CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF RAZAKKARS
The story of India celebrating her independence reads differently in Hyderabad. On 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1947, the Nizam declared, "We are neither with free India nor with Pakistan, we are free and independent". He went to Mecca Masjid to offer a prayer of thanksgiving. A congratulatory meeting was held at Abids crossroads because now His Highness had become "His Majesty". Offerings were made to him at this meeting. Little did the Nizam know that this pomp and pageantry would not last even for a year.

The Muslim politics of Hyderabad today, in terms of its political predilection and the socialization process of both the leaders and the led is partly a hangover of the conflict between a communal set up and a demand for responsible secular government in the past.

Hyderabad had been continuously under Muslim rule since the 15\textsuperscript{th} century and at a later stage had become a part of Moghul empire. It was more or less a self contained unit with its own currency, communication, army and judiciary.

Hyderabad was for all practical purposes an Islamic State\textsuperscript{1}. Muslims and Muslim institutions all over India and even abroad used to look upon Hyderabad for its traditional patronage. The bias in favour of Muslim institutions was so heavy and obvious that at one time the Executive Council of the Nizam advised him "not to identify himself with Islamic movements outside the state, except perhaps Aligarh"\textsuperscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{1} Home Secretariat, Ecclesiastical Department No. 18/12 File No. 64 of 1311F, dated (April 7, 1909) in A.P. State Archives.

\textsuperscript{2} Minutes of Nizam's Executive Council May 20, 1936, INST, 47 list 10, S.No.1 14, File No. 198 of 1941 State Archives records.
A study of the size and composition of the Hyderabad State would give us an idea of the irony of the rise and influence of the Razakkars. According to the 1941 census, of the 16 million people of the state, 13% or about 2 million were Muslims, 81% or about 13 million were Hindus and the remainder about 1 million were chiefly Christians.³

Hyderabad was the major area in India where a political and social structure from medieval Muslim rule had been preserved more or less intact. At the head of the social order stood the Nizam, the absolute ruler, inordinately rich. Hyderabad also had a handful of very affluent industrialists operating on a very big scale. The state held, as a rule, 50% or more of the capital in important enterprises, a device which enabled the Nizam to keep and extend his control of affairs, as well as his wealth and to subsidize the chosen, normally Muslim entrepreneurs. The next group in the social ladder were the administrative and official class, who were chiefly Muslims. The lower strata of the government employees were also manned predominantly by Muslims. Therefore the Muslims of Hyderabad formed as it were an "upper caste". The rule of the Nizam had a distinctive and deliberate Islamic tinge. All the members of the Muslim community, in varying degrees, participated psychologically in the Muslim dominance. The Muslim was more conscious of belonging to the Muslim community scattered throughout India concentrated in Pakistan and stretching across the world.
Political activity in Hyderabad had evoked a lot of interest by 1947. Four main organizations existed, each being related at least in principle to a major political body outside the state⁴.

The Nizam was quite conscious and apprehensive of the political stirrings in the state. In spite of the efforts of the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Sir Ali Imam to induce the Nizam to set up an Executive Council, the Nizam reduced it to impotence and suppressed all political activities.

In 1926, Mohammed Nawaz Khan, a retired official in the Nizam's service founded the Majlis–I-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. Its objective was to unite the Muslims in the state in support of the Nizam and reduce the Hindu majority by large-scale conversion to Islam. The Majlis it is believed was formed as a defence mechanism with religious overtones to unite the fragmented Muslims belonging to different groups. It was formed to combat Arya Samaj which had started penetrating the masses with its mission of reconversion of Muslims. It was first known as Majlis -e- Ittehad –e-Bainul Muslimeen (Council For Unity Among Muslims). A fifteen-member executive was elected and Qilendar declared the first secretary. Later the word 'Bain' (among) was dropped to make it more precise. The objectives of the organization were stated thus:

- To unit the various Islamic Sects within the Islamic principles for the preservation of Islam.
- To protect the economic, social and educational objectives of Muslims.
- To express loyalty to the state and to the ruler and to respect the state laws.⁵

⁴ Hyderabad was a battlefield of four struggling powers, His Exalted Highness, Majlis-I-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (known shortly as Ittehad), the Hyderabad State Congress and the Communist Party of India. According to K.M. Munshi in his book, End of an Era, Bombay, 1957, p. 119.
The Nizam was fully supportive of these moves.

The rise of Ittehad to active politics only began in the 1930’s. It was a reaction to the effects of the Government of India Act, 1935 and its follow up movements. The Act had recognized the federal principles for the entire country. The Congress began to demand the inclusion of all princely states into the Indian federation. The Hyderabad government and the Nizam had sympathy for an All-India Federation but the Nizam was not inclined to the immediate entry of Hyderabad without preserving her position. The Hindus in the state began to feel that the Government belonged to the Muslims and that they had no status in the society. They stated resenting the domination of Muslims. This, among the Muslim circles, was interpreted as their tendency to rebel. These mental reservations among both the communities could only fan communal tension in several districts. Majlis, hitherto a mainly dormant religious body woke up. On February 14th, 1938 Abdul Qadeer Siddiqi, Head, Department of Islamiyat, Osmania University presided over a Majlis meeting which added a political clause to its constitution.

Muslims were urged to strengthen a political base for themselves. Bahadhum Yar Jung's efforts to organize Muslims at the political level yielded quick results. The number of Majlis units grew rapidly. He made Majlis the center of all Muslim political, economic and cultural movements of this period. Its popularity was in keeping with the Islamic tradition of mixing religion and politics. To quote him:

Muneer Ahmed's Ph.d dissertation titled *Muslim Politics in Hyderabad 1980*, p.50
"If the goal is not Quranic, it only leads to a hell of insults and disaster. Majlis considers such politics whose source is not Quaran as mirage".  

In the same year of the founding of the Ittehad, the British under the pretext of misrule in Hyderabad, appointed four British officials to take charge of important departments of the state, which included Revenue, Police and Industries. One of them would be a member of the Executive Council but the Muslims deeply resented what they called the encroachment. They launched the Mulki movement to eliminate all non-Hyderabadiis from position, power and influence. The famous slogan of the movement was "Long live the Nizam, the Royal Embodiment of Deccani Nationalism". This quietly disturbed a number of non-Mulkis of the state who were mostly Muslims from north India. They were interested in diverting the passions which the movement had raised. They therefore raised the slogan of "Muslim Sovereignty of Hyderabad." Therefore, this became a pro-Muslim movement and therefore anti-British and anti-Hindu. Bahadur Yar Jung emerged as the leader of the Muslims and the Ittehad under him became a powerful communal organization. Its aim was to thwart the political aspirations of the Hindus and the progressive Muslims. To reiterate his stand on anti-Hindu communalism, he set out to convert the Hindus and gained the title of the crusader among Muslims.

All these developments stirred up the other three political parties against the Ittehad. The Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress began to take up the cause of non-Muslims. All of them raked up communal issues in politics.  

His speech at the Karachi session of Muslim league, 1943.  
The three parties mentioned above also made some mistakes to rouse communalism. According to him, a book, "Bhaganagar Struggle" written by S.R. Date of Maharashtra created unnecessary communal ill feelings in Hyderabad's Muslim circles. This book depicted the Muslims and Muslim rulers as aggressors who at the point of sword, converted a number of Hindus into Muslims. This book published at a time when ill feelings were rather
A non-cooperation movement or Satyagraha was started during 1938 by the three parties against the Nizam's government. This made matters worse, as to an average Muslim, especially among uneducated classes, it appeared that the aim of these parties was to oust the Muslims from Hyderabad and make them lose the privileges they had, which they were not prepared to forego.

In 1937, Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Finance minister was made the Prime Minister. Sir Akbar though not a fanatic by any means, had to do some tightrope walking. Though he swore by Hindu-Muslim unity, the government he presided over worked unhindered to strengthen the Ittehad. It banned the State Congress and interfered with the religious freedom of the Hindus as never before. Even the educational policy of the government was aimed at promoting the Urdu language. The Osmania University's primary object was to attract fanatic Muslim scholars imbied with the Muslim doctrine. Most of the non-Muslims chose to join colleges affiliated to Madras University; because even if they did join Osmania University, their chances of joining state services were very meager.

**Impact of the Razakkar domination on Hindus:**

Sir Akbar, though he claimed to be non-communal, did much harm to the Hindus. They were by a slow process eliminated from the Public Works Department and the Accounts Department. His good relations with the British kept his position secure. The table below shows the number of Hindus and Muslim officials in the civil department in the year 1931.

high was naturally a cause for further worsening of situation. see for details, see El, Edroos, *Hyderabad of the Seven Loaves*, Canada, 1992, p. 110.
TABLE No. IV - 1

Table showing the number of Hindus and Muslim Officers in the Civil Departments of the HEH Nizam's Service in 1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretariat</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police &amp; Jail</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWD</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>248</strong></td>
<td><strong>864</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Every effort was made by the Nizam under the influence of Razakkars to crush the Hindus in the state in order to maintain the Muslim dominance. The State Congress was declared unlawful on the ground that it was a communal organization. Hindus, in course of time, were prevented from building or repairing temples in any locality where Muslims resided. Hindu temples were often desecrated, but the culprits were rarely
traced, and even if they were, they were never punished. While Hindu religious teachers were prevented from delivering discourses, the Muslim leaders earned on the vigorous campaign of proselytizing the Hindus.

Many efforts were made by the Ittehad and the Nizam's Government to woo a helpless Hindu into Islam. The poor Harijans in the village found it hard sometimes to resist the temptation or the pressure and therefore several conversions took place. A starving Harijan family would allow one of its members to become a Muslim to earn his reward, while the rest of the family including his wife would remain a Hindu. In many cases when the pressure was relaxed the converts would revert to their ancestral religion.

Rise of Kasim Razvi

When the time came to choose a successor to Bahadur, the choice of the Nizam was Kasim Razvi, a practicing lawyer from the district of Lattur now in Maharashtra. He was a graduate of the Aligarh Muslim University and was the head of the local Ittehad.

Kasim Razvi, as the leader of the Muslims, took his role very seriously. He had a goal and a mission to accomplish. He wanted to liberate the Muslims of the Deccan from the Indian Union.8

According to El Edroos, the Commander-in-chief of the Hyderabad army and author of *Hyderabad Of Seven Loaves*, the rise of Kasim Razvi and the Ittehad was really a reaction in the Muslim circles of Hyderabad to the Arya Samaj agitation, which was being carried out in the Hyderabad state. An average Muslim felt insecure and it appeared to him that aim of these parties was to oust the Muslims from Hyderabad. p.111
As president of Latur District, Majlis in Osmanabad districts, he had grown in public stature by offering his entire property to the Majlis cause and was there after referred to as Siddiq-e-Deccan⁹.

Razvi thought of giving prominence to the Razakar wing of Majlis to face the situation of post independence and began a phase marked by communal fanaticism and militancy¹⁰.

This title was conferred by Jung on Razvi as he had followed the illustrious example of the first Caliph, Abu Bakar Siddiq who in the early days of Islam had placed all his belongings at the disposal of the prophet for the cause of Islam.

The Razakkar organization had been established by Bahadur Yar Jung in 1938 at a time when Hyderabad military was held up at the Second World War.
The zeal with which Kasim Razvi wanted to accomplish his mission was unmatched. It was quite contagious and appealing to most of the Muslims. He insisted that it was the right of the Muslims to enslave the Hindus. He was also encouraged secretly by a number of men who were trying to realize their interests and dreams through this man who was now intoxicated with the dreams. But unfortunately he wanted to achieve his goals in an inhuman and insensitive way. He led a number of attacks on terror-stricken Hindus and created fear among those villagers who were unarmed.

Those who supported Razvi secretly felt that once he was successful in lifting the banner of Islam in Deccan, the Muslims in North India would flock to it and support them. The Hindus would also reconcile themselves to the divine right of the Nizam to represent the Muslim community and would not look beyond the borders to their co-religionists in India for help. They were also under the assumption that the Government of India was too unstable and its army too ill-organized to take any strong action against Hyderabad. They also felt that if action was taken, the Muslims of India would rise as one man and overthrow it.

Razvi with undaunted devotion and unwavering faith built up the Razakkars and moulded them in the role of Holy Crusaders. A Razakkar was to take the pledge to sacrifice his life while joining the corp and the number of volunteers kept increasing.
Activities of Razakkars:

The Razakkars did many things to make their presence felt. They held demonstrations in the towns; they harassed everyone who favored accession to the Union. They overawed the public by staging marches.

The Razakkars also had a good network of espionage and propaganda. They also had abundant means at their disposal. It was quite obvious that they had a very prosperous benefactor helping them. ¹¹

The Razakkars also enjoyed the support of the then Police Commissioner, Nawab Deen Yar Jung. Mir Laik Ali another prominent businessman was one of the main financiers of their movement.

Steadily the Razakkar movement was gaining popularity and the present Darussalam, which ironically means Abode Of Peace, was their headquarters and stronghold. Many intelligent writers and poets were swept in the tide of emotion created by the Razakkars and were engaged in its propaganda. Fasihuddin gave control of Parcham to Ibrahim Jalîs allowing him to write whatever he pleased. His only stipulation being that he should not forget to "share the proceeds". A big room had been allotted to Ibrahim Jalîs and his colleagues in Darussalam, where about 10 or 15 people were allowed to stay. Boarding was free. Mirza Zafrul Hasan was in charge of

According to K.M. Munshi in End of an Era, it was undoubtedly the Nizam's Government which built up the Razakkars. The Razakkars demanded free transport from Nizam's State Railway and Road Transport Service of state. All arms recovered by the government from Hindus were used by the Razakkars p. 38. But according to Major General Syed Ahmad El Edroos in the book Hyderabad of Seven loaves, "it has been mentioned often by the Indian Press and even Indian leaders that the Hyderabad Army was in league with Razakkars and helping them with arms, ammunition and training personnel. But it was absolutely incorrect." According to him, the Hyderabad army itself was short of equipment, arms and ammunition. p. 116
radio propaganda. From seven in the morning till midnight propaganda speeches and poems were broadcast from Radio Hyderabad and Aurangabad and one had to admit that it was done effectively.

Akthar Hassan, one of the members of the Progressive Writers Association in Hyderabad, says that a Muslim who spoke against the Razakkars was considered anti-Muslim. When he openly criticized the activities of the Razakkars his house in Mallepally and also his sister's house were attacked. Then Akthar Hassan got a chance meeting with Kasim Razvi while traveling by train. He got an opportunity to discuss many things happening in Hyderabad at that time including Politics, Press, the Nizam and the rights of the Muslims. The topic of the Islamic war of liberation was touched upon. In response to some of his objections Kasim Razvi replied,

"There is no institution of kingship in Islam, but we want to keep our King alive, administering him morphine so as to guard the interests of Muslims and it is in their interests that this state should continue its existence." 12

The Nizam had made it clear that unlike other Native States he would not sign the Instrument of Accession with the Indian Government after independence. He sent to Delhi a delegation consisting of Walter Monckton, Nawab of Chattari and Sultan Ahmed for talks with Mountbatten. The talks dragged on until the end of September 1947. Finally the Nizam agreed to enter into a Standstill Agreement for one year. On 22nd October, 1947, the Hyderabad delegation returned home with the draft of the Standstill Agreement for the signature of the Nizam. The Nizam after much deliberation with his Executive Council agreed to sign the Agreement on 27th October 1948. But this news incensed the Razakkars.

From the excerpts of the tape interviews of Akthar Hassan, editor of Urdu daily, Payam, done before his death. It appeared in the Deccan Chronicle on August 15, 1997, p.6
A mob converged on the Prime Minister's official residence; Shah Manzil (The Shah Manzil is now the Raj Bhavan, the official residence of the Governor of Andhra Pradesh), and set fire to his house. The police kept aloof and the army stayed in the barracks. The crowds demanded that the Nawab of Chattari and other members of the delegation should not leave for Delhi. The Nawab was too courteous and gentlemanly to punish anybody. After this no respect was left for the government or for its chief. No effective action was taken against the culprits.  

Regarding the Standstill Agreement Razvi said,

"Some say that the agreement gives respite to India. She would become more and more powerful each day and would pose a threat to Hyderabad. But why shouldn't I suppose that we have gained time with its conclusion. Why shouldn't I believe that India in view of her political disorder, racial and religious differences, and in view of the international situation would become more and more powerless with each passing day". 

Hyderabad was referred by Sardar Patel in a broadcast on August 15th, 1948 as "Cancer in the belly" and by V.P. Menon as "Pakistan's Island within India".

In 1948 November, the Nawab of Chattari resigned. He served during a difficult period and bore his cross bravely. Laik Ali took over as Prime Minister. Laik Ali was Razvi’s man and enjoyed the confidence of Jinnah. The Nawab of Chattari was a confidant of the Nizam and a loyal servant of the state. But the Nizam under the

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13 According to Sadat Ali, in his book, Brief Thanksgiving Madras, 1919”, the Nawab of Chattari was popular in Hyderabad. His unassuming manners, his courtesy and personal charm would have made him a generation ago, an ideal Prime Minister of the Indian State. But times had changed and the Government came under the influence of Ittehad-Ul-Muslimeen. p.10

14 Jinnah, Urdu daily, Hyderabad. Dec. 20, 1947
influence of the Razakkars took no heed to any of the sensible advice given by these Ministers.

The Nawab's loyalty to the State can be proved from a speech he made at a function held in honor of Commander-in-Chief as Chief Guest during World War II on 12th April 1944. He said,

"His Exalted Highness has always looked upon this war as his own and his government and people are at one with him. These ties, coupled with the hands of an alliance contracted over 200 years ago which is as effective now as then, are not of monetary consequences, they have stood the test of time and are likely to be strengthened all the more to mutual advantage in the days to come". 15

A new delegation approved by Razvi consisting of three members, namely Moin Nawab Jung, Abdul Rahim, the Ittehad leader and Pingali Venkatarama Reddy, a courtier of Nizam was sent. Finally on 29th November 1947, the Nizam entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Government of India.

The following arrangement was agreed upon as per the stand still Agreement:

Article 1: Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matter of common concern, including External Affairs, Defense and Communication, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before the 15th August 1947 shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between and Dominion of India (or any part there of) and the Nizam.

This speech appeared in the Summary of Hyderabad's war effort - 1939-44, Hyderabad Government Central Press, 1944.
Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any regret on the dominion.

1) To send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order, or
2) To sanction troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so sanctioned to be withdrawn from Hyderabad's territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

**Article 2** The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purpose of this Agreement to appoint Agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

**Article 3** (1) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountcy functions or create any paramountcy relationship.
(2) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof, shall be deemed to create in favor of either party and right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to delegate from any right which, but for this agreement, would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

**Article 4:** Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangement hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by these arbitrators.
Article 5: This agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year. In confirmation whereof the Governor General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures.  

A look at the background to the negotiations between Delhi and Hyderabad is necessary at this stage. The Delhi government was living through one of its weakest moments. With Partition came the ugly communal riots in Punjab and open fighting in Kashmir. There seemed a real possibility of war with Pakistan. An economic and administrative breakdown at home was also possible. On the other hand, the Nizam felt he had increased in strength after August 15\textsuperscript{th} and he regarded this period as the expansion of his autocracy. India had conceded the Standstill Agreement to Hyderabad, only to give time and opportunity to accede with grace and dignity. But the Nizam's government approached the negotiations in a quite different spirit. It was not prepared at this stage to sacrifice sovereignty. Thus all these factors led to mounting tension, both between the governments and the peoples concerned.

The Nizam began to violate the terms of the Standstill Agreement. He notified that the Indian currency was not legal tender in his state and also banned the export of gold. It was very clear that the Nizam entered into Standstill Agreement only to gain time to procure arms. Sydney Cotton of Australia was engaged to procure arms and ammunition from different parts of the world and smuggle them into Hyderabad.\textsuperscript{17}

White paper on Hyderabad, 1948, Government of India, Appendix II, p. 45

Sydney Cotton was an Australian Jew. He had been a fighter pilot with the British Air Force in the 1st World War. He was staying in the then famous Percy’s hotel. According to him when on a business trip to Hyderabad he was horrified by the suffering the Indian blockade was causing the local population and was determined to help them. It was Cotton who suggested they ask the Security Council of the United Nations to intervene. He knew the Indian Government would retaliate and he would fly in the urgently needed weapons and medical supplies. He did it even at the risk of being shot down by the Indian Air Force planes: Ian Austin’s, \textit{City of Legends}, Calcutta, 1992 p.p. 183-184.
Atrocities Of Razakkars:

The atrocities of the Razakkars on innocent people increased after the Standstill Agreement was signed.

In Aurangabad, two Hindus were brutally killed by Muslims. The police who took the suspects into custody were also threatened and they were forced to release them. Many of the Razakkars openly extorted money from wayfarers. The houses of even the poor were looted and their women molested.

Even the Bishop, Rev. Edwards, Head of the Diocese of Medak, Church of South India came to K.M. Munshi who was appointed as Agent General in Hyderabad after the Standstill Agreement to complain about the situation prevailing in his diocese. In his letter dated August 5, 1948 the conditions in the Diocese of Medak were summarized under three heads: The General State of Lawlessness, Open Conflict and Established Rebellion. He wrote,

"It was distressing the other morning to visit a village on the outside near the ally and to find it mostly deserted as a result of looting by a band of Razakkars the previous night, the attack being accompanied by serious bodily injuries. Nevertheless the Christians are being subject to pressure through attempts at bribery and threats... Appeals have been made against

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18 As a result of the Agreement of November, 1947 Agents General were exchanged between India and Hyderabad. Zahir Yar Jung was stationed in Delhi while K.M. Munshi was posted here. The status of the Agent General was not well defined and even as Munshi believed he was the successor of the all-powerful British Resident, the Nizam disabused his mind of any such notion by not allowing him to use the Residency. He had to take a military bungalow in Bolaram in the midst of the Indian army establishment. On the eve of the Police Action, the State Government moved him from his official residence in the cantonment, Dakshina Sadan and placed him under the protective custody at the lake view guesthouse. Munshi took care to send all his diaries, state papers and manuscripts of the novel he was writing in a sealed cover to Buch, who was the Joint Secretary in the Defense Ministry. See for details Narendra Luther, Memoirs Of City, Hyderabad, 1995 p. 306.
the shooting of unarmed villages on new suspicion, and the indiscriminate burning of villages, but they have been of little avail.\textsuperscript{19}

The Government of India was getting concerned about the events being unfurled in Hyderabad. Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter to Sardar Patel dated 23rd July 1948 said,

"You are aware of the fact that there is every chance of the Hyderabad state Govt. referring their dispute with us to the United Nations. We should not wait for this reference and then think about it. We should therefore take immediate steps to prepare our answer and to clear up our own minds as to the attitude we should take... very probably Hyderabad has been intriguing with the Arab and other Muslim countries and possibly borrowing money into their coffers. We are asking our ambassadors there to do what they can do to counter this. It is rather difficult for them to do what they can to do much in the circumstances. Nevertheless they have to be on the alert." \textsuperscript{20}

The Nizam in a letter to Clement R Atlee, Prime Minister of England alleged that a serious situation had arisen as a result of India's attempt to force Hyderabad to accede to the Union. He appealed as "a staunch friend and faithful ally of the British Government" for help in the difficulties with which "I am now confronted". Commenting on the letter of the Nizam to Atlee Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a letter to Prime Minister, Atlee saying,

"The Government of India have made repeated attempts to arrive at a peaceful settlement in regard to Hyderabad... The statement made by the Nizam that the state had been denied supplies of medical stores, Chlorine for the purification of water supplies, and salt is completely untrue, and large quantities of medical supplies and chlorine have been sent to Hyderabad... Hyderabad is the only state that has no trace of self-government or responsible government. A feudal regime persists there and this has been made far worse by the encouragement given to the Razakkars who kill and rape, burn and loot. You will appreciate that this state of affairs has produced great reaction in the Indian public and

\textsuperscript{2} K.M. Munshi, \textit{End Of An Era}, Delhi, 1991, p. 184, 185

\textsuperscript{2} Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru, ed. G. Gopal, New Delhi, 1976. p. 196
the government of India have been strongly criticized for not taking effective action to put an end to these atrocities.\footnote{Ibid. Pp 197-198}

Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter to Lord Mount Batten dated \textbf{August 1, 1948} wrote,

"The Hyderabad affairs continue to simmer. The Razzakars have become quite rabid and nobody seems to be able to control them. One of the Ministers of Hyderabad Government, Joshi who has been hand in glove with Kasim Razvi and the Razakkars resigned recently and made a long statement. This statement gives a ghastly account of happenings in Hyderabad state and of the atrocities that the Razakkars are committing... Our position briefly put is, that it is impossible to carry on any negotiations till two things happen, the banning of Razakkars and a new Government in Hyderabad."\footnote{Ibid. Pp 202-203}

In a letter to V.K. Krishna Menon on 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1948, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote,

"... What is forcing our hands apart from an almost universal demand, is the progressive deterioration of the situation inside Hyderabad. Our reports indicate that some kind of terrorism prevails in parts of the state. Murder and arson are committed by Razakkars and forcible conversions are taking place. The European Residents there are themselves getting frightened at these developments. We had recently a letter from British missionaries there appealing for help. It is frightfully difficult for us to look on, while this kind of thing is happening on a considerable scale in Hyderabad State. I doubt if any Government can sit tight in view of this developing situation. Even our British Military advisors are coming round to the opinion that Hyderabad must be dealt with in a military way fairly soon."\footnote{Ibid. P201}

In another cable to V.K. Krishna Menon, Nehru wrote:

"Situation inside the state is getting intolerable. Razakkars stopped a train the other day and attacked and looted passengers"... one village
which resisted Razakkars onslaught for 3 days had to give up fight when munitions gave out. The village Headman was beheaded and his head carried about on a pole.... Police action against Razakkars and their sympathizers in Hyderabad cannot therefore be postponed much longer".  

Kasim Razvi, just before the Police Action had the brain wave of visiting Delhi to see Sardar Patel and the Indian Government and to acquaint them of his point of view. However the Indian Government thought otherwise and nobody of importance gave him either an interview or took any interest in him with the result that Kasim Razvi returned, home more determined than ever to create friction between Hyderabad and the Government of India.

Kasim Razvi made a series of inflammatory speeches on his return to Hyderabad. On June 9, 1948 he said,

"There is a need for the banks of Musi and Jamuna to converge. We would unfurl the Asafia Flag on the Delhi Red Fort".

He followed it up on June 27th the same year,

"It is constantly being said for the last six months that Hyderabad would be attacked. The Indian Union cannot attack Hyderabad for another 600 years. If she does, she would destroy herself.... The day Hyderabad is attacked I would not be responsible for the safety of the Red fort. A fire would spread in every direction"

A month later, in July he said,

\[24\] *Ibid* p. 215  
\[25\] Recorded in *Rabbar-e-Deccan* dated June 9th, 1948, p.3  
\[26\] Ibid dated *June 27, 1948* p.1
"If Hyderabad's fate would be that of Junagadh then Red Fort's fate would be worse."\textsuperscript{27}

According to K.M. Munshi, the Agent General of India in Hyderabad, the Razakkars would sing provocative songs while crossing the residence of his and other nationalist leaders staying in the city on the eve of Police Action. They were trying to give a psychological edge to their position. One of their popular songs sung while crossing the Dakshina Sadan was,

"we shall force Nehru to bow low at the feet of the Nizam. We shall bury Patel and Munshi in their graves\textsuperscript{28}.

N.G. Ranga one of the leaders of the National Movement found a good ally in Munshi when he was appointed the Indian Agent in Hyderabad. He requested him to personally visit the affected border villages on both sides. The Nizam's government refused to assure him requisite protection. For one whole day both of them toured the Andhra border areas. Everywhere rural masses thronged to Munshi, with their tales of attacks made by Razakkars. After reaching Vijayawada, Munshi declared in a huge meeting that Delhi would have to take Police Action. That declaration was outside his book of instructions. But it was so characteristic of Munshi, at once a romantic and a man of action. Soon afterwards, Sardar ordered Police Action.

About this incident Munshi used to tell,

"Rangaji you certainly put me in the lions den". I answered but Munshi Saheb, "you bearded these lions in their own dens".\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid} dated July 28, 1948 p.28
\textsuperscript{28} K.M. Munshi, \textit{End of an Era}, Delhi, 1991 p. 116
Akthar Hasan, editor of the Urdu daily, *Pay am* replying to Kasim Razvi's speeches wrote in his paper,

"If the Muslims of the state insisted upon their so-called rights then a terrible future awaited the state".

The newspaper *Payam* conducted an opinion poll among respectable and educated Muslims and the conclusion was that 70 percent were against the Majlis and the Razakkars. According to Akthar Hassan, the idea of Independent Hyderabad was supported by capitalists like Laik Ali, the owner of Nizam Sagar factory and Sirpur Paper Mills, Khan Bahadur Alladin and others who thought that if Hyderabad joined the Indian Union they would not survive against the might of the Tatas and the Birlas. But Kasim Razvi felt that Hyderabad had to be kept independent and Nizam had to be retained in order to protect their religion. The Nizam was all the time playing a double game. On the one hand, he had accepted the Government formed by Laik Ali, on the other hand he was negotiating with the Indian Union through Zain Yar Jung. There were number of non-officials in the state and among them, Ali Nawaz Jung and Zulkhadar Jung had a sobering influence on the Nizam and were liberal in outlook. Nawab Zain Yar Jung was in favor of Hyderabad joining the Union of India. He was therefore removed from Hyderabad and sent as Hyderabad's Agent General in Delhi as per the terms of the Standstill Agreement where he made unceasing efforts to create goodwill between the Government of India and Hyderabad but he could not succeed much because of the increasing influence of Razakkars on the Nizam after his departure to Delhi.

According to opinion of Akthar Hassan expressed in his interview which appeared on 15th August 1997 in *Deccan Chronicle*, Nizam had accepted the Laik Ali Government under pressure. He was only interested in the perpetuation of his rule and therefore, sometimes he looked at the Laik Ali and Kasim Razvi as allies and at other times at the Indian Union. He was more inclined towards going the Indian Union. At a political level, an agreement had already been reached and he was trying to get one year's extension for this agreement.

This view was expressed by El. Edroos in his book "*Hyderabad of Seven Loaves*", p. 118. The author also explains that he was called by the Nizam and was asked his opinion on Razakkars. The author explained that the
Nawab Zair Yar Jung, mentioned earlier was a distinguished engineer and architect. He married into the Bilgrami family and thus got the opportunity to join the inner circles of Hyderabad. His wife was Ruqquia Begum Bilgrami, who was the daughter of Dr. Syed Ali Bilgrami a great scholar. She had inherited from her father great literary tastes. She went to an English school, Perse just outside Cambridge. She took her Honours degree in History from Newnham College, Cambridge. At the time of her death in 1947, she was the Principal of Women's college, Hyderabad. She was only 50 years old then. She occupies a unique place in the history of educational development in Hyderabad because at a time when religious fervors and tempers were high, she, though religious, did not have the slightest tinge of fanaticism or narrow mindedness.\footnote{Sadath Ali Khan, \textit{Brief Thanksgiving}, Madras 1959 p. 10}

Ruqquia Begum Bilgram’s cosmopolitan attitude and broadmindedness was inherited by her son, Sadath Ali Khan. He joined the Department Of Information in the Government of Hyderabad. He was able to have a broad perspective towards the issues plaguing Hyderabad. He had a deep desire that the problems in Hyderabad should be settled amicably and peace should prevail. He had great regard for Mahatma Gandhi and with great difficulty he got an appointment to meet him on 28\textsuperscript{th} January, 1948, two days before his death.

Razakkars could be dealt with from the military point of view. He said he could disarm them and make them completely impotent if he was given a free hand in the matter. But the Nizam mentioned that he was advised not to take any drastic action against Razakkars p.p. 118-119.\footnote{Sadath Ali Khan, \textit{Brief Thanksgiving}, Madras 1959 p. 10}
According to Sadath Ali, when the Indo-Hyderabad problem was discussed, Mahatma Gandhi replied with a smile and said "Princes were like children". Gandhi was quite optimistic that the Hyderabad problem would be solved soon.\textsuperscript{33}

In the 1952 General Elections, Sadath Ali contested representing the Congress in Ibrahimpet constituency. He won the seat and claimed that his victory "was a tribute to the Congress party and to Mr. Nehru's secular policy." \textsuperscript{34}

Another person who tirelessly worked for creating broadmindedness among Muslims and enabling them to adopt a positive attitude was Fareed Mirza, one of the seven Muslims who openly advised the Nizam to accede to the Indian Union. He was a graduate from Osmania University in 1940 and appointed Tahsildar in 1941. He resigned from Government service on 15\textsuperscript{th} July, 1948 to protest against the activities of Razakars and the Government's one-sided policy. He joined the Government service as Deputy Collector on 18\textsuperscript{th} August 1949. He was very impressed with the initiative and leadership of Nehru and even secretly attended the AICC session of Congress in Bombay in 1942 and was very impressed with the struggle for freedom. He read an editorial, which appeared in an Urdu weekly, \textit{Khadim}, the editorial read, "Is this independence or eternal slavery". In it the editor, Mr. Mulla Abdul Basith, strongly criticized the policy of Laik Ali Government and addressed it to restore good relations with the Indian Union. Fareed Mirza wrote a letter to him congratulating him on his courage and soundness of his views.

\textsuperscript{\textit{Sadath Ali, op.cit.} p.25}
\textsuperscript{\textit{Ibid, p. 26}}
Fareed Mirza not only condemned whatever he saw as unjust, he was also a man of action. While working as Tahsildar he wrote a letter to the first Taluqdar of Nanded district explaining his distress over the atrocities committed by the Razakkars. The gist of his letter reads thus,

"Sir, the subversive activities of the Ittehad Muslimeen Razakkars are on the increase day by day Government and its officers have been so completely dominated by the Ittehad Muslimeen that they do no take any action against the Razakkars. But very often the atrocities of Razakkars are connived at. They commit acts of loot and arson and burn the houses of innocent people and the Government officers content themselves by looking on these acts with indifference and even sometimes with amusement. As a Muslim, I am entirely overcome by a sense of utter shame that such inhuman acts should be committed by members of my community. As a member of the Government whose duty is to safeguard the lives and property of its poor subjects, which it is not doing, I feel a great pain and I have therefore decided to resign my post as an act of protest".  

In another letter the copies of which were submitted to Subedar Saheb of Aurangabad for information, the Revenue Member and the Prime Minister, he wrote,

"The members of the depressed classes are also taking possession of hundred of acres of land by force. In this way hundreds, nay thousands of rightful owners of their land have been dispossessed of their lands. The right cause for the Government would be to legislate in the matter and obtain records from Jagirdars and big landholders to see how much land they can cultivate personally and the remaining land should be acquired on payment of some compensation. The present system is not the correct system of helping the depressed classes. I also believe that a permanent agreement should be reached with the Indian Union and this would be beneficial to Hyderabad and also to Muslims."  

Ibid, p.13
Ibid, p.14
The Tahsildars prevailed on him not to resign and urged him to take up charge in Biloli.

Fareed Mirza along with Mulla Sahed met Baker Ali Mirza and the three of them decided to issue an appeal to Muslims and point out the dangers of the Ittehad's policies and give details of Razakkar activities. This statement was also signed by Nawab Manzoor Jung, a staunch nationalist. Many other Muslims felt that policies of Ittehad was wrong but were not ready to come out of it openly especially those who were still in Government service. The statement was later signed by three other retired prominent Muslim officers. The statement appeared on 13th August 1948 and it was published in the Urdu Newspaper, Payam. The Paper which contained the statement was in great demand.

The Nizam’s Gazette, an Urdu daily reacted to it by calling these seven people as seven traitors of the country. All Ittehad papers condemned them. One of them even stated that this statement was issued at the instance of the government of India. Kasim Razvi reacting to it stated that any hand raised against the honor and self-respect of Muslims would be put down and cut. It also appeared in the press that the government was stopping the pensions of those signatories who were retired government servants. The government had also asked the four pension-signatories, why the pension should not be stopped because of their treacherous activities. Mulla Abdul Basitt gave a fitting reply. He hit back by saying that traitors were those who created hurdles in the achievement of these ends. He said,

The statement issued contained all the details of Razakkar atrocities. They quoted Nehru's statement which appeared in The Hindu on 10th August, 1948 which said "Accession does not mean that Hyderabad should become the slave of India. It means that everybody in every part of the country should get Independence. Accession means equality". The details of statement can be obtained from Fareed Mirza's book Ibid, p. 18-21.
"Our asking for responsible government and agreement with the Indian Union could never be termed as treason."

Sir Mirza Ismail was one of the ablest Prime Ministers that His Exalted Highness the Nizam could secure for his Government. Sir Mirza was a seasoned administrator who had efficiently directed State affairs in Mysore and Jaipur. He had been requested several times to accept the reins of Hyderabad administration. But it was ordained that he should come in the first week of August, 1946 to Hyderabad. The liberal views of Sir Mirza were so pronounced that it was quite impossible that Muslim Leaguers would welcome his appointment in such a key position for Musalmans.

He inspired great expectations but unfortunately this was not the universal feeling in the State. Let us read what Sir Mirza himself had to say about this:

"What an enormous amount of work there was to be done in Hyderabad and what a wonderful country it could become! This hope, this ambition, was not destined to be fulfilled. Although I was there for only ten months, I am neither sorry I went nor that I left so soon. With the withdrawal of British control, I found, as I had anticipated, that it was impossible to stay. The Nizam was bent upon independence. Even more so were that wretched band of foolish Muslims called the Ittehad-ul-Muslaneens. A few sentences from an intercepted Press telegram sent to the Ittehad paper in Hyderabad (reproduced below) will show what a poisonous lot of people I had to deal with. They were bent upon moving heaven and earth to see me out of Hyderabad."

The intercepted Press telegram reads thus,

"While Muslims of India are boycotting the so-called Constituent Assembly which has lost all its importance as a constitution-making body and has been reduced to the position of All India Congress Committee, Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, himself a Muslim and Chief of Muslim Dominion of Hyderabad, is hobnobbing with Congress leaders in lobbies of constituent Assembly almost every
day. Sir Mirza is seen in corridors flirting with Congress members and greeting them with folded hands like Hindus. Sometimes, he was heard saying “Namsthe” “Namaskaram.” He is also believed to have said that the Hindus being in a great majority, would rule in the long run despite all difficulties."

Sir Mirza realized that though he was exerting to harness his energy and talents fully for the cause of justice and fairplay he was not certain he could prevail against the mischievous onslaughts of unscrupulous and imprudent people upon the Nizam, whose firmness and trust was his last resort. He writes,

"I found that even senior officers of the State, many of them, had lost their heads. I should have been a thorn in the flesh of these people. So, when I came to Bangalore for summer recess, I reviewed the position and came to the conclusion that I should not go back to Hyderabad. I had also a suspicion that the Nizam would not regret my departure."

Sir Mirza Ismail wrote on May 15, 1947 to H.E.H. the Nizam as follows -

"It is with the deepest regret that I have to ask Your Exalted Highness to relieve me to the high office with which you have been pleased to entrust me. At a time which is perhaps, the most critical the Dominion will ever know, I came to Hyderabad at your Exalted Highness's invitation, full of enthusiasm and with deep attachment to Your Exalted Highness's person and dynasty. I was determined to devote my lifelong experience and the capabilities which God has given me to the right solution of the many problems with which the future of the Dominion is beset. In the pursuit of this earnest desire I had planned many things which in the fullness of time would have assuredly contributed to the greatness and glory of Hyderabad and to the happiness and prosperity of your people. I could only succeed in such a task if I were assured of your Exalted Highness's full support and sympathy."
I have had the misfortune to find myself opposed at every turn by a certain section of the local Musalmans who, in my opinion, are set on a course that is suicidal to the State. I have not taken a single step that has been detrimental to their real interests. On the other hand, I have done all that is humanly possible to serve, but in vain. At the instigation of arch-conspirators who have other ends to serve, they have carried on a vigorous and calculated campaign of vilification against me.

It has been my further misfortune to find that I have lost the confidence of Your Exalted Highness. The intrigues and agitation to which I refer are, I firmly believe, directed as much against the interest of Your Exalted Highness as against myself. But, while a word from you would have stopped the campaign at once, you have maintained silence, and the agitators have given the impression that they enjoy Your Exalted Highness's goodwill and patronage.

Only recently, I wrote your Exalted Highness from Berar saying and unless Your Exalted Highness could give me your fullest confidence and support it would not be possible for me to carry on. As that support has not been forthcoming, there is no alternative for me but to ask to be relieved. In spite of the sad memories of my stay in Hyderabad, I shall always pray that God in His mercy, may protect the Asafjah Crown from the dangers that I see looming ahead."

Sir Mirza Ismail left Hyderabad for Bangalore. Sir Mirza whose decision in the matter was final was sure to send his resignation in a week. Thus Hyderabad Musalmans and Nizam lost the mature guidance of a sagacious administrator.

On the morning of 22nd August, the tragic news of the murder of Shoebullah Khan, a staunch nationalist and editor of Imroze was received with great sorrow. It was evident that he was murdered only because of his political views.

Before things could really go out of hand the Indian Government successfully conducted the 'Operation Polo' or Police Action against Hyderabad as detailed in the chapter, "Police Action In Hyderabad". In four days the Razakkars were reduced to nothing.

According to Akthar Hasan, editor of Urdu daily, *Payam*,

"No doubt the Razakkar indulged in a lot of goondaism and oppressed other communities, but it should be said that in comparison to whatever Razakkars did, the wrongs perpetrated on the community in the course of Police Action and thereafter was ten times graver for which documentary proof is available". 40

These acts created lot of resentment and fear among the minority community. Fareed Mirza wrote that

"Eight months have passed since police action and still arrests continue to be made in connection with the acts committed before the police action." 41

Dr. Masood, Assistant Director ICSSR, Osmania University expresses great sadness while reminiscing on atrocities committed during the post Police Action days. He belongs to the village Tamsa in Nanded District, one of the worst affected during this time. He says that 23 people were shot dead during this time. According to him, three of his uncles were also among them. He readily recollects the names of some of them killed.

1. Azam Khan
2. IsaqUddin

40 Akthar Hassan interview which appeared in *Deccan Chronicle* on 15th August 1997, p.6
Fareed Mirza, Opic p. 43
3. Imam Uddin
4. **Sardar** Uddin
5. Anwaruddin

He mentions the name of Mohammad Ali Khan who was his uncle and the president of the Majlis. According to him he was shot dead and his daughter was forcibly married to a Hindu. He recollects the name of the Marwari local leader Bansilal, who instigated the perpetrators of the crime to come to that area. The people were shot and the dead bodies were thrown into their burning houses. He laments that the Nizam foolishly came under influence of Kasim Razvi and tarnished his image. "What is the benefit of ending Nizam's rule?" he queries.

"Today if you meet people who lived during the days of Nizam they always claim that they were happier then. Now there is more corruption, unemployment and water scarcity. After independence every political party forgot its mission. The Nizam's feudal rule was brought to an end but the new government was full of feudal lords." 42

According to him it was Marathwada lobby in Congress which strongly fought for accession to the Indian Union. These leaders made it a Hindu Muslim struggle. For them, Kasim Razvi was their enemy because he wanted to keep Hyderabad independent. The hatred between them was evident from the fact that the atrocities committed in Marathwada region was more than in Telangana region during the post Police Action days.

He also recalls an amusing anecdote about the war strategy of Razakkars. When the Karimnagar army chief asked for arms and ammunition from Hyderabad the office replied "I have just booked 2 wagons of weapons". He did not know that there was no train from Hyderabad to Karimnagar. This revealed the ignorance of the Razakkars.
Dr. Masood concludes that if Hyderabad had remained independent, then the Razakkars would have been called the 'freedom fighters'.

A three man special tribunal in a single unanimous judgment delivered, convicted Syed Kasim Razvi, Razakkar leader of Hyderabad of the charge of conspiracy and abetment of the murder of Shoebullah Khan, editor of *Imroze*, the Urdu daily of Hyderabad and sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for life on each count.

Kasim Razvi rose up smartly and accepted the sentence passed on him by the Tribunal. He said, "I am very much thankful to your Honors" and took his seat. The tribunal in its judgment delivered on 10th September, 1950 awarded Razvi seven years of hard labor in the Bibinagar dacoity case and life sentence in the Shoebullah murder case. An appeal was filed in the High Court and the plea of the defense was upheld and life sentence quashed. Sentence of seven years rigorous imprisonment was upheld. He was placed in Chanchalguda jail and assigned the number 20063 and given the job of cutting grass in the jail compound. In 1954, he was shifted to the Yeravada jail in Pune where he served the rest of his sentence. He was released on 11th September 1957 on completion of his term. Kamil, an old friend of Razvi came to receive him. Both of them embraced each other and Razvi was surprised to see that there was no crowd of

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45 Lakshmi Reddy, former lecturer in History, Nizam College says in her interview to Deccan Chronicle, "I remember I went for the trials of Kasim Razvi in the Chanchalguda jail. He was a brilliant speaker and defended himself so well." *Deccan Chronicle*, Aug 15th, 1997 p. 16
friends and admirers. They reached Hyderabad on 12th September. Razvi realized that times had changed and he had become irrelevant. 46

He had decided to go away to Pakistan. On questioned by scribes as to why he would not stay here he said,

"What shall I do? I am an Ex-Convict. I can't practice. How shall I sustain myself?" 47

His friend accompanied Razvi to Bombay and saw him off at the airport. A young man clenched his teeth at him and said

"Bastard, they should have shot him instead of letting him go to Pakistan".
That was the last remark, which Razvi heard in India.

In the evening, Radio Pakistan concluded its News Bulletin with an unusual reference to weather. "The weather over Karachi was fine today," it said. That was the code message to say that Razvi had arrived safely in Karachi. Razvi was nobody in Pakistan. He started his practice among refugees from India. He died unwept and unsung on 15th January 1970. He was sixty-seven, when he died. 48

The Razakkars thus added a not so happy chapter in the history of Hyderabad State and its accession to Indian Union. Credit must go to Kasim Razvi for the charismatic personality, which he possessed, which drew large numbers from all rank

46 He called for a general body meeting of the Ittehad and 40 out of 140 members turned up. It was in this meeting that he nominated Abdul Wahid Owaisi as his successor. Narendra Luther, Hyderabad Memoirs Of A City, Hyderabad 1995, p. 361
47 Ibid. 362
48 Ibid, p.363
and file to him. If only he had thought right probably many ugly events could have been avoided.

Kasim Razvi had made feeble attempts to organize the dispersed strength of the Razakkars. History would never forgive him for not prohibiting the dispatch of unarmed Razakkars to the border areas. Quite a few were slain in their enthusiasm with no artillery worth the name and with no squadron stationed at Karachi, as was widely rumoured, a token and helpless struggle lacking planning and foresight against the Union forces with a complete military division lasted for 5 days. The Razakkars were demoralized and fought vain battles. The area commander had no instruction in the event of an attack. With the small army and large frontier to defend, little resistance was in evidence except for the first two days.

Thus when the Razakkars began the process of making Hyderabad a complete Islamic state the nationalists could not remain silent. Any prominent Muslim who was a nationalist was charged with treason. The Razakkars feared that the privileges they enjoyed under a Muslim ruler would be lost with the end of the Muslim rule. Kasim Razvi had once ordered that if any body would go against them his tongue shall be cut and his hands should be clipped. Hence police action seemed the only solution to contain such atrocities.

The next Chapter deals with the role of the Arya Samaj