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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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ON

HYDERABAD

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CONTENTS

APPENDICES

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Hyderabad brochure.—In a brochure recently issued by the Nizam's Government it is stated:—"The Nizam feels bound to maintain individual entity of Hyderabad with its special problems, history and traditions."

It further states:

> "Among the 600 Indian States Hyderabad was the largest and its Ruler, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, held a unique and pre-eminent position. The Nizam's dominions are larger than the United Kingdom and about the half the size of France. His subjects number seventeen millions, more than twice the population of any other Indian State and more than Canada, Australia and any other Dominion outside the Indian sub-continent. Hyderabad has its own Government, its own civil service, its own modern army, its own police, university, railways and industries. Its finances are organised on modern lines with a budget and what is in these days abnormal, the budget is surplus."

Then follows the astounding assertion "Hyderabad, in fact, is a country and is organised as a country."

Hyderabad's so called special problems.—What are Hyderabad's special problems? The main problem would seem to be the perpetuation of Hyderabad's feudal structure. The other problems apparently relate to the mechanics, which include the organisation of militant elements of the minority population to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the people; preparations for an armed conflict, etc.

Hyderabad's History.—The history of Hyderabad is in itself an effective answer to the Nizam's pretentions to independence. Nor are the traditions of Hyderabad such as to admit of being invoked with any measure of pride or satisfaction. Hyderabad historically belongs to that category of the States which were founded by the agents of foreign invaders and is, therefore, relatively of a later origin compared to several other ancient historic States. A special feature of the history of Hyderabad has been that not only did it never enjoy independence but it also never established a legitimate claim to it by making any sacrifices in the cause of independence. The Rulers of Hyderabad were never able to maintain themselves without foreign protection. Even while under the vassalage of the Moghul Emperor the State first came under the military protectorate of the French and later of the British. Yet another feature of the history of Hyderabad has been the readiness of its Rulers to transfer their allegiance to the stronger power. Lastly, an important characteristic of the history of Hyderabad has been the full impact of the paramountcy of the British Crown not only in external affairs of the State but also in respect of its internal affairs.

Hyderabad under paramountcy.—The major part of the history of Hyderabad is linked with British rule in India. During this period, in all the essentials of the feudal system in India, the Nizam stood in the same category as other chiefs. The Paramount Power operated as a standing check on misrule in Hyderabad. The Resident's intervention in State affairs had been practically continuous since 1800 and the Paramount Power intervened more frequently and decisively in Hyderabad than in any other major State. The honorific title of 'Faithful Ally' was of little moment when compared with the historical fact of the position actually accorded to the Nizam by the Paramount Power. The treaty position of the Nizam in respect of non-intervention in internal matters was no better than that of a group of States which included even some 13 gun-salute States. The British Government interposed from time to time its authority in Hyderabad, in the military affairs, in the revenue administration, in the selection

INTRODUCTION

Government of India's approach to problem of States.—The approach of the Government of India to the problem of Hyderabad has been governed by their general policy towards the Indian States. India is not a mere geographical expression but an economic and political entity. The States are an integral part of India. The economic and political unity of India was maintained till the lapse of Paramountcy by the Crown, which operating through the Political Officers, provided the nexus between the Indian States and the Central and Provincial Governments. The pivot of this arrangement was the Viceroy, who represented to the Indian States the suzerainty of the British Crown, while at the same time, he was, in relation to British India, the head of the Government. The Indian Independence Act relieved the States from all their obligations to the Crown and in consequence India's unity was seriously threatened with disintegration. The Government of India sought to avert this grave threat by negotiating constitutional relationship with the Indian States on the basis of their accession to the Dominion of India on the three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications. This was no emotional approach nor any expansionist policy, nor power politics. Highly practical reasons of geography, all-compelling defence and internal security requirements and other equally strong considerations rendered India's organic unification imperative. The following quotation from Sir Reginald Coupland shows very clearly how vital this unity is to the very existence of the Dominion of India:—

> "An India deprived of the States would have lost all coherence. For they form a great cruciform barrier separating all four quarters of the country. If no more than the Central Indian States and Hyderabad and Mysore were excluded from the Union, the United Provinces would be almost completely cut off from Bombay, and Bombay completely from Sind. The strategic and economic implications are obvious enough. The practicability of Pakistan must be admitted, but the more the separation of the States from British India is considered, the more impracticable it seems. India could live if its Moslem limbs in the North-West and North-East were amputated, but could it live without its heart?"

Accession of States.—The Rulers of Indian States realised that it was better for both the Provinces and the States "to make laws sitting together as friends than to make treaties as aliens", and they acceded to the Dominion of India before the lapse of paramountcy and also executed Standstill Agreements. The Nizam dreamt of independence and procrastinated.

Policy of integration and democratisation.—The accession of the States to the Dominion of India was the first phase of the Government of India's policy to fit the States into the constitutional structure of India. The second phase was their consolidation into viable and sizeable units and their democratisation. This policy was based on their recognition of the patent fact that if the States were to find an honourable and lasting place in free and democratic India, their polities must be readjusted on the basis of the supremacy of popular interests. The sincerity of purpose with which the Government of India have pursued this policy is borne out by the fact that within a period of less than a year the inner and external set up of the States has been completely revolutionised and constitutions based upon the principle of full transfer of power to the people are operating in the States and the newly formed Unions of States. The Rulers were quick to appreciate the change and accepted the Government of India's policy of integration and democratisation. The Nizam alone refused to march with the times.

and appointment of Ministers and maintaining them in office, in introducing reforms and in reorganisation of the finances; in compelling the Nizam to control his sons and to regulate their education, installing the Nizams and investing them with full powers. The British authority was also repeatedly asserted to induce in the Nizam's mind a conception of his position more in accord with history, precedent and with his own interests. Finally, Lord Reading in his letter dated 23rd March, 1926, gave a public burial to the Nizam's claim to revolve in an orbit of his own.

Untenable claim on the basis of ordinary attributes of administrative units.—Geographically, Hyderabad is not the largest, but the second largest State. Numerically, it can claim to be the most populous Indian State, but considering the fact that the civil liberties and rights of the vast majority are ruthlessly curbed and circumscribed, the State would seem to consist politically of its fascist minority alone. Politically Hyderabad is a land of stagnant back-waters and ranks as the most backward amongst the Indian States as they exist to-day.

The Hyderabad State has no doubt its Government, civil service, police force, budget and industries. Most of the 600 units that were known as States at the lapse of paramountcy, had these attributes of separate administrative entities. Some had Governments, progressive in character such as those of the neighbouring States in the South; others less mediaeval or more compared to that of Hyderabad. All these States have rapidly moved with the times and have now a democratic set up. Hyderabad alone has a Government totally unrepresentative of the majority of the people.

A mere glance at the relative ratio of the minority and majority population in services should be sufficient to condemn the basic structure of the Civil Service of the Hyderabad State. Hyderabad maintains a farcical system of recruitment, which assigns privileged position to certain sections and is based on unmasked favouritism and nepotism. The budget of the Hyderabad State again is a standing condemnation of the system which allows an autocrat to appropriate vast sums from the public exchequer for his personal comforts and idiosyncracies.

Hyderabad has no doubt an army. A number of other States also maintain armed forces with most creditable martial traditions behind them. The forces of the States have a definite place in the over-all defence structure of India. Under their engagements with the British Hyderabad was not entitled to keep an army larger than that of important States such as Gwalior. However, the Hyderabad forces have of late been clandestinely expanded to back the Nizam's bid for power.

The Hyderabad State has a currency. So have several others. This currency has survived only because it is linked with Indian currency at a fixed rate of exchange.

The Hyderabad State has a postal system of its own. Fourteen other States were entitled to maintain a separate postal system. Of these, five known as Convention States including the State of Chamba, which has since been integrated in the Himachal Pradesh, had superior postal rights, in that the mail bearing its over-printed stamps was carried by the postal department of the Government of India all over the country.

A number of States likewise have their own railways telephone and telegraph lines. The States of Mysore, Travancore and Rajputana have their own universities.

Mask of communal unity.—These ordinary attributes of an administrative unit which Hyderabad retains in common with other States make out no case for Independence. The overriding consideration the Hyderabad brochure

boldly asserts, that weighed with the Nizam in choosing independence, was his desire to maintain Hyderabad's traditions of unity and friendship between all classes of the population which would have been imperilled by his accession to India. It needs some courage to make such a statement on behalf of the Ruler of a State in which the minority monopolises all rights and privileges and the majority has no civil liberties and lives in a State of utter serfdom.

Implications of the lapse of paramountcy.—The Nizam and his apologists have made much of the argument that in the circumstances attending the British Government's declaration of the lapse of paramountcy, it was open to the Nizam to remain independent. This is divorcing the British Government's declaration from its context. The British Government's policy and intentions regarding the lapse of paramountcy are clearly indicated in the Memorandum dated 12th May, 1946, in regard to States Treaties and Paramountcy, which specifically stated that the void created by the lapse of paramountcy will have to be filled either by the States entering into federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them. These particular arrangements which were to be the only alternative to federal relationship, could not but be in the nature of paramountcy or subordinate association of the States with the successor Governments. The Cabinet Mission's Statement dated 16th May, 1946, also while recognising the principle that paramountcy was not to be transferred to the new Government presupposed the willing co operation of the States and the plan had as its integral part the accession of the States to the Dominion of India in respect of the three subjects of defence foreign affairs and communications. Although the Cabinet Mission's plan was superseded by the British Government's Statement of 3rd June, 1947, it undoubtedly embodied their considered policy as regards the position of the States under the future polity of India.

Future of people not governed by legalistic claims of doubtful validity.—The future of political communities and States is not governed by such declarations. An issue like this involving the defence of India, the integrity of her territory, the peace and security of the country and above all the common interests of the State of Hyderabad as well as India could not be allowed to be solved by mere legalistic claims of doubtful validity. The lives of millions of people cannot be trifled with on the dubious ground that one individual claims to acquire such a right through processes affecting paramountcy, which the British themselves claimed to derive not from any treaty or declaration but from the fact of their being the dominant power in India. Whatever the legal implications of the lapse of paramountcy may be, the British declaration of policy did not apply to the Nizam alone; it applied to all the six hundred States. The Nizam alone chose to make himself the sole heir to the rights flowing from this declaration.

The Standstill Agreement.—The Government of India invited the Nizam to accede to India as they believed, accession would give Hyderabad a place of honour and dignity in India's constitutional structure. They had at no time any doubt that linked as Hyderabad is with India the establishment of an organic relationship between the two by the accession of the State on the three subjects would prove to be the only solution of the problem of the Hyderabad State. The Nizam's Government asked for a period of two months for further consideration which was granted, and Lord Mountbatten was entrusted with the task of conducting further negotiations. On 29th November, 1947, the Government of India entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Nizam without the accession of the State to the Dominion of India. This was an exceptional arrangement to which the Government of India had not agreed in the case of any other State. In the case of the Hyderabad State they acquiesced in such an arrangement to

accommodate the viewpoint that the Nizam's Government had to overcome some internal difficulties. The Government of India hoped that the agreement would bring Hyderabad closer to India and they believed that given an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, it would be possible for the Nizam to come to the only right and appropriate decision, namely accession to India. It was also felt that the maintenance for a limited period of the *status quo* between the Government of India and the Nizam on the lines on which his relationship is regulated with the Crown Representative minus paramountcy would promote this end. The events that have followed have belied the Government of India's expectations and they have only proved that concessions to intransigence and dictatorial tendencies solve no problems; the unsolved problems come home to roost.

Government of India's gesture of goodwill.—The Government of India spared no effort to implement the agreement in the spirit in which it was concluded. They had agreed as a part of this agreement to withdraw their troops stationed in the Cantonment of Secunderabad. They carried out that very important part of the bargain. It was a very important part because the Government of India troops staying in Secunderabad dominated Hyderabad in a military way. Nothing could have been easier than to maintain these forces in the heart of the State and thus control the situation in the State. Yet in their desire to make the agreement a success the Government of India withdrew their troops from Hyderabad. What has been the response of the Nizam's Government to this gesture of goodwill?

Nizam's Government's disappointing response.—While trying to extract the maximum advantage from the agreement and the respite that it gave them to assert the independence of Hyderabad, they have acted in violation of the agreement from the very moment of its conclusion. Even while the agreement was being negotiated they were engaged in a major breach of it in the form of negotiating an advance of a loan to the Pakistan Government. Other serious breaches of the agreement have been made in respect of external affairs, communications and other matters of common concern. As regards matters relating to defence, they repudiated in terms and defied in action their obligations under the Indian State Forces Scheme of 1939, a basic agreement saved by the Standstill Agreement. Under this scheme the Crown—now by virtue of the Standstill Agreement the Government of India—has the power to regulate the strength and the classification of the units of the State forces. They unauthorisedly increased their army, started manufacturing arms and ammunition; purchased war materials and smuggled them into the State; threw out a network of agents throughout India to smuggle arms, ammunition and military equipment from the Indian Provinces.

Preparations for an armed conflict have been going on at high speed. For some months past Hyderabad has been a war camp. Gun-running is being carried on by land and by air. Of the means adopted the recent flight of Mr. Sydney Cotton from Karachi to Hyderabad across the Indian territory in open violation of the Indian regulations may be cited as an instance. A network of hostile propaganda machinery has been organised by the Nizam and his Government both in India and abroad to malign the Government of India.

The most alarming feature of recent developments in Hyderabad which is seriously straining the goodwill and the friendly intentions of the Government of India towards Hyderabad, has been the rapid growth of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and its semi-militarised organisation of the Razakars with the active and sustained support of the Nizam and his Government. The Ittehad and the Razakars have embarked upon a virulent anti-Indian campaign, and are indulging in most provocative anti-Indian activities. In many parts of the State, their savage atrocities culminating in a large number of incidents have brought about a virtual collapse of law and order. The contiguous districts of the three Indian Provinces, Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces

and Berar, have been raided again and again. The agents of the Razakars have formed centres in many of the Indian Provinces and States and have been responsible for creating communal tension. These activities of the Razakars carried on under the inspiration and support of the Nizam and his Government have been a grave menace to the public tranquility of India. In the course protracted negotiations the Government of India repeatedly drew the attenti of the Nizam's Government to the desirability of their taking effective measur for stopping the border raids, disbanding the Razakars and thereby creating situation in which the tension which was mounting high in the whole count would subside; but the Nizam's Government have persisted in their refus to cooperate.

Profession of friendship belied by actions.—The Nizam and his Governme have been ostentatiously professing a desire to keep friendly relations with In and to enter into a permanent association with her. Inside the velvet glove these professions stands, however, the mailed fist of the ranting and ravi leader of the Razakars who threatens to march to Delhi to fly the Asafia fl over the Red Fort. The extent to which his hold on the Nizam has been co solidated is evident from the fact that he could stop by show of physical for the Chhattari delegation from proceeding to Delhi to conclude an agreement; h could also secure the resignation of Chhattari Ministry and put into office Ministry of his choice.

Mr. Razvi's bullying tactics.—Under Mr. Razvi's influence the fasci technique is in full swing in Hyderabad. Thus for instance until recently th Nizam's Government were most vehement in their denouncement of the Com munists; in fact, the *raison detre* of the Razakar movement was sought in the role as saviours of the State from the Communist menace. Now the Nizam pro-Ittehad Government have lifted the five year old ban on the Communis and efforts are being made for an Ittehad-Communist alliance to mak common cause against India. The Nizam's Government are pressing in service against India all elements communal, feudal and communist. All th is anti-democratic or anti-Indian is grist to the Ittehad mill.

Rejection of responsible government and plebiscite proposals.—The approac of the Nizam and his Government to the basic issues involved lends no suppo to their professions of a desire to enter into a permanent association wit India. During the negotiations conducted in recent months, the Nizam's Go ernment rejected the suggestion made by the Governor-General on behalf of th Government of India for Hyderabad's accession to the Indian Dominion. The also rejected another suggestion made by the Government of India for th establishment of responsible Government as they apprehended that this wou also lead to accession. The Government of India had offered as early as Augu 1947 facilities to enable the Nizam to test the will of the people by sendin British officers to conduct a referendum on the issue of accession but the off was declined by the Nizam. In a cryptic reply to the Governor-General h asserted that "the problems of the constitutional position of Hyderabad are suc that the question of referendum does not arise". It was again suggested o behalf of the Government of India in April 1948 that there should be a plebisci and that some arrangements should be made for carrying on administration the State which would ensure a fair and impartial plebiscite. The Governme of India persistently emphasized their basic policy that in such matters the w of the people must be the determining factor. The proposal was, howeve rejected by Mir Laik Ali, who expressed himself against a plebiscite on th amazing ground that the announcement of the intention to hold a plebisci will result in the deterioration of the law and order situation in the State. Th recent effusive declarations of the Nizam in favour of plebiscite have to b viewed against this background; these declarations conveniently shelve th

fundamental issue that a plebiscite in Hyderabad has no meaning so long as a Government hostile to the popular interests is in power and enables the Razakar terrorists to hold a vast majority of population to ransom.

Last phase of negotiations.—Mir Laik Ali suggested that instead of an Instrument of Accession there should be an Instrument of Association. The Government of India agreed for the time being not to press their demand for accession but to enter into an agreement on the basis of the application of the legislation of the Government of India to Hyderabad in respect of the three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications. The principle of overriding legislation by the Government of India was first accepted by Mir Laik Ali but was subsequently repudiated. The Government of India in order to meet the wishes of the Nizam deleted the provision and also accepted another important amendment in respect of the provisions relating to the Constituent Assembly. Several other amendments proposed by the Nizam's Government were also agreed to by the Government of India in the interest of peace and in their anxiety to reach a settlement. While the Government of India had thought that the agreement had been finalised by his delegation, the Nizam again declined to accept it until some other points including the principle of freedom of trade and economic and fiscal arrangements were accepted. This could not be accepted by the Government of India as it repudiated the whole basis on which the agreement was sought to be negotiated. The Nizam also made the allegation, which was subsequently withdrawn, that some alterations had been made in the draft without the knowledge of Mir Laik Ali.

Immediate advantage guide to negotiations.—The manner in which the Nizam's Government have conducted these negotiations prove it beyond doubt that no principle but immediate advantage had been the guide to these negotiations. It is a long story of repeated journeys of the Prime Minister and other Ministers and Advisers of the Hyderabad Government to Delhi and back. They came and went back more than once with provisional agreements, which were subsequently repudiated.

Government of India's effort to accommodate.—In spite of the fact that public opinion in India has been most critical of the Government of India's policy towards Hyderabad, in their anxiety to avert the consequences of a conflict they went to the farthest limit, consistent with the fundamentals governing the issues involved, to accommodate the Nizam's Government. They are now convinced that it will serve no purpose to hold any further negotiations with the Nizam's Government until there is a change on their part in regard to the basis of their approach to the problem. Every move of the Nizam's Government has the avowed intent of emphasising the sovereignty and independence of Hyderabad. This repudiates the very basis of the Standstill Agreement, which required that *status quo* (including the position of Hyderabad as a State in association with India and having no external status) should be maintained.

Hyderabad's independence threat to India's security.—India cannot accept Hyderabad's claim to independence as an independent Hyderabad will be a grave threat to the defence, internal security and economy of India. An independent State completely landlocked within the heart of another is an unheard of proposition. To compare Hyderabad to Switzerland or Austria, on the ground that they are landlocked and have no access to sea, is to turn one's back to elementary history and geography. Switzerland and Austria have common fontiers with more than one State and their polities and economy have accordingly developed on a different basis. If all the Provinces of India were independent States and one of the three Provinces bordering Hyderabad questioned the right of this State to independence on the ground that it was landlocked, the analogy of Switzerland and Austria would hold good. As it is,

however, the distinctive and decisive feature of Hyderabad's geographical set-up is that if it makes with a foreign State any defence, economic or other arrangements, which are prejudicial to India's interests, it cannot implement such arrangements without violating India's sovereignty over her own territories. An anology nearer the mark will be provided if the State of Colorado asserted independence against the U.S.A. and the county of Worceste or Warwick against Great Britain. Even more perverse is the astounding statement that India's demand for Hyderabad's accession is comparable to Canada's demand for the incorporation of Newfoundland, a separate island State, having no geographical link with Canada.

With a vast majority of its population eager to throw off the age-long tyranny of personal rule Hyderabad will be an easy prey to any foreign power. It is protected from external aggression by India and is virtually an Indian protectorate. The Government of India cannot allow the Nizam and his Government to abuse this position and to develop Hyderabad into a base for foreign anti-Indian influence, or vested interests in complete repudiation of the elementary obligations to India inherent in Hyderabad's geographical set-up.

Grave dangers of Hyderabad's policy.—The grave dangers to which an independent Hyderabad would expose India are already beginning to manifest themselves. The Nizam's Government are not only engaging themselves in foreign contacts prejudicial to India's interests but are also disrupting India's economy by trying to divorce the economy of this State from that of India and linking it with other countries. The Ittehad and the Razakars constitute a serious threat to the peace and tranquility of India. Their activities threaten to provoke retaliation from those in India, who sympathise with the unhappy lot of the majority population in Hyderabad. By their constant efforts to appeal to the communal instincts of the Muslim minority in India, the Razakars are trying to subvert the loyalty of the Indian Muslims to the Dominion.

Conflict between democracy and fascism.—The Government of India stand for a democratic and secular India and for an India in which each citizen has freedom to pursue his own religion and has equal rights and opportunities and obligations as the other. India aims at a polity where there would be freedom of opportunities for all, freedom from soul-cramping communalism and the opportunity to grow and to serve onself while serving others. India has paid the supreme price of the martyrdom of the Nation's Father in her pursuit of that great ideal.

Hyderabad of today, on the other hand, is not only a stronghold of mediaeval feudalism but also a plague spot of militant fascism and communal fanaticism. The political structure of Hyderabad is the very antithesis of democracy; the Razakar ideology, which dominates Hyderabad, is automatically and irrevocably against popular freedom and democratic concepts.

The frontiers of India cannot be insulated against the seepage of the poison which permeates Hyderabad of today. In the same country democracy and militant fascism cannot function in separate compartments. Either one or the other must prevail; either one or the other must go under.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

The history of Hyderabad is singularly devoid of any distinguishing features which constitute the heritable traditions of a State or a nation. Historically, Hyderabad falls in the category of the States which were founded by the officials of the foreign invaders and consolidated during the emergence of the British power. Neither, therefore, in its origin nor in its achievements does it compare favourably with the historic States like Udaipur, which had established themselves before the main waves of foreign invasions and whose history enshrines glorious deeds of chivalry and sacrifices in the cause of freedom or personal honour. The history of Hyderabad has been one of unprincipled opportunism, abortive quest for power and inglorious and uninterrupted dependence.

Establishment of Ruling house by Asaf Jah; continued allegiance to Delhi.—The ruling house of Hyderabad was established by Asaf Jah, an officer of the Moghul Emperor, in 1713. Though the Moghul empire was disintegrating, Asaf Jah never renounced his allegiance to Delhi though he ceased making remittances of treasure on the ground that all the financial resources of the country were required to protect it from the Mahrattas. His successors also continued to owe allegiance to Delhi as long as the Moghul Emperor retained his titular sovereignty. Even as late as 1829 Nasir-ud-Dowlah obtained confirmation of his succession from the Emperor and his application was accompanied by a nazar of 101 gold mohars and a pearl necklace. The connection with Delhi was further maintained by a superscription on the Hyderabad coinage indicating its subordination to the Delhi Emperor. This superscription was continued till 1858 when the British Crown assumed responsibility for the administration of India.

The first Nizam was engaged in a perpetual struggle with the Mahrattas who succeeded in establishing a paramount influence at Delhi, one result of which was that they secured Chauth or the one-fourth of the revenue of the Deccan by an Imperial rescript. Asaf Jah died in 1749.

Nizam's under foreign protectorate.—After Asaf Jah's death, no Ruler of Hyderabad has been able to maintain himself without foreign military aid. The Nizam was always an easy prey to the neighbouring powers and invariably sought shelter under foreign military protectorate. His alliance was governed by the exigencies of times and was transferred from one power to the other with amazing frequency.

The Nizam under French Protectorate.—Two of Asaf Jah's sons after his death fought a minor war of succession. Three years later one of his sons, Salabat Jah with the help of Dupleix, who was then founding a strong French empire in the South, established himself as the Nizam. A keen contest was then going on between the French and the English for the supremacy of South India. The Nizam first threw in his lot with Dupleix who, assisted by Bussey, was then winning brilliant victories against the East India Company. Bussey continued to reside at the Nizam's court protecting him from the Mahrattas in return for the four Northern Circars districts.

Treaty with the British.—In 1759 following the outbreak of war between the French and the British the Circars were seized by a British force and British possession of this territory was confirmed by a Sanad from Delhi in 1765. This led to an invasion of the Carnatic by Nizam Ali, who had ousted his brother in 1762. The Hyderabad forces were repulsed by a British Division and peace was finally concluded by the treaty of 1766, by which the Nizam placed himself under British military protectorate. He was accorded protection against the Mahrattas in the West and against Hyder Ali of Mysore, who had in the meantime emerged as a strong power in the South.

Nizam's bid for independence.—In the following year the Nizam in search of independence broke his treaty with the British and allied himself with Hyder Ali. A united attack was made by the joint forces of Hyder Ali and the Nizam on the British. The attempt failed and by the Treaty of Masulipatam of 1768 the British again succeeded in attaching the Nizam to themselves by imposing a military protectorate over him. From 1778 a British Resident and a subsidiary force were planted in Hyderabad. Despite the new agreement the Nizam in 1779 endeavoured to organise a coalition, to which Hyder Ali of Mysore was invited, with the Mahratta Chieftains to invade the Circars. This plan again failed and a King's officer was deputed to the Nizam's court to keep him loyal and to maintain his precarious existence against the Mahrattas.

Disastrous battle of Kurdla.—A few years later the Mahrattas revived their claim to Chauth against the Nizam. By reason of their treaty with the Peshwa, the British Government declined to interfere. This was followed by the disastrous battle of Kurdla in which the Nizam's forces were defeated and the Nizam was compelled to agree to a humiliating position by which he lost large tracts of territory including most of Berar and in addition was called upon to pay a heavy indemnity as well as arrears of Chauth.

The Nizam under British Protectorate.—This was followed by the Nizam again veering round to the French orbit but in 1798 Wellesley finally got the Nizam to get rid of the French force which was in his pay and to accept an increase in the British subsidiary force at Hyderabad. A year later the power of Tipoo, Hyder Ali's son, was finally broken and his well-governed territories were dismembered, a part of which was given to the Nizam by British goodwill. The rapid deterioration under the Nizam's gross misrule of the lot of the prosperous people whom the British thus handed over to him, has been described by John Malcolm, an eye-witness, as follows:—

> "The different quotas to be paid by each inhabitant had been fixed; and every species of torture was then being inflicted to enforce them. Men and women, poor and rich were suffering promiscuously. Some had heavy muskets fastened to their ears; some large stones upon their breasts; whilst others had their fingers pinched with hot pincers; their cries of agony and declarations of inability to pay appear only to whet the appetite of their tormentors."

In the following year the Nizam ceded to the British a part of his territory in order to buy military protection and the strength of the subsidiary force was raised. The area ceded to the British consisted of the whole of the acquisitions from Mysore in the wars of 1790 and 1799. In other words, he purchased military protection from the British with the spoils of war secured through the successes of the British arms.

In 1803 Nizam Ali died and was succeeded by his son Secunder Jah. The same year war broke out with the Mahrattas, the Scindia and Holkar. The Nizam's Government not only failed to implement their part of the obligations in the war but were also guilty of unfriendly acts towards the British. As a result of this behaviour the Governor-General insisted on the Nizam signing an additional article to the treaty agreeing to the admission of British troops into his fortresses. At the close of the war, despite the Nizam's failure to fulfil his obligations, he received from Scindia and the Raja of Nagpur a greater part of Berar lost in the Kurdla campaign of 1795.

The advantages gained by the Nizam by his subsidiary alliance with the British were stressed by Lord Wellesley in a despatch in 1799. The Governor-General sternly commanded the Nizam to be awakened to "a just sense of extensive advantages" his connection with the British had brought him. 'His

enemies had been destroyed at little expense to him,' added the Governor-General 'from a weak decaying and despised State he has recovered substantial strength.....and resumed a respectable posture among the Princes of India'.

Existence of the State owing to British connection.—The rest of the history of Hyderabad is no more than the perpetuation of its existence under the British protection and repeated interposition of the British authority to save the State from gross misrule. The following extract from an important memorandum of 1926 from the then British Resident at Hyderabad clearly states the extent to which Hyderabad owed its very existence to the British connection for over a century and a half and shows how the British viewed the problem of Hyderabad:—

> "There can be no doubt that it (Hyderabad) owes its very existence to the British connection. The Asafia Family had not taken strong root in the Deccan in 1800; in point of fact, it may be said that it has never ceased to be foreign. Without the British, it must have relied on the handful of Muslims domiciled in the State; a forlorn hope against Maratha resurgence. Left entirely to himself it is doubtful if the present Nizam would be able to maintain himself for any length of time.
>
> Three strong currents of political activity converge on Hyderabad; the Maratha, the Andhra and the Kanara movements. The object of these movements is to build up again the old provinces where the various peoples predominated; and their success would mean the disappearance of Hyderabad. Already a subtle campaign of propaganda is going on from the three directions indicated. Good government is the only antidote to this poison, and it must be regretfully observed that the Nizam's attitude for the past five years leaves but a faint hope that he would, if he realised his dreams of unchecked absolutism consider the welfare of his people in the least degree.
>
> The limitations on internal sovereignty which Paramountcy implies have been shown to exist as fully developed in the case of Hyderabad as elsewhere. The present Ruler desires to revert to the position existing before, in 1798, his ancestor made over to the British the military control of his territories. Such a reversion is impossible so long as he enjoys military protection. Without such protection, a Hindu insurrection would soon sweep away Muslim rule unless the British Government allowed the Nizam to recruit mercenaries and to import the latest military arms and equipment from outside. Would the co-religionists of the Hindus in the State, in Bombay, Madras, and the Central Provinces stand quietly by and see their compatriots massacred? The British Government would unquestionably be involved. It is in fact impossible, treaty or no treaty, to allow an unfettered despotism to be set up in Hyderabad."

This in brief is Hyderabad's history; the Nizam and his enterprising advisers wish to forge it into an instrument of independence.

CHAPTER II

PARAMOUNTCY AND THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE NIZAM

From what has been stated in the foregoing chapter it is clear that the main part of the history of Hyderabad is closely linked with the advent and consolidation of the British power in India. The so-called pre-eminent position that the Nizam claims for himself could have no historical sanction behind it other than the status that the British accorded to him. The political status of the Nizam under the paramountcy of the British Crown has therefore an important bearing on the Nizam's claim to preferential treatment relative to other States and may be examined in some detail.

Paramountcy Independent of Treaty Engagements.—The theory of Paramountcy had not been elaborated when the Treaty of 1800 was concluded with the then Nizam. As in the case of the treaties with several other States such as Gwalior, Jammu and Kashmir, Baroda, Indore, Bhopal, the Rajputana States, Orchha and the Phulkian States of the Punjab, the treaty of 1800 did not involve surrender of internal sovereignty. However, the Nizams at that time had no claims to sovereign power and were feudatories of Delhi. Their allegiance to Delhi continued till 1858 when the British succeeded in name to the sovreignty and authority of the Moghuls, which they had in actual fact enjoyed since the downfall of the Peshwa in 1818. The political supremacy and paramountcy of the British were inherent in the arrangement that imposed a military protectorate on the Nizam. The most important implication of military protectorate is the political subordination of the protected State to the protecting power. Another implication of such a protectorate which the British urged was the right of the protecting power to ensure a reasonably good government in the protected State. The British as the Paramount Power, therefore, claimed prerogative rights of intervention in Hyderabad as in other States independent of treaty engagements.

Intervention in Hyderabad's Internal Affairs.—This right was repeatedly asserted and exercised by the Paramount Power in respect of the Hyderabad State in complete repudiation of the Nizam's claim to internal independence. The following may be cited as instances of the interposition of such authority:—

(a) In 1835 the Nizam was informed under the orders of the Directors that the British Government could not remain indifferent spectators of disorder and misrule and unless these evils were remedied, it would be necessary to urge him to change his Minister and adopt such other measures as the case might require.

(b) In 1867 after a ministerial crisis the Governor-General informed the Nizam that disorder in Hyderabad might compel his Government to interpose its authority in a manner highly distasteful to the Nizam.

(c) In 1897 the financial collapse in Hyderabad compelled the Government of India to submit to the Secretary of State proposals for very drastic interference and the Secretary of State in approving their proposals said that beyond doubt the depletions of a State's finances would, if not otherwise checked, be a valid reason for authoritative interference and control.

(d) In October 1911, a few months after the accession of the present Nizam, he was warned by Lord Hardinge that "he was on his trial for two years; at the end of which it would be just as easy for the Government of India to appoint a Council of Regency as now".

(e) In 1919, the Nizam was twice warned by Lord Chelmsford, the first time in a letter and the second time in personal interview that the Government of India claimed the right to intervene in cases of misrule. In his letter Lord Chelmsford spoke of intervention by 'friendly advice', but in conversation with the Nizam he spoke more frankly. He said:

> "It has always been clearly laid down that I cannot tolerate misrule and results such as I have indicated to you are to my mind clear evidence of personal misrule. It would be impossible for the Government of India to give their support to any Ruler, who permitted the continuance of such a state of things as I have indicated".

It was thus established beyond doubt that while the Paramount Power had full and exclusive control over all external affairs of the Hyderabad State, even in internal affairs the sovereignty of the Nizam was over-borne and limited by the Paramount Power's prerogative of intervention. Apart from the general limitations on internal sovereignty which applied to Hyderabad in common with other States in matters relating to jurisdiction over European British subjects, installations, external loans, telegraphs and telephones, post-offices, railways, manufacture of arms and ammunition, opium, salt, etc., reference may be made to the following specific instances in which the Government of India or the Resident interfered in the internal affairs of Hyderabad in the interests of the State and its people, for the improvement of the administration or the restoration of law and order.

(i) **Appointment and removal of Ministers**

During the last century and a half of British rule, the Paramount Power offered advice on these matters so frequently that the right to intervene had been recognised both by the present Nizam and by his predecessors. Intervention was made more or less decisively in regard to the appointment of Mir Alam, Raja Chandu Lal, Salar-i-Jung, Salar Jung II, Vikarulmulk, Sir Krishna Pershad, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Akbar Hydari and in numerous other cases. The late Nizam admitted to the Resident that it was a tradition in his family that the Minister should be appointed with the consent of the British Government and the present Nizam in his memorandum of 28th July, 1918, stated that as regards the appointment of a Minister he had to consult the Resident and obtain the consent of the Government of India. This tradition was rigidly followed right up to the lapse of paramountcy and was a special feature of the Crown's relations with the State which claims for itself a pre-eminent position. No other major State suffered from such perpetual disability in the matter of the appointment of its own Ministers.

(ii) **Removal of undesirables**

There are several cases in which the Paramount Power effectively intervened to rid the Nizam of undesirable influences. Undesirables thus removed included Mahipat Ram (1806-7), Sarwar Jung (1897), Akbar Ali (1900), Lal Khan (1914) and Abdullah Khan (1918).

(iii) **Constitutional Reforms**

The Paramount Power was consulted in regard to all constitutional changes. Thus for instance, the late Nizam obtained the Viceroy's approval to the creation of a Council of State and in 1893 the Qanuncha (rules regarding the constitution of Government) was drawn up in consultation with the Resident and the Government of India.

(iv) **Financial reforms**

In 1899 at Lord Curzon's suggestion the Nizam agreed to limit his demands on the State treasury for personal expenses to 50 lakhs per annum. About the same time, on the advice of the Government, Mr. Casson Walker was appointed Financial Adviser. The Nizam promised to give him all necessary authority but failed to carry out his promise with the result that Lord Curzon again intervened in March 1902.

(v) **Miscellaneous**

In 1862 a Sanad was given to the Nizam by which the British Government bound themselves to uphold any adoption by the Nizam which might be legitimate according to Mahommedan Law. Other matters on which the Paramount Power intervened included the education and upbringing of the Nizam's children. The following extract from the speech of the late Nizam at his Investiture Durbar bears out the practice that had come to be established:—

> "I shall ever endeavour in all matters that concern the prospects and prosperity of the State to consult the wishes of Your Excellency and of the Government of which Your Excellency is the honoured head. I am sure that in doing so I shall be consulting the best interests of myself and my subjects."

Lord Reading's Famous Letter.—Finally, Lord Reading in his famous letter dated 27th March 1926, clearly asserted the supremacy of the Paramount Power over the States including Hyderabad and refused to treat as its equal any State, whatever the language in the treaties, and specified the rights which pertain to the Paramount Power as a corollary to this supremacy. Responsibility for the defence and internal security of the country, according to Lord Reading, also gave the Paramount Power the right of intervention in the internal affairs of the State (Appendix I).

Nizam's status no better than that of other Princes.—It is obvious that the status of the Nizam under paramountcy was no better than that of other States and his position was anything but of pre-eminence. Neither in practice nor in principle did the Paramount Power ever concede any special position to the Nizam. On the contrary, by the interposition of its authority in Hyderabad more repeatedly and effectively than in other States, and by negativing all claims of Hyderabad to preferential treatment in various authoritative announcements, the British did every thing that was possible to disabuse the Nizam's mind of his perverse and erroneous notions.

Hyderabad's Political and Economic unity with India.—As a result of the all-pervading and unifying influence of the Paramount Power Hyderabad came to be administered as an integral part of India in all essential matters of all-India concern such as external affairs, broad economic policies, defence arrangements and other similar matters. Indian army stationed in Hyderabad was maintained not merely for the benefit of the State but for the security of the whole of South India. Under diverse agreements and arrangements, one of the last and most important of which was the Indian State Forces Scheme of 1939, the Government of India exercised the right among others to increase, decrease or reorganise the Nizam's army; to arm and equip it and secure internal peace and tranquillity. Under these arrangements the Hyderabad State was precluded like other States from importing into Hyderabad weapons of precision and ammunition and the manufacture of such weapons and ammunition except under licences which would only be granted under the dictates of the Govern-

ment of India. The Hyderabad State was likewise under the obligation to cooperate with the Government of India by promoting everything that the Paramount Power determined to be necessary for the efficient discharge of its duty to protect the State; the State was also under the obligation to cooperate by abstaining from every course of action that may be dangerous to the general security of India. The Paramount Power was also entitled to secure what was necessary for strategical purposes in regard to roads, railways, posts, telephones and telegraphs, and wireless, cantonments, passage of troops and the supply of arms and ammunition.

In the field of external affairs the Hyderabad State had no international status and the State territory and the State subjects were in the same position as British territory and British subjects. The State could not negotiate or communicate with any foreign State. The arterial communications connecting the North of India to the South like the postal, telegraph and telephonic systems and the railways and airways were all led through Hyderabad by the Government of India and the policies in relation thereto were also framed and enforced by them. Several other agreements closely linking Hyderabad to India were also entered into or evolved by custom, usage or acquiescence.

By the Government of India Act, 1935, the powers exercised by the Political Department of the Government of India under the Act of 1919 were to be exercised by the Crown Representative; the person holding this office also held the office of the Governor-General. In consequence in matters of common concern the Crown Representative ensured full cooperation of the Nizam as the Ruler of a dependent protected State. In substance and in fact Hyderabad remained under the British rule an integral part of, and subordinate to, the political system established by the British in India.

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CHAPTER III

HYDERABAD—A PART OF INDIA

Geographical Unity.—Sir William Barton in his book 'Princes of India' stated; "Flung almost completely across the Indian peninsula, the great State of Hyderabad holds a strategic position of the first importance both from the political and from the military point of view. In an emergency it could practically isolate the South from the North. The country is a series of vast rolling uplands with an average elevation of 1,200 feet above sea-level. Two of the mightiest rivers of the Deccan, the Godavari and the Krishna, traverse part of the State". Hyderabad is the second largest State in India. Its frontier of over 2,600 miles touches the three Indian Provinces of Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar and Madras. The extent of Hyderabad is about 2/3rd of the Province of Madras, a little more than that of Bombay and a little less than that of the Province of C. P. and Berar. Its population is less than that of each of the three adjoining Provinces and is about 1/3rd of the largest of these, namely, Madras. No natural barriers separate the border areas of Hyderabad from the contiguous areas of India. Hyderabad is entirely dependent upon India for its railways, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic and air communications. Landlocked, it has no access to the outer world except through India.

Cultural Unity.—The population of Hyderabad, numbering 16½ million, is completely homogeneous with the population of the surrounding Indian Provinces. It consists of 86½ per cent Hindus, 12½ per cent Muslims and 1 per cent Christians and others. The population falls into three linguistic groups, the Telegu-speaking (over 7 million), the Marathi-speaking (over 4 million) and the Kanarese-speaking (over 2 million). These groups, socially and culturally form part of the corresponding larger language groups speaking respectively Telegu, Marathi and Kanarese, which inhabit the contiguous provinces of Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces and Berar. Ethnically the people of Hyderabad are the same as those in the surrounding Provinces.

Economic Dependence.—Economically Hyderabad has never been an Independent entity, but has always been an integral part of India. The periods of prosperity or scarcity in India have been reflected in favourable or adverse reactions on the economic life of Hyderabad.

During the food crisis, India recognised and fulfilled its responsibility to feed the people of Hyderabad. Although Hyderabad is normally self-sufficient in food-grains, it passed through a period of severe scarcity in the year 1946-47 and large allotments of food-grains were made by the Government of India, Hyderabad being treated on an equal basis with other States and Provinces.

Hyderabad is surplus in cotton, but its production of cloth and yarn is very low, and more than 75 per cent of its requirements of cloth and yarn are met by imports from India. In the matter of allotment of cloth and yarn also, the Government of India treated Hyderabad on a par with the Provinces and States in India.

Hyderabad depends upon India for supplies of such essential commodities as salt, gur (unrefined sugar), fruits and vegetables, wheat and rice to a large extent, iron and steel, chemicals and medicines, tea and tobacco, and other raw materials for industries, and manufactured products. Besides all imports into Hyderabad of foreign goods like petrol, diesel oil and other fuel and lubricating oils, kerosene, machinery and plant, machine tools and spare parts and several other raw materials and products essential for the maintenance and development of industries pass through Indian ports and system of communications.

Hyderabad is surplus in pulses, cotton, groundnut. linseed, castorseed, coal and cement, and to a certain extent in manufactured paper; but Hyderabad depends for their disposal on India as the latter is the only customer for almost all these commodities, except oilseeds, which partially enjoy a foreign market. But these are also exported through India. Hyderabad has never had any direct or 'in bond' trade with foreign countries, nor is this feasible in view of the closely interlinked economy of Hyderabad and India. As India treats Hyderabad fairly and justly in the allotments of foodgrains, cloth and yarn and other essential commodities like steel, petrol and kerosene etc., India has similarly a justifiable right in the surpluses of Hyderabad in pulses, cotton, oilseeds, coal, cement, paper etc. India has, however, other vast resources of these commodities and is in no way dependent upon Hyderabad, whereas Hyderabad is entirely dependent on India for its essential needs.

Popular Aspirations.—The people of Hyderabad have been influenced by the same political ideologies and aspirations and collective impulses as those in the rest of India. When diarchy was established in British India by the Government of India Act 1919 there was agitation for representative institutions in Hyderabad. When the Khilafat movement brought about Hindu-Muslim unity in India, it had an exuberant expression in the Khilafat agitation in Hyderabad. When the Round Table Conferences were at work in 1930-1932 the people of the State started a movement for responsible government. When the Government of India Act 1935 was passed, "The Nizam's subjects League" was founded to secure the establishment of responsible government in Hyderabad. When about 1937 the movement for democratic institutions took root in other Indian States, the Hyderabad State Congress was formed with the object of "attaining responsible government under the aegis of H.E.H. the Nizam by peaceful and legitimate means". When India was on the threshold of freedom an overwhelming majority of its subjects, like subjects of the States, wanted Hyderabad to accede to the Indian Dominion and to participate in the Constituent Assembly of India.

Currency and Foreign Exchange.—Nominally Hyderabad has a separate currency, but it has been always linked with Indian currency at a fixed rate of exchange. The State has never followed an independent currency policy of its own; nor is this possible, because if Hyderabad were to break its currency link with the Indian rupee, the price and wages structure in Hyderabad would collapse. Further the paper currency of Hyderabad is not backed by any bullion reserve, but by Indian rupees and securities. The volume of currency in circulation in Hyderabad is only 3 to 4 per cent. of the currency in circulation in India. The trade balance of Hyderabad was only slightly favourable in the past, and in fact for the last two years Hyderabad is undergoing a period of unfavourable trade balance. Indian currency flowed freely through Hyderabad both for purposes of trade, and also for several internal transactions. Only recently have the Nizam's Government attempted to stop the free use of Indian currency in Hyderabad by promulgating an Ordinance. This has adversely affected the currency position of Hyderabad and has resulted in exodus of capital and sale of Hyderabad securities. This policy, together with the wasteful and extravagant expenditure of the Nizam's Government has been responsible for the shrinkage in the investments and foreign resources of Hyderabad at a rapid pace, so much so that the Nizam's Government had to sell Indian securities held by them to the extent of over 20 crores in the last few months and, but for the intervention of the Government of India to stop the sale of these securities the external resources of Hyderabad would have soon come to an end and the process would have jeopardised the future development of industries and the reconstruction of Hyderabad's economy.

Banking.—In banking too, Hyderabad is entirely dependent on India. Almost all banks functioning in Hyderabad are branches of Indian banks and

are scheduled with the Reserve Bank of India. So are the branches of the Hyderabad State Bank in India. Before the formation of the Hyderabad State Bank, a few years back, the whole of Government and other banking transactions of Hyderabad were put through by the Imperial Bank of India. Even now the business of the Hyderabad State Bank is closely linked with and dependent upon the Imperial Bank of India and the Reserve Bank of India, in respect of banking operations, remittances, holding of balances, foreign-exchange dealings etc.

The economic dependence of Hyderabad on India is more marked because of the absolute dependence of Hyderabad's communications on India. Hyderabad has nominally a separate railway, and postal system, but it cannot function except as a part of the all-India railway and the Post and Telegraph system.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENT SET UP IN HYDERABAD

(i) Political Structure

Mediaeval and reactionary.—The political structure of Hyderabad is mediaeval and reactionary. At its apex is the Nizam who receives Privy Purse of Rs. 50 lakhs a year, in addition to other miscellaneous allowances and his annual revenue of Rs. 3 crores from his personal jagirs called Sarf-i-Khas and a vast hoard estimated at several hundred crores amassed by means to which the head of a State can have recourse only under a feudal system. Besides, his two sons and the members of his family receive large sums for their maintenance and upkeep. Till lately his absolutism was subject only to the control of the British Resident. The present Nizam is credited with the belief that he is the heir of the Moghul Emperors and with the ambition of attaining unrestricted personal sovereignty. He has, therefore, discountenanced every idea of modern political progress and has succeeded in concentrating all power in himself.

In 1914, he took over the administration without the assistance of a Minister. Four years later, under the pressure of the British Government, an Executive Council was constituted to assist him in the administration; but the Nizam continued to have things his own way. He is reported to have interfered with details of administration, including even minor appointments, so that from time to time British Residents had to intervene to support the authority of the Ministers against him. The Nizam naturally resented this control and when the British declared their intention to withdraw paramountcy he felt that the day of his complete autocracy had dawned.

The Nizam has a vast crowd of courtiers and a net-work of spies which penetrate every sphere of public life. To quote Sir William Barton: "Intrigue is in the air at Hyderabad—a vigorous survival from Moghul, and still earlier, times. It is with some people almost a pastime. Often the methods are clumsy and easily seen through; on the other hand, there is frequently a delicacy of touch, a finesse worthy of the trained and cultured brain behind it, the whole constituting a drama very interesting to watch at when it unfolds."

Reactionary Constitution.—Till recently Hyderabad had a Legislative Council consisting of 20 members of whom only four were elected, the rest being *ex-officio* or nominated members. Its functions were purely advisory. For several decades all attempts to introduce a representative element in the Legislature was frustrated mainly by the influence of the Nizam. In 1937 the Avyangar Committee was appointed to make proposals for an expanded and more representative Legislature with a mandate that it should be mainly on a functional, not territorial, basis. The Committee recommended a Legislative Assembly of 70 members exclusive of the President and the members of the Executive Council who were to be *ex-officio* members. Out of 70, thirty-three were to be elected and the remaining thirty-seven were to be nominated. The membership was so adjusted to give the privileged sections a majority. The recommendations of the Committee, in spite of the fact that they were not very progressive, were not put in force till 1946. In that year the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly consisting of *ex-officio*, nominated, appointed and elected members was constituted. The members of the Executive Council, all nominated by the Nizam, were to be *ex-officio* members of the Assembly; but the President of the Executive Council, who is styled the Prime Minister, is not a member of the Legislative Assembly. Exclusive of the *ex-officio* members the Legislative Assembly consists of 122 members of whom 76 are elected, the next being nominated directly or indirectly by the Nizam. Elections to the Legislative Assembly are on the functional basis. Among the elected members, majority and minority communities are equal in number, on

the whole, the minority community has a majority of 10 over the majority community in a House of 132, and are therefore in a permanent majority.

Elections boycotted.—The constituencies and the method of voting were so manipulated that a candidate without official support would find it difficult to succeed. In view of the reactionary nature of the composition of the Assembly and of the method of elections to it the Hyderabad State Congress boycotted the elections.

Under this farcical constitution the Nizam's rule, untempered by the intervention of the British Resident, is absolute in character.

(ii) Administrative set-up

For administrative purposes the State is divided into 4 Subas (Divisions) each under a Commissioner. These four Subas are further divided into 16 districts. Each district is in its turn divided into Taluqas totalling over 100. The number of villages in the State is 22,500. The Khalsa lands occupy 58·5 per cent. of the total area and the rest is the Sarf-i-Khas (Jagirs, etc., belonging to the Ruler). The Jagirs in the State comprise an area of 12,000 square miles and the Jagirdars enjoy judicial and administrative powers. Tenant ownership is conspicuous by its absence. Where it does not belong to the Nizam as his personal property, land is held under a feudal Zamindari system. Absentee landlordism, an army of landless labourers, rackrenting, serfdom, forced labour and countless inhuman and corrupt practices are the features of agrarian life. Industry is in the hands of a few capitalists, who, with easily bought official connivance, treat labour with little consideration.

The facade of the prosperous looking towns of Hyderabad and Secunderabad with very good roads and buildings serves to screen the appalling poverty of the vast majority of the people, who live in a condition of utter misery and serfdom.

(iii) Services Personnel

The officialdom is traditionally corrupt and seldom kind or sympathetic to the masses. Recruitment to services is not on merits. The representation of the communities in the services is in inverse proportion to their numbers. The representation of the majority population in the key services, namely the Army, the high executive services, is negligible. The minority dominates all departments as will be seen from the table below:—

Departments	*Muslims*	*Hindus*	*Others*	*Total*
1. Secretaries	10	1	1	12
2. Additional Secretaries	2	1	1	4
3. Joint Secretaries	3	..	..	3
4. Deputy Secretaries	9	3	..	12
5. Assistant Secretaries	55	8	..	63
6. Head of Departments	40	6	1	47
7. Subedars	4	..	..	4
8. Collectors	14	2	..	16
9. Revenue Board	2	..	..	2
10. Sub-Collectors	50	19	2	71
11. Tehsildars	75	40	4	119
12. High Court Judges	8	5	..	13
13. Magistrates and Munsifs	147	33	..	180
14. Police (D.S.P., A.S.P. & Circle Inspectors)	73	12	6	91
15. Education Officers	237	65	27	329
16. Supply Officers	25	7	1	33
TOTAL	754	202	43	999
Percentage	75 %	20%	5%	100%

The police and the military are a virtual monopoly of the elements helpful to the Nizam in crushing the political awakening in the State. The army and Police have recently been increased and there has been considerable recruitment from outside the State.

Inequitous Taxation System.—The financial structure of Hyderabad is feudal. The taxation system is inequitous, the revenues being derived mainly from Land Revenue, Excise and Customs. The incidence of taxation thus falls almost entirely on the poorer classes, there having been no taxes on income until very recently. The expenditure of the State is also top-heavy. A substantial portion of the present expenditure goes in payments to the Nizam, his family and on Mansabs and other grants of a personal or feudal nature. The following extract from a dispatch of 1926 from the Resident at Hyderabad makes an interesting reference to the feudal practices for extorting money:—

> "It may be noted that the mean and sordid practice of making forced sales of worthless articles at fabulous prices to litigants, nobles, officials and others still goes on. Even people in a position like Sir Afsar-ul-Mulk have to submit to this indignity."

Uncontrolled Expenditure.—There is no proper control over Government expenditure in Hyderabad State as the budget is not subject to the sanction even of the predominantly nominated legislative assembly. The Government have over-riding powers to sanction amounts in excess of the budgeted figure during the course of the year. Administrative, financial and even audit control over expenditure is necessarily ineffective as vast amounts are kept as secret funds for which no accounts are rendered.

Costly Military Preparations and Propaganda.—A large proportion of the State revenue is spent on army, police and generally for military preparations. The Razakar organisation is also financed by the Hyderabad Government in the guise of expenditure on the so called refugees. Publicity and propaganda are another source of heavy drain on the State's finances. Several thousands of pounds have been spent abroad not only for publicity purposes but also for the smuggling of arms, ammunition, wireless equipment and other articles necessary for military preparations. Large sums of money have been paid to certain foreigners for rendering service to Hyderabad in negotiating for the purchase of or provision of special facilities at Goa, for the creation of an air force for Hyderabad and other similar purposes.

CHAPTER V

THE STANDSTILL AGREEMENT

The growth of political consciousness.—The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, otherwise called the Ittehad, was founded in 1926 by the Director of the State Ecclesiastical Department under the inspiration of the Nizam. Its real purpose was to organise the aggressive elements in the minority community to buttress the Nizam's feudal rule. After the promulgation of the Government of India Act, 1935, the wave of political consciousness throughout India spread to Hyderabad. As a result the "Nizam's Subjects' League" was formed by one Nizamat Jung with the object of securing responsible government for Hyderabad. As a counterblast the Ittehad introduced an additional item in its creed: "The Ruler's person and Crown is the symbol of the political sovereignty of Muslims and Muslim culture". The Nizam's Subjects' League yielded no results. In 1937 the Nizam appointed the Ayyangar Reforms Committee "to report on suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the different interests in the State with the Government". This was found unsatisfactory both by leading Hindus and Muslims and the Hyderabad Peoples' Convention was formed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Abdul Hassan Sayed Ali.

Hyderabad State Congress: First Satyagraha.—In July 1938 the Hydera bad State Congress was founded, with the object of attaining 'responsible government under the aegis of His Exalted Highness the Nizam by peaceful and legitimate means and with the motive of national unity'. Its membership included both Hindus and Muslims. The State Congress was, however, banned on October 24, 1938, when members of the Committee were arrested and sentenced. Satyagraha (civil disobedience movement) followed and about 400 Congressmen were sent to jail.

State Congress: the second Satyagraha.—Endless negotiations were conducted in order to induce the Nizam's Government to lift the ban on the State Congress. In the meantime it had been affiliated to the All India State Peoples' Conference, then presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. As the ban on the State Congress was not lifted, it started another civil disobedience movement. Meanwhile an understanding had been reached between some of the leaders of the Congress and the President of the Ittehad, Mr. Abdul Hassan Sayed Ali, for a common programme of political advancement. Mr. Ali, however, had to pay the price for this understanding, and Mr. Kasim Razvi, an obscure lawyer from a district town, notorious only for his rabid communalistic attitude, was elected President in his place with the approval of the Nizam. Negotiations with the Congress were dropped.

The State Congress Ban lifted.—The State Congress started another campaign of Satyagraha. During the brief tenure of Sir Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister of Hyderabad, the ban on the State Congress was lifted. Provincial Conferences were incorporated into the Congress which emerged as the most powerful political organisation in the State. During all this time the strictest restrictions on civil liberties were imposed on all democratic and popular movements while the Ittehad was left free to carry on its most aggressive fascist and communal activities.

Pre-August Situation.—Early in 1947 the situation in India was pregnant with changes. The British had decided to quit; India was to be divided; the States were to be relieved of their obligations to the British Crown and *vice versa*. The Political Department of the Crown Representative was busy winding up Residencies in Indian States.

The Nizam by his *firman* dated 26th June 1947 declared his resolve not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and not to join the Union. He

also declared that the removal of British Paramountcy entitled him to declare his independence. The Ittehad, under the Presidentship of Mr. Kasim Razvi, also declared itself against accession to India, responsible Government, or share in public life on the basis of population. The Razakars, a quasi-military organisation, was founded in support of these aims and their demonstrations in favour of an independent Hyderabad came to be staged with increasing frequency. The Nizam's Government banned the flying of the flag of the Indian Union in the State. Thus the Nizam and the Ittehad were ranged not only against the State Congress but also against the Indian Union.

Negotiations for accession.—Under pressure from reactionary elements the Nizam had secured the resignation of Sir Mirza Ismail from the office of Prime Minister as his desire to enter into friendly relations with the Indian Dominion did not appeal to the Nizam who then appointed the Nawab of Chhattari as Prime Minister. In July, when the Government of India was negotiating with Rulers of all Indian States, a delegation consisting of the Nawab of Chhattari, Sir Walter Monckton, Sir Sultan Ahmed and Nawab Ali Yavar Jung came to Delhi on behalf of the Nizam to negotiate with the Government of India. By 15th August 1947, no agreement however had been reached. At the request of the Nizam, the Government of India gave him an extension of two months within which to find an amicable settlement. Negotiations were later resumed by the Chhattari Delegation sent by the Nizam with H. E. the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, with the concurrence of the Dominion Cabinet. In the course of the discussions it was represented by the Chhattari Delegation that in view of the premier position of Hyderabad, its association with the Indian Dominion should be different from that of the other Indian States. Representations were also made by the delegation that if a Standstill Agreement for one year was accepted by the Government of India, a happier atmosphere would be created in Hyderabad in which terms of a more permanent association could be successfully negotiated.

Standstill Agreement.—As a result of the negotiations conducted by the Chhattari Delegation a draft agreement was finalised on 18th October 1947. On 27th when the delegation was to fly back to Delhi after obtaining the signature of the Nizam on the agreement, the house where the members of the delegation resided was surrounded by the Razakars, apparently the police being in full co-operation with them and they were prevented by show of physical force from leaving for Delhi. The Nizam called in Mr. Kasim Razvi on 28th October, for consultation. The old Delegation was dissolved under pressure from the Ittehad and a new one appointed; it included Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung and Mr. Abdur Rahim, the two members of the old Executive Council who had voted against the Standstill Agreement. The Nawab of Chhattrai resigned on 1st November 1947. The new Delegation attempted to secure from the Government of India some changes in the draft Standstill Agreement, but failed. The leading advisers of the Nizam, however, impressed upon him the advisability of a temporary agreement in order to get 'a full and comparative peace during which, as we have often said, we can see how the two Dominions get along and how far we can *prepare ourselves for a more genuine display of independence later on*'.

This motive, as is now clear from subsequent developments, influenced the Nizam and the ruling group around him to accept the Standstill Agreement as it stood, but without any intention of fulfilling it. The Standstill Agreement was ultimately signed on 29th November 1947. (Appendix II).

CHAPTER VI

NEGOTIATIONS WITH INDIA

About this time the Nizam set up a new Ministry under the advice of Ittehad leaders, pledged to carry out its policy. Mr. Laik Ali, a leading industrialist of Hyderabad, was appointed Prime Minister.

Thus the Standstill Agreement which the Government of India negotiated with the Chhattari Delegation and accepted in a spirit of friendliness with every intention to implement it, was left to be worked by the Ittehad Ministry which was determined not to implement it in the spirit in which it was concluded.

Withdrawal of the Indian Army from Hyderabad.—The Government of India began to implement the Standstill Agreement in the spirit in which it was concluded by ordering the withdrawal of the Indian Army stationed in Hyderabad State. Though they knew that by so doing they would remove the most powerful sanction which they had to secure the implementation of the Standstill Agreement by the Nizam's Government, they did not hesitate to fulfil their part of the agreement. They did so, however, in the expectation that the Nizam's Government would play their part honourably. Little did the Government of India suspect at the time that the Nizam and his advisers conceived the Standstill Agreement only as a ruse to gain time and to secure the elimination of the Indian Army which was a serious obstacle to the operation of their plans. Hyderabad's motives in seeking the Standstill Agreement, since revealed, provide the background for subsequent developments.

Negotiations for Implementing the Standstill Agreement.—Negotiations first opened on 22nd January, 1948 by Mir Laik Ali with Mr. K. M. Munshi, India's Agent-General at Hyderabad, for implementing the Standstill Agreement. Mir Laik Ali pressed for an early fulfilment by Government of India of the assurances contained in the Collateral Letters by:—

(a) removing the Indian Army stationed at Bolarum as quickly as possible;

(b) allowing free flow to Hyderabad of goods of every description, including military equipment, which the Nizam's Government had purchased on a large scale in India;

(c) supplying arms and ammunition for its army;

(d) transferring to them the control of postal, telegraph and telephonic communications which pass through Hyderabad connecting South India with North India.

On the other hand, on the question of implementing the obligations of the Nizam's Government, they adopted a very unhelpful attitude; thus for instance they totally repudiated their obligations under the States Forces Scheme of 1939 which was the basic agreement in relation to Defence saved by the Standstill Agreement, and declined to accept the appointment of a States Military Adviser, declaring that the whole scheme had lapsed. They also committed breaches of the Standstill agreement by negotiating an agreement with the Pakistan Government for advancing a loan of Rs. 20 crores and by promulgating an Ordinance banning Indian currency in Hyderabad.

March Conference at Delhi.—In the month of March a Hyderabad Delegation, consisting of Mir Laik Ali, Sir Walter Monckton and Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, came to Delhi to discuss the possibility of coming to a permanent arrangement with the Government of India. It was suggested by His Excellency the Governor-General on 4th March 1948, that the Razakars' Organisation, being a danger to security, should be banned; but no assurance in that direction was forthcoming. Mir Laik Ali, however, left New Delhi after giving an assurance

that, in order to create the proper atmosphere for negotiating a permanent settlement, he would immediately set up a more representative Ministry in Hyderabad. On his return to Hyderabad Mir Laik Ali formally announced that he was going to convene a Round Table Conference of party leaders. The President of the Ittehad, Mr. Kasim Razvi, who has been always working in close collaboration with him, promptly announced that he would not take part in any such conferences. No steps were taken by the Nizam's Government to release Swami Ramanand Tirtha, the President of the State Congress, then in jail. Nothing further was done to implement the assurance that he had given to the Government of India.

Immediate supply of arms demanded.—Thereafter, Mir Laik Ali recommenced negotiations with Mr. K. M. Munshi, in the course of which it was found that the only anxiety of the Nizam's Government was to secure from the Government of India an immediate supply of modern arms and equipment for 25,000 troops and 35,000 police and a free flow of army disposals and military stores which the Nizam's Government had purchased in large quantities all over India. At the end of the discussions Mir Laik Ali informed India's Agent-General that they would not like to proceed to Delhi unless the States Ministry was favourably disposed towards the proposals which they had made in the course of the discussions with the Agent-General.

Government of India's Demands.—In the meantime border incidents had assumed grave proportions and the Razakars had been very active. The Government of India came to the conclusion that the first essential for resuming fresh negotiations was that the Nizam's Government should take appropriate action to put an end to the conditions of insecurity and disorder in the State and on its borders caused by the activities of the Razakars. Accordingly the Government of India addressed a communication to the Prime Minister of Hyderabad dated March 23, 1948, pointing out the breaches of the Standstill Agreement committed by the Nizam's Government and asking them to take immediate action to ban the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and the Razakars.

Nizam's Government's Reply.—On April 5, 1948, Mir Laik Ali addressed a reply to the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In the course of the reply the Nizam's Government made countercharges against the Government of India and tried to justify the acts which constituted the charges made against them. In particular the Nizam's Government persisted in their refusal, (a) to be bound by the Indian State Forces Scheme of 1939 which was, as mentioned, the basic agreement relating to Defence saved by the Standstill Agreement, and (b) to consider the question of disbanding the Razakars.

Mir Laik Ali's Assurances not carried out.—Following the letter Mir Laik Ali came to Delhi and saw the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India. The position was made clear by the Prime Minister of India and accepted by Mir Laik Ali that in order to ease the tension prevailing in Hyderabad and to pave the way for further discussions the Razakars should be brought under control and, as a first step, their processions, public meetings, demonstrations and speeches should be banned; the leaders and members of the State Congress should be released; and a new and representative interim Government should be immediately formed. However no effective action was taken by the Nizam's Government to fulfil these conditions.

Government of India's terms.—In the meantime the activities of Razakars were mounting in intensity and violence. The Government of India felt that the forbearance, which they had been showing in the face of openly provocative activities was being taken as a sign of weakness. On May 15, 1948, therefore,

they called upon the Nizam's Government by a letter, among other things, to declare illegal and disband the Razakars' Organisation. The Nizam's Government did not comply with this demand. In order to prevent the incursions of the Razakars into the Indian territory, Indian troops had to be stationed on Indian borders.

Agreement in place of Accession agreed to.—The last phase of the negotiations in May and June 1948 is illustrative of the intentions and the policy of the Nizam as regards his State's permanent association with the Dominion of India. At a conference on 26th May, Mir Laik Ali agreed to the principle that the legislation by the Government of India in respect of the three subjects (Defence, External Affairs and Communications) should automatically apply to Hyderabad, should the Nizam's Government fail to pass corresponding legislation. After his return to Hyderabad, however, Mir Laik Ali, on 30th May, wrote to say that he wished to modify the statement that he had agreed to the principle of overriding legislation. In reply to this it was pointed out that he had categorically and unequivocally agreed to the principle of overriding legislation by the Government of India. On 6th June Mir Laik Ali returned to Delhi with Sir Walter Monckton to continue the negotiations. Draft heads of agreement and a draft firman were prepared. (Appendix III). The Delegation thereafter left for Hyderabad with the drafts for obtaining full powers to come to an agreement. Sir Walter Monckton returned to Delhi on June 12, and reported that the Nizam and his Executive Council approved of the two drafts with the exception of the following two main points (some others being subsidiary):

(a) over-riding legislation by the Government of India; and

(b) the composition of the Constituent Assembly.

In order to meet the Nizam's wishes and those of his Government, the Government of India modified the provision relating to over-riding legislation and omitted any reference to the composition of the Constituent Assembly.

The original Draft Firman contained a provision that the Hindus and Muslims should have an equality of seats in the interim government. The Government of India, however, objected to any reference to parity in connection with the interim government and suggested an alternative provision to the effect that the interim government would be formed in consultation with the major political parties. On this being agreed upon, Sir Walter Monckton invited Mir Laik Ali to come to Delhi with plenipotentiary powers to settle outstanding points.

More Concessions sought and made.—The Hyderabad Delegation accordingly arrived on June 14, when Sir Walter Monckton pointed out to Mir Laik Ali the alteration which the Government of India wanted to make. The same day the Hyderabad Delegation pressed for amendment of the drafts in their favour in the following respects:—

(i) permission for Hyderabad to maintain, apart from a regular army of 20,000 and the ceremonial and household guards, an additional irregular Force of 8,000 men;

(ii) a modification of the clause for the disbandment of the Razakars by a qualification that the process would take three months, although rallies, parades and demonstrations would cease forthwith; and

(iii) the State of emergency was to be qualified by the inclusion of the words "under Section 102 of the Government of India Act, 1935".

The Government of India, in the interests of peace and in their anxiety to reach a settlement, agreed to all these amendments without exception.

A new point raised by Mir Laik Ali.—A point was raised at this stage by Mir Laik Ali in connection with economic and fiscal freedom for Hyderabad and the

Governor-General suggested that the Prime Minister of India should address a letter undertaking that the Government of India would examine the question.

Yet another point raised by Mir Laik Ali.—On 15th June Mir Laik Ali raised a further point that an arbitration clause should be inserted. As arbitration was not appropriate in respect of some of the points covered by the Agreement, the Government of India did not agree to the suggestion. And when Mir Laik Ali left for Hyderabad on 15th June, it was made clear to him that no further amendments would be entertained by the Government of India.

Allegation and its withdrawal.—On 16th June, the Nizam sent a telegram refusing to accept the agreement unless the fresh points suggested by him were accepted. In the telegram the Nizam also alleged that some of the amendments to the draft had been made on the copies of the firman towards the end of the meeting the previous day and that Mir Laik Ali did not discover them until his return to Hyderabad. On 17th June, Sir Walter Monckton went to see the Nizam with a note from His Excellency the Governor-General in reply to the points raised by the Nizam. His Excellency pointed out that the allegation that some alterations had been made without the knowledge of Mir Laik Ali was not true, that they had been made known to Sir Walter Monckton on the morning of Monday, 15th June, and explained by him to Mir Laik Ali the same day. His Excellency further pointed out that the amendments so made did not make any material alterations and that the position in regard thereto had been accepted by Mir Laik Ali. The attitude of the Government of India with regard to Hyderabad's claim for freedom in respect of economic and trade matters was again explained. By his telegram dated 17th June the Nizam withdrew the allegation that the changes in one of the two drafts had not been made known to his representative until the last moment. He, however, reiterated his objection to the omission of the principle of freedom in trade and economic and fiscal matters and the principle of arbitration. An additional objection was raised by the Nizam for the first time regarding the stationing of troops in Hyderabad in an emergency. A provision had been made in the heads of agreement to the effect that the Government of India would not station their armed forces inside Hyderabad State except in an emergency. Subsequently at the Nizam's Government's suggestion it was agreed that such an emergency should be defined by the inclusion of the words "under Section 102 of the Government of India Act, 1935". This was also repudiated by the Nizam. The Government of India naturally could not accept terms which repudiated the whole basis on which negotiations had proceeded so far.

Lord Mountbatten's last effort:—

On 18th June, three days before he left India, Lord Mountbatten sent a long private and unofficial telegram to the Nizam finally appealing to the latter to accept the draft agreement drawn up by India after long and protracted talks with Hyderabad's representatives.

Lord Mountbatten stated that he was anxious beyond words for the peace and prosperity of the whole of South India.

The Nizam replied regretting that he was unable to change the unanimous decision already taken by his Council.

The extraordinary points chosen by the Council, which was the creation of the Nizam and was responsible to no one but him, to advise the rejection of the provisional agreement are illustrative of their negative attitude.

The first and the most serious point on which the Council advised the Nizam to break off negotiations with all the human misery which such action is bound to entail, was in connection with the addition of the words "on a

basis which I shall consider later" in sub-para. 1 of Paragraph II of the draft Firman, (Appendix III) which provided for the introduction of responsible government in Hyderabad and the establishment of a Constituent Assembly early in 1949. The Government of India were absolutely at a loss to understand by what process the Council could come to the decision that this was a breaking point. The fact that the basis of the Constituent Assembly was going to be decided at a later date was inherent in the omission of the mention of that basis in the Firman. To call this a material alteration was nothing short of ridiculous.

The second point raised by the Nizam's Council related to an alteration in the wording of sub-para. II of the Firman, so as to provide for the setting up of the interim Government in consultation with the leaders of the major political parties. This was an elastic and unexceptionable substitute for the wholly unjustifiable provision for parity between the majority (86½ per cent) and minority (12½ per cent) communities. In any case it could hardly be seriously suggested that any such change of wording could amount to a reason sufficient to justify the breaking of negotiations.

The third point on which the Council based their recommendations for the rejection of the terms was the demand for freedom in trade, economic and fiscal matters. The importance attached to this point by the Hyderabad Government was not disclosed to the Governor-General up to the morning of Tuesday, 15th June. Until then this matter had been covered by a footnote. The Government of India undertook to consider Hyderabad's request sympathetically.

The fourth point which the Council put forward as a reason for breaking off the negotiations concerned the absence of a provision regarding arbitration. It was made clear on behalf of the Government of India that the arbitration provision in the Standstill Agreement would continue to be in force for all the existing arrangements and agreements covered by it. The decision to break off negotiations because an arbitration clause was not included in the heads of agreement appeared to ignore that:—

(i) an arbitration clause was in any event inappropriate to some of the provisions of the agreement as the Hyderabad Delegation had admitted;

(ii) arbitration was in general an unsatisfactory alternative to goodwill as a means of ensuring the proper implementation of agreements of this kind.

It was inconceivable that a settlement which had taken so much effort to reach would be rejected for the amazing reasons put forward by the Nizam's Council. The Government of India could draw from it no other conclusion than that the Council's reasons were a disingenuous subterfuge to avoid the honest admission that they were unwilling to undertake the other steps for which the agreement provided including, for instance, the disbandment of the Razakars.

CHAPTER VII

RAZAKARS: A MENACE TO SECURITY

The Razakars as Instrument of the Nizam.—Since July 1947, the Ittehad, under the Nizam's inspiration, has been converted into a shock brigade for creating conditions in which the much-coveted theocratic and totalitarian State may come into existence. With this end in view a quasi-military organization known as the Razakars, has been built up. Militarist demonstrations are a part of their daily routine; and military training is being imparted to them in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. A Razakar, on enrolment, pledges his life to the Ittehad, to Hyderabad and to his Leader and vows "to fight to the last to maintain the supremacy of the Muslim Power in the Deccan". The headquarters of the Razakars are in Hyderabad City, but its ramifications cover the whole of the State. Seventy thousand men, women and children have undergone training; 1,50,000 members are on the rolls, and recruitment is going on briskly to reach the target figure of five lakhs of Razakars.

Activities of the Razakars.—The activities of the Razakars may be classified as follows:—

(a) Staging frequent demonstrations all over the State.

(b) Terrorising individuals connected with movements which seek the accession of Hyderabad to the Dominion of India or the introduction of responsible government in the State.

(c) Organising border raids into the Indian Dominion territory.

(d) Inflicting reprisals, with or without the Police or the Military, on villages or individuals suspected of being pro-State Congress or obstructive to the Razakars.

(e) Taking upon themselves the duties of Customs Officers in searching the luggage and belongings of railway and road passengers.

(f) Preventing unofficial investigations by agencies or individuals into the internal situation in Hyderabad.

(g) Overawing the public by staging marches of uniformed volunteers with spears, swords, or muzzle-loaders on cycles, in buses and lorries, by firing empty shots into the air.

(h) Infiltrating into Indian Dominion territory in order to carry on espionage work; to smuggle arms and ammunition into the State; to recruit volunteers from Dominion territory for the Army, the Police and other services and to create disaffection among the Muslims of India and to rouse them against the Government of India; and to carry on a Jehad (religious war).

Transport.—The Razakars possess several 3-ton lorries, dozens of Jeeps and one-ton lorries, in addition to the transport which they command freely over the Nizam's State Railway. and road transport services from willing or unwilling private owners. In spite of severe restrictions of petrol supplies to the civil population the Razakars have always had liberal supplies of petrol from the Nizam's Government.

Arms.—They are fully armed and not only do they have a large number of looted and locally manufactured guns but also some modern weapons.

Publicity.—The Ittehad runs one English daily, 7 Urdu dailies and 6 Urdu weeklies. In the Nizam's Radio they have another powerful instrument of propaganda, always at their service. These organs, day after day, attack the Indian Dominion and the leaders of India.

Special training is given to Razakars in espionage and propaganda and selected Razakars are given training to masquerade as Brahmins and priests.

Finances.—The organization which spends not less than 10 to 30 thousand rupees a day is maintained by direct contributions forcibly recovered from the villages or merchants, by levies etc. collected by Government on exports and by donations and shares of profits from persons who have advanced in their careers through Party influence. Most of the gold and silver looted by the Razakars from the helpless people also goes to the Party Funds. The Ittehad is also in receipt of very large sums for the maintenance of the so-called refugees.

Anti-Indian Propaganda.—The Razakars have not been reticent about their objectives. Their pronouncements are characterised neither by responsibility nor sobriety. The Dominion of India and its Government and leaders are the targets of their repeated virulent attacks by the publicity organs of the Razakars. The following two extracts are illustrative of their objectives and the offensive and incendiary nature of their utterances:—

> "Hyderabad will shortly recover the ceded districts and the day is not far off when the waves of the bay of Bengal will be washing the feet of our sovereign who will be called not only the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar but also of the Northern Circars."

* * * * *

> "We are re-writing the map of India by bringing together a union of Jumna and Musi. We are the grandsons of Mohd. Gazni and the sons of Babar. When determined we shall fly the Asafjahi flag over the Red Fort (in Delhi)."

* * * * *

Threat to communal peace in India.—Another serious aspect of the Razakar activities, in which they have the support of the Nizam's Government, has been the two-fold threat to communal peace and amity in India. In their endeavour to convert the minority into a majority in the State, they are engaged in inducing the Muslims from India to emigrate to Hyderabad and to terrorise and force the majority population to migrate to India. To achieve this objective they send out agents all over India to induce Muslims to leave their homes in India and come and settle down at Hyderabad. These are not strictly refugees, for the conditions in the Indian Provinces do not warrant such emigration. Muslims from other Provinces, mis-called refugees, are however, drawn by the lure of money and employment or by propaganda for Jehad against the Indian Dominion. Elaborate arrangements are made for these purposes; large finances are placed at the disposal of the agents touring throughout India. There are Razakar centres in various parts of India which act as recruiting agencies and rallying points of anti-Indian elements fomenting communal hatred.

These invitees incited by the Razakars have been one of the main factors in disturbing the law and order in the State. Many instances have been reported of the so-called refugees harassing people, unlawfully extorting money, breaking into houses, occupying them and committing robbery.

Collapse of Law and Order in the State.—The internal conditions of Hyderabad State have become a scandal and the majority population has to suffer terrorism of the worst type. There is wide-spread panic and disorder throughout the State. Life in the villages has become so insecure that thousands of persons have fled to the Indian Provinces for safety. A number of villages

have been burnt down in several places. Hundreds of persons have been killed, wounded or beaten. Villagers have also come down to Hyderabad City or Secunderabad for refuge. Razakars are seen daily leaving Hyderabad in trucks openly shouting slogans and returning with plenty of loot. The majority population throughout the State has been systematically disarmed. Large tracts of cultivable land are lying fallow, as the villagers have deserted their homes.

The Nizam's Government and the Razakars put innumerable difficulties in the way of independent investigations into the actual state of affairs in the State. Yet the atrocities of the Razakars have been attested by many independent observers of standing. Ministers have gone on tours to the affected villages and testified to the prevailing conditions. Photographs of burning houses have been obtained. Mr. J. V. Joshi, who was until recently a Minister in the Hyderabad Government and has resigned has stated in his letter of resignation that complete terror prevails in some districts which he visited (Appendix IV), He describes scenes of devastation, people being killed and their eyes taken out, women raped and large number of houses burnt down. The statement that this Minister of the Hyderabad Government has made is a final condemnation of the gangsterism that has overtaken the State.

Hyderabad City is the centre of the Ittehad and the G.H.Q. of Razakars. The power of Razakars is demonstrated night and day by drills and parades in uniform, by armed rallies, by public processions on foot, on cycles and in trucks. Razakars take the law into their own hands on the slightest provocation. On such occasions the police never appear on the scene, but even if they do, they prefer to be silent spectators.

In the districts, far away from the gaze of press correspondents, Razakars have staged their reprisals. In Bidar district, for example they have devastated 129 villages, burnt about 1,000 houses, looted property worth crores, killed 70 to 100 men and women and committed rape on about 50 women. Eye-witnesses and victims and unofficial enquiry committees have testified to the woeful conditions prevailing in the District. The Nizam's Government have naively denied all these allegations.

The incident at Gorta, enquired into by an unofficial enquiry committee which visited the scene, may be cited as a typical example, as it throws light on the gruesome fate which overtook it. This village with all its inmates, both human and animal, was burnt down to a heap of ashes on May 10, 1948. Even the details of the tragedy were not forthcoming till a small enquiry committee had visited the ruined village. Except for a lonely male and three wailing old women there was absolutely no trace of life in the village when the Committee visited it. The stench of decomposing corpses filled the air. Many half-burnt human corpses and a number of skeletons were lying about. The Committee was led to believe that about 200 persons were burnt to death in the village.

Warangal District.—The Warangal district is another centre of Razakar atrocities. Lakhs of inhabitants of this district have been forced to seek refuge in the neighbouring Province of Madras. Four separate investigations were made by different sets of people, all of which tally in all material particulars.

The same story, with more or less variation, has come from other districts. In all districts of Hyderabad the Razakar rule prevails, often supported by police and the military, and in all cases connived at by them. No Razakar has been known so far to have been brought to book for any atrocity, however violent and unlawful. As a result of the unchecked terrorism of the Razakars a large number of people are migrating from the State to the territories of the Indian Dominion.

CHAPTER VIII

BORDER INCIDENTS

The disorder and insecurity in the State created by the terrorist activities of the Razakars have for the past several months disturbed the peace and security of the surrounding districts of Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces and Berar. There is no natural boundary, except in a few places, between the villages of Hyderabad and those of the Indian Provinces. There are a very large number of Indian enclaves in Hyderabad territory, varying from a solitary village to a whole Taluka. This has made it easy for the raiders from Hyderabad State to adopt hit-and-run tactics and on several occasions, to cut off road communication with the enclaves. Moreover, owing to the contiguity of India and Hyderabad, the atrocities committed in the villages on the Hyderabad side of the border have their repercussions on the Indian side. In most of the raids the raiders are accompanied by the Nizam's Police and/or military. A very large number of instances can be cited, of the loss of life and property resulting from these raids. In several cases, Indian Police Officers have been carried away to Hyderabad territory or have been either shot or confined in jails. (Appendix V).

The raids, which began in order to terrorise those border villages which offended the Razakars and the State under the leadership of the Hyderabad State Congress, have now become a perpetual feature disturbing the peace and security of all the three Provinces.

Without going into details of the incidents, some principal characteristics of these raids may be summarised:—

Firstly, the raiders are composed partly of Razakars and partly of what may be described as 'official agents of the Nizam's Government', *e.g.*, Arabs in the State Service, armed Sepoys from the State Forces, etc.

Secondly, the incursions into the Dominion territory were ostensibly in search of "undesirable characters" alleged to have taken shelter in the Dominion territory. For example, on 4th December 1947, the State Military personnel camping at Nelugal on the Bombay border entered the limits of Kanmanhal in Dharwar District of the Bombay Province and took away three villagers to their base in State territory. Again, on 24th December 1947, about 60 sepoys from the State forces, entered Ainapur in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Province, threatened the Police Patil at the point of the bayonet and unlawfully searched his house for certain Congress workers said to have fled from Hyderabad.

Thirdly, the motive for these raids was in most cases extortion of money. In these raids, even villagers from the Hyderabad side joined with guns, swords and lathis. Men with means are carried away and released only on payment of ransom.

Fourthly, taking advantage of the contiguity of the borders and the necessity of having to pass through State territory in having access to the Indian enclaves, the Nizam's Customs Officers, Police and Military, the Razakars and even pro-Razakar villagers search and harass Indian citizens in transit through State territory. In most of the cases, in the course of the search, property was looted or ransom extracted.

Fifthly, raids are being organised in order to cause panic among the villagers within the Indian borders. Cases are known of Arabs in the State service entering Dominion territory, shouting slogans, brandishing swords, chasing and abusing villagers, and molesting women.

These characteristics only relate to incidents of a serious nature. Besides there have been innumerable instances of cattle-lifting, assault on and harassment of Indian subjects, robbery in Dominion territory by small bands of Razakars, of the State Police or the Military operating from their camps in the State territory close to the border. The operations are also in most cases organised and premeditated. Of late, on the Bombay side, the object has not been, as in the earlier period merely to cause harassment, extort money, and create panic: it is systematically to destroy the life and property of the border villagers by shooting at random and by setting fire to houses and stacks of hay and corn, and by driving away herds of sheep, goats and other milch animals.

Nanaj Incident.—A typical example of the campaign of violence indulged in by the Razakars is provided by the recent attack on a party of Indian troops near the Hyderabad village of Nanaj. The Indian military convoy was taken by surprise and had to suffer some casualties but the attack was repulsed with the arrival of the remaining portion of the convoy. The attack was entirely unprovoked and there was unmistakable evidence that preparations for attack and defence were being made in the village by digging huge trenches and loop-holing houses. The villagers, who ran away from Nanaj the previous evening, on their return, testified how a party of about 50 Razakars, Police and Pathans occupied the village fully armed with the intention of attacking the Indian Army units which were known to be proceeding that way on the routine duty of exchanging patrols. After the first attack which took place late in the evening of July 24, 1948, the Razakars made two more attacks but were driven away easily. On July 26, 1948, Lt.-Col. Weston, a senior British officer of the Hyderabad State Forces, visited the scene of incident and after enquiries confirmed the Indian Army version of the incident. (Appendix VI).

CHAPTER IX

PLEBISCITE AND BLOCKADE CRY

Dictatorships attribute to those, who do not fall in line with them, motives and intentions that do not exist. It helps to win friends at home and abroad to find a scapegoat for the evils of megalomania and self-regarding policies. The propaganda agents of the Nizam, whose personal ambition and obstinate absolutism are dragging his State towards a disaster, are trying to depict him in the role of the proverbial innocent and peaceful lamb. An aggressive wolf is necessary to complete the set-up and the Government of India come in handy for the purpose.

The main planks of the malicious propaganda that is being conducted against the Government of India are:—

Firstly, that the Government of India insisted on unconditional surrender of Hyderabad's sovereignty even without ascertaining the wishes of the people of the State by a free plebiscite.

Secondly, that Hyderabad has been put under an economic blockade which is depriving the State of essential commodities, drugs, chemicals, etc.

Government of India's suggestion for an impartial plebiscite.—The plebiscite cry is the latest addition to Hyderabad's propaganda armoury. It is a glaring instance of the Goebbels technique of harping on a big lie in the hope that some ignorant folk would swallow it. The suggestion to hold a plebiscite to decide the issue of Hyderabad's accession was made as early as 27th August, 1947, by the Governor-General of India in his telegram of the same date to the Nizam; the relevant part of this telegram reads as follows:—

> "Should it be impossible to carry on negotiations without delay, my Government would not be prepared to consider any solution other than your signing the Instrument of Accession in the same way as all other States similarly situate have now done but they would be prepared to offer facilities *to enable you to test the will of the people by sending British Officers to conduct a referendum on this issue in the same way as was recently arranged in the N.W.F.P.*"

This telegram was based on the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's letter to Lord Mountbatten, dated 24th August, 1947, in which it was stated:—

> "If, however, the Nizam's Government are still unable to decide their course in the only right direction in which it lies, *His Exalted Highness must agree to submit the issue to the judgment of his people and abide by the decision. We on our side will be content to accept whatever might be the result of such a referendum.*"

The offer of the Government of India was made in all earnestness; its categorical rejection by the Nizam is typical of his and his Government's negative attitude. In his telegraphic reply to the Governor-General of India he made the astounding assertion "I should also like to point out that *the problems of the constitutional position of Hyderabad are such that the question of referendum does not arise.*"

The spirit behind this telegram has been the keynote of the Nizam's approach to the question of accession, establishment of responsible government and plebiscite. It has been the Government of India's policy that in all matters affecting their future the will of the people should prevail. The suggestion to hold plebiscite was, therefore, again repeated to Mir Laik Ali by the Secretary,

Ministry of States on 17th April, 1948. The suggestion was summarily rejected by him. He expressed himself against plebiscite as he thought that the announcement to hold a plebiscite will adversely affect the law and order situation in the State. The proposal was repeated on behalf of the Government of India from time to time but evoked no response from the Nizam's Government. Now we see the miracle of the Nizam—who has all his life thwarted the legitimate aspirations of his people—turning a champion of their right of self-determination. The reason for this change of front is provided by the course of negotiations which shows that the game of the Ittehad-dominated Nizam's Government has been to gain time and to extract concessions up to a point which would frustrate the very purpose for which association between India and Hyderabad was sought.

Plebiscite without suitable interim arrangements a farce.—The Nizam's offer of plebiscite, which now comes with a beat of drum, is dis-ingenuous since it is made with no intention to ascertain the real views of the people in a peaceful atmosphere and in an impartial manner. Hyderabad's right of self-determination in the present set up, in which a vast majority of the people are treated as hostages, means no more than a licence to the militant sections of the minority to exterminate the majority population. When, therefore, the Nizam and his Government complain against the so-called denial of self-determination, they mean in fact that a small clique of unscrupulous fanatics should have unfettered power to dominate the masses. The Nizam's Government wish to hold a plebiscite under the conditions in which a small militant group controls the destinies of the people and the Razakars are left free to terrorise the people into submission. Plebiscite without an interim government representative of and satisfactory to the majority population in Hyderabad will only be a fraud on the people.

Nizam rejects the proposal.—The proposals for a plebiscite on the issue of accession and interim arrangements formed a part of the Government of India's latest offer to the Nizam which was negotiated with his Prime Minister, but was rejected by the Nizam from Hyderabad. This fact should be enough to give a quietus to the baseless allegation that the Government of India denied the people of Hyderabad the right of self-determination.

No economic blockade.—As regards the allegation of economic blockade it may be stated that no embargo has been placed on the export to Hyderabad of any of the necessities of life, such as foodstuffs, salt, chlorine and medical supplies. As a matter of fact, the Nizam's Government have been trying to build a reserve of these articles to last for about two years and by extensive purchasing and unlawful smuggling reserve stocks are being built up. Whenever special permission has been asked for from the Governments of the surrounding Provinces, permits have always been given for quantities in the light of normal requirements in the past. The Provincial Governments have refused to permit the exports only when they had strong reasons to suspect that the articles were not for normal use but had been acquired in India by unfair means and are being consigned on false description. Commodities such as food, salt and chlorine, are freely flowing into Hyderabad. The facts in respect of these supplies are as follows:—

Food.—A fixed import quota of 20,000 tons of foodgrains has been allotted for Hyderabad for the year 1948 on the same principles as apply to other Provinces and States in India. Of this quantity, 14,338 or more than half the year's requirements have already been despatched to Hyderabad in the period January to June, 1948.

Medicines.—There is no ban on the export of medicines and medical stores to Hyderabad. Medical stores usually go to Hyderabad

from Bombay and Calcutta. No separate statistics have hitherto been kept of each kind of drug going from these two markets to each Province or State. Supplies, however, from these two cities have continued to Hyderabad. In fact, there have been such heavy purchases by agents of Hyderabad from these markets recently, in addition to large-scale smuggling, that it has been necessary to regulate their exports so as not to disturb the supply position in Bombay and Calcutta. Even so, there has been no restriction on the normal quantities required by Hyderabad.

In the second week of June, one firm alone wanted to export Rs. 15 lakhs worth of medical stores to Hyderabad from Bombay. They were allowed to export one wagon load valued between two and three lakhs of rupees. Figures of normal monthly requirements of medicines and medical stores have since been worked out in consultation with trade associations and supplies to Hyderabad upto these limits are being allowed.

During the three months—April to June—Madras exported 178 maunds of medical stores to Hyderabad, West Bengal for the same period 14½ maunds and C. P. & Berar 51 cases; ampules, vaccines, tubes etc., of medicines weighing 900 lbs were exported by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.

Chlorine.—In consultation with experts and the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. a monthly quota has been fixed for supply to Hyderabad. From Bombay city alone, 1868 pounds of chlorine have recently been exported to Hyderabad. Not a single application for the supply of chlorine to Hyderabad has so far been rejected.

Salt.—There has been no restriction whatever on the movement of salt to Hyderabad. In respect of salt as well as medicines and other commodities some difficulty has been experienced in the matter of transport. This difficulty is not peculiar to movement to Hyderabad but general to all parts of the country. In May 1948, when difficulties of transport of salt were pointed out, special arrangements were made and 190 wagons of salt were despatched from Bombay to Hyderabad early in June. During the period April to June, 251,000 maunds of salt were despatched to Hyderabad from Madras and Central Provinces and Berar.

The above facts will make it clear that the allegation that the Government of India are starving Hyderabad of essential commodities like foodgrains, medicines, etc., is without foundation. Indeed the Government of India could not adopt such a course as it would only bring misery and hardship to the vast Hindu population and poor Muslims of Hyderabad and would cause no discomfort to the Nizam and his self-seeking advisers.

A factor that has adversely affected transport facilities in respect of the commodities consigned for Hyderabad has been the reduction in Hyderabad's train services. This has been necessitated by the frequent armed attacks of the Razakars on the trains running through Hyderabad territory. No train now runs across Hyderabad borders without an armed escort, which has to be provided by the Indian forces. If the free movement of wagons has been hampered by this development the terrorism of the Razakars and the inability or the unwillingness of the Nizam's Government to stop the repeated train hold-ups are responsible for it.

CHAPTER X

THE CHOICE FOR THE NIZAM

The foregoing chapters make it abundantly clear that Hyderabad is an integral part of India and that the Nizam's pretensions to independence rest on no foundation other than his own ambition for unchecked absolutism in which he is supported by the Razakar terrorists and a handful of India's enemies. Neither the basic compulsions of geography nor the history and traditions of the State lend any support to these pretensions.

Hyderabad under British Rule, a part of feudal system.—For a period of over 150 years Hyderabad was a part of the feudal system in India and stood precisely in the same category as the other Indian States. The British never recognised its claim to any preferential treatment. If anything, the exercise of paramountcy in relation to Hyderabad was characterised by greater rigour than in the case of other States.

No coherence without States.—Whatever political and legal rights flowed to the States from the lapse of paramountcy were common to all of them. If all the States had elected to declare independence on the basis of the Nizam's logic of unfettered freedom of choice, the independence of India would have proved still-born. In the words of Sir Reginald Coupland such an India "would have lost all coherence". Inevitably, an India with hundreds of independent States would have lapsed into a chaotic condition. Such an India would have proved only a menace to world peace. This threat to India's integrity was averted by the Rulers' acceptance of the organic unity of their States with India on a federal basis.

Claim to independence untenable.—The fundamentals governing the Government of India's approach to the problem of States apply as strongly to Hyderabad as to other States. If anything, the Nizam's case for independence is even weaker than that of several other States because firstly Hyderabad has never enjoyed independence; secondly unlike several maritime and border States it is completely enclosed within the Indian territories; and thirdly an overwhelming majority of the people are strongly opposed to the Nizam's claim. The Government of India accordingly invited in all friendliness and with the best of intentions the Nizam also to an honourable partnership with India on federal basis.

Difference of approach.—During the protracted negotiations that followed, the Government of India examined in a spirit of the utmost accommodation the various proposals made by the Nizam's Government with a view to finding a formula which would meet the wishes of the Nizam's Government without subverting the basic policy of the Government of India. They made a departure from their general policy in accepting from the Nizam's Government a Standstill Agreement without accession of the State to the Dominion of India. The barren course of these negotiations has convinced the Government of India that the basis of approach of the Nizam's Government to the problem is directly opposed to that of the Government of India, in that, whereas the latter hoped that the Standstill Agreement and other arrangements would lead to the only solution of the Hyderabad issue, namely its accession, the Nizam and his Advisers wished to make every move an instrument for the assertion of Hyderabad's independence and a ruse to cram more power into the Nizam's repressive machine.

Dangers inherent in Hyderabad's independence.—Independence of Hyderabad is incompatible with India's independence; the two are mutually exclusive. The dangers inherent in the assertion of Hyderabad's independence are

already beginning to manifest themselves in all their grave potentialities. In his misguided quest for unchecked absolutism, the Nizam is converting Hyderabad into a potential foreign base. With the help of a very small group of the militant section of the minority and his personal wealth he seeks firstly to suppress all democratic movements in the State, and secondly to develop an independent theocratic fascist State in the heart of India which, with its military force and allied irregulars dominated by the militant section of the minority community, is intended to form a base for subverting the loyalty of the Muslims in India to the Indian Dominion.

In order to achieve these objectives the Nizam has his instruments in the Ittehad-dominated Ministry, the Razakars and the Ittehad security services. The Ittehad has declared itself against responsible Government. This militant organisation is out to perpetuate the Nizam's feudal rule against the tide of times by methods reminiscent of Hitler's Germany. In India, on the other hand, democracy has been firmly established and all over, in the Provinces as well as the States, the people are enjoying full freedom. This conflict has its natural repercussions on the 300 millions Indians who must resent the ruthless suppression of the political aspirations of their compatriots in Hyderabad.

The second problem created by the policy of the Nizam's Government is equally serious. The Razakars' atrocities are directed against the majority population in the State and they naturally arouse great indignation in India The determined effort of the Razakars to arouse communal tension constitutes a grave threat to communal peace in India. Inspite of the repeated denunciation of the Razakars' activities by prominent Muslims including some of the Muslim Leaguers, a large number of the secret agents of the Razakars are touring all over the country contacting Muslim leaders, inviting Muslims from Indian Provinces to migrate to Hyderabad, and establishing hostile centres in all Provinces, all of which create communal tension in several parts of India. Today the Razakars propaganda and activities are potentially the most dangerous factor in the communal situation.

The growing communist activity in the Razakar-infested Hyderabad is yet another menace to India's peace and security. In the first instance feudal Hyderabad with its glaring maddening disparity between the privileged position of the handful at the top and the appalling poverty of the vast population provides a prolific source of communism. Until recently communism developed in Hyderabad and the bordering Indian Dominion areas as an antithesis of the Razakar movement, and clashes between the Razakars and the communists were a frequent occurrence. Of late, however, the Razakars have sought an alliance with the communists in their crusade against India and democracy. This has greatly contributed to the rapid growth of communism in Hyderabad and the State is indeed now a hot-bed of communism.

Defence responsibility.—In the crisis through which India is passing at present the supreme responsibility of the Government of India is to defend her borders and to maintain internal peace. In its own interests it should be Hyderabad's direct concern not to do anything that would impair India's capacity to defend it. If Hyderabad's frontiers are intact, it is only because Hyderabad enjoys the protection of India. On the due and prompt discharge by India of her responsibility in respect of defence rests not merely the existence of India but also the maintenance of peace in Asia so essential to world peace.

In discharging this responsibility the Government of India have to strain every nerve. Friendship with Pakistan has been maintained inspite of grave provocations. Vigorous measures have been taken to restore communal peace

and order. Powerful disruptive elements and quasi-military organisations have been suppressed. The policy pursued by Hyderabad Government is a serious obstacle in the way of the Government of India's discharging this important responsibility.

Accession and democratisation the only solution.—All this clearly indicates that there is only one way of resolving the Indo-Hyderabad political deadlock, namely, the State's accession to India and the democratisation of its administration. Any other make-shift arrangements made with the Nizam's Government, who cannot be depended upon for implementing them in the right spirit, must be a brittle affair which will crack at the first stress. To adopt such a course is to submit to blackmail; it will be a breach of faith with the other Indian States and a betrayal of the interests of the millions of the people of Hyderabad.

Paramountcy independent of treaty engagements.—Hyderabad's claim to independence is mainly based on the lapse of paramountcy of the British Crown. Paramountcy was not derived from any treaty engagements but was claimed independently of them. It was contended by the British that paramountcy rested "on a moral obligation inherent in our protectorate". Of the responsibilities it implied, the gravest, it was claimed, was the duty of preserving peace and good order throughout India.

Sovereignty vests in people.—Paramountcy had two important aspects. The British as the paramount power in India were responsible for the defence and general security of the country as a whole. They claimed all the rights necessary to discharge this responsibility. Linked with these rights was also the right to intervene in the personal and dynastic affairs of the Ruler and the internal affairs of the State. In so far as the paramountcy related to intervention in the internal administration of the States, the Government of India have no intention of exercising it. They are, however, firmly of the view that whatever sovereign rights reverted to the States on the lapse of paramountcy, they vest in the people and conditions must be created in every State for a free and unfettered exercise of these rights.

Fundamentals governing paramountcy.—As regards the operation of paramountcy in relation to essential matters affecting the well-being of the country such as defence and security, although paramountcy has lapsed, the fundamentals on which it rested still remain.

The basic feature of the whole arrangement was not that the British possessed paramountcy rights and were, therefore, paramount, but that they were paramount and therefore had paramountcy rights. It is inherent in the geographical set up of Hyderabad that it is a protectorate. If the Government of India assume the responsibility of protecting Hyderabad against external aggression, as they must, they must also have the right to ensure that Hyderabad does not impair India's defence arrangements and also does not develop into a threat to India's peace and security. The British very rightly held the view "the unity of Indian empire would be imperilled if orgies of misrule could be enacted unchecked under British military protection". The essential defence and security requirements of the country and geographical compulsions have not ceased to be operative with the end of the British rule in India. If anything, they have become more imperative.

The Government of India cannot afford to be helpless spectators of orgies of misrule in Hyderabad. If the law and order situation there, which already shows signs of collapse, further deteriorates and thereby imperils peace and good order in India, the Government of India would unquestionably be involved.

In the age of bullock-cart, when small States could live in isolation and feudalism could flourish, Hyderabad was either a satrapy or a military protectorate under the dominant power in India. Not only it has had no status in external affairs but even its internal sovereignty was over-borne and limited by the overriding British authority.

In the age of aeroplane, when feudalism and petty sovereignties are an anachronism, the Government of India as the dominant power in India responsible for the defence and general security of the country cannot be expected to admit the Nizam's claim to independence; more so when it has no sanction of the will of the people behind it and comes only from the Nizam—whose "attitude", to quote from the British Resident at Hyderabad in 1926, "leaves but a faint hope that he would, if he realises his dreams of unchecked absolutism; consider the welfare of his people in the least degree"—and the handful at the peak of his feudal pyramid.

United Kingdom or to the appointment of similar representatives in any other country. I shall be prepared to arrange for the complete co-ordination of the work of those representatives with the diplomatic and commercial representatives of the Dominion of India in such countries and to inform you in advance of any representatives whom I may decide to appoint I am confident that Your Excellency's Government will be equally ready to co-operate with mine in regard to the import and export trade of Hyderabad.

4. There are several matters which have been outstanding between us for some time and which I should like to see cleared out of the way as soon as the agreement comes into force:—

(I) No Paramountcy functions remain to be exercised nor was the Hyderabad Residency retained except as a house for the British Resident when there was one in the past. In these circumstances I should be glad if your Government would now hand it over to Hyderabad. Suitable arrangements can be immediately made about the Treasury and your Treasury Officials.

(II) It is urgently necessary that arms, equipment and, in particular, ammunition should be immediately made available to Hyderabad. We have had no supplies since July and the shortage is interfering with the training of the Hyderabad Army.

(III) In the same way there has been difficulty in securing the importation of "soft" vehicles for the use of the Army and, in the special circumstances of Hyderabad you will appreciate the importance of mobility having regard to the areas to be covered.

(IV) I understand that the last of the Dominion troops stationed in Hyderabad will be removed in the course of the next month and I shall be glad of confirmation on this matter.

(V) The transfer to Hyderabad of all jurisdiction within the State was agreed in principle before the 15th August 1947 and was largely effected before that date and has continued since. There are however, some points still outstanding in this regard in relation to Police jurisdiction on part of the Railways which run through the State. I assume that such jurisdiction will be immediately restored to Hyderabad.

5. It is of course manifest that my rights in regard to such matters as currency, coinage and postal rights are in no way impaired by the Standstill Agreement, but I should be glad if Your Excellency would give me an express assurance that the rights to which I have just referred continue undiminished.

6. I shall like to take this opportunity of suggesting that, in relation to passports, the Dominion of India should agree, as a mater of convenience in a question which is becoming urgent, to the Chief Secretary of my Government or some other appropriate officer issuing passports to Hyderabad subjects which would be countersigned by the Dominion.

7. I am sure that in entering into this Agreement both our Governments intend to do all they can to prevent and discourage subversive movements and propaganda in the territory of the other.

8. I know well Your Excellency's interests in all steps taken to abate communal antagonism. It may therefore be of interest to you to know that, in conformity with earlier declarations on my part, I propose to issue a Firman in the immediate future expressing my firm resolve to protect the lives, rights and interests of all my subjects, alike, irrespective of caste or creed.

COPY OF LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM, DATED THE 29TH NOVEMBER 1947.

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Exalted Highness's letter dated 29th November and the Agreement. While my Government and I note that Your Exalted Highness has no intention of acceding to Pakistan, we very much regret that you should have been unable to execute an Instrument of Accession with India. Both my Minister for States in his Statement of the 5th July and I myself in my speech of the 25th July to the representatives of the States have made it clear that it is the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain the sovereignty of the States and to work with them as full partners in the administration of the three subjects proposed for accession. My Government cordially reciprocate your hope that, given good-will on both sides the working of the standstill agreement will provide a basis for a satisfactory long term solution. Placed as Hyderabad is, its interests are inextricably bound up with those of India; and my Government hope that before the present agreement expires it will be possible for Hyderabad to accede to the Dominion of India.

2. My Government will be prepared to discuss with your representative as soon as possible the question of handing over the posts, telegraphs and telephones; and also the future strength and equipment of the Hyderabad Forces.

As regards the supply of arms and equipment, the Dominion Government will be able to supply your legitimate requirements.

3. My Government have no objection to your maintaining an Agent-General in London and appointing similar representatives elsewhere, if necessary. In this connection they are very glad to have your assurance, to which you will appreciate that the Government of India attach great importance, that the activities of such representatives will be fully co-ordinated with those of the representatives of the Dominion of India and will be confined to matters properly relating to trade and commerce.

The Government of India are certainly prepared to co-operate with Hyderabad fully in regard to its import and export trade.

4 As regards the points raised in paragraph 4 of your letter, my Government have authorised me to say as follows:—

(1) My Government gladly agree that the Residency buildings at Hyderabad will be returned to your Government as soon as alternative accommodation promised by you is made available for our Treasury and officials employed there.

(2) My Government will take the necessary action in regard to the early supply of arms and ammunition for which an indent has been received from your Government.

(3) My Government will help your Government in securing the vehicles that they require.

(4) It is the definite intention of my Government that the troops at present stationed inside Hyderabad territory should be progressively withdrawn according to an agreed programme and that the withdrawal should be completed by the end of February 1948 at the latest.

(5) On the points remaining to be settled regarding the retrocession of jurisdiction, these can be discussed with my Government by your representative as soon as he is appointed.

5. I am authorised to assure Your Exalted Highness that your rights in regard to currency, coinage and postal matters will in no way be impaired by the standstill agreement.

6. My Government will take up the question of passports mentioned in paragraph 6 of your letter. They are fully prepared to assist you in this respect.

7. With reference to paras. 7 and 8 of your letter, the Government of India desire to assure Your Exalted Highness that it is their earnest desire to promote communal harmony and to maintain peace and security, and they will co-operate wholeheartedly with you to that end.

8. I enclose the agreement duly signed by me.

AGREEMENT WITH HYDERABAD

SARDAR PATEL'S STATEMENT IN THE ASSEMBLY

New Delhi, November 29, 1947.

With your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this House that this was the last phase of these negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the Agreement, signed this morning as well as a copy of the Collateral letters exchanged between H. E. H. and H. E. the Governor-General.

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which due to the spirit of co-operation evinced by the Rulers resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representatives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam also at the same time. I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when 15th August came no agreement could be reached. At the same time, His Exalted Highness the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him an extension of two months, within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, undertook to continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the Delegations sent by His Exalted Highness and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted but owing to Developments of which the House is aware the old Delegation resigned and a new one was sent by His Exalted Highness the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new Delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present Delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one.

Under this settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State, except the Paramountcy functions, are to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year. These agreements and arrangements cover a wide variety of matters including the three subjects on which accession of all the States has been accepted, *viz.*, Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

I knew that Hon'ble Members would have been much more gratified if as a result of these talks His Exalted Highness had found it possible for the State of Hyderabad permanently to accede to the Indian Dominion. Such an accession would have been in accord not only with our cherished desire but also with the interests of both the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad State. We, however, fully appreciated the internal difficulties in the State and consistent with our policy to secure agreement, not by coercion, but as far as possible with the maximum degree of goodwill on both sides and with due regard to the overall position in India, we felt that an agreement of this nature, even for a limited period, would have considerable advantages over the absence of any agreement whatsoever. The period of one year would enable both of us to forge closer relations and would it is hoped, pave the way for a permanent accession.

The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India.

I fully realise that Hon'ble Members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached, I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence in the relations between the two communities, both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes. I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end.

I woud also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a Ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

Finally, I am sure the House would like me to place on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations.

APPENDIX III

HEADS OF AGREEMENT

1. *General.*—The Nizam's Government agree that they will, on the request of the Government of India, pass legislation similar to the legislation of the Government of India on any matter enumerated in the schedule attached.

2. If the Nizam's Government fails to pass the required legislation with due despatch, the Nizam himself will forthwith pass the necessary ordinance under his own powers.

3. *Defence.*—The Dominion Government agree to fix the strength of the Hyderabad Army at a figure not exceeding an overall strength of 20,000. The provisions of the Indian State Forces scheme of 1939 will apply, *mutatis mutandis* to these Forces and the Government of India undertake to supply arms, ammunition and equipment on the scales and conditions laid down in the Scheme. The Government of India will have the right of periodical inspection and the Nizam's Government will also give all facilities in regard

to such inspection and furnish such information and returns as they may be requested to do by the Government of India from time to time.

4. The Nizam's Government agree to limit their irregular forces to 8,000 in addition to ceremonial and household guards. The Hyderabad Government agree that all other formations of a military character shall be disbanded. Progressive steps will be taken for the disbandment of the Razakars within three months; rallies, parades, demonstrations and speeches by Razakars will cease forthwith.

5. It is agreed that the Government of India will not station their armed forces inside Hyderabad State; but, if in an emergency the Government of India wish to station their Forces inside the State for the period of a state of emergency declared in India by the Government of India unler Section 102 of the Government of India Act, 1935, this will be agreed to by the Hyderabad Government. In such an event it is further agreed that the Government of India will be willing to pay to Hyderabad nominal compensation for the occupation of buildings in the State and for other services.

6. If, in any emergency as above, Indian Army units are stationed in the Hyderabad State they will be subject to the appropriate Dominion law governing the armed forces of the Dominion.

7. *External Relations.*—It is agreed that Hyderabad's external relations with any foreign country shall be conducted by the Government of India. Hyderabad will, however, have freedom to establish trade agencies in order to build up commercial, fiscal and economic relations with other countries; but these agencies will work under the general supervision of, and in the closest co-operation with, the Government of India. Hyderabad will not have any political relations with any country.

8. *Continuance of existing agreements and arrangements.*—Subject to the above paragraphs, the existing agreements and administrative arrangements in regard to matters of common concern shall continue and will be given effect to by both sides. The said agreements and arrangements shall not cease to have effect on 29th November, 1948, as was provided in Article V of the Standstill Agreement of 29th November, 1947.

On behalf of the Government of India.

On behalf of the Government of Hyderabad.

SCHEDULE

A. *Defence.*

1. Any armed forces raised or maintained by Hyderabad, whether within or without the State.

2. Naval, military and air force works.

3. Arms; fire-arms; ammunition.

4. Explosives.

B. *External Affairs.*

1. External affairs: the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition.

2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, Hyderabad, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in Hyderabad of persons who are not Hyderabad subjects.

3. Naturalisation.

C. *Communications.*

1. Posts and telegraphs; including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.

2. Railways of the Government of India in the State; the regulation of the Nizam's State Railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of other railways in the State in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Aircraft and air navigation; regulation and organisation of air traffic and aerodromes; provisions for the safety of aircraft; carriage of passengers and goods by air.

FIRMAN

1. After protracted discussions between my Government and the Government of India, I am now in a position to announce the lines of my policy. I am most anxious to put an end to the uncertainties which prevail as to the nature of the relationship between Hyderabad and the Dominion of India. The views of the Dominion of India have been made clear to me and mine are well known to them. I have now decided to consult the will of my people upon the question whether Hyderabad should accede to India. I shall, therefore, take a plebiscite in Hyderabad on the basis of adult franchise. In order to ensure that the plebiscite is fairly conducted, I shall arrange for it to be held under the supervision of some impartial and independent body. I shall accept the result of the plebescite whatever it may be.

2. But I am satisfied that more is required than the holding of a plebiscite, in order to restore confidence and tranquillity. I have, therefore, decided to instruct my Government to proceed in accordance with the following principles. In doing so, they will appreciate that the re-establishment of good-will between India and Hyderabad is the object of my policy and is of greater importance than the terms of any agreement which may be reached between India and Hyderabad in accordance with these principles.

(i) It is my intention to introduce responsible Government in Hyderabad and to that end to establish a Constituent Assembly early in 1949.

(ii) In the meantime, there should be a reconstitution of my Government as a result of which a new Interim Government will be formed, in consultation with the leaders of the major political parties.

(iii) My Government has been able to reach agreement with the Government of India on the nature of the interim relationship between Hyderabad and India pending the holding of the plebiscite. This agreement, which involves some modification of the existing Standstill Agreement, has been embodied in a separate document signed by my Prime Minister.

APPENDIX IV

MR. J. V. JOSHI'S LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF HYDERABAD

My dear Mir Laik Ali,

During my recent tour of Jalna, Aurangabad, Parbhani and Nanded districts numberless incidents of woe caused by the bad elements in Razakars were dinned in my ears repeatedly by victims as well as respectable persons whose

integrity I can safely vouchsafe. I am therefore pained to recount below some of the glaring atrocities for your information, I am also convinced from the statements made to me and my personal scrutiny, that the police and the military who are paid from the public revenue to maintain law and order and to protect the lives and properties of the people of the State pay little heed to curb the ever-growing atrocities of life, property, honour or liberty for the peace loving Hindus in these places nor are the latter given even the least assistance by the local authorities to stop the menace. On the other hand, Hindus notwithstanding their possession of licences for firearms are deprived of their weapons by the police even without acknowledgement. Instances are also not lacking where the police joined the Razakars in their depredations of loot, arson, murder, rape and molestation of womenfolk. As a result most of the people have in their despair sought shelter outside the State.

To be brief, let me plainly say that if no firm action is taken by the Government at once to put an end to these terrorist activities, it is as much as the Government has abdicated its powers.

In the Cabinet meeting you protested against my delivering certain speeches in Aurangabad District, particularly the following:—

> "There is no denying the fact that some mischievous elements who have entered the Razakars for their selfish ends, have gone out of control and discipline and are taking undue advantage of the situation. I shall not accept the plea that Hindus, congressites or communists are committing these atrocities in the guise of Razakars. It is better we realise our mistakes before it is too late, and try to rectify them. The fears of Hindus are not illfounded, it is these incidents and actions that have shaken the confidence of your Hindu brothers. Mere assurances shall no longer serve",

In my Parbhani speech I said as follows:—

> "I am loyal, and loyalty demands recognising facts to remedy them before it is too late. Hindus are afraid of the Muslims. They have lost confidence and are leaving their homes. They are today sore. The suspicion is due to the events of loot, arson, and murders that are happening in the country today. At Pathri Hindus are looted and are afraid of their lives. At Sailu, the property of Hindus is being given over to Muslims. Wherever I have gone, in these districts, I have come across sad and pitiable Hindu faces, who come to me with pitiable tales either of loss of their lives, property or fear of their lives. Rape and rapine seem to have become common. My Muslim brothers, you have a noble tradition of tolerance—remove this outside plague that has come in. I regret that my Razakar brothers cannot also escape the blame. Self seeking and mischievous elements that have entered the organisation are exploiting for their selfish interests. They seem to have gone out of control. Razakars mean servants of and defenders of the weak and innocent.
>
> Expunge this rot and live upto the noble ideals set for you by your revered leader."

In the course of my speech at Nanded I have said:—

> "The Hindus are afraid and are leaving their homes and running away, their misgivings do not seem to be illfounded. Much that has happened in the country has shaken their confidence. Wherever I have gone, whether Sailu, Manwath, Jintur or any other place,

complaints poured in of Hindu houses given over to Muslims, their lands forcibly occupied. Worse is the fate in Pathri, where the people are afraid of their lives and honour. Villages are burnt, fields lie deserted. What I have seen in Loha shocks me, the wholesale loot of entire Hindu Monda, gruesome murder of three Hindus, arson, and rape of women have become intolerable. My Muslim brothers, I beg of you to act and act quickly to weed out mischievous elements which are acting in their selfish interest and to cleanse the Razakar movement of these communal virus."

"You hold ninety per cent. of services, police, military and civil. You my Muslim brothers have a vast militant organisation of Razakars. You possess arms. The Hindus are weak, and helpless. They do not possess arms, where they have, even when licensed, they are dispossessed. They have none to look to. Mere words shall not do. Excuses in defence shall not convince. You have to bring back confidence by your deeds by living upto the noble ideals of our great and wise beloved Ruler, and the Asafia kings that of Unity and Peace."

I joined the Government in the hope that I would be able to do some service to bring about communal harmony and progress in the State. On account of my great respect for Kasim Razvi, I continued to believe you and him that the complaints against Razakars were all false, but I have seen things for myself. A complete reign of terror prevails in Parbhani and Nanded districts. I have seen in Loha, a scene of devastation, which brought tears to my eyes—Brahmins were killed, and their eyes were taken out. Women had been raped, houses had been burnt down in large numbers. My heart wrung in anguish.

I threw in my lot with the present Ministry in the hope of being useful to both the communities, but I am convinced that I am duped. I could never imagine that under your Government this would be the condition of the village after village. People came to me, as a Hindu Minister, and told their woeful stories. I cried. I have spent sleepless nights after I saw this sight. Under the circumstances I cannot continue to lend my name to a Government which is powerless to prevent these heart-rending atrocities which I have seen with my own eyes, and hence I submit my resignation herewith.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) J. V. Joshi,

23rd July 1948.

DETAILS OF ATROCITIES.

District : Aurangabad.

Village or Town of incident.	
Aurangabad	Two Hindus were brutally murdered by Muslims, immediately after my leaving Aurangabad. The Police who took the persons in custody were also threatened. The Subedar Saheb was ultimately forced to release them.
Bidkan	While returning from Pattan to Aurangabad, on my way, at Bidkan, I caught red handed Razakars who were exhorting money from wayfarers.

District Jalna

Jalna	A Hindu watch repairer was shot at blank range by a Pathan, injuring the former seriously. This was without provocation. His condition is serious. Two other persons of the shop have also been reported to be injured. Passengers are being harassed every day and the house of one poor Telanga looted, and the womenfolk molested.
Ambad	Arson and loot committed by the Arabs often in the village.
Jalna	House of Baba Marwadi Sukhapuriwala was looted by Goondas amongst whom were Baba Chaus, Hasan Chaus and Idroos Chaus.

District Parbhani.

Athon	The house and fodder belonging to Kapurchand Kachrulal were set fire to and he is not allowed to cultivate his lands. They demand repayment of loans from the poor cultivators, as if they had been given loans.
Sailu	The lives of Rama Pahelwan and Pathar Pahelwan who were looked to for protection by the villagers were plotted against and the two had therefore to leave the place.
Sailu	Sait Gokuldas being one of the victims of Razakars has decided to leave the place.
Kalamnuri	Hindus of Shivala and Kalamnuri forced to leave their homes due to loot by Razakars.
Pathri	Hindus forced and threatened to leave the village by Razakars with the connivance of the Police Inspector, and their houses and property taken possession of by them.
Babalgaon and Limbagaon.	Abduction of women, forcible possession of lands and property, looting and robbery have become too common here. The local police demand large sums of money for giving protection to the Hindus.
Hatval (Partur Tq.)	Entire property of Achutrao Hatwal robbed.
Sailu	The House belonging to Pusaram Sait Marwari, has been handed over to Muslims who would not allow his servants to remove the grains given from even the other houses. Similar illegal occupation of the houses of Shankarlal Asaram Loya and Mallappa Eshwarappa has been resorted to lately.
Kekar-Jowla, Babalgaon and Potola, Sarola, Gopegaon of Pathri Taluqa.	Large scale looting has become common in these villages.
Patoda	The lands, houses and property of Govind Laxmân Divruju of Patoda village have been looted and his father thrown into the river and beaten.
Hadgaon	All Hindu houses in the village have been looted and the people are in great panic, as the culprits from whom certain properties were recovered have since been released on bail.
Usod (Jintur Tq.)	Entire property of Hiralal Somani was looted and his house burnt down. He was burnt alive and his family members and children murdered.
Pangra, Kalamnuri and Ojhar. (Nanded District)	Marwari looted and some people killed by Razakars.

Manwath . . .	Ramkishen Rambaksh was robbed to the extent of Rs. 11,000 by three Muslims on his way to Jalna.
Kakar Jowla (Pathri Tq.).	Marwaris Pannalal, Madanlal and Goverdhan robbed of Rs. 50,000 by Razakars.
Manwath . . .	Corrugated sheets were taken away from the house when Baboo, s/o Laxman could not pay Rs. 500 demanded by a Rohilla. His life was also threatened by the Rohilla. Similar demands for fabulous amounts are daily occuring by a number of goondas in these parts.
Sarola Tq. Manwath .	Gold bangles of one Badrinarayan were robbed and also his lands taken possession of by two Muslims.
Borgaon . . .	Poor weavers of the village are threatened to pay money at the point of swords.
Pathri . . .	A cart full of Kirana goods belonging to Shankarlal was looted in day light by Razakars.
Thar, Pathri Taluq .	On the 14th and 15th two houses of a Marwadi and a Brahmin were looted by breaking open the locks as the owners had left the place on coming to know in time the planned attack of the Razakars.
Rampuri Pathri Taluq.	Rs. 1,000 has been demanded from Madanlal Kachrulal and Gopulal Bankatlal failing which, the Razakars have threatened to loot the village.
Pathri, Pathri Taluq .	Devsi Valji was threatened with death and asked to execute a bond for Rs. 6,000 but he escaped from the place apprehending danger to his life.
Bhisegaon (Palm Tq.)	Pointing a sword at the neck of his son, Shivlal, s/o Bachulal was demanded Rs. 1,000 which was paid, to the Razakars. They took away the firearms in the house and looted it after harassing the women-folk.
Pimpri, Parbhani Tq.	Property worth about Rs. 4,000 was looted by the Razakars. The Taluqdar who was given prior intimation about the attack did little to prevent it.
Shari, Mirgapur, Pangra, Katneshwar.	Similar attacks by Razakars were made against these villages also.
Degaon . . .	Three persons of whom Mr. Kharkar was one, were shot dead.
Hingoli . . .	Pujari of the temple was brutally murdered.
Khujda . . .	The police on duty to watch a bridge nearby raided the village and shot down three persons for their having declined to send some women.
Oundha (Nagnath) .	A bomb was thrown on the people assembled for the jatra and five killed as a result of firing.
Gunda	The village was looted and burnt with revenge by the Razakars and some people killed because they had resisted the Razakars from raiding the village previous day.
Talni, Pangra, Vakodi of Kalmnuri Taluqa, and Bamni of Jintur Taluq.	These villages were the victims of similar incendiarism.
Jhari . . .	Fifty acres of land cattle and property belonging to Shamrao Bhavrao Deshmukh were taken possession of by three Muslims.
Jalavpur (Jintur Tq) .	Same was the case with Dhangar's property by Rahimkhan Rohilla.
Jintur	Villagers are harassed by the Muslim Gundas and property of Devidas Rao and Sadashivrao were looted and houses and gardens were damaged and burnt.
Dhaiphal Jintur Tq. .	Almost all the houses were looted and burnt.
Manwath . . .	Lands owned by Sham Rao Bapu Rao are damaged and forcibly occupied by Dhers. Similarly those of Murlidhar Abaji are subjected to similar interference.
Kodagaon . . .	Mohanlal s/o Purushotam is prevented from cultivating hisland by a Muslim. His house and shop were broken open and looted to the extent of Rs. 15,000/-.
Katneshwar . .	House of Maruti Rao looted and property worth Rs. 25,000/- taken away by the Razakars.

Mudkhed.. . .	Twelve persons were murdered near the Police station. One Chandra was killed and thrown in the jungle.
Nanded. . . .	Hindu ladies are treated most indecently by the customs authorities during their search while Muslims are allowed freely.
Kapsi . . .	As a revenge against the resistance offered by the Patel of the village. the Razakars raped and molested several women and looted and burnt the village.
Tamsi . . .	Except three houses out of 150, the rest were given away to the Refugees.
Kalali . . .	72 people were killed by the Razakars after besieging the Deshmukh's house for 84 Hrs.
Hadgaon . . .	75 per cent of the villagers have left the place out of feer and their houses handed over to the refugees. The house of Gangaram was looted during his absence and his two guns taken away. While there were only about 50 Muslims houses here now nearly (500) Houses are in occupation of the Muslims and similarly lands belonging to Hindus are also usurped by the Muslims.
Chorparwa. . .	Patel of the village was called for by the Police and shot dead. Most of the fields lie waste.
Himayatnagar. .	More than 200 Hindu houses are given over to Muslims.
Keni . . .	The Razakars looted the entire village.
Nerli . . .	The lands of Mr. Digambar Rao s/o Dhondopanth were forcibly taken over and cultivated by the Razakars.
Kamlej. . .	Twenty persons were shot dead.
Jamli . . .	A number of houses were burnt, and one Prabhurao was killed.
Loha. . . .	There was a dastardly attack on the village for three days continuously and still it was not prevented by the local authorities who are responsible for law and order. Chamanrao was tied to a wooden pillar and tortured, his eyes pierced and then he was shot dead. Panditrao was also killed. The whole village was burnt and looted. Waman Bhadkamkar received a spear injury and his house looted. Narayan Madiwala's wife was raped by 7 persons in the presence of her relatives.

MR. J. V. JOSHI'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION

My dear Mir Laik Ali,

I hope you will please forgive me if I take this opportunity to explain you the real urge of my inner voice.

You are fully aware that my main aim of life and burning desire is to dedicate myself to work to achieve communal peace and communal harmony. I am a very strong believer in communal unity. I sincerely believe that if a country desires to live in peace and prosperity, and achieve that healthy independence in its true and real form, unadulterated sincere communal peace and harmony is not only most essential but pre-requisite to that end. It was with this desire that I joined the present cabinet.

During the tenure of my office, as you are well aware, in my tours in the districts, I have struggled and struggled hard with all the sincerity of my heart, for that noble cause of achieving and maintaining peace between all communities.

You are aware, that I was continuously offering my most humble services to that effect. It was my misfortune that I could not play that useful role, which I was so anxious to perform. Unfortunately the negotiations with the Government of India seem to have ended for the time being. Everything seems to be in turmoil. Apart from the merits and results of the negotiations with the Government of India, I had always insisted that some sort of internal settlement was absolutely essential. If nothing more, at least the maintenance of law and order to ensure internal peace and harmony, under no circumstances ought to have been overlooked. We can never face both external as well as internal stalemate. I will always wish that internal peace is preserved at all costs to maintain law and order.

It is my misfortune to point out that today I find almost the entire Dominion of our Great Hyderabad in a very disturbed state. Nowhere in the State that idol of peace and harmony is visible amongst the major communities. Internal peace is disturbed. Morale of the people has gone down. Mutual suspicion has ensnared both the communities. During my tours, wherever and whenever I have gone, I have sadly found the lamentable picture of distrust and sorrow. Every Hindu is panic stricken. This panic has to a very great extent not been illfounded. Unfortunately I have noticed every Hindu complaining of inhuman atrocities, arson, murder and loot perpetrated by Goonda elements. Even innocent Hindu women are reported to have been molested. These Goonda elements, in my sincere opinion, have entirely gone out of the control of Government.

As I consider myself the disciple of peace and communal harmony, I consider it to be my foremost duty to satisfy the dictates of my conscience to go amongst the masses and strive with heart and soul to cultivate that noble spirit of communal brotherhood. I think it is my foremost duty to sacrifice even my high post in the Government for this purpose.

During these hard days, social service can be the only factor which can bring about brotherhood, peace and prosperity to our country. When I say I am most loyal to Hyderabad and my beloved ruler, it would become only a pretention. if I failed to act upto that principle. Only he is loyal to the king and country who strives his utmost to attain that communal peace, which is sadly shaken at present in Hyderabad. To this end, I want to devote my entire energy and even at the cost of my life if necessary. I think, therefore that my place is amongst the masses and not in the Government chair.

"WAR" seems to be on the lips of every Muslim brother. But may I know against whom are these preparations of war? Our Hyderabad is surrounded on all sides by the Indian Union. There are hard and fast geographical and historical relations between our Hyderabad and the Indian Union. Almost every Hyderabadi, be he a Hindu or a Muslim, has his social and economic relations in the Union of India, which are and shall ever be inseparable. There will be total destruction of the entire structure of peace and prosperity for both, God forbid, if the Government of Hyderabad and the Government of India have to adopt the course of armed conflict. I under no circumstances, wish to be a party to such a disaster. I will fight to the last to attain the noble goal of communal peace and brotherhood, which I am convinced can only bring happiness to our country. I always love peace. I pray almighty God to give us all the strength and wisdom to see clearly our correct path and to fight the battle of humanity.

I have personally very high regards for your capacity and noble ideals. I assure his Most Exalted Highness of my loyalty. I pray for his long life and prosperity. I request and hope that I will be excused by His Exalted Highness and your goodself, who have all this time proved to be my sympathisers and well wishers. I have no other alternative left but to request you to permit me to tender my resignation of office of Minister which I hold at present in the Government. I shall thank you to relieve me of my office and request my beloved Ruler to accept my resignation, as early as possible. God bless the Nizam and my beloved country Hyderabad.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) J. V. JOSHI,

23-7-48.

H. E. Mir Laik Ali,

Prime Minister, Hyderabad-Deccan.

STATEMENT BY MR. G. RAMACHARI; DATED THE 22ND FEBRUARY 1948

My main object in joining the Interim Government was to pave the way for an early settlement between the Government and the people, as represented by the Hyderabad State Congress, which I have served for the past ten years in one capacity or another. I lost no time in opening the subject, in fact I did press the matter for some definite settlement. But I was, I confess, sorely disappointed by the indifferent and evasive manner in which this most important and urgent matter was dealt with by the Government. They would not put their finger on the wound.

Meanwhile, the situation in the countryside continued to deteriorate rapidly. There has been no security of life or property in the State for those who will not practically be slaves. Forces of violence and goondaism were let loose. Arson, loot and murder formed the normal events of the day. Armed men rode round the country spilling death wherever they went. Village after village was burnt down; several villages were abandoned out of sheer fright. Even in the jail the hand of the goonda was at work.

EVIL FORCES ACTIVE

The Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslemin has openly taken to a policy of militarism preaching fire and sword. A do-or-die Jahad has been proclaimed against every one who opposed the Majlis goal of the establishment of an Islamic State. As if this is not enough, their leader goes on proclaiming that Hyderabad is to be the home of the four crores of Muslims of the Indian Union. His fascist mind does not think of the people who have created this beautiful country with their affection and toil out of mediaeval darkness.

It is this state of affairs that I could not tolerate. I insisted that we ruthlessly suppress all these forces before we could think of any reform or change. Otherwise we had no right to continue as a Government. A Government which cannot offer security and peace to its people had no right to call itself so.

The Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslemin having accepted the responsibility of office would, I thought, change its time and work for a peaceful settlement of all matters of contention. Two months have now gone by but the expected has not happened. The Majlis has grown more rabid than ever. It now declares that the Majlis and not the Nizam, is our ruler. Their leader indulges in sabre-rattling every day and preaches hatred and war. This goes on unchecked while loyal subjects who desire that the Hyderabad administration should be modernized and secularized get beaten and pushed behind the bars.

All this requires an iron hand and a temperament of steel to deal with. No one else but the Nizam can do this. A little delay will mean further complication and untold misery to the millions. My resignation is an expression of a deep frustration and an emphatic protest; it is also a poignant request to our beloved ruler to come to the aid of the suffering subjects of his in this hour of peril.

APPENDIX V

Catalogue of Border Incidents in regard to which protests have been lodged with H. E. H. the Nizam's Government

1. Bombay Border Area

No. and Date of communication addressed to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the Incident
1. No. 1/AG/48. dated 9-1-48.	*(i)* On 6-1-48, H. E. H. the Nizam's Military entered Nagur village in the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency and intimidated the Patel of that village.
	(ii) About the 8th of December 1947, H. E. H. the Nizam's Police entered the village of Chavanbhai in the Bijapur District and carried away 48 sheep, which they subsequently released having received a ransom in the sum of Rs. 400/- from one Basappa Naikodi.
	(iii) On 9-12-47, H. E. H. the Nizam's Police entered the village of Wadgari (Akalkot) and took away one Gangappa Chinnayya Somnal.
	(iv) On 27-12-47, H. E. H. the Nizam's Military took possession of a bus at a place in the Union territory a few miles from Sholapur, scared away the driver and the cleaner by firing a few shots and pushed away the bus to Tamalwadi Naka in the Hyderabad territory.
	(v) The State authorities encroached on a cart track pasing through the village of Bobalad in the Mandargiri Taluq of the Kurundwad (Junior) State by laying a road so as to connect the two Stat villages of Jeurgi and Mashan.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
2. No. F. 58-P/48, dated the 29-1-48	(*i*) On or about 31st December 1947, the Nizam's Police attached to the Tamalwadi Toll Station beat one Mr. Sampat Narayan Bagwe, a Police Constable of the Kasegaon out-post Police Station in the district of Sholapur, while returning to Kasegaon, and relieved him of the official documents which he was carrying at the time. (*ii*) It is further reported that they waylaid the pilgrims who were returning to Sholapur from Tuljapur, and robbed them of their ornaments worth about Rs. 2,000. (*iii*) Also they abducted two Waddar women belonging to Budhwar Peth in Sholapur.
3. No. F. 58-P/48, dated 29-1-48.	About 7 A. M. on the 5th January 1948, one Ali Mohammed, *alias* Mamu Rohila, belonging to Malunje in your State fired a shot across the border from the Haibatpur village in the Gangapur Taluka at the villagers in Jainpur village in Newasa Taluka in the District of Ahmednagar, thereby causing injuries to two persons, Zumber Bhulba Bhil and Mathi Bhil. He was at the time accompanied by the Nizam's police.
4. No. D. 177-P/48, dated 13-2-48.	On the 19th December 1947, while 4 persons belonging to Mushigeri village, Dharwar District, were proceeding to Gudur, they were arrested by H. E. H. the Nizam's Police at Gaggaladoni and relieved of their horses and the bundles of sarees which they were carrying for sale at Gudur. They were, however, released subsequently but their sarees and horses were not returned to them.
5. No. F. 58-P/48 dated 6-2-48.	On the 23rd December 1947 about 50 to 60 soldiers of H. E. H. the Nizam's Military raided the village of Ainapur in Sindgi Taluka, Bijapur District, forcibly entered into the house of the Police Patil of that village expecting to be able to find State Congressmen there, demanded the Police records from him, and wandered about in the village threatening the villagers.
6. No. F. 58-P/48, dated 6-2-48.	(*i*) At about 8 P. M. on the 8th December 1947, H. E. H. the Nizam's police opened fire at Urni on the villagers of Sirur, Ahmednagar District, about 300 in number, while they were returning home from Takli, where they had gone to attend a meeting addressed by one Mr. Nana Ramji Patil. As a result of the firing one Nathu Gane Gadekar was killed while his companion Shankar Ganesh was injured. (*ii*) Earlier on the same day, at about 10 A. M. when the villagers of Sirur were proceeding to Takli, they were relieved of their lathis at Urni by the Nizam's police, who promised to restore them on their return from Takli.
7. No. F. 108 (3)-P/48, dated 20-2-48.	(*i*) About the 12th January 1948, a batch of 9 Arabs belonging to H. E. H. the Nizam's military raided the village of Sonna, Bijapur District, extorted an amount of Rs. 225 from one Gurulingappa Kinagi of that village and also forcibly removed from his house about 3 maunds of gun-powder. They have also intimidated the Hindu residents of that village and extorted from them an amount of Rs. 150. (*ii*) On the 29th January 1948, two persons, namely Andanappa Kalkappa Kalakareddi and Yellappa Kumber, while they were proceeding from Mundrigi to Gudlanur, were beaten by the State Police while they were still within the limits of the Union territory and relieved of an amount of Rs. 50. (*iii*) On the 31st January 1948, the Nizam's Military raided the village of Bilawad in Bijapur District, looted the house of the Patel of that village and set fire to Government records therein.
8. No. 285-P/F. 108, (3)/48, dated 28-2-48.	(*i*) On the 9th January 1948, one Gollalappa Shidramappa Padshetti of Colgeri, Sindgi Taluq, District Bijapur, was manhandled by the Nizam's State Military at Hire-Allapur, a village in the State, where he had been on private business, with a view to obtaining information regarding the police and the Home Guards detailed for Bandobas duty at Golgeri.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
	(*ii*) On the 17th January 1948, at about 6 P.M., Channappa Madiwalappa Kori, Sharnappa Irappa Balabatti, Imamsa Maktumsab Tangadagi, Maktumsab Imamsab Tangadagi, Manasya Halleppa and Nagappa Ningappa Shirsagi, villagers of Honmalli, Singi Taluq, were working in a field belonging to one Dastagirsa Darga in the village of Kulgeri in the State, when they found about 40 men belonging to the Nizam's Military including some goondas, advancing towards them. They fled but were soon overpowered by the Military and taken to a Darga situated about 2 to 3 furlongs from Honmalli village, and beaten with a view to obtaining information regarding the activities of the State Congress. To intimidate them, the Military fired two shots in the air. At about 8 P. M., Imamsa Maktumsab Tangadagi and his son Maktumsa Imamsa Tangadagi were released, but the remaining 4 persons were detained till midnight. On the intervention of Dattagirsa Durga, they were later released.
	(*iii*) On the 13th January 1948, Bandu Kashinath Deshmukh, Tatya China Bhavar and Asman Asraji of Sulki village, Taluq Shevgaon, District Ahmednagar, were searched by the Hyderabad State Customs sepoys at Mahar-Takli in the Taluq of Paithan, District Auragabad. Of these men, Bandu Kashinath Deshmukh was tied and detained whereas the remaining two escaped and fled to Suklu.
	(*iv*) On the 1st February 1948, some goondas assisted by the State Police raided the village of Tadwal, Sholapur District, shot dead one person and looted some others. When the Sub-Inspector of Pangri arrived on the scene, with his men, the State Police opened fire on them. The raiders visited the village in two buses belonging to the Nizam's State Railway.
9. No. 125-S/48, dated 7-3-48.	On the morning of the 2nd March 1948 about 60 men of the Nizam's Police fired on the Bombay Government Armed Police party of 9 men stationed at Halkeri (Gajendragad Police Station) without any provocation and also on villagers. The Bombay Police party exchanged firing till all their ammunition exhausted. In the result, three of the Bombay Policemen were shot dead by the Nizam's Police and their bodies were removed to unknown places.
10. No. 427-P/F 108 (3)/48, dated 10-3-48.	(*i*) On 15th February 1948, while the Tahsildar of Ashti (Nizam's State), camped in the village of Loni, with a party of about 10 Sepoys, in connection with the collection of land revenue, 4 of the Sepoys chased the villagers into the adjoining Union village of Mandve in the Ahmednagar Taluka. While returning from Mandve village, the Sepoys caught hold of one Kesu, a Mahar of that village, and dragged him to the threshing floors of Manaji Krishnaji Nimse and Khashaba Rabaji Nimse, whence they too were forcibly carried away to Loni. B fore reaching the village of Loni, one of the Sepoys hit Kesu with a stone who thereupon fell on the ground bleeding profusely. Manaji and Khashaba were taken to Loni and released in the evening. Hardly had they entered the limits of Mandve when they were fired upon by the Sepoys. Khashaba was killed on the spot while his companion Manaji was seriously injured.
	(*ii*) On the 11th February 1948, 16 men belonging to H. E. H. the Nizam's Police trespassed into the village of Turk Pimpri in the Sholapur District and forcibly carried away (*i*) Abdul Ambir of Pimpri, (*ii*) Bhagwant Keshav Patil of Jamgaon and (*iii*) Bapurao Tulsiram Chavan of Jamgaon.
11. No. 1306-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 15-5-48.	(*i*) On the morning of the 5th April 1948, one Dnyanoba Tatya Naikwadi who was working in his fields within the limits of Kandgaon village, Barsi Taluq (adjoining Khanapur village in Osmanabad District), was shot dead by some unknown persons, and when the villagers sought to collect the corpse, they were met by showers of bullets fired from across the border.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
	(*ii*) On the 10th April 1948, at about 4-30 P.M., a party of about 300 armed men from Osmanabad District trespassed into the limits of Kaudgaon village and fired indiscriminately for about 3 hours, using machine guns and rifles. The Union Police stationed in this village repulsed the attack.
12. No. 1470-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 19-5-48.	At about 7-30 A.M. on the 3rd April 1948, three Hyderabad State Police Constables (two in uniform and one in plain clothes) trespassed into the limits of Byadgihal village in Sindgi Taluq, Bijapur District, stopped a bullock cart transporting oil-seeds from the State to the Union territory and forced the cartmen, Ningappa and his brother Sharnappa, to unyoke the bulls. On receipt of this news, the residents of Byadgihal village came out in a body to the spot when the State Police Constables released the cartmen, while the plain clothesman, whose name is reported to be Davalsab Mujavar crossed over into the State border. On seeing their colleague bringing in a party of 10 or 12 State Army personnel to their aid the two Constables fired on the villagers, injuring one Kalyanappa Gangappa Asangihal in the wrist. Meanwhile, the Bombay Province Armed Police on patrol duty arrived at the scene and chased the two Constables into the State territory. The State Military party who had meanwhile taken up positions on the other side of the border then opened fire on them. The exchange of fire lasted for an hour.
13. No. 1616-P/F. 103(3)/48, dated 24-5-48.	(*i*) At about 2 P.M. on the 3rd April 1948, some Arabs, presumed to be freshly recruited into the State Police, armed with muzzle loading guns, looted 4 carts carrying grocery articles from Dudhani to Hadalgi on the border near Hadalgi and Nimbal. (*ii*) On the 12th April 1948, an armed Police party from Wagholi in State territory, trespassed into the fields within the limits of Yedsi in Barsi Taluq and ordered some residents of the State who had come to attend the weekly fair in Yedsi and were resting in the fields, to return to their homes and assaulted some of them. The owner of the field, Vishwanath Nilu Deshmukh and his two servants, Daji Hari Deshmukh and Govind Genu Deshmukh, who were working in the fields at the time, were ordered to load the bundles belonging to the State Police, and when they refused to do so they were also assaulted. The bundles were then carted away to the State border and on the way, one of the bulls which was weak and slow was left behind and another belonging to one Anna Bajirao of Yedsi was yoked instead. Meanwhile the Union Police stationed in Yedsi arrived on the scene and retrieved the bundles and the bull. (*iii*) On the 26th April 1948, some 60 to 70 residents of Dehkri village in State (where arson and murder was alleged to have been committed on large scale) took refuge in Alijapur village in Sholapur District. On the 27th April, at about 8 A.M. fire was opened on the Hindu locality of Alijapur from across the border by some persons (presumably State Military or Police) armed with powerful and long range weapons. As a result, 4 villagers, Laxman Narayan Vanve, Devidas Ramchandra Chandani, Sada Tulshiram Mahar and Hari Ramchand Ghuge, were killed and 4 others, Ramchandra Ghuge, Bhanudas Yesu Vanve, Yeshwant Ramchandra and Sarubai, w/o Narayan Vanve, received injuries. 30 houses and 5 stacks of kadbis were burnt by the raiders.
14. No. 1616-P/F. 103(3)/48, dated 24-5-48.	On 14th April 1948, at about 12 noon, the villagers of Sarola in Osmanabad District, close to Kajale in Sholapur District, came to Kajale for shelter as their village was looted by goondas consisting of Razakars, Deendars and Arabs from the State. At 1 P.M. a band of Razakars, State Military and Police personnel came near Kajale and opened fire. The police party belonging to Kajale with 20 to 30 villagers armed with sticks went out to repulse the attack, with the result one Police constable was shot dead by the goondas who were in

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
	over-whelming numbers. Fire was opened by the goondas from 3 sides and the villagers and the Police party began to retreat. While retreating, one more Police constable and 6 villagers were shot down. The dead bodies of the two Constables and 4 villagers were taken away by the Razakars in a truck along with the arms and ammunition belonging to the Police. Besides, 4 more villagers of Kajale were injured in the attack and were admitted for treatment in the Barsi dispensary.
15. No. 1705-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 7-6-48.	On the 8th May 1948, 20 cartmen and 6 other villagers (including a woman), all residents of Mangrul, an Union enclave village in the State, while proceeding to Sholapur were detained by the State Police and taken to Tamalwadinaka and their 20 carts containing foodstuffs like jaggery, groundnut, jowar, wheat and groundnut oil were seized. The District Superintendent of Police, Sholapur, deputed on the 10th May 1948 his Deputy Superintendent of Police to enquire into the matter. The Deputy Superintendent proceeded on the same day to Tamalwadi in a police lorry with a party of police constables and, as he neared the naka, signalled his approach to the State Police party stationed there in a manner which they could easily recognise. However, when the lorry was about 150 yards away from the naka, the State Police opened fire and continued to do so despite the Sholapur Police signalling and shouting to stop the firing. As there was no hope of contacting the State Police, the Deputy Superintendent was forced to return to Sholapur.
16. No. 5016-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 5-6-48.	(*i*) On the 1st May 1948, the Police Sub-Inspecter at Kanapur Customs naka (in Tuljapur taluq, Osmanabad district) detained a lorry belonging to Mr. B. L. Karadi, an excise contractor of Sholapur while engaged in transporting toddy from Arali, an Union enclave village in State territory, to Sholapur, and removed the lorry and the driver to Osmanabad. (*ii*) On the 13th May 1948, another lorry belonging to the same contractor (Mr. B. L. Karadi) of Sholapur was detained in similar circumstances and taken to Osmanabad. As a result of these unlawful detantions, the contractor has suffered a loss of about Rs. 28,000.
17. No. F. 5013-PF. 108(3)/48, dated 11-6-48.	(*i*) On the 21st May 1948, one Bhagwan Appa Bhore of Upale, an Union enclave in State territory, who was passing by the Customs naka at Alani, was detained and assaulted by the Police and the Razakars stationed in the Naka. (*ii*) On the 21st May 1948, 2 she-buffaloes valued at Rs. 300 belonging to one Mahdeo Shirmurti were forcibly taken away by the Razakars stationed in the Customs naka at Dhoki, while they were grazing in the fields of Tadvale village in Barsi Taluq. (*iii*) On the 23rd May 1948, one Indravahan Ratnaji Gire of Mardi (Sholapur Taluq) and his mother Manjulabai, who were passing the Customs naka at Nanaj, were detained and assaulted by the Police and Razakars stationed in the naka and relieved of Rs. 20.
18. No. 5101-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 15-6-48.	(*i*) One Mr. Gopal Shankar Karanur of Kasegaon, Sholapur District who visited Tamalwadi in State territory on the 2nd May 1948 to make enquiries regarding the availability of kerosene oil, was laid hold of by the Razakars, belaboured and taken to the Police, Station where the Police Sub-Inspector threatened him with death if he did not reveal the real object of his visit to Tamalwadi. The Razakars then tied the hands and feet of Mr. Karanur, carried him some distance away from the Police Station on the road to Ule village, shot him through the hands and brought him back to the Police Station, where he was detained till the next morning. On the morning of the 3rd May, he was again threatened by the Police Sub-Inspector and Razakars, and taken to a house in Tamalwadi from where he escaped after bribing the Razakars with his wrist watch. On reaching Gangewadi in Kasegaon Taluq, he met an armed party of the Bombay Police who sent him to the Civil Hospital at Sholapur for treatment of the injuries inflicted on him by Razakars.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
19. No. 5103-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 15-6-48.	On the 15th May 1948, an armed party of 30 persons, consisting of Razakars and a State Military personnel, raided Animadu a border village in Sindgi Taluq, Bijapur District, forcibly entered the house of the Police Patil and burnt his records, looted cash and gold ornaments valued at Rs. 915, from the houses of some villaers and forcibly carried away into the State territory 18 persons of whom 15 were subsequently released.
20. No. 5089-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 15-6-48.	On the 26th May 1948, one Pandurang Gurae of Dudhani village and another merchant of Tolnur village, who were proceeding from Dudhani Bazar to Tolnur in a cart, were set upon by a band of 20 Razakars and robbed of cash and properties valued at about Rs. 1,200.
21. No. 5087-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 21-6-48.	(*i*) On the 20th April 1948, an armed party consisting of three State Military personnel and two Razakars ambushed one Laxman Siddappa Hargol of Devangaon village in Sindgi Taluq, Bijapur District, while he was going to the river Bhima with 30 goats, and carried away by force towards Afzalpur in Gulbarga District 5 goats. On entering the State territory the miscreants released four of the goats and took away with them one. (*ii*) On the 7th May 1948, an armed band consisting of 25 persons from Javali village in the State territory attempted to raid the village of Jalgaon Pra. Kannad in the East Khandesh District, but withdrew when the villagers sought to offer resistance. (*iii*) At about 9-30 P.M. on the 13th May 1948, an armed band from the Hyderabad State territory opened fire on Bhokangaon village in Chalisgaon Taluq, East Khandesh District, but were beaten back by the villagers who returned the fire.
22. No. 5126-P/F. 108(3)/48, dated 22-6-48.	On the 25th April 1948, some Arabs from Kevad village situated in the Hyderabad State territory on the left bank of the river Sina opened fire on the residents of Undergaon village, situated on the other bank of the river, in Madha Taluk, Sholapur District, killing 3 persons and causing injuries to 4 others.
23. No. 5125-P-1/F. 108(3)/48, dated 22-6-48.	On the 18th April 1948, one Shivling Maruti Mashalkar, who was proceeding from Sholapur to his home in Mangrol Taluq by motor cycle, was arrested by the Hyderabad State Police at Tamalwadi and detained in the Tuljapur Sub-Jail.
24. No. 979-P/F. 151/48, dated 26-4-48.	In April 1948, 13 bags of groundnut, of which 7 belonged to one Kanakangouda Mallesagouda, Patil of Hirekot in Ron Taluq and the rest to Irappa Balappa Pattar of Hiregoudar in the same Taluq, were seized by the military authorities of the Hyderabad State while being transported by carts from their villages in Ron Taluq of Dharwar District to Gajendragad and Badami The groundnut in question was the produce of the Bombay Province and it was not possible to export it to Gajendragad or Badami except by the road passing through the Hyderabad State.
25. No. F.151-P/48, dated 7-5-48.	On the 29th April 1948, while 12 persons from Upale village in Sholapur District were transporting 54 bags of groundnut, in bullock carts, to Barsi in Sholapur District, they were waylaid in the intervening State territory by a party of goondas who seized the bullocks, the carts and the nuts and forcibly removed the cartmen to Osmanabad.
26. No. F.151(1)-P/48 dated 22-7-48.	On the 12th May 1948, two motor trucks belonging to one Narashingrao Shamrao Chakkul of Sholapur, which were returning from Murum in the State territory with groundnut bags, were held up at Nadimgaon by the State Police who unloaded the trucks and drove them away after chasing away the drivers. These two trucks and four others similarly seized by the State Police are now being used by the Razakars for raids on Union villages on the borders of the State.
27. No. 5148-P/F.108, (3)/48, dated 30-6-48.	(*i*) On the 14th April 1948, one Shankarappa Hanamantappa Chitrali, an oil dealer of Mandargi, who had gone to Belagatti in the State to collect his dues, was arrested by the Sub-Inspector of the State Police at Alawandi, at the instance of one Jan isab Imamsab Jalihal

No. & date of the communication addressed to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.	Details of the incident
	(*ii*) On the 7th May 1948, a party of Muslim goondas from the Hyderabad State territory attempted a raid on Mardi village in the Sholapur District, but withdrew when the Union Police stationed in the village sought to offer resistance.
	(*iii*) On the 11th May 1948, one Kundalik, younger brother of Govind Pharid Bhalerao of Kasba Tadvale in Barsi Taluq, was abducted by the Hyderabad State Police while he was working in his fields.
	(*iv*) On the 12th May 1948, about 15 sepoys belonging to the Hyderabad State Army visited Kodaganur in Dharwar District, threatened the residents of Ron and Halkeri villages, who had come there to attend a wedding, fired a shot at the Police Patil of Kodaganur, who however escaped, and broke up the marriage party.
28. No. 5161-P/F. 108 (3)/48, dated 29-6-48.	(*i*) On the 29th May 1948, 4 armed Razakars trespassed into the limits of Kakrambe village, an Union enclave forming part of the Sholapur District, threatened and belaboured one Damu Girjappa Bandgar and drove away 32 sheep belonging to one Sopan Devrao Zade of Kakrambe, while they were grazing there.
	(*ii*) At about 1 A.M. on the 31st May 1948, some Razakars from the Hyderabad State territory attempted to raid Mardi village in Sholapur Taluq, but retreated when the Union Police patrolling the border resisted by opening fire on them.
	(*iii*) At about 11 A.M. on the 1st June 1948, about 15 armed Razakars from Mashal village in Afzalpur Taluq, Gulbarga District, trespassed into the limits of Tolnur village (under Karjagi out post, Akalkot Police Station) and drove away 2 bullocks and 1 buffalo belonging to one Nabisaheb Saifansaheb and 10 goats belonging to one Sayyad Saheb Dawalsaheb, both of Tolnur. The Union Police party which rushed to the spot was fired upon by the Razakars.
29. No. 5225-P/F.108 (3)/48, dated 10-7-48.	(*i*) At about 8-30 A.M. on the 7th June 1948, an armed band of 60 Razakars opened fire on Dudhani village in Sholapur District from a hill near Dudhani railway station; but when the villagers and the Police party stationed in the village sought to offer resistance the raiders beat a hasty retreat towards Nimbal village in Gulbarga District.
	(*ii*) At about 9-30 A.M. on the 9th June 1948, a convoy of 19 carts loaded with oilseeds and other commodities and accompanied by 30 villagers, proceeding from Hadalgi, an Union enclave in the State territory, to the Dudhani market, was, while crossing the intervening State territory, attacked at a place called 'Arab Nala' by an armed band of Razakars. The Union Police party escorting the convoy returned the fire. The convoy was however broken up and while some of them reached their destination, 7 carts and 9 villagers fell into the hands of the Razakars who took them to Arjungi village but released them later. During the clash, Head Constable Kushab Sitarmand, Constable Nivriti Ghorpade of the Bombay Police received bullet wounds.
	(*iii*) On the 10th June 1948, the Special Duty Sub-Inspector of Akalkot and 16 policemen of the Bombay Police, returning from Hadalgi, where they had proceeded on duty, were fired upon by Razakars from behind the hillocks on either side of the road at "Arab Nala" mentioned in item (*ii*) above. The Bombay Police returned the fire and in the encounter one Constable Bajirao Tatya received a bullet wound.
	(*iv*) At about 1 A.M. on the 12th June 1948, an armed band of 100 Razakars, raided Tadvale village of Sholapur District, an Union enclave in the State territory situated about one and a half miles from Tuljapur in Osmanabad District from whence the raiders came.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
	The villagers first moved the women and children to places of safety in the adjoining fields and put up a stout resistance, but had to abandon the fight and take refuge in the fields in the face of heavy firing by the raiders. The Razakars then entered the village and looted the houses and returned to Tuljapur with cash, ornaments, etc., valued at over Rs. 2,000.
30. No. 5339-P/F.108 (3)/48, dated 19-7-48.	(*i*) On the 8th June 1948, 4 Razakars armed with axes, trespassed into the limits of Honsal village in Sholapur Taluq and forcibly carried away a bull belonging to one Gurubus Maruti Kanade of that village.
	(*ii*) On the 14th June 1948, an armed band consisting of about 100 Razakars and State Police trespassed into the limits of Sangamner under Vairag Police Station, and as they began to carry away about 30 cattle in all, the Union Police stationed in the village opened fire on them. The miscreants exchanged fire with the Union Police for some time but subsequently withdrew into the State territory.
	(*iii*) At about 6 P.M. on the 14th June 1948, an armed band of about 70 Razakars trespassed into the limits of Tandulwadi village in Sholapur Taluq and opened fire on the villagers working in the fields. The Union Police Party which rushed to the spot on receipt of this news was also fired upon by the Razakars, whereupon an exchange of fire ensued. The raiders subsequently withdrew into the State territory under cover of fire.
	(*iv*) At about 9 A.M. on the 17th June 1948, an armed band of about 60 Razakars attacked Kasegaon village, in Sholapur Taluq, when the Union Police party stationed in the village engaged them. On receipt of this news, the District Superintendent of Police, Sholapur, rushed to the spot with reinforcement, but on sighting them, the raiders retreated towards Tamalwadi Naka, firing as they went, and the resulting exchange of fire lasting for about half an hour.
	(*v*) On the 17th June 1948, one Sidram Kalappa Tirthe of Kesarjawalge, an Union enclave in the State territory under Valsang Police Station, was, while working in his fields, abducted by some Razakars and taken to Jamge village in Gulbarga District and done to death. His corpse was later found in his fields.
	(*vi*) On the 18th June 1948, an armed band consisting of about 200 Razakars and State Police personnel, raided Musti village under Valsang Police Station, Sholapur District, whereupon the Union Police camping in the village launched a counter-attack on the raiders. After some exchange of fire the raiders retreated towards Itakal village in Osmanabad District?
	(*vii*) At about 1-30 A.M. on the 21st June 1948, an armed gang of about 20 Razakars trespassed into the limits of Yedshi village in Barsi Taluq, but soon fled, when the Union Police who were camping in the village opened fire on them.
	(*viii*) On the 24th June 1948, the Police Sub-Inspector of Akalkot and party, who visited Vegadri village to hold an inquest over three corpses found within the limits of the village, were suddenly fired upon by an armed band of Razakars from the Hyderabad State. The Sub-Inspector returned the fire, whereupon the Razakars retreated towards Hiroli village in Aland Taluq, Gulbarga District.
	(*ix*) On the 1st July 1948, a band of nine Razakars was engaged in lifting cattle from the fields within the limits of Mardi Village in Sholapur Taluq, when a cow-herd boy named Revan Sadashiv Gulve, who noticed this, went to fetch his brother. On his return, the boy was abducted by the Razakars, taken to their camp and shot dead.
	(*x*) At about 11 A.M. on the 30th June 1948, an armed band of Razakars trespassed into the limits of Arali village and while they were driving away some 200 cattle grazing in the fields, the Union Police and the village defence party rushed to the spot when they were fired upon by the Razakars. After some exchange of fire the Razakars fled, leaving the cattle behind.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
31. No. 5462-P/F.108 (3)/48, dated 22-7-48.	(*i*) At about 2 A.M. on the 30th May 1948, the Union Police party stationed in Pimpalwadi Village in Barsi Taluq, on seeing an armed band of Razakars stealthily approaching the village from Yermala in the State territory, challenged them, whereupon the Razakars opened fire. The Union Police returned the fire. At the same time some more Razakars who had entrenched themselves in the fields and hills surrounding the village also opened fire, as a result of which Constable Sakharam of the Sholapur Police was killed, and one Bapur Sopan Dange of Pimpalwadi who was sleeping in the premises where the Union Police were stationed, received serious gun shot wounds. (*ii*) At about 2 P.M. on the 4th June 1948, two Razakars were found lurking in suspicious circumstances on the outskirts of Jategaon village in Ahmednagar District, whereupon the residents of the village and the Union Police stationed there chased them with a view to apprehend them. Four other Razakars who were taking cover in a trench nearby immediately fired on them, but retreated when the Union Police returned the fire. (*iii*) At about 12 NOON on the 6th June 1948, an armed party consisting of Razakars and the Hyderabad State Military and Police personnel raided Bhilwad Village in Bijapur District, looted six houses and carried away cash and some properties. (*iv*) At about 9 A.M. on the 17th June 1948, a party of Razakars and Hyderabad State Military personnel numbering about 40 (including five mounted sowars) pursued some State subjects, from Magangeri village in Gulbarga District into the limits of Khainpur Village in Sindgi Taluq, Bijapur District and opened fire on them while they were in the Union territory causing injuries to one Chandragupta Rajendra. The State Military also fired at Khainpur Village, when the Union Police party stationed in the village retaliated, the raiders, withdrew into the State territory. (*v*) at about 10 P.M. on the 21st June 1948, an armed band of about 150 Razakars from Mahar-Takali Village in the State, trespassed into the limits of Sukali Village in Ahmednagar District, threw a hand grenade and opened fire on the village. When the village defence party sought to offer resistance, the raiders beat a hasty retreat. (*vi*) At about 9-30 A.M. on the 23rd June 1948, an armed party consisting of 60 Razakars from Umbrepur Centre and 10 policemen from Chakal-Amba Police Station in the State territory opened fire without any provocation on Sukali Village in Ahmednagar District from across the border near Mahar-Takali village in the State, but took to their heels on sighting the Union Police and the residents of the village preparing to counterattack them.
	2. THE CENTRAL PROVINCES BORDER AREA
1. No. 497-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 13-3-48.	On the 20th February 1948, one Dagdu, Constable No. 370 of Basmatnagar Police Station in the Parbhani District was found masquerading as a Sadhu at Rajgaon within the limits of the Basim (Akola Police Station). When accosted, he described himself as a Sadhu from Kanarkheda, Basmatnagar Taluq, Parbhani District. On further interrogation by the local Police, he explained that he was deputed to trace offenders who had escaped from his custody on 8-2-48. He produced his Badge Number as also an appointment certificate which seemed to have been originally issued in favour of one Virsahai, s/o Sheonarain, then changed to Azmat Khan and again overwritten with the name of Gadu, s/o Sadu. He was carrying with him an order purporting to have been issued to him by the Sub-Inspector of Police, Basmatnagar, and directing him to look for absconders Khemaji, s/o Mungaji and Kishan, s/o Tukaram and produce them if found. He has been arrested by the local police, pending verification of his antecedents.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.	Details of the incident
2. No. 496-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 13-3-48.	On the night of the 3rd March 1948, 4 armed men from the State visited the village of Jam, within the limits of Police Station Dhad in Buldhana District, and fired four shots on the villagers while they were engaged in manufacturing gur in their fields. As a result, one Vithoba Syama Maratha was injured in the abdomen and another Kaduba Saduba Maratha on his right wrist. A third bullet hit a bull.
3. No. 49 -P/F. 108 (1)/48 dated 13-3-48.	(*i*) On the 3rd February 1948, five persons namely Vithalrao Deshmukh, Nathu Maratha, Dajiba Shamji Teli, Baijnath Marwadi and Jairam Marwadi, belonging to the village of Risod in Akola District, visited Jintur in the State to settle the marriage of Jairam's son. Baijnath Marwadi and Nathu Maratha left by train for Risod, on 4th February 1948 *via* Parbhani, Purna and Hingoli. The remaining members of the party, who left Jintur on 5th February 1948 *via* Amberwadi and Bamni by bullock cart, were found murdered at a distance of about 2 miles from Bamni. (*ii*) On 2nd February 1948, one Gopalpuri Gisai, a sadhu, resident of Warud Topha within the limits of the Risod Police Station, was beaten by the Nizam's State Military at Gugul Pipari village where he had gone for begging alms. He was presumably suspected to be a spy. (*iii*) In the last week of February 1948, one Dattaram Ekoji of Vyad within the limits of Risod Police Station, visited Ajegaon in the State where he was asssaulted and detained by Kazi, a police Constable, and released the next morning on payment of an illegal gratification of Rs. 15.
4. No. 612-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 22-3-48.	On the 13th March 1948, at about 11 A.M. two constables, *viz.* Shek Gafoor, No. 118, and Mahmood Khan of the Kanhergaon outpost of the Hyderabad State, crossed over into Akola District and waylaid near Basim a cartman and robbed him of Rs. 6 in cash and two sarees worth Rs. 80, at the point of a dagger. A Sub-Inspector of the Akola District Police, who happened to be camping at Rajgaon at the time, rushed to the spot and apprehended one of them, *viz.* Gafoor, with the dagger and the stolen property, while his companion, Mahmood Khan, managed to escape.
5. No. 605-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 24-3-48.	(*i*) On the 1st March 1948, while Bhagwan, s/o Bhiwsan Lohar, of Badgaon, P. S. Dhad, Akola District, was returning to his village from Rajani in the Hyderabad State, with his sister Subhadra, two Customs constables of the State searched him and forcibly took Rs. 25 from him at the point of bayonet. (*ii*) On the same date, currency notes to the value of Rs. 2,101 and Rs. 1,900 were seized by the Kanhergaon Customs Office from Abdul Ghani son of Ismail Kachhi, of Basim, and Sitaram, Hiralal Marwadi of Ukli, P. S. Ansing, who were on their way to Hingoli, on the pretence that the notes appeared to be stolen property involved in the Umri Bank Dacoity.
6. No. 566-P, dated 20-3-48.	On the night of the 20th December 1947, a police party headed by Mr. Nazimullah, Sub Inspector of Police, Mauzpuri, forcibly entered the hut of Mania Labhani in the village of Dhandarwadi, Buldana District, that the Sub Inspector shot him with a gun and wounded him in the left leg, and that thereafter he was carried away into the State and admitted into the Government hospital at Jalna from which he escaped on the 18th January 1948.
7. No. 952-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 22-4-48.	On the 10th March 1948, Yedu Singh Rajput of Jamma, and Kisan Buwa of Madh, P. S. Dhad, Buldana District, were, while returning from a visit to Jalna, searched by sepoys of the Hyderabad Army at Waghrul and relieved of annas -/12/- and Rs. 15 respectively at the point of dagger. A sum of Rs. 20 is also reported to have been taken away from them by the Sub Inspector of Police, Jalna.

No. & date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
8. No. 1460-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 18-5-48.	(*i*) At about 10 A.M. on the 17th April 1948, a party of 20 armed muslims and four horsemen crossed the river Painganga and trespassed into the Indian Union territory within the limits of Murli village (Police Station Bittergaon), carried away a pair of bulls worth Rs. 600 and some she-goats valued at Rs. 600 and retreated into the State territory in the direction of Himayatnagar village.
	(*ii*) On or about the 29th April 1948, a Komti woman named Vomma of Ankisa, Police Station Sironcha, while proceeding to visit her father in Hyderabad State, was detained by the State Police at Medigatta, relieved of Rs. 15 cash and not permitted to proceed on her journey.
9. No. 108 (1)-P/48, dated 24-5-48.	On the night of the 5th/6th May 1948, fifteen Muslims from Bandi in the State territory armed with muzzle loading guns attacked the house of Mr. Jairam Kunbis in Asola village, Risod Police Station, Akola District, and decamped with property worth Rs. 500.
10. No. 1770-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 29-5-48.	(*i*) On the 26th April 1948, about 35 sepoys of the Hyderabad Army headed by a Tahsildar and some State Police officials visited Ganapur and opened fire across the river into Yeotmal District on the refugees from the State taking shelter there. The local people returned the fire and the gun battle which ensued lasted for about 2 hours.
	(*ii*) On the 1st May 1948, 3 Mahar girls of Mahojabanji in Akola District, who happened to cross the border, were molested by the sepoys of the State Army stationed on the frontier.
	(*iii*) On the 8th May 1948, 2 sepoys of the State Army trespassed into the limits of Azizpur village (P. S. Lonar, Buldhana District) and carried away 2 goats valued at Rs. 18, belonging to one Sk. Chandu.
	(*iv*) On the 12th May 1948, some Muslim goondas from Paradha in the State, fired 7 shots at village Dhamangaon in Buldhana District; in reply the villagers fired 4 shots.
11. No. 5010-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 3-6-48.	On the 19th May 1948, 2 fishermen of Kharbi village in Yeotmal District, while engaged in fishing in the Painganga river, were challenged by a party of 6 or 7 armed men from across the border in Hyderabad State territory, and fired at while they began to run away out of fright.
12. No. 5019-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 3-6-48.	On the 11th May 1948, R. S. Chouhan, C. I. D. Inspctor of the Buldana District Police, was detained at Asifabad Road Railway Station and his luggage thoroughly searched by the State Police, Constable on duty there, although he explained the purpose of his visit and produced a certificate issued by the District Superintendent of Police, Chanda, stating that he was visiting the State in connection with the investigation of a case of forgery involving 4 persons from the State who have since been prosecuted.
13. No. 233-S/48, dated 31-5-48.	On the night of the 28th/29th May 1948, a party of armed raiders from Purad in the Nizam's territory attempted to raid the Dhamangaon village within the limits of the Dhadi Police Station in the Buldana District, but were foiled in their attempt owing to the return of the fire by thle Special Armed Force platoon of the Province, stationed in the village.
14. No. 5046 P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 8-6-48.	At about 1 P.M. on the 27th May 1948, six armed Razakars from Balswangi village in State territory, entered Taradkhed Village (under Police Station Dhad in Buldana District), and fired a shot in the air but soon retreated into the State when they saw the villagers gathering for offering resistance to them. Again, at about 3-30 P.M. on the same day, 60 Razakars armed, with muzzle loading guns trespassed into the limits of Taradkhed village but on seeing that the villagers had prepared themselves to meet the attack withdrew into the State territory after firing a shot in the air.

No. & Date of communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.	Details of the incident
15. No. 5115-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 17-6-48.	*(i)* At about 2 P.M. on the 26th May 1948, about 45 armed Razakars opened fire on Januna Village in Buldana District, but withdrew when they saw the villagers prepared to meet the attack.
	(ii) At about noon on the 1st June 1948, three Muslim residents of Sawangi Village under P. S. Parad in the State territory, namely, Wajid Khan, Namdar Khan and Nyamat Khan, trespassed into the Indian Union territory and forcibly carried away 31 heads of cattle belonging to the residents of Satgaon, Kumbephal and Takli Villages in Buldana District, while they were grazing in the fields of those villages. On the representation of the villagers Wajid Khan first released only 7 cows but as a result of the intervention of the Sub Inspector of Police at Dhad in Buldana District, the Village Officers of Sawangi released the remaining cattle.
16. No. 5165-P/F. 108 (1)/48, dated 29th June 1948.	*(i)* In the second week of March 1948, one Jiwaji Bajaram Kapewar of Kotagundam (under Police Station Sironcha, Chanda District) while on a visit to Madhepur in the State, was arrested and detained by the State Police who later released him after receiving an illegal gratification of Rs. 25 from one of Jiwaji's relatives who had come in search of him.
	(ii) On the 17th March 1948, Govinda, s/o Punjaji Dohar and Kisan s/o Bhano Dohar, residents of Sinkhed Baja (under Police Station Kingaon Raja, Buldana District), who were proceeding to Jalna and Partur in the State, were severely belaboured by the Customs Officials at Waghrul in the State and relieved of Rs. 7 and Rs. 10 respectively. Govinda is still confined to bed as a result of the injuries received by him.
	(iii) On the 30th March 1948, an armed party of 12 persons opened fire from a military truck across the river Wardha on Saknur Village (under Police Station Bhada, Chanda District), situated on the other bank of the river and withdrew after firing some shots.
	(iv) On the 2nd April 1948, one Shankar s/o Bhikusa Munim, of Deulgaon Raja in Buldana District, who was proceeding to Jalna was robbed of Rs. 5,000 by the State Police.
	(v) On the 12th April 1948, a party of armed Razakars opened fire at Walseongi on the marriage party of one Gulambeg S/o Usmanbeg of Deolghat in Buldana District, which was proceeding to Fardapur in the State, killing one and causing injuries to several others.
	(vi) On the 13th April 1948, one Sonaji Raghoji Dhangar of Rajura (under Police station Jaulka, Akola District) was wrongfully searched by some State Officials at Kanhergaon and relieved of Rs. 25.
17. No. 5172-P/F.108 (1) /48 dated 29-6-48.	*(i)* At about 11 a. m. on the 10th June 1948, five armed Razakars from the State, trespassed into Yewta Village (under Police Station Chikli, Buldana District) but took to their heals when the villagers began to chase them.
	(ii) On the 13th June 1948, an armed band of 40 Razakars pursued some of the residents of Walana Village in the State territory up to the border of Akola District from where they opened fire, without any provocation whatever, on the Special Armed Force Platoon stationed on the Union side of the border. The Armed Force Platoon returned the fire, whereupon the attackers dispersed.
	(iii) On the 16th June, 1948, an armed band of Razakars from the State trespassed into Warudtopha village in the Basim Sub Sivision and threatened the villagers. A Special Armed Force Platoon rushed to the spot and gave chase to the raiders who however managed to escape.
	3. MADRAS BORDER AREA.
18. No. 1/AG/48, dated 9-1-48.	On the 1st January 1948, H. E. H. the Nizam's police entered the Union territory near Tiruvur in the Kistna District of the Madras Presidency and fired two rounds as a result of which one was killed. They also took into custody and carried away another person belonging to Tiruvur village.

No. and date of communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident.
	party of armed men unlawfully entered in the Union territory near the village of Bhagavanulapuram, a hamlet of Tunikipadu in the Kistna District, apprehended 3 persons belonging to the family of one Perala Sivaramayya, seized and carried away the paddy which they were carting to Bhagavanulapuram.
3. No. F. 101-P/48, dated 13-2-48. (Also Madras Govt's. letter No. 8309/47-2-Public (General A), dated 14-12-47.	About the 14th November 1947, two residents of Kurnool, *viz.* Mr. T. K. R. Sarma, Jt. Secretary, Town Congress Committee, Kurnool and Mr. Pulliah, Office Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Kurnool, were arrested by the Nizam's Government at Atmakurin the Hyderabad State and detained unlawfully.
4. No. F. 108(2)-P/48, dated 20-2-48.	(*i*) On the 30th January 1948, one Darelli Bichalu of Dundiralapadu (Kistna District), was shot dead by 3 State Reserve constables at Rapalli while he was returning from Nagirikonda in the Hyderabad State where he had gone the previous day to see his eldest daughter. (*ii*) On the 1st February 1948, the State Police trespassed into Kalvapalli, a village abutting the Miryalagudem-Huzurnagar Road, assaulted a few villagers and abducted three others, who were subsequently released.
5. No. F. 108(2)- P/48, dated 21-2-48.	(*i*) On the 9th February 1948, about a dozen constables of the State Armed Reserve Police are reported to have trespassed into Podur, a border village in Kurnool District, intimidated the villagers with swords and retreated to Sultanpur, a border village in the State. (*ii*) On the 10th February 1948, from the same village (Sultanpur), some Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen Volunteers raided the village of Satanakota in Nandikotkur Taluk and carried away 12 sheep.
6. No. F. 108(2)-P/48, dated 21-2-48.	On the afternoon of the 6th February 1948, a band of about 20 men from the Hyderabad State, armed with guns and swords, raided Kondaprakatur village, a hamlet of Morvakonda in Nandikotkur Taluq of Kurnool District, fired a few shots, looted two houses and carried away property worth Rs. 16,000.
7. No. F. 108(2)-P/48, dated 8-3-48.	On the morning of the 25th February 1948, at about 7 A. M. 80 armed men, believed to belong to H. E. H. the Nizam's Military, aided the village of Nadichagi in the Adoni Taluq of the Bellary District. They looted the houses of five persons and carried away properties valued at Rs. 22,990 in all. Further, they inflicted injuries on 14 persons, of whom 6 received serious gunshot wounds. While retreating across the Tungabhadra river into the State territory, two of the dacoits shot at the villagers, as a result of which one Venkamma and another Madibalayya received serious injuries.
8. No. 430-P/F.108 (2)/48, dated 11-3-48.	On the afternoon of the 23rd February 1948, about 50 goondas from the State raided the village of Singavaram in the Nandigama Taluk of the Kistna District, looted 14 houses and carried away properties worth about Rs. 2 lakhs. The raiders attacked the Munsiff of the village and inflicted an incised injury on his left forearm with a sword. With a view to frighten the villagers they also fired a few shots in the air. They also carried away the National Flag which was hoisted on the local Congress Office. The raiders were found retreating in two lorries into the State towards Khammamet.
9. No. 483-P/F. 108(2)/ 48, dated 13-3-48.	About the end of February 1948, one Settipalli Singireddi, a native of Alur, Nandigama Taluq in the Kistna District, was arrested at Jagannadhapuram in the Warangal District, which he visited with a view to see his friends and detained in the Warangal Jail unlawfully.
10. No. 454-P/F. 108(2)/ 48, dated 13-3-48.	On the 23rd February 1948, while Head Constable No. 1052 attached to Jaggayyapet Station (Kistna District) and 5 other constables were proceeding to Panuganchiprolu on bandobust duty in connection with a festival held there, H. E. H. the Nizam's Police detained them at Kodada, made them stand in a row and held an identification parade with a view to find out which of them stopped a car at Nelamarri on the 20th February 1948.

No. & Date of the communication addressed to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
11. No. F. 108(2)-P/48, Dated 22-3-48.	On the night of the 15th March 1948, about 40 armed men from the State raided the village of Devamada in the Kurnool District, scared away the villagers by firing shots in the air, looted the house of one Narayana and carried away cash, clothes etc. worth about Rs. 1,000.
12. No. F. 108 (2)-P/48, dated 17-3-48.	arch 1948, H. E. H. the Nizam's State Police visited the village of Mulugumadi in Tiruvur Taluq (Kistna District), and kidnapped 18 persons, some of whom are reported to be women. As they left the village, they fired shots in the air with a view to threaten the villagers.
13. No. 584-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 24-3-48.	(*i*) On the 2nd March 1948, the State Military visited the village of Kottapalli in Kistna District and carried away six farm servants of the Karnam of that village to Bhimavaram, where they were interrogated and eventually released. (*ii*) On the 5th March 1948, one Vangavati Venkataratnam of Siripuram village (Kistna District) was detained by the Kodada Police and beaten with a view to elicit information regarding the whereabouts of certain State Congressmen and Communists. Not having secured any useful information from him they released him on the 6th March. (*iii*) On the 6th March 1948, one Kumarakunta Saidulu, a merchant of Munagala, was detained by the Kodada Police and assaulted by the Jemadar with a view to eliciting information regarding certain Congressmen and Communists who were suspected to be taking shelter in the Union villages. (*iv*) On the 14th March, 1948, at about 2 P.M., Sri B. B. Subba Rao, Sub-Inspector, Hospet Town Station and Swamidoss, Police Constable No. 1245, were arrested by the State Police at Kopbal, which they visited in connection with the examination of certain witnesses involved in a criminal case. Notwithstanding the fact that they were in uniform at the time and their remonstances that they were concerned with merely the examination of certain witnesses, the Sub-Inspector, Kopbal, chose to arrest them and later produced them before the Asst. Superintendent of Police, Kopbal, who ordered their release, after administering a warning that they should not in future enter the State without previous permission.
14. No. 681-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 30-3-48.	On the 7th February and again on the 21st February 1948, the State Police and Military stationed at Kodada unlawfully intercepted certain prisoners while being escorted by the Madras Police from Munagala to Jaggayyapet and forcibly took them away.
15. No. 716-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 3-4-48.	At about 10 : 30 A.M. on the 23rd March 1948, Reddiboyina Narasimham and 6 other residents of Guntur District, proceeded in a ferry from Govindapuram, situated on the banks of the river Kistna, on a visit to Chinthirala Village in the Hyderabad State, and that as soon as the boat reached the other side of the river, they came upon a party consisting of 10 men belonging to the State Reserve Police and 40 to 50 goondas. Out of fright, Narasimham and others jumped into the river with a view to swim back to the Madras border, whereupon the State Police fired some shots at them. All of them, except Narasimham, reached the shore safely. The body of Narasimham, who is suspected to have died as a result of the firing, was washed ashore within the limits of Chinthirala Village on the morning of the 25th March, when the villagers buried it under the orders of the State Tahsildar at Raghunathpalle.
16. No. 108 (2)-P/48, dated 6-4-48.	At about 3 P.M. on the 26th of March 1948, while eon Ramulu of Thatakulagudem hamlet, Zeelugumilli village of Polavaram Taluk, was grazing his sheep in a field, two men belonging to the State Military accompanied by 20 goondas, trespassed into the field and caried away 10 sheep worth about Rs. 150. Ramulu protested, whereupon one of the Military men jabbed at his back with the butt end of his gun. Ramulu fell down and the 2 military men followed by the goondas retreated into the State territory towards Aswaraopet.

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17. No. 1001-P/F. 108 (2)-P/48, dated 22-4-48.	(*i*) On the 7th March 1948, when the special Deputy Superintendent of Police Kanchikacharla, and the Refugee Deputy Tahsildar, Nandigama, were proceeding to Lingagiri, their jeeps were held up by the Hyderabad State Police at Huzurnagar. The two officers protested against this action of the State Police and were allowed to proceed after some delay. (*ii*) On the 15th March 1948, when Mr. Mohammed Ismail, Branch Postmaster, Komarabanda Village, Munagala Pargana, was returning from Jaggayyapet where he had proceeded on official duty, he was detained by the Hyderabad State Police at Kodada and searched. Due to the intervention of the Postal Inspector he was released on bail the next morning. Mr. Ismail states that a pamphlet containing prejudicial literature was foisted on him by the State Police. (*iii*) On the evening of the 8th April 1948, Madras Special Police Constable No. 3686, while travelling in a bus from Jaggayyapet to Munagala was detained by the State Police at Kodada, interrogated about the strength of the Police and the armament position at Munagala, and released the next morning.
18. No. 847-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 22-4-48.	On the 23rd March 1948, at about noon, a party of five constables of the State Reserve Police trespassed into the Union territory within the limits of Budavada village, Kistna District, lay hold of seven villagers out here hunting in the fields, tied down their hands and forcibly marched them to a place two furlongs away, where another party of 25 constables headed by a Tahsildar and a Tobacco Excise Inspector was stationed. The villagers were interrogated here regarding the whereabouts of certain Congressmen and Communists of the State and subsequently released. The villagers were assaulted with sticks while being marched from the fields to the place of interrogation.
19. No 1245 P/F. 108 2)/48, dated 1-5-48.	In November 1947, one Kanteti Muttayya of Nidamanur, Bezwada Taluq, when he visited Khammamett for purchasing maize and greengram seeds, was taken into custody as soon as he detrained at Khammamett Railway Station and detained in the Nizamabad Central Jail.
20. No. 1436-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 8-5-48.	At about 1 P.M. on the 21st April 1948, a party of armed Arabs from Huzurnagar in the State, trespassed into the Indian Union territory within the limits of Lakkavaram village in Lingagiri Pargana and carried away by force some buffaloes grazing in the fields. The Arabs, who were given an unsuccessful chase by the Madras Reserve Police and the villagers of Lakkavaram, fired three shots in the direction of their pursuers. The State Officials at Huzurnagar to whom the matter was reported, evaded taking any steps for the return of the cattle, but the Arabs released the cattle after extorting Rs. 400 from the owners
21. No. 1461-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 10-5-48.	On the evening of 15th April 1948, when a party of nine pilgrims including 3 women from Velangi village, Ramchandrapur Taluq, East Godavari District, arrived at Borgampahad *en route* to Bhadrachallam, they were stopped by some State Military personnel, interrogated and searched. As it was nightfall by the time the search was completed, the Military personnel entrusted the pilgrims to a non-descript individual aged about 38 years, to provide them shelter for the night. This person led the party to a solitary building in the village and during the night threatening the pilgrims with a dagger forcibly carried away one of the women, raped her and relieved her of her earrings and Rs. 85 in cash. At day-break, he led the party to the river Godavari and warned them that if they complained about the molestation they would be shot. The pilgrims crossed the river and reached Bhadrachalam, where they narrated the incident to the local people.

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22. No. 1464-P/F. 108 (2)/48, Dated 20-5-48.	On the morning of the 30th April 1948, 2 Constables of the State Police trespassed into the limits of Narsimhulagudem village (in Kistna District), and set fire to the sheds put up in the village by one Nimmaganti Papiah for providing shelter to the refugees from the State. Next, at about 12 noon, a party of the State Army Personnel under the Command of some Officers, visited the village in 4 trucks and 2 jeeps and exchanged fire with the State Congressmen for about two hours, who offered resistance to them.
23. No. 1623-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 24-5-48.	At about midnight on the 7th May 1948, some 10 men in khaki uniform (apparently State Police Constables) raided Tholasapuram village in Kurnool Taluq, fired some shots in the air when the villagers fled from their houses in panic, assaulted some villagers causing injuries to three, forced their entry into several houses in the village and looted properties valued at about Rs. 1,000 from two houses. The same night, about half a mile away from this village, the raiders waylaid two carts on the Sankesula Road and robbed two persons named Kuruva Jalakanti Chinnanna and Komati Thammayya of cash and ornaments valued at about Rs. 825.
24. No. 1566-P/F. 108(2)/48, dated 24-5-48.	At about 7 on the morning of the 8th May 1948, a party of the State armed police from Seethampeta village in the State Territory pursued into the Union territory within the limits of Polampalli village in Nandigama Taluq, some State Congressmen, caught hold of one of them named Surayya, shot him in the chest and left the place The injured man died at 5 P. M. on the same day while being removed to Polampalli village.
25. No. 1693-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 26-5-48.	At about 2 P. M. on the 4th May 1948, a party of 3 constables of the Hyderabad State Police in quest of some communists suspected to have abducted three other constables, trespassed into the limits of Lakshmipuram village in Lingagiri Pargana and fired two shots in the air. They then assaulted a shephered woman named Chintalapaty Pichamma and robbed her of a silver bangle worth about Rs. 15 and assaulted and abducted her husband Chintalapathy Rangayya, who was grazing his sheep.
26. No. 1790-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 29-5-48.	(*i*) On the morning of the 18th May 1948, a party consisting of about 10 armed Razakars and some State Police Constables, trespassed into the limits of Jayanti Village in the Kistna District and carried away by force 5 sheep. They also kept under restraint for a while one Adavi Gangayya, one of the owners of the sheep and snatched away his axe. (*ii*) At about 12 noon on the same day (18-5-48), ten persons of Jayanti village working in the fields within the limits of Yerupalem village in the State territoy, were kidnapped by some Razakars with the assistance of the State Police.
27. No. 011-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 3-6-48.	At about 11 P. M. on the night of 22nd May 1948, a party of 6 Razakars trespassed into the fields within the limits of Chinnakothaliki village in Adoni Taluq, Bellary District, pelted stones at the shepherds guarding some 1,000 sheep pinned there, severely assaulted and wounded in the left thigh one of the shepherds, and carried away two rams and one sheep. Immediately on receipt of this news, the police party stationed at Nagaladinne rushed to the spot where they were attacked by armed bands of 50 to 60 Razakars who had meanwhile gathered there. The police party opened fire whereupon the Razakars retreated into the State territory from where they returned the fire.
28. No. 5187-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 2-7-48.	At about 6 P. M. on the 10th June 1948, an armed party consisting of 4 State Army personnel and 4 Razakars in pursuit of some State subjects, entered the fields within the limits of Vemulanarva village in Kistna District (opposite to Alapad village in the Hyderabad State) and fired about 47 rounds in the direction of the village. The Razakars apprehended one of the fugitives taking refuge in the fields and made him over to the Military who carried him away into the State territoty.

No. and date of the communication addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
29. No. 5188-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 2-7-48.	(*i*) On the evening of the 15th June 1948, an armed party of the Hyderabad State Police trespassed into the fields within the limit of Sarvavaram village in Lingagiri Pargana and set fire to a cattle shed belonging to a refugee from the State. (*ii*) At about 9 A.M. on the 17th June 1948, an armed party passing along the Aswaraopet-Khammamett road in a State Military truck, got down from the truck near Medisettigudem village in West Godavari District, challenged two constables of the Union Police interrogating in the Union territory a suspicious character, opened fire on them, pursued them upto some distance in the Union territory and withdrew before the Special Armed Police reached the spot.
30. No. 5263-P/F. 108 (2)/48, dated 17-7-48.	(*i*) At about 11 P.M. on the 21st June 1948, an armed band of about 100 Razakars opened fire on Tunikipadu village in Kistna District, but retreated towards Venkatapuram in the State territory, when the Special Armed Police stationed in the village returned the fire. (*ii*) At about 9 A.M. on the 22nd June 1948, an armed party of 18 Razakars from Madhira in the State territory attacked Sivapuram hamlet of Anigandapad village in Nandigama Taluq, Kistna District, by firing some shots at random from its outskirts. The villagers grew panic stricken and began to flee, whereupon they were pursued by the Razakars who stabbed a young dhobi and his child, as a result of which the latter died. They also robbed five villagers of their jewellery and tore off one woman's ear lobes while forcibly snatching her ear-rings. As they withdrew they burnt down two huts belonging to Zali Venkanna and Bandi Lingayya and two hay ricks belonging to Cherukuri Anantiah and Mallela Venkiah. (*iii*) On the 22nd June 1948, while the residents of Mote village in the State were fleeing into the adjoining Indian Union territory, the State Police opened fire on them, as a result of which one Bolleddi Ramayya, a Harijan boy, aged about 9 years received a gun shot wound on the left thigh while in the Union territory. The boy has been admitted into the hospital at Munagala for treatment. (*iv*) At about 4-30 P. M. on the 23rd June 1948 an armed band consisting of 100 Razakars and State Police opened fire from Dachinenipalli village in the State territory across the border on Jonnalagadda village in Nandigama Taluk, Kistna District, but withdrew when the Special Armed Police stationed in the village returned the fire.
31. No. 5227-P/F108(2)/48, dated 17-7-48.	On the 18th June 1948, one Mr. K. Chalapati Rao of Linga Samudram village, Kandukur Taluq, Nellore District, while he was proceeding from Hyderabad (where he had come on business) to Nellore, was detrained at Jadcherla Railway Station by the Razakars, harassed and relieved of his diamond rings etc. of the total value of Rs. 6,100.
32. No. 5423 P/F.108(2)/48(i), dated 23-7-48.	(*i*) On the afternoon of the 25th June 1948, a party of the Hyderabad State Police trespassed, in four motor trucks, into the limits of Narasimhulagudem, a border village in the Krishna District and besieged the huts in which some refugees from Mote village in the State had taken shelter. The State Police laid hold of five of the regufees, forcibly carried them to Mote village and released them after severely belabouring them. Further, they assaulted three women, also refugees from the State and robbed them of their jewels. (*ii*) At about 4 P. M. on the 27th June 1948, led by the State Tahsildar of Nallabandagudem a party of 18 armed State Police Constables trespassed into the limits of Annavaram village in Nandigama Taluq and forcibly carried away 126 sheep. The District Magistrate of Kistna has already taken up this matter direct with the Taluqdar of Nalgonda, who promised to enquire into it.

No. and date of the communication addressed to H. E.H. the Nizam's Government	Details of the incident
33. No. 5423-P/F.108(2)/48(ii), dated 23-7-48.	(*i*) On the night of the 18th June 1948, Pothanna, a Guage Messenger of the Madras Public Works Department, while returning to Kurnool from the Pagatur village in the Mahabubnagar District of the State whither he had proceeded to take readings on the river Krishna, was arrested by the State Customs Officials at Basawapuram and sent to Alampur for detention by the State Police. (*ii*) On the morning of the 26th June 1948, Mr. M. I. Daniel, Revenue Inspector, Jaggayyapet, Mr. Venkateswara Rao, Clerk to the Deputy Tahsildar of Jaggayyapet and Mr. Satyaraju, Assistant Inspector of Excise, Bezwada, proceeded on duty from Jaggayyapet, to the Munagala enclave, by the Mail bus. On the way, the bus was detained at Nallabandagudem Customs out-post within the State territory for an inordinately long time and the Revenue Inspector, who instructed the Bus Driver to restart quickly, was threatened by Razakars and State Police who also attempted to molest him and Mr. Venkateswara Rao. Later, the State Naib Tahsildar, sent for the Revenue Inspector and threatened him with arrest and other dire consequences. The bus was, however, later allowed to proceed.

APPENDIX VI

REPORT ON ENQUIRIES AT NANAJ ON MONDAY 26th JULY 1948

After meeting Brigadiers BHATIA and GURBACHAN SINGH at TANDALWADI at about 0900 hours today I proceeded with them to SHOLAPUR where we visited the C.C.S. and spoke to 5 wounded soldiers of the Indian Union. Two were seriously wounded and all were suffering from multiple gun shot wounds which could only have been caused by L.M.Gs/ STENS & RIFLE.

From questioning them it was learned that they were in the leading lorry of a convoy which was proceeding to BARSI with rations for the coy there, and which was fired upon at NANAJ, village on the morning of 24th JULY 1948.

During questioning, two of the wounded, one Havildar and Naik stated that they heard an order to 'Fire' given by someone at the 'WHITE HOUSE' (A).

We then proceeded to NANAJ village where we were met by Lt.-Col. PRITHI PAL SINGH. This officer was proceeding to BARSI on 24th JULY with the convoy when it was attacked.

As the leading lorry reached a point just N of the culvert at the S. end of the village a burst of fire was opened up from the first white building E of the road A. This building is approx. twenty yards from the road. Further fire came from the next building N (B) and another house W of the road (C). As a result of the opening burst of fire 5 soldiers were killed and 5 wounded. Lt.-Col. PRITHI PAL SINGH assures me the firing was intense—particularly from the white house.

These three houses have all been 'built up' in as much that each has an earthen sangar on its roof—each with loopholes, as one expects to see in the N.W.F.P. districts.

Inspected the white house—and there are a great number of .303 empty

At the SHOLAPUR end of the village is a chain road stop. Lt.-Col. PRITHI PAL SINGH wishes to emphasise that at the time, in question, this chain was down—offering free passage through the village.

The leading vehicle was riddled with bullets and Col. PRITHI PAL SINGH'S jeep was hit, as were some other vehicles.

A pitched battle then ensued and the troops of the convoy eventually took possession of and occupied the village, at 1345 hours of that day. They had no further casualties, but 20 of the party who opened up the attack were killed. Of these seven were definitely Pathans, the remainder were of local origin but all were armed and some had steel helmets.

I was shown the body of a dead man who was killed during an attack on the troops in the village at about 2200 hours on 25/7. He was dressed in normal civil clothing and was armed with a .303 rifle when killed.

All throughout 25th, groups of armed men hovered around the village at a distance of about 1200 yards. These were observed through binoculars and the naked eye. Several were identified as Pathans from their dress and appearance.

I was shown a number of rifles of all types including 303s and 410 muskets, several steel helmets—one of which had POLICE printed on it, several police belts and one sarf-i-khas police belt. A Jemadar's uniform of the N.D.P. and two sam browne belts—and one box 410 ammunition-ball and a broken Sten Gun butt.

With Brig. BHATIA and Lt.-Col. PRITHI PAL SINGH I visited the Grain Store in the centre of the village—the store was intact, and stocked full with sacks of grain. This store was inspected at my suggestion, as I had heard some had been taken away.

The village patel, police patel and customs patel were not present at this moment, neither could we find any person suitable for questioning. Lt.-Col. PRITHI PAL SINGH informs me that the village and police patel were available earlier this morning.

I saw two injured villagers, one woman and a child being treated by the unit Regimental Medical Officer (irrespective of religious, creeds).

Brig. BHATIA is of the opinion that this was a prepared ambush, but whether it was intended for troops or civilians busses it is not possible to say. The troops, however, were sikhs and wearing Olive Green.

K. L. WESTON, Lt.-Col.

26-7-48

G. B. SINGH, Brigadier.

26-7-48

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