangana state, just recently during the twenty first century. Angus Madisson has estimated the Indian sub-continental share in the global population at the turn of the Christian era as

30%. Let us, reasonably presume that this share sustained during the preceding millennia. Therefore, we can safely say that the Indian sub-continental population during 10,000 BCE would have at least been around 3.3 lakhs. Hence, the likely population within the boundaries demarcated as the present day Telangana state would have not been less than 10,000 human beings at that distant point in time.

The Mesolithic Age is reckoned to have continued in the Indian sub-continent till around 7500 BCE. The then world population, as estimated by Haub is 5 million. It would imply a population share of 1.7 million in the Indian sub-continent. Consequently, the size of the population inhabiting the presently demarcated Telangana state would have been at least around 50,000 human beings.

Let us now, summarize the salient features of our Mesolithic ancestors inhabiting the present day Telangana geography. With a population of around 10,000 human beings, they were living in caves, manufacturing sophisticated tools called microliths, hunting and gathering their food, domesticating dogs and sketching creative art on rocks. Their dynamism and virility was to witness a healthy population growth from around 10,000 to around 50,000 within two to three millennia. They were indeed the first set of Matti Biddalu (sons of the soil) in Telangana lands.

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IMPACT OF PEASANTS'S INSURRECTION IN NIZAM'S TELANGANA

- Kandukuri Ramesh

A Historic Peasants' Struggle was waged during 1946-51 in 'Telangana Region, the erstwhile part of the biggest Princely State of India i.e. Hyderabad State. Initially, the sporadic skirmishes were rolled over by Artisans and oppressed sections against feudal practice of *Vetty* (forced free labour). The movement got wider and deeper implication when it was joined by Peasants', against dictatorial tendencies of feudal elements and Landed gentry. Finally, the Peasants' movement was culminated into peasants' Armed Insurrection against the Dictatorial Regime of Nizam Rule and the 'liberation struggle' against the Nehru Regime. The Peasants' movement was led and organized by the then Communist Party of India. The movement initially spread with a great speed and force cutting across geographical and multi class entity with considerable gains. But at later stage the movement fell prey to self-destructive ideological shifts. The leaders' personal moorings has taken away the strength and command of the movement and pushed the movement to the brink of disaster. The result was that, the Peasants' movement had to be withdrawn abruptly and unceremoniously without securing safeguards against their much fought out gains. An attempt has been made in this paper to examine and assess objectively the movements' different currents and facets.

EMERGING POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Telangana Region has only been slightly touched by the progress under Nizam Regime. Centuries of feudal rule left its economy stagnant and undeveloped. According to an estimate of 1937, while the average Rural indebtedness in India was roughly rupees fifteen per head, the Rural indebtedness of a peasant in 'Telangana was rupees 30 per head.. The people were destitute and illiterates. Middle age social evils were deep rooted in Telangana Region. Generations of under privileged sections of the society, were crouched low to both the feudal elements and Land lords, (upper caste) people, saying 'Oh Lord! I am your slave'.¹

Many Socio- Cultural organizations have sprang up in 'Telangana Region during early 20th century. 'Andhra Jana Sangh' was one of the Cultural organizations in Telangana Region formed in 1921, to safeguard its socio-economic and cultural identity. Such numerous organizations finally have

come together to form 'Andhra Jana Kendra Sangh' and subsequently in its meeting held at Jogipet in 1930 it resolved to change the name as Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS).² AMS has taken up the Social issues such as; Child marriages, Widow remarriages and fight against existing Social evils. Radical youths of AMS began to move resolutions on civil rights of common man in doing so very often they were met with stiff opposition from orthodox elements. The Radical youth of AMS actively mobilized people on various public issues of common man.³ With the AMS emerging as a platform for people issues bickering started among the rank and file. The members of AMS were holding different ideological currents often antagonistic to each others' views. Going by the class that they are representing, the members of AMS were divided into three ideologies i.e; Leftists, Rightists (Moderates) and Nationalists. Nationalists were very few and their influence in AMS was very minimal. The prominent Moderates in AMS were; Burgula Rama Krishna Rao, Mundumula Narsinga Rao, Pulijala Rangaiah etc., they represent conventional and traditional medieval social and cultural practices and opposed any resolution moved in the AMS that would harm their domination and class privileges. Thus, the focus of this section in AMS was confined to constructive activities such as; Library movement, development of Telugu language and other similar activities. The leftists predominantly rallied under the youth leadership who represents progressive ideology and pro people activities. The charismatic Radical minded young frontline leadership of Leftists is: Ravi Narayan Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy and Arutla brothers. They engineered to build up mass activities by involving the Rural people against vetty and landlord oppressions. Thus, AMS was treated as a 'Political Organization' by the Radical youth, whereas the Moderates treated it as 'Cultural Organization'. The dissensions between these two sections on taking up the activities and programmes reached to a point of no reach.

With the infiltration of the Communists into AMS, the Radical youth conceived for popular protests and mobilized the masses against oppressions of feudal elements. Moderates and Leftist groups in AMS were at logger head in its annual session held in 1938 in Malkapuram, when the resolution on welcoming the Nizam Government appointed Iyengar committee for proposing some Constitutional Reforms has come up for discussion and decision. The resolution rejecting the Reforms of the Iyengar Committee proposed by the Leftists won the majority.⁴ Having sensed losing their majority in subsequent AMS annual sessions, Moderates boycotted the AMS annual

session which was held in Bhongir in 1944. They held rival session in March 1945 at Madikonda and changed the name of AMS into 'National Telugu Session'. The press stood in favor of Moderates and resorted to frontline criticism of the Communists for causing division in AMS. The left led AMS as retaliatory gesture printed and distributed leaflets exposing feudal mindset of the Moderates. Many songs were written against Moderates for deserting AMS and forming a rival organization. The gist of the one of such song written by C.Yadagiri the Communist party activist reads;

Why competitive committee Mundumulaiah

Enough existent committee Pulijal Rangaiah...

Thus, the Moderates and Nationalists who were instrumental in establishing a cultural Forum for Telugu people of Telagana, left the AMS when their agenda was at stake.⁵

PEASANTS' SCUFFLE

The Communists led AMS by 1944, has taken up burning issues related to aggrieved peasants and started mobilizing Peasants against practice of Vetty, illegal extractions of taxes and evictions of cultivators from their lands. Chakali Ailamma, a native of Palakurti village had become the target of Deshmukh of Visnur Village due to her active participation in AMS activities. It was at this stage the Communist party and AMS cadre protected the crop of Ailamma from the attack of goons of Visnur Deshmukh, with slings, sticks, catapults and cudgles. From then onwards, AMS was called as '*Gutupa Sangam*'. The frustrated Visunur Deshmukh renewed with strong animosity his brutal attacks on AMS cadre. He actively involved in evicting peasants from their own lands, involved and indicted many Peasants' in court trails. One of the best examples of land eviction was Bandagi case, who despite won the case against Visnur Deshmukh in the court was murdered in the fields while returning from the court holding court order in his favor.

On July 4, 1946 AMS volunteers took out a procession at Kadivendi village. When the procession reached Visnur *Deshmuk's Gadi*(fort) one of the hooligans of the land lord fired at the procession. Doddi Komarayya, who was at forefront of the procession, hit by bullet and was killed. The death of Komaraiah was a spark among the impatient suffocating peasants in thousands. The incident set ablaze pent-up fury of the Telangana Peasantry.

Doddi Komarayas' martyrdom was a sparking movement against feudal oppression and exploitations and against the autocratic Regime of the Nizam.¹ In some villages these Peasants' struggles transformed into 'Class struggles'. But the ideological line of the Communist party was not in approval of engineering the Class conflicts.⁶ The policy of the CPI in 1946 was in continuation of its second world war time policies i.e., Broad United Front with the Congress Party. P.C.Joshi a Moderate Communist leader was the General Secretary of the CPI. He sought to build an image for the CPI, as National Constitutional force and Democratic Party, functioning through parliamentary and peaceful means.⁷ This policy, had defused the Class struggles in Telangana Region and liquidated mass agitation against the Government and its feudal forces in the villages. Hence, the emerging Class struggles in Telangana had to be subdued with passive resistance.⁸

STATE CONGRESS AND THE LEFT

The ideological and political understanding and execution of the CPI at the Indian National Congress at National level and the State Congress at Regional level engulfed into dubious interpretation. Similarly the Indian National Congress and the State Congress maintained mixed relations with the CPI. Two streams of divergent political stands on the Communists in Telangana was practiced by Hyderabad State Congress unit. One section was headed by Sri Ramananda Thirtha and another section led by Sri Burgula Rama Krishna Rao. Devulapally Venkateshwar Rao one of the founder member of the Communist party in Telangana says, "C.P.I. Hyderabad committee had its share in the adoption of Joshi policies. Ravi Narayan Reddy and his men in Telangana, B.D.Desh pande in Marathwada were close to Swamiji and his companions. Swamiji and his men presumed and recognized these men were Communists. These Communist men viewed Swamiji Congress was real Congress".⁹ The P.C.Joshi line of the CPI (Broad United Front with the Congress and peaceful co-existence) failed to reinforce the Telangana people's uprising and fell short of leading the political movement and its spirited cadre. Although, the CPI official line of cooperation with the Congress Government continued to prevail, the Radical elements in the party began to voice sharp criticism against PC Joshi Line and pressed for Radical change in the party line.

In the last fragment of 1946 the Nizam's army took up raids on those villages where Anti Zamindari Struggles and put the struggle in to topsy-

turvy by using its heavy Military force. The party had to face severe reverses and loss of cadre when they failed to retaliate the Nizam onslaught with mere slings, sticks, stones, chilli powder etc, Experiencing the futility and inadequacy of traditional self defense tools, the party cadre demanded the party for guns to befittingly retaliate the violent raids of the Nizam's police. Only under the mounting pressure from the cadre, the Communist party compelled to take historic decision on September 11, 1947 for 'Armed resistance' against the Nizam. 'Razakars' a wing of 'Ittehadul Muslimeen Party' was formed in Hyderabad to protect the 'Nizam's Regime'. The Muslims were not only made to believe that they were the *Ananmalik* (ruling race) but also that the sovereignty of the ruler was nothing but a symbol of their sovereignty.¹⁰ With the Qasim Razavi taking over the reins of 'Muslimeen Party' in 1946 a reign of terror in the villages of Telangana Region was unleashed. He equipped Razakars with latest weapons and they had been drifted in proper military fashion.¹¹ The armed Peasants on one side resisted Razakar atrocities and on the other side picked up the slogans, 'Land to the Tiller' and 'Tiller is the owner of the land'.

ARMED INSURRECTION

The peasants struggle got all-out support from the CPI when it gave a clarion call in the second all India Conference which was held in Kolkata in February 1948. In this conference Moderate leader Joshi as a Secretary of the CPI was replaced by Radical leader B.T.Ranadive. In this conference, party upheld and praised the 'Telangana Peasants' struggle and raised the slogan, "*Telangana way is our way*". It had declared all out support to the Peasants' struggle of Telangana . It had called for developing similar struggles in several other parts of country and it had also given a call to develop the working-class movements in support of 'Telangana Peasants struggle which should ultimately lead to armed Insurrection'.¹²

After successful completion of Operation polo and integration of Hyderabad State into Indian Union the Indian Military stationed in Hyderabad prioritized to liberate those villages or Grama Rajyas which were under the command and control of Communists. On the very third day, after 'Operation Polo' (17th September 1948) the Government of India's army surrounded Pindiprolu forest Region. Altogether 50,000 military were deployed to annihilate Communists in Telangana Region.¹³ The party was not fully geared up to sustain the sudden and unprecedented attacks of Union Army. The party in its self-critical report admits the same. "This police action ensured and attacked

party while it was unready and un prepared for solid construction, nobody presumed this would come at such speed and come to an end in such haste.”¹⁴ There was a feeling among squads that there was no need to continue struggle after departure of Razakars and exit of Nizam. Squads and Squad leaders were disbanded and were sent to their respective homes.¹⁵ Thus, a considerable chunk of party cadre got disillusioned on the nature of the Union Government. They expected a Democratic Setup, Government had come to the power. Even though the CPI had a correct comprehension in assessing the nature of Indian Government, practically it was not able to enumerate similar ideas in the minds of the cadre. Nehru categorically stated that, “It was the duty of new Government to save the poor Peasants’ of Telangana from their self-appointed saviors.” Military Governor of Hyderabad State banned AMS and the CPI after three days of completion of Army Action on Hyderabad State. Landlords, Patel and Patwaris who migrated to cities and border areas slowly retreated to their villages. Rich Peasants’, landlords and the Congressmen became agents of the Army in showing the Communist hideouts. During their raids and ambush, Union army indiscriminately butchered the Communists; hence the people’s relief from Nizams Rule and land lord oppression was short-lived. Under this mounting pressure of impending attacks from the Union Army, the Communist party gave a call to the cadre to retreat to forests and to build party base.

STRUGGLE AT CROSS ROADS

A serious question was raised over the continuation of Peasants’ struggle after the accession of Hyderabad state (17th September 1948) into Indian Union by a section of the Hyderabad State Communist Committee led by Ravi Narayan Reddy (minority section, since they were in minority)¹⁶. In support of his arguments, he distributed a document, ‘Naked Truths of Telangana Struggle’. The document contains attacks, criticisms, allegations and slanders over the ‘genuinity’ of the continuation of the Peasants struggle and its leadership after the Army action. Minority section argued for the immediate and unconditional stoppage of the movement after the accession of Hyderabad State and demanded that the struggle should run more ‘openly’ with legal forms of methods. It was a fact that Anti-imperialist stage of the struggle was over with the accession of Hyderabad state into Indian Union, but unconditional stoppage of struggle would definitely affect the hard-earned Peasants’ ‘gains’. Countering the attacks of Ravi Narayan Reddy with the same intensity the State Communist Committee under the leadership of P.

Sundarayya (majority section), who was for the continuation of Peasants' struggle possess a straight question to R.N. Section that;

“If we withdrew the struggle unconditionally (immediately after army action) would the Govt. of India declare amnesty and not persecute the thousands of Guerilla squads and cadre and members of the party and *SANGAM* would it leave in the possession of the Peasants', The lands they seized and cultivated? we are sure that it would not and if that was so, would not the Peasants' resist such attempts at seizure and if did not stand by them and defend them even with arms as we did in the past, would they not consider us betraying them?”¹⁷.

SHARP AND CONTRASTING VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED BY TWO SECTIONS MAINLY ON FOUR ISSUES

1. Safety and Security of the Squads: R.N. Section argues that the Government would declare 'General amnesty' to the squads if they abandon the violent methods⁷. But the fact was that the union army unleashed a 'reign of Terror' and indulged in butchering the Communists as they were running parallel Government in nearly 3000 villages. Dr.Jayasurya (son of Sarojini Naidu) a Democratic leader of Hyderabad, approached the Military Governor, to give him six weeks' time to contact the underground Communist leaders to arrange a settlement and make them withdrew the Peasants' struggle. But the General Choudary, the Military Governor shot back him by saying that he would 'liquidate' the Communists within six days, by giving no scope of 'clemency' to the Communists¹⁸.
2. Guarantee to the gains of Peasants': R.N. Section argues that the distributed land of the landlords would not be confiscated by the Government. The intention of the union Government in resorting to 'police action' on Hyderabad State was for its accession and to crush the Communist movement as well. A confidential dispatch of the Union Government sent in the form of Telegram reads; “The Immediate intention of Indian forces in Hyderabad was to round up the Communists in South Eastern districts (Telangana) and to go around *Taluq by Taluq* tracing out Razakars (muslim volunteers) and disarming the population”¹⁹. Thus, the landlords used the Indian army as a 'Safety Valve' to safeguard and get back their confiscated lands from occupants and to restore traditional privileges.

3. Over the land issue: The R.N's document argues that, after the army action the distributed land totally went into the hands of landlords, even one acre was not in *Ryots* possession.²⁰ The Home Department confidential file contradicts this position. The file reads; "The Communists have already distributed lands of many Zamindars amongst their tenants and others, both prior to police action and after police action"²¹.
4. Over the Movement: Minority section argues that the entire movement after army action started weakening. This claim can be challenged to the extent that, Rabid anti Communists and prominent State Congress leaders, Burgula Rama Krishna Rao and Marry Chenna Reddy, after an extensive and intensive tour in Communist prone Telangana, in a press meet told: "The village Panchayats organized by Communists are working as before army action. These *Panchayats* decide every dispute in the village. They are throwing Pattadars and occupying lands, because of Communist activities Patels and Patwaris dare not to enter their villages".²² Special commissioner of the State Government Nanjappa in the co-ordination campaign conference held with the Government Heads of Madras, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh, opined that:

"I would earnestly request the Government to finalize and implement all their schemes of Agrarian Reforms as urgently as possible. Every day is lost means hundreds of villages gone over to the Communists, at least a declaration of policy and announcement of specific date by which the Reforms will be implemented could be made with advantage"²³.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

To save its cadre from military onslaught, the party entirely changed its tactics by giving instructions to the squads to 'retreat' to forests. It followed the Guerilla tactics like, "Sudden raids" "night raids" and "two steps forward and one step backward" and gave programme to the squads to extend the movement in the forest Regions among *Koyas*, *Chenchus* and *Gonds*. On April 19, 1950, the Press Trust of India reported that Communist Guerilla strategic action prevalent about fifteen thousand square miles that is more than 1/6 of princely state.²⁴ The Home Minister Sardar Patel while making a statement in the parliament on Communist led Telangana struggle remarked, "For the last two months (January, February 1950) activities of Telangana Communists continued unabated, they had guns etc., arms in plenty in their possessions,

about 3000 activists arrested so far and the number of activists who have been leading in cognition lives beyond possible calculation”²⁵.

PROACTIVE MEASURES

To liquidate the Peasants’ struggle in Telanagna Region the Union Government initiated well thought out measures;

1. *Military Measures:* Government opened police outposts, the intelligence system was improved and ‘misleading’ propaganda of the Communists was countered. A coordinated campaign, periodical conferences were held with officials of the border provinces and joint action was planned²⁶. The Nehru Government opened ‘Concentration camps’ and conducted ‘Brigs plan’, ‘encirclement raids’ and ‘fake encounters’²⁷. The local people were forcibly recruited as ‘home guards’ to show the hideouts of the squads.²⁸

2. *Administrative measures:* ‘Military Governor J.N.Choudhary was replaced by civil officer or Chief Minister K.M.Vellodi.

3. *Economic Reforms:* State Government appointed Agrarian Committee in 1949. Based on the report, it brought ‘Hyderabad Tenancy Agriculture Lands act 1950’. According to the act all tenants who hold lands for six years were declared protected tenants and were given the tenure for ten years. Over 6,00,000 tenants were eventually declared protected cultivating over one quarter of the cultivated area of the state.²⁹

4. *Political measures:* The State Congress formed “Hyderabad Communist Menace Controlled Institution,”³⁰ geared its entire ‘force’ against Communist propaganda. Published anti Communist literature in bulk, staged dramas and *BurraKathas* targeting the Communists³¹. Government also played ‘resignation dramas’ (took fake resignations form the sympathizers of Communist party), to demoralize squads³².

VINOBAHAVE’S PEACE MISSION

Vinobabave a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi undertook a visit to interior areas of Telangana on a peace mission. During the tour, he had categorically told the Government that land issue was the only cause for Telangana struggle and suggested the Government to see the issue in that angle³³.

Frequent Ideological shifts of the party, four pronged, strategy of the Government, considerably weakened the Peasants’ movement during 1951.

The strength of the squads was 'melting' and people were showing only 'lip sympathy'³⁴. In the absence of people's participation, squads indulged in 'individual terrorism' which was a sign of dwindling position of their strength. Now the people began questioning the party, what was the propriety to continue the struggle when Government brought about Tenancy Act of 1950?

OFFER OF NEGOTIATIONS

Pandit Nehru's special envoy Kachru had come to Hyderabad to participate in negotiations with the Communists. Nehru further sought mediation through Dr. Jaya Surya. But impractical, and adventuristic line taken by the party bore no fruits, because the party political stand was to oust the Nehru Regime. ³⁵ C.R.Rao a tall man of the movement asserts that, "Nehru asked the CPI leaders repeatedly to relinquish 'Telangana Peasants' struggle. But the party did not give any chance or scope till death of Patel (1950)".³⁶ Hence in no way the Communist party utilized the negotiations offered in 1950. But the Communist party came to an understanding for negotiated settlement only in the last quarter 1951. At this stage the Government took adamant stand on negotiations.

The Central Committee of the CPI deputed three men committee consisting of A.K.Gopalan, Jyoti Basu and Muzaffer Ahmed to Hyderabad to hold negotiations with Hyderabad State Government and to discuss the matter with the leaders who were in jail and in deep forests. "This delegation met the state Government and put four conditions for the withdrawal, they were; lifting ban on the Communists in the state, no evictions of the Peasants' from their occupied lands, release of all detunes, withdrawal of the military from Telangana and provide congenial atmosphere to participate in the elections. The Government simply said that it would look into."³⁷ Sensing the adamant stand of the Government, delegation reduced their conditions to two. One was, release of all detunes and protection of squads in the forests another one was no evictions of the Peasants' from their occupied lands. Government did not heed to this proposal. Even it did not grant permission to A.K.Gopalan to hold discussions with underground leaders.

DEMOCRACY AT DOOR STEP

The Union Government declared its intention of holding general elections towards the end of 1951. The people of Telangana at large were willing to take part in the elections. People welcomed the general elections and began to

say to the party, "Congress party announced elections, who give votes to them? Aren't all votes to us? In this way we capture power without much hard effort".³⁸

CHAOS AND ISOLATION

The Armed Struggle was so weakened in 1951 that virtually Party had lost its links with some Regions and confined their activities to the forest zones except night raids on the plain Areas in the absence of people's participation. The continuation of the Movement till 21st October 1951 put the Party, Cadre and Squads on peril. The long drawn struggle till October 1951 proved to be death knell to the movement in a way that: it Heralded squads indulging in Individual terrorist activities, total retreat of the squads to Forest zones, the Movement confined to forest Areas only, tactical errors led to differences within the Armed squads, Government turn down the negotiations offered by the Party, large scale Military attacks on *dalams* or Squads, the Party was not in a position to give protection to Telangana Peasantry and their gains, Instead of the Struggle people welcomed the first General Elections, Vinobave peace mission had its effect on the saviors of Democracy and counter impact to the Communist led Movement and Leadership fell in defense and engrossed in Ideological quandary

On the whole, the Communist Party committed ideological and political blunders while continuing the Struggle after Army Action:

CONCLUSION

'The Telangana Peasants' Struggle led by the Communist Party indicated that extreme oppression and ruthless exploitation by feudal Landlordism would result in mass Peasant unrest. It also compelled the Government to enact certain legislation to safeguard. However the untouching political strategies and incorrigible ideological stands of the party proved to be counterproductive and could not sustain the movement for longer time. The three main blunders i.e, Liberation Struggle against the Nehru Government, rejection of negotiation offer from the Government when the movement was vibrant and only Concentration on extra legal and underground activities leaving no space for democratic platforms proved to be costlier to the life of the squads, security of peasants gains and self directed political annihilation of the entire struggle. In the din of approaching first general elections in 1952 the movement became irrelevant and long drawn. Yet the interests of the Peasants notwithstanding its short comings and mistakes the Telangana Struggle contributed for the growth of Political awareness among the rural masses.

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MADRAS WATER SUPPLY - PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP IN THE LATE 18th CENTURY

- Gautam Pingle

INTRODUCTION

The current fashion seems to favour private sector participation in urban water supply projects. The concept is labelled Public-Private Partnership. This approach has the wholehearted support of the World Bank, developed countries and, of course, those developed country commercial enterprises, which are usually newly privatised corporate entities. These entities are active in the exploitation of this new type of infrastructure opportunities in developing countries, including India. This article establishes that this concept is nothing new and its application to the urban water sector in India is nearly 230 years old!!!

THE SETTING

Fort St. George was the first settlement of the East India Company (EIC) (the putative state in India) in South India and, after Surat, the second in India. It was already growing in its size in 1771, and the city of Madras was slowly taking shape. The “native” quarter was called the “Black Town” and later re-named Georgetown— in honour of George I, the first of the new Hanoverian dynasty that came to rule, and which still reigns, in Britain. The trade of the EIC with India was going on merrily till Europe, as usual, entangled itself in many wars in the late 18th and early 19th centuries – mainly between France and England. Then, despite pleas of the EIC and its French counterpart to exempt the Indian Ocean area from hostilities, their war spread to India.

Count Lally arrived from France with a squadron commanded by Admiral d’Arche and based itself in Pondicherry, and Fort St. George felt threatened. The Select Committee met and contemplated measures to strengthen the defences of Madras. The Committee also directed the Engineer (Colonel Call) to report on the water supply.

Colonel Call estimated that the garrison of 1,500 Europeans, 3,000 sepoys and 1,000 native non-combatants needed to be provided water for six months (maximum time of any siege) at the rate of two quarts of water per person per day. He also reported that the supply in the cisterns under the Nabob’s

and Charles Bastions could hold only one-ninth of what was necessary. Increase in storage would, therefore, need additional cisterns.¹

The wells in the Fort could not be depended upon safely, though the water from several wells was potable. Drinking water was drawn from wells in the north part of Peddanaikpetta (the famous Seven Wells) and was carried by water bearers to the White Town (where the Europeans resided) and the Fort. Since this nearest source of potable water was nearly two miles from the Fort, all available casks were purchased, and cisterns constructed of timber and masonry in the White Town. As the sarcastic comment of the diarist stated: “defying the most elementary principles of hygiene, the Council directed the Scavenger² to transport the water in his conservancy carts, but no one seems to have died except the Scavenger”.³

The problem was that of Madras’ location which was on a beach with intense wave activity; it was surrounded on the landward side by a brackish water river (the Cooum), which intercepted any flow of potable subsoil water towards the town. The Fort and town itself had no potable groundwater. In the hot climate between April and September the major problem was of drinking water supplies.

GEORGE BAKER

Into this story entered Captain George Baker of Kenton in the County of Devon, with knowledge of local conditions, technology and venture capital. In his own words, “I came to India first in 1743, made two voyages out and home and came for the third time with Mr Boscowen as Chief Mate of a Company’s packet [small ship]. I have been present at, though not always active in, three sieges of Pondicherry in three different French Wars, as well as at the siege of Madras in 1758”⁴. Thus he was aware of the importance of water in the sieges of port towns in South India. In 1762 he was posted as Master Attendant of the port of Madras and later returned to England. He claimed that he had brought the matter regarding water supplies to the authorities in 1761 in England and 1762 in India but to no avail.

In 1771, he proposed to supply water to Fort St. George and Madras at negotiated terms. He offered to supply water and to maintain storage for the supply of three quarts of water per person per day for 3,000 persons to last three months. He also pointed out that the existing supplies were not only undrinkable at times but that the brackish water made for poor construction

work when mixed with lime to make *chunam* (mortar). He proposed to eliminate the arduous task of moving the water in casks on carts and instead bring it through an aqueduct or otherwise to the town and Fort and also to a point in the sea shore where it could service ships needing drinking water.⁵ While he proposed a fixed price contract at two thousand pagodas per year (what he estimated had cost the Company on average over the last fifteen years) he also wanted the right to charge separately for water supplied to other inhabitants. He also proposed to charge the ships at the Beach or Sea Gate separately on terms to be approved by the Governor and Council. For supply to ships at the Roads out at sea, he wished to charge whatever the ordinary price they were currently paying for the water.⁶ This last proposal would be implemented via a new method, and he was working on the scheme to do that, and it was no part of the current plan though only mentioned.⁷

The Directors referred the proposal to Colonel John Call then residing in Whiteford, Cornwall. The Colonel criticised the proposals in parts but generally approved them. He said that the water supply instead of being taken from the Seven Wells was in fact at many times was taken from wells on the North Esplanade where the water was salty and even in monsoon and heavy rains the water tended to be brackish and sour. He said the soldiers complained of the quality of the water and its use in making *chunam* affected the construction works. He also advised that a reservoir “should be built on the highest part of the town, which I conceive to be in a vacant spot to the eastward of the grand magazine between the Church and the Inner Fort, and, if possible to be covered with an arch, bombproof, or at least three feet thick of brickwork”⁸. He advised that the scheme should be designed to supply 6,000 men with water storage capacity for at least four months not just for 3,000 men for four months as proposed by Baker.

On 26th June 1771 an agreement between Baker and the EIC was signed. Baker undertook to invest his resources and provide water through aqueducts and other means and also construct “one or two” reservoirs within the Fort. He committed to supplying “a quantity of good and wholesome fresh water sufficient at least for the use and service of six thousand men for a space of four months at the rate of three quarts to each man for one day.”⁹ This proposal was an increase of double the quantity to be supplied as earlier proposed by Baker.

The Company was to pay Baker two hundred pagodas monthly, and the

contract was to run for twenty-five years. The Baker proposal asked for 2000 pagodas a year, so the final contract was adjusted upwards by 20% perhaps to cope with the increased requirement of the water supply. This offer did not include special payments for water delivered to the Factory and buildings as well as to shipping and the Town of Madras. The project was, therefore, largely targeted at supplying the Garrison and the Fort St. George.

Captain Baker arrived in Madras in July 1772 and commenced operations. He agreed with the Chief Engineer to build the reservoir on the ground “between the houses of Mr Powney and Mr Boswall (which was formerly the old Mayor’s Court House and latterly the Prison)”. Besides this, two bombproof cisterns were to be constructed by the Government, in the north and south of the Fort Square. The lead for the pipes did not arrive in Madras till May 1771, but Baker promised to have the supply line completed in two months, which he did.

The old cisterns were filled up, but Baker urged the Company government to construct the new ones so he could complete his undertaking. Thus the delay was more on the Company’s side than on his. The provision of storage would plague the Company for years after that and only completed in 1782!! In 1776, the terms of Baker’s monopoly would begin after the building of the reservoirs and, in the meanwhile, he would “enjoy the interim advantages of his contract”¹⁰.

The Committee of Works advised that the well ground should be enclosed to preserve the quality of the water, and compensation paid to those persons whose property was affected and who had to move to the other side of the ramparts. But this area (The Parchery) turned out to be inhabited by Parriars (untouchables) who claimed possession ever since the foundation of Madras.

Major Stevens reporting to the Company stated that the piped water supply even without the reservoirs was supplied to the King’s Barracks where the bulk of the garrison was residing, and to the New Bastion and a place on the South Parade near the Town Major’s Office.¹¹

STORAGE PROBLEMS

The only cisterns available were the bomb-proofs¹² under the Nabob’s and Charles Bastions, one under the Treasury and cisterns belonging to Baker.¹³ The capacity of all these together was only 129,000 gallons sufficient for 6,000 men for one month. The large cisterns under the Mint Bastion were

unserviceable, and the bombproof in the Nabob's Bastion was leaky. Stevens proposed the construction of two open cisterns along the east face of the Fort Square, one on each side of the Sea Gate Colonnade but the Select Committee ordered at first repair of the old cisterns be attempted.¹⁴

In December 1778 Major Maule recommended¹⁵ that Stevens plan to building a series of cisterns in line under the proposed new East Curtain/Rampart be completed. The Select Committee approved its execution. The Select Committee also approved compensation for acquiring any private property for the works in mid-1779.¹⁶ Thus the new wall was built further east than the old one and sheltered the line of new cisterns.

Baker complained in 1780 that the whole system was inadequate for the fulfilment of his contract. He claimed that while the cistern in Nabob's Bastion had held water for the last seven years, the bomb-proofs in the same locality which Ross and Stevens had tried to convert to cisterns were useless for the task. He had also experimentally filled one of the new cisterns constructed under the East Curtain¹⁷. He had also purchased the watercourse which Mr Benfield had built with earthen pipes to the West Front of the Fort with water for the construction works. This acquisition would establish the monopoly granted to Baker, even though Benfield's pipeline was part of the repair and construction activity connected with improving the defences of the Fort.¹⁸

The next year Baker raised additional issues. First, that the pipeline between Nine Wells and the Fort, passing through Govind Naique Street and Nine Wells Street, was being affected by the activities of the population (largely native) living above and around it. While for the first seven years there had been no problem, he reported that the locals in the last three months were digging pits, cesspools, all kinds of sinks and wells etc in front of their houses either for lodging the dirt or for letting foul and dirty water drain out of their homes and yards instead of carting away the dirt. This activity resulted in letting the foul water sink into the ground or letting it run off into the drains on either side of the street. This activity he claimed was undermining his pipeline and tended to crack the joints of the pipes. In the loose and sandy soil, this had the effect of destroying the iron pipeline.

Baker reported that the Nabobs Bastion cisterns converted from old godowns, leaked so much that there was little real storage. Besides these converted ones in Nabob's Bastion, he said that there were four other cisterns in the Fort, one in the Mint Bastion, one under the Treasury in the Inner Fort

Square, one new originally designed and constructed in Nabob's Bastion and one just outside the Flag Staff Angle of the Inner Fort Square. Apart from these cisterns, he said there were seventy-six cisterns constructed under the Rampart of the Sea Wall (the East Curtain)¹⁹. Of the latter he said "Why they have been placed there, You, my Lord and Gentlemen, or your Predecessors in the Administration of Government, know best. Your most obedient Servant has not had the Honor of being consulted..."²⁰ Obviously either these cisterns were useless or difficult for Baker to fill with his pipeline. He said later that the cisterns were lying too low for filling.

Nonetheless, in 1782, Baker reported that he was able to complete his contract by making available 2,160 tons of water for 6,000 men for four months to the Fort on 9th February 1782. He also reported that he had since stored a further 1,080-tons over and above his commitment- the total sufficient for six months.

END OF THE PARTNERSHIP

But by 1782, Baker's energy was exhausted. He had earlier offered to sell out to the EIC in 1777, 1778, 1780(twice) and 1781. Baker claimed that the project cost him: "ten thousand Pagodas more than I can expect to refund myself by my Contract is at last, tho' not in my way, effected".²¹ The 1782 offer was for a consideration of 30,000 pagodas on a bond of the EIC payable in England at the end of two years at an exchange rate of 8 shillings per pagoda at an interest rate 5% per annum payable annually plus an annuity for life of 500 pounds sterling. He explained that taking the annuity at six years purchase – as he is in the sixtieth year with a broken constitution and didn't expect to live too long- the total price of 15,000 pounds sterling represented a monthly payment of 156 and one-fourth pagodas during his life and pagodas 125 after his death²². Considering he was contractually entitled to receive a monthly fee of 200 pagodas apart from income on what water he sold to others, this was an attractive deal for Baker. The Company, however, accepted the offer of 30,000 pagodas purchase price in bonds payable in London after two years and 5,169 pagodas²³ as arrears due to Baker – and nothing was decided about the annuity. Finally this brought the Private-Public Partnership to an end. Build, Own, Operate, and Transfer had been completed.

COMPANY'S PERFORMANCE

The EIC took over the operations, and Mr John Thompson was appointed Superintendent of Works at pagodas 150 per month²⁴. Thompson prepared a

plan for action and compiled instructions for their management²⁵. On his appointment as Master Attendant early in 1783, Robert Maunsell, a civil servant, succeeded him. Maunsell was transferred in 1785 to Ganjam. The Commander-in-Chief Sir John Dalling intervened in the affair with a demand that his Chief Engineer should control the waterworks²⁶.

Sir John stated that the pipeline made of iron and lead pipes crossed the Ditch (before the Fort) in three places, which at two of the three places, were left in view, inviting any hostile force to cut them off. He felt they should be laid at the bottom of the ditch – what this could do to the flow of water to higher ground on the other side (depending on gravity), he did not address! Though Sir John was supported by the Commander-in-Chief of India, General Sloper, the Government decided to appoint Mr William Webb as superintendent on the same terms as Thompson and Maunsell. However, the Company intervened from London and ruled in favour of the military authorities but for more obvious cost considerations. The EIC felt that “considering likewise that the Company has not yet reaped any advantage from these works after reckoning the interest upon the purchase money, we think that 150 pagodas per month to the Superintendent is an unreasonable allowance.”²⁷ They, therefore, ordered that one of the engineers be appointed for the management of the works at a gratuity of 500 pagodas per annum. This decision took over two years, and, in the meanwhile, the Company paid almost as much to the Superintendent as they did to Baker!

The Board of the EIC also desired that since the works were capable of being rendered profitable to the Company, a plan to provide water to every private house in the Fort and the Black Town be made and presented.

Colonel Ross was appointed to take charge of the waterworks on 1st July 1787 and reported that there was no private demand for water. Only one family in the Fort has availed itself of a house pipe and “not one in Black Town”. He reported that the natives preferred to obtain drinking water from the nearest suitable well. For other domestic purposes, they used wells in their compounds.²⁸ This is exactly what the sociology of water use in India at that time would indicate. He, however, considered that more water would be taken up by shipping if rates were reduced.

By 1791, the issue of water rates came to the fore. Major Maule and Mr William Webb proposed to increase revenues and recommended that “the Inhabitants who draw water from the Works in the Fort should be charged at

the rate of one rupee per month, with an additional rupee for all such as might also have their Garden houses supplied.” They listed : “63 inhabitants residing at their Garden Houses”; “42 civil servants taking water daily from the Fort Pipe” (showing the quantities ranging from one pot by Mr Webb to 40 pots by Sir Charles Oakley, aggregating 402 pots in all); “29 Gentlemen having apartments in the Fort, who do not appear to have water from the pipes”; “177 inhabitants taking water from the pipes of the Fort” (with quantity taken by each aggregating 504 pots).²⁹ This rate was duly approved – so the water charge became a flat rate per person per month despite the variation in consumption. The flat charge may have been due to the difficulty in measuring use by individuals.

In October 1786, the Court of Directors of the EIC considered the difficulty and delay experienced in water by the Naval Squadron at Madras, asked Baker for a detailed report on solving the problem- remembering that he had suggested one in 1771³⁰.

George Baker returned to the subject in a report consisting of 50 folio pages. He estimated that the water supplies needed for twenty warships simultaneously, carrying 12,000 men at three quarts a day for four months, aggregating 4,320 tons at a time. He proposed to store the quantities in tank-lighters moored outside the surf and to supply water to them by a pipe from the Fort cisterns or special reservoirs constructed on the beach. At the rate of 500 tons in 24 hours and using eight tank-vessels, he calculated the fleet could be “watered” in ten days. While he was not clear how he would get the pipe across to the fleet, one alternative was to run the pipe above the sea along a jetty. He suggested that the pipe could be laid on the sea bed past the surf: “to Rise at the back of it by a Fixture or Stand in Twenty Feet at Low and Twenty Four feet at High Water Spring Tides; And if it Should have been Required, To have Exhausted the Pipe of Air and Forced the Water thorough it with an Engine”.³¹

He claimed that he had piles driven and had pipes ready for carrying undersea pipeline in 1779. But due to the change in government and the breaking of the East Rampart of the Fort for rebuilding it, he was prevented from carrying it out. He commented with some cynicism that it took the appearance of the French Fleet in 1782 to exercise the authorities over the issue.

He thought that the scheme was feasible but if it was considered “illusory” then he advised it should not be attempted, as it needed faith in it for the

successful execution. He pronounced himself tired and unwell³². His report was considered, and the scheme was never carried out.

Again in 1794, Baker communicated to the Company recommending that additional wells be sunk both at Seven Wells and on the Esplanade and that for the convenience of the shipping, each set of cisterns in the Fort should communicate with the beach by a separate pipe.³³ The plans received the comments of Colonel Gent, Superintendent of Waterworks.³⁴ He said that the cisterns were arranged in two series to the north of the Sea Gate and two series to the south, that only one series on each side communicated to the beach and that the connections between the tanks were placed at such a high level that the tanks could never be completely emptied. He advised lowering of the interconnection and piercing of the rampart by two additional pipes to increase the water delivery to the beach for shipping at the southern roadstead. He agreed with Baker that four more wells should be sunk at the Company's well ground at Nine Wells in addition to four already there. The daily Garrison consumption had increased from 20 to 40 tons. He disapproved of Baker's suggestion of wells on the Esplanade, as the water was brackish. Gent's views were accepted, and the alterations were carried out in December 1796 at the cost of 1,420 pagodas.

In 1799, Major-General Patrick Ross, on his return to Madras, resumed the appointments of Chief Engineer and Superintendent of Waterworks, and proposed to lay a pipeline along the inside of Black Town rampart to a new reservoir of 200 tons capacity to be constructed at the Customs House for service to the ships at the north roadstead. This work was not carried out, and in the following year, the control of the waterworks passed from the Chief Engineer to the Board of Trade with the Master Attendant also placed under the control of the Board of Trade.

"Through almost the whole of the nineteenth century, the care of the waterworks was vested in successive members of a family named Nicholas. The first, whose Christian name has not been ascertained, was succeeded by his nephew, Sylvester Nicholas. Sylvester died in 1858 and was followed by his son Joseph, who expired in 1871. The latter gave place to Mr E.A.S Nicholas, who remained superintendent until his death in 1905"³⁵

So, in the end, the hereditary principle proved more reliable as there seems there was no complaint or disruption in the day-to-day management of the waterworks.

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Love, Henry Davison, "Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800: Traced from the East India Company's Records Preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and from Other Sources" ("Vestiges"); first published 1852; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988, 3 volumes.

NOTES

- 1 Vestiges of Old Madras (henceforth Vestiges), Volume 2, p. 534.
- 2 An official position
- 3 Vestiges, Volume 2, p.296.
- 4 Vestiges, Volume 3, p.373.
- 5 Captain George Baker to the Court of Directors, Mis. Let. Recd. Vol. lv., 23 rd April 1771 in Vestiges, volume 3, pp.42-43.
- 6 Captain George Baker to the Court of Directors, Mis. Let. Recd. Vol. lv., 23 rd April 1771 in Vestiges, volume 3, pp.42-43.
- 7 This issue was taken up much later - in 1786! This is covered later in the paper.
- 8 Colonel John Call to the Court of Director, Ms. Let. Recd. Vol. lv., 25th May 1771 in Vestiges, Volume 3, pp.42-43
- 9 Vestiges, Volume 3, p.44.
- 10 Military Consultations (MC), vol. lv., 23 rd February 1776 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.44.
- 11 M.C., vol. lxii , 4 th May 1778 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.151.
- 12 These are apparently underground bomb shelters meant for protection in a siege but now proposed to be used for water storage.
- 13 Baker had built a cistern near the southeast angle of the Fort Square. M.C., vol. lxix, 18th March 1780 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.151.
- 14 Stevens also proposed that the foundation (basement?) of the Nabob's house in the Fort be converted into a reservoir but as a permanent measure he recommended a range of cisterns under the new East Rampart which was later carried out despite reservations from Baker. M.C., vol. lxiv, 11th August 1778 in Vestiges, volume 3, p.151.
- 15 M.C., vol. lxv, 17th December 1778 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.153.
- 16 M.C., vol. lxvi, 5th April 1779 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.153.
- 17 M.C., vol. lxxi 18th and 23rd September 1780 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.280.
- 18 M.C. ,vol. lxxiv, 5th and 24th April 1781 in Vestiges, volume 3, p.280.
- 19 Forty of these cisterns were in the Rampart of the Sea Line to the south of the Sea Gate, and were divided into two divisions, the first division next to the Sea Gate consists of twenty-five , the other consists of fifteen and stands between the Sea Gate and the South East Demi Bastion of the Fort. The remaining thirty six lie to the North of the Sea Gate

and are divided into two sections; that next to the Sea Gate on the North Side consists of twenty-four, the north most division of those two has twelve in it.

- 20 Vestiges, Volume 3, p.281.
- 21 Vestiges, Volume 3, p.282.
- 22 Public Consultations (PC), vol. cxxvii., 5th April 1782 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.282.
- 23 Payment of dues of two years outstanding.
- 24 Public Dispatches to England., vol., xxix, 31st August 1782 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.282.
- 25 PC. vol., cxxix., 18th March 1783 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.283.
- 26 MC., vol., cviii, 12th July 1785 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.283.
- 27 Public Dispatches from England, vol. lxxxix., 16th February 1787 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.283.
- 28 PC., vol. cxlv., 9th October and Public Dispatches to England., vol. xxxi., 16th October 1787 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.284.
- 29 PC., vol. clxx., 16th July 1791 and Public Dispatches to England, vol. xxxii., 15th September 1791 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.493.
- 30 Public Dispatches to England., vol. xxx., 14th October 1786 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.373.
- 31 PC., vol. cxl., 10th November 1786 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.375.
- 32 He died in July 1799 aged seventy-seven years in Vestiges, Volume 3, p. 494.
- 33 PC., vol., cxciii, 5th September 1794 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p. 494.
- 34 PC., vol., cciv, 14th November 1795 in Vestiges, Volume 3, p.494.
- 35 Vestiges, Volume 3, p. 495.



NEXT ISSUE : TRC JTS (Oct - Dec : 2019)

The Third issue (October-December, 2019) of the TRC Journal will include research articles by senior historians like Prof. Suleiman Siddique, (Retd.) former Head. Dept. of Islamic Studies, Osmania University, Prof. V.Rama Krishna Reddy, (Retd.) former Head. Dept. of History, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University, Prof. K.S.S. Seshan (Retd.), Prof. K.P. Rao and Prof. Rekha Pandey, Dept. of History, Hyderabad Central University, among others. It will also contain contextual write-ups on Mahatma Gandhi, Batukamma, Christmas, Komuram Bheem, etc. It is also proposed to include an essay written by Prof. Haimendorf, world famous Anthropologist, who had done path breaking studies on the Tribes of Telangana.

MONARCHY Vs DEMOCRACY: REVISITING INTEGRATION OF HYDERABAD STATE INTO INDIAN UNION - 1948

- G. Naga Sridhar

The most long drawn and perhaps much debated facet of integration of princely states with Indian Union is the end of Asaf Jahi state of Hyderabad. Right from the famous June 3rd plan of Mountbatten till date, the end game for Hyderabad state the Police Action and operation polo has been attracting the attention of scholars evoking a plethora of perspectives and novel possibilities for historical research. The movement for a separate state of Telangana and its creation in 2014 re-kindled the academic interest in various aspects of Telangana history and Hyderabad has naturally been at the forefront. It is in this context that one can justify a re-look at the historical realities and implications of Hyderabad's integration into the Indian union in 1948.

The present paper attempts at capturing political games, compulsions and process of the crucial years of 1947-48 in history of independent India and history of Telangana by taking up a fresh look into the turn of events and popular perceptions. It examines and evaluates historiographical positions and flags of points for further research into this key area of Indian history in particular and Telangana history in general. It covers broadly the process of integration, implications, historiographical positions and potentialities for further studies.

To make the nationalist dream of India a reality, integration of states into the Indian Union comprising British India and Princely States was an inevitable task before India attained freedom and afterwards too. Notwithstanding the fact that Sardar Vallabhai Patel's political legacy has now become controversial, thanks to electoral politics of Indian democracy, it could be said that he did show remarkable agility in holding talks with 56 Princely States in British ruled India right from the acceptance of the June 3rd Plan of the then Governor General of British India, Mountbatten. It is imperative to capture a glimpse of well-chronicled turn of events in this regard to provide a fulcrum for arguments we are going to enlist in the forthcoming paragraphs of the paper.

After the acceptance of the June 3, 1947 plan, out of 56 states (some refer to these as 554 states which were actually principalities within the major states), there was not much problem in bringing 53 to the table by the lunch diplomacy of Patel and his rather liberal policy of Royal pensions ('Raja

Bharanams') did achieve a hassle free integration of them into the Indian Union. A plebiscite did the job in the case of Junargarh while turn of events in Kashmir, despite an belated signing of the instrument of accession of Hari Singh, still continue to haunt India in international relations and internal security which is out of the purview of the present paper.

The Standstill Agreement between the Government of India and the Nizam signed on November 29, 1947 shows the prevailing perceptions range from a sense of injustice for the Nizam and the Muslim and a perspective that the political arrangements at Hyderabad State were "self-evidently undemocratic with an autocratic Muslim ruler at the head of the System and a small apparently Muslim ruling class dominating its administration and political system".¹

The increasing demand for integration of Hyderabad into India by the Hyderabad State Congress leaders, the great sacrifices of farmers including tribal and Communists the Telangana Armed Struggle and atrocities of the Razakars led by Khasim Rizvi, in a way forced the Government of India to order its army to march on the Hyderabad, which however, has been called as a 'Police Action' to signify internal armed action as no country can theoretically send its own army for an action on its territory. The secret names for the mission were Operation Polo and Operation Caterpillar. The Police Action from September 13-17, 1948 has finally brought the Nizam to his knees marking defeat of a medieval monarchy in the hands of modern and infant democratic set up in India.

The implications of this integration were far-reaching indeed. This was mainly because of the complex historical processes which were in play during this period such as the on-going resistance of farmers/tribals to oppression of the Nizam state and its police, the communists who sided with the people with a strong leftist ideology and the Indian army which had to handle many crises immediately after independence in the context conflicting trends of regionalism, communism, communalism and nationalism. It led to a confusion of sorts for the government too which gave full powers to Military rule under Vellodi. The contemporary literature did not call it liberation including Sardar Patel himself.²

An examination of the recent historiography reveals interesting positions on the nature and nomenclature of integration of Hyderabad into Indian Union. A perception says: "One could that the Police Action was mainly against

Communists and Razakars. It was a small rap on the knuckles to get the Nizam into line... It at all anybody has to celebrate September 17, it should be the Indian Army regiments which has participated in the Operation Caterpillar (Police Action)."³ This view, however, is limiting the process itself by going away from the people and political systems. While the fight against the communists is matter of an ideological debate, we cannot segregate people from the impact of Police Action. If Indian Army was suppressing Razakar atrocities, was it not good for the general public? What was the justification for the Communists to oppose Indian army during the police action? Assuming that there was no police action, what was the alternative they could have suggested to bring people out of agony? These questions need to be answered with strong empirical research.

There has also been 'destructivist' approach hinting at a kind of gloom that descended on Hyderabad on the eve of integration as represented by A. G. Noorani.⁴ As a noted constitutional expert, Noorani deploys rare and archival materials and has academically strong position. However, his interpretations and objections to use of the word police action on Hyderabad in preference to army operation lack substance of that key episode in history of Telangana. His criticism on 'court historians of Indian nationalism' and excessive dependency on observations of Nehru's biographer, S. Gopal, on Patel's alleged views on so-called sectarian and communal attitudes of Muslim officials in India after independence appear to have been drifted towards ideological convictions rather than factual substantiations from the popular perception of people of Telangana and Hyderabad in 1948.

Historians like Taylor C Sharman show an integrated approach to study the integration of Hyderabad into India in the broader geo-political realities of time. Because of its central location and diverse cultural heritage, the absorption of the princely state of Hyderabad into the Indian Union was a priority the Nehru led government of India. But it's tough to attribute personal agenda for Nehru and Patel in this because unless the integration was completed Indian independence is not fully realized.

But the process was complex in view of great challenges the Indian Army had to face. As it entered Hyderabad, the government of independent India had to come to terms with the limitations of the police, military and bureaucracy, which it had inherited from the colonial state; and as it took over the governance of the state, it had to find ways to manage relations between Hindus and Muslims, even as the social order was being transformed.

It also had to fight communism in the Telangana region of the state, whilst trying to ensure the loyalty of its new citizens. He argues that these early years must be seen as a time of great dynamism, rather than as a period of stability inherited from the colonial state.⁵

END OF MONARCHY

If one examines the specimen arguments on the nature and nomenclature of the end of perhaps the last monarchy in India as discussed above, a few points emerge. Firstly, the history of Telangana as well as Telangana Movement has far more deeper implications from the developments in 1947-48. As observed by B P R Vittal, historically, when the state of Hyderabad was trifurcated, the Muslims of the Marathwada region joined the Bombay state, where they counted for little. The Muslims of the Karnataka region had to contend with the sophisticated Muslims elite of Bangalore. On the other hand, the Muslims of Hyderabad remained in Hyderabad, the seat of their previous rule and culture. They however remained concentrated in a ghetto environment and complex. 'Their strength in the capital city, and marginal significance elsewhere in the state, made them convenient pawns in the games politicians played'. As a result a Muslim leadership arose whose concern was that they alone should be able to move this pawn. So an objective re-look at the fate of Muslim families and their properties, their social and cultural ties with other communities in these years of turbulence and how they shaped their perspectives about their future in Telangana should be taken up.

From the Leftist perceptive, undoubtedly, great sacrifices of the communists marked the Armed Struggle by the farmers and oppressed of Telangana. They did play a catalytic role in shaping popular perception of the Nizam as head of a decadent, unruly monarch who did have little control over his own administration but great confusion about his own future and course of action. But are the Leftist writers justified in appropriating the entire popular perception in support of their anti-state or anti-democratic (?) stance? This can be revisited with fresh evidence.

There is a need for a structural approach to further deepen our understanding of Telanagna History and the genesis of Telangana Movement as an offshoot of developments related to the process and procedures of integration of Hyderabad state into India. For this, one need to move away from ideological affiliations and reconstruct the role of various castes,

communities, linguistic affinities, cultural associations juxtaposing them with the strong currents of subaltern cultures in the landscape of Telangana.⁶

NOTES

- 1 See, Hyder, Mohammed, *October Coup: A Memoir of the Struggle for Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 2012. This is a balanced narrative of the ground zero realities in Hyderabad in these turbulent years. The Author, as a collector of Osmanabad sharing borders with Hyderabad State, wrote this in Jail during July-August of 1949. For an abridged version and review of the contents, see, 'How the Nizam Lost Hyderabad in 1948. *The Hindu* August 14, 2012.
- 2 For a detailed analysis of contemporary perceptions, see N. Venugopal (Ed.), *Samagra Telagana*, Veekshnam Publication, Hyderabad, 2015. Pp.23-124.
- 3 Lingala Pandu Ranga Reddy, '17th September 1948 – A Malapropos', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol 69 (2008), pp.1158-59
- 4 A.G. Noorani, *The Destruction of Hyderabad*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2013.
- 5 Sherman, T.C, 'The Integration of the Princely State of Hyderabad and Making of the Post-colonial State in India 1948-56.' in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 44(4), p. 489-516
- 6 A good work in this line of thought (though it does not deal directly with the Integration of Hyderabad state) is Inukonda Thirumali, *Telangana – Andhra: Castes, Regions and Politics*, Aakar Books, New Delhi, 2013. It may be beneficial to take up fresh research on popular cultures and integration.



OPINION :

The TRC Journal of Telangana Studies is a much needed research journal about the region which will fulfill the gap scholars feel after the closing of the Journal of Islamic Culture. The journal should become a platform for bringing out little known facts through original documents in Telugu, Urdu and Persian, with interdisciplinary approach. I wish the journal great success.

–Prof. Suleiman Siddiqui,
Former Professor of Islamic Studies and Vice-Chancellor of
Osmania University, Hyderabad.

A KINGDOM LOST: HYDERABAD AND THE FINAL SHOWDOWN

-Zeenath Khan

Recent years have witnessed a spate of historical commemorations. Amongst them: the centenary of the end of the First World war in 2018, and seventy years since the end of the second in 2015. Closer to home, India celebrated its seventieth Independence Day in 2017. This April, papers ran full-page articles about the horrific Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919. Yet, a date of considerable significance in the history of the sub-continent passed by last September with little ado. On September 13th, 1948 the Indian army invaded the state of Hyderabad, crushing the Nizam's dreams of sovereignty. In the aftermath of "Operation Polo" or "Police Action", as we commonly know the invasion, thousands of people have lost their lives in a carnage and the outrage has largely gone acknowledged; apology never sought nor offered.

History is mostly written by victors, and so the most widely perceived notion is that the Nizam was a feudal, delusional ruler, propped up by the Britishers. His stubborn refusal to accede made headline news in every newspaper outside Hyderabad's borders, before and after the state's ultimate takeover by the Indian army in 1948. The entire saga reeks of melodrama and intrigue; a capricious ruler, Prime Ministers playing musical chairs, a General on a clandestine mission to buy arms in Europe, fake news and propaganda by both sides, and at the very end, a crazed fanatic pulling the strings.

THE SEVENTH NIZAM

Mir Osman Ali Khan succeeded his father, Mahaboob Ali Khan as the seventh and the last ruler of the Asaf Jahi dynasty in the year 1911. Shortly afterward, the First World War began, and the Nizam poured millions into the British war effort. He earned himself the title of Faithful Ally as well as His Exalted Highness, the only prince in India on whom the British deigned to bestow such generosity. Yet during the 1920s, the Nizam was frequently at odds with his protectors. They told him off sternly about his policy of soliciting *nazar* as well as restricting freedom of the press.¹ He also got it into his head to negotiate the return of Berar, the British snubbed him badly in 1926. In British India, the independence movement was growing in momentum as was the ascendance of Muhammed Ali Jinnah, and the Muslim League. In 1927, local Muslims began the MIM (Majlis-Ittihad-Muslimeen) formed in Hyderabad

ostensibly to protect the rights of its Muslims. Hyderabad experienced its first rumblings of political dissent in the 1930s, the state's Hindus began to resent the prevalence of Muslims in high-level government positions. In 1938, the Nizam banned the State Congress labelling it as communal, yet curiously allowed the Arya Samaj, Hindu Mahasabha, and MIM to continue. Bans, strikes, and litigations became commonplace. In 1939, the Andhra Mahasabha or Communist Party began, its primary mission was to shake off feudal rule in the state. These hiccups; however, didn't impede the hedonistic lifestyle of the city's elite. In his memoirs, General El Edroos, commander of Hyderabad's army, reminisces about the years between the wars when social life in Hyderabad was replete with big game shoots, polo matches, lavish banquets, balls; local gentry freely mixed with Britishers and Europeans.²

During World War 1, the Nizam sided against the Ottomans and allied with the British. His conscience might have troubled him for doing so, as he financially supported the ousted Caliph and his family exiled in France for years. In 1932 the Nizam's sons married princesses of the Ottoman empire; his oldest grandson Muffakam Jah inherited his maternal grandfather's title of Caliph of Islam.³ The Second World War relieved the Nizam of some earlier pressures mounted on him by the British. The Hyderabad exchequer poured millions into the war effort, an entire regiment of the Nizam's army fought alongside the Allied powers. During this period the Nizam began to believe himself as an independent ruler. The State of Hyderabad was as large as France, it included parts of the erstwhile region of Marathwada, including the city of Aurangabad. It had sixteen million residents out of whom only one out of ten were Muslim. The State had its own railways, coinage, postal system and airline. Although the border population was desperately poor, Hyderabad escaped the famines and other disasters faced by British India.

THE POST-1945 SCENARIO

When the war ended in 1945, cries for independence grew louder than ever in India. The British Empire was overstretched and bankrupt, the economist John Maynard Keynes warned that Britain would suffer a financial "Dunkirk" if they didn't get shed their overseas commitments. By December 1946, the world was waiting with bated breath for the outcome of talks between Indian political leaders and the British government. On February 20th, 1947, British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee announced that Britain would transfer power to responsible Indian hands at a date no later than June 1948.⁴ The

princes asked the British not to surrender paramountcy until their final departure from India, they would rather it not be handed to successor bodies. However, not much clarity was given to the question of paramountcy regarding the princely states, the Nizam believed he would be his own master and the Indians believed paramountcy would devolve onto them on the departure of the British.⁵

In March 1947, Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, took over as Viceroy of India from his beleaguered successor Lord Wavell. On March 8th, 1947 the Congress party passed a resolution to partition Bengal and Punjab, essentially the partition of India. It is interesting to note the Nizam was not in favour of partition; he likened the idea of Pakistan to a noisy scheme with no substance, akin to distilling wine in the wrong season. There was no love lost between him and Mr. Jinnah, the latter had on a trip to Hyderabad, sat cross-legged smoking a cigar in the Nizam's presence causing the Nizam to admonish him for bad behaviour.⁶ The spring of 1947 also saw the star of Mr. Kasim Razvi, leader of the Ittihad party to rise. A couple of months later Sir Mirza Ismail, Hyderabad's Prime Minister resigned, he wrote a letter to the Nizam saying he felt the State's Muslims were on a suicidal course, rendering it impossible for him to do his job in peace, he ended his letter with a prayer for the survival of the Asaf Jahi dynasty.

On the June 4th, 1947 Lord Mountbatten announced Great Britain would grant India her independence on the August 15th, 1947 and there was no choice but to divide the country into the separate dominions of India and Pakistan. He said it dismayed him to divide a population that had lived side by side as neighbours for two hundred years, but he could not coerce one community to live under the leadership of the other. On the issue of the princely states, he conceded all treaties entered with the British would lapse on their departure.⁷ The Nizam was swift in issuing a firman stating that he did not wish to join either India or Pakistan when the British left and would like to remain independent. His firman evoked a strong reaction from the Hyderabad State Congress, they believed it was not up to the Nizam to decide on the wishes of the majority, and they launched a civil disobedience movement.

In the July 1947, the Nizam wrote to Mountbatten to protest against Britain's unilateral repudiation of its treaties with Hyderabad without his consent. He wrote to express his desire to maintain a relationship between Hyderabad and the British Crown and asked for his letter to be placed before

HMG. ⁸The Nizam also wrote to Air Chief Marshall, Sir Christopher Courtney to ask for the provision of British aircraft and personnel for Hyderabad's State Air Force, a request that went unheeded. He dispatched General El Edroos on a clandestine trip to purchase weapons; the entire mission was unsuccessful as no arms company was willing to sell weapons to an unrecognized state. Lord Mountbatten soon developed a deep personal friendship with Nehru and found it hard to remain unbiased regarding Hyderabad. Relentless discussions between high-level delegates from Hyderabad including Sir Walter Moncton, Ali Yavar Jung and the Nawaab of Chhatari, the Prime Minister and the outgoing administration continued in the weeks preceding independence. The Viceroy tried his best to persuade the Nizam to accede, the Nizam at first politely refused by saying he had interests in the dominions of India and Pakistan and would prefer to remain independent. Sir Walter Moncton complained to the Viceroy that the Congress party had made Hyderabad's position intolerable; they refused to negotiate unless Hyderabad acceded first.⁹

A week before independence, Mountbatten told Moncton he had persuaded the Indian cabinet to grant an extension to Hyderabad, he assured Moncton of fair play and said that any improper pressure or coercion would make the dominion of India appear very foolish in the eyes of the whole world. By then it was known the Congress party was spending time and money creating disorderly elements in the state. The British Resident to Hyderabad wrote to the Mountbatten's secretary that Hyderabad had not received ammunition for which it had forwarded indents. An emergency situation arose in the state, neither Hyderabad's state forces nor police could quell the widespread disturbances. The Britishers didn't want to hurry the Nizam in his decision, their pledges had a proviso that no one could subject the states to coercion. Mountbatten repeatedly said HEH should accede as soon as possible or he would lose his throne and the state would be ruined. Jinnah said that if the Congress placed undue pressure on the Nizam, the subcontinent's hundred million Muslims would rise to protect the oldest Muslim dynasty. Mountbatten clarified he was not trying to exert any pressure on the states but was only making them see the advantage of acceding before the fifteenth. The Viceroy had toyed with the idea of visiting Hyderabad; Moncton who knew the Nizam would never change his mind dissuaded him.¹⁰

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE NIZAM

On Independence Day, the Nizam's forces thwarted all attempts to raise the tricolour in the Parade Ground and Nampally by arresting anyone who tried.¹¹ A day earlier, Muhammed Ali Jinnah landed on the shores of Karachi where the city accorded him the welcome of a messiah: he sent Hyderabad a message that its people should not bow to pressure from India, and emulate the martyrdom of Imam Hussain at Karbala.¹² Most of the large princely states including Jaipur, Gwalior, and Gaekwad had already acceded to India, only Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh held out. In an address to the nation on Independence Day, Nehru said Hyderabad's position was unique given its size,¹³ population, and special problems.

In retrospect, had the Nizam agreed to accede to India before the 15th of August he might have secured better terms for himself, India had promised the state 17 out of 90 seats in the new legislative assembly, as well as an extension of the state's railways to the sea. The Nizam as the foremost prince of India believed Hyderabad deserved nothing less than full dominion status and admission to the commonwealth. On the flip side, had the Nizam chosen to accede then, there might have been an uprising and bloodshed caused by the Muslims on a large scale. Hyderabad had been under Muslim rule for seven centuries and under the current dynasty for two. Muslims ran most of its administration, army, and police. If the Nizam tried to join Pakistan, Hindus would revolt, he could only accede to India after taking certain necessary steps.

Moncton compared the exhibition of power politics displayed by the Congress a replica to what Hitler and Mussolini indulged in before the war. In Hyderabad's case, they said failure to accede would amount to being a hostile act, and they would not hesitate to apply all-out economic sanctions, including cutting Hyderabad's communications with the rest of the world. Moncton wrote frantic letters of help to Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, fearing he would not be able to do so later. Mountbatten pleaded Hyderabad's case at a cabinet meeting and asked that the new government allow him to handle all negotiations with Hyderabad.¹⁴ Records reveal he feared further disintegration of India and asked HMG not to supply arms and ammunition to maritime states who did not accede. Back in Hyderabad, Moncton was about to resign as the Nizam had suddenly come under Jinnah's sway; Jinnah supported the Ittihad who were making Moncton's life miserable.

India knew of the Nizam's covert quest for arms and his enlistment of

help from Pakistan, a mutual mistrust developed in no time. On October 15th, 1947 the Nizam drafted a standstill agreement in which he insisted that Hyderabad would remain neutral if war broke out between India and Pakistan infuriating India's Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel who squarely rejected it.¹⁵ Subsequently, Moncton revised the draft with VP Menon, Secretary for the States and took the document to Hyderabad for the Nizam's approval. They duly read the document out to the Nizam and his executive council who advised the Nizam to accept the drafts. Yet the Nizam dithered to sign the document and kept his negotiators on tenterhooks until the day they of their intended departure for Delhi. In the early hours of the October 27th, 1947 a mob of 30,000 surrounded the homes of the then Prime Minister, the Nawaab Of Chhatari, Moncton and Sultan Ahmed. The trio sent a distress signal to a Brigadier Gilbert of the Hyderabad army who sent armed troops in an army vehicle to rescue them.¹⁶

The Nizam had no qualms in denouncing Kasim Razvi and the Ittihad for the whole drama, but evidence leads us to believe the ruler already knew of their intentions. Soon after this debacle, the Nawaab of Chhatari resigned, the next delegation from Hyderabad headed by Moin Nawaz Jung received little respect in Delhi. A month later on the 29th of November 1947, the Nizam signed the same agreement he rejected a month earlier. Hyderabad was already beginning to feel the pinch of an economic blockade; although India did not admit to imposing one, In December India plunged into a full-scale war against Pakistan and concentrated most of its army and air force in fighting the infiltrating tribesmen in the north. Buoyed on by the government's preoccupation with Kashmir, Kasim Razvi urged the Nizam to assert himself.

On December 4th, 1947 an Indian independence activist and a member of the Arya Samaj made an assassination attempt on the Nizam by throwing a bomb at King Kothi Palace. The Nizam escaped by just a whisker and went on to issue two controversial orders. The first: banning the export of precious metals from the state; the second: declaring Indian currency invalid. To make matters more contentious, he sanctioned a loan of 200 million rupees to Pakistan. India considered all the above as hostile acts and asked their cancellation, tightening the economic blockade of the state.¹⁷

In December the Nizam chose a new Prime Minister: Mir Laiq Ali, chief financier of the Ittihad, he had a virtual monopoly of the state's industries, and until September was a member of Pakistan's delegation to the United

Nations. He awarded his brother-in-law, Moin Nawaz Jung, who Sir Mirza Ismail had sidelined, the position of finance minister. Four out of eight ministers in Laiq Ali's cabinet were members of the Ittihad. Kasim Razvi's fanatical tentacles now extended to the upper echelons of Hyderabad's government. A cunning tactician who used goondaism to his benefit, he became progressively more ambitious. He might have nurtured aspirations of being the Jinnah of the south, on a rumoured visit to Karachi, the actual Jinnah offered him verbal support, but none whatsoever of the material nature.¹⁸

While Hyderabad's administration obsessed itself with negotiating with India, civil servants in the district areas struggled to keep the raiders across the border at bay. In his book *October Coup*, Masood Hyder recounts his father, Mohammed Hyder's, collector of Osmanabad's frequent complaints to his counterparts in the Bombay presidency about the terror raiders from across the border had created amongst the villagers, police officers and local civil servants alike. Both Mir Laiq Ali and Mohammed Hyder in their memoirs speak of the frustration felt by district officials at their administration towards the safety of the border areas and its inability to supply them with weapons to defend themselves.

Mohammed Hyder wrote to ¹⁹General El Edroos asking him to supply troops for the defence of lives and property in the border areas; he never received a reply. The truth was Hyderabad's army was not large enough to defend its 2000-mile border effectively. To counter Laiq Ali's appointment as Prime Minister, India appointed Mr K M Munshi, former RSS member as its Agent-General to Hyderabad. Pompous by nature, Munshi expected to stay at the former British Residency, on the intervention of Mountbatten, the Nizam let him stay at a less grand residence called Deccan House in Bolarum, Munshi promptly renamed Dakshina Sadan and flew the Indian flag over it.

On the January 30th, 1948 Nathuram Godse assassinated Mahatma Gandhi, after the tragedy, the killings in the north stopped and the border raids in the state of Hyderabad abated. The lull was short-lived, by early March 1948, miscreants sabotaged railway tracks, causing the authorities to place restrictions on train services in and out of the state. India was also severely restricting the flow of petrol into Hyderabad.

After independence the Congress party's mission was to destabilize Hyderabad's border areas so that India had an excuse to invade. Hyderabad's demands for arms and ammunition for its army and police force went

unheeded; the Nizam resorted to underhanded ways of smuggling in weapons. As a law and order situation in Hyderabad began to deteriorate the razakars began to gain a tighter grip on the state; they harassed Hindu businessmen and robbed Hindu passengers on trains. Daylight dacoities and murders were becoming commonplace. Y K Reddy, minister for agriculture resigned in protest of the latitude given to the Razakars, according to him they were rampaging through the state like marauders of the middle ages.²⁰

Wild tales of Kasim Razvi's incendiary speeches spread like wildfire throughout the country. The newspapers alleged that he concluded a Weapons Week on the March 30th, 1948 in which he called for jihad and proclaimed only Muslims were fit to rule. In another speech, newspapers quoted him as saying that the waters of the Bay of Bengal would soon kiss the Nizam's feet, and the Asaf Jahi flag would hang from the Red Fort. Hyderabad dismissed these tales as Indian propaganda and denied that these events ever occurred or that Kasim Razvi ever made these speeches. The Indian government took them most seriously; one of Kasim Razvi's speeches caused an adjournment in both houses of the dominion parliament.²¹

ANTI-NIZAM STRUGGLE

The summer of 1948 was one of discontent for Hyderabad's people, they were reeling under multiple shortages, India stopped essential goods like salt, medicines and even baby food from entering the state. Port officials in Bombay and Madras held up soft vehicles and spare parts for machinery at godowns, the Hyderabad's government incurred significant demurrage charges.²² Factories and businesses ceased to operate schools and colleges closed down early for the summer, inflation was sky high. Communists burned crops in the villages and starving thousands fled to the city. On May 4th, 1948, the Nizam lifted the ban on the communist party. Laiq Ali might have wished that Hyderabad forces and the communists could unite against the Indians; instead, the communists orchestrated a few small-scale explosions in the city.

The Indian government made no secret of their growing belligerence. Pandit Nehru threatened to blow Hyderabad to smithereens and not allow a blade of grass to enter the state if it didn't accede. Laiq Ali spent five hours with Lord Mountbatten in Mussourie; the latter minced no words in letting him know Hyderabad's army would stand no chance if India were to invade. Laiq Ali replied he was aware of India's military superiority but opined accession far worse than paramountcy. The Nizam declared his desire to conduct a

plebiscite; the Indians vetoed it. The idea probably disturbed them as they feared the majority of the population would vote for the old order. The Indians newspapers claimed an unspecified European custom authority intercepted weapons on their way to Hyderabad. Delhi kept giving the Nizam repeated ultimatums to settle the outstanding issues in the standstill agreement. Nehru accused the Nizam of raising the strength of his army from 7000 to 25000, a direct contravention of the standstill agreement. Hyderabad in turn charged AIR for hostile propaganda and refuted the rumours. Mountbatten declined the Nizam's invitation to visit Hyderabad and sent his press secretary, Alan Campbell Johnson in his place. Mr. Johnson made an aerial tour of the violence-torn border areas and had a meeting with the Nizam and his ministers, it is speculated he met with Kasim Razvi as well. The Times of India alleged Kasim Razvi had placed an order with a Bombay company to make thousands of circular badges with his face on them; thereby, trying to create a Hitler like cult.

The Razaqars attacked a passenger train and dragged out some Hindu passengers, they also held up a train holding military goods from Madras to Poona. The Indian Union issued a severe warning that it viewed the attacks as portents of grave consequence, for a few days trains traveling through the state had to have an armed escort. In the wake of all this upheaval, Laiq Ali gave Mr Menon Hyderabad's revised formula in reaching a negotiated settlement. The basic argument was that Hyderabad would concede control in matters of external affairs, defence and communication to the Indian Union without compromising on internal sovereignty remained foremost. Regarding the demand for responsible government, Hyderabad was ready to concede the demand in principle and agree to parity between the state's major communities. The Nizam threw back India's demands of accession and insisted he would only consider entering into an agreement with them.

V.P. Menon redrafted the settlement overnight and India made it clear the revisions would be their last and final word. However, the Nizam scrutinised each and every word and raised objection after objection, Mr Patel firmly proclaimed he was fed up of producing endless formulas for the Nizam's acceptance.²³ Nehru viewed Hyderabad's cause as a separatist nuisance while India would stop at nothing until they had strangled Hyderabad. By the first week of June 1948, the Hyderabad's administration had petrol reserves to last only a fortnight. From Quetta, Jinnah stated that Muslims all over the world sympathized with Hyderabad's struggle.

By June 1948 an air of desperation clouded the talks. The Nizam dispatched Hyderabad's strongest delegation to date to Delhi: Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Pingle Venkat Ramana Reddy; Prime Minister Mir Laiq Ali; and Secretary for external affairs, Mr Zaheer Ahmed.²⁴ The Nizam vested the trio with full powers to negotiate a final and permanent solution with India. In the meanwhile, authorities in Hyderabad were livid when the Indian government refused to acknowledge an incident where their forces dragged six Muslim passengers off a train and shot them. Kasim Razvi made a pompous statement claiming that death with a sword on hand was preferable to extinction by the mere stroke of a pen, prompting the Indian press to call him the Nizam's "Frankenstein" monster.

Talks between the Indian Union and the Hyderabad delegation ended abruptly. Panicked locals began to transfer large sums of money out of the state. Both the Nizam and the government of India were equally intransigent, a nasty showdown was inevitable. Delhi met the Nizam's sudden desire to conduct a plebiscite under the United Nations and International Court of Justice with reserve, he had ignored the same idea only eight months ago. The government of India was willing to accommodate the Nizam is spacing out the accession and introducing responsible government over five years. The Nizam refused; he wanted no accession and no outside interference in matters of the state; bringing negotiations back to where they were in August 1947.

Time was ticking; the Mountbattens were due to leave and Dickie's hopes of earning another feather in his cap by settling the Hyderabad issue seemed to be far-fetched. By the June 15th, 1948 officials on both sides redrafted the agreement, three times since the 26th of May, the Nizam still refused to sign it. Day-long talks continued between Sir Moncton, Mir Laiq Ali and Lord Mountbatten. Sir Walter Moncton believed Hyderabad could not get more favourable terms. The Nizam continued to harp on the arbitration clause, the standstill agreement did indeed include the clause to protect both parties. To the great dismay of his negotiating committee, the Nizam refused to sign an agreement painstakingly negotiated by his delegates and the Government of India. Moncton cabled Mountbatten with the single word "lost", till this day it is assumed Kasim Razvi had the last word.²⁵ The press alleged a foreign hand must inspire the Nizam's unreasonable behaviour.

The Indian people gave the Mountbattens were given a ceremonial farewell, replete with a royal salute from the guard of honour; thirty-one guns

boomed as their plane climbed into the skies.²⁶ With, Lord Mountbatten's departure the fear of India invading Hyderabad became imminent. At the inauguration of a new legislative building, members of the Indian press harangued the Nizam. They asked him his opinion about Nehru's statement that Hyderabad could not hope to run away from India forever and questions about his alleged arms smuggling. The Nizam deflected uncomfortable questions by pointing out that Hyderabad had been an oasis of peace and communal harmony when the rest of India was up in flames; he pointed out that border violence had escalated in the months after independence. However, both the Nizam and his government were under a cloud of suspicion as there had been sightings of mysterious night flights arriving at various aerodromes in the state from Karachi. The planes were said to be Halifaxes laden with rifles, grenades, and ammunition. Pakistan's government declared it had no arms to spare and was in no position to help Hyderabad. The Indian press alleged the Nizam had engaged foreign agents at fabulous fees to conduct the gun running operations.

As June turned into July, the Nizam might have thought matters could not possibly get worse for him but they did, as a punishment for his alleged arms smuggling India imposed a series of debilitating financial sanctions on Hyderabad. They alleged the Nizam had been selling securities to sell arms and forbade him from selling or transferring Government of India securities. Never in the course of history had a sovereign ruler been as humiliated. India also banned the export of bank notes and foreign exchange to Hyderabad forcing the Nizam to float 20 crores of rupees from his personal funds to meet the demand for the India rupee in the state. Branches of Indian banks refused to issue Indian Union currency in exchange for State currency. India's blockade was now absolute, they had also suspended air and postal services to and from Hyderabad.²⁷ The blockade had serious humanitarian consequences, hospitals in Hyderabad were running out of the most basic medicines. Concerned about a possible outbreak of epidemics in the city, the Nizam asked the infamous Sidney Cotton to offload the arms he was smuggling in from Pakistan. Instead, the Australian aviator flew in 1.5 tonnes of medicine; the Indians intercepted the so-called mercy mission causing the Nizam to receive further bad press in national newspapers.

HYDERABAD ISSUE IN THE UNO

Although it was a little late in the day; the Nizam sent his secretary for

external affairs, Zaheer Ahmed armed to appeal Hyderabad's case to the British parliament. In vain hope, the gentleman carried documents related to Hyderabad's dispute with India, its treaties with the East India Company and correspondence with previous Viceroys. To the chagrin of Mir Laiq Ali, the Nizam sent Sir Mirza Ismail to Delhi to intervene on Hyderabad's behalf. Meanwhile, the Indian army and razakars clashed frequently in the border areas, both sides claimed to have seized weapons and incurred heavy casualties on the other. Hyderabad's forces got their first taste of inferiority vis-a-vis the Indian army when India captured the strategic enclave of Nanaj. Recapture was not an option as Indian territory surrounded Nanaj.

At this juncture the Nizam's predicament was akin to a drowning man clutching at straws, he dispatched urgent telegrams to British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee asking His Majesty's Government accord Hyderabad the status of a dominion. Atlee replied he could not intervene and advised the Nizam to install a responsible government in the state.²⁸ Unfortunately for the Nizam, the Conservative party was out of power in Britain. Winston Churchill launched a scathing attack of the Labour government's indifference to Hyderabad's plight. He said, "If this is how the government treated their friends, I shudder to think what they did with their enemies."²⁹

Winston Churchill accused Atlee of breaking his pledges to Hyderabad insisting the State was entitled to assume independence on the transfer of power to the dominions of India and Pakistan. He urged Mr Atlee to let Hyderabad's case be heard at the United Nations and allow a neutral body to conduct a plebiscite under its auspices. Newspapers reported of his thundering attack on the floor of the House of Commons that not only had the dominion of India starved and strangled a state the British had declared sovereign but was also trying to overbear it with violence. He declared Nehru's suggestion of war as preposterous as Hitler's takeover of Austria, and India's economic blockade as severe as the Soviet one of Berlin. To put things in perspective, only 2.5 million people lived in Berlin; whereas, 17 million people were suffering in the state of Hyderabad.³⁰

V.P. Menon retaliated with a single statement, "India isn't trying to starve Hyderabad," he said, "We're simply trying to stop the gun-running." As luck would have it, a Lancaster crashed in Karachi the very next day, the Indian press claimed it was loaded with Bren guns. That wasn't the most incredulous story circulating in the press: according to them the Nizam had entered into a

secret arrangement with the Portuguese government in Goa where a squadron of bombers awaited orders to destroy the cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad. And an even juicier titbit: Hyderabad authorities subsidised and maintained two divisions of ex-servicemen in the city if Hyderabad, Sindh from where they were ready to attack Gujarat and Rajputana.

During the first week of August, grave political developments unravelled in the city. The Nizam's executive council resigned in protest of their being bypassed in favour of Sir Mirza Ismail in negotiating with the Indian government. There was also a major breach between the Nizam's army and the razakars leading to the resignation of General El Edroos. The Nizam had lost control; it was apparent Kasim Razvi was pulling the strings. Sir Mirza Ismail's efforts to negotiate a pacific settlement with the Indians came to naught, he publicly lamented the extremist influence had prevailed again.

Contrary to public belief, not all the State's Muslims were in favour of the Nizam's policies. Fareed Mirza, editor of *Payam*, an Urdu daily published a text which called for cordiality between communities, the disbandment of razakars and the need for accession to India. A few important people signed the statement, the razakars dubbed them all as traitors and threatened to cut off their hands. The problem the Nizam's government faced was that the paper began to sell like hot cakes. Days later the razakars made good their threat and shot dead Shoaibullah Khan, editor of *Imroze*, a paper critical of the razakars. Khan was pro-India and a freedom fighter, at the time of his death, he was only in his twenties. His murderers circulated photographs of Khan's mutilated body as a warning to others they deemed traitors. The dastardly act eroded sympathy for Hyderabad in the eyes of the outside world. It may have been the tipping point for Nehru as well, who soon after made a statement that the feudal structure was pleasing at the top but barbaric once you scratched the surface.

On August 21st, 1948, Hyderabad's delegation to the United Nations asked the members of its Security Council to hear out their case, Syria agreed to sponsor their case. The Indian government harped that Hyderabad didn't have a right to approach the UN, and the dispute was an internal one. Liaq Ali made another surreptitious trip to Karachi to ask Jinnah for his help, the Quaid could do little, he was on his death-bed. The memoirs of Liaq Ali and General Edroos indicate a growing animosity between the two men. Liaq Ali returned from this particular trip bearing the news that Pakistan would offer air-support to Hyderabad in the event of an Indian invasion. The General rebuffed the

Premier and reminded him, any aircraft landing in Hyderabad could not leave for lack of fuel. He also pointed out they had no ground personnel for maintenance of aircraft nor anti-aircraft guns to defend their aerodromes.³¹ (Although both Mir Laiq Ali and General El Edroos tendered their resignations to the Nizam, he refused to accept them. The pair continued at their posts until September 1948)

The Nizam continued to imagine he had support from the outside world: The President of America; the King of England; the rulers of Arab countries. He repeated to his advisers that Hyderabad's friends would not remain, silent spectators, if India attacked them. Mr. Mohammed Hyder recounts a meeting with Laiq Ali in August where the Premier assured him he had full faith in Hyderabad's armed forces. The Prime Minister believed Hyderabad needn't fear war or invasion until November when the standstill agreement ended.³²

By the first week of September, there was an ominous silence from the raiders from across the border, it was rumoured that higher-ups in the Congress party had instructed the camp leaders to wind them down. Spies from the Hyderabad side spotted Indian tanks in and around Barsi. The Indian government had placed its soldiers on Hyderabad's borders; they were waiting for the word "go" to attack.³³ General Edroos performed what he described as the most unpleasant duty in his decades' long career. On the orders of the British High Commissioner, he discharged Brigadier Napian, his Chief of Staff, Colonel Weston and other British officers from service in Hyderabad's army. HMG didn't allow British subjects to engage in combat against a fellow commonwealth country, it would be tantamount to them fighting against the Crown.³⁴ Losing the officers placed Hyderabad's army at a great handicap, Brigadier Napian headed its intelligence services, he trained personnel to cross the border and spy in Indian territory. Some of the men had been flown in on Sidney Cotton's aircrafts.³⁵ They knew how to operate the wireless sets that linked Hyderabad to Karachi. European and British nationals were evacuated out of Hyderabad on special flights, a moving clip of the event is on YouTube. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fOR48pSuP2A>)

Intelligence received from Pakistan pointed to an expected Indian invasion by the twenty-third of September. In the meanwhile, the Indian government issued a final warning to the Nizam to disband the razakars and make provisions for the Indian army to return to Secunderabad to facilitate law and order. Sardar Patel objected to Hyderabad's complaint at the United Nations and accused Hyderabad of breaching the standstill agreement, not once did India

accept India the numerous times and ways it had violated the standstill agreement.

OPERATION POLO AND THE END OF NIZAM'S RULE

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, passed away on September 11th, 1948 across India flags flew at half-mast for the departed leader. In Hyderabad, the Nizam calmly attended his namaaz-e-janaaza the next day at a mosque adjoining the Public Gardens. Very early in the morning on the 13th, a clanging of the telephone awakened Prime Minister, Laiq Ali. General Edroos informed him that the Indian army had pierced Hyderabad's border at five different points. Indian Air Force planes were pounding the aerodromes of Bidar, Aurangabad, and Warangal.³⁶

At army headquarters, general staff officers pinned flags on a stretched map on the exact locations India had attacked from. Intelligence reports suggested their main thrust was from Sholapur in the West and Machlipatnam in the East. Sherman Tanks spearheaded both sides. In a short time, the map filled up with red flags indicating Indian army units on the move. The invaders met with little resistance from Hyderabad's troops; however, they had some difficulty with navigating the difficult terrain. The Deccan Plateau had numerous hill ranges and deep ravines. As Deccan Radio began to whip up patriotic songs, Hyderabad's forces failed to blow up a dynamited bridge over Naldurg pass.³⁷ Army commanders sent men equipped with nothing but rifles to check the progress of armoured columns.³⁸ It was later discovered that Hyderabad's army was using an obsolete code and were unaware the Indians had deciphered it.

The Nizam announced that he viewed India's invasion as a supreme act of aggression and vowed to fight until the last soldier. On the morning of the fourteenth of September, people across India awoke to the news that their government had declared emergency in light of its ongoing hostilities with Hyderabad. They also heard India's troops had run through a fifth of the State's territory within the first twelve hours of the invasion. Deccan Radio aired tall tales of the heroic resistance by Hyderabad's troops and claimed the Nizam had the support of the entire Muslim world. Reality was stark, the only support for the Nizam occurred in Karachi where a couple of thousand people gathered outside Laiq Ali's home there to protest India's invasion.

Subject to intense bombardment the defenceless town of Osmanabad had been the Indian army's first conquest, the troops guarding the area

abandoned it, the civil servants also fled when Indian shells fell around their district headquarters. An Indian Air Force plane strafed the Mohammed Hyder's convoy near Murud, the pilot was about to drop a bomb on their heads but got distracted.³⁹ The town of Zaheerabad fell to Indian forces and a pitched battle was in progress for Aurangabad. In the midst of the doom and gloom reports filtered in that a batch of volunteers along with a single company of regular troops had stopped two battalions of the Indian army near Hyderabad's south-west border. Their heroics didn't end with that feat; they also wiped off a division of the Mysore State Forces. However; the already low morale of Hyderabad's troops plummeted further when in the late afternoon news trickled in that India's forces had captured Aurangabad, its troops proudly hoisted the flag in Hyderabad's second largest city. When the Nizam heard the news, tears rolled down his cheeks.⁴⁰

On the fifteenth of September, the invasion's third day, the Nizam summoned Laiq Ali to ask him whether the city's defences could hold out until the Security Council reached a decision. Laiq Ali was certain that the city of Hyderabad was impenetrable. From the military perspective, matters were bleak; after two days of onslaught from the west, the Indian army blazed in from the east where the troops were the most ill-equipped. General Edroos hoped to stall the Indian army near Bidar, where several roads to Hyderabad converged. When he received a signal that an armed column on the move between Kalyani and Bidar, it baffled him; there was no road between Kalyani and Bidar. The countryside was rugged, and the roads were most unsuited for tanks to pass, it was a remote area which didn't receive radio signals. Laiq Ali made a frantic call to the Chief Engineer of Roads to solve the conundrum. The Indian army was only 25 miles away from the capital.

⁴¹Hyderabad suffered yet another setback when All India Radio announced Indian forces were in plain sight of the minarets of the historic city of Bidar. On the fourth day of the invasion, the sixteenth of September, the Nizam called General Edroos and Mir Laiq Ali to King Kothi Palace over which Indian Air Force planes were flying ominously low, and threw a right, royal tantrum. He taunted the General that his men were more suited to staying at home with their begums than fighting battles. He accused Laiq Ali of miscalculations, was furious that Pakistan had remained a silent spectator and raged at the inefficiency of the United Nations, declaring it would order a ceasefire over their dead bodies. Laiq Ali's attempts to explain the time difference between Paris and Hyderabad and suggestion Pakistan could not

help because it was a nation in mourning infuriated the Nizam further. In fact, he was so agitated he gave his Premier an ultimatum: he told Laiq Ali that both he and his ministers must resign and allow him to take responsibility or he would issue a statement saying he was no longer concerned with affairs of the state.⁴²

The British Broadcasting Company video archives give a glimpse into the seemingly calm streets of Hyderabad on the sixteenth of September as people went about their business unmindful of the coming danger. A giant billboard depicts a hooded skeleton holding a caricature of Pandit Nehru in its palm with the words, "*Zaalim par mauth has raba hai*" emblazoned in Urdu. In the early hours of the morning of the seventeenth, the Brigadier of Western defences paid a visit to General Edroos in the command room to inform him a spearhead of the Indian armoured column was on the road to Hyderabad from Zaheerabad. When the tanks approached Hyderabad's forces blew up Indian tanks with twenty-five pounder guns. The remaining tanks fanned out and retreated to Zaheerabad. In the early hours of the morning, General Edroos paid a visit to the front himself where members of general staff were laying mines to divert the Indians from entering the city. Laiq Ali was in Shah Manzil where his personnel were awaiting to hear from Pakistan. The Prime Minister received a call from the stationmaster of Bibinagar who reported heavy shelling near the station a mere 30 miles away from the city.⁴³

The long-awaited message finally came in from Pakistan regarding the meeting which had convened in Paris. The news was not good: on a suggestion made by the delegate of China, the Security Council decided to reconvene on Monday the twentieth, in order to study the case in greater detail. This decision was to alter the course of history; Hyderabad was not entirely without support at the United Nations. The Argentinian delegate stated that when an army invaded and killed people anywhere in the world, it was incumbent on the part of the United Nations to hear them out. The President, Alexander Cadogan called a vote to decide whether to adopt the application of Hyderabad on their agenda or reject. The vote was 8 to 3 in favour. Moin Nawaz Jung made an impassioned plea, to stop India's annihilation of Hyderabad, he promised to furnish documentary evidence to support Hyderabad's right to sovereignty.⁴⁴

It was all too late; the army was at the doors of the city and there was tremendous concern of mayhem when it entered. Reports trickled in of massacres of Muslims in Bidar, Osmanabad, Kalyani. Laiq Ali and his ministers

feared the Indian army would shoot the lot of them, as for Kasim Razvi, it was believed the Indian army would cut him into pieces upon capture.

At a cabinet meeting, Deputy Prime Minister, Pingle Venkatram Reddy had tears streaming down his face when he expressed his desire to be the first minister to lay down his life for Hyderabad. Laiq Ali believed his end was near, in a cable he told Mushtaq Ahmed, Hyderabad's agent-general in Karachi, that it would be his last message from this world. He went onto make a broadcast where he announced Hyderabad could no longer hold off the Indian army and appealed for communal harmony and declared an official ceasefire. People gathered on the streets, around radio-sets, tears streaming down their cheeks. Kasim Razvi also made an appeal for communal harmony, he also clarified that he had not fled to Pakistan. The only decision left was to be made was whom should present sword of surrender, a task which General Edroos and the Prince of Berar undertook. At the behest of Munshi, the Nizam and said he had ordered his delegates to withdraw Hyderabad's complaint against India from the UN.

Mohammed Hyder describes a conversation between his father-in-law, Nawaab Deen Yar Jung and Kasim Razvi after the Inspector General had discovered the latter had distributed several thousand rifles amongst his men and instructed them to begin killing Hindus to exact revenge for India's attack on Hyderabad. Deen Yar Jung asked him to consider if he wanted posterity to remember him as a man who orchestrated the killing of innocent people. At the end of the conversation, Razvi agreed to make the razakars surrender their arms.⁴⁵

Their progress hindered by mines; the Indian army didn't reach Hyderabad until the eighteenth; a now famous photograph has General Edroos greeting General Chaudhri of the Indian army on the outskirts of the city. An archival video shows a short clip of the General conceding defeat, he tells the press his troops were set a superhuman challenge, and the odds were against them. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cfb8rqPEG58>) Later the same day, the Nizam made a meek broadcast on Deccan Radio repeating Hyderabad would not press their case in the United Nations and went on to declare he had declared a ceasefire and that he would allow Indian troops to occupy Bolarum and Secunderabad. In his reign of almost forty years, the Nizam had never made a broadcast; it is speculated that he was Mr Munshi pressured him to say he was looking forward to living alongside the people of India.

Scenes of jubilation erupted in pockets of the city, thousands took the streets waving the tricolour and throwing flowers at the soldiers entering the city in their jeeps and tanks.⁴⁶ Those harassed for months by the razakars were greatly relieved, others were stunned by the quick capitulation of the state forces. What followed the much-touted military victory of the Indian army was an orgy of murder, rape, arson and plunder by its soldiers on the state's Muslim population; a fact the Indian government covered up for more than half a century until the internet published the findings of the Sunderlal Committee in the year 2000. After the soldiers had done their bit, miscreants from across the border repeated the same cycle of atrocities. In certain towns Indian soldiers lined up Muslim men and shot them dead, in some areas, they left one out of five Muslim men alive. As in partition the previous year, wells began to overflow with dead bodies, weeks later travellers saw bodies piled up alongside roads. The town of Bidar alone twenty thousand people lost their lives, refugees poured into the city in their thousands looking for safety.

CONCLUSION

In Hyderabad the change of administration was swift; General Chaudhuri took over as military governor, the new regime let the Nizam continue as titular ruler but took away his privy purses, he continued as Rajpramukh until 1956 when the state was renamed Andhra Pradesh and divided linguistically. Laiq Ali remained under house arrest until his dramatic escape from captivity in 1951. Misfortune blighted the rest of General Edroos's life, he had to contend with disbanding his forces, his relationship with the Nizam had soured, he lost a son to an air crash in Pakistan shortly before Operation Polo and spent his last days in relative obscurity in Bangalore. The Indian army whisked Kasim Razvi away to an undisclosed location where he remained imprisoned until his extradition to Pakistan in 1957.

The military administration went on a witch hunt against members of the former Hyderabad Civil Service, not only were they summarily relieved of their positions, (their posts were soon filled in with officers from the Bombay and Madras Presidencies) those who didn't flee to Pakistan had to face arrest. Much of October Coup details the legal battles Mohammed Hyder fought after his imprisonment under false accusations of murder and dacoity. Mir Moazzam Hussain, grandson of Nawaab Fakhr-ul-Mulk who was the collector of Nalgonda could see a hangman's noose from his cell and believing his turn would be next. Although both these gentlemen had the option of fleeing to

Pakistan, they refused to do so. Mir Moazzam's father told him that facing the firing squad was a more honourable option to flight.⁴⁷

Large landholders and erstwhile aristocrats didn't fare well under the new regime; they reeled under the new taxation laws. Not used to working for a living many were reduced to selling their jewellery and homes to stay solvent, in some dire cases they even sold off their pots and pans and the wooden frames of their doors and windows.⁴⁸ The passage of time hasn't negated the fact that Hyderabad was a sovereign state and technically India should not have bullied and coerced it into accession. Operation Polo is undoubtedly one of post independent India's most ignoble chapters. It remains a mystery how the mainstream press of the time didn't publish a single story about the slaughter in Hyderabad's districts, the Indian government is said to have employed stringent censorship rules. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister, India's then ambassador to Russia shouted down a Pakistan minister's demand that Nehru's government conduct an enquiry into the aftermath of Operation Polo, "India has nothing to hide!" she declared. In the meanwhile, her brother, praised the exemplary behaviour of India's troops when he was well aware of the stark truth. On October 3rd, 1948, Maulana Azad led thanksgiving prayers at the Jama Masjid in Delhi for the safe implementation of Operation Polo, and deliverance of the Hyderabad's people from an autocratic and feudal rule. Sadly, the Nizam's munificence and religious tolerance are destined to be overshadowed by the bungling around Hyderabad's negotiations with India. As a ruler, the Nizam took great interest in public welfare, buildings and institutions from his reign still exist to remind us of his legacy.

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HYDERABAD LIBERATION DAY, (SEPTEMBER 17, 1948)

– A MISNOMER

- Lingala Pandu Ranga Reddy

History is an unending dialogue between the past and the present. When historical writing becomes scientific and critical, the nature of history changes, the function of historian is neither to love the past, nor to condemn the past nor to be free from the past but to master the past in order to understand its bearing on the present. The war diary of the Third Battalion of 11 Gorkha Rifles, dated 17th September, 1948 innocuously mentioned that it was in the vanguard of the strike force group of 1 Armoured Division of the expeditionary column of the Indian Army and reached Patancheru of Medak District at 3.30 p.m.¹ This Battalion had suffered two casualties at Naldurg pass. Otherwise, 17th September was a peaceful day for the Battalion.

In this paper an attempt is made to analyze the multidimensional character of the integration of Hyderabad state into Indian Union in 1948. It also seeks to clarify the nature police action and its consequences. In the history of modern Telangana this event, 17th September, 1948, has been the most contested one and various interpretations have been offered by scholars. However, motivated alien writers, settler-reporters, self-seeking politicians, rabid fundamentalists and half-baked historians who were ignoramus of Persian, Urdu and Arabic languages had twisted the truth to serve their ends for obvious reasons. It was purely a military intervention and people had no role whatsoever in it. Some writers depict 17th September 1948 as Hyderabad's Liberation Day, some others assert that on 17th September Hyderabad state was merged with Indian Union and some more call it as Victory day of Telangana Armed Struggle. And yet another apocryphal assertion is (a statement of doubtful authenticity although widely circulated as being true) that it was the end of Asaf Jahi's rule and the beginning of self-rule. Political commentators, politicians and settler-writers tend to get side-tracked by minutiae, that they often miss the wood for the trees. The euphoria is not only misleading but also a deliberate attempt of fudging realities and no one would buy into this charlatan.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947, while granting independence to both India and Pakistan did not envisage transfer of paramount power. On 15th August 1947 the suzerainty of the Crown in the United Kingdom over

Hyderabad, and all other 563 Princely States, came to an end.³ None of the powers previously exercised by the Crown was transferred to the Government of the two new dominions i.e., India and Pakistan. Taking the advantage of this clause, Mir Osman Ali Khan, the VII Nizam chose to “associate” rather than “accede” to the Indian Union. Both, the Nizam and the Government of India were adamant on their respective positions and settlement could not be reached. Legally speaking, the Nizam of Hyderabad was right. Under the circumstances, an alternative arrangement was devised in the form of Standstill Agreement and negotiations were undertaken and it was signed on 27-11-1948. However, both sides did not honour the terms of the Standstill Agreement that paved the way for a military intercession. It is this military intercession usually referred as the “Police Action”. In military parlance, it is known as “Operation Polo”. But strictly speaking, this operation was termed as “Operation Caterpillar”.⁴

OPERATION CATERPILLAR

The negotiations between the Nizam and Government of India finally broke down in the third week of June, 1948. By the end of July 1948, the 1st Armoured Division had built up enough rations that a twenty two thousand strong army would require over a period of sixty combat days, and petrol that would be needed to the army for twenty two days. However, it was postponed owing to Army's commitment in Kashmir and monsoon rains. Pakistan's President Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a great supporter of the Nizam, died in the midnight of 11th September, 1948. The Government of India took the advantage of discomfiture of Pakistan and immediately ordered Indian Armed forces to invade Hyderabad State. Apart from Air force, five Indian army columns and eight Princely States' armies were sent to Hyderabad. Maj. Gen. J.N. Chowdhary was the General Officer - Commanding, 1st Armoured division. His column advanced from Ahmedabad to Hyderabad via Sholapur. Brig. K.N. Varma assumed the command of 1st Armoured Brigade and advanced from Bangalore to Hyderabad. Brig. Apji Ranadhir Singh commanded 9 Infantry Brigade and advanced from Bezwada (present Vijayawada), Suryapet and Hyderabad axis. Maj. Gen. Dhar and Brig. Rudra commanded 4th and 5th columns respectively. The Indian Air force was commanded by Air Commdr. A.N. Mukherji.⁵ (Later, he became the Chief of Air Staff of the Indian Air Force.) The G.O.C. Southern Command while ordering the expeditionary column commanders said that whichever column reaches Hyderabad first,

that Commander would become the Military Governor of Hyderabad state.⁶ In addition to the regular troops, the Government of India sent the following Princely states' troops to Hyderabad: Gwalior Lancers, Mysore Lancers, Mewar Infantry, Jaipur Infantry, Rajaram Rifles (Kolhapur), Baroda Infantry, Travancore Infantry and Jodhpur Infantry.⁷

It is generally believed that Police Action had started on 13th September and concluded on 17th September 1948. This misconception was largely because of non-availability of primary sources to the serious writers and historians. As military documents are usually classified, consequently they were not within the reach of civilian historians. In addition to that, as the case of Hyderabad was pending in the Security Council until as late as 2nd September 1979 and attracting international opprobrium, the Government of India had deliberately kept the matter as a top secret.

THERE ARE MANY GLARING ANOMALIES

1. What were the subterfuge measures the Government of India took to gain public sympathy to weaken the Nizam?
2. Why did India develop cold feet on the plebiscite?
3. When the Government of India invaded Hyderabad state, it used not only Indian army divisions, three squadrons of fighter planes of Indian Air force and 8 Princely state armies yet it preferred to call it as a 'Police Action'. Why was it so?
4. Why did the Government of India, chose 12th September 1948 as D-day to invade Hyderabad state?
5. What made the Government of India to inform about the impending march of the Indian army to Hyderabad state to the High Commissioners of the UK and Pakistan, and Ambassador of the USA?
6. What made the Government of India to allow the Nizam of Hyderabad to reign over Hyderabad state even after the Police Action?
7. When was Hyderabad State actually merged with Indian Union, de jure and de facto?
8. Whether the Nizam was a foreigner? Is it apt to refer 17th September, 1948 as the Liberation day of Hyderabad?

While answering the first question, it may be noted that the Hyderabad State Congress was divided and weak. It could not do much to embarrass the state authorities, and the Communist activity in Telangana was therefore the only alternative left to weaken the Nizam regime. Andhra politicians were aware of the fact that the new Andhra state would not economically be a viable state and not had a city to locate a capital. That's why they wanted to dismember Hyderabad state and merge the Telangana region with them. Most of the Communist leaders were Andhras.⁸

POLICE RAZAKARS

Indian government sings paeans of peace when it suits them. However, it has war like mentality. K.F. Rustumji a senior police officer narrates his experience as superintendent of police of the neighbouring district of Akola (presently in Maharashtra) "My task was to collect intelligence and organize raids by specially armed and enlisted homeguards. In order to gain public sympathy, the Government of India raided Hyderabad State to establish a border belt free of the Razakars. In the dead of nights, the Central Province Police in the disguise of the Razakars used to go upto a distance of 15 miles and spread panic and cause reprisals which were highlighted by the press as Razakar atrocities. The pseudo Razakars of Central Province were assisted by the Indian army. The Indian army unabashedly called it as 'Operation Kabbadi'." The aim of the operation was geographical encirclement of the Nizam dominions to start an economic blockade. This operation was named after the popular Indian game of 'Kabbadi' which calls for limited forays into 'enemy' territory and the Indian troops were highly amused.⁹ After the police action in a bid to oust the Nizam's rule the Government of India brought employees from the neighbouring states of India. They plundered Hyderabad State. Maj Gen Chowdary and his team could not control the wayward "Union officers". One wrong decision taken at the time was to disarm the state. All had to surrender weapons. Razakars handed over their weapons to Andhra led Communists.¹⁰

While answering second question, about the plebiscite, one should be clear that : the Nizam's ostensible goal was not to accede either to Indian Union or to Pakistan but his real aim was to be independent. He averred that in pursuance of two- nation theory India was partitioned: Pakistan to Muslims - truncated India to Hindus. As Hyderabad State was a plural state it was

incident on his part not to join with any communal country but to be independent, however, he would 'associate' with India. Accordingly, the Nizam issued a Firman on 11th June, 1947. This necessitated Congress to be all the more careful to keep its secular and democratic credential in tact. In a bid to determine between Hyderabad State and India, the Government of India suggested to a plebiscite to decide whether Hyderabad should accede to India or remain independent. Initially the Nizam was not enthusiastic about it however, he consented to it. The Hyderabad's administration appealed to migrating Muslims to Pakistan from the parts of India to settle down in Hyderabad State. Having strengthened his position, the Nizam offered to abide by the will if his people as ascertained by a plebiscite under the general supervision of any international organization. The Government of India realized the ground realities and changed its stance towards the plebiscite. It insisted that Hyderabad should at once accede in substance and leave the decision to be confirmed by a plebiscite. The Nizam did not agree to it. Had there been a plebiscite, it could have been touch and go for both, for, in 1952 general election Ravi Narayan Reddy a Communist leader was polled the highest number of votes in India.

While answering the third question, it is equally interesting to know as to why the Government of India called a pure Military Action as a Police Action. The USA in its war against the Communism in South Korea referred it as Police Action. The Truman Administration called its intervention to save South Korea from the communism as 'Police Action' rather than actual war. Washington wanted to keep Peking (now Beijing) and Moscow out of the fighting and did not want to intensify the battle either rhetorically or militarily.¹¹ The Government of India had followed the same analogy during its military intervention in Hyderabad against the communists and Razakars, which was contemporaneous to Korean war. Same plea Government of India had put forward before the UNO.¹²

Answering the fourth question Mohd. Ali Jinnah of Pakistan died on 11th September 1948 at 11 p.m. The Government of India took the advantage of the difficulty of Pakistan and resolved to send Armed forces to Hyderabad state. The Indian Army was ordered to march towards Hyderabad at 13:30 (1.30 p.m.) on 12th September, 1948. The 'D' day 12th September and 'H' hour 2000 hrs (8.00 p.m.) the Indian Army crossed the boundary of Hyderabad State at 8 p.m. on 12th September and captured Naldurg at 7 a.m. of 13th

September. That's why majority of the people think that the Army invasion started only on 13th of September. It is interesting to note that when Jinnah died the Government of India in conformity of the international usage ordered all the flags to be flown half-mast in the mourning of Jinnah.

It is incorrect to say that the Nizam had extended support to Razakars. Originally it was a volunteer organization. When the Communists were making attempts to occupy Muslim Zamindars' and Jagirdars' lands they appealed to the administration to protect their lands from encroachment. However, as the protection was not forthcoming, Zamindars raised a private army with the help of MIM. This private army was euphemistically referred as Volunteers. The Persian word for Volunteers is 'Razzakars'. Precisely for this reason Communists could not occupy single acre of Muslim landlords. However, when Lucknow born vakil, settled at Latur (now in Maharashtra) Kasim Razvi took over the reins, it became a loose organization and posed law and order problem. He was a cowardly, vainglorious braggart. In the meantime, Andhra-led Communists carried the sword and fire in Warangal and Nalgonda Districts.¹⁵ The Nizam ordered the Hyderabad Army to suppress them and establish peace and tranquility, however, Maj.Gen.El Edroos, the Commander-in-Chief of Hyderabad Army expressed his inability for want of troops and better weapons. When the situation was worsening, the Nizam reluctantly solicited the support of the Razakars. Initially, Communists and Razakars opposed each other.

POLICE ACTION

One of the pertinent reasons for the Nizam to align with the Razakars and lift the ban on the Communists was owing to the cunning role played by Maj.Gen. El Edroos, Commander-in-Chief of the Nizam Army. He had actually become a quisling. He was not only in touch with the GOC, Southern Command, Lieutenant General, Rajender Singhji but also had surreptitiously passed on the secret information of the Nizam's Army such as its strength, deployment and tactics. While Maj. Gen. El Edroos was in England to purchase weapons for Hyderabad Army, he had already informed Government of India about the purchases and much worse on the eve of Indian military invasion, he had passed orders to Hyderabad troops not to fight but to retreat. He unabashedly wrote in his biography - "knowing the hopeless situation in which the state was involved and consequent to the move of the troops to different sectors, I had passed on secret instructions to the various sector commanders,

that in case of hostilities, they were not to offer any resistance to the Indian Army but to gradually fall back towards Hyderabad or surrender. 'These instructions were obeyed... 'The Police Action', in accordance with the Indian Army started on 13th of September, 1948 A.D. The main opposition offered to the columns of the Indian Army was from the Razakars. Amongst the Hyderabad Armed Forces, the company of the Pathans was the first to receive blow at Naldurg, as they did not withdraw in time. They suffered heavy casualties from the Indian Army. Another Infantry company at Tuljapur, the same area, also suffered casualties but its remnants withdrew to Hyderabad. That was the total of the resistance put up by the Hyderabad Army to the advancing Indian columns."¹⁵ The scandal could stand as a paradigm for much of Hyderabad State's political life.

Soon after the Independence of India, El Edroos had sent his son to Pakistan to join Pakistan Air Force in September 1947. Having seen the duplicity of Edroos, his ADC 2/ Lt .Krishna Reddy had no qualms about passing on secret information of Hyderabad's Army to K.M.Munshi, Agent-General of India at Hyderabad. Munshi, in turn, passed on this information to Government of India. Krishna Reddy was none other than the grandson of Raja Bahadur Venkatrama Reddy, an illustrious Police Commissioner of Hyderabad and a close confidante of the Nizam.

Another renegade soldier was Lt. Col. Himmat Baig the Southern Sector Commander of the Hyderabad army. Brij Bhatia of the Indian army, who was the Sub-Area Commander of Sholapur division where the main Indian Army striking force was concentrated, ostensibly wished to visit Bolaram. His real aim was to reconnoiter the Sholapur - Hyderabad axis and accordingly informed his wish to hail-fellow-well-met El Edros. He asked Baig to conduct Bhatia from Naldurg to Hyderabad.¹⁶ During their sojourn Baig not only leaked about the deployment of troops, cryptic code and physically shown military installations. In turn Bhatia passed on this recondite information to Maj. Gen Chowdhary the column commander. El Edros writes in his biography "the meeting between Brigadier Bhatia and Lt. Col. H. Baig that put the wind up Baig, so much so, that, just a few days before the Police Action, he pretended he was ill with appendicitis and was hospitalized at Hyderabad, suddenly to get well without an operation immediately after the police action".

Because of prior information about the topography and withdrawal of Hyderabad army facilitated Maj. Gen. Choudhary to reach Hyderabad earlier

than that of the two other column commanders. As he reached earlier he was made military governor of the Hyderabad State. Gen. Choudhary requited the services of El Edros. It is not out of place to mention that soon after the formal surrendering ceremony Choudhary offered a cigarette to the vanquished Hyderabad's army commander El Edros. In reality the surrendered commander should have been put under arrest. As El Edros had helped the Indian army against the Nizam he was made a local commander and was ordered to arrest both Kasim Razvi and Liaq Ali and he accomplished it. That is why Choudhary as military governor sought the permission of the government of India to take Edros on the executive committee of Hyderabad state. However, Sardar Patel turned down the request and said that it would send wrong signals to people.¹⁷ Having come to know of the government of India's views about his non-inclusion, Edros as his wont resorted to his old game of betrayal and facilitated Liaq Ali to escape from internment to Pakistan. It is pertinent to mention that had there was any role of people the government of India could have appointed K.M. Munshi as the Governor of Hyderabad state or any other civilian rather than Maj. Gen. Chowdhury.

Answering the fifth question, the Government of India informed High commissioners of the U.K. and Pakistan and American Ambassador about the impending march of Indian Army, and it was only intended to aid and assist the Nizam against the Communists. The communiqué did not deliberately mention the word 'Razakars'.¹⁸

Answering the sixth question, it is travesty of truth and preposterous to say that after the Police Action, Hyderabad State acceded to the Union and the Nizam's authority came to an end. The abolition of Asaf Jahi dynasty immediately in the wake of military operation would have an unsettling effect on the Muslims. He had a position not only in Hyderabad state and amongst his co-religionists in the rest of the country but also a certain prestige abroad. After the abolition of Caliphate in Turkey, Muslims looked him as the Caliph.¹⁹ In addition to this, India was accused of Military aggression. Most of the British newspapers roundly condemned India. Questions were asked in the British House of Commons and even the British Foreign secretary Ernest Bevin went to the extent of accusing India of developing war like mentality over the Hyderabad question. V.P. Menon, the Secretary of the state unequivocally said the Nizam's firman provided the basis for the authority the Government of India could exercise in Hyderabad until the new Indian constitution came into vogue.

In a bid to assuage the feelings of comity of nations the Government of India requested the Nizam to broadcast on radio to the Islamic world about the Hyderabad States' relations to the world. It was done on 23rd September 1948 "I have no fear from the Indian Union. I know, and have always known that the Indian Union is a secular state. In the very nature of things, Hyderabad State of whose people are Hindus, cannot possibly become an Islamic State. As in the past centuries, I have no doubt that my Government, true to its age long traditions, will be able to adjust matters amicably".²⁰

It was on 24th November 1949 the Nizam issued a firman accepting the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly of India as the Constitution of Hyderabad the Government of India interpreted it, though the Nizam had not signed the Instrument of Accession, the acceptance of the Indian constitution by him was regarded as tantamount to accession, and Hyderabad thus became integrated with Indian union. The firman also added that the decision was subject to ratification by the constituent assembly of the Hyderabad state. For all intents and purposes Hyderabad became the 562nd princely state to accede to India only on 26th January 1950.²¹ It is appropriate to mention that the larger bench of Hon'ble Supreme Court consisting of Kania, Chief Justice, Fazl Ali, Patanjali Sastri, B.K. Mukherjea, S.R. Das and Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Junior Judges. While dealing Criminal Misc. Petition Nos. 71 to 73 of 1950, Dt. 14-12-1950 observed that: Constitution of India, Art. 135, Art. 136 – Applicability – Judgements passed before 26-1-1950 by courts in Nizam's territory.

'The territory of the Govt. of H.E.H. the Nizam was never the territory of India, before 26-1-1950 and, therefore, the judgment and sentence passed by the H.C. of H.E.H. the Nizam on the 12th, 13th and 14th December 1949, cannot be considered as judgments and sentence passed by a Court within the territory of India. On that short ground alone it seems that the petitioners contention must fail' (1951 Cri.L.J.391 (C.N.119) Supreme Court Criminal Law Journal 1950-2009).

It is pertinent to mention that in the draft constitution, Article 3 was very rigid and the consent of the concerned state's assembly was mandatory. It was during this period the Nizam issued the firman about the future of Hyderabad state. The founding fathers were apprehensive of the princely states motives. The reason being, no state will hardly agree to be divested of any area which forms part of it. No princely states assembly would consent

for its dismemberment. Hence the representation on behalf of the representatives of the territory and the consent of the state or ruler of state as the case may be not necessary.²² That's why founding fathers of the Indian constitution made this article very flexible. (Hence, Andhra Pradesh state's legislative assembly resolution is not necessary for the introduction of Telangana Statehood Bill in the Parliament).

It is thus clear the Indian federation is not a federation of indestructible units as in the U.S.A. The Union of India retains all the power over the states. The case with which a state can be re-shaped or merged with another by simple legislative process has no parallel in the history of the federal organizations of the world. Thus our constitution offers no guarantee to the States against inroads or their territorial integrity. It seems, thus, it is more convenient constitutionally speaking to create a separate state of Telangana rather providing constitutional safeguards guaranteeing proportional representation in the state services for the Telangana people.

It is equally interesting to note that when Kasim Razvi, the leader of Razakars was convicted for 7 years rigorous imprisonment in Bibinagar arson case, he preferred appeal to the Federal Court of India, that's how earlier Supreme Court was known as. The Federal Court of India rejected the appeal on the plea that it was not having jurisdiction over Hyderabad state. That clearly establishes Hyderabad was an independent country.

It was the ploy of the Government of India that made the Nizam to appoint M.K. Vellodi, an I.C.S. officer as the Chief Minister of Hyderabad State in 1949. The Indian representative, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar in the UNO while pleading against the Hyderabad state's independence averred that the Hyderabad state adopted democracy and people elected M.K. Vellodi as the Chief Minister and the Nizam became the Constitutional head.²³ Subsequently, Benegala Narasinga Rao Indian representative informed the UNO that Hyderabad state was no longer in existence, hence, the Hyderabad State's case needed to be dropped. However, the Security Council did not drop the case as late as 2nd September, 1979. Because of this, Hyderabad state was trifurcated and Telangana was forcefully merged with Andhra state against all canons of democracy in 1956. The very name of Hyderabad was an anathema because as a state or as a city it would enliven the cause of the Nizam in the Security Council. That's why attempts were made to change the name of Hyderabad city into Bhagyanagar. If we say Telangana was merged with Andhra state to

become Andhra Pradesh as a linguistic state we would be denying Telangana its own past, falsifying its history and betraying its future.

Referring 17th September as the Liberation day is not only incorrect and also palimpsesting the history. Liberation means liberating from foreign yoke or from foreign rulers. The Nizam was not a foreigner. Hence the question of liberation did not arise. It is equally incorrect to say that the monarchical rule of Nizam came to an end and ushered in democracy. Can we afford to equate a military rule with democracy? For that matter, even the Indian army did not enter Hyderabad City on 17th September 1948. There was no participation of people and much less of politicians. On 17th September at 5.00 p.m. Mir Osman Ali Khan, the 7th Nizam of Hyderabad, first time visited Radio Deccan and addressed the people that he had ordered the surrender of Hyderabad army and invited Indian army to enter Hyderabad city. However, the physical surrender of Hyderabad army took place only at 16:00 (4 p.m.) on 18th September.²⁴ Curfew was clamped in Hyderabad city on 17th September therefore there is no question of people's participation much less inviting invading Indian army. It is not out of place to mention that Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, chided K.M. Munshi, Agent General of India in Hyderabad for his over action and asked him neither to organize any rally nor to receive Indian army at the outskirts of Hyderabad. It was only military show and civilians should not be involved. Speaking to the nation over the All India Radio same evening, Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the future of Hyderabad State would be decided by the people themselves, though he was convinced that future of Hyderabad lay in 'the closest association with India'.²⁵ If Hyderabad state were acceded to the Indian Union on 17th September, 1948 what made Jawaharlal Nehru to speak the way he did it!

HYDERABAD CASE IN UNO

The Nizam chose to take the case before the Security Council. He submitted the case through a cablegram of Zahir Ahmed, Secretary General of Hyderabad government, External Affairs, dated 21st August, 1948 and addressed to the President. Curiously enough, the Security Council admitted the case and sent notices to the Government of India. Meanwhile, Hyderabad Government sent a delegation which was headed by Moin Nawaz Jung. He presented the case in detail to Security Council and urged for a quick action to safeguard peace and integrity of Hyderabad. Due to certain technicalities,

immediate action could not be taken by the Security Council and it was filed on the agenda.²⁶

When Moin Nawaz Jung found that Hyderabad was in danger of being conquered he transferred a large sum of Hyderabad state's money into a special fund to the Bank of England. This money was meant to meet the expenses of the case of Hyderabad in the Security Council. This was done in his capacity as Finance Minister, and as a result of his foresight, India was unable to take over the money. India has now instituted suit (in the name of Government of Hyderabad) in a British court to obtain the money.²⁷ The claim could have been based upon the premise that conquest gave title, for title had been acquired in no other way. In such cases, the court relied heavily upon the advice of the foreign office. Previously precedents indicated that India could not be regarded as legal successor of the State of Hyderabad unless the British government had given *de jure* recognition to the conquest (the case of *Haile Selassie v. Cable and Wireless Ltd.*). In any case, a decision to turn over the money to India could have given legal effect to a transfer of title accomplished by use of force contrary to the charter of the United Nations. The money has not yet been released. Recently, it is heard that lineal descendants of Mir Osman Ali Khan have been urging the Government of India to use its good offices for the release of the money and to be given to them. In fact, this money belongs to Telangana people, none else.

Soon after the military intervention Operation Caterpillar (not Polo) 27a euphemistically called police action, the Nizam sent a cable to the UNO withdrawing the case of Hyderabad and the delegation to the Security Council ceased to have any authority to represent him or Hyderabad state. The Security Council did not accept the cable and raised the question whether recognition should be given to the Indian conquest of Hyderabad State and claim to little over Hyderabad. The western media wrongly condemned the military conquest and equated with the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, Hitler's conquest of Austria. Having taken advantage of the situation Nawab Moin Jung the head of the Hyderabad's delegation transferred Rs.48 Crores of Hyderabad State's money into a special fund into the Bank of England. As of now this sum is not recovered from the bank. To cap it all Nawab Jung petitioned to the Security Council of its leave to move the International Court of Justice at The Hague against the military conquest of India. As its wont the UNO admitted the petition of the Hyderabad delegation. It was during this time Hyderabad State

Government - in - exile was formed in Karachi and urged the UNO to recognize it.

While answering the 6th and 7th questions, one should not lose the sight of wood while counting the trees. After the Operation Caterpillar (Police Action), the Razakars were forced to handed over their weapons to the communists in several districts in Telangana.²⁸ Major General Choudhary took one wrong decision to disarm the State (both Nizam's Army and Police). All had to surrender weapons. That gave an impetus to the Telangana Armed Struggle organized by the Communists.²⁹ Communists boasted that Hyderabad was Indian Manchuria. The Communists did not fight against the Nizam after 1948 but against the Government of India.³⁰

Taking advantage of this, the Hyderabad State Congress started border camps and was helped by the neighbouring states. The Communists and Congress joined together and styled themselves as 'United Front'. And under the guise of the 'United Front' the communists along with the Congress workers raised squads among the villagers and employed them in demolishing custom houses and arson. Congress and communists looted State Bank of Hyderabad at Umri in Jalna district. The booty was left with Ramananda Tirth and its accountant was P.V. Narasimha Rao (Prime minister of India – 1991-96). Ramananda Tirtha used part of the booty to build the Gandhi Bhavan, presently which houses A.P. Congress Committee at Hyderabad, and the rest of the booty was unaccounted for. This incident was brought to the notice of Vallabhai Patel by Janardhan Desai. Commenting about subtle situation, K.M. Munshi observed in "The End of an Era", the so called Satyagraha which was conducted by the Congress was scarcely of the Gandhian variety.³¹ The conflict in Hyderabad state congress was known as Desai and Gosai conflict. Because of the unsavoury reputation of the Hyderabad State Congress, the Indian National Congress cancelled its affiliation. It is not out of place to mention that Sarojini Naidu, a prominent Congress leader of the Indian National Congress was a native of Hyderabad state. However, she did not associate herself with the Hyderabad state Congress for the following reasons - 1) It was not recognized by the AICC, 2) It was a pocket organization of Ramananda Tirth, 3) It indulged in loot and arson.

It is another arcane information that when Maj. Gen. Chowdhary ordered to surrender arms, Police surrendered arms to Indian army whereas Razakars to Communists. This gave an impetus to the Communists to start a reign of

terror. In the Police action, apart from Indian Army and Air Force, many other princely states armies such as Gwalior Lancers, Mysore Lancers, Mewar Infantry, Jaipur Infantry, Jodhpur Infantry, Rajaram Rifles, Baroda Infantry and Travancore Infantry had participated. While Army was advancing towards Hyderabad city, Army authorities left behind these princely states armies in the districts. These ill-disciplined princely armies might have done unbecoming things. Vallabhai Patel the Home Minister of India appointed a special officer to liquidate Communists. He was none other than V. Nanjappa, an Indian Civil Service Officer. However, he was an ex-serviceman and participated in the Second World War. It is incorrect to say that the Indian army was used against the Communists. In reality the Government of India deployed paramilitary forces and armed police battalions to chastise and annihilate Communists. The Police Officer who was in charge of anti-Communist operations was A.S. Monappa, Inspector General of Police. Similarly during Telangana agitation though initially army was deployed but actual killings were perpetrated by special armed police battalions in June 1969.

In conclusion, the Police Action was mainly against the Communists and Razakars. It was a small rap on the knuckles to get the Nizam into line. As Government of India referred the military intervention as the Police Action, the Ministry of Defence refused to meet the expenses of Rs. 3.5 crores. The Government of India asked the Ministry of Home Affairs to make the good. The Home Ministry also refused to pay the costs as the Police was not at all involved. Curiously enough, it was the Minister of Health that paid the expenses.²⁵ That's how Government of India functions.

A valid point to counter the view that the Hyderabad state was not merged with the Indian Union on 17th September 1948, is Jawaharlal Nehru visited Hyderabad on 29-12-1948. Prominent non-party Muslims of Hyderabad submitted a memorandum to him at Hyderabad in which they demanded the admission of Hyderabad State to the Indian Union. Responding to the Memorandum Nehru declared "Hyderabad is geographically an integral part of India and the fate of its people invariably linked with that of the People of India".³⁴ Another important thing that is to be noted is that the Mint of Government of Hyderabad issued currency in the name of H.E.H. the Nizam as late as 1952. It was commonly known as Osmania Sikka (OS – Halli). It was an accepted legal tender. This currency was in circulation along with the Indian currency (IG – Kaldar) in Hyderabad. If the Nizam was deposed on

17th September 1948, how could the Government of Hyderabad not only minted coins but also printed Rs.5, Rs.10 and Rs.100 notes in his name as late as 1952.

POLITICAL PENSIONS

Answering 8th question - It can be regarded as the day of Political Pension. It is interesting to note that as all political parties were not having any role whatsoever in the police action they had rightly kept aloof from it, until Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India declared to introduce political pensions in 1973. It was from that year, all political parties especially Communists had started eulogizing it as a freedom struggle and started claiming political pensions. Especially agitprop writers became very busy to strut their wares at every conceivable place.

Since there was a split in the Congress Party Indira Gandhi's minority Government depended on the support of the left parties. It was during this time the Naxalite movement started in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. It was denounced by Andhra communists. They averred that they had already experimented this type of militant movement in Telangana, however, they could not achieve much. Government of India wanted this sort of statement from the Communists against the Naxalites. Consequently, she connived at the ruse. Another important thing is that all the Hindu convicts who were incarcerated during 1944 to 1951 for any crime got political pensions. Of course, the Government of Andhra Pradesh as its wont had not considered the claims of even the genuine Muslims who fought against the atrocities of the Razakars and were jailed during this period. Andhra Communists leaders left them high and dry.

'Under the words used in Art. 136 the Courts which passed judgments or sentence must be Courts within the territory of India. The territory of the Govt. of H.E.H. the Nizam was never the territory of India before 26-1-1950 and, therefore, the judgment and sentence passed by the High court of H.E.H. the Nizam on the 12th, 13th and 14th December 1949, cannot be considered as judgments and sentence 'passed by a Court within the territory of India', and as such they do not fall within the class of judgments against which special leave to appeal to the S.C. can be asked for under Art. 136. It is also obvious that such judgments are not covered under Art. 135, Constitution of India. The S.C. has, therefore, no jurisdiction to entertain the petitions for special

leave to appeal against such judgments of the High Court of Hyderabad under Art. 136’.

Then what is the point in celebrating 17th September as the Liberation day or an Accession day. It was the Nizam who had inaugurated the Constitution of India as the Head of Hyderabad State. On 26th January 1950 sequel to it, Hyderabad State had become B-State of the Indian Union and he became lifetime Raj Pramukh contrary to the Article 156 of the Indian Constitution, which stipulates 5 years term to the Governor/ Raj Pramukh. This departure was largely made to placate the international opprobrium and to keep the Nizam in good humour. Kindly remember that it was done with the knowledge of Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The Nizam continued to be the Raj Pramukh of Hyderabad state till the formation of Andhra Pradesh on 1-11-1956. Even after this, Jawaharlal Nehru offered him to become the Governor of Andhra Pradesh as per the terms of agreement of 25-1-1950 between the Government of India and him. However, the Nizam politely declined the offer.³⁵ When something important is going on, silence is a lie.

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FBH : MUSI RIVER FRONT WALK

Forum For A Better Hyderabad is going to organize “Musi River Front Walk” from City College gate to Salarjung Museum at 10.00 a.m. on 27th September, 2019 to commemorate the 111th anniversary of the drastic floods in River Musi in 1908 and to spread awareness of initiative taken up by the 7th Nizam for underground drainage system. Also a Memorial and Solidarity meet will be organized at 10.30 a.m. on 28th September, 2019 under the tamarind tree (saved 150 lives during devastating flood) situated in Osmania General Hospital, Afzalgunj. Since 2007, In a tireless effort, Forum is organizing these programmes to percolate the importance of nature among the next generation especially school children.

కొలాము గిరిజనుల పెండ్లి - పాటలు

-ఆశ్రం మోతీరామ్

కొలాం సంప్రదాయ వివాహంలో కొన్ని ఆచారాలు ప్రత్యేకంగా ఉంటాయి.

కొలాం వివాహ వ్యవస్థలో వరకట్నం అనేది ఉండదు. వరుడు గృహం వద్దనే వివాహం జరుగుతుంది. వివాహానికి అనేక దూర ప్రాంతాల వారిని ఆహ్వానించుతారు. ఆహ్వాన ఆనవాలుగా పసుపుతో కలిపిన జొన్న ధాన్యాలను తలూవల్ (అక్షింతలు)గా వారికి అందజేస్తారు.

ఊరిలో కళ్యాణ మండపం నిర్మించడానికి గ్రామంలోని ప్రజలందరు సహకరిస్తారు. అడవి నుండి వెదురు (బొంగులు) పెళ్ళిపందిరి నిర్మాణానికి తీసుకొని వస్తారు.

కళ్యాణానికి వచ్చే బంధువుల, చుట్టూల కోసం, భోజనం చేయడానికి, మోదుగు లేకు ఆకులను సేకరిస్తారు. గ్రామ పురుషులందరు కలిసి వంట చెరకు అడవి నుండి సేకరిస్తారు. వివాహానికి వచ్చిన వారిని గౌరవ, ఆప్యాయతలతో పలకరిస్తూ, తనీరు, చుట్టలు (బీడీలు) విందు అందిస్తారు.

వివిధ గ్రామాల నుండి వచ్చిన ప్రజలు వివాహానంతరం, డెమ్స్, దుల్లికి, రేలా పాటలకు నృత్యం చేస్తారు. వివిధ కళాకారులు నాటకాలు హాస్యచలోక్తులతో ఉండి సామాజిక స్పృహను కల్గి ఉండి అందరిని కడుపార నవ్విస్తారు. వివిధ గ్రామాల నుండి వచ్చిన యువతి యువకులు తమ పరిచయాలు, సంబంధాలను, స్నేహ సంబంధాలుగా ఏర్పరచుకుంటారు.

కొలాం సమాజంలో వివాహాలు 4 రకాలుగా జరుపుతారు. అవి:

- 1) ఈర్ల 2) పెండ్లిక్ 3) ఇల్లుటమ్ పెండ్లిక్ 4) హెల్డ్

1. ఈర్ల:

పెండ్లికి ముందు ఒకరోజు మాత్రమే జరుపుతారు. తమ గ్రామంలో ఉండే యుక్త వయస్సు కల్గిన యువతి, యువకులు ప్రేమించుకొని తల్లితండ్రులను ఎదిరించలేక ఐదు రోజుల పాటు దూర ప్రాంతాలకు వెళ్లి తమ బంధువుల వద్ద లేక మిత్రుల వద్ద ఉండి తిరిగి తమ స్వగ్రామాలకు వస్తారు. తర్వాత ఎలాంటి ఘర్షణలు లేకుండా సంబంధాలు కలుపుకుంటారు. వారి తల్లిదండ్రులను, బంధువులను పిలిచి గ్రామ పెద్ద, కారోబారి, ఊరి పటేల్, గ్రామ ప్రజల సమక్షంలో పన్నీడ్ ద్వారా తీర్చునిచ్చి, గ్రామ ప్రజల మధ్య, ప్రేమ అనురాగ ఆప్యాయతల మధ్య వివాహం సంబురంగా జరుపుతారు.

ఈర్ల అనేవి రాత్రి వేళనే జరుపుతారు. మొదట వరుడు వధువులకు వారి తనవులకు పసుపు రాసి స్నానం చేయిస్తారు. అదే విధంగా వరుడుకి పంచె (ధోతి), వధువుకు చీర ధరింపజేస్తారు.

ఈర్ల అనంతరం ఊరి పెద్ద దేవరి వారిని ఆశీర్వదించుతాడు. దేలాక్ (దేవరి) సమక్షంలో పోలకమ్మ (ఊరికట్టు బయట ఉండే దేవత)ను దర్శించడానికి డోలు, పెంపెరే వాయిద్యాలతో చాలా సంబురంగా సమూహంగా వెళ్ళుతారు.

సోప్రక్ (వరుడు), సోప్రీ (వధువు)లను పై నుంచి పడదను పట్టుకుంటారు. వారి ముఖాలు ఎవరికి కన్పించకుండా పసుపుతో ముంచిన వస్త్రాలతో కప్పి ఉంచుతారు. ఆమ్మోరు (పొలకమ్మ) బేటిక్ అనంతరం తిరిగి ఊరికి ప్రయాణం అవుతారు.

డోల్, పెంపెరే మార్మోగిస్తూ కళ్యాణ (ఈర్ల) పందిరికి వచ్చిన అనంతరం వారిని చెక్క పీటల మీద కూర్చోబెట్టి నోవ్రక్ (వరుడు) యొక్క పెద్దన్న (పొత్తి) మంగళసూత్రాన్ని ఈర్ల (కళ్యాణ సభికులందరి)కి చూపిస్తారు అందరు నమస్కరించుతారు. వరుడు - వధువు మెడలో పొత్తి (మంగళసూత్రాన్ని) కట్టుతాడు. అక్కడ ఉన్న ప్రజలందరు తల్వోల్ (అక్షింతలు) వేసి దీవించుతారు. ఈర్ల అనంతరం ప్రజలందరు విందు ఆరగించి, డోల్, పెంపెరే మ్రోగించుతు పెళ్ళి పందిరిలో ఈర్లకు వచ్చిన వారందరు డెమ్మ దుల్లికి, కేల్ (నాటకం) ఆడతారు. ఈర్ల పందిరిలో యువతి/యువకుల పాటలు ఆకట్టుకుంటాయి.

డెమ్మపాట :

తెల్లోడి పూత తెల్లోడిపూత

కన్న ఏనా కనునీకిలేదే ఏదే ఏనా సేద్దేనా ఆదిఏనా వారేద్ || 2||

పసుడి పూత పుసుడిపూత

కన్న ఏనా కనునీకిలేదే ఏదే ఏనా సేద్దేనా ఆదిఏనా వారేద్ || 2||

గులాబి పూత గులాబిపూత

కన్న ఏనా కనునీకిలేదే ఏదే ఏనా సేద్దేనా ఆదిఏనా వారేద్ || 2||

ముగ్గి పూత ముగ్గిపూత

కన్న ఏనా కనునీకిలేదే ఏదే ఏనా సేద్దేనా ఆదిఏనా వారేద్ || 2||

తెలుగులో అర్థం :

ఇంత పెద్ద అడవిలో ఎక్కడుందో ఆ తెల్లనైన పువ్వు ఎటైనా వెళ్ళుతున్నప్పుడు జ్ఞాపకం వస్తుంది. దానికి తోడుగా పచ్చని పసుపు పువ్వు నా కన్నులకైనా కనబడటం లేదు. గులాబిపువ్వులుగా ఉండే పువ్వు నాకు కనబడుత లేదు, ముద్ద మందారం పువ్వుత మొఖము చేసి అడవి అంతా వెతుకుతున్నా. నా కన్నులకు కనిపించవే. ఓ తెల్లని పువ్వుమా!

దుల్లికి పాట :

వన్న నీగురే అడవిత్

మట్ పొయ్యిలా సోగ నమ్మితానేవిసాదే || 2||

వన్న నీగురే అడవిత్

మాక్ పొయ్యిలా సోగ నమ్మి ఎన్దోత్ ఇసాదే || 2||

వన్న నీగురే అడవిత్

మక్ పొయ్యిలా సోగ నమ్మి ఎన్దోత్ ఇసాద్ || 2||

వన్న నీగురే అడవిత్

మెట్ పొయ్యిలా సోగ నమ్మి తానేవిసాద్ || 2||

వన్న నీగురే అడవిల్

ఇనే రూపున్ ఒల్స్ పన్దోత్ ఇసాదే || 2||

వన్న నీగురే అడవిత్

మేట్ పొయ్యిలా సోగ నమ్మి తానే విసాదే || 2||

తెలుగులో అర్థం :

వదిన, పచ్చదనంతో నిండిన ఈ అడవి అందాల్లో ఓ అందమైన గొంతుతో నెమలి పాట పాడుతుంది. వదిన నువ్వు విన్నావా!

ఆ కొమ్మపైన ఎగిరే నృత్యం చేస్తుంది. నీ రూపం/అందం చూస్తూ నిన్నే చూస్తూ నృత్యం చేస్తుంది. ఆ నెమలి ఏమని పలకరిస్తుంది? అర్థం చేసుకో.

2. పెండ్లిక్ :

కొలాం సమాజంలో వివాహాన్ని 'పెండ్లిక్' అని పిలుస్తారు. ఈ పెండ్లిక్ మూడు రోజుల పాటు జరుగుతుంది.

ముందుగా వివాహం చేసుకొనే అమ్మాయి గృహానికి వెళ్ళి అమ్మాయిని అడుగుతారు. అమ్మాయి కుటుంబ సభ్యులు అంగీకరిస్తే ఊరిలోని పెద్దవారితోపాటు పట్టుకొని గ్రామ పెద్ద, పటేల్, కారోబారి నాలుగు సగాల వారు కలిసి సంబంధాలు కలుపుకోవడానికి నిర్ణయిస్తారు.

చిదోరిక్ :

పెళ్ళి సంబంధం కుదిరినప్పుడు అబ్బాయి తల్లిదండ్రులు అమ్మాయి తల్లిదండ్రులకు 'చిదోరిక్' పెళ్ళి ఆనవాలు మర్యాదపూర్వకంగా వచ్చి ఇస్తారు. 'చిదోరిక్' అనగా అబ్బాయి పొలంలో పండించిన జొన్న, మొక్కజొన్న పప్పు, దినుసులు, ధాన్యాలు మొదలగునవి. తర్వాత కడియమ్ (నిశ్చితార్థం) చేస్తారు. అనగా కాబోయే వధువుకు వరుడు తరపున ఉంగరం, పట్టీలు (చాయిసీక్) హారాలను ధరింపజేస్తారు.

కడియమ్ కు వరుడు వెళ్ళరు. ఊరి పెద్ద వారు ప్రజలు అందరు సంబురంగా వెళ్ళుతారు. ఊరిలో ప్రజలందరూ భోజనం చేసి రాత్రివేళ కడియమ్ చేయడానికి దూర ప్రాంతాలకు ప్రయాణిస్తారు. ఎడ్లబండిలో సరిపడా ఆహార పదార్థాలతో ప్రయాణం చేస్తారు. కడియమ్ చేయడానికి వచ్చిన వారిని వధువు తల్లిదండ్రులు. మర్యాద పూర్వకంగా రాం.. రాం అని స్వాగతం పలుకుతు నమస్కరిస్తారు.

కడియమ్ చేయడానికి వచ్చిన వారికి తేనీరు, విందు, బీడి(చుట్ట) మొదలైనవి ఇచ్చి తగు సమాచారం, బాగోగులు ప్రయాణం గురించి, విశేషాలు తెలుసుకుంటారు.

కడియమ్ చేయు విధానం :

కొలాం భాషలో వధువును నోవ్రీ అని వరుడిని నోవ్రా అని పిలుస్తారు. నోవ్రా తరపున వచ్చిన కొందరు యువతులు ఇంటిని ఆవుపేడతో శుభ్రం చేస్తారు.

నోవ్రీకి స్నానం చేయించి కొత్త చీరను కట్టుతారు.

నోవ్రీని పీటల మీద కూర్చోబెట్టి నోవ్రా తల్లిదండ్రులు కడియమ్ ఆనవాలు ధరింపజేస్తారు. కడియం తొడిగించిన అనంతరం మేనమామా నోవ్రీని తన దగ్గర కూర్చోపెట్టుకున్న సందర్భంగా మహిళలు పాడే పాట.

పాట :

రేల రేల రే రెల రేల రెల రెల

రేల రేల రేల రెల రేల రేల రెల || 4 సార్లు ||

మామ ఇందద్ మామా బసి

మామ ఇండ్ మామ బసి || 4 ||

తానుంజ మామా ఇంతి బసి

తానుంజ మామా ఇంతి బసి || 4 ||

ఇనే బొయ్లజ వత్తనే మామ

ఇనే బొయ్లజ వత్తనే మామా || 4 ||

నీ కవాడ్ పునేవే మమా

నీ కవాడ్ పునేవే మమా	॥ 4 ॥
కొత్త కవాడ్ గుల్ బెట్టి	
కొత్త కవాడ్ గుల్ బెట్టి	॥ 4 ॥
కవాడున్ పూసె అప్పా	
కవాడున్ పూసె అప్పా	॥ 4 ॥
నీవె లోప వారెవె బసి	
నీవె లోప వారెవె బసి	॥ 4 ॥
లోప వార్నదె బసి	
లోప వార్నదె బసి	॥ 4 ॥
లోపకమ్ అన్నెతే అప్ప	
లోప కమ్ అన్నెతే అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
ఎల్లాన్ అయ్యేకద్ అన్నెత్ అప్ప	
ఎల్లాన్ అయ్యేకద్ అన్నెత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
పోక్లోండ్ కామే అన్నేతే అప్ప	
పోక్లోండ్ కామే అన్నేతే అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
బుగ్గియే సప్పెకద్ అన్నేతే అప్ప	
బుగ్గియే సప్పెకద్ అన్నేతే అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
పొయ్యులే మేగేకద్ అన్నేత్ అప్ప	
పొయ్యులే మేగేకద్ అన్నేత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
ఎల్లయే మేగేకద్ అన్నేత్ అప్ప	
ఎల్లయే మేగేకద్ అన్నేత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
పుర్గు పల్లె అన్నేత్ అప్ప	
పుర్గు పల్లె అన్నేత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
సిట్టి ముంత అన్నేత్ అప్ప	
సిట్టి ముంత అన్నేత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
గంజుగొంది అన్నేత్ అప్ప	
గంజుగొంది అన్నేత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
ఎల్లా ఇదుప్ అన్నెత్ అప్ప	
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కైత చీపుర్ అన్నెత్ అప్ప	॥ 4 ॥
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పోయత బుగ్గిన్ ఉద్దెవె పోయత బుగ్గిన్ ఉద్దెవె బసి
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తెలుగులో అర్థం: కొత్త పెళ్ళి కూతురు (కోడలు)కు అత్తమ్మ పని చెప్పే విధానం.

పెళ్ళికూతురా పెళ్ళికూతరా అంటుంది అత్తమ్మ. ఎందుకు అత్తమ్మ అన్నవే కోడలా...

కోడికూత వినిపించుతుంది లే కోడలా, కోడి చప్పుడు విను. త్వరగా .. బిందెదగ్గరికి వెళ్ళు. కాళ్ళు చేతులు శుభ్రంగా కడుగు, పొయ్యి దగ్గరకు వెళ్ళి పొయ్యి కాళ్ళు మ్రొక్కు. పొయ్యిలో ఉండే బుగ్గిని పారేయ్. పొయ్యిని శుభ్రం చేయ్. చీపుర్ దగ్గర వెళ్ళు. చీపుర్ కాళ్ళు మ్రొక్కు. చీపుర్ చేతిలో పట్టి, ఇంటి శుభ్రం చేసి బయటికి వెళ్ళు. చేతిలో బిందె పట్టి బావి దగ్గరి వెళ్ళు. బిందెను చక్కగా శుభ్రం చేసి నీళ్ళు పట్టుకొని రా.. పొద్దు వెళ్ళుతుంది. అని అత్తమ్మ పని చెప్పే పాట.



'BONAALU': A UNIQUE FESTIVAL OF TELANGANA

-G. Anjaiah

The Indian culture since ancient times was known for many unique rituals, ceremonies, fairs and festivals. The worship of male and female deities, nature, trees, animals, *panchabut* was known since Indus Valley Civilization. Worshipping of Mother Goddesses (*Ammathally*) was established by archaeologists on the basis of excavations carried out at several Indus Valley sites. In the course of time, the rural population started celebrating different types of festivals to mark some significant occasion or events. 'Deccan' and Telangana region also contributed towards the enrichment of Indian culture. The age of Satavahanas, Chalukyas of Vemulawada and Mudigonda, the reign of Kakatiyas, Rachakonda Velamas, Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis enriched the progress of culture in this region. *Gadhasptasati* of Hala, *Kreedhabhiramamu* of Vinukonda Vallabhraya, *Panditharaadhyacharitam* and *Basavapuranam* of Palakurki Somanatha, *Pratapacharitam* of Ekamranatha, *Yayathicharitam*, *Vaijyanthivilasam*, *Sukasaptatii*, *Hamsavimsati* of Qutb Shahi age and works of Muslim scholars such as *Gulshan-Ibrahimi* (Ferishta), *Tarikh-e-Qutbshahi* (an anonymous historian) etc and the foreign travel accounts provide glimpses of the popular culture of Deccan and Telangana. But none of the above sources directly or indirectly had references about the 'Bonalu' festival. There was evidence of *Shivarathri*, *Muharram*, *Dassera*, *Deepavali*, *Holi*, *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Nau-roz* etc in all the contemporary works. The works of eminent scholars like The Religious life in India, The village gods of South India (Grama Devathalu), by Rev Henry, White Heed, D. Bishop, M. Andamma's (2013), *Bonalusabityam*, *Bikshugayakulu* by Yadgiri Sarma and the recent works *Bonalu Mahankalijatara*, *Lashkar; the Story of Secunderabad* provide useful information about Bonalu.



'Bonam' is an abridged word in the local dialect and stands for 'Bhojanam' or 'meals'¹ Bonam. Bonalu traces back to its origin from the village *Jatara* of the Telangana region. Bonam is an offering made by women to village deity. The modern 'Mahankali Jatara' of Secunderabad or 'Ashadam Bonalu' festival of Lashkar was started by an army-employee called 'Suriti Appayya'. According

to tradition, Suriti Appayya was a native of Secunderabad (Lashkar) and in the year 1815 CE he visited the famous 'Ujjain Mahankali Temple' of Madhya Pradesh as a part of his military service. He was a doli bearer. Due to outbreak of epidemic there, Appayya prayed to the Goddess Mahankali of Ujjain to save the people from epidemic, pledging to build a temple in his village i.e., Secunderabad in her name. Accordingly, with Mother's blessing normality was restored. Soon after his return from Ujjain he built a small temple in the present Mahankali street or Regimental bazaar area of Secunderabad and installed a wooden statue of Mahankali.² In the year 1864 CE., the wooden idol of Goddess Mahankali was replaced by the present (*Manikyala Devi*) idol which was traced, while the repairing work of the big well was in progress. So from the year 1815, onwards *Mahankali Temple* and the power of *Goddesses* received the support and won the trust of all the sections of people. Thus the present Mahankali Jatara is more than two hundred years old.

DECORATION OF BONAM

The decoration/preparation of Bonam on the day of festival is a very pious activity. It requires a lot of technique and art. Only Sumangali women take care of this activity. In olden times only Black-mud pot was used to prepare Bonam. Now Silver, Gold, Copper, Bronze, Metal made Binde or Sarvas are in use. Kumkum, Haldi, Sunnam, Rice flour, Neem leaves, etc are to be pasted after cleaning and drying the pot; says the. Pujari or Pochamma temple priest of Shivanagar Village, Sanga Reddy District.³



COOKING OF FOOD

'*Naivedyam*' preparation is an important step in the preparation of Bonam before it is taken to Ammavari Temple. Generally most of the families cook the Jaggery rice (*Parmannam*), Curd rice (*Perugu saddhi*), Turmeric rice (*Pasupu annam*), Pulihora rice to place in the main Bonam pot/Binde/Sarva. The devotees place specially cooked green leaf curry in it. Then they place *small size chembu* or gurigi on the top of the main pot and on the top a jyothi (lamp) is placed in a *Deepam*. Oil or ghee is used to lit the lamp. After the completion of decoration/preparation the devotees visit temple to offer Bonam. Coconuts, Maisaachi, Oodh, Perugu or Kallu, saaka Chembu, Cocks, Goats,

rams are also taken along with the Bonam to offer to the Ammavaru. In these days, 'Thotella' became main offering in Bonalu celebration. 'Thottela is made with different coloured papers and bamboo specially tied with tags in different shapes and sizes; says Smt. Bottu Varaalu (68), resident of Bandimet, Secunderabad.⁴

MAHANKALI JATARA OF LASHKAR

The Mahankali Jatara of Secunderabad or Lashkar is an important glittering festival of Telangana region since 1956. After the formation of new Telangana State in 2014, the government declared it as State Festival along with Bathukamma. The Mahankali Temple bustles with busy activity when the Bonalu festival starts in the month of July (*Ashadam*). It

is a fifteen days festival in Lashkar. But the two days Bonalu and Rangam days attract thousands of devotees. On the day of Bonalu thousands of women come to the temple with decorated Bonam made with mud pot, or Silver/Bronze/Golden Bindhe. The festival concludes with the selection of a young virgin as an oracle. She predicts the main events of the coming year. The devotees decorate the Bonam with Red, Yellow, White colors and Neem leaves(branches) which are the chief attraction⁵. According to local tradition the Secunderabad Bonalu is 204 years old



festival. The Secunderabad Bonalu includes the following events: Ghatam Edurkollu (Karbala Maidan Cross Roads), Himam Bhavi, Nallagutta, Paan bazaar, Rangreza Bazar, Uppar Basti, Chilkalguda, Bansilalpet, Regimental bazaar. The Ghatam procession proceeds through all the above streets and reaches the *Mahankali* temple. *Potharajulu* and their dances stands as the chief attraction of Bonalu Festival. They dance in different styles according to the music and beat of different drums and musical instruments. The *Potharajus* decorates their body with Kumkm and Turmaric. The *Potharaju* leads the women carrying the Bonam to Pochamma/Ellamma/Mysamma/Muthyalamma Temple of village. But with the advent of urbanization in Telangana, Hyderabad and Secunderabad twin cities became main centres for Bonalu Festival. The main temples of Golkonda Fort, the Ujjain Mahankali Temple of Lashkar and Simmahavini Temple of Laldarwaza became very popular. Two Days programme of in the above temples pulls huge crowds to which the dances of *Potharajulu* adds more colour. There was no uniform opinion among the scholars regarding the origin of *Potharaju* and his role in the *Bonalu* Festival.

But most of them agree that Potharaju was the brother of Village Goddess. He protects her from all evil spirits and she protects the entire village people. The last ritual of closing ceremony (*Saaganappudu*) takes place at Mettuguda

RANGAM

'Rangam' is an important event of the Bonalu festival generally at all major temples, especially at Secunderabad Mahankaali Ammavari Temple and Laldarwaza Simhavahini. Rangam is arranged on the second day of the festival. In general '*Rangam*' means the decorated stage and the Mother enters into a '*matangi*', unmarried woman, and tells about the future for forthcoming year. An unmarried woman, who performs pujas sacredly, gets the blessings of the mother and is chosen for this act. She gets decorated in a very systematic style. Spreading her longhair, with turmeric pasted on her face, with a big size Pot or Bindu on the forehead, she shakes herself as perfect emulation of mother and narrates the future about the village/city/state/country, health, natural calamities etc. She also answers the various questions asked by devotees or viewers standing on an unbaked pot. The Rangam is the proof of Mother's magical powers to the people. It ends with *harathi*. Even in the age of science and technology and modernity, the 'Rangam' programme of Secunderabad and Laldarwaza pulls huge crowds..

GOLKONDA FORT BONALU

Golkonda fort, which stood as the symbol of Kakatiya and Qutb Shahi valour is also an important centre of Bonalu. According to one view, in the Golkonda fort 'Madanna' the minister of last Qutbshahi Sultan Abul-Hasan Tanashah, built the temple for goddess Ekamma in the year 1675CE. Thus the Golkonda Bonalu or Darbarmaisamma Ammavari Bonalu starts well before the Lashkar or Laldarwaza or Dhoolpet Bonalu. Here the festival activity starts well before the Secunderabad Mahankali Bonalu. Generally in the month of June only Golkonda Bonalu starts and the devotees from surrounding villages attend this jatra. State Government makes special arrangements to conduct the Bonalu at Golkonda fort in a smoothway.⁶

LALDARWAZA-SIMHAVAHINI BONALU

Lal Darwaza, Alia-Darwaza, situated five km towards South of Charminar is a place where the famous Simhavahini temple is situated. According to local tradition in the year 1905 CE, sixth Nizam Mir-Mahaboob Ali Pasha

donated five acres of land to build the temple. This shows the religious tolerance of the Nizam rulers.⁷

CONCLUSION

Bonalu is a form of worshipping Mother goddesses, which is as old as Indian Civilization. In modern era Bonalu is receiving support of all sections. 'Pothurajula chindulu' with modern musical instruments, film songs, D.J. arrangements became chief attraction in Hyderabad and its surrounding villages. It became the symbol of Telangana identity. Political parties irrespective of their ideology take part in Bonalu celebrations.

NOTES

1. B. Narsing Rao (Ed.), *The 'Bonalu', The Mahankali Jatara*, Telangana Sahitya Kala Vedika, 2019, p.263.
2. Narendra Luther., *Lashkar, The Story of Secunderabad*, Kalakriti Art Gallery, 2010, pp.64-65.
3. *Interview with Smt. Poojari Pochamma*, Priest of Pochamma Temple of Shivanagar village, Sangareddy District Aged 72 (Mudiraj Community) on 06-06-2015
4. *Interview with Smt. Bottu Varalu*, aged 68, Resident of Bandimet, Secunderabad on 10-7-2015.
5. B. Narsing Rao (Ed.), *The Bonalu, The Mahankali Jatara*, Telangana Sahitya Kala Vedika, 2019; Eenadu Telugu Daily p.8, dated 19-7-2019 Hyderabad District Edition.
6. Narendra Luther., *Lashkar, The Story of Secunderabad*, Kalakriti Art Gallery, 2010, pp.64-65.
7. B. Narsing Rao (Ed.), *The 'Bonalu', The Mahankali Jatara*, Telangana Sahitya Kala Vedika, 2019, p.263



OPINION:

The publication of TRC Journal under the able editorship of Prof. Adapa Satyanarayana and his expert team is timely. It fills the gap in historical research and serves as a forum for interdisciplinary research. I am confident that this Journal will encourage young scholars to explore new areas of research in regional history. It is destined to publish path-breaking research in the historical arena. I congratulate the Editor and publisher of the journal, for bringing out an independent, peer-reviewed Publication that focuses on qualitative research on Telangana and Deccan History and caters to the need of the research scholars and academia.

-Dr. E. Sivanagi Reddy

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Book Review

HYDERABAD 1948: AN AVOIDABLE INVASION

By SYED ALI HASHMI, Pharos Meida Publishing House, 2017

- E. Sudha Rani

‘Hyderabad 1948: An Avoidable Invasion’ by Syed Ali Hashmi is a testimony of what had happened in Hyderabad in 1948, with regard to accession of the Hyderabad State in to Indian union. The main objective of this book is to prove that police action by the Indian government was illegal and against various treaties the Hyderabad government signed with British India. To prove that the accession was a violation of human rights of Hyderabadis, he gathered evidence from his personal experiences, oral interviews and other sources. However, the author’s knitting of evidences appears to be subjective and biased to defend his view point.

The author maintains that the Razakar movement was parallel to Arya Samaj to serve the Muslim community of Hyderabad and narrates the evolution of the movement from the start of it, but he nowhere mentions the atrocities committed by them on non-Muslim communities of Hyderabad. As far as academic evidences quoted in the book with regard to the police action, the author selectively chose one sided view and not considered the others. The writings of Mir Laik Ali, Rajendra Prasad, Veldurti Manikya Rao and Bilkees Latif mentioned about the violence committed by Razakars too while arguing against police action by Indian Union. The author went to the extent of accusing the United Nations Security Council for not discussing the merit of the case. He further holds that the then Secretary General of UN who was a British national and sympathetic towards the Labour Party had favored the Indian Union.

The book has been divided into three chapters. Chapter -1, ‘Prologue to Partition’ deals with the events leading to the granting of freedom by the British. He quotes how the Cripps plan left the fate of the Princely States to the Indian Union and Cabinet plan’s proposal for federal state was defeated with the appointment of Mount Batten as the Viceroy of India. Further, the author defends his argument by mentioning the unique features of the Hyderabad state, such as the cosmopolitan culture, geographical area, and modern trends in administration taking care of the welfare of weaker sections in the society. He also compared the then situation in Hyderabad with that of Kashmir and brings out that Kashmir was communal in its approach but not the Hyderabad State. He subtly makes a point that the princely state of Kashmir was given special status post police action;

whereas the Hyderabad state was accessed completely though it is secular and modern in its approach and administration.

In chapter two, 'Hyderabad among Native States' the author extensively narrated about the unique socio-cultural milieu of Hyderabad state, and how the cosmopolitan culture of Hyderabad and the social fabric that binds people from various social, cultural, ethnic and religious groups as Hyderabadis. This is the biggest chapter in the book. In this, he explains how the police action was unwarranted and has destroyed the unique culture of Hyderabad. He quotes that even Sarojini Naidu lamented that "my country lost its freedom". The author criticizes both the Indian government and police brutality thoroughly. The author clarifies that he is against the 'police action'. In this chapter the author has particularly mentioned about genesis of Majlis and Razakar Movement in Hyderabad State. Significantly, this chapter is more focused on dairy of events like as Hyderabad case in British Parliament, negotiations with government of India, Nizam's struggles for amicable understanding with various government agencies.

The third Chapter, 'the Fate of Ittehad Leaders', explains the origin, growth and popularity of several Muslim organizations in the state and their leadership. In this chapter he mentions that the caste based Hindu feudal society is one of the major reasons for violence in the state, while not mentioning the atrocities committed by Muslim fanatics. Further, he accuses the UNSC is biased towards the Indian union under the leadership of Nehru and shelved the complaint of the Nizam without considering the violation of human rights by the police.

In chapter four, the author sketches through oral interviews the 'destruction' of the State of Hyderabad and the decision-making process. The author expresses his un-happiness about Sardar Patel's decision and holds him responsible for the 1948 Police Action in Hyderabad. He writes that Patel had no respect for Hyderabad's composite culture and had no concern about the grievances of Muslims.

To conclude, Syed Ali argument of 'Hyderabad 1948 an avoidable invasion' may be right if the same thing could have been achieved through nonviolent measures or strategies. Definitely the violence perpetrated by the police in the process had left unforgettable tragedy for many families, belonging to Muslims as well as Hindus and others. However, the author could have been more balanced in articulating his views about this tragedy.



OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Sivanagi Reddy Emani born on 15th April, 1955, at Valiveru in Guntur Dt., underwent a 4 year Training in Traditional Sculptural and Architecture from S.V. Silpakalasala, Tirupati. He obtained M.A., in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology from Osmania University and was awarded Ph. D in History from Hyderabad Central University. He joined the Department of Archaeology & Museums in 1978 and transplanted 100 temples (built between 7th to 17th Centuries CE.) threatened submergence of Srisilam Reservoir. Reddy wrote many books and articles on History, Culture, Archaeology, Buddhism and Tourism. He is currently working as CEO, The Cultural Centre of Vijayawada & Amaravati.

Ashok Kumar Goel (A.K.Goel) was born in a village near Delhi in 1950. After his early education, he graduated from IIT, Kharagpur in Electronics and Electrical Communication followed by post-graduation from IIT, Khanpur. After a selection in IAS in 1974, he came to Andhra Pradesh and served in various capacities in the State and Central Government. In 2010 after superannuation, he joined Telangana Rashtra Samithi. Subsequently, he served as Advisor to the Government of Telangana. A.K. Goel is presently working on a Project, relating to Socio-Economic History of Telangana, Land and its People.

Kandukuri Ramesh is an Academician, Educational Administrator and Scholar of Modern Indian History with specialization on the Left movements in Contemporary History of Telugu States. His publications are: *The Left Legacy Andhra Experience 1934-56*, *Telangana Armed Struggle: Ideology & Leadership*. He has contributed a dozen Research papers in leading Historical journals and published several articles on Education. Dr Ramesh is a National awardee (National Literacy Mission) and NCERT Awardee. He was PGT and Principal in Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas and served as Deputy Director in Apex bodies of higher education i.e., DEC & UGC and presently serving in IGNOU.

Gautam Pingle was born and raised in Hyderabad in a family that was closely connected with the state processes since the Nizam's period. After his early education, he studied and obtained his BSc (Econ)(Hons) from University College, London and the Ph.D. from Glasgow University. His book "Fall and Rise of Telangana" was released by Orient BlackSwan in March 2014. Its Telugu version appeared in October 2015. Since March 2017 he has been Dean of Studies and Head of the Center for Telangana Studies at MCR HRD Institute of Telangana.

G. Naga Sridhar has deep interests in the History of Deccan in general and Telangana and Andhra regions in particular. He taught for few years at the University of Hyderabad and Central University of Karnataka. Presently, he is

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GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Articles for publication should be neatly typed, double-spaced with wide margins, on one side of an A4 side paper. Font: Times New Roman; Size: 12 pt.; Line Spacing: 1.5; Italics are used for emphasis. Sub-headings are not to be numerated.
2. For referencing, Chicago Manual of Style is preferred in the following order:

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