Dack allah bux into the un-settling face of truth. syed Academy of the Punjab in North America: http://www.apnaorg.com

Foreword

I visited India in 1979 during the visit my grandmother gave me a writing pad that had several introduction letters pasted on each page and had several newspaper clips. The introduction letters were from dignitaries and famous people of the subcontinent. These letters were issued during the year 1936 when my father set out on a world tour with his friends.

My father had retired back in 1965 and most of the time had nothing to do. He would sometimes write speeches and articles for a few politicians who themselves were not capable but liked to be heard and wished to show their presence in the English and Urdu dailies.

When I came back to Pakistan I brought with me all those letters my grandma gave me. After the return I showed those letters to my dad and asked him for the details, how he got those letters and what the purpose of the world tour was. That he narrated to me in detail. To my utter excitement there was one letter by Mr. Saifuddin Kitchlew the famous freedom fighter of the subcontinent. The letter is in his own hand writing. I requested him if he could write all those details down for every one of us to see.

Observations of all those who loved my father was that what he had been doing for the politicians was not in any way beneficial for him and most of the time my dad felt frustrated. We thought out of a scheme by which my father would be busy after his retirement and would have a purpose for the activity he would be in. We convinced him that he should write his autobiography and share his experiences of his life with his readers.

He laughed and said he was not that important and no one will be interested in his past life. Unlike I was excited, he had met almost every important person of his youth, that a very few individuals get a chance to. And above all he was privy to some of the hidden facts during the freedom struggle. On my insisting he set out writing about and recollecting his past life. He made a few trips to India in this connection and gathered and got his recollection vouched by his friends and acquaintances.

By mid 1980s the first draft had been edited and distributed among his acquaintances for comments. It was liked, that further encouraged my father to put the memoires in a form of a book. Important people like, as far as I know, Dr. Mubashir Hassan, Dr. Zaki Hassan, Mr. Salman Farooqi, Mr. Agha Hilaly, and Justice(R) Fakhruddin G Ibrahim were given the manuscript and in return there was appreciation and encouragement to get the book published.

My dad went around in Pakistan, India and England visiting different publishers to get his manuscript in a printed book form. The venture was not successful. Almost every publisher was

LOOKING BACK - FORFWORD - 2

of the view that the subject was out dated and of no commercial value that the contents were controversial and the book if printed might get banned in India and Pakistan where it could fetch its buyers.

The manuscript had been with me all along when the idea of e-books became practical myself and my children were of the view that we put the book on internet. I was busy earning bread and butter and my kids busy with their studies hence could not get the typing done therefore delay of couple of decades only.

The author had ended the book at the fall of Hyderabad Deccan and has not included his memories he got post partition of the subcontinent, he tried but could not get corroboration for the relevant people. Those who could vow for him mostly were dead, the living lacked courage. The annexure contain couple of documents that have bearing to the situation in new born Pakistan.

I have included in the book everything that Mr. Syed Allah Bux kept in the binder that contained the manuscript several photos some newspaper clippings etc. I have typed the whole thing as it is and feel proud to present it to the reader. Presently the book does not contain the index that subsequently be add in the next revision.



Syed Jaffer
November 16, 2012

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LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 01 - INTRODUCTIONS & PREFACE

Endowed with rebellious tendencies, I used to revolt from my very childhood, against social taboos and rigid traditions.

At one time, I was branded the devil incarnate by orthodox traditionalists. The ore I was subjected to social pressure, the more audacious and arrogant I became in flouting the so-called social norms.

Circumstances brought me face to face with several political leaders of national importance. I somehow remained impervious to the aura of their grandeur and piety.

Looking back, I feel amazed at the ease and affront with which I faced them as also at the grace and indulgence with which they bore with me.

All the same, I did witness things and events without realizing at the time their drift and substance. My readers may find, in retrospect, these things of some interest by the side light thrown by me on obscure corners.

To them, my readers, I dedicate this work for what it may be worth.

INTRODUCTION

"Plato is dear to me, but dearer still is truth", said Aristotle. But, when a dear friend displays courage to speak out the truth openly, one should feel proud to save him for a friend.

Allah Bux and myself have been friends since 1932 when we both took part in the intermediate College Day Urdu drama 'Tughral' in our beloved garden city, Bangalore.

Then we had no idea what unparalleled political convulsions were in store for millions of us; how millions upon millions would be uprooted in the biggest ever inhuman human transfer of population; how the most innocent men, women and children would be ruined, betrayed and piped out; and how most of the mischief mongering agitators would clean escape altogether and limitlessly prosper.

Even in those college days, Allah Bux had an individuality and cockiness of his own.

He and Ghani (also a friend of mine) had ideas to do good and great things together. It is a pity that their rich imagination did not help them overcome practical hurdles. They could, therefore, never get signal results.

Their anxiety to give shape, all in a hurry, to their ideas was their failing; absence of careful planning and hasty choice of partners their shortcoming. A promising business venture came to be a wild goose chase; and their world tour to study cottage industries all over and popularize their own handicrafts ended in a flop without their crossing the Indian border.

Yet they were able to meet some important public administrators and political personalities. Composure and ease with which Allah Bux and Ghani seem to have dealt with the top leaders; and how they forced these VIPs to disclose their true feelings is amazing. In this way certain startling facts hidden beneath the surface have been laid bare.

The bravado of allay Bux came to its head when he and his brother-in-law, late Syed Najiullah, the well-known journalist (another friend of mine), took it into their quixotic heads to try, all by themselves, to restore the Kingdom of Mysore to the descendents of Tippu Sultan.

They tried to gain the fanciful aim just by brazenly asking the British cabinet mission to India during 1946 for the restitution of the state before the British say good bye to India. They were not at all concerned about the obvious, that they themselves were of no consequence what so ever.

Powerful leaders who were in the very throes of political struggle during the most crucial period of the late 40s were interviewed by them. They even attacked mighty personalities to their very faces for their duplicity and indifference to the cause espoused by them. Reckless honesty was their only weapon and sincerity their shield.

Allah Bux had been, despite his fairly young age private secretary to the demagogic fundamentalist, Bhadur Yar Jung. In his capacity he had an easy access into the highest political, administrative and court circles. On this privilege he seems to have built up later.

He was an agonized witness to the devastating tide of gruesome events and to the blood-curdling horrors perpetrated by the insane band of Razakars under Qazim Razvi. He was also an eye witness to the still stronger back lash and the chilling consequences suffered by the innocent men women and children on the Razvi had descended as a blight.

"Those whom the gods kill, they first make them mad", says an old Greek proverb. But here, it was the Razakars who went mad; and it was mostly the innocent Hindus and Muslims who got killed.

About ten months after the Hyderabad debacle and towards the end of 1949 Allah Bux found himself in Karachi. Here he has been living eversince an obscure life, but free of all the illusions and delusions.

Now, he has decided to pen down an infinitesimal account of what he saw heard or experienced in those colossally awful days.

Allah Bux is a cut-and-dried honest chronicler, almost to a fault. The side lights thrown by him upon the events he witnessed make his book LOOKING BACK a fascinating work. He does not mince his words.

The whole charm of the book, Looking Back lies in the nonchalance with which the author approaches the serious business of life, completely oblivious about the 'storm' he is raising ----- in a tea cup.

The book is so brief. Events and situations that need a good lot of elaboration and illumination of the background and after effects have been squeezed into a sentence or two. I wish this was not so, particularly when one knows that the experiences of Allah Bux are so many and so varied.

His condor will keep this book by Allah Bux alive for years to come. At least that is what I think and hope and desire

Karachi G. M. Mehkri

October, 1985

INTRODUCTION - 2

I was glad to go through the manuscript of Looking Back, the book about his reminiscences being written by Allah Bux Saiyed. My interest was held throughout and excitement grew with every page.

Amny of the events described relating to the last two years of Qauide Millat Bhadur Yar Jung's life had taken place in my presence at close quarters.

I take pleasure in fully corroborating the essentials. The author, I feel, has been objective but discreet in his re-countal of facts. Actually, emotions were more intense and out-burst more thunderous than what has been portrayed by Allah Bux.

As regards events immediately following the premature and sudden death of Bahadur Khan, the one person who had the prosperity and glory of Hyderabad and her Ruler nearest to his heart, I find that the writer has been honest and candid.

Startling but irrefutable evidence has for the first time been produced about circumstances and the cause of death as also about the diabolical hand that engineered it.

How a quixotic adventure and an arch intriguer caught up in his own web of wily devices brought about an inglorious and tragic end to the centuries' old regime has been laid bare. This should prove an eye opener for all those who have been hoodwinked by false propagands.

Mohd. Jaffar Khan.

PREFACE

Driven by strong urge, I would recount forcefully among family members and friends what I had seen, heard or experienced. Almost all my listeners were badly startled. They were faced with hard necked facts, obviously very different from the garbled and cressed up versions given out by contemporary sources.

All of them, however, insisted that I put down my account of the past on paper in black and white. They held that while they knew me well enough to believe what I say, the hard truth should come to light for all to see and reckon.

That great dust heap called history as handed down to us is 'just bunk' according to Henry Ford. Voltaire speaks of it as 'no more than accepted fiction'. Walpole asked his son to read to him "anything but history, for history must be false".

Karl Marx said, "the one lesson we learn from history is that we learn no lesson from history". But history has, all the same, a great lesson to teach us we very conveniently forget, almost always.

Time magazine (Pacific Edition) of December 19, 1960 had depicted as saying "I had already forgotten the teaching of history that a great majority can be poisoned and ruined by a single person and in gratitude will, in its turn, poison and ruin honest people; ----- that majority which has once been lied to can go on wanting to be lied to and raise ever new liars on its shield as if it were on single, conscious resolute scoundrel'.

This compared eminently with the story I recounted and was asked to write down. Subdued by the ardor of my assertion, my listeners for most of the time remained toung-tied, but their faces reflected incredibility.

Corroborative evidence, documentary or oral, is hard to come by. 'Even those who have played a significant role in the shaping of history are inclined to hide or distort facts. May be truth has remained obscured; or could it be that they are trying to avoid self-incrimination?

I drew up a list of political figures with whom I had close acquaintance. I meant to confront them with hard facts as I knew; but while I was getting all set for the rendezvous, they all began fading away one after another.

So, I took out my typewriter and started banging away fearing that I too might pop off without giving shape to the idea. That my method would have been timely and effective is evident from the following episode:

Once while passing through Abbottabad on our way to Mansehra, I stopped to make courtesy call on Jalaluddin Khan, popularly known as Jalal Baba. He had been a member of the Provincial as well as Federal Cabinet in Pakistan.

When I went to call on him I took along with me my son Jaffer, Najiullah's son Yedullah and a cousin Jaffer Mohiuddin. After the preliminaries, I asked Jalal Baba to bear witness to certain strange incidents in which I had been bewildered spectator while Jalaluddin himself had been contriver.

"Please tell these boys about the breaking open of the ballot boxes at Peshawar in the early fifties under the direct aupervision of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in order to ensure Qaiyum's success", I asked Jalal Baba.

He started beating about the bush, arguing about the exigencies of the situation and dilating upon the necessary evils of practical politics. But I cornered him into the admission that what I recounted was hard fact.

To cut a long story short, I began writing about what I had seen, heard or experienced. I just set down bare facts without any fear or favour, without any dressing or sugar-coating; and facts admittedly are stranger than fiction.

May be what I saw was illusory and deceptive; what I heard could have been hearsay or even calumny. I am always open for correction; but who is the final arbiter, because our perception is either way subject to guile and misconception



Allah Bux Syed.

Karachi: June, 1985

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 02 - PAKISTAN: THE SANCTUARY

PAKISTAN: THE SANCTUARY

Migration: Birth of a nation: Hoodwinked comrades in arms: Greenhorns: Emotional exploitation: An idea is born: Indigenous indifference: Bengal: The Punjab: North-West Frontier Province: Sind: The Baluch: Queer finish sucked in: Misgivings: The turning point:

Migration

They come from everywhere. A surging stream of caravans trundling along wearily, but none-the-less with sense of urgency and haste.

The whole procession presented a weird sight. Pack animals of all types plodding along, plodding along Staggering under heavy loads of moveables salvaged in hurry. They brought vehicles of all sorts laden with wide miscellany of small worldly possessions.

All came on foot except for the sick and old, and of course small children. Every member of the caravan came heavily dragging the feet and exhausted to the point of breakdown.

It was a mass migration on a colossal scale. It was an event, unprecedented in written history.

Fear and anxiety was written large on every brow. Everyone was rushing helter-skelter and converging on the point of entry into the new-born country they had demanded.

Horrible death and destruction was dogging their steps all the way. Blood thirsty predators in the garb of humans armed to the teeth were stalking them and would often set upon them moving them down ruthlessly. The line of emigrants could only close ranks and hurry along carrying with them if possible their dead and wounded.

Anger and frustration was manifest as they had been hounded and driven out of their ancestral homes. Strange that their age-old hindu friends had all of a sudden turned against them, thirsty for their blood. Even those who had protected and helped had urged on them to abandon their hearths and homes.

The fact remained, all the same, that they had shouted for a separate homeland other than their motherland where they could order their lives as true Muslims according to the teachings of Islam. Many of them had voted for the Muslim League in order to save Islam and their traditions.

Now, the felt sure that this had been achieved with the inception of Pakistan. Little had they realized that they would have to pay such a heavy price.

Grim and silent they remained until they had stepped on the soil of their new homeland. The moment they entered the boundaries of this 'heaven of Islam', they shouted in full abandon, "Allah-o-Akbar", "Pakistan Zindabad". Some fell down on the burning sand in thanksgiving prostration before Allah.

Birth of a nation

It was memorable day: August 14, 1947. Pakistan had come into being on this day. It was also the 26th of Ramadan. The inception took place during the 'Shab-e-Qadr', a night more revered than thousand sacred months.

I can clearly recall how I felt. It looked as if the impossible had been achieved. A fond dream had been transformed into reality. Muslims from all over India who had fought for it as a ^[1] 'jehad'felt overwhelmed. Their sustained campaign had resulted in a stupendous success.

The nationalist Muslims and the orthodox traditionalist Ulema had opposed the very concept of Pakistan tooth and nail. They were the die-hard traditionalist ^[2] Jamiyat-e-Ulema-e-Hind from Deoband, the highly regimented and fanatical ^[3] Jamaat-e-Islami, the impetuous ^[4] Majlis-e-Ehrar and the militant dogmatist ^[5] Khaksars.

The deoband ulema had set a price of Rs. 50,000 for their cooperation. This demand was put forth according to ^[6] Mirza Abol Hasan Ispahani during the Muslim League Parliamentary Board meeting in 1936. When the Muslim League did not, because it could not, meet their demand, they turned against it.

The Khaksars under Inayetullah Khan Mashriqui had tried to gain control over the League with a view to turn it into a militant organization. Quaide Azam Jinnah did'nt like it as he thought Mashriqui a demented sentimentalist. Instead of Khaksars making a headway in this direction some of their prominent member had resigned from the organization in disgust.

Frustrated in their designs, the Khaksars had started a hate campaign against Jinnah. As a result ^[7] Rafique Muzangi an activist 'Janbaz' from Lahore had made an attempt on Jinnah's life. During the trial Rafique denied ever having been a Khaksar. After that, the Khaksars began saying that it was a put up job staged to gain public sympathy and popularity.

For these opposing forced the coming into being of Pakistan or according to them of the 'Na-Pakistan' (unclean land) was simply stunning. It rendered them thoughtful in the face of this un-settling development.

The liberals in the Indian National Congress gave a sigh of relief that the worst was over. Some of them however, felt as if their own bodies had been physically torn apart.

Some die-hard congressmen nurtured a wishful thinking. Pakistan, as it had been offered and accepted, may soon go dow, they thought, under its own economic weight. If not, it could easily be strangulated economically.

Hoodwinked comrades in arms

Amist all the jubilation and rejoicings of the Muslims all over the Sub_continent there were some who had somehow retained a sense of proportion and presence of mind. They began to ask one another, "What Now"? Bleak prospects appeared to be in store for them. They were the Muslims minorities who couldn't all migrate to Pakistan.

They were feeling like the younger brothers left behind helplessly watching a fast disappearing automobile carrying their elder brothers onward. The vehicle: Muslim League, their destination Pakistan.

Unwittingly they had joined hands to give it a push when the vehicle got stuck up in a political muck. Their elder brothers had continued riding and had urged for a final mighty push.

Muslims form the minority areas had been egged on to fight for Pakistan as if their very existence depended on it. Their loyalty to the land they had belonged to for generations had been subdued by the religious fervor.

They soon felt badly let down when no less a person than the Quaide Azam, while the process of partition was still going, declared during a ^[8] press conference on July 14, 1947, "you cannot have a minority which disloyal and plays the role of sabotaging the state. That minority, of course, become intolerable in any state".

That was exactly what the Muslim minority was being accused of by the majority community and the successor ruling party the Congress.

On the very nest day after the inception of Palistan, when asked by chaudhri Khaliquz Zaman about the Muslims left behind in India, the Quaide Azam is said to have remarked, "Khaliq, we have written off the Mussalmans on the other side of the border".

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, during an interview with ^[9] Reuter's Correspondent, Duncan Hooper, on October 25, 1947, the Quaide Azam is reported to have said, "Muslim minority in India have played a magnificient part in the achievement and extablishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the coast of their self-respect and honour".

But were they?

Greenhorns

Muslims from the native state s had always been disowned by the Muslim League. Under the League Constitution on 1934, only the Muslims from British India were entitled to become primary members of the Muslim League.

Muslims from about 600 native states comprising nearly a third of the Muslim population of India were debarred from Muslim League membership, except for those living in the British administered cantonment areas.

An organization called the All-India States' Muslim League did exist, but it was neither affiliated to nor was it supported by the all-India Muslim League.

In a letter addressed to Editor of weekly Ghazi Bharaich, Bahadur Yar Jang President States Muslim League wrote, "the establishment of the All-India States' Muslim League became necessary because according to the amended ^[10] Muslim League Constitution of 1934, native states had been excluded from the sphere of operation of the Muslim League and it was restricted to British India".

In another letter to ^[11] Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Jaipur, Bhadur Yar Jang wrote, "I may assure you that the All-India State's Muslim League has no connection whatsoever with the all-India Muslim League presided over by Mr. Jinnah".

Emotional esploitation

The States' Muslims were all the same lured into the hallucination that Islam was in danger. Also that they would be immensely contributing to save Islam and themselves by joining the raising crescendo of 'le ke rahengay pakistan', Batke rahega Hindustan'.

Now, with the coming into being of Pakistan, they were jolted awake into the realization that they were neither here nor there.

Yet, true to traditions, they promptly went back into their day dreams, never to wake up again even though death and destruction by stalking around. They spend their time mostly looking forward to the past.

Astonishingly, one can find even today among many a Indian Muslim deeply ingrained loyalty and devotion to Pakistan, more deeply rooted perhaps then in many pakistanies themselves.

The ^[12] 'Jiye Sind', the ^[13] 'Greater Baluchistan' and the 'Pakhtoonistan' movements are taken to be manifestation of a ^[14] secessionist trend. Obviously, loyalty to Pakistan of the supporters of these movements appear to be watered down and rendered weaker than the sense of attachment of Indian Muslims.

Muslims of the South Asian region have always labored under the delusion that they are the sole custodians of Islam. They have reacted strongly to a change in conditions faced by Muslims anywhere in the world.

Their involment in the change, real or imaginary, in the conditions of Muslims even in the remotest corner of the globe could be symptomatic of an abnormal symbiosis and a psychotic syndrome.

No wonder that should they feel or be made to feel that Islam was in danger in their own homes, they woul'nt have a moment's hesitation in setting it on fire in order to 'save Islam'.

An idea is born

The [15] Balfour Declaration of 1917 was, in effect, an official recognition of the right of an oppressed minority community to establish a homeland of its own on religious grounds.

The British government gave an undertaking, through this Declaration, to help the Jews in establishing their national home in Palestine.

Unfortunately, this was brought about by forcibly uprooting the permanent citizens, a majority of whom happened to be Muslims. The intense heart burning, untold misery and privations of the dislodged Palestinian refugees as also the deep resentment of the entire Muslim population of the world had been dogging human conscience ever since.

Some imaginative Indian Muslims began to wonder why a separate state cannot be claimed and established for themselves. They too had been subjected to strong discrimination and oppression on religious grounds.

The feeling was neither unique nor new. It had already voiced by several Muslims thinkers earlier towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was later on debated hotly by the Muslims students in England and had resulted in the demand for partition of India into various segments.

This was propagated widely by Chaudhri Rehmat Ali and his colleagues in the 'Bazme Shiblee'. The creation of three Muslim states, 'pakistan' in the North-western region, 'Bengistan' in the Eastern region and 'Usmanistan' in the Southern region was acvocated, at last.

The name Pakistan was derived from 'P' for Punjab 'A' for Afghan (meaning Pathans from the NWFP), KI for Kashmir, 'S' for Sind and 'Tan' for Baluchistan where Muslims were in an overwhelming majority.

'Bengistan' stood for the Muslim majority province of Bengal in the Eastern region while 'Usmanistan' stood for a Muslim dominion in the southern region under Mir Usman Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan.

The idea soon caught the imagination of the Muslims student community. In no time at all, it transformed itself into what came to be know, in the end as the Pakistan movement.

This very same idea had been broadly projected by ^[16] Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal through his presidential address to the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahbad in December, 1930. Rehmat ali's proposal, except for pointedly naming the proposed Muslim state had thus been publicly voiced from the Muslim League platform.

Usmanistan was soon dropped on account of its impracticability. The half hearted abortive efforts of the Nizam's Government to create a Muslim stronghold in Hyderabad Deccan soon killed the idea. However, the Nizam Mir Usman Ali Khan and some sentimentalists led by Bhadur Yar Jang stubbornly clung to it in a sublimated form of the 'Mumlikate Islamia Asafiah'.

When the demand for Usmanistan was discarded, a movement for the formulation of two states, on in the north western region and the other in the Eastern region gained strength steadily. With the launching of the propaganda campaign by Aligarh students, the partition of India became inevitable.

According to the Lahore Resolution of 1940, these two states were demanded. But, it was later on corrected to mean a single state headless of practical difficulties in the management of two integral parts of a single state separated by thousand miles of an estranged hostile land. The idea of a ^[17] corridor linking the two together did occur, but by then it was too late and was impracticable to boot.

The demand for a corridor was made again during May, 1946. Writing about this Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Tuker in his book 'While Memory Serves' observes ---- Mr. Jinnah's mid month demand for a land corridor between Western and Eastern Pakistan evoked a storm of resentful opposition. He should only get it over the bodies of non-Muslims who rejoiced at the prospect of Pathans carrying off the N. W. F. P and perhaps Baluchistan and of the Hindus taking large slices of the Punjab and Bengal, leaving hardly any Pakistan at all for which to make a corridor'.

Students' role

The vital role played by students in the Pakistan movement need no elaboration. During an interview with the writer in 1946, The Quaide Azam had recalled, "The first time I visited Lahore there were hardly a few people present to receive me. Then the Youngman, the students particularly from Aligarh took up the propagation of the Pakistan concept".

"they spread out in the country", said the Quaide Azam "and explained to the Muslims the objectives of the Muslim League and the implications of the Pakistan movement. The next time I went to Lahore", he said "there was a huge gathering at the Railway Station. What's more", he concluded, "Muslim League and Pakistan was on every one's lips".

The message carried by the students of Aligarh to their Muslim brethren, as in well known, was "Islam is in danger, because the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, in a secret collusion, are out to establish "Akhand Bharat' and eradicate Islam through "Shuddhi". Only an unreserved and staunch supporter for Muslim League and demand for Pakistan can save Islam and all that Muslims stand for".

Indigenous indifference

The fact remains, however, that several leaders of public opinion from the areas conceived to form component parts of proposed Pakistan were patently indifferent to the very idea of Pakistan, if not openly averse to it.

I had the opportunity to probe into the felings of important personsl like Sher-e-Bangal molvi Abul Kasim Fazlul Haq, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (properly known as the Fontier Gandhi), Sardar Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana of Punjab and some other which proved quiet revealing.

During May, 1946, I and Najiullah, my close friend and brother-in-law, were in Delhi to present a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission on Behalf of the Young Muslims of Mysore Demanding the restitution of the State of Mysore to the heirs of Tippy Sultan together with the transfer of power, (A gist of the memorandum was featured in Dawn daily dated May 2 1946, and is included in the appendices of this Work).

It was then that I had the chance to dig into the true feelings of Fazlul Haq, the leader of Bengal and mover of the Lahore Resolution of 1940 regarding the Pakistan Movement.

He was staying in a room adjacent to mine in the Coronation Hotel. Quite often, I and Najiullah used to drop in on him to exchange news and comments about the march to events during presence in Delhi of Cabinet mission.

On one such occasion Fazlul Haq suddenly opend up. Veryemphatically, he declared, quote: "Look here young man I am the mover of the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, and I should know the background and the purpose behind the movement. Take it from me; the bloody fools are carrying the joke too far", unquote.

The next day when I went to visit the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, he was unusually in a pensive mood. Listlessly, he reciprocated my sentiments, when I expressed joy and satisfaction at the significant progress of the Pakistan movement.

Then he remarked wistfully about a lurking fear in the minds of some of his friends. "The man who has proved himself the most capable and successful advocate of our causes", the Raja Said, "should he also prove to be as good a builder and administrator" they asked on another.

I informed him about Fazlul Haq's remarks of the day before. Raja Mahmudabad kept quiet, but Raja Ghazanfer Ali Khan who was also present, by force of habit, shouted a dirty word and said contemptuously, "you speak of the Tiger of Bengal? He is still a tiger, I admit; but don't you know, he a 'Circus Tiger' nowadays"?

Public opinion in Bengal was for a [18] united and independent Bengal; but not as an integral part of Pakistan.

The Punjab

I had been able to discuss Pakistan with Sardar Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana on an earlier occasion. He told me, "Muslims in the Punjab are definitely better off without you Pakistan".

Elaborating, he explained, "We are in a clear majority and will remain always in that position. Our lives and belongings, our religion and culture, our trade and commerce are all safe and secure: as safe under the Unionist Party as one can expect under the Muslim League in the proposed Pakistan".

Continuing he said, "We lead an interesting and variegated life. The presence of Hindus Sikhs and Christians makes our lives colourful and interesting. It also poses challenge for us to be vigilant and to keep one step ahead of the others. Pakistan might destroy this caliber in us".

North-West Frontier Province

When Pundit Jawaher Lal Nehru was to address a public meeting in Peshawar during the second half of 1939, I and my friend Ghani happened to be there. While we waited for the Punditjee to arrive, my companion spotted a 'Tiranga' (Congress flag) bedecked on the dais carrying the 'Kalimah' (La Ilaha Illallah Mamummadur Rasool Ullah" first declaration of Faith by Muslims) printed on the strip below the 'Charkha' (spinning wheel; emblem of the Congress).

While climbing on the dais, Pundit Nehru took a squint at the sanctified flag. A few minutes later, the Bacha Khan (Ghaffar Khan's popular name) who was sitting on the dais beckoned one of the Khudai Khidmatgars (Red Shirt Volunteers) and whispered something into his ear.

Immediately, the offending flag was removed. But the incident gave me a chance to dig into the feelings of Bacha Khan.

A couple of days later when I met Ghaffar Khan, I pointedly referred to the incident and asked him if it was not his guilty conscience that prompted him to hav the flag removed. I also asked him if it was not sacrilegious to paint the Kalimah on the Tiranga, ostensibly to make it acceptable to the Muslims as their own.

Ghaffar Khan avoided a direct answer. He began to recount at length the barbaric atrocities and inhuman oppression by the British on the helpless Pathans. He spoke very emotionally about the humiliations and indignities suffered for long by a self-respecting people.

"We made impassioned appeals and abject entreaties to the leaders of the Khilafat momenemt and the Muslim League. We most ardently begged for their sympathy and help, but our wailings fell on deaf ears", said the Frontier Gandhi.

"However", Bacha Khan continued, "Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress took up our cause and made it their own. Naturally, we are deeply indebted to them. We ourselves and all our coming generations shall never forget this debt of gratitude", he affirmed.

Then he turned on me and said tauntingly, "You are demanding Pakistan where you claim it would be possible to live as Muslims, free and unmolested. But, what more have you to offer us, the Pushtoons, than what we already have and enjoy"?

He went on to say, "We are almost 97 percent here. Neither our religion nor our culture is under any threat now or could ever be. The non-Muslims who live here have completely merged themselves with our social set up. They wear our dress, speak our language and love the land as strongly as any Muslim could. Here you might have come across a butcher selling beef right in the middle of Hindu Baniya shops. The Baniya, at the same time, feels inviolate and properly protected".

Concluding, Ghaffar Khan declared, "We can make our own laws and shape our lives as we think best and proper according to Islamic percepts and our traditions. We are better Muslims, I am sure, than some of your leaders. In fact, what you feel lacking and are struggling to achieve is an accomplished fact and living reality here".

Sind

Looking back on the Sind situation, the significance of the letters exchanged between G.M.Syed and Bhadur Yar Jang in 1944, immediately after the Muslims League's Karachi session should be noteworthy.

These letters reflected the attitude of the Muslim radicals in Sind. They were not, it appeared, much enamored of the idea of a Pakistan as envisaged by the League High Command. Islam, they suspected was being used as leverage and was not the sine-qua non for Pakistan.

It would also be interesting to recall that the Sind contingent to the Muslim League Council was spoken of by the League activists as a 'cat on the wall'. No special importance was being attached to the bold gesture of the Sind Legislature in taking the lead to put forth a demand for Pakistan.

The Baluch

The attitude of the Baluch towards Pakistan was in different. But when Pakistan was almost in sight, it became antagonistic.

The greater part of Baluchistan comprising Kalat, Lasbela, Makran, Kharan and other principalities was avowedly in favour of an independent, sovereign status for Baluchistan. With the cessation fo British supremacy, the Baluch looked forward to achieve full independence for their ethnic entity.

During 1946, the Khan (Ruler) of Kalat presented a [19] Memorandum to the cabinet Mission showing his intent to regain and retain sovereignty and independence with the withdrawal of the British from India.

The very next day after the inception of Pakistan, the khan of kalat proclaimed his independence. A representative assembly was set up through hastily conducted elections. This assembly endorsed the claim of independence for Baludhistan.

There was a provincial Muslim League in British Baluchistan, which was only narrow strip of land bordering Afghanistan. Even here, the attitude of the people was vague and wavering. The result was the referendum was called for in this almost cent percent Muslim area conceived as an integral part of Pakistan and Governor General. Baluchistan did not enjoy the status of a province.

A so-called referendum was held by convening the 'Shahi Jirgah' comprising of tribal sardars (Chiefs) and nobles, who had been nominated by the British Agent. Seeking the pleasure of the British masters was an article of faith with them.

When an atmosphere of uncertainty was observed among the Jirgah members, one of them let out, "we have to decide whether we wish to associate with our Muslims brethren and save Islam, or go with the infidels in India, the Hindus, and jeopardize Islam and our culture and traditions".

That is said to have clinched the whole issue. The vote was overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan. It was taken to be the verdict of the entire baluch populace. Disregarding this turn of events, the Khan of Kalat rose up in arms and had to be subjugated at last by the force of arms.

In this retrospect, it would appear that Pakistan was foisted on an unwilling people by the furor and frenzy of the Muslims form the minority areas and the white heat of 'Islam in danger', a catchword shouted with full force by Aligarh students.

Queer fish sucked in

The question as to why the Muslims from the minority areas should join in the demand for Pakistan and struggle for it, was mooted by some politically conscious young men. What was in store for them, they asked.

Muslims from the minority areas, it was argued, which would in the end go to Bharat, did not stand to gain anything by joining in the Pakistan movement. On the other hand, it was feared, they were more than likely to permanently antagonize the Hindu majority and ruling party, the Indian National Congress.

The pro-Congress Muslims were trying to make the most of the issue. ^[20] Moulana Ataullah Shah Bokhari of the Ehrar movement very scathingly criticized this "suicidal trend among the minority Muslims" and warned them of a "dismal future".

An imaginary symbolic story was dished out in reply. They were asked to imagine ten brothers (ten crore Muslims) shipwrecked in mid ocean. They come upon a floating driftwood board which can barely support the weight of only six of them. If all of them try to ride on it, they would all be drowned.

Therefore, four of the brothers (meaning Muslims from the minority areas) would voluntarily have to sacrifice themselves and help the other six secure the float (Pakistan). Only by this means can the 'family (Islamic) traditions and good name be preserved, it was claimed, for the future generations.

The agitated mind of the Muslims was gullible enough to devour such bizarre stories. In addition, the Muslims minorities were assured that their Pakistani brethren shall not abandon and forget them. Any threat to the Indian Muslims would be taken as threat to Pakistan.

"Many sensible Muslims were not taken in by these cock-and-bull stories. Notwithstanding, when they were faced with the full-throated cry of 'Islam in danger', they had per force to submit and acquiesce in the struggle for Pakistan. Then again, to rouse their gall they were reminded at every step about the 'horrible experience' of the period of the Congress ministries and the 'appalling revelations' of the Pirpur Report.

They were told that only in a land of their own would the Muslims be able to develop and establish a truly Islamic society un-fettered by the restraints and inhibitions imposed by the infidel majority.

The mullahs from the 'mimber' (pulpit), the politicians from public platform and the chaudhries from the 'Chawpals' were all busy dinning into every Muslim ear that only through the establishment of Pakistan, now within reach, would the Muslims be able to order their lives according to the percepts of Islam and save themselves from complete annihilation.

Muslims from minority areas appear to have succumbed and fallen victim to the devastating effects of this mass frenzy. They outstripped their brethren from the majority provinces in their struggle for Pakistan.

Misgivings

In the face of this, the attitude of the Ouaide Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the chief architect of Pakistan, was very intriguing. It was the cause of conception and confusion among the traditional Muslim leaguers.

He was not only vocal then but also adamant and inflexible even after the inception of Pakistan about a secular, democratic system envisaged for Pakistan. This was spelt out in some of his important speeches and statements.

Of a special significance in this connection is the fact that even the Objective Resolution declaring Pakistan a Islamic state could not be adopted as a corner stone of the Constitution of Pakistan during Jinnah's lifetime.

This gave rise to unrest and misgivings among some of his ardent followers and close associates. I would like to recount a couple of interesting anecdotes of that period. It may shed some light, it is hoped, on the Quaide Azam's attitude in support of his public utterances.

Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan, the Raja of Mahmudabad, was treated by the Quaide Azam like his own son. The Raja used to call him 'uncle' and was required to stay with Jinnah whenever he visited Bombay. This was a special privilege enjoyed by on other Muslim Leaguer.

Raja Mahmudabad was the nearest and dearest to the Quaid from among his Muslim League colleagues. Notwithstanding, when the Raja tried to emulate an ideal Muslim, Jinnah felt irritated. He used to reprimand the raja saying, "Amir, you are being misled and deluded by the bigoted maulvies".

Once while travelling to Bombay together with Amir Imam, his nephew and son-in-law, the Raja was feeling disturbed at the thought of facing Jinnah in his present get up. Those days, the Raja wore a carefully tended beard and went about donning clothes of coarse, hand spun 'Khadi' (hand-made broad Cloth). On top of this, he used to carry a copy of the Holy Qoran and a dagger slung across each shoulder.

As they neared Bombay, the Raja was seen going into the toilet room carrying with him his nephew's shaving kit. A few minutes later, when he came out he was clean shaven and shining pink.

When his fellow travelers expressed surprise and asked him why he had suddeny removed a well tended beard the Raja replied, [22] "I am to stay with Mr. Jinnah and I know how he feels about it".

The Quaide Azam's westernized style of living was known to one and all. A joke circulated by Noman Zuberi, Vice President of All-India Muslim Students Federation, was quite popular in Muslim League circles. Noman, a graduate of Aligarh University, used to imitate Jinnah to the extent of turning out to be an exact replica of the Quaid, including his monocle and cigar.

To entertain the top Muslim Leaguers, Noman would show by enacting the Part how the Quaide Azam used to learn from Bahadur Yar Jang the method of performing the 'namaz'. Right in the middle of reciting Arabic verses from the Qoran, Noman would turn round dignifiedly and intoning like Jinnah ask in English, "what next Nawab Saheb"?

Ever since the annual general session of the Muslim League held at Patna in 1938, Bahadur Yar Jang's speech had come to be recognized as a regular feature as the concluding item on the League's agenda. The highly motivating, almost hypnotic effect of the Nawab's speech on the Muslim masses was successfully demonstrated at the conclusion of the Allahbad session in 1942 his appeal for funds had brought forth spontaneous and amazing response from the audience.

The traditionalist maulvies in opposing the Muslim League were every time beaten flat by him on religious ground. They used to compare Bahadur Yar Jang's performance with that of a ferocious tiger in a circus show presented as the final and crowning item of the show.

A high-strung emotional traditionalist and conformist Muslim with an imposing personality and rare oratorical accomplishments, Bahadur Yar Jang could hold any Urdu knowing audience spell-bound for as long as he wished.

At the conclusion of the Muslim League annual session at Karachi in 1944, Bahadur Yar Jang had conjured up a vivid picture of Pakistan as conceived by him. It was a word-picture of an ideal Muslim state ---- the dream of an idealist Muslim.

In between the speech, the Quaide Azam indicated approbation of certain points. But obviously, he did not like it on the whole. It portrayed an idealistic Islamic system in its pristine beauty.

At the conclusion of the Nawab's speech, while gathering was dispersing after a night-long absorption, Jinnah stepped up to the microphone. Amidst the babble of scattering crowd, he announced, "this speech by Nawab Bahadur is outside the programme of the Muslim League".

Very few persons heard this remark, among them saw Syed Mahmood Ali Hashmi Honorary Treasurer of the Ittehadul Muslimeen, who was present on the dais. He told me about this soon afterwards.

It was the second half of 1946. Quaide Azam was on a visit to Hyderabad Deccan. The Cabinet Mission's plan had been accepted both by the congress and the Muslim League working committees. Both the political parties were holding their council's session to approve acceptance of the plan.

Jinnah had gone to Hyderabad after having declined a number of pressing invitations from the Nizam. He had come with declared intention of stopping Mirza Ismail's appointment as Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

The Quaide Azam had in mind to put forward a person of his confidence. He felt sure that he would be able to convince the Nizam by arguments. He Nizam himself was in a fix, having finally announced the appointment of Mirza Ismail.

In order ot avoid a difficult situation of facing irresistible and impelling arguments by a master craftsman like Jinnah, the Nizam deliberately insulted Jinnah in a pre determined manner. This unexpected disquieting offensive enraged the Quaide Azam beyond forbearance. He was feeling frustrated because his mission to dissuade the Nizam from engaging Mirza Ismail had failed.

Incidentally, Pundit Jawaher Lal Nehru about this time ^[23] qualified the acceptance by Congress of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. "We will give it our own interpretations", he told Press reporters.

This appears to have brought about a qualitative change in Jinnah's strategy in relation to the demand for Pakistan.

The Quaide Azam immediately sent out a ^[24] telegram to the Secretary of State, Pethwick Lawrence, withdrawing Muslims League's acceptance of the plan. The constitutionalist Jinnah bade goodbye to constitutional methods. He made up his mind to acquire Pakistan as soon as possible, by any means and in any shape and size.

But for this, Jinnah would surely have negotiated in the calm collected manner he was used to for a composite viable Pakistan. He was admittedly quite capable of this. Jinnah wouldn't then have to snatch at what in the end he called a truncated Pakistan.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 03 - PAKISTAN: THE CREATORS

PAKISTAN: THE CREATORS

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The Muslim League

Opinion is divided on apportioning credit or blame for the creation of Pakistan. But the fact remains undisputed that the Quaide Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the sole architect of Pakistan and the Muslim League it was that brought about compelling circumstances for the partition of India.

Originally the Muslims League, as seen by its recorded history, was an association of the Muslim elite. During the first decade of its existence, it remained, in the main, a promotional agency of the British. It functioned like a political club of Muslim feudal chiefs and big traders.

The objectives of the Muslim League as re-defined in the constitution adopted by its first plenary session ^[1] 1907 were; "to promote among Indian Mussalmans feeling of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures".

After that, over three eventful decades the newly formed Muslim League went through a metamorphosis. It assumed, at last the semblance of a mass organization. Its claim to being the sole representative political organization of the British Indian Muslims was at least substantiated in the main but the results of the General Elections' in 1946.

Disjointed composition

The general pattern of its organizational structure even at the height of the Muslim League's popularity during the forties was somewhat askew.

Any Indian Muslim from a British administered area could easily assume league leadership. He should only have the time and financial resources to dabble into politics.

Party elections were given the least importance, although a serious show was put up usually of organizational procedures. Lateral entry into leadership was common. The only criterion for League leadership was the amount of poser, financial, social and rough-and tumble on could wield.

The father-image

Muhammad Ali Jinnah from 1919 to 1930; and again from 1934 until the inception of Pakistan in 1947 remained the un-disputed, un-shakable and permanent head of the Muslim League. Those who opposed him, despite all the reasons taken to be valid and compelling, were very soon discredited and disillusioned.

Jinnah's upright stature, his imposing personality,, immaculate Seville Row Suit of clothes and domineering style of address made him stand out loftier than any in every social and political gathering.

To add to this, Jinnah's un-impeachable honesty and integrity, his deportment and aloofness all combined to give the Indian Muslims the father-image they had been seeking everywhere since 1857.

Steps for liberation

From Lucknow Pact 1916 to Jinnah's 'fourteen points' (1929); then the amendment in the League Constitution for replacing the word 'Swaraj' with "attainment of full responsible government for India by all peaceful and legitimate means with adequate and effective safeguards for the Mussalmans (1931), condemnation of the Communal Award (1936), the Lahore resolution popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution (1940), rejection of the Cripps Plan (1942), the triumph of the General Elections (1945-46) and lastly the rejection of the Cabinet Mission's plan followed by a call for "direct action' mark the stages through which the Muslims aspirations were guided towards emancipation and acquisition of a separate homeland for the Muslims.

Blind following

Jinnah enjoyed complete freedom to make momentous decisions and take sweeping action which was invariably endorsed by the League constitutionally. The blind faith reposed in him by his followers and associates proved, according to them, almost always to be rightly placed.

I can never forget the stormy uproar and angry shouts of almost a hundred thousand spectators, when Mulana Hasrat Mohani opposed a resolution delegating full powers unconditionally to the Quaide Azam. The place; Allahbad during 1942, the occasion, annual session of the All-India Muslim League

His colleagues and the team of workers that had gathered around Jinnah had implicit faith in him and absolute trust in his decisions. But, in the bargain the Muslim League luminaries had lost all initiative and imagination, if any possessed by them.

No wonder that while the whole of Muslims India and many other from within and outside India called him the 'Quaide Azam' his closest associates, members of the League Working Committee, spoke of him as the 'Hazoor' (the exalted person).

Freedom as a gift

The Muslim League claimed to be the sole representative political body of the Indian Muslims and was able to get away with it, although the League's paying membership was questionable. Besides, as we have already seen, almost a third of the Muslim population from About 600 native states was constitutionally debarred from the League's primary membership.

During the bye-elections in the forties and in the General Elections of 1945-46, the Muslim League came out with full flying colours as the single political party espoused by the British Indian Muslims.

These elections, it should be borne in mind, were fought on an emotional appeal through the highly incendiary slogan of 'Islam in danger' and on the bedrock of separate electorates.

The Muslim League's demand for a separate home land for Muslims was manifestly a tactical move. The interpretation given for it in confidence was 'threaten with death and make a compromise on fever'.

Although after 1942 the demand for Pakistan gained substance and picked up momentum, it was none the less evident from the trend of negotiations that an immediate irreversible separation was not the real target and RAISON D' E'TRE of the Muslim League.

A constitutionalist by conviction, Jinnah shunned conflict and confrontation. Where he was certain about a moral and legal position, he stood firm and un-moving like a solid rock.

Jinnah wanted freedom for the Muslims both from the British and Congress. But freedom had to come as a gift or concession gained by cold logic and negotiations.

I can recall the background of the Muslim League's reaction to the ^[2] 'Quit India' movement launched by the Congress in 1942. Some spirited and action-loving young men in League encouraged and supported by Bahadur Yar Jang, started clamoring for some such program of their own and became increasingly demanding.

Muslim League High Command was pressurized for an independent direct action of their own, or in the alternative for the League to join hands temporarily with the Congress in order to derive away the British from India.

The pressure began building up the Muslim League Working Committee had to take notice. As a result, a Drafting Committee was appointed to frame an appropriate resolution.

This sub-committee met in Bahadur Yar Jang's room at the Green's (Taj Mahal Annexe), Bombay. After long deliberations they agreed upon a resolution calling for an independent direct action by the Muslim League.

Bahadur Yar Jang who had taken an active part in the whole campaign and also in the drafting, was somewhat impatient for the outcome. He accompanied the members of the drafting committee to the Malabar Hills where Jinnah lived, and waited outside while the committee members were closeted with the Quaide Azam.

Half an hour later, they came out pulling ling faces. On being asked by the impatient Nawab, they said, "the Hazoor drew a red line right across the draft". That finished whole affair.

Press statements were issued to justify the Muslim League's inaction. Even the most vociferous exponents of direct action began to harp to the pacifist tune. There was no mention of a direct action; on the other hand Muslim League activists began proudly speaking about the constitutional and peaceful means by which they were making a headway; and that not a single Muslim Leaguer had to go to jail even for a day.

When the Hazoor wanted it

But when Jinnah himself called for direct action four years later, all opposition had to pipe down. Even Chaudhri Khaliquez Zaman who was loudest in opposing a direct action in the subjects Committee deliberations had to turn about and openly support the proposal for direct action.

It was widely known and accepted that once Jinnah set his mind to a thing, no impediment could stand in the way of achieving his objective. By the second half of 1946, Jinnah appears to have resolved to get Pakistan come what may.

Most certainly he got Pakistan in a year's time, but it was in his own words a 'truncated Pakistan'. The creators of Pakistan had to wade through a sea of tears and blood of their followers to reach their destination.

Jinnah's anxiety and impatience to snatch at Pakistan, APRE'S MOI LE DELUGE, is reflected from his attitude towards the [4] Redcliff Border Commission's blatant machinations.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe arrived only in July, 1947, to head the Border Commission, Mohammad Munir and Din Muhammad were the Muslim members nominated by the Muslim League. From the preliminary proceedings the Muslim members of the Commission had reason to apprehend a prejudice approach to the entire problem and an open unabashed bias in favour of the Congress.

They rightly suspected that vital and strategic ares were going to the unjustly appropriated.

According to Munir, he and Din Muhammad kept the Muslim League High Command fully apprised of the developments at every step. They wanted to resign under protest from the Commission's membership more than once. But they were instructed to carry on and to cooperate with Sir Cyril, the Chairman.

Writing about this in his book From Jinnah to Zia Munir says, ^[5] "Another occasion for us to resign arose when after an interview with Sir Cyril at Simla Mr. Justice Din Muhammad came out with the impression that practically the whole Gurdaspur with a link to Kashmir was going to India, but we sere again asked to proceed with our work

Christopher Beaumont, Secretary Chairman Boundary Commission Cyril Radcliffe, has at last came out with a revelation as through to unburden his conscience that it was Mountbatten who under pressure from Nehru and Menon manipulated the findings of the Boundary Commission and paved the way for Kashmir's accession to India, but Muslim League leadership seems to have been blissfully ignorant of these underhand dealings.

With the dismissal of Wavel from Viceroyship and arrival of Mountbatten in his place, the partition of India which by then was considered inevitable became imminent. Even the Congress leaders began to urge for division of India and for the creation of Pakistan. But there was a vicious edge to this magnanimity.

Lt. ^[6] Gen. Sir Francis Tukker, GOC-in-Chief, Southern Command, in his book "while Memory Serves' observes, "the most disheartening thing that appeared just now was the vindictive attitude of the majority of Hindus. In effect they said" writes Tukker "well, if the Muslims want Pakistan, let them demand well have it and with vengeance. We will shear every possible inch off their territory so as to make it like silly and to ensure that it is not a viable country and, when they have got what's left, we'll ensure that it can't be worked economically".

The aftermath

The caesarean birth of Pakistan brought with it attendant problems of Himalayan magnitude.

Destitute Muslims from slightly disturbed, almost un-disturbed and of course from greatly disturbed areas began to pour through the open border in ever increasing numbers. They must have overburdened an already tattering, near bankrupt economy and created law and order problems.

The well-to-do and better placed Muslims, however, came by air after having satisfactorily arranged for exchange of their property and assets with that of the intending Hindu evacuees from Pakistan.

Some of them came to Pakistan, surveyed the situation and made up their minds. They went back to wind up their affairs comfortably and profitably. The Habib Bank functioning in both dominions was a convenient vessel for transfer of Cash.

Amidst all this great upheaval and shifting there was many a adventurer engaged in illegal and fraudulent transactions being sure of safety and immunity from any reprisal. Many of them soon became top traders and big industrialists in Pakistan, where opportunity was in plenty.

There was an influx of job and opportunity seekers. Most of them easily got what they desired whether they deserved it or not. They didn't have to produce credentials or title deeds to establish their claim to academic accomplishments or property ownership.

Certificates issued by certain persons and agencies regarding academic qualifications of a refugee were accepted as authentic. Oral witness by two acquaintances was enough to establish title to property claimed to have bee left behind in India.

This easy acquisition of position and property gave room to many a spurious claim supported by forged documents and false witnesses. A new class of imposters arose and members of this class began taking strides into higher social strata. They soon became leaders in their fields.

Muslims who had been in Government service before partition of the country were given the option to go to Pakistan or stay at their posts. Most of them opted for service in Pakistan, with altruistic motives, it was claimed.

A very senior former Indian Civil Service officer, then holding a key position in Pakistan government confided in me during 1954 and said, "I and my colleagues opted for Pakistan with a determination to develop and manage to best of our abilities and experience a new state which should take up, we wished, its position of honour in a comity of nations".

"There was a wonderful opportunity opening before us", and said "posing a great challenge which we were fully prepared to meet and over come. We worked indeed with this lofty purpose every moment before our mind'd eye. You came rather late" he said "to see the enthusiasm, zeal and singleness of purpose with which we worded day and night without a moment's rest".

"We didn't have even the barest minimum facilities", he recalled, "of a table and chair and even the stationary. We were not able to draw our salaries for months together. Yet, there was no sign of unrest".

"the general public was equally inspired", he mused, "and there was an earnest desire permeating the whole fabric of society to strenuously build and jealously guard national wealth".

"There was an instantaneous manifestation of this during 1948. A fire broke out in the cotton godowns at the Keamari Docks a day after the Eid. A couple of rickety old fire engines available could hardly cope with the situation".

"People who were stepping out in a festive mood and saw the billowing smoke rushed to the Docks and got busy separating the burning bales and beating out the fire irrespective of whom the cotton belonged and unmindful of the damage to their new Eid dresses".

Many years later, this incident was described in all its inspiring details to the writer by his friend Shah Nizamuddin who lived in Shikarpuri Market at the time and had rushed to the spot along with the others.

Returning to the Officer's narrative, "What a pity", the sighed, "this happy state of affairs did not last long; not more than a couple of years I am afraid".

"Then suddenly I felt a change", he said, "in the very atmosphere. There was a mad rush to grab anything one could lay hands upon. It looked as though the whole nation had risen up like a best to devour its own young".

"I know, it was started by a single individual", he muttered, "and caught up like fire in a dry prairie. I was able to resist only for a short time, but in the end I had to give in and succumb to this hideous force".

"Today, I have no hesitation at all", he concluded, "in doing the very things I came here to forget and to prevent in others".

This officer was know to have been quite popular among Muslims and Hindus alike in India. He was said to have incurred a huge loss of inherited property by opting for Pakistan.

Bursting of the bubble

My own story is a saga of disappointment, frustration and failure. After having spent half my lifetime as a Pakistani citizen, I sometime askmyself; did I act right in coming here notwithstanding the hounding forces and compelling circumstances?

Where do I stand today? I do not have, nor can I entertain any hope for ever having a roof over my head; I have no means to support myself and my wife in our old age; and above all, I have not been allowed to develop a sense of belonging.

I feel like a stranger and am treated like an alien in my own country. The question persistently haunts my memory: Was Pakistan, as it was created and is being managed, the one and only solution for the problems faced by the Muslims in the Indo-Pak sub-continent?

I have yet to find an answer to this and to many such questions that arise in my mind at times.

I had no intention of migrating to Pakistan. I had even tried to dissuade my friends from doing so. I had argued that all the Muslims from Bharat cannot migrate, nor would Pakistan be able to accommodate them all.

As only a portion of the Muslims population would be able to migrate, there was no point in the radicals and the politically advanced among them going away leaving behind those that had always looked upto them for guidance.

Bu a twist in the march of events, I was forced to leave the country of my birth and migrate to Pakistan. My association with Bahadur Yar Jang and my close relations with members of the Muslim League High Command did not militate against my activities.

A Marahatta CID Inspector had paid me a rare tribute when he said, "You have lived like a lotus, embedded deep down in the mire but clean and beautiful, untouched by it". I didn't at all like the

implications. He was alluding to my association with the Ittehadul Muslimeen and the Muslim League leadership.

It reflected the attitude of the intelligence Agency. However, my advocacy of the down-trodden and exploited labourers through my weekly 'Mazdoor' turned the Military Administration of Gen. Choudhry against me. A distant relative, Nusrat, working with the Intelligence Department conveyed to me about my impending arrest and detention for 'anti-state activities'.

Pressing invitations had been received from my close Friends Najiullah, Ghani and Shahabuddin, already in Karachi, and a ^[7] 'No objection' permit from the Karachi Administration in my favour obtained by them was lying un-used for quite some time. It came in handy for my voyage to Pakistan.

The realization did come in time that I may have panicked unnecessarily, in spite of the assurance held out by another CID Inspector, Gnianken, my good friend from Mysore, that it would all blow over in time.

For generations doomed

By the time I reached Karachi the Federal Capital of Pakistan in the third Quarter of 1949, the warm welcome extended at first to the refugees had noticeably cooled down.

The attitude of the sons of the soil had changed to on of cold indifference, if not of open animosity. Qazi Fazlullah, a leader of public opinion in Sind, as reported to have declared "these bloody 'Phanagirs' (refugees) have spoiled our beautiful Desserts"!

The refugees in their turn had begun to deliberately and ruthlessly exploit the poor labourers and peasants, outstripping the Hindu land lords and Baniyahs whom they had replaced.

And where they couldn't ride roughshod over the locals they began punishing themselves in frustrated retaliation.

An elderly person, the head of a refugee family, was seen in Karachi mercilessly beating his brown up sons publicly while shouting at them, "Will you fight for Pakistan again"? "Here, take your Pakistan". It came out that the family had been forcibly thrown out of a private compound where they had sought refuge and had put up a small thatched hut.

Most of the agricultural land owned by Muslims in Sind stood mortgaged to Baniyahs at exorbitant rate of interest. There was little hope of its redemption. However, with spread of communal clashes to the interior of Sind, the Hindu Baniyah was first to migrate to India carrying with him only the more precious liquid assets.

In these changed circumstances, new hopes were kindled among the Sindhi Muslims to regain their land held by the evacuee baniyahs. But when these same lands were allotted to the new immigrants, their frustration and heart burning was intense. Refusal by the new Governor General (the father of the nation) to sign and approve the [8] Land Alienation Act only served to add insult to injury.

Muslims from the minority provinces, despite the overweighing advantages they brought for Pakistan with them, are suspects in Pakistan and need to be 'properly disciplined'. Every member of their second generation, irrespective of his being a born Pakistani is required to show where his father (himself a Pakistani national) was born for purposes of record every time he fills out a form prescribed by Government agency.

Now, thirty five years after the inception of Pakistan, every member of the third refugee generation has to show where his (Pakistani) grandfather was born. The only purpose served by this appears to be that he would reveal his Indian origin.

Those who did not migrate to Pakistan and stayed on in India, irrespective of their political affiliations, past and present, are suspects there and are expendable to boot. This can be seen clearly from the unending chain of communal clashes at the slightest provocation of ten manipulated and triggered to safeguard vested interests: and they are the one to be worsted every time.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 04 - ON LIFES' THRESHOLD

ON LIFES' THRESHOLD

The political arena:
Communal concord in Mysore:
The school atmosphere:
Home! Bitter home:
Social background:
On the war path:
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First steps in journalism:
All-India Mehdavia Conference:
The world tour:
Good turn to Rampur.

The political arena.

Let me take you back to the early period of my conscious experience of life, which presaged for me feelings of roses and thorns. Teen age and high school life is the most impressionable and formative period when you get to grips with the realities of life.

This was the twenties and thirties in my case. The First World War had ended bringing in its wake peculiar post-war problems. Incidentally, it coincided with phenomenon of active political effervescence in India and highly significant changes abroad. It also marked the surfacing of the concept of Muslim nationhood on the Indian scene.

The 'non-cooperation movement' had been launched by the Indian National Congress and the 'Khilafat Movement' under the impetuous and over-zealous 'Ali Brothers' had joined hands with them. Then there was the Moplah rebellion in South India which was suppressed by the British with an Iron hand.

King Amanullah tried to modernize Afghanistan and to bring about basic reforms, which gave rise to a spat of vicious propaganda against him. Ultimately, it resulted in the afghan revolt and Amanullah's ouster.

The League of Nations which came into being as a result of Treaty of Versailles proved to be weak and ineffective in resolving international disputes or preventing aggression. Mussolini rose to be the dictator of Italy and developed fascism.

The Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh was converted into Aligarh Muslim University which adopted Urdu as medium of instruction. The Jamia Milliah was. Founded at Aligarh for animating the Khilafat and Non_cooperative movements, and was later moved to Delhi.

The khilafat Movement set out to bolster up the Muslim Khilafat of Turkey only to be disillusioned soon by rise of Mustafa Kamal the fctorious military commander and a nationalist popularly known as 'Ataturk' who very unceremoniously dismissed the last Osmani Khalifa Abdul Majid in 1923. He also rejected the demand by Khilafat movement to assume the position of the Calif himself. The mass migration of Indian Muslims to Afghanistan ended in a fiasco by 1924. The subsequent communal clashes breaking out in India estranged the Khilafat movement from Congress.

Communal concord in Mysore.

However better understanding, communal harmony and peace prevailed in Mysore ever since the time of Tippu sultan Shaheed, who used to patronize many important Hindu religious institutions. Now, Mysore State, with a predominantely Hindu population, had a Muslim Dewan (Prime Minister), Mirza Ismail, although Muslims were only 7 per cent. We had a fully operative Legislative Council and Representative Assembly with reservation of seats for Muslims.

We could not remain in isolation, unaffected by the march of events all round. Occasional visite by national leaders like Gandhiji, in 1925, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, in 1926 and other national heroes from literary and scientific fields created, time and again great stir and excitement.

In our school, Muslim boys used to take part actively and with full enthusiasm in Hindu festivals, like Ganesha jayanti, Krishna jayanti and Dussera; while Hindu boys would participate with equal enthusiasm in the Muslim festivals like Milad celebration and Eid get-togethers.

As a manifestations of these feelings, my close friend, late Gopal Sasti, a Smartha Brahmin boy, had committed to memory some verses from the Holy Qoran which he had learnt from me and would recite with gumption during the general assembly before classes began. At the same time, I used to recite certain ashlokes from the Vedas (Hindu scripture) which I had learnt from Gopal.

Even today, sixty years later, I can recite the Sanskrit verses fairly well to the amazement of my Hindu listeners. This good gesture on our part in so way affected my veneration and implicit faith in the Holy Qoran, nor Gopal's faith in his Vedas. On the other hand, it promoted a spirit of brotherhood between us which prevailed as a life-long camaraderie and friendship.

My other Hindu friend was also a Brahmin boy, S. Ramarau Setlur, the second son of Ex-justice Mr. Setlur of the Bombay High Court, who had resigned from his judicial position during the non-cooperation movement of the early twenties and had come as far away from Bombay as he could. He had bought a small agricultural farm near my home town and had settled there permanently.

The senior Setlur was a staunch Congressite and had trained his second son, Ram Rau, as a revolutionary and nationalist. Ram Rau wused to come to school clad in coarse Khaddar from head to foot, donning a close-collared long coat with huge side pockets. One of these pockets would be bulging with roasted peanuts and the other stuffed with books on general knowledge, English classics and revolutionary literature.

The school books in pretty bad shape would be pressed under his arm-pit. During classes, we would both repair to a back seat and sit together munching peanuts while going through political treats and other literature not prescribed for us by the state. Somehow, the class lectures did not completely escape our attention; and we did pretty well in our exams.

I had developed a strong attachment and empathy for both my Hindu friends. Gopal's family, including his fanatical mother, accepted me as almost a member of the family. Setlur, in order to prove that he accepted me as I was (a Muslim) agreed to take meals with me in single plate a couple of times. We would place roasted mutton on one side of the plate and a heap of vegetables on the other side. However, he would not taste the meat because he was afraid that he would surely vomit if he did.

Alas! Ram Rau died a premature death just having completed his law course from Poona, while Gopal entered business and flourished. He too died during fifties. Although I was a Pakistani by then, our mutual love and friendship continued to the last, as strong as ever.

The school atmosphere.

All this was made possible by the concerted efforts of our school teachers, all Brahmins except one Ehsanullah Hussain who was a Muslim and taught us biology. This wonderful batch of our teachers behaved like our friends and guides rather than the other usually over-hearing crammer tutors elsewhere who put in an appearance in the class at the appointed time and after class simply disappear into their sanctimonious seclusion.

Our teachers freely mixed with us and behaved like comrades after school and during outings. The abiding sincerity and depth of feelings of love and friendship was evidenced fifty years later when I ran into Ehsanullah Hussain, who was leading a retired later in Bangalore. I found him to be the same kind and considerate old soul. To my joy and surprise, he recalled with amusement many of our activities and some of our pranks.

Our school had a grass-covered level hockey field, a cricket ground, a football field, volley ball and badminton courts and some open air gymnastic fixtures'. Our teachers, many of them still young and active would gladly join in our sports practices and events with full enthusiasm and vigor.

Besides, we had well organized and recognized scout troop which arranged hikes and excursions, night camps, camp fires, pageants and vaudevilles. I took active part in all these events in addition to being on the school hockey and cricket teams. The annual school day celebrations were a gala occasion for us when we had elocutions, debates, music and recitation competitions. We would also practice and stage dramas in English, Urdu and Kanarese.

These varied and interesting extra-curricular activities in addition to our regular studies in prescribed courses, kept us busy every minute of our waking time and our mischiefs remained restricted to practical jokes, pranks, cat calls and yells as occasions arose.

Some of our teachers, especially Ehsanullah Hussain, used to pay surprise visits to our homes late in the evenings to check on what we did after school and how serious we were in our studies. But this in no way mitigated our love and respect for our teachers. In short, our school life was like that of a busy, happy family, niever witnessed by me anywhere else.

Home! Bitter home.

As a child, I was highly doted upon by mother and pampered by our relatives and neighbours. Born twelve years after my parents' marriage and after staying all of eleven months in the womb as though reluctant to come forth into this wicked world, I was mother's most cherished prize and God's gift. But as I grew up I realized that father was highly irritable, cruel and relentless. At the slightest displeasure he would severely scold us all and resort to thrashing mother mercilessly. As a result, mother was reduced to a physical wreck with the lower half of her body paralyzed.

When my step mother arrived as bride, all bundled up in red and green silks and wearing my mother's gold ornaments, I immediately took to her and became closely attached. Next year when my step brother arrived he was doted upon by my own mother. I too felt very much excited as I had found a sort of a new toy, lovely and cuddly.

As time passed, there was noticeable change in the home atmosphere my step mother's love and affection for me and tolerance for my mother began to cool down and was replaced by cold indifference and animosity. Neglected and even dispraised by family members, including me unwittingly, mother began to pine away in silent seclusion. She must have sought peace and shelter in death.

When I was about fourteen she quietly passed away into the other world with my pet name, 'Mian' on her lips. I was, at the time near about but not with her in her last moments. After that I began to feel lonely and lost and tried to remain away from home as long as I could. Somehow, I got through high school getting a good second grade in matriculation exam during 1928. Same year I got admission in the college at Mysore.

My father's lack of confidence in me to manage my own affairs, and specially in the matter of managing the paltry funds I received from him for college expenses, made me revolt. Things went beyond endurance, when he appointed a senior collage-mate, the son of our neighbor to control and dole out expenses. I went berserk and resorted to utter waywardness, all my attention and interest diverted from studies.

Towards the end of the first year in college, I contacted severe malaria while staying for a short while with father in Seringapatam. My father had a lease on the crop of thousand s of mango and other fruit trees in Darya Dawlat Bagh surrounding Tippu's mausoleum. Recurring attacks prevented me from preparing for and attending the annual exams.

Escapade.

When I returned home with this counter achievement, I was made the target of ridicule from all sided. I put on a nonchalant pose and sought refuge in dubious company. At the first opportunity, I pilfered father's safe and ran away to Bombay with another adventurer from Mysore.

On reaching Bombay, we felt lost in a labyrinth of never-ending roads and tall building. This being our first visit to Bombay, what struck us most at the outset was the stream of people madly rushing about every moment of the day and night like a gushing cataract.

Electric trains from dozens of local stations kept arriving at the Victoria railway terminus every two or three minutes, disgorging every time thousands of commuters. Trains from all over India brought passengers to add to this surging stream of human beings.

Side metalled roads were overflowing with vehicles of all sorts; taxies, buses, electric trams, single and double deckers and horse-drawn Victoria carriages were rushing past wherever we went. All this hustle and bustle combined to almost drive me out of my wits.

By midnight, a peculiar change began taking place in the streets, first in the side lanes and later in the main roads too. Long rows of charpois (thread-knitted wooden cots) began to appear on the footpaths as if from nowhere on both sides of the streets from one end to the other. By dawn, however, these cots and their occupants quietly disappeared one by one.

We booked in a cheap hotel and began looking for work, but without any success. In the process, we got separated and my companion simply disappeared. I was then on my own running from pillar to post, most of the cash I had brought having gone down the drain.

I was faced with stark starvation. In desperation, is sat down and wrote to father, eating the humble pie. I earnestly appealed to him to retrieve me from this sorry plight and to send money to enable me to return home. Waiting for his reply, I started roaming aimlessly about.

During my wanderings, a queer sight met my eyes towards evening in a triangular open enclosure near Mandvi post office. Beggars from all over would gather here and open a show bazaar. They would spread out sheets of tattered cloth on the ground and arrange their day's collection of food stuff in small mounds.

People were seen eating from this bazaar. One afternoon, I ventured in driven by hunger. Each beggar had sorted out his collection in three grades, priced accordingly. I bought this food from somewhat clean looking beggar and after that I subsisted on this single meal a day, until father's reply was received.

Before I could catch my train back home, terrible rioting started followed cy communal clash. All sorts of rumours were afloat and curfew was immediately clamped. I myself very narrowly escaped being stabbed and was forced to hole up for nearly six days.

Another year of my life had been wasted after my misadventure in Mysore. I wished to join the intermediate Science college at Bangalore, but father announced with a finality that he would have none of it. He was not prepared to waste his money on fruitless experiments of my education.

In desperation, I started casting bout and by a clever contrivance was able to enlist sympathy of His Highness Krishnarajendra Wadyar, the Maharaja of Mysore and obtained a palace scholarship to continue my studies. I was contrite and resolved to reform, but father's low suspicion and persistent pestering again push me on the war path.

I went all out to spoil my life and prospects. All that was bad and immoral was a welcome diversion for me. I became a chain smoker and went the way of the libertine. All this I did to take it out on father, I believe; but it finished once and for all possibilities of my further education.

Social background.

I went back home without appearing in my annual into the extremely orthodox and highly conservative society of our times, almost petrified in age-old rituals and customs.

We lived in an atmosphere of lethargic, easy-going self abandonment, hostile to change in any form, even to progress. We were the descendents of the warriors who fought for Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. Some of my ancestors had been famous commanders and one of them had been the Governor of the province of Goorg both during the time of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan.

Victims of the conspiracy to defeat Tippu and liquidate his kingdom, the Sultanat-e-Khudadad, we had tried to live in the peace of obscurity. During my recent visit to the Dairatul Islam, Channapatana, I felt like a complete stranger travelling back in time from a far future. It looked like a secluded island of lotus eaters living in complete isolation but right in the middle of seething sea of developmental activity.

My open revolt against all social taboos and my bold departure from accepted moral and social norms, especially in dress and deportment was stunning for my family and friends, the more they tried to reclaim me, the more aggressive and defiant I became. I was, consequently, declared incorrigible and branded the devil incarnate.

During the thirties, father had gone into wholesale business in rice. He used to advance money to the farmers in the nearby surrounding villages and collect paddy soon after harvest at arbitrary prices to be determined by himself. He would visit these villages in a bullock cart and camp for several days in certain places. At times, I went to meet him on a bicycle.

One day while taking my step brother with me on the bicycle, he got his foot entangled in the spokes and it was badly lacerated. Next day I took him to the Christian mission hospital in our town to be dressed and treated. Here I met a young Anglo-Indian girl just out of the convent high school and staying there as a guest of the hospital superintendent, sister Spencer. Immediately we took a liking for each other, and started meeting together in the evenings.

Soon, I realized that I had fallen head over heels in love with her. She too responded to my love with equal warmth of feelings. We used to ride together on bicycles in search of ever new corners and recesses of mango orchards or palm grooves where we could sit in a sweet embrace and talk sweet nothings. In no time at all, it became the talk of the town.

Some hoodlums had begun following us, but we were not aware of it. One evening, they surprised us in our tryst with an evil intent to molest Irene. My presence of mind saved the situation, but Irene had all the same, to take a sprint in her bare feet having discarded her high heels. This gave grounds for public scandal, with the result that she was hurriedly packed off to Bombay. Here, she was to wait completion of her papers for voyage abroad.

I followed her to Bombay, again having ransacked my father's safe. In Bombay, we had a hell of a good time and we fully enjoyed ever moment of it, packed with fun and frolic. I was staying in a hotel under an assumed Christian name; and on a hint from Irene I applied for a passport in the same name.

This time, my father had me hunted by the Bombay police through a distant relative, Syed Munawar, who held a position of influence with the Bombay administration. I was nabbed suddenly without being taken into custody and was very unceremoniously packed home without allowing me to meet Irene. A long and detailed letter to Irene from home brought no reply; probably she had left by then. In this way, our short but sweet love affair ended.

Quite seriously, I tried to settle down gainfully into routine life. My offer to act as handyman in father's rice trade was briskly brushed aside. My father, as always, did not trust me enough to believe that I had mended my ways. I managed to get some odd jobs but couldn't hit it off any time.

One night, I reached home in the small hours after having seen a drama staged by a popular theatrical company of Bombay. Going to a theater and seeing stage dramas, movies and pantomimes was a social taboo in our community. It was simply abhorred by our family of 'mashaiks'. As I entered home, father woke up and started grumbling. It soon developed into a regular tirade of accusations and curses. He didn't go back to sleep and his grouching went on and on without a break.

When I woke up towards noon from an exhausted sleep, father's mutterings were still going on in full force. I felt exasperated and couldn't stand it any linger; and so, I hurriedly left home.

That afternoon, I talked with a friend, Azeez, and we agreed to set up a theatrical company of our own. A financing partner was easily found, and we started in right earnest to stage popular dramas by famous play wrights, for which a local theater was booked.

Our first three shows were a thumping success; we were running to fully packed houses. But by then a rival party with greater resources appeared in the field. We started taking digs at each other, followed by open street brawls and even armed clashes with free use of knives and hatchets.

One day, I went home to see my brother and sister who were both very much attached to me and I too loved them dearly. Father was present at home at the time. He immediately started grumbling and muttering in his usual manner.

"Our rebellious son, I am told" he said wail fully "has started drinking himself to senselessness and to take part in street fights like a rowdy. To what a sorry pass things have come at last; it's a blot on the family good name which can never be wiped off". I felt hot all over with rage and resentment at this false accusation.

Till then, I had not even touched any alcoholic drink and, therefore, father's accusation was too much for me to put up with. Exasperated and deeply resentful, I resolved to give substance to his false accusation by really taking liquor.

For the first time in my life, I boldly stepped into the local liquor shop without taking anyone with me and hastily gulped down neat a glass of the strong country brew. Then I staggered out on the street and shouted at every passerby I knew, giving a whiff of my liquor laden breath, to go and tell father that I had drunk to substantiate his mad accusation.

On the war path.

I became reckless and highly arrogant. I had already begun to defy and break, blatantly all social norms. Having left my family and abandoned my ancestral home, I began living, day and night, in the house rented for drama rehearsals. I continued with my chain smoking; but all the same, I did not take any more alcoholic drink.

Members of our performing group were considered the scum of society in town; but there were quite a few who loved and respected us and many who feared and shunned us. I enjoyed the situation immensely and would non-chalantly go out into the streets, loudly dressed and attended upon by two or three roughs as my body guard.

Then, I went round sowing wild oats all about; and there was no dearth of opportunities but all this I admit simply led me nowhere. No doubt, there were some highly exciting adventures. But it left me adrift without a purpose in life.

Soon better counsel from old friends, and well wishers prevailed and I quietly gave it up more to avoid nasty situations involved in this sort of activity than by a desire for rectitude.

Fortune seeking.

My friend, Ghani, had about then tried his hand in some small business venture, which backfired and he was on the lookout for something useful and profitable. On his suggestion, Ghani and I left for Bombay to seek our fortune, but mainly to promote trade in lacquerware in which our hometown specialized. In Bombay, we met our friend Mehdri. He was then a student of Sir Joabji Tata's Graduate School of Social Sciences.

A community social center called the Nagpada Neighbourhoo House had been set up as an adjunct and complement to the Institute. It was an all encompassing community center advancing every type of social activity. It was a fascinating exercise to watch it functioning.

We hired a room in one of the tenements of Nagpada: most of the 'kholies' (rooms) in our 'chali' (tenement) were occupied by Govanexe Christians and Jewish refugees. We began cooking our own food in a steam pressure cooker. Mehkri, who resided in the hostel attached to the Tata Post-graduate school, also joined us in food and we shared our expenses.

The enigmatic character.

Mehkri's personality may be docketed as a rare sociological phenomenon. Very resourceful and helpful to others, he had managed to keep himself in relative obscurity. He is a steeped in the wool rationalist, secularist and democrat; he is also a philosopher without subscribing to any particular school of thought. His free thinking has often landed him in trouble.

He has always had an un-satiable thirst for knowledge. Mehkri virtually subsists on books. I have always wondered as to how he could manage to sleep with thick books spread all about him: under his pillow, beneath his back and in heaps on the floor.

He would usually dress himself in a white shirt and a khaki half pant with heavy kohati leather sandals for footwear. On getting out of bed in the morning, he would just splash a handful of water from the tap on his face, gargle and spit out. Then he would look around and use an dold half pants as a towel to dry his face. He would use moist finger to com and set his hair.

Thus readied, Mehkri would nonchalantly step out and enter boldly into a class full of meticulously dress young graduate boys and girls. There would mostly be week-old bristles covering his chin. His hair would usually be disheveled and un-cut. Repeated remarks about his general appearance made Jestingly by the principal, Dr. Mannshardt had little effect on Mehkri: he continued to be his original self.

The Rajasaheb of Mahmudabad, during a private friendly chat in Karachi during early sixties had aptly remarked, "Dr. Mehkri's mind is a junkyard of knowledge. You have only to gain entry into this treasure trove and you can pick and choose, in a packet, the information you seek".

In our Nagpada joint, Mehkri would come at meal times, carrying a paper bag containing a couple of pounds of toffee or equal weight os putti (roasted peanuts sprinkled onto thick syrup of sugar and cooled into slabs). While the food cooked, he would keep munching from his bag while treating us to witty informative talk. He would immediately let fly at anyone trying to pick up a single piece from his aperitif.

Abortive business venture.

We were introduced by Mehkri to a prosperous merchant from Coorg, Medappa who held a distribution agency in a Davies rubber tyres in Bombay. He showed a spontaneous interest in our lacquerware presentation articles, and offered to help us by placing bih initial order for paper weights and other Articles carrying the brand name of the tyres handled by him. The rates approved allowed us a good margin of profits; and the order was large enough to give us a good start. But we simply could not

execute the order, as we didn't have the initial investment to advance payments to the cottage workers in our home town.

Ghani went back home to arrange supplies, but the short time allowed by the buyers made the deal impossible to fulful. Ghani failed to make any headway or to return. All our dreams of big business had come to nothing; and therefore I was once again on my own.

First step in Journalism.

After unsuccessfully trying my hand at salesmanship, I again sought Mehkri's help. He introduced me to Ahsan, Editor of Al-Hilal, an Urdu daily paper published from Jacob Circle, Bombay. I was immediately offered an assistant editor's post.

My new job was very interesting and exciting. Although an assistant editor is required to do mostly desk work, I was assigned to take interviews and submit reports. This gave me highly imaginative work opportunities and its creative aspects held a challenge and brought mental satisfaction in its fulfillment. Sometimes, we used to cook up our own imaginative news to go into print as exclusive items.

At times, my editor used to take me out with him late in the evenings. The first time, he said smilingly, "come, I will show you a Bombay you will never be able to see for yourself". To a great extent, he was right. Every time I went out with him, I saw a different city altogether. There are thousand faces, I must admit to the city of Bombay, besides its cosmopolitan character.

One day in the early morning, Editor Ahsan knocked at my door and came in. he asked me if I knew what was going on around me. On my assuring him that there was nothing un-usual, he remarked, "you can never be a good journalist unless you develop a keen sense of smell for the news' even if it be for the unprintable one".

I was chagrinned when he informed me, with a twinkle in his eyes, that next door to mine the P. R. man of a famous film studio was staying with a fairy faced heroine for the last three days.

I was feeling terribly homesick and longed t be among friends again. I had been working with the Al-Hilal for over six months. The news paper job was getting to be monotonous and boring. Besides, the meager salary doled out in small parts, was hardly enough to keep me going. So, I quit and left for Chanapatna.

Back home, I joined a band of happy-go-lucky young men. We were all educated and were supposed to be civilized; yet we could easily vie with the toughest candies in town. We subscribed for several papers and magazines that provided matter for lively discussions.

All-India Mehdavia Confrence.

About this time, the All-India Mehdavia Conference was announced to be held in my home town. A good number of delegates were expected from various provinces and states. This gave me an opportunity to use and demonstrate my organizing abilities. I volunteered for and got busy with the Conference office work. Besides, I got together and organized a band of volunteers as distinct from the officially sponsored corps to help the organization and serve the guests.

All my boys were high school students and most of them had been active boy scouts like me. We were, therefore, well suited for this work and needed little training. We had also a distinctive uniform of our own which made us conspicuous everywhere.

Under the aegis of the conference, an arts and crafts exhibit was arranged, which was quite popular and attracted visitors from all around. Representative specimens of craftsmanship by Mehdavei artisans were suitably displayed. Several other cottage industries' product from the town and neighboring areas were also accommodated. The exhibition was formally inaugurated by Sir C. V. Raman the famous noble laureate.

Mohammad Bahadur Khan, the first son of Nawab Naseeb Yawar Jang, a Mehdavi jagirdar from Hyderabad Deccan had gained wide fame and acclaim as a fiery speaker in Urdu. His public speeches or rather sermons on the Seerat (characterization of the conduct and sayings of the holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad p.b.u.h) were said to be swaying large audiences in Hyderabad and Bombay. The Nizam who was greatly moved by the young jagirdar's eloquence during a seert meeting at Hyderabad, had conferred on him the title of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang Bahadur. He was to preside over the Conference session.

My voluntary services for organizing the office work of the Conference found his warm appreciation. My control and guidance of the special volunteer corps in service and discipline also attracted his special attention and found appreciation.

After the conclusion of the conference, while I cleared the back log and finished athe related correspondence, I easily fell back into the old rut of easy going, care free living. Ghani's stationary shop became our center of activity. Much of our interest was diverted towards the Crossword puzzle by Illustrated Weekly of India.

The world tour.

A minor but unfortunate incident in our friend Hassan Khan's wedding, which otherwise was a propitious affair and has turned out to be blissful ever since, gave rise to suicidal inclinations in him. Sensing this, Ghani felt that the best way out would be to take him away for a little while.

He consulted me and suggested that we could take him on a tour of India, carrying with us a portable wood turning lathe and necessary tools. We could give demonstrations of the turning out made-to-

order articles on the spot and earing by this method our expense en route. This had been partly but successfully tried by an artist from Hyderabad, by putting up stalls in exhibitions and fairs.

I said, "why not tour the whole world? The method would succeed anywhere". We invited Qari S. Kasim, an artist, who could paint background designs and write names and slogans on articles produced, before polishing them. He gladly agreed to join us.

When the idea was put up to Premier Mirza Ismail, he very much appreciated our ambitious enterprise and our method of putting it into practice. Moral and financial help for the Government's side was also give. He also posed for a group photograph with us and gave us letter of introduction. Thus equipped, we set out on our tour on January 8, 1938. We were given a big and hearty sendoff by our town's people.

Our first stop was to be Hyderabad Deccan. We had first class railway coupe reserved for us and carrying a detachable name plate of 'Mysorean World Tourists' suspended by iron clamps with permission of Railway authorities.

Just before the departure of our train and luckily for us, Mirza Ismail arrived on the platform to see off the Marquis of Lothian who was on a mission to India. He too was leaving for Hyderabad by the same train.

Spotting our name plate, Mirza turned towards our carriage. He introduced us to the distinguished visitor, lord Lothia, and wished us Godspeed and good luck. The Marquis showed much interest in our tour program and wished to see us again on our way to Hyderabad.

Next morning, when the train stopped at some junction station He stepped into our carriage and sat talking to us for a short while and invited us to come and see him in England. He also introduced us to the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Sir Akber Hyderi, who had come to receive him at the Kachiguda railway terminus.

Our stay at Hyderabad was uneventful though quite enjoyable. We did a lot of sightseeing and met many important persons of the State. Before his departure, lord Lothian agreed to pose for a group photograph with us after a luncheon at Nawab Mehdi Yar Jang's along with Hyderi and other state officers.

We met Bahadur Yar Jang in his mansion, Mehdavi Manzil. He received us very warmly with open arms. He entertained us sumptuously and gave us a bunch of introductions to many important personalities in and out of India which proved quite useful. This gave us the idea that we could build up a chain of introductions in places we intended to visit with obvious advantages.

We were much disappointed to note that despite the very generous Patronage, libera fiscal concessions and other facilities extended by the State Government, entrepreneurial activity was meager and

industrial development not satisfactory. Two cigarette factories and one or two textile mills were doing very well.

Some of their cottage industries and handicrafts were of special interest for us, but these were widely dispersed in the districts. We had therefore, to be content with information supplied to us by the departments in the State Capital, Hyderabad.

From here we pushed on to Bombay, where our stay was quite pleasant and financially rewarding. Kasim was touched to the quick on a trivial remark by Ghani. He suddenly decided to break away and turned down a very generous offer by the Principal, J.J. School of Arts, to arrange for special short training of one month to enable him to improve his art work. He tried by different methods to force us to send him back.

The three of us continued with the tour and went on to Gujrat another of our companions; Hasan Khan was already feeling terribly home sick and very restive. He started quarreling at the slightest excuse; and one day he quietly disappeared from Surat carrying with him the tools.

The two of us, Ghani and I, decided to go further on our tour by ourselves. We bought some tools from the local market and successfully tried our hand at the portable hand lathe. Wer wer not the artisans, and had been so far concerned with the organizational side only. However the vocational training we had received in our middle school stood us in good stead and we could produce attractive articles by ourselves. All hope of any further aid from Mysore was finished.

However the chain of introductions we had been building up came handy and helpful. Ghani and I together were able to tour in comfort and style. We covered the whole of Gujrat, Rajputana, United Provinces, the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province over the next fifteen months.

Good turn to Rampur.

Every native state was visited made us state guests and extended every facility to go around and see things of interest. In the state of Rampur, we were given a special V.I.P. treatment, because we had undertaken to do some useful service to the State for industrialization.

During an interview with the Prime Minister, Bashir Hussain Zaidi, we had gladly agreed to conduct a summary industrial survey of the State in order to submit a composite report on the industrial possibilities. Zaidi was attaching much importance and giving weight to this groundwork laying exercise.

At the time there was no department of industries in Rampur. An officer on special duty and only recently been appointed to organize a separate industries department. Our report, it was hoped, would give them the guide lines and identify specific areas for development of industries.

Natural resources were not lacking here as in many other states. Whatever natural wealth was available had remained untapped so far. We did what we could in the very short time of ten days at our disposal.

Basic facts and figures were collected from functioning departments and were crosschecked with results of our hurried survey; economic priorities were determined and conclusions were drawn.

A summary report was produced on the possibilities as we saw in the circumstances. We had recommended development of edible oil extraction and refining, white sugar manufacture, cotton ginning, metal ware manufacture, artwork on metal ware, silk screen printing and dyeing and had embroidery.

Their printed silks had already found a ready market in some parts of Europe. With a little improvement in pattern and designing to suit the occidental taste, a profitable and regular growing trade in this item

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 05 - THE LIGHTER SIDE OF LIFE

THE LIGHTER SIDE OF LIFE

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Here I would only recount some of the more interesting episodes of our tour. I must however admint that it was on the whole, a very interesting and educative experience; and it was full of adventure too.

We made it a point not to miss anything of interest, historic scenic or economic wherever we went. We came up with some nasty and unsavory situations. I could very easily have avoided recounting these here, as I had been advised by some friends to do; but my honesty would have been watered down by this.

There was little for us to study in the field of industries among the native states; even though some of them could truthfully boast of certain fine cottage industries and exquisite handicrafts.

The biggest and most affluent among them, Hyderabad Deccan, was lagging far behind Mysore in industrial development; and hat too in spite of a bountiful nature and an indulgent government.

In the Provinces, we stopped only at the important industrial and trade centers. There was enough here to engage our attention such as in Cawnpore, Moradabad, Agra, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Wazirabad. Wherever we could, we studied the technique and design; and also marketing methods.

Cottage industries and handicrafts generally present a dismal picture. There was an apathy among the artisans for improvement and innovation in method and design. Their ruthless exploitation by the middle men reduced the artisans to pitiably sorry lot.

Co-operative living.

A visit to the Dayalbagh Industrial Colony at Agra was a Unique and rewarding experience for us. Cooperative living in Palestine was being much talked about then as a model economic system for closed social units. The INDUSCO (Industrial Cooperatives) movement was just coming up in China. It was admitted to be a wonderful experiment in cooperative community organization on a national scale.

But, the example set by an inspired and determined individual, Din Dayal, was unique and beyond compare. We were indeed glad to be shown around this cooperative colony of artisans and craftsmen.

After going round different workshops, we were highly impressed by the happy atmosphere in which the entire production program went on smoothly and efficiently.

It was a self-contained cooperative colony of Aryasamajist artisans from various trades. They all had voluntarily joined this wonderful project. Their personal interests appeared to have been subjugated and their craftsmanship entirely devoted to the common good of all in this social unit.

Every worker associating with this cooperative enterprise was noticeably better off and felt much happier than his brother artisan outside.

Meta products like iron and brass padlocks, hinges and pins etc., textiles and prints, wood works, carving and inlay; and specially leather footwear produced for Bata's or under their own brand names were all of a fine quality. Their prices also were fair and attractive.

Above all, the radiant happiness on the face of the workers was infectious and inspiring. It felt as if we were seeing a wish-fulfillment.

This was a successful example, we thought, of cooperative living in India. It should provide a good model for organizing the lacquerware artisans of channapatana. We wrote to the authorities in Mysore giving expression to this feeling.

The gullible exploiters.

A merciless exploitation of the cottage workers by merchants and middle man was the general pattern of the marketing of handicrafts throughout India. Sometimes, however, even these exploiters were very cleverly manipulated and fleeced by big merchants.

In Moradabad, famous for its brassware and decorative articles with elegant designs carved in what's called the pencil work'; we came across an intriguing game being lined up to exploit the exploiters.

A prospective big buyer from Bombay went around the Market showing interest in several Moradabad products. Then he sat complacently and tight-lipped in in a rest house. His agent went about prompting every merchant to meet the big visitor and strike a bargain.

A couple of days later the agent went around again whispering to every merchant that his neighbor appears to have closed the deal at highly competitive price.

This started a mad rush by the local merchants; every one trying to undercut the other in prices. Some of them went so far as to offer their goods at raters beneath their cost price, they were anxious to clear their old stock this way.

Losses incurred in such transactions were very conveniently and in all confidence transferred to the cottage workers and artisans. However much we tried, we were not able to convince the merchants to the advantages of maintaining s standard prices by mutual counsel.

The Punjab Cooperatives.

In Ludhiana which specialized in hosiery goods, we were glad to see the cooperative effort was very popular. The Punjab Government had selected the Ludhiana hosiery industry to encourage cooperatives.

There were some inbred weaknesses and hazards in the extension of cooperative credit to small societies engaged in cottage industries. At a later time, I could discuss this aspect of cooperative development with Dewan Sir Chhotu Ram, the Punjab Minister for Development.

Recounting our impressions about cottage industries in the Punjab I made particular reference to Ludhiana. Chhouto Ram immediately responded and spoke with pride and pleasure about the success of the cooperative effort there.

I told him about the shortcomings and failings of the movement. I elaborated my point and dealt upon the general tendencies of the artisans all over India. He looked at me with incredulous surprise.

"Money borrowed from the cooperative credit societies by members is taken to be 'easy credit'", I explained. "Repayment is supposed to be made most unwillingly, and that too when it becomes simply un-avoidable", I emphasized.

"Besides, most of the cooperative units", I remarked, "are single family undertakings and the head of the family is the arbiter: Even where different families or artisans join together, the secretary of the society is too strong. He can act independently of other members and can make or mar things; and in the end", I pointed out, "the burden is shifted on to the Apex Bank".

Chhotu Ram said, "Proper education and a solid national base can provide the soil for germination of growth of the cooperative movement"

"But the temptation to take things easy is there and is strong enough", I said, "and without an ideological inspiration, lasting results may not be forthcoming".

Chhotu Ram felt that it was one and the same thing.

Funny incidents.

Certain amusing and embarrassing incidents took place during the tour. I would like to recount some of the more diverting ones:

During our stay at Lucknow, we were relaxing on evening on the green lawns of Aminabad Park. A delicate and dignified looking person was seen swinging along through the gathering. He was wearing a white angrekha (long robe-like shirt), chooridar Pajamas (tight-fitting pajamas gathered at the ankles in many folds) and dupalli cap (embroidered Skull cap) and dainty salim shahies for footwers.

There was a bundle tied up in clean clothe swung across his shoulders. He was voicing a suppressed and effeminate sales call, 'khamooshian for sale' take best khamooshian'.

We beckoned him near; and he very politely asked "how many your Lordships"? Not knowing what it was, one of us said "give us a half dozen".

He carefully squatted on the grass in a dignified manner, spread out the white cloth and began arranging on it six triangular pieces of red cloth with cotton padding in the middle of every piece.

We soon understood what he was peddling. Evidently those were the sanitary towels for use by ladies. We told him rather brusquely to wrap up the whole lot and to beat it.

The unpoetic poet laureate.

During September, '38, a couple of days after we had reached Simla a very funny and filthy incident took place. We ran into a typically westernized gentleman. He courtesied to us ceremoniously. Probably he was attracted by the gold embroidered badges with a double-headed eagle (the Mysore State Emblem) on our breast pockets.

"Haven't we met somewhere before"? he began. "I doubt if we have but may be", I said. He introduced himself to us as Mr. Roshan Lal, Poet Laureate of India. At the same time, he handed us his visiting card with the distinction inscribed on it. We showed that we were properly impressed.

He stuck to us like a shadow. While talking to us, he would now and then remove his Khaki 'Sola' hat and wave greetings to the passer-by. They all turned out to be celebrities as they were addressed by him by names. He would mostly receive a polite response. He would then beam on us with pride and tell us that the responding person was a close friend of his.

Roshan Lal accompanied us to our Hotel. All along he kept enquiring about our tour and kept talking animatedly. Carefully and furtively, he led the conversation to our possible adventure with girls. Ghani promptly rose up to the occasion and started narrating made up stories.

"We are travelers; here today and elsewhere tomorrow", said Ghani who had begun to enjoy it immensely. "We can afford to be bold and almost wreck less being sure that there would hardly be time enough for a scandal to start and spread"

"An encounter with us", Ghani continued, "is a wonderful opportunity for a sex-starved girl. She is eager to snatch at it and manipulates herself into a secret rendezvous". With a flushed face, the "poet Laureate' began urging for more intimate details. Ghani was only too willing to feed him with the most vulgar details about highly exciting situations he could imagine.

Hoarse voice, Roshan Lal pleaded, "please go on; for God's sake don't stop" and urged impatiently "then what happened? What did you do? What did she say? How did it go"? and like this he went on frantically.

At last, right in the middle of a sentence, he rushed to a corner of the room and started vigorously no a most disgusting and un-printable exercise. When he was finished, soon enough, he quietly and shame-facedly slipped out of our room, before we could gather our wits to throw him out

We were left astounded and gaping. I took it out on Ghani whom I held responsible for this disgusting scene.

Celibacy doubly ensured.

Then there was that funny but shocking incidents at Haridwar. We were returning from 'Harkipodi' the holy of the holies. We had been allowed to visit the spot with the special permission of the High Priest and accompanied by him at the request of Ravish Siddiqi, the nationalist Urdu poet. Here we met two students of the Gurukul Kanra University from Rishikesh.

The enlightening conversation we were having with these students was interrupted when a batch of "Bramhacharies' (celibates) passed by. They were marching in file chanting verses from the Vedas. Ash speared all over their bodies; and they were all stark naked. The thick chains they were wearing around their waists attracted and held our attention.

Badly startled at the sight, we made them halt for a few moments to have a closer look, we were dumbfounded at what we saw, and could hardly believe our eyes.

The male organ of every Branhachari had been pierced through and a big padlock was hanging supported by thick iron chain wound around his waist. The keys of all the locks hanging from the male organs of the Bramhacharies, we were told, had been thrown into the river Ganges. Evidently the keys had been lost irretrievably.

By this means, it appeared, the life-long celibacy of the Bramhacharies had been ensured.

Pleasurable pilgrimage.

On our way to Ferozepur, we saw a lot of commotion going on in Bhatinda and stopped to enquire what it was all about. We were told that there was a very special type of Hajj Pilgrim passing through the Town at the time.

What was so very special about him was that he was going to Mecca on foot and was expected to reach there in a couple of years. All along the charted rout, after every ten steps, he would offer thanksgiving to Allah through a 'duganah namaz'. He had travelled from Patna, Bihar all the way in this manner.

There was an atmosphere of sanctity and gaiety. A regular 'Mela' (gala fair) was following him in step from stage to stage. The towns people idolized him and showed great reverence to the very ground the pilgrim stepped upon. The simple folk attributed some miracles to him.

We somehow managed to meet the Pilgrim in strict privacy and talked as one traveler to another. Carefully and resolutely, we probed him. At last, he opened up and hesitantly confessed to certain lapses and transgressions. He admitted having had his own sex experiences during the pietistic journey.

Very earnestly and hastily, he pleaded not guilty. "I have been a victim of compelling circumstances", he moaned. "They feed me with very rich and sumptuous food and provide all possible comforts; I remain loaded with flowers and almost always walk on rose petals; day and night I remain engulfed in sweet smell of burning incense".

"In such bewitching atmosphere, just imagine lovely young women spreading out their long silky tresses for me to walk on. On top of all this, very attractive and highly desirable young women keep visiting me at the most un-earthly hours".

"Many of them are childless", he said "and invoke my blessings for bearing children; and at the slightest hint from me, they make themselves available for love making. How am I to blame then for the natural outcome in these circumstances"? he asked disarmingly.

Encounter with Jinnah.

Our meeting with Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President All-India Muslim League, in delhi during August, 1938, was a unique experience. He was staying at Gule Raana (Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's house) on Hardings Avenue. We reached there by appointment a little before 8 A.M. we were received by him in the rear veranda where he was reclining in a swing seat cradle ready for breakfast.

Jinnah took us with him to the breadfast table. He offered us tea when we informed him that we already had our breakfast. He asked us about the mode and purpose of our tour.

I immediately started saying my piece in right earnest. The narration had almost been perfected by repeating it to every dignitary we met. Jinnah didn't look impressed at all; and he told us so in just a few words.

"While you'd be busy working to earn your passage", he said, "it won't be easy or practicable to study the special characteristics of the cottage industries you see. How can you pick up new ideas", he asked, "for introducing in Mysore and to bring about improvements as you propose to do"?

Honestly, we had no answer for this apt remark. It simply knocked us off our lofty perch.

I reacted sharply by criticizing the Muslim League. Briefly, I dealt upon the internal bickering and legpulling of the League leaders as we had seen so far. The All-India Muslim League, I surmised, was a hot bed of conflicts and intrigue. Gathering up courage from his silence, I said brazenly that the All-India Muslim League was the political preserve of the unscrupulous and unprincipled classes. It accommodated only two types of people, viz., the big landlords and rich merchants on the one hand, and the hooligans and rowdies on the other.

"The conscientious, sincere and enlightened people from the lower middle class have no place" I stressed, "in the Muslim League. If stray person from this class, like Hasrat Mohani, finds a way in, he is either hounded out or driven to abject submission", I concluded.

After listening patiently to my harangue, Jinnah said, "Well young man, I see that you talk with strong feelings. Why don't you work for the Muslim League and bring about the desirable change"?

"But, Sir", I replied, "I haven't decided as yet about my political affiliations. I just keep my eyes and ears open. When I'll become vocal", I put across, "I'd also become active and animated. It shouldn't be safe then for many in the league". Jinnah just smiled indulgently and kept quiet.

When we asked for a group photo with him and for letters of introduction to his friends abroad he said, "I shall pose for the group photo and give you all the letters you want; but first you'll have to deposit on lac of rupees in a bank and show me the receipt".

He then adjusted his monocle, lighted his cigar and continued; "what you re doing now is begging in a dignified manner. It would be honest if you give up the claim of studying industries as you go along on the pittance you get from sympathizers. You should come clean and say that you wish to see the world. You can then ask people to please help you".

For the first time since we had started on the tour, someone had so to speak, called the bluff and had shown us our true image. Truly speaking earning our travelling expenses was our first priority and main concern.

All the important persons we had met, on receiving the small mementoes presented by us as specimen of our handiwork had made a return gesture of appreciation by presenting us with substantial sum of money for our tour expenses.

Jinnah had merely thanked us for the beautiful pair of lacquered flower vases we presented him along with a hint that we were meeting our expenses by selling these.

That night, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad called Khwaja Hasan Nizami over the telephone and said that he desired to meet us. We were staying as his guests with the Khwaja Saheb in his 'Eiman Khana' (VIP guest room) at Nizamuddin Awlia in the Suburbs of Delhi.

Hassan Nizami who conveyed the message to us the next morning also gave us the Raja's address. He was staying in a hotel in the heart of New Delhi. When we went and announced ourselves, the Raja received us immediately and showed great pleasure at meeting us.

He said that some of them who had called on Jinnah the previous morning, were kept waiting for quiet sometime while we kept Jinnah engaged with our talk. When we left, the gold embroidered badges we were wearing attracted their attention. Some of them had asked Jinnah about us.

Jinnah, we were told, talked very highly about us, praised our adventurous spirit and showed them the flower vases we had presented, with generous appreciation of our handicraft. The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad asked for similar vases for himself. We immediately produced a pair of the vases with his name inscribed on them.

The Raja, Muhammad Amir Ahmed khan, then entertained us with coffee and biscuits. He sat talking to us about our tour and about our experiences so far in the field of cottage industries as well as in the political field.

Before we left, he presented us with an envelope containing a substantial sum and also gave us letter of introduction for R.A. Butler and some other friends in England. He had addressed Butler as 'My dear brother'.

I immediately picked up a great liking and veneration for the Raja which proved to be a life-ling feeling. This sentiment grew deeper and stronger with every one of t eh countless meetings I had with him after wards. I am happy to note that this feeling was reciprocated with love and affection by him.

The tour fizzles out.

We were in Peshawar when telegram received from our home town informed about the death of Ghani's first male child born just before we started on the tour. Ghani had to go back; and he did.

He was to have returned soon with the necessary tools and equipment and also the raw materials for our tour abroad through Afghanistan. But he never returned. I was all by myself.

Jinnah's words kept ringing in my ears and pricking my conscience' I was not enthusiastic any more about the tour; and I didn't want to return home either.

I went and joined Khurshid Ahmed Enver, a friend we had picked up earlier in Lahore. He was a small time publisher of some small booklets written by himself and approved for school libraries and as supplementary studies by high school students.

Together, we started travelling all over the Punjab Province selling the booklets and at the same time having fun and frolic. In the heat of our mad revelries, I clean forgot everything about the tour; in my heart of hearts, however, I might have been waiting for an excuse to go back home.

A good excuse was found during September, 1939, when the Second World War was started in Europe. The very next day after Hitler declared war against England, the Viceroy of India announced that India

was at war with Nazi Germany. Safe travel, specially with a purpose like ours was rendered hazardous and almost impossible.

A fear of war breaking out any moment had been present since September in the previous year when war had been averted by Naville Chamberlain's 'umbrella diplomacy' at Munich. Zafrullah Khan, a member of Viceroy's Executive Council, had hinted that we would most likely be stranded some in Europe.

I was quietly back home in October, '39 and found Ghani firmly established in lacquerware business. A detailed report was sent to the Government of Mysore about the Tour in consultation with Ghani. Some specific suggestions about improvement n the lacquerware industry was also made.

On the whole, the tour had ended in a flop.

A new friend.

This time, I picked up a new friend, Najiullah. He had gone to his grandfather's coffee estate in Chickmanalur (Moodigere) known as the Mahmoodabad Estate. He went as a lovely young boy, just graduated from High School. Some four years later, he had returned a mature young man with crystallized ideas on different aspects of life.

Najiullah had brought with him a shiny black adolescent beard a couple of inches long. The whiskers had not been cultivated or tended; but was just a natural growth. His chin remained unshaven and scraggy all his life.

He very soon became and remained my closest friend and comrade. Ours was a life-long friendship which was further strengthened when I married his elder sister in 1943.

Deeply influenced by his friend, Lakshman Gowda a neighboring planter, Najiullah had come back home teeming with new ideas about life's philosophy. He was bristling with life and enthusiasm. A never ending exchange of ideas began between us and went on day in and day out.

Subversive activities welcomed.

About this time, our friend Shahabuddin brought from Hyderabad Deccan Bahadur Yar Jung's message together with a highly exciting program of action for us. It was welcomed by us for its Cloak-and-dagger nature; and we were only too glad to take it up in right earnest. It brought a desirable change in our routine and dull life.

We were asked to bring out subversive pamphlets in order to pressurize the Hyderi Government to recognize and accept the Muslims point of view. Hyderi was all set to announce constitutional reforms, heedless of the demands of the Ittehadul Muslimeen.

Shahabuddin would bring notes in Urdu which were rendered into English by us. Then we got busy preparing tracts and getting them secretly printed in a small press at Bangalore. These were sent by post to all important persons in Hyderabad.

A sizable bunch was handed over to Shahabuddin when he came next with more notes. The pamphlets themselves contained matter which had nothing to do with constitutional problems. Only some badly damaging revelations about the private life and secret activities of Hyderi's colleagues were high-lighted.

Several years later, I came to know that this volley of papers missiles was far more effective than protest meetings and public demonstrations. Who gathered all the information and from whom and who arranged for the printing and distribution of the pamphlets was never known to more than the five persons who were directly involved; that is Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang who sponsored the program, Syed Yusuf Tusuf Tasawur who collected the information, Shahabuddin who shuttled from Hyderabad to Bangalore and the two of us who got it printed and distributed.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 06 - PUBLIC LIFE

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PUBLIC LIFE

The second All-India Mehdavia Conference was announced. It was to be held again in my home town, Channapatna. Bahadur Yar Jang was to preside this time too. Delegates from the provinces of Bombay, C.P. and madras as well as from the states of Hyderabad, Baroda, Palanpur, Jaipur and Mysore were expected to take part.

It provided me a good opportunity to get busy with some constructive and useful work. I and Najiullah volunteered our services and took upon ourselves the entire office work. A distant relative of ours S.I. Mumtaz, a local leader of influencean political adventurer was looking after the organizational work; but all decision making was appropriated by the General Secretary, Maulana Syed Murtuza and Joint Secretary, Maulvi Syed Ataullah Soofi.

We didn't like this susurpation and centralization of power; and were always at loggerheads with these to moulvies. However, they were best from among this bigoted class and were quite popular in the community all over India.

On the very first day, soon after the opening session we had a very serious clash with the president, Bahadur Yar Jang, over the set up of the Subjects Committee. In this turn, the Nawab took Maulvi Murtuza to task for having misled him; but his exemplary greatness was manifest in publicly owning up to his mistake, the next Morning.

Religious, political and economic subjects came up for discussion in the Subjects Committee. Bahadur Yar Jang was greatly impressed by the rational attitude adopted by the two of us myself and Najiullah, towards various issues affecting the Community as a whole.

His holiness Mullah Taher Saifuddin, spiritual head of the Bohra Community, Sir Mirza Ismail the Noble laureate, Physics Sir, V.V. Raman and some other VIPs attended the open session briefly as observers. Raman also inaugurated the arts and crafts exhibit organized as an adjunct to the conference.

We had hardly finished with the Conference back log, when a visit to Mysore state by Zubdtul Mulk His Highness Dewan Sir Taleh Mohammad Khan, Nawab of Palanpur was announced. He was the only Mehdavi ruling prince of the native state at the time; and was held in great esteem by all mehdavies.

The Nawab was visiting the state at the invitation of Mysore Government. He very graciously received our deputation of Mehdavi young men, talked at length to us about various problems faced by us, gladly accepted our invitation to visit Channapatna and proposed for a group photograph with us.

Two of the important personalities Ghani and I had met earlier during our tour, Jinnah and Zarfullah Khan, paid a visit to the state about then. Jinnah had come to take rest and convalesce, while Zafrullah was on a private visit. We offered to receive them both, one after the other, as they passed through Channapatna and both has agreed to make a brief stopover.

The receptions arranged by us had to be cancelled because of the sudden death of our popular Maharaja, Krishna Rajendra Wadyer. We met them on the road for a few moments, offered our regrets and presented to the as mementoes some selected specimen of our cottage industries products

together with printed copies of the resolutions passed by the recently concluded Mehdaveia Conference.

Serving the down trodden.

After this, I and Najiullah turned our attention towards the pitiable lot of the lacquerware workers. We wished to organize them for their uplift and betterment of their conditions.

Living from hand to mouth, the poor artisans were forced to obtain payments in advance or short loans from the merchants. Every evening, finished goods, products of the whole family's day-long toil, were of a necessity brought to the merchant who had advanced money.

The merchant would announce an arbitrary price he fancied at the time. Then, he would deduct an installment in repayment of the loan. After that, he would issue a token to b exchanged for the daily need of raw materials and provisions from another shop owned and run by the same merchant.

The artisan would be paid, in the end, only a negligible amount in cash and that too occasionally, for the family upkeep. On the whole, what eh got in return would hardly suffice the artisan to keep body and soul together. The helpless worker would remain tied to and being fleeced mercilessly by the merchant.

No sooner than we started organizing the workers, the merchants and factory owners started taking steps to protect their own vested interests. They had for better resources and more effective means of persuasion, you see.

Luckily, we were able to enlist the voluntary services and active co-operation of some good friends and support of some influential citizens kindly deposed towards the poor artisans. This proved of immense help in the formidable task we had undertaken.

More than that, we were able to secure sympathies of the Government functionaries through the kind indulgence of the Dewan, Mirza Ismail. This gave us the courage and confidence to go ahead with our good work.

A novel Scheme.

We hit upon a novel idea and drew up a scheme for the emancipation of the workers and artisans. It called for government initiative in setting up a new type of co-operative enterprise. Government was to advance funds for putting up a common working shed where necessary equipment and tools would be provided for the use of those who join the society.

As an adjunct to the collective workshop, a fair price raw materials depot and also proper marketing facilities were to be provided. The investment advanced by Government was to be withdrawn in easy

installments. This was to be phased in relation to the accumulation of share capital. The share capital itself was to be collected through compulsory savings of the member-artisans. All the assets would in the end be made over to the society.

The scheme was bold and imaginative. At first, it looked like a figment of our imagination. It, however, drew generous appreciation from different persons whose opinion counted for sure. Mirza Ismail gave indication of a guarded support; but he did put in a good word, as we found out later, to the concerned departments in government.

Pundit Jawaher Lal Nehru examined the scheme while in jail and sent a message of appreciation through Humayun Kabir, his private secretary. Dr. Balakrishna of the Economics Department in the Mysore University liked it so much that he made it a subject for research by students for the Masterate Degree in Economics.

We were able to persuade, at last, the concerned departmental heads in Government viz., the Registrar Cooperative Societies, the Director of Industries and the Chief Conservator of Forests to meet the artisans themselves in Channapatna to find out their attitude towards the Scheme. In spite of some practical difficulties, they agreed to come to Channapatna together at a give date.

Twice we tried and failed to gather a majority of the artisans at on place in order to arrive at united stand to be taken during the State Officers' visit. A third time, we worked with determination and with help of friends and associates, rounded up most of the workers in a large enclosure.

Understandable mother tongue.

Before the meeting started, I took the stand with a request that I may be allowed to say a few words as an introduction. Then, I just lashed out in full force in the vilest language imaginable.

The volley of abuse was so vile and caustic that they all began writhing with suppressed indignation. My own colleagues very simply flabbergasted. Najiullah began wildly pulling at my sleeve. I gave up only when I was completely exhausted.

The meeting simply dispersed. The elderly citizen, Burhanuddin who was presiding over the meeting hastily disappeared.

When my colleagues demanded an explanation for my wild behavior I calmly replied, "I was only trying to speak to the workers in their mother tongue". They all began to laugh and the tension was eased.

For sure, the workers and artisans must have got the message alright. Some of the leading workers came and told me and my colleagues later that I had done the right thing; that they fully deserved even a much worse hiding than what they got at my hand.

The scheduled meeting with the State Officers was a thumping success. It was agreed, at the time, that the Scheme should be implemented in three phases. This should allow time for the departments to iron out certain tangles of procedure. So, to start with, a fair price wood depot was soon set up by the Forest Department. An officer of the department was deputed to organize and run the depot.

My father thought that this moment was as good as any to have me tied down in wedlock. He sent out feelers to a family carefully selected by him. Every member of the girl's family welcomed the Idea; but her father firmly put his foot down. He had good reason to refuse. I had no permanent income of my own.

The selected girl herself, learning about the proposal, was feeling all excited. Her sentiments, never the less, were considered immaterial according to established custom. Later on, when she was married to a rustic she began to silently pine away. At last she went stark raving mad, to the life-long regrets of her parents as I gained more and more social esteem in time.

The postman knocks twice.

I was riding on the crust of popularity wave and was trying to go with the tide of events. Just then, Moulana Murtuza brought for me a message from Bahadur Yar Jang. I was asked to go to Hyderabad and join the Nawab as his private secretary.

The prospect was very exciting and to be welcomed. Bahadur Yar Jang was not only the most popular and highly respected leader of the community, but had also risen to prominence among the Muslims all over India and even abroad, especially in Muslim countries.

To be near him always and to have the chance to study the political developments taking place in the country, at first hand, was a wonderful opportunity. But I was very reluctant, all the same, to go to Hyderabad Deccan. My impressions about the state and its people, deep down at heart, were not very flattering.

Like every Mysorean Muslim, I had grown to hate and despise the Asafia Rulers of the Deccan and their legion. They were, I believed, a treacherous horde who had conspired with the British and had helped to consolidate British rule in India.

They had thwarted and quashed the last and desperate attempt for freedom of the country from foreign domination and exploitation. Some of my won ancestors had fallen a pray to the hideous conspiracy hatched against the redoubtable Tippu Sultan. As they could not be won over by Wellesley's Commission of conspirators, they had somehow to be eliminated.

My father had spent his youth in Hyderabad. He used to speak with deep feelings about the devastating floods of the Musi River during 1908 in his presence when a large part of the city was inundated and the low of life and properties was incalculable.

Many of my relatives lived there. A large number of community leaders and religious divines belonged to Hyderabad. An educational trust for Mehdavi students had been set up in my home town by a substantial sum donated for the purpose by Kamal Khan, a Mehdavi Nawab of Hyderabad and original owner of King Kothi.

All this, added to the intriguing stories about the fabulous wealth of the Nizam, his miserly and avaricious accumulation of every type of worldly possessions; his unkempt and almost comical personal appearance and deportment; his mean and revolting behavior towards his own sons and daughters: and at the same time, his generous contribution to a good cause anywhere in the world; and the galaxy of literary celebrities patronized by him and gathered in his Domain must have stimulated my curiosity. It must also have lessened my rancor.

In this frame of mind, I had to choose if I should go and stay permanently in Hyderabad to work for Bahadur Yar Jang. I had come into a close contact with the Nawab during the second annual session of the Mehdavia Conference held in my home town.

Bahadur Yar Jang rose to political prominence after 1938 on the horizon of Muslim India like a remarkable rocket. Feeling the need for a private secretary, he first tried his Jagir clerk without success.

About this time, Crafton the Chief of Police tried to enlist as an informer Bahadur Yar Jang's chauffeur, Syed Noor Muhammad, and offered him very handsome allowance. In return, he was asked to inform daily on the movements of the Nawab.

For this purpose, he was told, he wouldn't have to go anywhere nor send in a written report. All he had to do was to brief an officer of the department who would call on him at his house at the dead of night. Noor Muhammad refused to betray the confidence of his master. He informed the Nawab, on the other hand, about this offer.

In retaliation, as it appears, the Nawab acquired the services of Abdur Rahman Saeed, a regular employee of the police Intelligence as a part-time private secretary.

This arrangement could not, obviously, last long. Although there was no evidence of Saeed having betrayed Bahadur Yar Jang's trust in any way, but it became awkward and difficult for both at times.

Then a young Mehdavi from Jaipur, Abdus Samad Khan Rajasthani, was engaged as Private Secretary. He was an activist of the State Muslim League, freshly released from detention for political activities.

Rajasthani at first proved to be a tireless worker and quite efficient too, but soon he began acting in an unscrupulous manner. He issued some un-authorized political statements. Worst of all, he forged the Nawab's signature on a letter of reference and recommendation in favour of himself to the Nawab of Bhopal.

Bahadur Yar Jang was, therefore, on the lookout for a dependable young man who could fill the post satisfactorily. The choide fell on me as my competence was still fresh in the Nawag's memory. When I was found reluctant to jump at my offer, the Nawab became pressing and impatient.

Najiullah was against my leaving Channapatna just then for fear that he would be left alone to finish the great task we had started. Shahabuddin, our friend who had specially been sent for the purpose, somehow talked me into accepting the job. I quietly left for Hyderabad on morning with my father's blessings and friends' good wishes.

Musings on the train.

As the train carrying me sped towards Hyderabad, I thought that I was heading towards a new chapter in my life. I had ample time to sit back and ponder over my past life. The kaleidoscopic march of events I had experienced ended in a big question mark. I came to the sorry conclusion that I had not been able to give direction to my aspirations nor substance to my life.

And I was now going to integrate with a social order which had never found favour with us. We had always associated the Hyderabadi culture with hypocrisy, self-assumption and false pride.

A large number of the Hyderabadi nobility used to spend summer in Bangalore, their comical attempts at showing off their self-assumed superior culture and money to burn provided a good pastime for us.

I could recall with merriment the highly amusing stories that went around during the visit of the Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, to Mysore State.

The whimsical and almost conceited behavior of the members of his entourage; and on top of it, the unpredictable and startling behavior of the Nizam himself had remained the talk of the town even after the Nizam and hi party had returned to Hyderabad.

Arrangements had been made for the Nazism's stay in the place, but he insisted on staying in the railway saloon by which he had come. The special train carrying the Nizam and his entourage was stationed a secluded siding of the Railway Station. This created problem for the security arrangements.

Victuals and beverages were all brought daily from Hyderabad by special trains. Even the drinking came daily in a special sealed tanker.

Then, there were stories about the highly disquieting conduct of the Nizam himself. He had completely upset the arrangements in civic reception giving in his honor by the citizens of Bangalore. He was said to have arrived at the function late by almost an hour; and that as soon as he got up on the dais, he had begun re-allocating seats to the members of his entourage.

When the welcome address was presented, it was said that Maharaja Kishan Pershad was found occupying the seat of honor. The Nizam himself was seated inconspicuously in the side wing, discernible only by his shabby dress.

To crown it all, right in the middle of the address, he Nizam was said to have got up and walked away leaving everyone agape. What'd you think?

On his way to the city of Mysore, the Nizam had to pass through Seringapatam; but he was said to have avoided visiting Tippu's mausoleum. Probably his guilty conscience prevented him from going there.

When the Nizam reached Mysore City, Mirza Ismail is said to have somehow managed to drag him to the Summer Palace where arrangements had been made for his stay. But, the moment Mirza's back was turned, the Nizam rushed back to his Saloon at the Railway siding. And, he wouldn't budge from them, it was said.

At the Royal Banquet given by the Muharaja, the Nizam is said to have come nearly an hour earlier. The host, Maharaja Kishen Raajendra Wadiyar and other guests were informed by frantic telephone calls and they all had to rush helter-skelter to the banquet. An attendant was made to stand at the Nizam's side. He would taste from every dish before the Nizam helped himself to the dish.

The grotesque rule.

Many a piquant story had reached me about the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, Asafjah the Seventh, also about the Royal Family and the nobility of Hyderabad. Unlike his father, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan who was loved by his subjects, Osman Ali Khan, an enigmatic and fickle minded person, was held in awe and respect; but he was not loved by anyone, not even by his own sons and daughters.

His wife, Her Exalted Highness the 'Dulhan Pasha' was incurable demented. She was a regular source of vexation and anxiety to the jewelers and fashion shop owners in the shopping centers of the City. She had a vitriolic tongue; and during her usual rounds in the evenings, she would take away anything she fancied from the shops.

It would take several months for the affected merchants to get back the un-used articles. Not recoverable articles had to be proved to have been taken away before payment for these could be claimed and received.

When the Nizam took a ride in his favorite car every afternoon, the roads were completely cleared all along the route sufficiently in advance of his passing bye; for his wife Dulhan Pasha, the roads were partially cleared.

It was said that Osman Ali Khan was not of a royal descent on his mother's side. Therefore, he was not entitled to the throne. However his redourceful mother is said to have conspired with some local nobles and the British Agent, Resident, in Hyderabad to have her son declared the Heir Apparent in supercession of the real heir who, as luck would have it, was a minor.

Soon after he was declared the 'Wali Ahed' (Heir Apparent), the story goes that he began to conspire against his own father who at last died a sudden death in suspicious circumstances. His main confederate was Shahab Jang who knew too much and could prove difficult and over bearing in the future.

Shahab Jang, therefore, had to be cut down to size, if he could not be completely eliminated. Osman Ali Khan's very first stunt as Nizam of Hyderabad was to publicly insult Shahab Jang and have him, so to speak kicked out of the Coronation Durbar.

This sudden and least expected shock was so great that this discredited benefactor of the Nizam lost his mental balance and died a very tragic death in ignominy. Poor Shahab Jang was the first of the many victims of the perversity and caprice of Osman Ali Khan.

Many of the nobles, it was said, were afraid to appear for the Royal Audience attired in their best clothes; because Osman Ali Khan was known to have disrobed some of them by taking away their 'sherwanies' (tight fitting knee length closed collard coat)under the guise of admiring the cloth or the make.

During festivals and State functions, it was customary that the nobles and senior state officers appear before their Sovereign to pay homage. On these occasions, they were required to make token offering of at least one gold coin and four silver coins. These were placed on a white folded handkerchief on the outstretched palm of the right hand.

The Nizam was supposed to just touch the coins, as was customary, in token of his acceptance. The coins would in the end be left with the person making the offer. But Osman Ali Khan would have none of it.

He had two attendants, each bearing a strong paper or cloth bag, standing on either side of the Throne. Osman Ali Khan would sweep the coins off the outstretched palm and pass them on to the attendants, gold coins to one and silver coins to the other.

Bags full of gold and silver coins were stored in fifferent corners of the Nizam's Palace and were left undisturbed for indefinite periods. The Nizam appeared to have forgotten all about these precious bags. Many bags got weather-worn and burst spilling out their contents; but no one dared to set them right or even to clean the surrounding space.

Four trucks loaded to the top with bags of gold and silver coins could be seen parked in the open ground of the Palace for years together. It appeared that these trucks were loaded under direct supervision of the Nizam for being shifted to some other place. But the Nizam might have changed his mind and seemed to have forgotten the very presence of these trucks. Nobody dared to ask the Nizam about these trucks which remained rusting in the sun and rain and falling apart to amaze the visitors.

Osman Ali Khan's physical appearance and dress have become a legend. An old red fez cap, frayed at the edges with perspiration and grease showing halfway up; a loose fitting sherwani of coarse cloth; a pair of rough red leather slippers for footwear formed his normal outfit. A rustic looking thick walking stick would be clutched in his hand.

With all his shabby appearance and niggardly avarice known for and wide, Osman Ali Khan showed fits of magnanimity and proverbial generosity. To a large number of carefully chosen institutions and deserving persons of outstanding accomplishments he would extend financial assistance beyond their wildest dreams, regardless of their caste, creed or territory.

My musings were interrupted as the train reached the Kachiguda Railway Station. I alighted and engaged a tonga for Chenchalguda where Shahabuddin lived. Everything seemed different from what I had seen some two years before.

A new turn in life.

This time, I had to pass through a customs check post. I was asked where I was coming from, where I would be staying and for how long; and also the purpose of my visit. I had to declare that I had no gold or silver, no silks or other such dutiable items in may baggage.

Later, I learnt that a nominal Customs Duty would usually be levied on such precious items in proportion to the assessed value.

Shahabuddin was happy that I had come after all. He insisted that I stay with him for as long as I had to. Bahadur Yar Jang's 'Deorhi' (mansion) was more than three miles away.

A fairly good and smooth running bicycle was obtained for my use on a monthly hire of ten rupees Hali ((local currency). It was to remain in my possession day and night. Maintenance and small repairs were to be at owner's cost.

The Hali (Hyderabad Currency) rupee was cheaper than the Kaldar (British Indian Currency) rupee by about 15 percent.

That afternoon when I went to Bahadur Yar Jang, he welcomed me with open arms and said with a satisfied smile, "I am sure glad you decided to come and work for me".

"But, Nawab Saheb", I said "I would first like to be sure about certain things". He asked me what it was and I told him, "There must be a good lot of young men, every one of whom should be eager to become your private secretary. You may choose the most talented from among them as your employee. But, with me it has to be somewhat different; because I wish to be something more than a private secretary".

On an inquiring look, I reminded him of his remarks at Bangalore a few months back. "You had said that you detected special germs in my mental makeup; and advised me not to waste my life on paltry jobs. You had asked me to prepare myself for a worthy role in society", I said.

A broad smile spread on his face and I continued, "If you are willing to accept me as a pupil of practical politics under your care and guidance, I should take it as my good fortune". He beamed with pleasure on me.

"I am glad you brought it up just now", he said "because I had some such arrangement in mind"/ he assured me that I shall be treated like a special pupil and will never be made to feel that I was just an employee.

The next morning I was inducted into my new office and started working regularly. It was the month of Ramadan' and there was an atmosphere of righteousness and piety all around the 'Baitul Ummah', the new name given by Muslims to the Nawab's mansion, Mehdavi Manzil. I got properly settled in my new position in a week's time.

The City of Hyderabad.

Hyderabad was a sprawling big city; the forth in India by population which was over nine hundred thousand at the time. It retained clear indications of good planning when founded. The Char Minar (four minarets) built in 1591 marked the center of the City. It is a huge white structure of quadruple arches topped with tall minarets on all the four corners.

Starting from Char Minar as the central point, there were cemented roads on the four sides passing through big arches.

Very imposing structure of mosque called the Mecca Masjid stood in the neighborhood of Char Minar. This mosque was built only a few years in 1596. It rested on a platform of huge, well cut, polished and dressed stone blocks embedded in mortar.

Mecca Masjid was specious enough for a congregation of over 50,000 faithful. Another impressive structure nearby is the Tibbiya College and Hospital. The college had on its staff famous hakims and veterans of the Unani System of medicine.

In addition to the modern shopping centers of Abid's shop and Pathergatti, there are several bazaars specializing in particular type of merchandise. Some of these bazaars were remnants of the mogul period and still retained the period's atmosphere.

There are another peculiar type of bazaar called the Jumerat Ka Bazaar (Thursday Bazaar). It was a sort of open market arranged every Thursday in a vast uneven open field from dawn to dusk only.

No regular shops or permanent structures existed in the ground. Anyone who wanted to display his wares could do so on a portable table or even on a piece of cloth spread out on any vacant space he chose to occupy for the day. A nominal ground rent was collected from the participants by the Organizing Committee.

It was generally accepted that this Bazaar had to offer some very precious stolen goods at throw-away prices. A side range of goods was displayed and sold. This included costly jewelry and gems, rare antiques and cuios, second-hand books and rare old manuscripts.

Plenty of household goods and even modern mechanical and electrical appliances and parts were available. Grocery, fruits and vegetables vendors didn't want to be kept out; and they found their own places in the Bazaar.

Most of the City roads, and of course the main roads were cemented and well maintained. Cycling, therefore, was easy and pleasurable. Several hundreds of people could be seen merrily pedaling along the smooth roads.

A busy traffic of hand-pulled and cycle rickshaws, horse-drawn box carriages called Shakrams and motor cars would be rolling along everywhere. Government owned buses, some double deckers, could be seen plying along the main roads.

A good number of the light vehicles were completely wrapped up in thick cloth showing only the drivers and carrying the begums (ladies) inside

In the outskirts of the city was the industrial area called the 'Sanaat Nagar. Here some cottage industries' units were established. Arrangements existed for vocational training, in some cottage industries of local importance.

There were some other places of interest in the suburbs, notably the Golconda Fort and the Osmania University campus. Diamonds were said to be very scares in the neighborhood of Golconda, although this was the birthplace of the famous Kohinoor. The special feature of the historic structure is its architectural design. It has unique acoustic arrangement and an ingenious water supply system.

The university buildings display a bold adventure in architectural design. It combines the old Dravidian, the later mogul and the more recent or modern architectural patterns to advantage.

Well appointed luxurious hostels have been provided for resident students from the districts and suburbs. Board and lodge were generously subsidized. An exclusive feature of the Osmania University is its medium of instruction, which is Urdu at all levels.

To complement this exclusive feature, a bureau of translations has been set up as a separate department. Head by capable linguist, the bureau has made an invaluable contribution to Urdu literature.

The office routine.

I was amazed at the number of visitors who came to see Bahadur Yar Jang who was called the 'Quaide Millat' by public accord. The volume of correspondence with people from all over India and from every nook and corner of the state was quite large.

This should easily have kept me busy all the 24 hours daily even if I had attended to the more important part of the correspondence. All letters relating to the official business of the Ittehadul Muslimeen were passed on by me to the Majlis secretariat for appropriate action.

Letters connected with the affairs of the State' Muslim League were passed on to its Head Office at Nagpur. Only private and personal letters addressed to the Quaide Millat were attended to by me.

Only the more important letters and those from important persons were replied to; and most of the unimportant ones went straight into the wastepaper basket. Once a reply was sent, these too were destroyed. It had been the practice so far; and I was asked to follow it. I was asked not to burden myself with opening and maintaining the files.

Sometimes, the Nawab dictated replies which were taken down by me in a scrap book from which the letters were transcribed. A compilation based on one of these scrap books has since been published by the Bahadur Yar Jang Academy, Karachi.

I have always regretted the office procedure adopted by me while working as Private Secretary to the Quaide Millat. Virtually, some masterpieces of composition, comment and analysis about the social and political situations were lost forever by this system of correspondence.

My vocabulary and idiom was very weak in Urdu, although it was my mother tongue. At the same time Bahadur Yar jang was extremely weak in English. Unconsciously a relationship of mutual help and instruction developed between us.

The Nawab's memory was exceptionally sharp, strong and almost photographic. He was endowed with an immediate and fairly good recall. He would come back from lengthy interviews of great significance, conducted in English through interpreters, and ask me the meaning of certain English word.

He would then wish to know the different shades of meaning and nuances associated with the word. At last, he would repeat a whole sentence uttered during the interview containing the particular word and would want to know what the word denoted if used in this context.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 07 - THE REMARKABLE ROCKET

THE REMARKABLE ROCKET

Bahadur Yar Jang was popularly known as the 'Quaide Millat' and the 'Lissanul Ummat'. His mansion which was previously called Mehdavi Manzil became "Baituul Ummah' by popular demand.

In no time at all I realized that the Quaide Millat was ardently loved and idolized by over two million Muslims from all over the Nizam's Dominions; as also by hundreds of thousands from outside. There were a good number of non-Muslims also among his admirers.

Whenever there was an important visitor, the Nawab would call me and introduce me to him. I was required to accompany bahadur Yar Jang to every public function where he was the Chief Guest. Soon, I became quite a familiar figure among the Muslim public.

The looks of recognition detected on faces and the hands raised in salaam wherever I went made me self conscious. I began paying particular attention to decorum and demeanor; and became selective and reserved in my strolls and visits to places of entertainment.

Very often, the Quaide Millat would be travelling to every nook and corner of the state and also to farflung areas in India. I had to accompany him on all these tours, unless compelling circumstances held me back.

The magic spell of words.

The Lissanul Ummah's Urdu oratory and public speaking has become proverbial and is still remembered with love and admiration for forty years after his death. It was an arresting and inspiring, thought provoking and stirring force of oratory ever given expression to in Urdu.

His imposing and charming personality, his social status and ancestral background together with his command over words went into the making of him a legendary figure perpetuated on the political horizon of Muslim India. In addition, his command over the Persian and Arabic language gave him deep insight into the social, political and religious aspects of Islamic history.

Among several unforgettable and remarkable performances of the Lissanul Ummah (vocal tongue of the community) was the rendering into Urdu of the Presidential Address of Quaide Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Allahbad session of the All-India in 1942. The address itself was delivered in English.

Last minute additions and alterations had been made in the text of the written speech. There was so much of cutting and over-writing that Matloob, Jinnah's Private Secretary, squatted at the foot of the microphone stand in order to prompt the Quaide Azam.

It was also a memorable and historic address, because it spelt the rejection of the Cripps' Plan by the Muslim League, while the Congress had already rejected it the previous night. The Quaid took about two hours to deliver the address. No advance copy of the address was available.

More than a hundred thousand Muslims from all over India had listened to it in rapt attention. But hardly 5 percent of the audience, who knew English, was able to follow and understand it.

Even those who had been able to follow and understand could hardly remember the test or details. Immediately after finishing the address, Jinnah turned to the Nawab and asked him to translate it into Urdu for the benefit of the general audience.

Bahadur Yar Jang got up and approached the mike in a calm and confident manner. A cold shiver ran down my spine for fear of a suspected pitiable performance of a most difficult task.

But, I had soon to sit up and prick up my ears in wonder.

He not only appeared to remember the text of the address which the faithfully rendered into Urdu; but he would also announce at suitable intervals that this was the text as far as he could remember. Then saying, "what I could personally understand from it was" he would elaborate upon the implications and illustrate the background with apt anecdotes.

When he had finished at last, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan could not longer restrain himself. He jumped up and most warmly embraced the Nawab publicly on the dais saying, "by God, none of us could have done it so beautifully".

I felt proud and happy. Everyone present felt the same and said so. Close friends shook hands and congratulated Bahadur Yar Jang on this wonderful feat.

Bhadur Yar Jang should himself have been conscious of his power of speech. At certain moments when provoked, I have heard him say 'what is public opinion other than what I can whip up and mould"?

Through the mill.

Nawab Bahadur may be said to have been the product of conflict between feudal waywardness and religious conformism. By a quirk of the domestic circumstances, he was tipped over towards religion and grew up to be a staunch Mehdavi and conformist Muslim.

With the broadening of the horizon of his political influence, he appeared to have risen, like many other popular leaders, above dogmatic traditionalism in religion. He was willing to accommodate in the folds of Islam every such person who professed, by word of mouth, faith in the unity and omnipotence of Allah and accepted Muhammad (p.b.o.h) as the last of the prophets of God.

Bahadur Khan inherited a jagir burdened with heavy debts. As soon as he was able to clear the debts, he went out on a pilgrimage to Mecca and from there proceeded on a tour of the Muslim countries. This gave him useful contacts abroad and also broadened his vision.

From his early childhood, Bahadur Khan had been a victim of the malice and hatred of his step mother. She never lost an opportunity to discredit and degrade him in public esteem especially in the community.

He told me once with deep feelings that he used to sulk away to a secluded corner of his school and she bitter tears of anguish and self-pity. He had himself to walk the distance to school on foot, while his two step brothers, Mansoor Khan and Daulat Khan, came proudly riding in a phaeton.

Deliberately arranged misalliance.

His marriage was an event of life-long regrets for him. But somehow, his grief and frustration were carefully concealed behind a show of happy conjugal relations. Behind the scene, his domestic life was hell.

Bahadur Khan's step mother, who had arranged this match, must have had evil designs at heart. The girl chosen to be his wife was plain looking, illiterate, uncouth and un-cultured. She was senior to him in age; and to crown it all, she was said to be of questionable legitimacy.

As a result, husband and wife couldn't hit it off together being diametrically opposed to each other in their likes and dislikes. Quite often, there used to be stormy scenes at home. Both gave vent to their feelings when no outsider was present.

Once, I complained about the behavior of the begum. Nawab Bhadur was deeply touched. He told me, "Allah Bux, I have patiently put up with it for the past twenty four years now. Please try to tolerate it for my sake. I'll see to it that you shall have little, if at all, to do with Begum in future.

The Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen.

Bahadur Yar Jang had been well groomed in the art of public speaking through Seerath (eulogy of Prophet Muhammad's (p.b.u.h) Character) congregations, before he joined the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen. He was already accepted as a fiery speaker who could sweep the audience at will.

When he joined it, the Majlis was an association of the ulemah striving to bring about understanding and amity between different Muslim sects. With a determination and by concerted efforts, the Nawab was able to bring about a transformation in its creed.

The Majlis assumed a political program and was able to fill the vacuum that existed in the political field for the Muslims of Deccan. Immediately, the organization began branching out into the districts and towns all over the Nizam's Dominions. Soon, it came to be recognized as the sole political representative organization of the Hyderabadi Muslims.

Public acclaim was gained through the struggle launched for the effective safeguards for Muslims in the proposed constitutional reforms. The remarkable achievement of the Majlis is securing an equal representation for Muslims in the proposed legislature helped to consolidate its political worth and popularity.

There was room for manipulating a working majority for the 13 percent Muslims. This naturally gave a valid reason for heart burning in the non-Muslim majority; but the Muslims remained behind to this and jubilant over their own position of advantage.

The Ittehadul Muslimeen could be said to have been a one-man show constitutionally as well as administratively. Only its president was elected by the Shoora (Central Council composed of delegates representing the districts). The Present elect then nominated his Working Committee, including the Office Bearers.

Bahadur Yar Jang, the first elected President was continuously re-elected as President every year without a break all his life. Unfortunately, the leadership developed by him was mostly of blind followers and yes-men.

Some of his colleagues in the Majlis had proved to be jealous of his great popularity; and some others were found to be disloyal to their leader and their party. Nevertheless, the Quaide Millat was hesitant to purge the Majlis of such unwholesome elements.

Admittedly, there was an acute shortage among the Muslims of political acumen. The young men, fresh graduates from the university he tried to develop had proved very disappointing. In spite of these shortcomings, the Majlis had a political strong hold in Hyderabad among Muslims.

This position was reinforced by the complementary role played by Majlise Tablighul Islam, acting under the supervision and control of the Quaide Millat. Its primary object was the propagation of Islam and the conversion to Islam of the schedule castes and the un-touchables.

Islamic economic structure.

The Indian national Congress attached great importance to economic planning. They had set up a Planning Commission of their own headed by the famous engineer, Visveswarayya. Gandhiji had written a number of articles on economic development. He had also published a book entitled the Economics of Khadi.

Jawaher Lal Nehru admitted having felt thrilled over the industrial cooperatives coming up fast in China. Nehru was closely associated with the development strategy projected by the Congress Planning Commission.

Muslim League, on the other hand, had no economic program of its own. Every aspect of human activity in the proposed Pakistan was left to be decided when the Country itself should come into being.

Bahadur Yar jang was a very strong advocate of Pakistan visualized by him as an ideal Islamic state. He was deeply concerned about this state of affairs. In trying to define the Islamic economic system, he came up with a horde of sharply conflicting opinions of the recognized interpreters of Islamic ideology.

So, he sought advice from the declaredly Islamic countries. After the tiresome long wait and many reminding, a couple of responses were received. These were, all the same, very sketchy, unsatisfactory and in no way better than begging the question.

Then, he took up the study in depth of the problem by himself. As a first step, he wished to hold threadbare discussions with Muslims intellectuals from different social strata. The outcome was to be correlated into a single proposition.

Three carefully selected committees were set up for the purpose. One of these was comprised of religious leaders drawn from different Muslim sects, each claiming to represent the essence of Islam. The convener of this committee, as far as I can remember, was Noorullah Husaini.

The second committee consisted of economic experts with Dr. Anwer Iqbal Quraishi as its Convener. The third committee comprised of staunch socialist like Makhdoom Mohiuddin, radicals and young progressive graduates with himself as convener.

Bahadur Yar Jang also acted as the coordinator. The minutes of discussion of each committee meeting were compiled and circulated among member of the other two committees. It was intended, in this manner, to evolve a comprehensive, integrated and feasible outline of the Islamic economic system.

Just then, Maulana Azad Subhani of patna came to visit Hyderabad on the invitation of Bahadur Yar Jang. During a meeting of very select invitees at the residence of Mir Akbar Ali Khan, Barrister, Bahadur Yar Jang led the trend of discussion towards a possible Islamic economic system; because the topic was upper most in his mind those days.

Besides the host and Bahadur Yar Jang, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abdul Quddos Hashmi, Meherul Qadri and other intellectuals were present. I too had been taken along with Bahadur Yar Jang. All present showed great respect for the Chief Guest, Azad Subhani.

At one point during the discussion, I interposed with a question directed at Azad Subhani: "If a Muslim state decides to confiscate all personal and private property in the name of the people", I asked, "Would it be in contravention to the precepts of Islam"? The Maulana beamed at me with a broad smile and announced, "The one question I had been waiting for has just come up from this young man".

Then taking a deep breath, he said; "This stage has already passed us by, over a thousand years back. "Our faith", he said, "is based on the teachings of the Qoran and Sunnah; and there are clear cut indications in both to establish that Islam aimed at the gradual liquidation of all personal and private wealth and at the prevention of its accumulation in a few hands among the Ummah".

Quoting elaborately from the Qoran and Sunnah, he brought forth that a definite direction was set and a clear orientation given for the development of Muslim society. "More than that", he emphasized, "The

Muslim society was set in motion in the desired direction on the path of development charted for it by the Prophet of Islam (p.b.u.h)".

"By a most unfortunate turn of events, the anti-Islamic reactionary elements who had been ousted and felt frustrated by this revolutionary program", the Maulana declared, "regained entrance stealthily through the back door into the body politic of Muslim Ummah. They called a halt t the progress and the consequent transformation of society".

"The situation now is" continued Maulana Subhani, "That we have stayed put at this point for over thousand years. Should we now wish to resume and continue the journey in the right direction, we would have to determine the point from which we should take a start; and also gauge the pace of development in order to close the wide gap brought about by a thousand years of stagnation and negative approach".

"A patch work of popular Islamic ideology on the economic structure evolved during the past centuries would surely presage devastating corruption of both systems", he concluded.

Bahadur Yar Jang was deeply impressed by this exposition. He would surely have prevailed upon the three committees set up by him in their discussions and conclusions; but a premature sudden death prevented this most significant guideline from evolving.

Support to cottage industries and handicrafts.

As a mark of recognition of the dignity of labour, Bahadur Yar Jang and Akbar Ali Khan had individually cobbled for themselves a pair of leather sandals each for personal use. The Quaide Millat was a strong supporter of the down trodden and mercilessly exploited, the labourers and cottage artisans. His support and sympathies were, however reserved for the Muslim workers.

He tried to organize the hand-loom weavers from the districts. The organization was called the 'Anjumane Muslim Bafindagan'. Every year, during the month of Ramadan he used to spend some evenings in a city shop obtained in the shopping center of Pathergatti for the benefit of the Anjuman members. He would personally attend to customers and measure out by his own hands the cloth sold.

This boosted the sales appreciably and somewhat assuaged the miseries of the Muslim weavers. But never for a moment did he and his colleagues realize that the program merely served to aggravate casteism and was antithetical to the unity of the labourers and development of trade union movement. His successors tried to organize the factory labourers and even the railway workers on religious grounds and succeeded only in creating mistrust of Muslim workers among the majority of labour force.

The States' Muslim League.

Before I joined him, Nawab Bahadur had persuaded some prominent Muslims from the native states to organize the All-India States' Muslim League. A pressing need for this was felt because the States Peoples' Conference had begun to make its presence strongly felt in the states.

The Congress point of view was becoming ever more popular and the Congress program was steadily gaining ground. There was no political organization to counter pose with the Muslim League's point of view.

The states Peoples' Conference was affiliated to and was fully backed by the Indian National Congress. The all-India Muslim League, on the other hand, was inclined to make haste slowly. They didn't want to tangle with over six hundred systems in the native states at variance with one another and at the same time hostile to any challenge from within or without.

The states' Muslims were subject to the whims and fancies of the native princes, the residual Chaff of the mogul autocratic system. These princes were absolute monarchs within their individual domain. They could get away with anything except an open revolt against their British Masters.

Bahadur Yar Jang took stock of the situation and sought permission from Quaide Azam to set up a political organization of the states' Muslims in order to counter the influence of the Congress. The states' Muslims, he felt, should not be left in their blissful ignorance of the political situation developing around them.

League's step child.

Having once approved of the idea, the Quaide Azam and the Muslim League must have felt fully absolved to the responsibility of looking into the problems of the states' Muslims. Even an affiliation with the League, when the States' Muslim League had come into being was felt an unavoidable liability.

Nawab Bahadur, however, went ahead with it in right earnest. It was indeed an extremely difficult task to organize a people widely scattered in hundreds of different environments and living in vastly divergent political, social and cultural settings.

The task was rendered onerous in the face of strong opposition from the ruling princes and the States' People Conference, and without any tangible support from the League. But, Bahadur Yar Jang was not discouraged. He did not give up, but worked with resolution.

Naturally, he was elected the first president of the States' Muslim League. He remained its President until his death, mainly because no other acceptable person was willing to take over this un-enviable position and thankless job.

Religious squabble.

Bhadur Yar Jang was by descent a Mehdavi. He believed in Syed Muhammad of Jaunpur as the promised Mehdi. But, he contended that such a belief cannot be made mandatory for the true faith or 'Eiman'. The result was that some Mehdavi Mashaikhs (religious divines) were trying to ostracize him for apostasy, while certain Sunni fanatic Mufties had declared him a heretic or 'Kafir'

But, all this in no way mitigated against his rising popularity among the Muslim masses all over India. On the other hand, his popularity kept soaring like a rocket until it was snipped out and was extinguished at the height of its splendor.

Keynote of popularity.

Quite often, I have been asked to account for Bahadur Yar Jang's extraordinary popularity. To elucidate my reply, I have outlined his social background and some special features of his personality which carried a mass appeal among Muslims.

But what counted most, I have held, were tow special facets to his character. These must have contributed mainly to his exceptional popularity even among those who ran into him only once or twice.

These two peculiarities were his open and unreserved admission, publicly if necessary, of his mistakes and shortcomings for one; and his expression of trust in the judgment of even a casual acquaintance in matters of great significance, on the other hand.

I could recount dozens of instances when Bahadur Yar Jang had boldly and openly admitted his mistakes, often from a public platform. This only added to his popularity instead of hurting his public image. The following episodes can illustrate my point of view:

"during the afternoon today, the 'Subject Committee' elected by you will meet: announced Bahadur Yar Jang at the conclusion of his opening speech in the All-India Mehdaviah Conference, held at my home town, Channapatna, during 1941. "They will discuss important community problems to be later placed before you. You are not to gather here in the afternoon as it is not an open session; you would not only disturbing the important discussions of your elected representatives, but will also be putting yourselves to unnecessary inconvenience".

He repeatedly emphasized and exhorted on the people to keep away from the Conference hall.

Many of us felt indignant at this slight to our intelligence. We felt it was an insult to us as citizens of Channapatna, particularly as no election had been held for the Subjects' Committee.

The General Secretary and the Joint Secretary between them had simply nominated to the Committee people they thought wouldn't at all about the implications or the after-effects of a resolution, but would merely watch the facial expressions of their leaders to raise their hands for or against a proposal.

I and Najiullah went to the Nawab at the place he was camping and confronted him with the true state of affairs. We had probably been over-Zealous in our refutation due to our strong indignation.

He sharply retaliated at first, but as soon as he realized that elections were not held as claimed, he apologized to us about his behavior. The Subjects Committee meeting scheduled for the afternoon was cancelled, then and there.

He did not leave it at that the next morning in the open session Bahadur Yar Jang tendered profuse apologies and ordered for elections immediately by a show of hands.

This bold corrective action by the Quaide Millat raised him greatly in public esteem among the Mehdavies from all over India present on the occasion.

Another occasion that has left a deep impression on my mind arose about the middle of 1942. Abdur Rehman Raees, the editor of 'waqt', a popular Urdu daily, started a regular smear campaign against Bahadur Yar Jang.

It was given out later that this was started at the instigation of the Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan. A volley of accusations and a diatribe of denunciations were let loose. It went on in full force for about a fortnight, leaving far behind even the declaredly anti Quaide Millat papers.

Friends and supporters urged upon bahadur Yar Jang to give a befitting reply in reprisal. It became increasingly necessary and expedient that the Quaide Millat clear his own position.

The spacious Malakpet ground was chosen for public meeting to be addressed by the accused leader. People who had gathered from all over the City and its suburbs from early evening waited expectantly. According to a conservative estimate, there were nearly a hundred thousand people present.

A pin-drop silence was held as Bahadur Yar Jang began recounting the accusations leveled against him. With a ring of finality, he pleaded guilty and admitted having committed all of those political mistakes.

Then, he took a deep breath and began elucidating upon the back ground and compelling circumstances for each mistake one by one. Soon, it became clear that those who were carrying on the propaganda against him were themselves responsible for every mistake by having driven him to commit the mistake.

When he had driven this home, the audience shouted in one voice that they had never for a moment held any doubts about him. He raised his hand urging for silence and declared that he had not finished yet.

With a sarcastic smile, he announced that all these mistakes he was accused of committing were insignificant and of no consequence; and then he sprang a surprise.

The audience was startled when he declared solemnly, "No one has even a ghost of an idea about the Himalayan blunders made by acts on omission". He recounted several exigencies that had demanded immediate action by the Majlis, but had gone by unmet.

"All because", he said, "my honorable colleagues in the Majlis including Abdur Rehman Raees had formed themselves into a single insurmountable hurdle".

Obviously, he was using the occasion as a double edged sword and was turning the tide against his accusers. But, it required, without a doubt, a lot of moral courage to take the bull by the horns. Never the less, on every such occasion, he rose considerably in public esteem.

The other factor contributing to his remarkable popularity was his unusual political thinking and practice. It was forthright and clear like an open book. He preached and practiced honest and open politics which he called the 'siasate Rehmani' Godly politics). He derided the modern popular political strategy which he called the 'Taghooti Siasat' (Devil's politics).

He had not the least hesitation in going to the very doors of his political opponents in order to seek and exchange opinion on important matters of public significance.

Every now and then, the Quaide Millat used to visit the nationalist Akbar Ali Khan, the anti-Majlis bureaucrat Ali Yavar Jang and even the Congressite Rama Chari.

At crucial moments, when a decision of vital importance and far-reaching consequence was called for, he would seek opinion from every sensible visitor coming to meet him. He would spell out the exigencies and ask the visitor, "If you were in my place under these circumstances, what would you have done"?

The result was that he used to have a wide range of opinions and advice to draw from and arrive at, the most suitable decision. On their part, the people consulted would feel highly elated, especially where the action finally taken by the Quaide Millat happened to be in accord with or near to the opinion tendered.

No wonder that anyone who had met him even a couple of times would always carry the impression that the Quaide Millat had implicit faith in his sagacity and trustworthiness to have disclosed big secrets and to have sought his opinion.

This feeling of self-appreciation would invariably be transformed into deep love and respect for Bahadur Yar Jang. These special characteristics of his public behavior contributed to his fast rising popularity and fame.

Comfy life of thenobility.

Even though Bahadur Yar Jang strongly condemned the feudal society, he could not rid himself of the vestiges of the system to which he too belonged. He had per force to maintain all the paraphernalia of jagirdar; so much so that he couldn't even dress himself without the help of a servant.

By way of easy living, he had not gone to the extent to which other Nawabs and high ranking government officials had. These egotistic, snobby characters, I was told, couldn't eve wash their hands and faces without the help.

Whenever such a dignitary arrived home from outside, three or four servants would rush with a jug of water, a basin, towels and soap. While the master would bend over the basin, carefully held in position, another servant would moisten and soap the master's face, hands and feet and wash them gently. Yet another servant stood ready with towels to dry the washed parts of the master's body.

Long after his death, the daily routine of Nawab Shahab Jang, a Taludadar (collector), was related with some relish by many a Hyderabadi. As a true specimen of the jagirdari system, Shahab jang had become a legendary social figure.

The Nawab would wake up, it was said, from a drunken slumber towards the afternoon. From this moment to his going back to bed in the early hours of the morning, his slightest move would be heralded by a relay system through a long line of servants reaching upto the outer precincts of the mansion.

Birth of a catching slogan.

The Muslim minority in Hyderabad practically held and monopolized most of the jobs in Government and public services. They ardently vanished to perpetuate this advantageous position. A significant step towards achieving this goal was the commitment extracted from the Nizam's Government about parity of representation for Muslims with other castes under the proposed constitution.

This position, already advantageous, was maneuverable to working majority. It was, however, rendered fatuous by an inordinate delay in promulgation of the Constitution and an indefinite putting off the general elections under it.

Muslims had to be endowed with special characteristics to deserve this position of advantage. If only they could assume a semblance of being the real custodians of Sovereignty over Hyderabad! But there was a big stumbling block in the way besides the Congress.

It had for long been the fond dream of the Nizam to gain, and exercise absolute monarchy in spite of the British supremacy. He wouldn't tolerate any inroads into his powers. The Nizam simply hated to concede even the smallest share in his autocratic posers even with his most loyal subjects, Hindus and Muslims alike.

A wonderful opportunity in this direction presented itself during 1939. Bhadur Yar Jang hadn't a moment's hesitation to grab at it eagerly.

The British Agent Resident in Hyderabad had hatched up an intrigue to cut the Nizam to size. Azam Jah, the prince of Berar and Heir Apparent to the Throne, was incited to revolt against his rattle-brained father, Osman Ali Khan. He was assured full support of the British Government if he were to take up the stand.

Bahadur Yar Jang was relaxing and sight-seeing in *Mussoorie* when an urgent telegram from the Nizam summoned him back to Hyderabad immediately. He rushed back and made discreet enquiries; and learnt about the Resident's plot to oust the Nizam.

First, he went to see the Prince of Berar with this information in order to sound him and to find out how far the Prince was prepared to go. Azam Jah was jittery and pleaded innocence. However, he admitted that he was being goaded to revolt.

Then only he went to see the Nizam, Osman Ali Khan, in King Kothi. "Do you know what goes on here"? asked the Nizam. "Yes Sire", replied Bahadur Yar Jang, "and I have also had a meeting with the Wali Ahad Bahadur (Heir Apparent)". "What do you think should be done to quash the mischief"? enquired the Nizam.

Nawab Bhadur begged for permission to speak out the truth. It was granted expectantly. He then composed himself to shock the Nizam out of his complacency. Quietly, he let slip that if the Prince of Berar boldly takes an open stand, he (meaning Osman Ali Khan) would find himself alone, without a single soul on his side.

The Nizam was badly shaken and shouted, "What do you mean by that"? "I have your gracious permission to speak the truth", replied Nawab Bahadur calmly, "and it would be disloyal on my part to hide the true state of affairs from your Exalted highness"

Stunned into silence, the Nizam got hold of himself in a moment and asked, "What do you think should be done now"? Bahadur Yar Jang then assured the Nizam that Azam Jah had so far resisted the temptation despite strong inducement. "he can be prevailed upon the remain as ever the dutiful son and loyal subject of you Exalted Highness. besides ---".

"Besides what"? exclaimed the Nizam. Very solemnly, Nawab Bahadur submitted, "Initiating, as it does, from the British Agent, the idea is patently an interference in our internal affairs. I can in all confidence assure Your Exalted Highness that every single Muslim subject of the Sultanate Asafjah shall rally around your august person which for them symbolizes their sovereignty over Hyderabad".

As a result of this, the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen adopted, with the Nizam's acquiescence, the slogan: 'The person of the Nizam symbolizes the sovereignty of the Muslims over Hyderabad'. The catch phrase of 'Anal Malik' (I am the Sovereign) and 'El Mulko Lillah' (country for Allah) were repeatedly voiced from Majlis platform.

As a corollary, it was claimed, the Asafjah flag manifests the Muslim suzerainty over Hyderabad. "Without us", it was claimed "the Nizam is nowhere; and without him we are only a non-entity".

Mockery of the privileged class.

But, here again a glaring qualitative contradiction was posed by the objective social conditions. A majority of the Muslims living in the rural areas was leading a sub-human wretched life in abject misery. This fact was most emphatically brought out in a report on the conditions of the rural Muslim population of Hyderabad.

Inquiry into the economic aspect was conducted by Syed Asghar Hussan, a conscientious pro-Majlis member of the Hyderabad Civil Service. Although the report was not endorsed by the Government It was approved by the Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen in its entirety. It would not be out of place to relate an anecdote in this regard.

One evening, the Quaide Millat was relaxing on the lawn in the Baitul Ummah quadrangle and discussing the report with Asghar Hussain when some petitioners from the Nawab's jagir were shown in.

While Nawab Bahadur listened to the submission of the Muslim peasants, Asghaar Hussain sat staring at the small child accompanying the deputation. He appeared to be immersed in deep thought.

On enquiry from the Nawab, Asghar Hussain pointed towards the half-naked, badly starved and miserable looking child cringing behind the legs of his father. The poor child was vainly trying to hide behind his dull sunken eyes a world of misery and despair. All eyes were turned in that direction.

And Asghar Hussain very disarmingly remarked, "I was wondering at this specimen of the 'custodians of our sovereignty' whom none of the special privileges claimed and enjoyed by us appears to have been touched".

The Razaakars.

Soon after the Ittehadul Muslimeen assumed a political program, Bahadur Yar Jang devoted full attention towards organizing a volunteer corps as a Para-military wing of the Majlis. He already had the basic knowledge and experience for the task. He had been an active member and sectional organizer of the highly regimented and well disciplined Khaksar Organization.

Every primary branch of the Majlis was instructed to enlist volunteers locally. Facilities were provided to organize branches of the Razakar body.

Glamour of getting dressed up in starched uniform and marching in step to the beat of drums held a fascination for the young men. In no time at all, the Razakars Organization gained in strength and discipline.

Dedicated young men were all too eager to organize the Razakar force. Some of them had already acquired discipline from Khaksar Movement. They had also learnt obedience to superior's command without hesitation or question and loyalty to both the organization.

The Second Great War brought in its wake the A.R.P (Air Raid Precautions) and the Civil Defense organization. Bahadur Yar Jang took active part is both organizations and induced his colleagues in the Majlis and the Razakars to do likewise.

He tried byt with little success to organize the Nazme Jamaiet (Nizam's Irregular Army) into a well disciplined force in full battle array. The irregulars having led a life of ease and comfort for generations were not amenable to fetching up and grooming.

The regular armed forces, the Nazme Jamaiet and Government Service as a whole formed a well guarded preserve for the Muslims.

The Civil Administration.

Hyderabad had its own Civil Service on the pattern of the Indian Civil Service. Easy going and corruption had become the forte of the State functionaries. More than that , it was in a way considered a qualification.

It was said of Mahmood Yar jang, Secretary to the Government in Revenue Department, that he used to remark, whenever the honesty and efficiency of an officer of his Department was reported to him, "A functionary who does not have the courage and confidence to extract graft with a measure of equanimity cannot be expected to show efficiency".

The very fabric of society was tangled mesh of intrigue artifice and subversion. It was broadly claimed that whenever any three persons get together, one of them is sure to be an informer attached with some agency or personality.

In addition to the Department of Intelligence, one of the best organized agencies in the whole of India for investigation and espionage, every important person employed a regular team of informers.

The British Residency had it own system of intelligence and espionage. In addition to this, they had agents foisted on government departments and infiltrating into political organizations.

Strange as it may seem, Bahadur Yar Jang used to receive some times copies of the reports reaching the British Residency regarding his political activities and attitude of the Majlis towards important issues.

This was made possible through secret cooperation of certain member so the Residency staff, loyal to the Majlis cause.

It was in the Quaide Millat's knowleddge, by this means, that one of the Residency informers was a member of his own working Committee in the Ittehadul Muslimeen.

City life pattern.

Life in the city of Hyderabad reflected easy going, comfort loving and languorous tendencies. It was said that more than ten percent of the Muslim population in the city and district towns was addicted to opium eating.

The Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, himself a habitual opium eater, used to dwell on the usefulness and the curative and euphoric properties of opium. He would advise his courtiers and some visitors to start taking opium in effective doses.

Toddy, the fermented juice of the date and palm trees, which was locally called 'Sendhi' was a popular drink. It was cheap enough to be consumed by the poor to deaden their fatigue, misery and sense of degradation. Special brew of toddy was regularly consumed by the nobility also.

It was a common sight in Hyderabad, as the afternoon advanced towards evening, that richly decorated huge clay urns wrapped in silk and garlanded at the neck could be seen reverentially being carried to the mansions of the nawabs. These vessels carried specially brewed toddy to suit the individual taste of the Nawab.

Some nawabs preferred the choicest European wines and liquors for themselves. Intoxicants of individual choice were offered to the hangers-on, henchmen, apple-polishers and sycophants comprising toddy, opium, cocaine and locally brewed liquor.

Drinds were served together with the popular snacks of 'Chakna'. It was a conglomerate stew of cleaned stomach, intestines and legs of sheep together with whole head, minus horns, skin and brain, hard boiled and cooked very hot full of spices and tinged with a splash of sour tamarind.

I had heard much about the breakfast of 'Nehari and Kulchas' usually taken at day break. Nehari was a heavily spiced gravy of meat, legs and tongue with meshed head of sheep. Kulcha was a sort of tortilla like hard baked small round bread. The meal itself was served sizzling hot from the oven and stove.

As ill luch would have it, I expressed a sesire to take this special breakfast food to try its taste. The nist morning, a little before 4 A.M., there was a loud knocking at my door.

Startled out of deep sleep, I rushed to the door with a premonition of some catastrophe only to find a grinning Jhijar Khan (Mehdi Ali Khan) the Nazme Jamiaet man in charge of the Arab Guards at the Baitul Ummah gate. He asked me in a tone of urgency to dress up and come for eating nehari kulchas.

"Are you Mad"? I thundered, "This is no time for a breakfast". But, he insisted that it was on my own desire that he was asking me to taste this special preparation. He also warned that if we delay any longer the dish would have lost its special savor.

Reluctantly I went out and was rushed to Jalal's Restaurant near Dewan Deorhi so as to reach there before 4.30 A.M. on entering the place, a queer sight met my eyes. Most of the tables were occupied by customers. All these patrons were bending over the tables in a drunken stupor, resulting from a heavy doze of opium; and they had all been waiting for hours, I was told, to be served with nehari kulchas.

The meal would be rounded off, it appeared, with a hot cup of very sweet creamy tea. After which, they would go and sleep off their opium hangover till the afternoon.

We were let to an exclusive table in the wings. Exactly at half past four, the boom of the official cannon was heard heralding the dawn of a new day, as is usual. Closely following this, a sharp sizzling sound of frying was heard. This was supposed to make the nehari savory and toothsome. An inviting and appetizing aroma wafted across to our nostrils.

The meal itself was dirt cheap at a few annas per head in Hali Currency. The Hyderabad local currency called the Hali was cheaper than the British Indian Currency by about 15 per cent. This was the only legal tender in the state.

Fond dreams.

During the forties, was emaciated western powers were finding it extremely difficult to hold their colonies in subjugation any more. The mighty British Empire on which, it was supposed, the sun would never set, was faced with the likelihood of shrinking back into the tiny island from which it had spread out.

The Eastern countries were struggling to gain independence and the Eastern nations were carving for liberty and democracy. The days of absolute monarchy and autocracy were ended. Military dictatorships were coming up here and there. But, a dictatorship can only be established and maintained with the acquiescence of the people coming under it.

The Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, entertained a fond hope of regaining his ancestral kingship automatically with the withdrawal of the British Supremacy.

He liked to call himself and be addressed as: Rustume Dauran, Arastue Zaman, Sultan-ul-Uloom, Sultan-us-Shoara, Sultan-ul-Hikmat, Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Sipah Salar, Fateh Jang, His Exalted highness, Aala Hazrat Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, Asifjah-e-Sabae, Faithful Ally of the British Crown, G.C.S.I., etc. etc.

Behind this cloak of self aggrandizement, Osman Ali Khan was hiding submissiveness the British and grave doubts and fear of all other including his own flesh and blood. He expected his British masters to

hand over to him the powers gradually wrested from him irrespective of the popular movement and people's clamour from freedom and democracy.

The political tangle.

The communists were organizing the peasants for an armed struggle in order to smash and destroy the feudal system and replace it with national democracy.

The State Congress, under the support and guidance of the Indian National Congress, was pressing and agitating for a full responsible government with the aim of ultimately integrating the state with the future Indian Union.

The Hindu Maha Sabha and their militant activists wished to over throw the Muslim domination and establish a Hindu state as part of the Akhand Bharat they aspired for.

In the face of these formidable forces, the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen, under the guidance and control of the Quaide Millat Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang Bahadur, tenaciously held on to the assurances extracted from the Nizam's Government regarding a domineering position for Muslims in the proposed Legislature.

To set the record right, I must admit that Jinnah the Quaide Azam who manifestly lent his approval and support for these measures strongly discredited these objectives in strict confidence.

"It cannot work for long", he would say and was forthright in his remark that such a concept was out of tune in the twentieth century; "in this age of democracy", he stressed.

Whenever Bahadur Yar Jang sought Jinnah's advice whether on constitutional problems or tactical moves, he would make his own position clear to start with. "The advice being given", he would point out "is based on your individual assessment of the situation. This must needs be stilted and biased; and as such, my advice itself becomes subjective", he would emphasize.

"Irrespective of my advice", the Quaid would stress "You are the man on the spot and would have to deal with situation all by yourself. Never for a moment should you forget that you could have to somehow secure the cooperation of the majority community in order to live in peace".

Amidst all this interplay of the political forces, the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan, with all his idiosyncrasies and unpredictable behavior, kept sitting snug and complacent in King Kothi immensely enjoying as it were the whole game.

A victim of severe self-glorification and a mastermind of artifice and intrigue, the Nizam may have felt that he could always play one force against another, and every time again some advantage for himself. All the same, he was quite wary and qualmy about any person or party getting to powerful and unmanageable.

Bahadur Yar Jang was a devoted follower of the Quaide Azam and he sincerely believed that Pakistan was the panacea for all the troubles of Muslim India. His contribution to the Pakistan movement was second to none.

Nevertheless, he had set his heart on creating a Mumlikate Islamia Asafiah in Hyderabad Deccan. Never for a moment did he realize that it was a contradiction in term to call Hyderabad a Muslim state with its overwhelming non-Muslim majority of 87 per cent, not to mention its being land-locked and surrounded on all sides by an un-friendly atmosphere.

The situation was rendered farcical and foolish by a conceited Ruler who despised all national aspirations, although he was too willing to concede every advantage to the British conspirators.

This weakness of the Nizam was fully exploited by the British for reducing him gradually from the status of sovereign, a powerful monarch to that of a cringing subordinate relieved of much of his territories and power.

Ethereal props.

The most ticklish problem, an un-scalable hurdle, in the way of making Hyderabad a 'Muslim State' was the population of the Muslims which was hardly over thirteen per cent. To augment this population, efforts were being made again and again by the Muslim elite.

Ali Imam's scheme to permanently settle in Hyderabad the oppressed and uprooted Moplas proved abortive and brought him into British disfavour. The 'Tabligh' drive by Bahadur Yar jang to bring the low cast Hindus into the fold of Islam by conversion gave rise to big hue and cry by traditionalist Hindus.

The un-obtrusive recruitment into the defense and administrative services from outside the State drawn from Muslim militant and literary circles of other Indian provinces was a very long process and it had given rise to the quasi-nationalist 'Mulki Movement. Bahadur Yar Jang's own efforts to help the uprooted, destitute Cossacks of Tashkent and Bokhara to settle down in Hyderabad proved futile: the State's climate didn't suit them and the British Residency was against it. Bahadur Yar Jang, therefore, sought to build a reserve force outside the Nizams's Dominions.

The most unruly and wild region of the NWFP tribal belt, Bajore was selected for the purpose. The Quaide Millat wished to obtain a boy from a known militant family and to adopt him as a member of his own family in Hyderabad Deccan. Through the special interest of the Raja Seheb of Mehmudabad, a boy was found from the Salarzai Mhamoodkhael tribe of Chamrkhand, a widely known unruly and wild town of the Region.

Jaffer Khan, the six year old son of Gul Zamir Khan, a front rank activist of the 'Ismail Shaheed' movement was brought to Baitul Ummah during the middle of 1942 and was admitted as family

member. The intention was to educate and suitable train him for the task of organizing the tribals as revolutionary reserve force to complement the Majlis paramilitary organization.

Having got Jaffer Khan admitted into a local school, Bahadur Yar jang appear to have forgotten all about him, for the time being at least. Things were moving very fast those days on the political horizon. Left to himself, except for the Begum's occasional snubbing, young Jaffer khan was bewildered witness to the stormy scenes in Baitul Ummah and developments outside as reflected in his introduction to this work.

After the death of Quaide Millat, Jaffer Kahn migrated to Pakistan. He was only able to bring back with him a degree in science from the Osmania University. Like many other unfortunate sons of the soil, he is far worse today than a refugee from India. He is now engaged in hum-drum bread earning job of teaching school more than a thousand miles from his home district.

LOOING BACK - CHAPTER 08 - THE VOLTE FACE

THE VOLTE FACE

Bahadur Yar Jang was on the regular payroll as 'Jamadar' (commander) of the Nizame Jamaiet (Nizam's irregular forces) with a contingent of 500 'Siledars' sowars and foot soldiers. When he went out of the State without obtaining previous permission, as he had done before, his explanation was called for this time, by Qudrat Nawaz Jang, Chief of the Nazme Jamaiet. He did not respond. Soon after, he went out without permission again. A 'show cause' notice was served on him this time. In reply, he submitted his resignation from the Organization and asked to be relieved of his responsibilities at once.

It was with the implied consent and approval of the Nizam that the State flag had been characterized as a symbol of the supremacy of the Muslims over what they called the Mumlikate Islamia Asafiah.

But, when Bahadur Yar Jang mentioned it once too often, he was taken to task by the Nizam. In a very humiliating manner he was reminded through a Fireman, published in the usual manner, that it was the flag of the Asafiah rulers and not a symbol of Muslim supremacy.

It was pointed out in the Firman that Bahadur Yar Jang and his ancestors had enjoyed many privileges under this very flag. It was stressed that these benefits had been granted by the owners of this flag, the Asafiah Rulers.

To bring home this fact, Bahadur Yar Jang's public speech was banned for a period of twelve months. Quite naturally, the Quaide Millat protested by surrendering his Jagirs and title.

It was then that it came to light how unreliable and disloyal were some of his colleagues in the Ittehadul Muslimeen: as was also his own wife. Of course, it took slight maneuvering by the crafty Nizam in order to show the rebellious Nawab his misplaced reliance.

One of his closest colleagues was granted an unsolicited audience. To please the Nizam, he said that Bahadur Khan's behavior had been childish and ill-advised.

The next day, as a mark of appreciation, the Nizam sent a gift of an emerald set of studs and links together with a 'Khasa" and 'Firman' to this colleague of Bahadur Yar Jang, Abul Hasan Syed Ali.

If the Nizam wished to honor someone of his subjects, he would have some eatables sent along with a few words of appreciation scrawled on a shred of paper. The writing was called the Firman; and the paper on which it was written was usually a piece torn from an empty packet of Char Minars, the cheapest cigarettes available in the market and regularly smoked by the Nizam.

When Bahadur Khan (Bahadur Yar Jang minus his title) proved un-manageable and defiant, the Begum was tackled at a suitable moment. A Firman and Khasa arrived from King Kothi expressly for the Begum at a time when Bahadur Khan was known to be absent.

The Firman exhorted her to give good advice to her 'highly emotional husband'. The Khasa contained, among other things, a bottle of syrup prescribed to have soothing properties for tensed nerves. The Begum felt highly elated and excited. It was an honor beyond her expectations.

She wrote a long submissive Acknowledgement bitterly complaining against her won husband's imprudence in bringing upon himself the Royal wrath. The Begum took quite a long time composing this self incrimination. She wrote it in her almost illegible hand. The Nizam's messenger waited patiently for the reply which he was ordered to bring back.

The note was finally handed over to me, so that I may keep a copy of it. Having hasitily scanned it, I strongly opposed its dispatch paying no heed to the presence of the Nizam's Messenger.

I requested the Begum to wait for the return of her husband before sending out a written acknowledgement. The Begum burst out, "the Firman is addressed to me and I know how to acknowledge. You simply do what you have been asked to do".

When Bahadur Khan returned that evening, the Begum evry proudly showed him the Firman and Khasa. She also told him that she had already acknowledged it. "A copy of the reply is with Allah Bux", she said.

I was immediately sent for, on seeing the copy, Bahadur Khan's face turned crimson with anger. He asked me, "Did you see the reply before copying it; how could you allow it to go"? I told him that I had opposed it and had requested that the Begum should wait for his return.

Thunderous outburst.

Bahadur Khan flared up into a mad rage, the like of which nad never been seen before. He fumed and thundered so loud that the walls shook. He shouted, "This woman does not realize what she has done. She has acted like she is not my wife but the wife of my title and jagirs".

"The thoughtless inmate of King Kothi thinks", he continued "that he can buy me over by presenting a bottle of syrup to my wife. He wants to pressurize me through her, but he is badly mistaken. Now I shall not receive back the title and the jagirs under any circumstances". There had been a proposal to reinstate the jagirs and restore the title with a mild reproof.

After this furious outburst, Bahadur Khan ordered firmly that he dould be left entirely to himself; and that no one should approach him unless sent for by him. He strictly forbade even his closest childhood associate, Shah Alam Khan, from coming to see him without previous permission.

For three whole days following this, he stayed all the time in the Study-cum-Library in the male portion of Baitul Ummah where no female inmate of the Mansion was allowed. He slept the nights in his day time retiring chamber. He did not see the Begum also during his period. Only Syed Hussain was asked to remain at hand to attend upon him.

Before resuming his routine life, Bahadur Khan Called me and said, "Let us prepare a document that shall go down in history ass the most revealing and startling account of Court Intrigues on record"

He started by dictating a petition to the Nizam; but after the addressing phrases he stopped dictating and began to mutter. He started to do some loud thinking: "Whoever served the present incumbent of the Asafiah Throne with fidelity, devotion and steadfastness", he said, "came at last, surely enough, to a pitiable end".

"If somebody unwittingly provokes his egotism, there is no limit to which he would not go to punish him most relentlessly"

Continuing, he said, "in his hidden vaults, besides gold silver and precious gems he holds a large stock of the world's rarest and deadliest poisons. The effects of these poisons are said to be varied; and what's more, it would be impossible to detect them even under the most sophisticated examination".

"The Hazoor is only gullible to British gimmicks as they are obviously craftier than him", he observed. Then, he dwelt upon the gradual curtailment of power and domain. Concluding, he remarked, "Six Nizams have died so far. There are strong reasons to believe that none of them died a natural death".

What a pity, the intended document was never put on record. It would certainly have been a most revealing piece of historical document.

Clouds on the Horizon.

Fame and popularity are invariably attended upon by envy hatred and malice. As the gained greater influence and wider fame, Bahadur Yar Jang acquired a broader range of opponents and enemies.

He himself hated the British for the supremacy gained by artifice and intrigue. They had reduced the Nizam's powerful and independent Dominion to miserably subservient position bit by bit.

On the scene of princely India, he had only incited the resentment and anger of the state rulers, while he could gain merely an apprehensive and half-hearted cooperation of the state Muslims. He was trying to organize the Muslims of the native states, who had been laboring under a double yoke of slavery, under the banner of the All-India States' Muslim League.

Already irritated and soar at the ever-increasing interference in their internal affairs by the States Peoples' Conference, the maharajahs and the nawabs with the exception of the Nawab of Bhopal were ill disposed towards the creation of a new entrant and contender in their power preserve.

In the All-India Muslim League, Ironically, several members of High Command were feeling uneasy at the powerful projection of Nawab Bahadur's idealization and his dynamic conception of the shape of Pakistan to come.

Comfort and happiness lie in his home for every normal person. There is indeed no place like home. But for Bahadur Khan, his home was not the proverbial sweet home because of a nagging, loud mouthed and uncouth wife.

A few days after the Firman and Khasa episode, which had hurt Bahadur khan the most, the Begum, learnt of the prospects of the restitution of jagirs and title. It was in the air that a more elevated title of Shujaul Mulk was being conferred on her husband, Bahadur Khan.

Begum Bahadur Khan ordered that the Nakhar Kahana, the attic room in a building opposite the Baitul Ummah for housing the Naubat and Nakhara be cleaned and made ready. These were a big kettle drum and reed instrument played regularly at dawn and dusk as a mark of prestige by royal decree.

Najiullah, who came to interview Bahadur Khan to obtain his reactions to the restitution prospects, hinted that the renovation of the Nakhar Khana was a sure indication that the new honours were acceptable to him.

After Najiullah had left, Bahadur Khan enquired on whose instructions the Nakhar Kahana was being readied. On being informed that the Begum had ordered it, he lamented, "The hair-brained woman couldn't wait even for a few days. She is not fit to be my wife".

Shadows of a hovering death.

A few months before his death, Bahadur Khan was informed that a clipping for a French magazine was produced before the Nizam. It carried a feature about the fabulous wealth of the Nizam with a small Photo inset of Bahadur Khan, but the captioned, 'H.E.H. The Nizam of Hyderabad'.

Obviously, it was a matter of mistaken identity which could easily have been corrected. But Osman Ali Khan was fed the story that Bahadur Khan had been posing before foreigners as the real Nizam of Hyderabad. The Nizam was given the impression that Bahadur Yar Jang was aspiring to become the Mussolini of Hyderabad.

One day the Nawab came back from lunch given in his honor by an association, feeling very queasy. He rushed into the nearest toilet and was sick. Dr. Yasin Zuberi who was at hand, examined him and prescribed some medication. The Doctor said it looked like food poisoning.

Dr. Yasin Zuberi solicitously observed that te Quaide Millat should be very careful about what he eats. But the Nawab just laughed it off with the remark, "nobody would want to poison me; the angle of death guards me jealously: he couldn't allow any on to take up his exclusive functions".

Another time, he went to a party at the house of a friend ion Hanuman Tekri. There was a large number of invitees drawn from every walk of life. A bunch of young intellectuals gathered round the Quaide Millat; and they drew him into a animated discussion about corruption and social evils at the highest level in society. They asked to know the corrective measures, if any, that the Nawab may have in mind.

When driven to an impasse, Bahadur Yar Jang said, "There is yet another desperate measure which has been successfully tried before". When pressed to elucidate, he narrated a story about Alexander's method of dealing with the Persian recalcitrance.

"Having conquered Persia", Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang said, "the moment Alexander went on ahead, there was a revolt against the Greek Administration. When this occurred repeatedly and persistently, Alexander gathered all information about the changing situation and sent a messenger to his master adviser, Aristotle, to seek his advice".

"After listening carefully and patiently to the messenger, Aristotle called him the next morning for a considered opinion and advice", Bhadur Yar Jang said. "Alexander's messenger was conducted into the back garden, when he called the nest morning. Here he found the great philosopher engaged in a queer and absurd exercise".

"When the messenger tried to attract the Master's attention and obtain the promised advice", the Nawab said, "Aristotle frowned and chased the messenger away; and he refused to see the messenger again".

"The dispirited Messenger", the Nawab continued, "very reluctantly returned to Alexander and reported that Aristotle had probably no advice to give, because when pressed for it, he was effect thrown out of the philosopher's presence"

"Alexander wanted full details of his encounter with Aristotle while giving an honest and full account of his mission", Bahadur Yar Jang said, "the messenger murmured that great men are a queer lot, because the Great Master was sawing down full grown and blossoming trees and in their place he was planting saplings he carried with him in the basket".

"Now I get the message, said Alexander and dismissed the messenger".

"The next morning Alexander had all important persons of Persia, well established in their positions, gathered in one place and ordered that every single one of them should be executes and none should be allowed to escape".

"Then he called the sensible ones from the younger generation and entrusted to them the management of the affairs of the State and after that", the Nawab Concluded, "there was no more revolt in Persia and peace endured".

The people who had gathered about the Quaide Millat during the narration, were simply stunned and remained speechless. Nobody had expected such sharp and extreme suggestion.

On our way back to Baitul Ummah, I told the Nawab that the story he had told at the party was virtually a bombshell, and it could invite serious trouble. He just laughed it off; but I was really worried.

A foretaste.

As usual the Nawab Bahadur's public speech in the Delhi session of the Muslim league was considered essential; but he, as the most powerful exponent of the Muslim League's point of view, had been gagged by the Nizam.

The Quaide Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah advised him to obtain special permission from the Nizam for this purpose. In reply to a petition, an implied permission was granted telegraphically. On the strength of this, Bahadur khan was asked to speak from the Muslim league platform; and he did.

The speech, as usual, was stirring and thought-provoking. The Quaide Azam was not, however, in favour of any more of his speeches elsewhere, although there was a great demand for it from all over India.

It was in these circumstances that Bahadur khan went to Kashmir during the second week of August, '43. He was to have presided over the Muslim conference meeting being held in Srinagar on 13, 14, and 15 August. Quaide Azam was to have inaugurated the session.

Bahadur khan reached Srinagar according to program, but Jinnah somehow did not come. Bahadur Khan was arrested immediately on arrival. He was put in a Police jeep and was rushed doe not Kohala. Here, after crossing the bridge, he was left on the road with orders to leave the state boundary immediately.

The Nawab was alone in a strange place at the dead of night of August 12. It was a black stormy night with the rain pouring cats and dogs. He walked ahead along the road until he reached a rest house. He was drenched from head to foot and was shivering with cold when he arrived at this temporary shelter.

Here, he spent a very uncomfortable night. For most of the time, however, he was writing out a Press Report on the incident. The hand-scribbled report gave details of his arrest without a warrant the moment his taxi reached Srinagar.

He was not allowed to get in touch with his hosts, the organizers of the Muslim Conference Session, who may have felt that he too had not arrived. He was not allowed even to wait for the taxi following with his wife and luggage. He was relieved of his pistol for which he had an all-India license. Bodily shoved into a waiting jeep, he was whisked away down the road.

This handwritten report had been sent by post and by name to Ahmed Abdul Qadri, Editor of the Orient Press of India at Hyderabad. A small chit enclosed advised him to get the handwriting identified and the report authenticated by Allah Bus, i.e., me.

The way in which the Majlis High Command handled the situation wa highly disappointing. The Editor, to the doubly sure asked the Majlis High Command to clear the report. The original report was at once sent for and an emergent meeting of the Working Committee sat deliberating upon the gravity of the situation and the pros and a con of the report's publishing.

Immediately after his return to Hyderabad, I quickly briefed him about the delay in the report's publication. He felt very badly about it and gave expression to his feelings strongly and candidly before his Majlis colleagues gathered to welcome him home.

It had been with much difficulty and against the wish of the Majlis leaders that the report could be released to the press. By the time it appeared in the news papers, it had already become stale. Notwithstanding, there was great resentment among the Muslim public not only in Hyderabad but also in different parts of India.

Appointment with death.

That unforgettable evening of June 25, 1944, when the Quaide Millat had an appointment with death, I was attending to some correspondence in my well appointed office upstairs. The weekly meeting of the 'Darse Iqbal's (Study of Iqbal) was going on in the reception hall below.

When I came down, the meeting had dispersed. Bhadur Khan was jocularly playing with Ammu, the lovely little daughter of Syed Hussain, his personal attendant.

It was getting near tie for Bahadur Khan to go for dinner at Hashim Ali Khan's. The host was a judge of the Hyderabad High Court. The dinner had been arranged at the request of Prof. Sultan, Son-in-law of Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, who wanted to meet the famous and fiery speaker and un-challenged leader of Hyderabad Muslims.

Noor Muhammad brought the Chevrolet Car. Bahdur Khan asked for the wheel as he wanted to drive by himself, brushing aside Noor Mohammad's muttered premonition about the engine. Then the Quaide Millat went on the last drive of his life.

I returned home where Najiullah came and joined me at supper we were exchanging pleasantries. Najiullah asked me if I still was the Private Secretary to the Quaide Millat Bahadur Khan or had become PS to Shujaul Mulk. We were suddenly interrupted by a loud impatient knocking at my door.

Abdur Rehaman, a servant of the Nawab's establishment informed me that the Nawab had suddenly taken ill at Hashm Ali Khan's and had passed out. A phone call t this effect, he said had been received by the Begum Saheba.

We rushed to the Baitul Ummah, a very short distance away. The Begum had already left for Banjara Hills in the only other car. Several people had already gathered making anxious enquiries. When I asked for a taxi to be brought, those present all insisted that they will come with us to Banjara Hills.

A lorry usually used for goods hauling was obtained on hire from the neighboring Afzal Ganj Lorry Stand. By this time a telephone message was received from Hashim Ali Khan's next door neighbor, Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jang (Hashim ali Khan having no phone installed at his residence), that the Quaide Millat had expired.

When I reached the house of death, I saw the body lying on a couch in the drawing room. Even the Sherwani he was wearing hadn't unbuttoned. The moment I saw the body at a glance, I was shocked at

the change of hue on the face so soon. The bluish blotches on the skin made me suspicious. I suspected foul play.

Suspicions aroused.

Najiullah who must have read my thoughts, prodded on to take someone into confidence and find out the circumstances surrounding death. I ca sabot and caught hold of Dr. Bahadur Khan, the famous neuro surgeon, after an unsuccessful try with Khan Bahadur Ahmed Alladin the business tycoon.

He was a distant relative of the deceased and also his family doctor. On my pointed enquiry, he said, "p received a phone call to say that Nawab Saheb had suddenly taken ill at Hashim Ali Kahn's and needed medical attention immediately".

"When I rushed here", he said, "some capable doctors like Hyder Ali Khan, Benkat Chander and Shah Nawaz were already here; and they had all declared him dead. My own cursory visual examination only confirmed their verdict".

I asked him if he had inquired into the cause of death. He replied, "Before dinner could be served, he had smoked from a Hooka; he had coughed, choked and gone into convulsion, I was told. But before any medical attention could be obtained, it was said, he had breathed his last".

Without letting him go, I drew his attention to the bluish bue the face had assumed and asked him point bland if he was satisfied that there was no foul play. He boggled at it and tried to beg himself off; but on my insistence, he said, "it is not possible to give a definite opinion without a thorough examination, preferably an autopsy".

I asked quite audibly but without addressing anyone in particular, where the killer Hooka was, but nobody appeared to know where it could be. Someone suggested, it may be in the Zenanah (Ladies' enclosure). As if in reply, I heard, Begum Bahadur Khan wailing and declaring at the top of her voice that her husband had been murdered. She was loudly demanding that Killer hooka be brought to her.

But the hooka was not traceable anywhere; and nobody seemed to be aware where it could be. It had simply disappeared.

I went home a little before dawn for a change of clothes when I returned to Baitul Ummah, the road was completely blocked by pressing crowds of inquisitive and distraught admirers of the Quaide Millat. I had per force to gain entrance through the back door, the Zenanah gate.

Syed Hussain, Najiullah and I held hurried discussions in a corner. We were agreed about the possibility of foul play. It was necessary, we felt, to pressurize the Majlis High Command into demanding an investigation into the cause of death.

I and Najiullah took aside Abul hasan Syed Ali who had by then been designated to succeed Bahadur Khan as President of the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen by members of the Working Committee and the Shura who were present at the time. We told him about our doubts and asked him to press for an investigation.

He retorted sharply and angrily, "you must be out of your minds to think of such a possibility. A demand as suggested by you would unleash trouble on a gigantic scale. Nobody would be able to control it".

Soon after this Shah Alam Khan joined us and we decided to spring a surprise st the Namaze janazah (funeral prayer) by snatching at the public address system's mike to voice our doubts and demand decisive investigation.

Our plan must somehow have leaked out or been anticipated, because a strong guard was mounted on the mike. It was soon rendered in-operative. The audible, accepted and thundering voice of the Nation which had been gagged was silenced for ever; and even a weak and imploring voice in protest was now prevented.

On June 30, I wrote to Quaide Azam Jinnah in confirmation of my telegram of 26the giving full details of the great tragedy as observed by me. Along with this, I sent him an English translation of the statement given to the police by Begum Bahadur Khan the same (June 30) afternoon.

Till then, no message of condolence had been received from the Quaide Azam, even afterwards, no message of sympathy was received except for press statements issued by Muslim League leaders. No doubts were raised about the circumstances of death; and no demand for investigation was voiced, even through the highly suspicious events surrounding the sudden death were known to all.

Some of us felt that the Quaide Azam may not have overcome by then his annoyance at Bahadur Khan's strong projection of the shape of things to come in proposed new dominion of Pakistan.

Two years later, however, during his abortive mission to Hyderabad, the Quaide Azam paid a visit to Baitul Ummah and talked to Begum Bahadur Khan. All those present; servants, women and children were removed, by his express desire I was told, to a safe distance beyond hearing. Jinnah remained for about a half hour. What conversation took place is any body's guess.

The smoke screen.

The body was being prepared for ablutions (ghusel) on June 26 when the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan arrived a little after 10 A.M. he kept muttering, "he was a great orator and a good preacher of Islam".

He wished to express sympathy with the Begum and advanced towards the stair case, the Begum hurried down and halfway down on a landing fell down prosptrate on his feet crying in anguish, "Sarkar, my husband your loyal subject has been murdered; I demand a thorough investigation".

The Nizam said in a consoling manner, "yes, yes; have patience, be grave". He left without having even a glance at the body.

The prince of Berar (Heir Apparent) Azam Jah arrived later. He appeared to be genuinely stricken with grief; and npenly expressed doubts and fears about the cause of death. It looked very strange that Bahadur Khan's successor, Abul Hassan Syed Ali, appeared to be more than anxious to sell the Idea to the Prince that death was due to heart failure.

His argument looked absurd on the very face of it that a flesh wound in Bahadur Khan's thigh by a revolver bullet that accidently went off some twenty years before had done him up now. His other argument that Bahadur Khan's father, Naseeb yawar Jang had also died of heart failure was contrary to known facts.

Amir Ali Khan, Commissioner of Madak and a relative of the deceased was seen very agitatedly rushing into the Zenanah section of Baitul Ummah, whisning to speak to the Begum (the widow).

He wished for strict privacy. All servants including the girl attendants, as also the inseparable confidents were removed out of hearing. Amir Ali Khan remained closeted with the Begum for about forty minutes.

When he came out, Amir Ali Khan announced with a ring of finality that any kind of medical examination, not to speak of an autopsy, was out of the question. "The Begum Saheba", he said, "will not tolerate any desecration of the dead body".

Those of us who suspected foul play, tried desperately to break news about it. But the local press remained taciturn and tongue-tied. However, Dr. Hyder Ali Khan was reported to have said a couple of days later that every heart failure is the result of some tangible cause. In Bahadur Khan's case, the cause for heart failure has not been discovered and identified.

Flashes form behind the screen.

Dr. Bahadur Khan took up the lead and came out with a categorical refutation of the heart failure story. He said that he had been acquainted with the physical condition of the deceased; besides, he had examined him quite recently. He did not believe, he said, that there was any physical cause to bring about a heart failure.

By then some outside papers who had approached me directly came out with my statement. This brought into the open grave doubts about the circumstances surrounding the death of the Quaide Millat.

At last Ghulam Mohammad Culcuttawala, Chief Editor and proprietor of the Caily Meezan put out, under Pressure, a brief note demanding investigations. Only then, Abul Hasan, president, elect of the Majlis voiced a demand for investigations. This was done through a very brief and unrevealing Press statement. No further interest was shown by the Majlis after that.

On June 30, a little before 1 P.M., Abdul Naeem Khan, an ASP of the CID came along with two sub-Inspectors and obtained a statement from Begum Bahadur Khan. This was witnessed by Shah Alam Khan and Bhikan Khan, two close friends and childhood companions of the deceased. I too was present taking notes.

Describing the scene of death in detail, The Begum said "after the death of Nawab Saheb, I have informed every important person that my husband has died of poisoning through the Hooka. Even now I suspect this". She demanded a thorough investigation.

The theory projected by Abul Hasan, Bahadur Khan's successor, that the bullet wound caused by the accidental going ogg og a revolver many years ago had done him up now, was blasted by the Begum's statement that "he had never complained of any pain on this account at any time. The revolver had wounded his right leg. In the knee of the left leg, during winter he used to feel pain"

Before this, Dr. Bahadur Khan had confessed to me in strict confidence that he had suspected foul play from the moment he saw body. "But I could do nothing as it was too late", he said. He also regretted that the doctors, Hyder Ali Khan and Benkat Chander, who were the first to arrive, did not do anything to save his life while a remote possibility for this existed.

They must have had a premonition, he thought, that if they tried and failed, they might later on by accused of administering the lethal drug. The price of prominence was paid by his life, the doctor felt.

Dr. Bahadur Khan was of the opinion that nascent nicotine might have been given through the hooka. "the result could have been" he said, "that the Quaide Millat's wind pipe was securely locked from the inside and he was internally strangulated, as he would have been if he were hanged by a rope"

Mohammad Ali, the investigating Sub-Inspector told me in strict confidence, that the hooka was clean and shining bright when examined by them. There was hardly a trace of its having been used at all.

During a preliminary inquiry it was revealed that the hooka had been purchased from the market that very day (June 25). It was admitted that Mrs. Maqbool Ali, Wife of the police Surgeon, was present on the occasion; but she did not come out among the male guests, even though she does not observe purdah, being a non-Muslim.

The Investigating Team had also found out that it was Mrs. Maqbool Ali who handled the hooka before it was taken out and placed before Quaide Millat. They had also ascertained that no one else smoked from the Hooka before or after Bahadur Khan.

At last a Press Communiqué issued by the Nizam's Government announced that Bahadur Yar Jang had died of heart failure and that clichéd the whole affair.

Complicity of the Majlis.

Bahadur Khan's mourners were far too many and widely scattered Thousands who had come under the influence of the strong fascination he exercised over everyone who met him, felt cheated out of precious gift of God. They all waited for some lead from his political heirs, members of the Majlis High Command.

In Hyderabad, every knowledgeable person and specially the Majlis leadership knew for sure that their Quaide Millat had been deliberately done to death. But, they all remained tongue-tied; may be because they suspected mighty force operating behind the plot to remove the stalwart champion of the Muslim cause from the scene.

Not even a mild resolution, begging the question, and giving expression to the doubts and fears uppermost in their minds was passed. The Majlis Working Committee, appointed by the deceased, the Central Council, an elected body and the General Body all remained silent on this issue, then and for ever after.

Ultimately, they all blamed Abul Hasan who succeeded the Quaide Millat as President of the Majlis for their own failure to take the lead in seeking retribution.

But, who is to blame for their callous indifference when many of them were in a position of authority in the Laik Ali Cabinet hardly four years later. What could have prevented them from calling for the related files and from reopening the investigations which had been closed prematurely?

The Begum's after-thought.

The Begum, it appears, had made a bargain as an after-thought with the elements anxious to suppress facts and camouflage circumstances surrounding the death. She claimed a major share in the Jagirs and other properties.

It was very conveniently overlooked that the deceased Nawab had surrendered his jagirs and had not reclaimed them before he was poisoned to death.

In all fairness to the memory of the Begum, who has since joined her husband in the other world, it must be admitted that she did not prefer a claim in the Jagirs and other properties, according to sources close to her, until legal proceedings had not been instituted by Bahadur Khan's step brothers, Mandoor Khan and Daulat Khan.

Even after that, while she managed the late Nawab's establishment and properties, she used to pass on the legal share to each of the brothers.

This has been denied by a different version given out by Nawab Sir Ahmed Saeed Khan of Chhattari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad at the time. Writing about his sudden death in his Memories, 'Yade Aiyam', an autobiography in Urdu published from Aligarh, Chattari says:

"On the 2nd of July, 1944, Hakim Maqsood Ali Khan, the personal physician of 'Sarkar' (Ruler) brought a private letter form the widow of Bahadur Yar Jang in which suspicion was expressed on the cause of death; and she had asked that the Jagir of the deceased should be transferred to her for life".

About a month after Bahadur Khan's death, Mir Akber Ali Khan, Barrister, told me that the Begum had claimed a much larger share in the jagirs and properties than she was entitled to.

"When the Court of Wards appeared inclined to grant her Petition", said Akber Ali Khan, "Nawab Akber Yar Jang, Barrister, arguing against it asked: Is this incongruous demand supported by a complicity in some Hideous plot"?

The inference was clear.

In this autobiography, on page 167 Chattari writes that after the funeral of Bahadur Yar Jang he went to Nizam, after having found out from Zain Yar Jang the Nizam's own feelings about this death.

"What is your Opinion about this death"? Asked the Ruler. "I replied", says Chhattari, "By this death a great servant to Sarkar is no more; but no act of Providence is without wisdom".

"The Sarkar observed", writes Chhattari, "his upsweep had for sure a foreboding of evil. Then Sarkar spoke more about the deceased for some time".

"When I went to see the Resident on 30th June", writes Chhattari in continuation, "he expressed almost the same opinion as the Nizam had done. He said: I am personally sorry, but what has happened is in the best interest Locally"

Early in July, ali Yavar Jang informed Chhattari over lunch that while they both were away from Hyderabad, a big plot was being hatched. Writing about this Chhattari says, "Hosh also told me that a deep conspiracy was being set up against me through Bahadur Yar Jang"

Explaining about this, Chhattari writes, "what they meant was that Ghulam Mohammad and Bahadur Yar Jang together were hatching a plot against me".

All said and done, suspicion converges on one single point. Circumstances all point an accusing finger straight at Mir Osman Ali Khan of Hyderabad Deccan.

Premeditated Plot.

Shahid Razzaqi of the Pakistan Islamic Research Centre, Lahore Islamabad, now permanently settled in Canada, has come out with startling revelation. I knew him as a great admirer of Bahadur Yar Jang while working as information Officer with the Nizam's Government. We came across each other in Karachi after a lapse of about a quarter century. I told him about my book, Looking Back, ready for publication.

"A few weeks before the Quaide Millat's death", Razzaqi said, "I had occasion to visit Nawab Salar Jang along with Maulana jamal Mian of Farangi Mahal. During the conversation, Salar Jang derided the political activities of Quaide Millat", said Razzaqi. "I could not keep silent and listen; and I sharply reacted and refuted him".

"Salar Jang countered", said Shahid, "you may be banking upon the support of Bahadur Yar Jang to be able to talk like this, but you won't have to wait for long when there will be no Bahadur Khan to bolster up your bravado".

Inamullah Khan, secretary General of World Muslim Congress who was present was stunned. I only asked for Razzaqi's permission to disclose this in my book giving his reference. He conceded.

Bahadur Khan's elimination appears to have been pre-planned because the Nizam imagined he posed a threat to the person and realm of His Exalted Highness. As already mentioned in previous pages, this has since been revealed by Chhattari in his book, Yade Ayyam. Some others in Hyderabad also appear to have known about this in advance.

Hardly anyone with even a fleeting knowledge of the state of affairs and aware of the relations between the Nizam and the deceased would accept such stupendous happenstance; but barring the complicity of the Residency, the Nizam alone had the means and motive for it.

What happened to Mr. Justice Hashim Ali Khan, they key witness to the murder, only strengthens the suspicion that a very resourceful and ruthless hand like that of Osman Ali Khan was in operation cleverly maneuvering subsequent situations.

Hashim Ali Khan was dumb-founded and remained absolutely un communicative for some months. The moment he reached the point of breakdown and confession, he suddenly went stark raving mad. He was seen afterwards aimlessly wandering about in the streets of Hyderabad Muttering to himself some unintelligible nonsense.

All this is not merely circumstantial. After the pitiable death in ignominy of Mir Osman Ali Khan, his eldest son Azam Jah, heir apparent to Nizam's throne came out with a confession. He told my good friend, Asghar Hussain that although he (Azam Jah) was never in doubt from the beginning, he had later on come by solid evidence that his father, Osman Ali Khan, was solely responsible for the death by poisoning of Bahadur Khan.

What more evidence do I need to conclude what I have done?

It was known, far and wide, that the Nizam would be murderously jealous of anyone becoming, in his opinion, as popular and powerful ad himself. He liked to think of himself as a singular example of all round perfection. Where he was in doubt, he was pampered into the belief by the Court flatterers.

Hosh Yar Jang, the prominent courtier, had told me jokingly that notwithstanding the physical stature possessed by him, his Exalted Highness likes to think of himself as the strong and mighty Hercules of his

times. "If someone were to tell him", said Hosh, "that Imam Baksh Gama of Lahore was declared the 'Rustume Zaman" by public consensus, Osman Ali Khan would take it as insult'.

Lively soul that was.

In Bahadur Khan's death I lost more than a kind, considerate and un-assuming employer. When I started working for him, he had promised to treat me like pupil under his care. After his death, I could recount with gratitude that he had lived up to his promise t his last breath.

I did a lot of travelling with Bahadur Yar Jang, seeing beautiful sights and meeting important persons. While travelling Bahadur Khan used to be a very pleasant companion, He would cut jokes and enjoy a pretty joke, even if it were somewhat disconcerting.

One while going round the Jaipur palace, admiring the paintings and murals, I found Nawab Bahadur pensively gazing at a mural. All of a sudden it dawned on me that the subject of the painting may whipped up his longing for smoking a hooka.

He was wistfully looking at a hooka carried in a large tray by an orderly on foot. The flexible pipe was snaking up to the prince riding in a palanquin on the back of an elephant. It struck me that he had not been able to enjoy his hooka smoke for over a week.

At the same time I recalled mentally that some visitor talking to the Nawab in a lighter mood had likened the hooka to a housewife requiring proper atmosphere and establishment; the cigar had been likened to a kept mistress, as a sign of wealth and fastidiousness; and the cigarette had been likened to a street prostitute to be taken in a stride. Bahadur Khan had very much enjoyed the analogy at the time.

I suddenly blurted out, "From the time we started on this tour, Nawab Saheb, you've had to make with street prostitutes. I can see that you are longing for the Housewife".

He turned round angrily, but immediately catching the joke he burst out laughing. "Yes Allah Bux", he said, "you surely have caught me there".

Then looking around, he was the clouded faces of the local leaders and state functionaries present. He went into another loud and long guffaw. But soon taking hold of himself, he said, "For God's sake Allah Bux, tell these people the story behind this and clear my reputation".

When I repeated the story of the analogy, it was the turn of the people present to join in the laughter; and it went on for quite some time.

This merry Master-spirit of the age had gone forever the handsome and popular leader who aspired and tirelessly worked for a strong and unchallenged Nizam in an independent, sovereign, Muslim Hyderabad had been silenced forever.

This dynamic personality, bubbling with life, had been rubbed out of existence by a conceited and demented buffoon and dope fiend, little realizing that he was a source of strength for himself and for his realm.

Wit and repartee.

To complement his hypnotic influence over a Urdu speaking audience, Bahadur Khan was a sweet conversationalist. He had humorous temperament and a ready wit.

Once while travelling to Delhi by train, Bahadur Khan, Abul Hasan Syed Ali and I were standing on Wardha Railway station platform stretching our limbs. I saw Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and some other coming in our direction.

I told Bahadur Khan and he went forward to greet Gandhiji who expressed pleasure at the chance encounter. Nawab Bahadur introduced Abul Hasan as a lawyer, friend and associate. Gandhiji smiled and said, "it appears you are not rid of the grip of lawyers, Nawab Saheb".

Bahadur Khan replied, "Gandhiji, when lawyers are arrayed for and against, the lawyer who projects my point of view need not secure a grip over me; I gladly submit my case to him".

Gandhiji invited him to his exclusive compartment. He used to travel Third Class, but in an exclusive compartment reserved for him and his team. There were four classes for travel by train those days; and the lowest was the 3rd class.

With Gandhiji in his compartment, the conversation was puns and repartee. When the train stopped at some station, someone brought two big luscious oranges and very respectfully placed them in the outstretched hand of Gandhiji. He used to sit with open hands stretched out of the window, collecting funds for the Bongress as if begging for alms.

Gandhiji passed the oranges to Rajkumari who in turn asked Bahadur Khan to have one. With a grunt of satisfaction, the Nawab stretched out both his hands, palms upwards. Rajkumari, somewhat startled, dropped both the oranges into his hands.

By then the train had moved out of the platform. Gandhiji smiled and remarked, "you have grabbed both of them". Bahadur Khan immediately replied, "I snatch at both, but I shall be content with just one, on a parity".

Another time a clever demonstration did the trick:

On account of his bulk and heavy weight, Bahadur Khan didn't like sleeping on an upper berth in a railway carriage. Whenever he had an upper berth reserved for him, he could easily exchange it with a lower on which would invariably be surrendered gladly.

Once, a Parsee gentleman refused to change his lower berth with Bahadur Khan's upper one. Bahadur Khan kept quiet at bed time while the Parsee was preparing to stretch himself on his lower berth Bahadur Khan slowly got up and grabbed the chains supporting the upper berth and pulled with a powerful jerk.

There was a loud clang and rattling. The Parsee asked angrily, "what are you doing"? Nawab Bahadur replied, "It was for your own safety that I was testing the strength of these chains".

On a questioning look from the Parsee, with a sober face he explained, "Once before, they gave way under my weight when I turned in my sleep. I came down on the passenger sleeping below and the poor fellow was knocked out unconscious".

After this, the Parsee would not listen at all to his climbing up to the berth above his own and insisted on the Nawab to occupy his lower berth.

End of a glorious chapter.

In the death of Bahadur Khan, the loss suffered by the state and the Muslim citizens of Hyderabad was incalculable. Five years later, after the Hyderabad debacle as a prelude to the complete collapse and disintegration of Nizam's Dominions and extinction of the Asafjahi Dynasty, a friend regretfully remarked that the inglorious fall of Hyderabad had already started with the elimination from the scene of the Quaide Millat Bahadur Khan.

Looking back across a span of forty years today, it can be said with a grain of truth that Hyderabad groped itself into the dark recesses of oblivion in the gloom resulting from Bahadur Khan's murder.

With this, a pleasant, purposeful and wonderful chapter of my own life was over. I was, therefore, on the lookout for a job to keep me going.

LOOING BACK - CHAPTER 09 - HOLLOW ECHOES

HOLLOW ECHOES

l left adrift:
Ali's pact with Congress:
Razvi's stepping stone:
The Ditchpalli fracass:
The successor and the expedience:
Ambitious strategy:
Short lived success:

I'm left adrift.

I had to choose if I should go back home, go further upcountry or stay on in Hyderabad.

I should certainly have liked to return home. We had initiated at home collective organizational activity among the cottage porkers. Political consciousness had also been awakened.

But things by now had slipped back into the old rut at home. The middleman badly shaken by the workers' upsurge, were back in their position of advantage.

Sure of themselves, they were busy exploiting the workers with a vengeance. The worsted workers and artisans had been subdued ruthlessly and were content once again with near starvation wages.

The young leadership we had been able to develop was busy driven by selfish motives, feathering its own nest and using every situation for personal gain. I and Najiullah had both abandoned them; and some of them blamed us for their present plight, not without reason.

Back home, I would be working all alone in a hostile atmosphere. Our public spirited colleagues and associates had all dispersed their enthusiasm dissipated.

Going farther upcountry, I would be starting afresh in new and strange surroundings. There had however been a good opening for me about this time. But I was not aware of it the Quaide Azam was looking about for a Private Secretary.

Matloobul Hasan Saiyid, Jinnah's Private Secretary, had quit after his marriage into a well-to-do family. During an interview with a deputation of the Ittehadul Muslimeen from Hyderabad, Jinnah had enquired about me. He had fold Yamin Zuberi that I may be free after Nawab Bahadur's death; and had hinted that I could join him as his private secretary.

Yamin instead of informing me had sent one of his colleagues, Shafi Khalid. Jinnah had rejected Shafi Khalid and had later on engaged K.H. Khurshid, a young Kashmiri journalist.

So, I decided to stay on in Hyderabad. Here, I had acquired some good friends and sympathizers.

A good lot of political ferment was observed those days in the Ittehadul Muslimeen circles. Our trio of Najiullah, Shahabuddin and I (nick named the three Musketeers by friends) was deeply involved in every political situation.

Ali's pact with congress.

Bahadur Yar Jang's political successor, Abul Hasan syed Ali, had been a nationalist before he joined the Majlis. He rose to be its General Secretary and later its President. He had also been a member of the Nizam's Subjects' League, a loyalist organization.

Abul Hasan was in favour of responsive government for Hyderabad but with full allegiance to the Nizam as fountainhead of all legislative and executive powers. This was a contradiction in terms which afflicted many Muslims.

To resolve this contradiction, Abul Hasan hit upon an ingenious plan. Through the good offices of Salar Jang, he successfully negotiated terms of cooperation of the majority community for jointly working the proposed constitution.

The terms included regional electorate; sanction of the state budget to be brought within the preview of the Legislature and the immediate inclusion in the Cabinet of four ministers from the public, two Muslims and two Hindus.

A pact to this effect was signed between the Ittehadul Muslimeen and State congress by their representatives at Salar Jang Palace. It was subject to ratification by both political parties.

Abul Hasan soon got it approved by the Central Council as well as the General Body meeting of the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen. It was a feat of Abul Hasan's pragmatic reasoning. It should not have been taken as symptom of awakening among the Muslims. It is also noteworthy that the resolution was moved by Qasim Razvi.

Some disgruntled elements in the Majlis who hated Abul Hasan personally, started under the leadership of Abdur Rehman Raees, Editor Daily Waqt, a brisk and malicious campaign against him.

The main plank of their propaganda was at Abul Hasan had committed the Majlis through a secret agreement with the Congress and Hindu Maha Sabha without first obtaining a mandate.

Bahadur Yar Jang too, on his own, had tried sincerely and had made slight headway towards arriving at some sort of working arrangement with the State Congress and Hindu Maha Sabha on the one hand and the Scheduled Casts on the other to jointly work the Legislative Reforms. His sudden death had left this work un-finished.

Abul Hasan was accused of having bartered away Muslim Supremacy for nothing at all in return. The agreement itself was branded as the death sentence on the age-old Muslim dominance. Angry mob demonstrations were organized. Abul Hasan's resignation from the Majlis President ship was demanded.

With a heavy heart, Abul Hasan quietly resigned.

Razvi's stepping stone.

Qasim Razvi, who was a second rank district leader during Bahadur Khan's time was now Abul Hasan's first lieutenant and was hand-in-glove with him. Having graduated in law from the Muslim University, Aligarh, Qasim Razvi had set up a small practice at Lathur, a town in Osmanabad District.

Our trio supported Abul Hasan's stand. We brought out a series of pamphlets from our head quarter, Shamsia. In these, the constitutional and legal implications were examined on the assurances held out by the Nizam's Government to the Majlis and also the proposed constitutional reforms.

The person who succeeded Abul Hassan as President of the Majlis, Moulvi Mazher Ali Kamil, was nincompoop. He acted as a tool in the hands of certain unscrupulous elements in the Majlis Working Committee. Yamin Zuberi, the General Secretary was all powerful those days.

The Dichpalli fracass

Towards the end of 1945, the ditchpalli Mosque controversy came to a head. It has been dogging the minds of the Government authorities for quite some time.

The dispute spot was covered platform used as mosque by the inmates of the Christian Mission Hospital for lepers. It had been proposed to demolish it for Hospital extension. This was strongly objected to by the Muslims; and the substitute offered in a much better shape was rejected outright.

Although the so-called mosque was restored for prayers, but by then a lot of resentment and dissatisfaction has been deliberately whipped up against the Chhattari Administration.

Two of the members of the Chhattari Cabinet were Britishers; and therefore, Christians. This lent the fagots to fire.

Highly derogatory rumors had been set afloat against Chhattari. People were poised to tear down the mask of the big handle-bar mustaches hiding behind them reportedly a softy. Our own contribution to the unrest was a pamphlet entitled 'chey tari Nahoosat' (six starred affliction).

Our friend Shahabuddin, at the right moment, poured oil on the smoldering fire. By a highly inflammatory speech, in December '45 he turned a protest meeting into an infuriated mob uprising.

They marched in procession to Shah Manzil, the Prime Minister's official residence. Joined by others en route, the procession as it approached Shah Manzil had turned into a formidable mob.

Chhattari did a dumb thing. He asked the guard contingent at Shah Manzil to throw open the gates and remain out of sight of the demonstrators. Probably, Chhattari and had hoped to turn a violent, incited mob into a laudatory gathering.

But, he had certainly not bargained for what he got in the end.

Mindless mot.

As soon as they entered the luxurious drawing room of Shah Manzil, some rowdies from the mob began tearing down curtains and breaking pieces of furniture. When the Prime Minister entered, some of them rushed at him and plucked at his mustaches, the most prominent feature of his personality. With much difficulty, Chhattari was saved from further molestation by his personal staff.

In the mean time, some unruly elements set fire to some items of furniture and turned towards the neighboring residence of Griggson, a British member of Chhattari's Cabinet. Griggson fled in terror to an adjacent house and kept hiding while his furniture was made into a bonfire.

Nawab Hafiz Sir Ahmed Saeed Khan of Chhattari, the Sadre Azam Bahadur stood with an exploded image in public. Soon rumor was hot that he had been asked to lay down his office.

The anticipated extension in Chhattari's term of office was withheld. The Nizam issued instructions that he may lay down office even before his successor should arrive to take over from him. Speculations were hot about his successor.

The successor and the expedience.

One of the names mentioned as a possible successor of Chhattari was of Sir Mirza Ismail. He was at the time, Prime Minister of Jaipur. I felt highly excited at the prospect of Mirza coming to Hyderabad as Prime Minister.

I told Abid Hosain with whom I was working then in his Advertising Agency that I knew Mirza Ismail quite well; and also that I will try to meet him at Jaipur at an early opportunity. Abid Hosain himself felt excited and said, "Let's go to Jaipur together".

In reply to my telegram Mirza Ismail wired back inviting me to come to Jaipur and stay with him. He had also indicated a period during which he would be in Jaipur.

The three of us, Najiullah, Shahabuddin and I immediately went into animated counsel. We discussed the matter at length and felt sure that Mirza Ismail was by far the best choice. We saw a great purpose in this.

Partition of India was in the offing and prospects of the inception of Pakistan were bright. The Muslims of the residual Bharat would then be left high and dry, we feared. In such an event Hyderabad Deccan would turn out to be, we thought, the only island in sight where the Indian minority Muslims could take refuge.

Indian Muslims in minority areas harbored grave fears that after independence they would be relegated to the position of lower class of citizens. The assurance that the creation of Pakistan would provide a saving factor was a poor solace indeed for those we would be left behind.

There was every likelihood that they would in time be completely assimilated by a determined Maha Sabha. They would, of a necessity, have to create as quickly as possible concentrated strong pocket of Muslim population.

In the alternative, it was felt, they would have to converge on a convenient spot and make it a Muslim stronghold. Such a spot would be source of strength for the Muslims of baharat.

Hyderabad was, we were convinced, an ideal spot where the Muslims of Bharat could seek refuge for mutual strength and safety.

Ambitious strategy.

The idea of transforming Hyderabad into a Muslim majority state by sustained conversion and immigration had been for long absorbing the minds of the Muslim leaders. But the formidable odds against its implementation and subverted every effort for its achievement.

It was, therefore, felt imperative that a determined, strong and concerted last effort be made to augment immigration of Muslims into Hyderabad from all vulnerable area surrounding it.

As a maneuver, it would also be necessary to foment a feeling of insecurity about the future among Muslims in the surrendering regions. This should provide the leverage to drive and herd them into Hyderabad. At the same time, it should be insured that a warm reception awaits them here; and that adequate facilities for rehabilitation are made available.

Above all, it would be of the utmost importance to lull if not largely allay the doubts and fears of the Congress and Hindu Maha Sabha, in order to stave off any violent reaction to such a move.

But, how was this to be brought about; and who could do it with composure and a measure of success?

Obviously, a person who was held in trust and respect by the Congress and Maha Sabha high commands; and that too only if he could be persuaded to undertake such a difficult task. He should be able to save Hyderabad and steer it safely through the huge storm gathering at the horizon while preserving its integrity and sovereignty.

We were fully convinced that Mirza Ismail, if he could be brought round would be the best suited person to dare such a difficult and involved program.

But unfortunately Mirza Ismail was suspected and mistrusted by the Muslim League leadership mainly because Jinnah had developed a dislike for him. He was therefore unwelcome for the Ittehadul Muslimeen too. The position looked almost impossible.

It only the Quaide Azam and Mirza Ismail could be persuaded to get together and draw up a strategy, it would be feasible to pull the state through; and in the process to transform its character significantly.

The idea of transforming the Muslim minority into a majority community, even forgetting the shortage of time, could be wishful thinking. But, a significant change could be brought about by a carefully planned strategy cleverly implemented.

The Scheduled Casts (untouchables) could easily be persuaded to go along with the Muslims Ruling class. Even the most elaborate program of conversation, in spite of the strongest and most attractive inducements, could hardly bring a substantial portion of the community into the folds of Islam.

The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes constituted about 50-60 per cent of the State's population (According to the Census Report of 1941 and an independent survey conducted by Sham Sunder, member Indian Lok Sabah and his party Bhim Sena, the Scheduled Castes or the Harijans constituted 18 percent and the backward classes over 40 percent of the State's population).

With them joining with the 13 percent (as claimed) Muslims, a meaning full shift in the political balance could be gained. Then the Lingayats (Kayasts)who were reported to be 18-20 per cent could also be persuaded to join hands at a bargain. They had already been for long culturally very close to the Muslims.

If some political advantages were offered, they might be glad to join. In this way, a clear majority could be established. The impossible could be achieved in the end.

Finally, we agreed to launch upon the highly imaginative and daring course. My visit to Sir Mirza should prove, it was hoped, a path-breaking first step.

I took upon myself the task of souring Mirza Ismail; and if possible to persuade him to meet the Quaide Azam. To arrange a meeting of these two would be nothing short of a miracle; and miracles do happen. If they were mentally prepared to meet a workable program could be chalked out.

Short-lived success.

I came out with clean barest when I met Mirza Ismail. To my great joy and surprise, he agreed to meet Jinnah, but he didn't make any commitment on the proposed program. He did not even express any opinion about it. However, he gave me, on my request, a hand written assurance that he will not in any case go against the interests of the Nizam and the Muslim of Hyderabad.

The Quaide Azam, with whom I had an impassioned argument and a lengthy discussion on January 27, '46, patted me on the back at parting and asked me to keep him informed.

But all or efforts during the succeeding five months to arrange a meeting between the Quaide Azam and Mirza Ismail were fruitless; all because Jinnah had a personal dislike for Mirza Ismail.

Mirza Ismail had already expressed doubts and fears about Jinnah agreeing to meet him. Mirza, it appeared, had committed the unforgivable offence of declining an invitation by Jinnah to join the

Muslim League; and that too at a time when he was free having relinquished office as Prime minister of Mysore.

On top of this, when Jinnah asked him not to attend the Non-Parties Conference call by Sepru in Poona, Mirza refused to comply. He pleaded that having definitely promised his friend Sepru to attend to attend the conference, he was morally bound to keep his promise.

To cap it all, Mirza had openly defied Jinnah earlier through a curt letter; and Jinnah obviously didn't like it at all.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 10 - DESPERATE ATTEMPTS

DESPERATE ATTEMPTS

(Catching at every straw)

Memorandum about Mysore: We don't give up: The announcement and reaction: At cross purposes: Jinnah in Hyderabad: The stormy interview: Pretentious outburst: The weighment in gold flop: The pamphlet: Mirza assumes office: Strong impediments: Majlis elections:

Memorandum about Mysore.

Towards the end of April, I and Najiullah went to Delhi. There we presented a Memorandum to Pethwick Lawrence, leader of the Cabinet mission to India. Through his, we had demanded on behalf of the young Muslims' Organization of Mysore the restitution of the state to the legal heirs of Tippu Sultan.

On May 1, '46 we were able to see Jinnah in spite of his very tight schedule. He had refused to see some very important persons, but had graciously found time for us.

First, we told him about the Memorandum presented by us to the Cabinet Mission. He ridiculed the idea and asked us, "What do you hipe to gain by this"? I told him that it was only tactical move to pressurize the state Government and obtain extra privileges for the Muslims.

"How do you know that your leaders will not use the situation for personal gains"? he asked.

"We do not", I said, "but all the same, we would like to take a chance. Besides, we have already presented this Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission".

"Then, why have you come to me", asked Jinnah.

"Because, we want the Memorandum to be featured by the Dawn", I said; "We were told that it cannot be done without your permission">

"You should have gone to Liaquat", said Jinnah.

"We did and we discussed it in detail, and he had some good suggestions to make", I informed Jinnah. "But, Nawabzada also says that your permission is necessary".

"Alright", said Jinnah, "You may tell Dawn that you have my permission".

Jinnah asked us then about the situation in Hyderabad. I told him briefly about the Ditchpalli agitation and about Chhattari's miscalculation. As a result, I said, the expected extension in Chhattari's term of office is withheld.

"Mirza Ismail's appointment appears to have been finalized" I informed Jinnah; "the Viceroy's approval has been sought according to established convention".

Suddenly the telephone rang. Jinnah got up and the interview as abruptly cut short. We quickly took leave and left.

Our Memorandum was reproduced in dawn on May 2. It caused a great upheaval in Mysore State. Madhav Rao, the then Prime Minister of Mysore who was in Delhi at the time, skipped his appointment with us and flew back to Mysore. The State Government appeared to be badly shaken.

Muslim leaders of Mysore, many of whom were in Delhi, rushed back to the State. By their miserable pleadings on non-complicity and ignorance of the move; and by their over-charged assurances of loyalty to the Maharaja, lost the advantage they could have held in political bargaining.

Some of them, however, as suspected by Jinnah bargained for personal gains.

We don't give up.

During the first half of may, I went to Delhi accompanied by Moulvi Ghulam Abbas, a Shia divine, to mobilize opinion in the Muslim League circles in favour of Mirza Ismail and hoping to influence Jinnah's attitude. But, nothing came out of it.

Towards the end of May, Najiullah, Shahabuddin and I went to Jaipur. Mirza Ismail had already tendered his resignation from the state's Prime Ministership. Various groups and associations were giving him hearty send off.

The blind Hafiz Mubarak Ali, Agent for Jajputana to the Government of India's political Department, informed us somewhat regretfully, that the Viceroy's approval had already been granted for Mirza Ismail's appointment as Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

Early in June, we learnt to our great astonishment that Jinnah was coming to Hyderabad expressly for the purpose of stopping the appointment of Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister.

The Quaide Azam had not responded to several invitations by the Nizam by letter and by telegram; but he had accepted the invitation by a mere non-entity, Bahauddin Saleem, to come to Hyderabad for being weighed in gold.

The announcement and reactions.

On June 17, a Firman (Royal Decree) was circulated among members of the Council of Ministers saying that Sir Mirza Ismail was to succeed Chhattari as President of the Council (Prime Minister).

Chhattari was asked to hand over charges immediately to the senior member of the Council, Nawab Mehdi Yar Jang, even before Mirza Ismail should come to take over from him.

Mirza's appointment was hailed by the Congress and the Maha Sabha circles. Dr. Moonje issued a press statement characterizing Mirza Ismail as "a friend of the Hindus and a good administrator"

At the same time, it was broadly rumored that the Quaide Azam was coming to Hyderabad to persuade the Nizam not to appoint Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister.

There were sharp criticisms against this in the Hindu press. One paper came out with an editorial comment describing the visit as "Jinnah's supremacy over Hyderabad".

Several Muslim leaders, including some from the Ittehadul Muslimeen didn't like Jinnah's interference in the internal affairs of the state and in the Nizam's prerogative.

They were much disturbed over the Quaide Azam's press statement in support of responsible government in the native states, with particular reference to Kashmir. They felt that Jinnah had bartered away Hyderabad for Kashmir.

The traditionalists in the Majlis were, however, glad. They welcomed the influence of the Quaide Azam to prevent the appointment of a known pro-Congress person like Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister.

We tried all we could to win over some from the Majlis High Command. But all we could achieve was to enlist only two of them Abul Hasan Syed Ali and Syed Mahmood Ali Hashmi, in support of Mirza Ismail. But, they were afraid, more so as days went by, to come out openly in support of Mirza Ismail.

At cross purposes.

As the Quaid's visit drew near, statements and counter-statements began to feature prominently in the local Press. A Firman issued by the Nizam and re-produced in the Subhe Deccan (an Urdu daily) as usual, silenced the anti-Mirza elements.

In order to maintain a balance in the expression of political opinion, we tried and succeeded in suppressing statements in favour of Mirza Ismail. Even a highly inflammatory item appearing in Qazi Abdul Ghaffar's nationalist paper, Payam, was erased from the bed of the printing machine.

In return, we bargained for the issue of a pamphlet composed of statements and opinion of responsible people in support of Mirza's appointment.

This was meant to be circulated privately on a very restricted scale. A copy was to be sent to the Quaide Azam with a view to apprise him of the trend of public opinion.

Chhattari was busy playing his own game in his eagerness to rehabilitate his lost prestige. He had humbly supplicated to the Quaide Azam to have him installed back in the position he had vacated. It was rumored that he had promised a contribution of a hundred thousand rupees for the Muslim League funds at a time when fund were badly needed.

The tractable and docile President of the Majlis was instigated by Chhattari to issue a statement Mirza Ismail in disregard to the Nizam's Firman. Another Press statement in favour of Mirza Ismail slipped out of our hands and was published. This complicated matters as far as our program was concerned. It proved instrumental for the stiff attitude adopted by the Nizam towards Jinnah.

Jinnah in Hyderabad.

Jinnah's arrival in Hyderabad was a memorable occasion. Thousands of Muslims from all over the City and suburbs had gathered at the Begumpet Airport to greet their great leader and even to have just a glimpse of him.

Chhattari was present in Hyderabad at the time. He did not come to the Airport to welcome his patron solicitor. When his intended visit was known, Jinnah had been persuaded by the Nizam to stay in Hyderabad as a State guest.

It looked strange that no representative of the Nizam was present to receive Jinnah at the Airport. Only a state car along with a Reception Officer of the Aamirh Department had come to conduct the distinguished guest to the State Guest House.

As soon as Jinnah appeared on the gangway of the Deccan Air ways plane, reverberating shouts of 'Quaide Azam Zindaba' rose from the gathering Members of the Majlis High Command and some Muslim dignitaries were crowded at the foot of the stairs.

When the Quaid began to descent the ladder, the spectators rushed to get near him. Jinnah frowned. He stood erect and stolid. He raised his hand to stop the rushing admirers and reprimanded them on this display of disorder and indiscipline. The Razakar cordon had been broken and spectators closed in.

The State car was brought near with some difficulty and Jinnah got in. Yamin Zuberi, General Secretary of the Majlis, tried to get in the car with Jinnah and was pushed back; but he clung to the moving car. He let go of it and sprawled on the tarmac when Jinnah rapped on his knuckles with a walking stick.

Soon after reaching the Rock Castle Guest House, Jinnah met Zahid Hussain who had succeeded Ghulam Muhammad as the State's finance minister.

They remained closeted for more than half hour. The Quaide Azam told Zahid Hussain that the purpose of his visit was to dissuade the Nizam from appointing Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister at such a crucial moment in the history of the Sub-Continent. Also that he intended to persuade the Nizam to choose instead someone who could be depended upon to safeguard the interests of the Nizam and the Muslims of the state.

Jinnah felt that the Prime Minister of Hyderabad should enjoy the confidence and cooperation of the Muslim League.

From here Zahid Hussain went straight to the King Kothi (the Nizam's Palace) and informed the Nizam about the purpose of the Quaide Azam's visit to Hyderabad. He enumerated the reason given by Jinnah for the unusual request he intended to make.

Osman Ali Khan felt perturbed over the compulsive reasons for changing a decision already made public. He didn't want to allow inroads into his prerogative. He also realized that if he should give in to Jinnah the Congress would redouble its efforts and drive him to the wall.

Ali Yawar Jang, Secretary Constitutional affairs, was sent for. The Nizam asked for his advice. Ali submitted that if Jinnah was allowed to open his arguments, he would surely succeed in persuading H.E.H to give in to him.

"How can I avoid it"? asked the Nizam. Ali replied, "Some excuse may please be found or created if necessary to curtail the interview and to get rid of Jinnah".

After that the Nizam was ready to do anything; even to pick up a quarrel, if necessary, with Jinnah on any flimsy excuse. He was also prepared, if it came to that, to shout down and insult Jinnah in order to avoid a difficult situation.

We came to know of it from Shaheed Yar Jang during the evening of July 8 and felt much disturbed. The impending catastrophe during the scheduled interview next morning would be most unfortunate, we thought. It should be avoided if possible. I tried desperately to see the Quaide Azam and warn him about it.

In reply to my request for an interview, Jinnah's Private Secretary, Khurshid, told me, "The Quaide Azam says that if the interview sought is in connection with the subject matter of your recent letters, he sees no reason to meet you".

The stormy interview.

Jinnah arrived at King Kothi on the morning of July 9 by appointment to see the Nizam. Somehow, he was late by about a minute. It was very unusual for Jinnah. Whether this was carefully and craftily arranged previously is a million rupee question.

Jinnah was ushered into the Nizam's presence as soon as he arrived.

"You are late, said the Nizam".

"You should ask your chauffer; he had some motor trouble", replied Jinnah.

"Your blame me for your fault", quipped the Nizam and motioned him towards a rickety old chair reserved for distinguished visitors.

Jinnah who sat with his legs crossed and smoking a cigar started on the prelude to the subject he wished to bring up for discussion. The Nizam looked ill at ease.

Then the Nizam suddenly jumped up and screamed, "what do you mean by sitting before me like that, and smoking a cigar too. Who do you think you are; do you know before whom you are sitting"?

Jinnah stood up. He was shaking with suppressed anger and resentment. He went out of the Nizam's Study in huff, threw away his lighted cigar and was immediately driven back to the Guest House.

We were assured by every source close to the King Kothi that no third person was present at the interview. Even the trusted personal attendants of the Nizam were stationed at a respectable distance.

The report given above on the interview has been re-constructed on the basis of information gathered from different sources, in cluding that of Shaheed Yar Jang and Hosh Yar Jang while things wer still fresh; and a very careful near estimation of the unpredictable behavior of the Nizam.

But, Hosh appears to have reported differently to Mirza Ismail, according to Mirza's version given out in his book 'My Public Life'

Mirza Ismail was in Bangalore those days. He had come to Hyderabad early in July for a preliminary briefing.

During his brief stay in Hyderabad, Mirza had merely reiterated what he had told me in Jaipur earlier. "The earlier the proposed reforms are implemented, the better it would be", he had said. "Why are you people afraid of responsible government"? he had asked me disarmingly. "Give me a full responsible government", he had remarked caustically, "and I will manage it exactly as I want".

Every night, Hosh Yar Jang used to telephone Mirza Ismail and report on new developments. He was trying to inveigle Mirza into the belief that he was a great supporter. But he was hoping at the same time that even at the last moment the choice may fall on his good friend Sir Sultan Ahmed.

Pretentious out burst.

While Jinnah was having the abortive interview with the Nizam, a member of his admirers, including some dignitaries, members of the Majlis High Command and even some informers was waiting for the Quaide Azam at the Guest house. When he sat talking to them, Jinnah was calm and composed; his usual self.

Nobody could suspect that he had just gone through a nasty ordeal; but when he let out the inner turmoil raging in his mind, the listeners were simply flabbergasted.

"Your State will not last for more than two years", declared Jinnah ominously. "Your Prince of Berar may not become Nizam", he added.

By early afternoon, we came to know that the interview had ended abruptly and all too soon. By evening, we were highly perturbed to learn that the Nizam, when Jinnah's outburst was reported to him he asked Deen Yar Jang, the Police Commissioner, to arrest Jinnah and detain him.

It was with utmost difficulty, we were told, that the Nizam had been dissuaded from carrying out such a wild and drastic action.

Jinnah, who had intended to leave by the first available flight, on learning about the Nizam's intentions, extended his stay by some more days.

At the same time, the Quaide Azam agreed to address a public meeting to be arranged by the Ittehadul Muslimeen in Dar-es-Salam, the Majlis headquarters. We were terribly afraid that Jinnah might publicly voice resentment against the Nizam's behavior and his own foreboding about the future of the State.

But not a word was uttered to reflect his anger and disappointment. Jinnah spoke haltingly in Urdu with some difficulty. He followed it up with counsel in English exhorting the Majlis on setting up Parliamentary Board for the coming elections. When the meeting was over, we heaved a sigh of relief.

The weighment in gold flop.

The young man who had offered to weigh Jinnah in gold, Bahauddin Saleem, had quietly disappeared having done nothing for the fulfillment of his offer. But he was flushed out and a committee was hastily set up, headed by Mandoor Khan, Bahadur Yar Jang's half brother.

Hectic efforts were made to collect enough cash to buy Jinnah's weight of gold, or at least silver; but cash enough for either could not be raised. So, a purse was at last presented to Jinnah for the Muslim League funds by the Weighment in Gold Committee.

The Pamphlet.

The pamphlet promised by us to the supporters of Mirza Ismail was ready, but it could not come out in time, by July 8 as intended owing to the over-enthusiastic vigilance of the intelligence staff on the printing presses.

Qasim Razvi, who later became President of the Ittehadul Muslimeen, had said in his statement for inclusion in the pamphlet, "Mr. Jinnah has no right to interfere in our internal affairs. The appointment of the Prime Minister is exclusively the prerogative of his Exalted Highness".

A similar statement was recorded by Venkat Rao, the Scheduled Castes leader, who later joined Liak Ali Cabinet as Minister. This pamphlet could be delivered to the Quaide Azam only on July 12 along with a long letter.

In the letter, I had entreated Jinnah to review his attitude towards the whole situation. I had ardently requested him to give the Nizam a chance to make it up with him: also to reach an understanding with Mirza Ismail even at this late stage.

But, it appears to have had no effect. Jinnah left for Bombay after having sent a telegram to Pethwick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, withdrawing Muslim League's acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

A meeting of the Muslim League Central Council had been called in Bombay towards the end of July. Acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan was to be ratified by the Council. But Jawaher Lal Nehru's Press statement qualifying acceptance of the Plan by the Congress upset the apple cart.

The Muslim League Council session turned into a war council. A 'Direct Action' resolution was passed at the behest of Jinnah. An ultimatum was issued to the British Government. Titles and honers conferred by the British were surrendered by many Leaguers.

Jinnah declaredly bid farewell to constitutional methods. However, no mass movement like the 'Quit India' movement was launched. Only further negotiations were hardened. A half-hearted agitation was started and some workers went to jail also.

In a last bid to bring round Jinnah and arrange a meeting with Mirza Ismail, our trio went to Bombay while the Muslim League Council was in session. Some members of the Muslim League High Command like Raja Mahmudabad, Iftekhar Hussain of Mamdot, Mian Iftekharuddin and Ispahani had sown interest in our Hyderabad plan.

But, now they all pleaded helplessness and were afraid to even talk to the Quaide Azam, because Jinnah's abortive visit to Hyderabad was still fresh and they were scared of a strong rebuff from Jinnah if anything to do with Hyderabad was brought up.

We returned disappointed to Hyderabad. There was little hope left of seeing through our program for the state's future.

Mirza assumes Office.

Mirza Ismail assumed office as Sadre Azam, Babe Hakumat, Sarkar-e-Aali (Prime Minister) in August, 1946. He was immediately surrounded by flatterers, informers, schemers and sycophants.

The very first thing he did after assuming Office was to go round the City on an inspection tour. This had been an old practice with Mirza Ismail, acted upon as often as possible.

He had a keen aesthetic sense. Mirza Ismail's first care had always been to beautify the surroundings and environment wherever he went. Demolition of high compound walls of many government buildings

to be replaced with lower compound walls, color wash, touching up and renovation of frontal views was taken up and done o a priority basis. Even some elaborately planned private buildings were not spared.

Mirza Ismail was promptly nick-named 'Tore Phore Mirza' (demolition Mirza). In Jaipur also he had been given this same Nick-name. The Majlis Leaders and workers took it up and got a good start to organize a regular hate campaign against him.

After some days, I asked him why he had started by gaining a nick-name of Tore Phore Mirza. He smiled and replied "these people Allah Bux, are so secretive. They want to hide behind high compound walls beautiful pieces of architectural craftsmanship. Exposed to view, these structures present a wonderful view pleasing for the eye".

And truly, it looked as if huge beautiful structures had suddenly sprung up overnight from nowhere as if by magic.

Strong impediments.

The bigoted traditionalists in the Ittehadul Muslimeen had developed a strong prejudice against him even before Mirza Ismail came to Hyderabad. Vitriolic propaganda was being regularly carried on against him by Maulvi Abdul Haq of the Anjumane Tarraqie Urdu, just because Mirza had asked for an audited statement of accounts regarding the Jaipur State's aid to the Anjuman.

This was made conditional for the release of further annual aid; and Maulvi Abdul Haq probably didn't maintain accounts, or he did not want to present the accounts for scrutiny.

Blinded by their mad and intense hatred, the Majlis Leaders and workers began giving wrong interpretations and ominous meanings to every word Mirza uttered and to every action he took as Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

On the people's front, formidable forces in the shape of popular movements were poised for a takeoff.

The Communist backed Talangana Movement had already taken up arms on the question of land distribution. The State Congress had been for long struggling purposefully for responsible government.

Now with the end of British paramountcy within sight and the advent of the transfer of power into Indian hands, new hopes o emancipation were kindled. The majority community, for long suppressed, was coming into its own at last. They expected sympathy and a fair deal from Mirza Ismail.

Members of the Indian Congress High Command had maintained close and very good relations with Mirza Ismail and they expected him at least to go soft on the State Congress People.

Most of those who had worked for and supported Mirza, or even made a show of doing so, nurtured their own hopes and personal expectations. They were looking forward to a handsome reward from him. These were the first to be disillusioned.

A regular tug of war for decision making powers had been waging between the Nizam and his Council of Ministers ever since Ali Imam's time. The British members of the Council held a sort of veto powers. The Nizam expected, now, that Mirza Ismail would exert on his side.

In all this interplay of forces, we three (Najiullah, Shahabuddin and I) had assumed for ourselves the role of tendering unsolicited advice to Mirza on men and matters of Hyeerabad.

A deputation of the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen saw Mirza Ismail under a pall of suspicion and mistrust. The next day, Mirza told me, "They had come to give me an ultimatum; but as soon as they took leave, some of them stayed behind and put forth personal requests begging for small favours".

Majlis elections.

The annual general elections of the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen were to take place by the end of 1946. The two main contestants for presidentship were Qasim Razvi and Abdur Rahman Raees, Editor of the daily Waqt.

By mid October, full-fledged election campaign was started by both the candidates. A third candidate, Anisuddin Ahmed, was merely a non-entity and was not able to make the election a triangular fight.

Abul Hassan Syed Ali went all out in support of Qasim Razvi. As the elections neared, he used to get hold of any member of the Council (Electoral College) he could and exert full pressure in favour of Razvi. He went so far as to announce that if Raees wins, he (Abul Hassan) shall stop calling himself a Muslim.

The three of us were on the side of Abdur Rahman Raees, not because we expected Raees to adopt a more progressive and rational attitude towards political problem, but as we knew that his behavior was to a certain extent predictable while Razvi's was totally un-predictable, adventurous and unsound. The daily Waqt carried a series of interviews with me in justification of our stand.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 11 - MEHIAVELLIAN SWAY

Razvi reveals himself: Blind hatred: Power-drunk imposer: Mirza Ismail's Hyderabad sojourn: Great historical turning point: Antecedents of His Exalted Highness: Pig headed inaction of the Majlis: Political equilibrium upset:

Blundering into political swamps:

MEHIAVELLIAN SWAY

About this time, elections for the proposed Legislature were held. The house constituted on the basis of functional representation with a very limited franchise and having more than a third of its members nominated, was merely an excuse for an elected legislature.

The Majlis ticket for contesting a seat in the legislature was refused to Abul Hasan, ostensibly on the plea that the Quaide Azam disapproved. It wasn't necessary to put forth any other reason.

Elections for the presidentship of the Majlis were held during December '46. Qasim Razvi was elected president; and he promptly announced his Working Committee as provided in the Majlis Constitution.

The new leadership of the Majlis had contracted the habit of inputting all their blunders and high handedness to Jinnah's advice.

Even when they had been refused an interview with Jinnah, they brought back with them, all the same, what they gave out to be, and "the Quaide Azam's instructions". They kept up this façade right up to the most ignoble breakup of the State.

It would be noteworthy to recall here the general advice by Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jang. The Nawab was the only person from Hyderabad and the second from all over India who enjoyed the full confidence of the Quaide Azam and dared to confront him even when he was in an angry mood. This advice as mentioned earlier was necessarily a subjective one according to Jinnah himself.

Qasim Razvi became its president at a time when the Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen had come to be recognized as the most powerful political organ of Hyderabad Muslims. His rise to power ma be taken in retrospect, an event that marked the doom of the State and being of the end of an untenable Muslim supremacy.

As soon as he had established himself in his new position of power, Qasim Razvi began clearing ground for absolute and unchallenged power. He began by indoctrinating the Razakar for a blind faith in their leader.

Razvi reveals his real self.

During a select dinner party at Dilkusha, the Hyderabad Minister abdur Rahim's official residence, my friend Osman Ali told Razvi that the Muslim intelligentsia did not agree with some of his declared policies.

Razvi began by ridiculing the intelligentsia and in a fit of fiery temper he declared, "My dear, I hate the young men who feel that they can think of themselves. They had better leave the thinking for us their leaders

Then heavily scrubbing his foot on the carpet, he burst out, "I would easily crush the intelligentsia under my heel and rub it out like this". "I want people who repose implicit trust and blind faith in me."

The very first target of his smear campaign was the un suspecting Abul Hasan Syed Ali, his friend, guide and philosopher who had been mainly responsible for helping to plant Razvi in his present position of power.

At the behest of Razvi, the resolution moved by himself during Abul Hasan's time ratifying the Congress-Majlis Pact was expunged. At the same time, Abul Hasan was declared an enemy of the Muslims.

The next on Razvi's list was Mirza Ismail whose unforgiveable crime was to hold an opinion of his own on men and matters. Poor Mirza had already earned a bad name among Muslims all over India.

A hideous hate campaign was launched against Mirza Ismail. Every imaginable accusation was heaped on him irrespective of its incredibility. His town improvement and beautification program was ridiculed and his every action was branded as harmful to the Muslim cause.

I used to confront Mirza with items of propaganda that had reached my ears. We had quite satisfactory explanation for every one of his actions or inactions. In sheer exasperation he would exclaim "What a terrible place Hyderabad is".

Some of the wild rumors I would quash myself by bringing the true state of affairs and hard facts before the accusers. But, even reasonable people are susceptible to fail for vicious propaganda.

Blind hatred.

One day, a friend told me triumphantly, "now I have irrefutable proof of Mirza Ismail's idolatry. At first, I did not believe rumors that persisted for some time, but now I have seen it with my own eyes. There is an idol installed in Shah Manzil right in plain sight of every visitor".

Rumors had been rife for some time that Mirza Ismail not only worshipped a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi but also had certain Hindu idols installed at his residence which he worshipped regularly every day.

I had per force to agree that I would go with him to Shah Manzil immediately. We stood on the road in front of Shah Manzil. Dusk was setting in; lights had been turned on. My friend very triumphantly pointed towards the inner lobby visible from the main gate. What looked like an idol on pedestal was plainly in sight.

I was momentarily taken aback; but soon I recollected what it wan with a feeling of amusement. I had seen every corner of Shah Manzil including the living rooms and even Mirza Ismail's bed room where I was called when Mirza was laid up with an injury to his hip bone. He had slipped and fallen in the bath room.

In the foyer of the main building two symmetrical flights of stairs arched up to the vestibule of the living rooms in the upper floor. In the center of the arch formed downstairs in this manner, a small decorative

cavity had been dug out in the front wall and a tiny illuminated fountain had been installed to satisfy the aesthetic taste of Mirza Ismail.

Imaginative minds with preconceived ideas could see this as an idol installed for worship.

My friend was not satisfied until I had taken him inside and close to deceptive contraption and had shown him that there was no idol anywhere there. It only broke the monotony and lent color to the dull background of the wide foyer which served as waiting room.

Very soon Qasim Razvi became vocal and loud in his condemnation of Mirza Ismail. He conveniently forgot that hardly a year back he had openly condemned Jinnah through a written statement for opposing Mirza's appointment as Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

Power drunk imposter.

Power went straight to Razvi's head. He started acting rather strangely forgetting himself. He cut himself off completely from his own past.

It is very difficult to pinpoint now exactly when Qasim Khan decided to assume a Shiite name to become Syed Muhammad Qasim Razvi. His real brothers chose to remain Ibrahim Khan and Yayyab Khan all their lives. His father –in-law was Abdul Hye Khan and never added an epithet of Syed to his name until death in Pakistan.

Since the time of Salar Jang the first, and even from earlier since the Behmani period, it had been siedly in fashion to pose as a Shia and Assume Shiite name for social acceptability. Even a popular Nizam like Mehboob Ali Khan, and of course his son and successor the crafty Osman Ali Khan used to affect a Shiite posture. The latter had a house of mourning called the Aza Khanae Zehra officially built in a central place of the City in the Shiite style. He used to join the Moharram Processions and to attend the Maatam gatherings.

The few tracts and monographs written about Qasim Razvi's life sketch are all based on information supplied by himself at the height of his power. No wonder, his father and grandfather have both been dubbed Razvies and syeds.

Speaking about Qasim Razvi's maternal ancestry, Khwaja Majeeduddin, Superintendent Hyderabad Police, grandson of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and brother-in-law of Chief Engineer, Karamatullah told my friend Asghar Hussain that Qasim Razvi was neither a Syed nor a Razvi by descent on either side.

It appears, there was a notorious Hakim (Unani medical practitioner) in Lucknow during the 1957 Revold against the British, engaged in Spying on the Indian freedom fighters, on behalf of the British. He used to pass on the information gathered by him through his Anglo-Indian wife.

When his activities became known, he was bitterly hated and openly despised by Muslims and Hindus alike. He was forced to run away from Lucknow and seek refuge in Hyderabad Deccan, where with British support and recommendation he settled down permanently with his three daughters. One of these girls was married with Ahmed Khan and became Qasim Razvi's mother; another sister was the mother of Ahmed-el-Edroos and the third was mother of Subedar (Commissioner) Habib Muhammad.

It is said that during the post-revolution period of dejection and despair after 1860, an en-mass adoption of the 'Saadat' characteristics and names took place in Lucknow, Amroha and the surroundings for social acceptability. Muslims converts too began claiming direct descent from Ali and Fatimah, the Prophet's cousin and daughter.

Mirza Ismail's Hyderabad sojourn.

Mirza Ismail was quite careful in the choice of friends but he was never so careful in developing enemies. His worst enemies were those he counted among his close friends.

With his loyalties devoted entirely to the person of the Nazam, Osman Ali Khan, Mirza Ismail expected and did receive, at first, a very warm response. But, that unpredictable character, the Nizam, proved to be wavering. He turned from warm to lukewarm and from indifferent to menacingly cold.

Antagonism of the Majlis High Command and betrayal by his trusted friends did not upset Mirza as much as the Cold indifference of his patron, Osman Ali Khan.

Exasperated and disheartened, Mirza wanted to get away from Hyderabad into peaceful seclusion. Towards the second week of may, '47, he left for Bangalore on leave to think over the whole situation in a detached manner and in peaceful atmosphere.

I went to see him off at the Railway Station; but on a sudden impulse, I got into the train with him and accompanied him for a short while upto the next stop.

Without any prelude, I made an impassioned appeal to him to forget all about Hyderabad; and not to come back if he had the slightest consideration for his own life and honor.

Mirza Ismail sent in this resignation from Bangalore on May 15, 1947. He never came back to Hyderabad after that.

The annual session of the Ittehadul Muslimeen was held on 14, 15 and 16 may. A censure motion was adopted at the behest of Qasim Razvi, saying that the continuance in office of Mirza Ismail as prime Minister posed a great threat for the sovereignty of the Nizam, for the political and cultural supremacy of the Muslims and for the integrity and solidarity of the Asafiah Kingdom.

This resolution was like flogging a dead horse; because by that time Mirza's resignation from office of the Prime Minister had been received by the Nizam. Mirza had left no room for re-consideration.

Great jistorical turning point.

Then came the viceroy, Lord Mountbatten's announcement of June 3, 1947. It will go down into history as a turning point in the annals of the South Asian Region. It was a moment which revolutionized the lives of four hundred million People.

Pakistan which was being considered inevitable by then became an established fact and an imminent advent.

The announcement which was welcomed by both major political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, as also by the Sikhs was proceeded by bloody riots in Bengal, U.P and Bihar Provinces.

The Sikhs were bitterly incensed over the upcoming partition of the Punjab, their home land. They were ready to fall out vengefully with anybody who held a red rag, heedless of the consequences.

A procedural plan for carrying through the Mountbatton Plan had been announced. The native states had been allowed to adjust their future relations with the successor powers through negotiations. In essence, it was given out that paramountcy cannot be transferred (implying probably that it could only be snatched and usurped).

The transfer of power into Indian hands would, therefore release the Indian Princes from their obligations and ties with the British Crown. So, they would revert to the position held before their surrendering posers to the Crown.

Osman Ali Khan was gleeful at the prospect of regaining undiluted autocracy and despotism with the anticipated end of the British Paramountcy.

Antecedents of His Exalted Highness.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century and after the death of Nizam Ali Khan, the British successfully maneuvered to foist their agent, Mir Alam, as the Madar-ul-Meham (Prime Minister) of the State.

Then a series of intrigues, conspiracies treacheries and deception were started. Regular inroads were made into the powers and privileges of the Nizam. Although, he was granted an impressive title of his Exalted Highness and faithful Ally of the British Crown, in effect his powers were drastically curtailed.

The Nizam's bid to regain his lost regions and powers was foiled every time when it was brought up until relations between the Nizam and the Paramount Power were clarified and finally determined. A permanent subjugation of the Nizam was confirmed by the viceroy, Lord Heading, on March 27, 1926.

A build up in India's freedom movement brought about change in the stance and buttress of the British Rule in relation to the Dominion. It brought in its wake the Government of India Act of 1935 and the General Elections that followed.

Entry into the arena by the Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership and with highly emotional slogans appears to have hastened the process of India's independence; but with the portent of the country's division.

The Second World War and particularly the entry of Japan in the War on the side of the Racists and a threat of the invasion of India brought about compelling circumstances for the grant of freedom to the Indian Dominion.

The Indian Muslims generally had a foretaste of the elected provincial ministries of the Congress which were set up in '37. It was driven home, all the same, as a bitter fact of life to one and all that democracy and responsible government was the order of the day.

But, the Hyderabad Muslims and particularly the Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan was oblivious ostrich-like of the developments taking place all around them.

The aide de memoire presented to Stafford Cripps by the Nizam in 1942, with reference to the Cripp's plan for transfer of power was curtly brushed aside. Yet, the opium eater Faithfull Ally did not wake up from his stupor to the realization that the ice was indeed thin on which he was skating. He persistently kept harping on the old tune of his benevolent despotism which called freedom.

Pigheaded inaction of the Majlis.

Immediately after the June 3 announcement of 1947, the Hyderabad state Congress through a resolution reiterated its demand for ful responsible government and accession of the state to the Indian union in the offing. The Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen remained un-naturally placid and silent as in death.

Najiullah and I felt much disturbed by the lethargy displayed by the Majlis. We ran to every important member of the Majlis High Command with the request that they immediately demand accession of the State of Pakistan, the new Dominion to be set up, and the continuance of the Constitutional privileges granted to Muslims. They all laughed at us scornfully and would not listen to us at all.

Then we turned towards Hussain Ali Mirza and Dr. Hamidullah, the constitutional experts, to seek their opinion. Both of them appreciated our point of view. They thought that it would be quite a proper move for maintaining the political equilibrium and to counterpoise the Congress stand.

We went back to the Majlis leaders with this expert opinion, but they remained intransigent and stubbornly refused to budge even an inch for adopting any definite attitude towards the Mountbatton Plan.

The Nizam appeared to be waiting for the Majlis reaction. The Congress had categorically declared its own stand, but the Majlis had maintained an unnatural silence; as if waiting for some divine revelation.

At last, the Nizam publicly declared through a Firman dated June 20, published in the usual manner on June 26, that he had chosen to remain independent and had decided not to join either of the unions being set up, I.e., India and Pakistan.

After this, we went round again entreating Majlis leadership to take a stand, at least now, diametrically opposite to that of the Congress, even though it may look on the face of it impracticable and almost ridiculous. But, the Majlis would nave none of it.

Much later, the Majlis declared itself in favour of independence for the 'Islamic Asafiah Dominion'. They merely endorsed the point of view of the Nizam to remain independent and not to join either union. We were terribly disappointed.

Political equilibrium upset.

For quite some time, it had been the ploy of the Majlis leaders to justify their actions or inactions under a pretence that they were just following the advice of the Quaide Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. On the question of their line of action now also they were resorting to the same pretense.

To call their bluff, I wrote to Pir Ilahi Baksh, Chairman, States Negotiating Committee of Pakistan asking for his reaction to any move from Hyderabad Deccan for accession to Pakistan. In response, it was given out through a news item in Dawn, Karachi, that if Hyderabad took the initiative to negotiate accession to Pakistan, the Negotiating Committee would welcome such a move.

This could not have taken place without the consent of the Quaide Azam then Governor General of Pakistan, but Qasim Razvi stubbornly stuck to his wrong strategy.

Thus, it came about that the political equilibrium was tipped in favour of the State Congress stand. Obviously, it shifted to a point between independence and accession to India.

Chhattari was again called back as Prime Minister. He thought it was a God-sent opportunity to repair his damaged reputation. Along with Walter Monchton and Sultan Ahmed, he started negotiations with the newly established Government of free India.

But they had naturally to shift their position and starting point to somewhere between 'accession to India' on the one extreme and 'independence' at the other.

The stand for independence taken by the Nizam and Majlis jointly had to be balanced with the Congress demand, claiming a majority population, for accession to India. The independence claimed both by the Nizam as head of the State and the Majlis as the political party enjoying a privileged position was as natural sequence diluted to start with.

Unfortunately, the negotiations were started with Patel's interior Ministry and not with Nehru's Foreign Ministry. The character and color of the parleys were not as one between two independent sovereign states but between an internal unit and the federal government.

Details of the eleven months long fatuous negotiations, stage-managed from opposite wings by Osman Ali Khan and Vallabh Bhai Patel, are available in their different versions.

Books written by the main characters like Laik Ali, Munshi Menon, J.N. Chaudhuri and series of statements by Mountbatton and others, and articles written by Ali Yavar Jang as also the documents released by the Government of India and by the India Library, London, are quite revealing.

To recount these would be a futile exercise now, but the tragic fact stands out bold and clean that Hyderabad of the last Asafiah Ruler created its own grave diggers.

Blundering into political swamp.

The monstrosity at Osman Ali Khan created in the shape of Qasim Razvi, reduced its own creator to the position of a frightened lonely child lost in the woods.

When negotiations were opened, the idea of an independent Hyderabad was rejected outright by the Indian side. The only concession that the Delegation was able to gain was a respite for two months for signing a Stan Still Agreement for one year.

On October 22,'47, the Chhattari Delegation brought back from Delhi an agreed draft of the Stand Still Agreement. The Nizam saw it and referred it to his Executive Council. The Council discussed and approved the draft by a majority vote.

The Nizam was in a fix, because Monckton was said to have informed Mountbatton that the Nizam was shifting nearer to accession through the Agreement. Osman Ali Khan didn't want to sign it; but then he didn't know how to avoid it.

When the Police Chief, Deen Yar Jang, appeared as usual before the Nizam on the morning of October 26, His Exalted Highness dropped a hint that the Chhattari Delegation must be stopped at any cost form leaving for Delhi, as scheduled, the next morning.

Deen Yar Jang was hand-in-glove with Qasim Razvi; and Osman Ali Khan was well aware of it. Towards the afternoon, instructions from Dares Salam, the Majlis headquarters, were passed on to Razakar over the grapevine. They were asked to muster full force for staging a demonstration at midnight. Police force had been instructed by their Chief to deep aloof and not to interfere.

A formidable posse of Razakar demonstrated at 3 A.M., on October 27 before Shah Manzil, the Prime Minister's residence, to stop the Chhattari Delegation from flying to Delhi. The Delegation got in touch with the Nizam, and on his advice postponed it departure. It never went back to Delhi.

That day, Qasim Razvi was kicked up to the pinnacle of power. For all political purposes, he assumed dictatorship over-riding even a deference to the Nizam, his sovereign.

Chhattari and Monckton might have rightly guessed that demonstration of October 27 could not have been organized and conducted as it was, unless it had the Nizam's indulgence and approval. They both submitted their resignations. Chhattari was relieved of his duties on November 1 but Monckton was somehow retained as Adviser. He agreed somewhat reluctantly.

The Nizam called Qasim Razvi and told him that the demonstration had been for too powerful; much more than was necessary. He chided Razvi for having complicated matters.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 12 - EXPLOITS OF HYDERABADI DON QUIXOTE

EXPLOITS OF HYDERABADI DON QUIXOTE

The Mujahide Azam:
A team of couriers:
Up in arms:
Eddying currents and vortex:
Un-planned refugee influx:
Bigger than the camel:
Pigment of the imagination:
The ostrich is safe:
A year of calamities:
Gun running:
Strange stories:

The Mujahide Azam.

Razvi thought that the stupendous success of the demonstration must have scared the Nizam too; and that he must be feeling jittery about a possible demonstration against himself. Razvi's public speeches which had lately become vitriolic against the Government of India became openly challenging.

Qasim Razvi was egged on in his quixotic adventurers by sycophants, flatterers and blind followers. A student leader Shah Balighuddin, presented Razvi with a copy of the Holy Qoran, a tiny golden sword and the title of 'Mujahide Azam'. This was done in a public meeting; and it was suspected that Razvi had financed the whole show.

This brings to mind, his former title of 'Siddiqe Daccen' guilefully obtained from Bahadur Yar Jang on June 12, 1939 during a Gulbarga Majlis meeting. In response to an appeal for funds, Qasim Razvi had publicly announced donation of all his material belongings.

Speaking about this, my friend Syed Mahood Ali Hashmi Honorary Treasure of the Majlis had told me that when the claims on the properties had been settled the Majlis finally received a paltry sum of rupees eleven Hali. This was corroborated by Abdul Haleem Afghani who was sent to Lathur by Bahadur Yar Jang to take charge of the donated property.

Soon after the Razakar demonstration, a new negotiating Delegation was announced of members acceptable to Razvi. We came to know that new Delegation was not carrying any new terms with them. They were to go over again on the terms already discussed and finalized by the Chhattari Delegation.

It looked as if settled issues were being re-opened and an old letter was being sent back in a different and shabbier envelope.

In the early hours of October 31 morning at about 1 A.M., when the new delegation was scheduled to fly to Delhi by 4 A.M., I caught hold of Abdur Rahim, a member of delegation. He couldn't refuse to see me even at such odd hour.

I had worked for his seat in the Cabinet during Mirza Ismail's time. To make sure he didn't avoid seeing me, I taken along with me his brother-in-law and my close friend, Osman Ali who went straight into his dressing room and dragged him out to meet me.

Rahim admitted that they were not taking with them any fresh proposal. When confronted by me with the obvious frivolity of such a move, he pleaded with me, "Please have faith in us. You wouldn't doubt our honesty, sincerity of purpose and devotion to our cause, would you"?

"We don't doubt your honesty and sincerity", I replied; "but very seriously doubt your wisdom".

Evidently, they were no match for the powerful Indian team of stalwarts like Mountbatton, Patel, Nehru and Memon. To make matters worse, Qasim Razvi went to Delhi later on and exposed his own shallowness.

A team of couriers.

The Hyderabad team was called Negotiating Delegation; but they had no powers delegated to them by the Nizam to negotiate or to broach new lines on their own initiative.

This team and later the Liak Ali Delegation all acted like messengers shuttling between Hyderabad and Delhi carrying documents to and forth like couriers.

It was all a one-way traffic; because no representative of the Indian side came from Delhi to Hyderabad to negotiate with the Nizam and his government.

At one stage, Mountbatton suggested to the Nizam to ban the Razakar, arrest Razvi and personally come to Delhi and meet the Indian leaders. This was considered to be ruse to get the Nizam to Delhi and hold him by force until he had signed the instrument of Accession.

In reply, the Nizam was said to have given indication by an orally conveyed message through Zain Yar Jang to Mountbatton that he (the Nizam) was practically a prisoner in his own palace at the hands of Qasim Razvi. At the same time, the Nizam insisted that Mountbatton may come to Hyderabad to meet him.

No wonder the so-called negotiations limped exasperatingly along a blind alley to their inevitable end of a final break down by the middle of June 1948.

Up in arms.

The congress agitation for responsible government which had been going on for over a decade wa highly stepped up after June 3, '47. The agitation, as previously, was carried on mostly from across the border, from the bordering towns of Bombay Province with headquarters at Sholapur.

To keep the agitation alive and doing, state congress leaders had assumed self-imposed exile. Occasionally, they would come in to organize protest meetings. When repressive measures were taken by the State Administration, they fled the state and started agitating with a vengeance from across the border.

At times, some of them were arrested and put behind bars; but the moment they were release, they made a bee-line for the border where protection and help awaited them.

Where the police was lax or where its action was not considered strong enough, the Razakar under Qasim Razvi Took upon themselves to take punitive action. This cock fight went on building up until it became a test of strength between the Congress Agitators and the Razakar.

Fire arms of every description were being acquired by the Razakar. A substantial number of un-licensed arms were being bought from neighboring Indian regions and brought into the State secretly. The Razakar and the communists were ready buyers of all such weapons.

Some light arms, mostly .303 rifles were passed on to the Razakar out of the arms received through Sydney Cotton's gun running racket. At one time, a .303 rifle was offered to the Razakar at the heavily subsidized price of rupees eighteen each. Manufacture of arms was started on an indigenous basis and even on a small scale and the cottage industry level.

Eddy currents and the vortex.

The local Hindu population, at first along the borders and later on from the interior was dragged into the orbit of the Razakar encounters with the Congress agitators.

The state police just turned the other way around even where the local Hindu population was made the target for liquidation.

In no time at all, rural Muslims began donning the Razakar uniform in order to take it out on influential Hindus with who they had a grudge or whose claims they wished to avoid.

Matters came to a head when a local journalist, Shoebullah Khan was brutally murdered in broad daylight for his nationalistic ideas and for lending support to the Congress agitation through his weekly paper, Imroze.

After the capitulation of Hyderabad, Qasim Razvi was accused and was tried for this murder; but he was given the benefit of doubt and was acquitted on this charge, as his physical presence at the spot could not be established. However, he was found guilty in the Bibi Nagar Dacoity' case and was sentenced to a seven year penal servitude.

The Deendars, followrs of Siddiq Deendar Channa Basveshwars who claimed to be an incarnation of Shiva and Krishna in one, jumped at the opportunity afforded by an atmosphere of lawlessness. They organized regular raids on Hindu villages to carry on loot and arson on a massive scale.

They called these adventures, the 'Ghazvas' and believed that these were punitive measures adopted by the faithful against the revolting infidels following in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h).

The Deendars used to launch on their 'Holy campaign' in strength, fully armed. Riding on heavy Lorries, they sould descent all of a sudden on un-suspecting rural land lords and rich merchants to ransack their homes and stores. Those who resisted or so much as raised an objection met with an unhesitating bullet.

They had brought back alive the horrible legend of the hordes sent out by the old nawabs and jagirdars to plunder the country-side. They were said to have brought back may a times, the chopped off human

parts with jewelry still attached. This was supposed to have saved them time and effort in removing the valuable ornaments from the womenfolk.

The Deendars went on step ahead and brought back with them good looking young girls as slaves won in holy battle. The state police did nothing to stop this high-handedness.

Vying with the Deendars, the Razakar didn't want to be left behind and forego material gains. They started murder, loot and arson on their own indiscriminately. Any advice for restraint form the local administrators were taken as an affront and undesirable interference in their sanctimonious duties.

A percentage from the Razakars' loot, particularly gold and silver was said to be appropriated personally by Qasim Razvi. He was said to have amassed enough wealth to last for generations.

Qasim Razvi's wealth and affluence claimed and harped upon at a much later date by his ardent admirers, particularly after his death, had stood already exploded in connection with his donation of all his worldly belongings for the Majlise Ittehadul Muslimeen funds in 1939. At that time, it was found that the real worth of all his property comprising living house, library of law books, furniture and all other household effects, after satisfying various pressing claims, was in all only eleven rupees Hali. But, things were different when he controlled the Razakar.

At the height of his power, when he was said to have amassed enough cash and property, I sent to him a small note more as a mirror to show him his true image than to remind him of the debt of a hand loan he owed me.

It reminded him of the time, only a few years back when he had no money to pay his rail fare to Lathur from Hyderabad City. It recounted how he had to borrow twenty odd rupees from me. This deft I wrote had not been cleared so far.

The letter was sent with express instructions that it should be delivered only into the hands of Qasim Razvi and be entrusted to no one else. With utmost difficulty, the letter was delivered a instructed.

Having gone through the letter, he angrily tore it up into small shreds saying that it was only a mischief sending this letter. "I owe him no such amount", he said. Qasim Razvi carried this debt with him to his grave.

One day, my friend FarooQ Mian brought to me a letter which was addressed to a Razakar adventurer. It was in English and typed on an official letter head. I was requested to read and translate it into Urdu.

The letter I saw was from the Police Commissioner himself and I was simply dumbfounded to glance through the contents. The Chief of Police had said, "short of coming into direct clash with the Police, you may carry on your activities with a free hand and courage".

One Razakar activist told me with a tinge of regret that they had to drag the condemned Hindu tyrant away from his home in order to execute him. "Expecting the bullet any second", he said, "the rascal

tightens up his muscles with the result that one single bullet does not accomplish the job. We have to waste another valuable bullet and some time a third on him".

Unplanned refugee influx.

These were the times when communal clashes all over India and later in both the newly liberated dominions were spreading fast. Horrifying stories of gruesome mass slaughter spread like wild fire on both sides, among Hindus and Muslims alike. Exaggeration and imagination were un-restrained. Retaliatory passion began soaring high.

Muslims from the surrounding areas of Hyderabad who felt insecure in their ancestral homes began migrating to the city of Hyderabad to seek refuge. Starting from a trickle, the migration soon grew into a regular influx. But it was unplanned, un-invited and un-controlled immigration.

They all brought with them real or imaginary but mostly exaggerated tales of sudden wave of persecution and carnage by the Hindu militants.

A department of refugee rehabilitation was set up by the State Government. Some camps were also established to house the immigrants temporarily. Concentrated in the City of Hyderabad, the refugees found difficulties in finding gainful employment.

It did not take them long to get disillusioned. Most of these refugees wanted to return to their homes, but they had neither the courage nor the heart to return to a turbulent and inflamed atmosphere.

Even where comparative calm prevailed, they didn't have the nerve to face up to the accusing and ridiculing looks of their towns-people. most of them had burnt their boats at the time of migration.

Prospects of their pushing forward to Pakistan brought them a ray of hope in spite of the great hazards of travel those days. This would provide them a face-saving chance, they thought, and at the same time, it brought a promise to better future.

Bigger than the camel.

By June, 1948, Qasim Razvi was feeling all puffed up like the proverbial frog in the pond. He wanted to show off his so-called preparations to meet any armed incursion by India. He called a grand rally and parade of the Razakar in the City of Hyderabad to be held on the 8th of June 1948.

Razakar arrived from all over the state in full dress array and paraded in formations on the spacious Malakpet ground and presented arms to their leader. The Siddiqe Deccan, Mujahide Azam Syed

Mohammad Qasim Razvi was himself donning a field marshal's uniform with a beret cap worn at a rakish angel.

He arrived at the salute stand flanked on either side by smartly turned out ADCs. Before the march past, he inspected the Razakar contingents standing to attention on the Parade Ground.

A very liberal estimate would place the number of the Razakar present between 20 and 25 thousands. Hardly 5 percent of them could handle a gun properly and march in step. But the report put out later showed a figure bloated over then times the actual number; and that too in a battle-fit order.

Figment of the imagination.

Unfortunately for the Nizam and the Hyderabad Muslims, the so-called negotiations with the successor Government of India had been started off-key. This discordant note persisted all along with a humdrum monotony.

The pipe-dreaming Nizam stubbornly stuck to his fool's paradise. He hoped that the British Paramount Power will not forsake him in his hour of need. Foolhardily, he depended upon the 'treaty position' and special relationship built and preserved with the British Crown.

At one stage, it appeared, the Nizam depended on it that the transfer of power into Indian hands would be made conditional to an amicable permanent settlement with the Nizam, the 'Faithfull Ally' of the British Crown. A castle in the air indeed!

The Indian stand was clear-cut and unwavering. They wanted Hyderabad's accession to India and establishment of full responsible government. They took it for granted, not without reason that the majority of the State's Population aspired for this same objective.

The Nizam, on the other hand, with the overwhelming support of the Muslim minority made a bid for freedom. This vehemently claimed freedom wa very soon diluted by conceding subservience in three fields of vital importance/ defense, communications and foreign affairs.

The stand-still agreement, so much harped upon by the Nizam and his Government, was in substance a prelude to accession.

The ostrich is safe.

Foolhardily blundering into such a political quagmire, the Nizam and the Muslim leadership labored under another self-delusion. They felt sure that the Indian Dominion dare not launch upon an armed intervention.

Even when the entire war strategy and a detailed plan of March on Hyderabad was shown to them, the Laik Ali Cabinet thought that it was only a false alarm; that somebody was just crying wolf.

Exploiting the anti-Brahmin feelings among K.M. Munshi's staff, my friend Mahmood Ali Hashmi, Deputy Speaker of Hyderabad Legislature, obtained during the first week of August a secret file from Munshi's safe. It contained a complete plan of advance on Hyderabad together with route maps and the strength of forces with which to march from various points. This file was made available to the Laik Ali Cabinet for about twelve hours.

Like in most other matters, Qasim Razvi was consulted. He simply ridiculed such a possibility. He thought that the file must have been deliberately passed on to them in order to intimidate them and gain advantage over them.

The Laik Ali Cabinet was in full agreement with Razvi. The idea of an attack by India was contemptuously brushed aside.

With the breakdown of the long drawn spell of bickering called the negotiations with India and especially after the departure of the Crown Representative, Mountbatton, leaving the Nizam in the lurch, a final show down with India became unavoidable.

The Don Quixote of King Kothi (Osman Ali Khan) attended upon by the Sancho Panza of Dares Salam (Qasim Razvi) was all set to launch upon his feats of gallantry to rescue the lovely damsel in distress of Bhagyanagar (Hyderabad) from the clutches of the ugly giant of Delhi.

A year of calamities.

1948 was a year of tragedies and calamities for the new born independent states of India and Pakistan. The year was ushered in with the un-resolved dispute over Kashmir in which Pakistan was outwitted by India with British collusion.

It was followed by the great tragedy of Gandhiji's assassination. When the news was first flashed on the evening of January 30, a highly charged wave of grave concern and apprehension swept through the entire Muslim population of India.

A little later, when it was announced that the assassin was a Hindu (not a Muslim) militant of the Hindu Maha Sabha, we all heaved a sigh of immense relief.

The proclamation of the independent Jewish State of Israel brought great misgivings and frustration among the Muslims the world over. It was direct challenge to their faith and beliefs. The grief and resentment of Indian Muslims was in no way less than that of the Palestinian Muslims who were directly affected.

Then came the stunning blow of September 11. The Quaide Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, creator of Pakistan, died on his way to the GG House from Mauripur Airport. He was brought by car from Ziarat to Quetta and then flown to Karachi by a Fokker plane, all along in a highly precarious condition.

There was deep mourning, naturally, in Pakistan. Furtively felt, there was a sense of grief and loss among all the Indian Muslims. Hyderabad mourned the death of Jinnah officially.

Next, on September 13, fell the greatest of all blows on Hyderabad, the most anticipated but least expected disaster to fall at such a critical moment.

The Indian armies marched into the State of Hyderabad from various points as planned but somewhat ahead of schedule. India called it the Police Action and 'Operation Polo'.

The Indian host kept marching on unchecked and unchallenged. They were converging on the Capital, occupying and securing strategic positions en route. It took just about four days for Hyderabad to lay down arms in a most abject and ignoble manner.

Very little indeed, and at best a half-hearted resistance was put up by the Hyderabad Regulars. Supply of arms and ammunitions was very limited; so also was the issue of field rations.

A huge quantity of heavy and sophisticated equipment had been lying, it was said, un-opened in crates just as it had been unloaded in various State air fields. All this equipment was said to have been captured by the advancing Indian armies at last.

Gun running.

Gun running had been going on un-interrupted for quite some time. It began mushrooming when negotiations with India took, according to Hyderabad authorities, a disappointing turn. The economic blockade imposed and increasingly tightened by India rendered nocturnal flights bringing arms and ammunitions and other essential goods compulsively necessary.

An Australian adventurer pilot, Sydney Cotton, undertook to procure and supply arms and other essentials from Europe. He proposed to airlift them to Hyderabad with a possible transshipment and refueling at Karachi, Pakistan. This was said to be a major source, in addition to other agencies engaged by Hyderabad.

When regular gun running by Sydney Cotton was started, the Pakistan Government, it was said, pretended not to take any notice of this clandestine activity.

Sydney Cotton, on his part, simply spurned at the possibility of radar detection by India, he had undertaken and fulfilled such covert transactions elsewhere.

An air base at Karachi was said to be used for this purpose. Yousuf Haroon, in partnership with Hussain Malik, they said, was in charge of the operation at Karachi. They had, it appears, an overriding commission. At last, it is believed, they claimed a lion's share in the multimillion Pound Sterling deal.

Only Pakistan's Finance minister, Ghulam Muhammad, was said to be personally involved in this transaction. He had previously been Finance Minister of Hyderabad where he had developed a close friendship with Laik Ali who was now Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

Strange stories.

I came by certain startling information and revealing anecdotes on different occasions, far between. These may be used as pieces of jigsaw puzzle. I will simply narrate what I heard from reliable sources and leave the piecing together to be done by the reader. Laik Ali had undertaken and did succeed in persuading the Pakistan Government not to en cash the Rupee to hundred million securities transferred by the Nizam early in 1948. To counter this disparaging volte-face, it was rumored broadly in Hyderabad that the Pakistan Finance Minister, Ghulam Muhammad, had come by a special plane and had obtained from HEH the Nizam liquid assets worth on thousand million rupees in the shape of gold, silver and Indian currency notes.

A substantial part of this was said to have been carried away personally by Ghulam Muhammad to Karachi.

After migrating to Pakistan, I was told by well-informed sources, both Hyderabadi and others, that the gold stored in the strong vaults of the State Bank of Pakistan and proudly shown to distinguished visitors was from Hyderabad.

During early 1953, one day I was sitting in the office set up by my friend, Ghani, in sadder, Karachi. Qazi Esa of Quetta, who had come to buy some sweets from the neighboring shop of Abdul Khaliq, spotted and called me out to him I went down and met him at the kerb where he had parked his car.

After the usual greetings, Qazi Esz exclaimed, "Your see, Hyderabad moony at last brought about Liaquat's death". With this remark, he drove away wishing that we meet again.

'Liaquat' mentioned by him was no other than Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan. He had been assassinated earlier in October. But for the life of me, I couldn't see what connection there could be between the Hyderabad money and Liaquat's Murder.

Almost 20 years later, when I recounted this remark of Qazi Esa to a friend holding a very responsible position in the State Bank of Pakistan, he told me about an episode narrated to him by a person directly involved. It might throw some light on the riddle, he thought.

"During the late fifties, while I was working with the public information Department", he said, "Anwer Khan, a CID Inspector confided to me that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan called him on day in 1948 and fold him that he was being assigned a very important and top secret job".

"I knew", said my friend, "that Anwer Khan had a family relationship with Nawabzada. He was being temporarily borrowed from the Intelligence Department. He was instructed to report directly to the Prime Minister, in person, and not to send any report to his own Department".

"he had been asked", my banker friend revealed, "to keep a strict vigilance on Ghulam Muhammad, the then Finance Minister".

"Anwer stationed himself at a vantage point from where he could observe every move in the FM's residence and could keep a continuous surveillance".

"One day, Anwer spotted a staff car driven by Hussain Malik, Ghulam Muhammad's son-in-law. The Finance minister was also riding in it; but there was no flag on the car. This made Anwer to sit up", my friend said.

"He followed the car to Drigh Road air Base and waited for further moves. Within a half hour an aero plane landed and Sydney Cotton stepped out of it. Hussain Malik went forward and brought the pilot to Ghulam Muhammad waiting in the car".

"Sydney Cotton went back to the plane with Hussain Malik and handed him two strong canvas bags. The bags appeared to be quite heavy. Hussain Malik staggered back to the car under the weight. Then the car left with the bags in its trunk"

"Anwar followed the car to Ghulam Muhammad's residence and waited until all lights went out and the inmates retired for the night. This incident was reported to the Prime Minister personally as instructed the next morning", my friend concluded, "and you can make what you please of this".

After the assignation of Liaquat Ali Khan, Aitezzuddin the Inspector General of Special Police, investigating into the circumstances of the death was killed in an air crash and the record was all destroyed. It was rumored that the Prime Minster had made up his mind to order an inquiry into the airlift of gold and silver from Deccan Hyderabad.

Getting back to the events that led to the shameful debacle of Hyderabad, we were told immediately after the march of Indian troops on Hyderabad that two very senior military officers had come earlier, most probably from Pakistan. They had offered to plan out the defense strategy. But Commander Eedroos had refused to accept and act on any strategy planned by them.

As in most other matters, Qasim Razvi was said to have been consulted. He most strongly supported Eedroos and was reported to have said, "Eedroos is my brother. He is a true Moamin and a Marde Mujahid. I have as much confidence in him as I have in myself". But this confidence doesn't appear to have been shared by Laik Ali and Nizam, as given out by Laik Ali in his book, 'The Tragedy of Hyderabad'.

Writing about Eedroos, General J.N. Chaudhuri in his autobiography says, "While admiring his personal charm, I had not been over-impressed with his military knowledge. Gen. Goddard agreed with me and thought that it was probably not any fault of his own. Eedroos was poor soldier tactically and strategically, while during the war period he seemed to have rather deteriorated as a personality".

To make matters worse, as soon as the Indian attack had begun Laik Ali rushed to the Command Room in GHQ. He took charge of the strategy planning and started issuing orders for defense moves to different fronts according to his own light.

On top of this, the self-assuming know-all Nizam didn't want to be left out, lest someone think he was not the topmost strategist in Modern warfare. He started calling for reports on minute-to-minute developments. He began fiving specific instructions. Eedroos appears to have gladly given in.

The result of all this was that self-cancelling and contradictory orders began to be received on the fronts. Some members of the Cabinet who never had anything to do with matters of defense, appeared at certain fronts and issued direct orders not in keeping with the exigencies and over-riding official instructions.

In utter confusion and uncertainty, the Hyderabad Regular Forces began to beat retreat. Orders were sent out to certain fronts at last to fight to the finish; to the last man last bullet. But there was no one to man the front and carry out orders in most of the places.

It was common knowledge amongst the ranks and it was fully realized that they had been pitched into battle against a far superior and better equipped force. All the morale boosting bellowing of the Hyderabad radio broadcasting rending the air of Deccan with tall talk and the wild bragging of Qasim Razvi were to no avail.

The Hyderabad Regulars kept retreating at the same speed with which the Indians advanced, always keeping a safe distance in between. It was said they had been instructed to always keep a distance of two miles between the Indian troops and themselves.

However, some of the Civil Service officers and men did put up a stiff resistance and heroically defended their positions with what little arms and ammunition they were able to gather.

At one stage, it was felt both by Laik Ali and the Nizam that Eedroos cannot be depended upon and should be replaced immediately by a more reliable and capable man; but by then it was already too late.

Qasim Razvi could certainly have liked to assume some responsibility in planning to defense strategy and in directing the army. but, in the confusion worse confounded spreading all over, he was simply over looked and was not given the chance to fulfill his heart's desire.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 13 - THE SINKING SHIP THE SINKING SHIP

The hasty collapse:

Rats abandon ship:

Bad taste in the mouth:

The last straw:

The fiasco:

The inside rot:

The curtain:

The hasty collapse.

Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, it appears met the Pakistan Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan; at this stage and urged on him for an immediate intervention by Pakistan in favour of Hyderabad and the Nizam. The Quaide Millat Nawabzada Liaquat Ali is said to have assured the Maulans that Pakistan will do everything possible under the circumstances, if the Hyderabad defense will hold out for a couples of weeks as they claim they easily can. In fact, the Hyderabad Radio claimed that they can hold out indefinitely and keep the enemy engaged in street fighting at the capital for months together.

The last straw.

In all this muddle confusion, the most tragic occurrence owing to the unpardonable callousness of Qasim Razvi was the hasty and ramble-scramble dispatch of untrained, half-trained and ill equipped Razakar to the battle fronts.

An urgent call for volunteers to defend the motherland brought prompt and side response. They were being packed in trucks and were immediately dispatched to the fronts without any training or equipment. We strongly objected to this suicidal activity and held public demonstrations in protest. Abul Hasan Syed Ali was fully in our support.

To our intense sorrow and indignation, we received reports that the Razakar armed only with staves and muzzle-loading old guns had fought stiffly and desperately. Vainly, they had tried to stop the Indian armored tanks. Worst of all, some of them had even dived into the chain belts of the tanks in the vain hope of jamming the wheels with their crushed bodies.

The blood of all these cocky young men who laid down their lives, but all in vain, on the battle front is surely on Qasim Razvi's head.

Rats abandon ship.

Laik Ali and the band of oafish braggarts forming his Cabinet laid down office only on the morning of September 17 when they were convinced that all was completely lost. The Indian Army was on that day knocking at the gates of the Capital of Hyderabad.

The Nizam Osman Ali Khan completely disillusioned at last and shaken out of his stupor, ordered only at the point of capitulation, the banning of the Razakar. But to what purpose?

In consultation with the Indian Abent General, Munshi, a Council of Advisors with the rank of ministers of Cabinet was announced. But it was never recognized by the successor Military Administration.

Immediately after the C-in-C of the Hyderabad Armed Forces and the Prince of Berar, as supreme Commander, had formally surrendered arms, the members of the Council of Advisors met the victorious Commander, J.N. Chaudhuri and in all humility welcome him debasingly to Hyderabad.

Abul Hasan was a member of this Council. We were told that he had been able to persuade the Indian Commander to order his troops to by-pass the City of Hyderabad while marching into the Capital to take station at Bolaram.

There are several others, including the self-assuming and conceited Laik Ali, who have since been trying to take credit for themselves for this good turn to the Muslims of the City. This news, however, brought us all immense relief, because soul chilling stories had already reached us about a ruthless massacre, arson and rape of the Muslims in towns occupied by the Indian Army.

The fiasco.

The bluster of the Majlis stalwarts was completely deflated. They went into hiding and most of them were anxious to escape to Pakistan with whatever gold, silver and ready cash they could lay hands on and carry with them.

They had only to reach Bombay in order to transfer liquid assets and cash through the Habib Bank and then fly to Karachi. Some of the influential ones availed of the last flight out by the gun-runner, Sydney Cotton.

Only the most conspicuous among them like Razvi and Laik Ali could not and did not escape for various reasons. But their family members and close confederates were able to escape together with the valuables amassed during the free-for-all.

It is a matter of the utmost and ever-lasting regret that the one person who should have been persuaded and should have been the first to flee Hyderabad was left alone inside the high walls of King Kothi like a trapped predator. Perhaps, he didn't want to be separated even for a moment from the fabulous wealth he had amassed.

The Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, could easily have flown to Pakistan, if not to England, and sought political asylum with obvious advantages.

Some district and town treasuries were emptied by the controlling officers and the cash was converted to Indian currency at a heavy discount for being carried mainly to Pakistan. Any substantial cash borrowed or held in trust presented a sure temptation for being swallowed up without any fear of reprisal.

Razakar uniforms and anything that suggested a Para-military association were burned and incinerated by the thousands. Arms, ammunitions and even old and rusty swords and daggers were buried deep

underground or thrown into unused wells. Secret records and documents of a political nature were all reduced to ashes and rubbed into the ground.

Some of my over-anxious relatives and friends destroyed, leaving no trace, most of my precious record, without my knowledge.

The already tottering Administration had completely collapsed. There was an air of awful suspense and grave premonitions hanging thick everywhere.

Some radicals and opportunists welcomed publicly the triumph of the democratic forces, little realizing that it was only retribution and vengeance that was visiting upon us.

The congress and the Arya Samaj volunteers were out boldly parading the streets with a new swagger and bravado, and causing un-restrained havoc.

The inside rot.

To crown it all, we were told a few weeks later that the Hyderabad Commander, Ahmed-el-Eedroos in a gala party thrown by the Military Administration of J.N. Chaudhuri, after having a drink too many had staggered up to Brig. Verma, the Indian second in command and stammered, "I say, you should than me for having given you Hyderabad on a silver platter". As a result he was said to have been placed under house arrest.

This brings to mind another revealing piece of information un-intentionally disclosed by a friend more than thirty years later. An officer of the Indian Army Intelligence, who was relative of Abdur Rahim, a minister in the Laik Ali Cabinet and also related to my information, was present in the City of Hyderabad since June '48.

This Indian Secret Agent would keep roaming about in old and tattered clothes, disguised as a beggar. He would usually spend the nights in Dilkush, Rahim's official residence.

From here it should have been most convenient to keep a continuous watch over everything that went on in Shah Manzil, the adjoining official residence of the Prime Minister. Could it have been possible that Rahim was not aware of what went on under his very nose?

According to my friend, this Secret Agent by his own admission was not alone. There were several other under-cover agents stationed at different locations in the State and working as unobtrusively as himself.

The witch hunt.

After the Indian Army had ridden roughshod over the Hyderabad territory along the rout of their march into the state, a surrender of every type and description by the Muslim population had been ordered and was doubly ensured by a thorough search from house to house.

Then a regular witch hunt for Razakar started and was kept going even after almost all the Razakar had been rounded up' because the figure of five hundred thousand Razakar as claimed by Qasim Razvi, it appears was not completed.

The Military Administration appeared to be working with a determination to crush and squeeze out even the last vestiges of self respect, pluck and resolution from the Muslims. They were subjected to the worst type of insult and indignity. Even the Nizam was wantonly humiliated.

At about midnight one day, all Urdu news papers were banned. Muslims were systematically purged out ot civil Services. Government functionaries from neighboring provinces, all Hindus and just a few Christians were brought in to take their places.

The curtain.

Congress volunteers and Hindu militants, coming back in a victorious spirit from their self-imposed exile, started an un-controlled wave of massacre, arson and rape with a vengeance.

Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, speaking at a Press Conference in Hyderabad during his visit, characterized the State Congress leadership as the self-assuming "dog under the bullock cart", trying vaingloriously to snatch credit for a successful passage of the caravan.

Pandit Sunder Lal, after seeing for himself the wretched plight of the Muslims, during a fact-finding mission along with Choudhry Monammad Shafi and Mohammad Yunus to Hyderabad shed bitter tears of remorse and declared, "our Hindu brethren in their unrestrained orgy of just a fortnight have far surpassed the destruction and debauchery caused by the Razakar during a year and a half past".

The seventh Nizam of Hyderabad, the last Ruler of the Asafiah dynasty seemed resigned to fate. The disfigurement and disintegration of his Dominion looked like a foregone conclusion.

As foretold by Jinnah, Azam Jah, the Prince of Berar, never became the Nizam of Hyderabad. The fabulous wealth of Osman Ali Khan went down the drain without leaving a significant trace behind.

Muslims from all around who had sought refuge in Hyderabad dispersed hastily. Some shamefacedly returned to their homes by had deserted not long before; others began pushing forward to Pakistan to find their place and try their luck in this new Dominion.

Looking Back on this whole sorry episode, it comes to mind forcefully that the thoughtless and fiendish elimination of Bahadur Khan, the Quaide Millat and Lissanul Ummah, a pillar of strength for the Nizam and his Dominions, brought in its wake an ill wind that blew no body any good.

Bad taste in the mouth.

The most regrettable and tragic event that finally sealed the fate of Hyderabad was the unforgivable mishandling of the case in the U.N. Security Council at Lake Success. Laik Ali's brother-in-law, Moin Nawaz Jang, the then Foreign Minister of Hyderabad had been sent to head a delegation of the State to the Security Council.

There appears to have been a good lot of sympathy and goodwill for the Nizam and for Hyderabad not only among members of the British Parliament, but also among members of the world community in general.

This was clearly demonstrated by the promptness with which the Hyderabad complaint was taken up by the Security Council without any opposition.

In spite of the objection raised by the Indian Representative Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, some member of the Council was heard asking Moin Nawaz Jang, "Whad do you want now"?

Someone was heard prompting, "Cease fire". But poor MoinUddding (Moin Nawaz Jang) who must have been feeling like a miserable mouse surrounded by ferocious cats simply managed to squeak, "I am confused. I must get information".

This took place on September 16, 1948, at a time when the Indian Forces were speedily converging from all sides on the City of Hyderabad. A cease fire by both sides even at this stage could have kept the Hyderabad question alive and hanging fire for decades to come, like many other controversies o the UN agenda.

The Security Council meeting was adjourned to meet again, in the usual course, on September 20. Meanwhile, the news of surrender by Hyderabad had reached Paris; and all the effervescence evaporated. What took place after this in on the U.N. record an unresolved case.

Even at this late hour, the Nizam could very easily have availed the last flight out of Hyderabad by Sydney Cotton and fled the State to challenge the Indian Union from outside.

The Nizam who must have been feeling, at the time, like a predator trapped in his own den and driven out to wits, offered unconditional surrender and welcomed the Indian conqueror. Very meekly and humbly, he submitted to the dictates of his erstwhile enemy and withdrew the complaint from the Security Council on September 23, six days after the formal surrender.

LOOKING BACK - CHAPTER 14 - THE EPITAPH

THE EPITAPH

The epitaph.

In a poetic mood, Mir Osman Ali Khan, the seventh and last Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan had made a tall claim when he said

'alateen-e-salaf sub hoachukay nazar-e-ajal Osman!

Mussalmanoan ka teri sultanat se hai nishan baqi' meaning

Now that the rulers of old times have all fallen prey to death, a trace of the Mussalmans remains in the shape of your kingdom of Osman!

Today, this self-assuming, bloated frog-in-the-well is dead and buried together with his fabulous wealth and Domain; but the Mussalmans are not eliminated from the face of the earth, not even from Hyderabad.

It is the inexorable destiny of individuals trying to rule for over submissive masses of human beings with the help of mercenary soldiers, raise from these same masses, to be swept away into the dark recesses of history like ---

THE NIZAM

Who lies buried under the debris of his own Dominions.

NOTES

(Incomplete and subject to Corrections)

Pakistan The Sanctuary.

- 1. Jehad: the holy war waged by Muslims against transgression and evil, enjoind upon the faithful in Islam.
- 2. Jamiyet-e-Ulema-e-Hind: organization of highly orthodox, traditionalist Muslim doctrinarians based at Deoband, a town in united Provinces of Undivided India, headed by Hussain Ahmed and Kifayatullah.
- 3. Jamaat-e-Islami: a highly disciplinarian, purist and dogmatist organization of Muslims based at Pathankote (Punjab) and headed by Abol Aala Maudoodi.
- 4. Majlis-e-Ehrar: a sentimentalist, traditional organization set up to counterpoise the Arya Samaj, headed by Ataullah Shah Bokhari.

- 5. Khaksar Jamaat: a highly regimented, sentimentalist Para-military organization of Muslims, armed with shovels (belcha) and headed by Inayatullah Mashriqi.
- 6. Mirza Zbol Hasan Ispahani: Quaide Azam as I knew him, pp.20-21
- 7. Akber Pirbhai, Bar-at-Law: Jinnah faces an assassin, Urdu translation by Sharifuddin Pirzada. Sound Publications, Bombay 1944.
- 8. Dr. Rafique Afzal: Speeches and statements of the Quaide Azam M.A. Jinnah: Research Society of Pakistan, Unversity of Punjab.
- 9. Dr. M.Rafique Afzal: op.cit.
- 10. Bahadur Yar Jang Academy, Karachi: Makateeb-d-Bahadur Yar Jang letter No. 435 of July 8,1943 Process Pakistan, Karachi 1967
- 11. Op.cit. letter No. 360 of November 25, 1942
- 12. Jiye Sind: A separatist Sindhi Movement launched by G.M.Syed and re-enforced by students, directed against the Punjabi dominated Pakistan armed and civil services.
- 13. Selig S. Harrison: Afghanistan the Shadow on Pakistan. New York.
- 14. Pakhtoonistan: A separatist movement launched by the 'Red Shirts' leader Ghaffar Khan (Frontier Gandhi) with the support of Afghanistan demanding a separate independent status for the land of Pashto speaking Pathans.
- 15. Balfore Declaration: British History (early 20th century)
- 16. Sharifuddin Pirzada: Foundations of Pakistan: National publishing House, Dacca.
- 17. Francis Tuker: 'While Memory Serves', Cassell & Co., Ltd., London, 1950 pp. 257: see also Shahid Hamid, 'Disasterous Twilight'.
- 18. United Bengal: a movement of 1940s for which Sahrawardy castigated.
- 19. Selig S. Harrison: op.cit.
- 20. Janbaz Mirza: Caravan-e- Ehrar: (Urdu) Maktaba-e-Tabsira, Lahore 1975.
- 21. Mamiluddin Ahmed: Historic Documents of Muslim Freedom Movement
- 22. Personally reported to me by Amir Imam.
- 23. Dr. M.Rafique afzal: op.cit.
- 24. Quaide Azam Papers: Shamsul Hassan Collections

Pakistan - the creators.

- 1. Jamiluddin ahmed: Historic Documents, op.cit.
- 2. Jamiluddin op.cit
- 3. Jamiluddin op.cit
- 4. Mohammad Munir: 'From Jinnah to Zia'
- 5. Mohamman Munir op.cit.
- 6. Francis Tukker: op.cit pp. 257

- 7. 'No pbjection certificate' was the only travel document avail for immigrants at the time.
- 8. Ghulam Muatafa Shah and Hamida Khurho

Backdrop.

- 1. Dr. Qamaruddin: Mehdawi Movement in India: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi: 1985
- 2. Azia Mehdi Bokhari: 'Mashaheer-i-Mahdawia (Urdu): Darul Ishaate Mahdawia, Channapatna.
- 3. Azia Mehdi Bokhari: 'Mashaheer-i-Mahcawia op.cti
- 4. Aziz Mehdi op.cti.
- 5. Dr. G.M.Mehkri: Socialogist, freelancer and author of Sorrows of Sindh: Sind Friends Circle, Hyderabad, 1967: see also his introduction to this work.
- 6. Times of India report: January 22. 1938

The Colorful Side of Life.

- 1. Nym Wales: China Builds for Democracy: Ktabistan, Allahbad, 1942.
- 2. Khurshid Ahmed Enver of 'The Young Peoples Publishing Bureau, Lahore: author-publisher of Muhammad of Arabia' and other booklets.

The Remarkable Rocket.

- 1. Lisanul Ummah: the tongue of the faithful, a title conferred on Bahadur Yar Jang by public consensus.
- 2. Makateeb-i-Bahadur Yar Jang: op.cit letter No. 315 of 14-7-42
- 3. Nym Wales: China Builds for Democracy: op.cit.
- 4. Mir Akber Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law, a nationalist who became governor of U.P in Post-Partition India.
- 5. 'Dehi Mussalmanoan ka masela' published by Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen, Hyderabad, 1941.

The Volte Face.

- 1. This was the observation made by the Council of ministers on Bahadur Yar Jang's petition surrendering title and jagirs, forwarded by the Nizam to the Council
- 2. Quaide Azam papers: Department Of Archives, Islamabad: No. F976/44
- 3. Op.cit. No F-976/47-48
- 4. As reported to me privately by Mohammad Ali, the Investigating Sub-Inspector of Police.
- 5. Nawab Sir Ahmed Saeed Khan of Chhattari: Yade Ayyam (Urdu auto-biography) Aligarh.

Hollow Echoes.

- 1. Quaide Azam Papers: op cit. No. F 31/10-11
- 2. Mirza Ismail: My Public Life (memoires) George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1945: PP. 31, 72, 37.

Desperate attempts.

- 1. Dawn (daily) report: Mysore Muslims' Demands based on their historical position in the State: May 2, 1946.
- 2. As conveyed to me by Nawab Hasan Yar Jang, who was present there.
- 3. The file carrying the original signed statement was borrowed by A.T.Naqvi, Commissioner Karachi and was never returned.
- 4. Barry Pavier: The Talangana Movement' Vikas 1981.

Machiavellian Sway.

1. The Oxford History of India, Oxford.

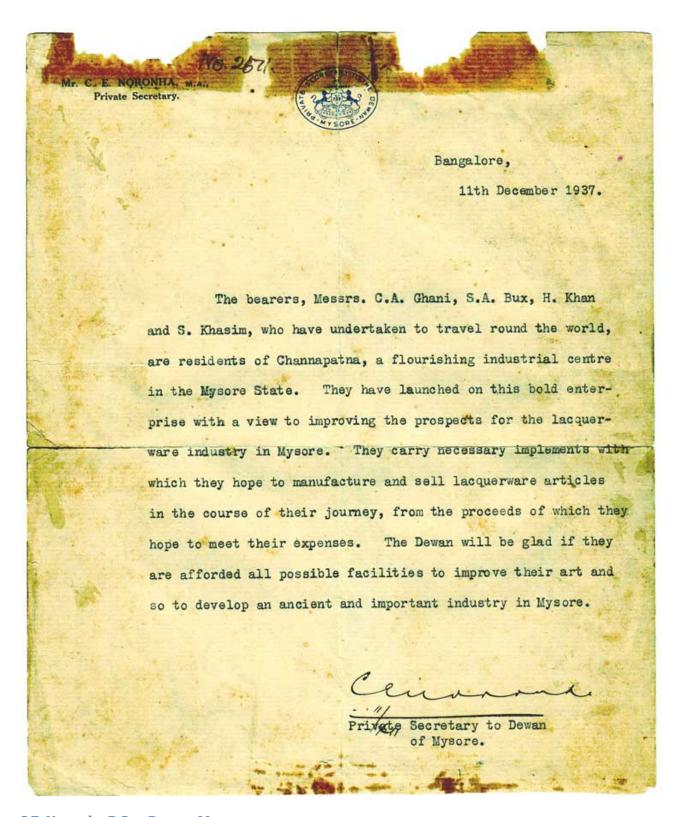
Exploits of Hyderabadi Don Quixote.

- 2. Government of India: White Paper on Hyderabad, 1948.
- 3. Mir Laik Ali: The Tragedy of Hyderabad: Pakistan Cooperative Book Society, Karachi, 1962.

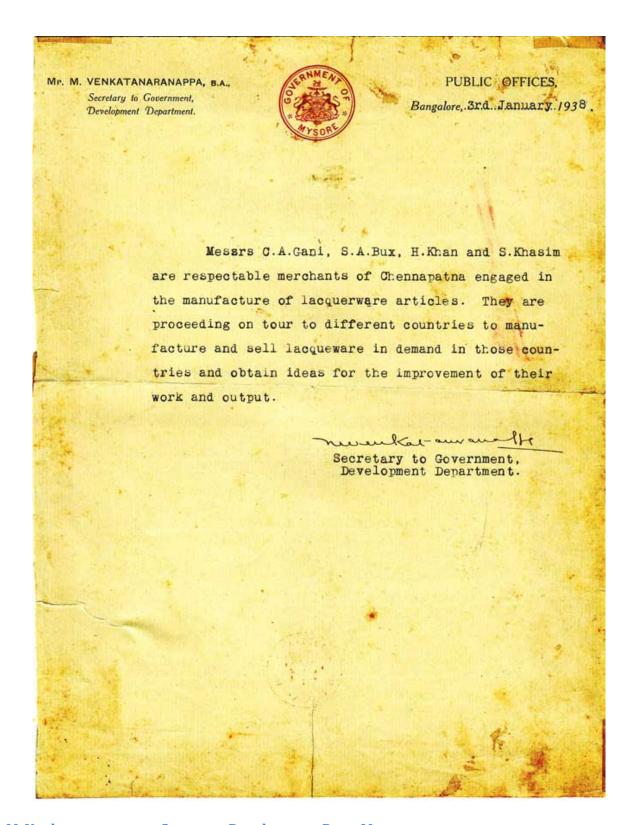
The Sinking Ship.

- 1. Report in Mazdoor Weekly Hyderabad:
- 2. Report in Raiyat Weekly Hyderabad:

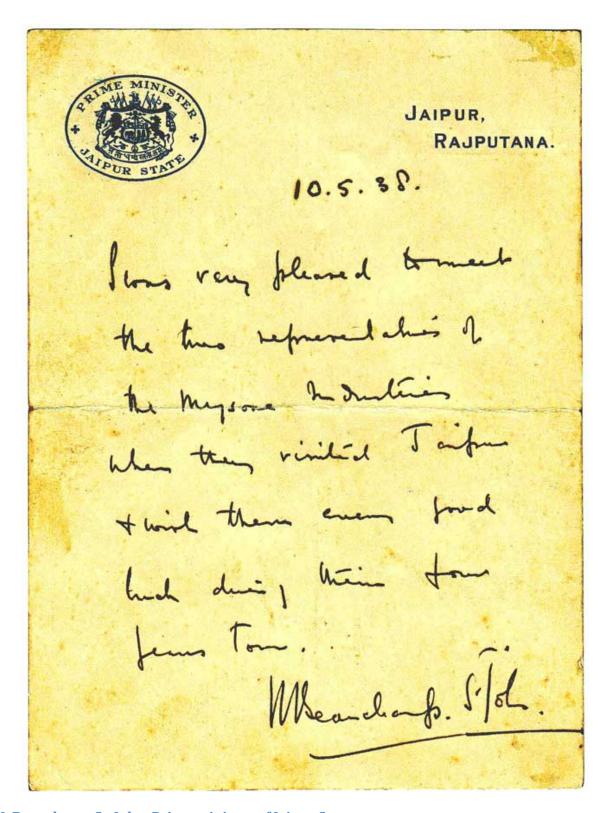
LOOKING BACK DIGNITARIES	C - APPENDIX	01 - INTR	ODUCTION	LETTERS	BY
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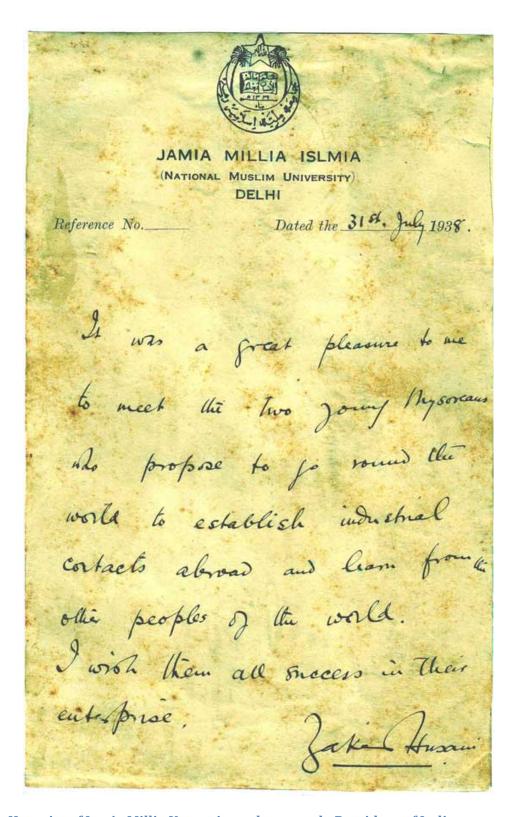
C.E. Noronha P.S to Dewan Mysore



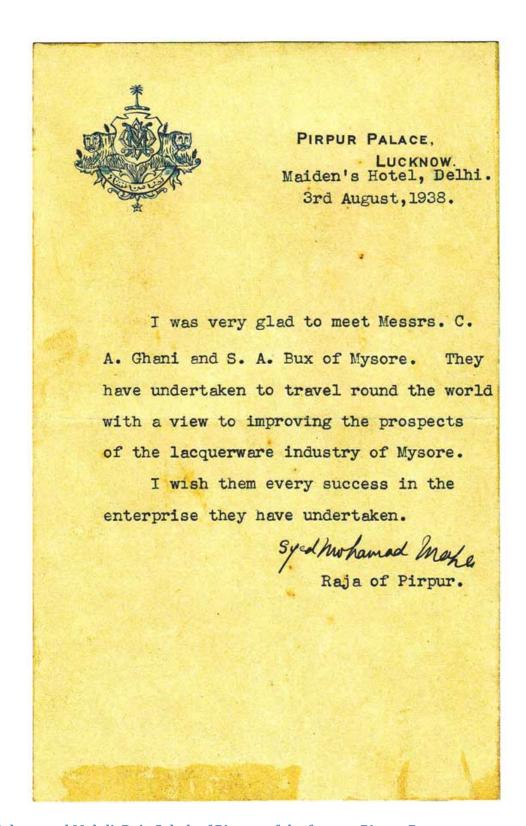
M. Venkatanaranappa, Secretary Development Dept. Mysore



M. Beauchamp St. John, Prime minister of Jaipur State.



Dr. Zakir Hussain, of Jamia Millia Unversity, subsequently President of India



Syed Mohammad Mehdi, Raja Saheb of Pirpur, of the famous Pirpur Report.



Mahmudabad (Oudh)
August 6th. 1938

Mr.A. Ghani and Mr.S.A. Bux of Mysore are on tour and intend to go round the World. Their mission is to encourage Indian Industry. They have shown me a few specimen of workmanship on flower vases made by them, it shows their skill and taste. I hope these enterprising young men will receive engouragement through out the World.

I wish them every success.

Mohammad Anis Ahmad

Of Mahmudabad

Mohammad Amir Ahmed Khan, Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad



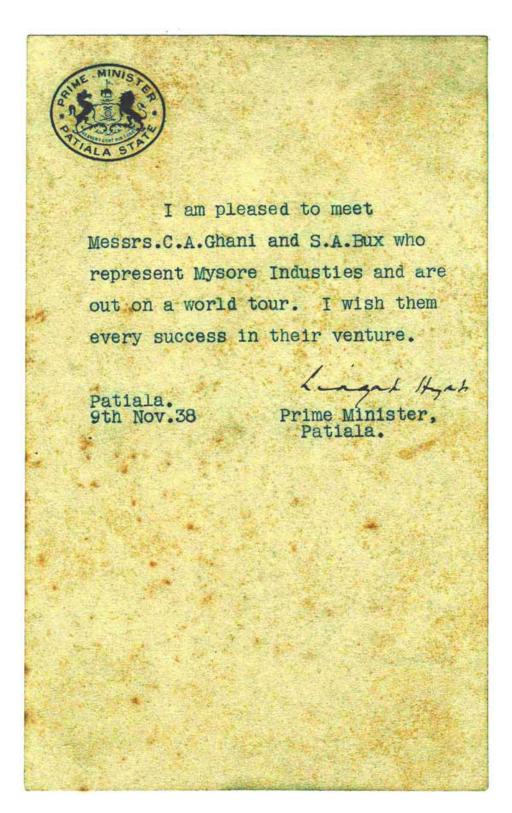
Simla, 29th September, 19 38

3. afintlathan

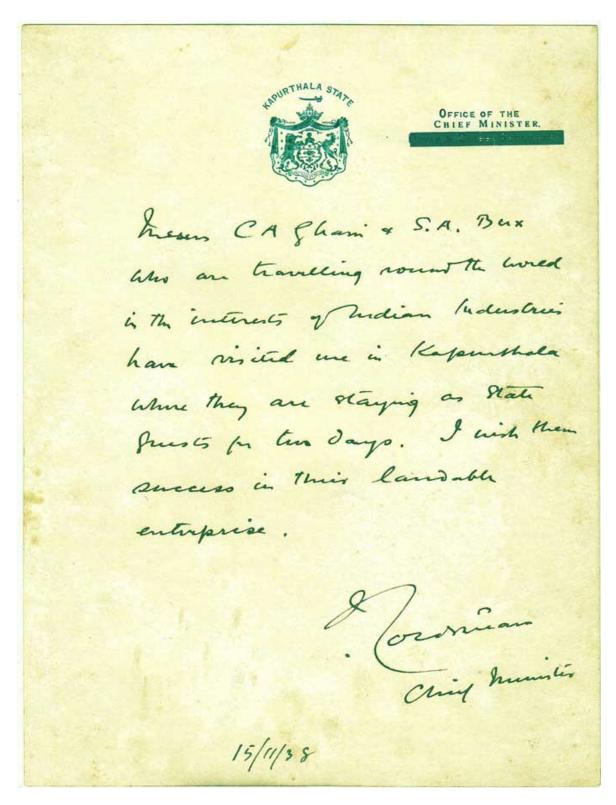
Messrs C.A.Gani and S.A. Bux, subjects of Mysore State, propose to undertake a world-tour with the object of popularising products of some of the Indian industries, particularly of those of

Mysore. I wish them success in their venture.

Chaudhri Mohd, Zafrullah Khan



Sir Liaqat Hayat Khan Prime Minister, Patiala



J. Lothian, Chief Minister, Kapurthala state.

Telegrams: "Zamindar"

Telephone No. 3289

The Premier Urdu Daily of India
THE BEST ADVERTISING MEDIUM

*

Ref. No.

LAHORE, 1st December 19 38

It was a great pleasure to me to meet messrs C.A.Gani and S.A.Bux of Mysore who are travelling round the world in the interest of Indian Cottage Industries.

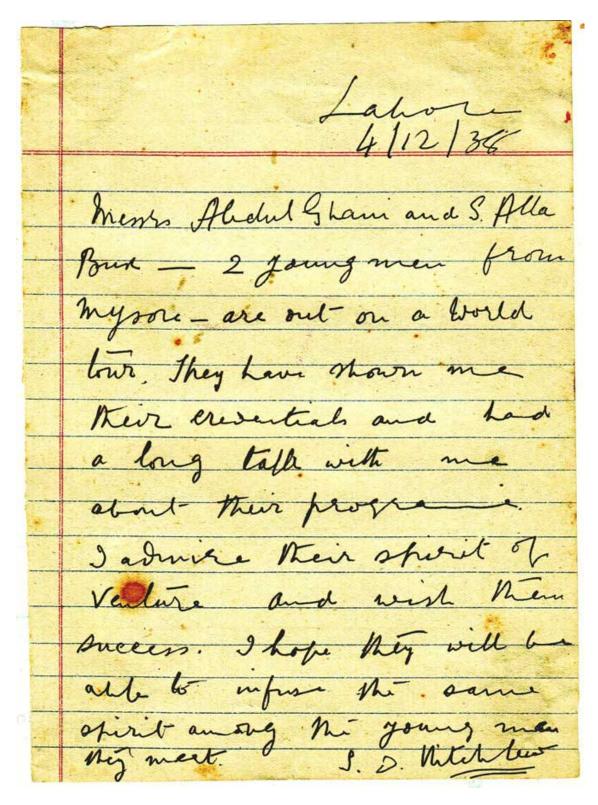
It is most creditable on their part that they raise their expenses through some hand crafts on their way.

They sold me some packets of Agarbatties which are really good.

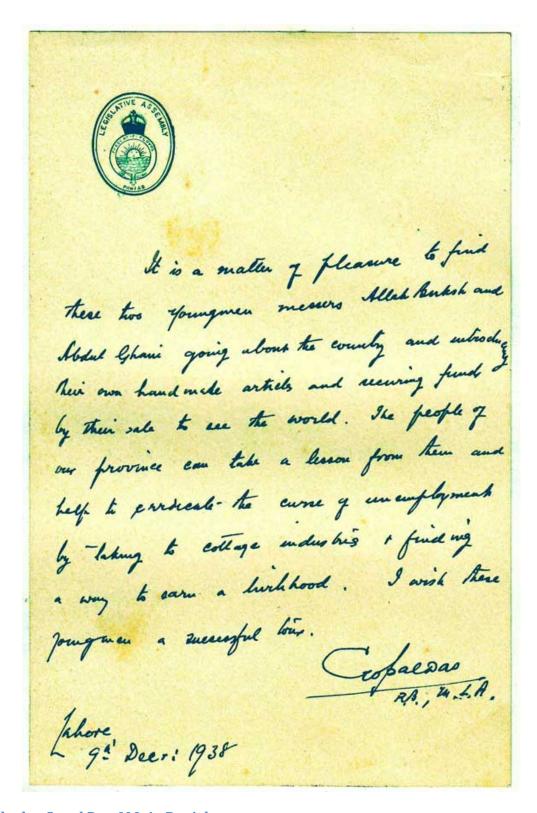
I wish them success in their laudable inter -price and hope that they will find encouragement all over the world.

allhar ah Chan
Editos the Dail
Zamidar

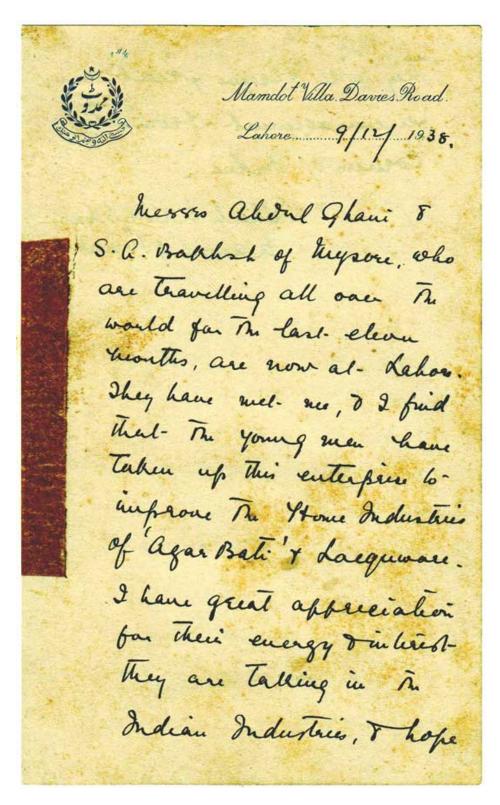
Akhtar Ali Khan S/o Zafar Ali Khan



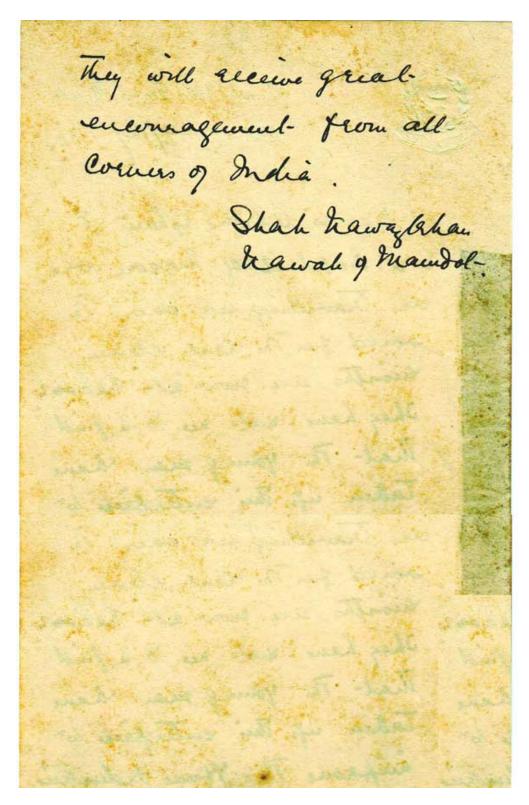
Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew. Lahore, Famous Freedom Fighter.



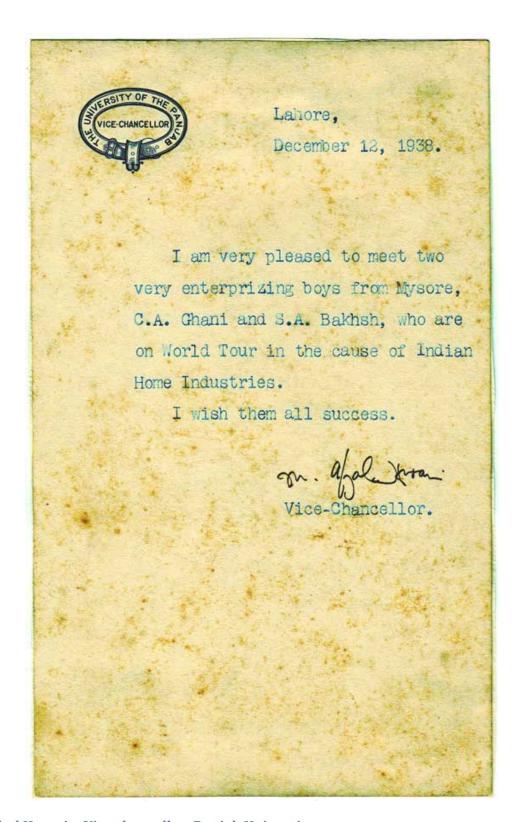
Rai Bahadur Gopal Das, M.L.A., Punjab



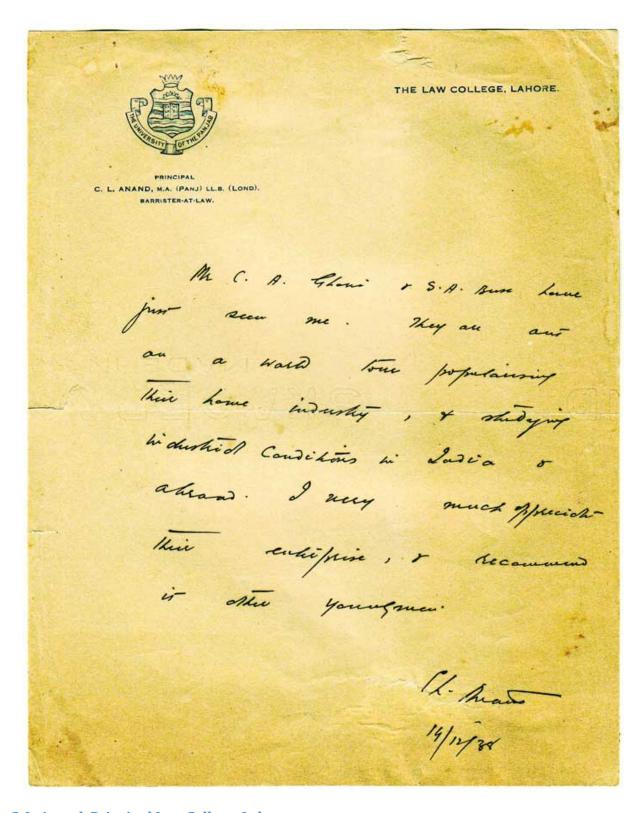
Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, Lahore



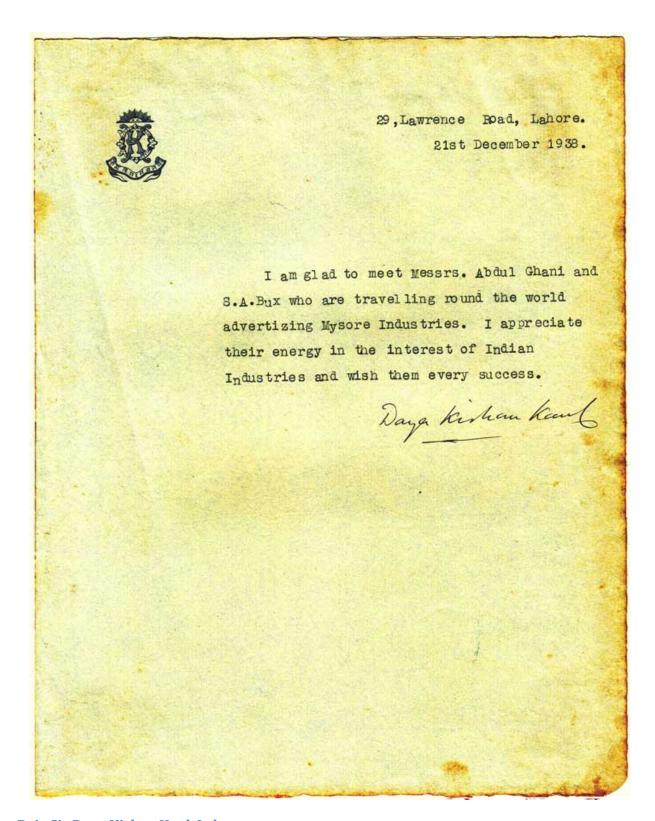
Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, Lahore



Mian Afzal Hussain, Vice chancellor, Punjab University



C. L. Anand, Principal Law College, Lahore



Raja Sir Daya Kishan Kaul, Lahore

Peshawar.

The 14th February, 1939.

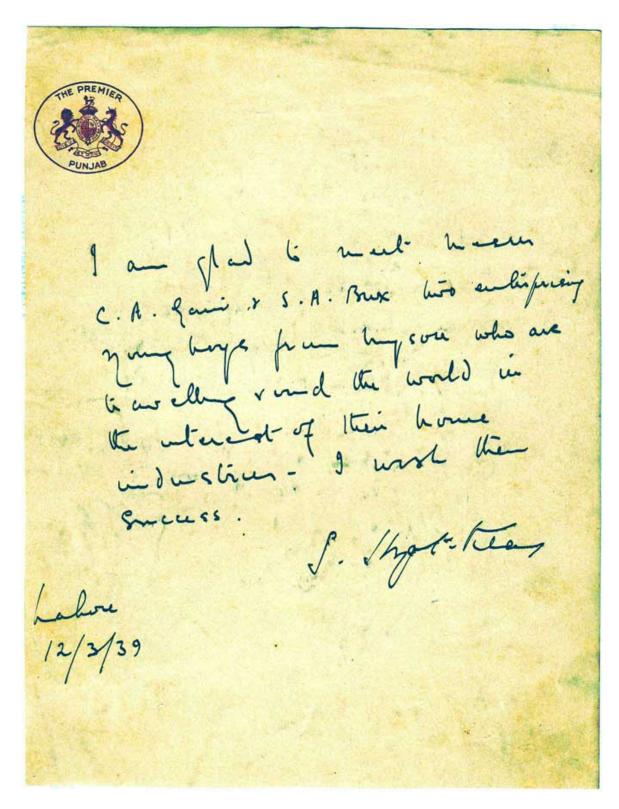
It was a source of great pleasure to me to have met Messrs. C.A. Giani and S.A. Bakhsh who are on industrial tour in India and have been here in the Frontier Province for a few days. They have shown me specimens of what they have produced and have assured me that their mission is to collect information with a view to help the cause of industry in India generally and in the Mysore State particularly. They do work with their own hands and this leads me to think that they will achieve a measure of success if they persevere in the line they have adopted for themselves. The Frontier Province being financially very hard up has not been able to lend them such support as they deserved, but anyhow I am sure they have received here sufficient encouragement. I wish them success in their enterprise and would like youngmen of my country to follow their example. Mussell

B.A., LL.B.,

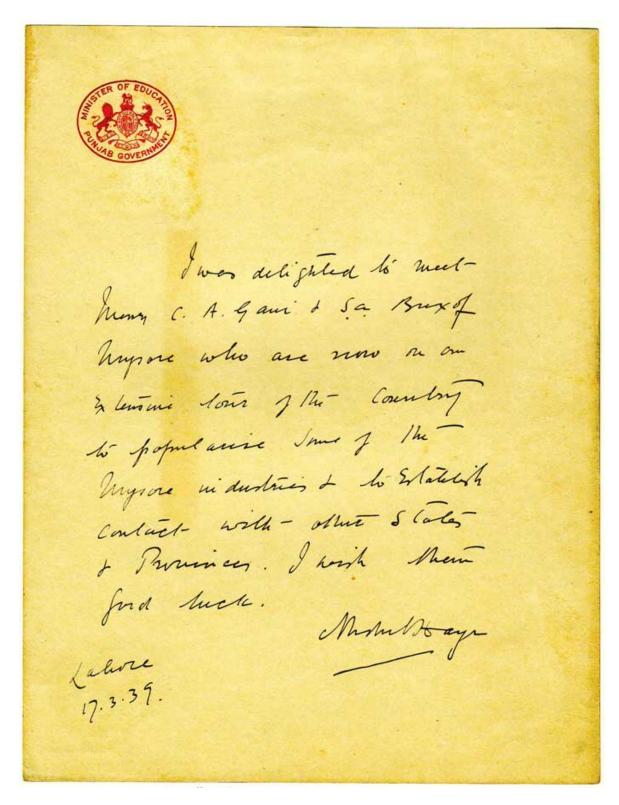
Speaker,

·N.W.F.P.Legislative Assembly.

Malik Khuda Bakhsh, Speaker, NWFP Assembly



Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Prime minister, Punjab



Mian Abdul Haye, Ecucational Minister, Punjab



21, Ferozepore Road, L A H O R E. 25th March, 1939.

I was glad to meet Messrs C.A. Gani and S.A. Bux of Mysore who are on a propaganda tour round the world in the interest of Mysore Industries. I wish them both success.

Minister of Public Works, Punjab Government.

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Minister Public Works, Punjab



Lahore. 1st April 1939.

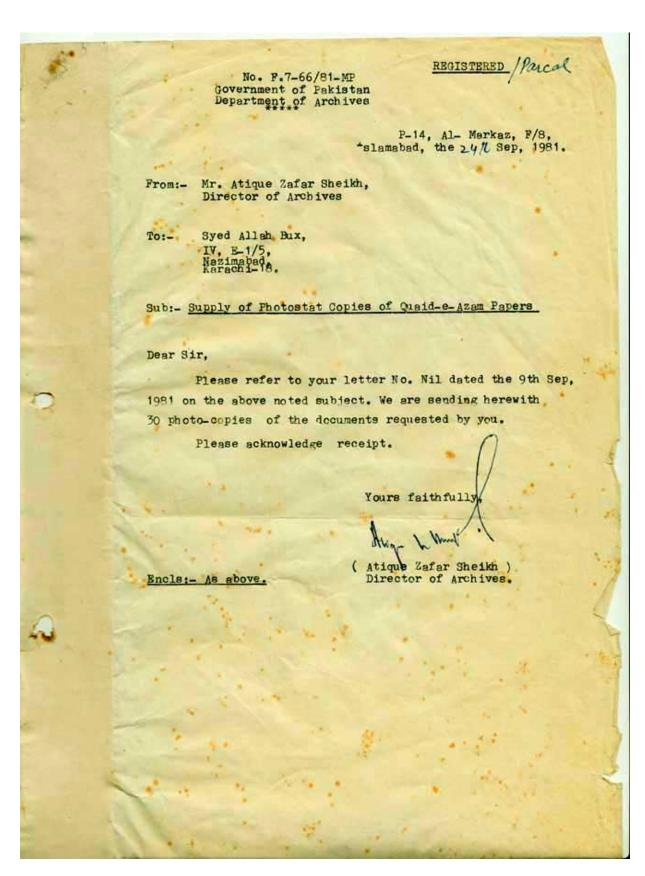
I was very glad to see that Mr.S.A.Bux, a youngman from Mysore, is making an extensive tour through India in the interest of Mysorean industries. It is very patriotic of him to undertake such a tour.

I wish him success.

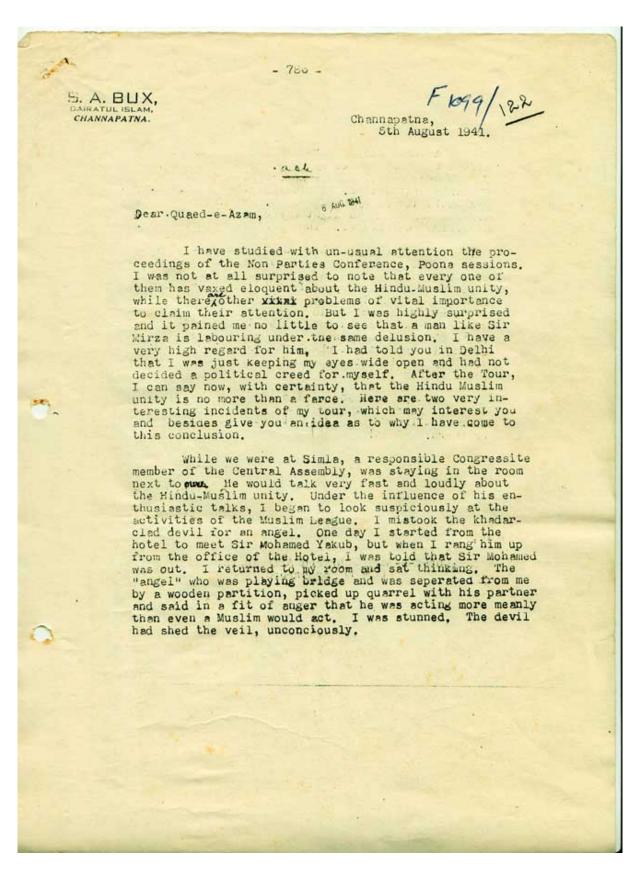
Chota Dam

Dewan Sir Chotu Ram, Development Minister, Punjab

LOOKING BACK - APPENDIX 02 - LETTERS FROM SYED ALLAH BUX
TO QUAIDE AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH.



Quaide Azam Letters 1 Cover letter from Achieves



Quaide Azam Letters 2 Hindu Muslim unity is no more than a farce

F1099/123

3/

S. A. BUX.

Another incident happened in the train that lifted the curtain off my eyes. I was smoking. A fellow passenger, another khadar clad "angel", asked me for a match-stick. The only matchstick in the box was extinguished by the draught. appologitically, I offered the stump to light his cigarette with. He was horrified and refused. The meaning was too clear.

Subsequently, I have found the gulf to be wider than I could ever have imagined. I am, now, quite confident that all talks of a Hindu-Muslim unity is a clever trick to keep us from attaining a Free India in which the Muslims could have equal rights; while these same "angels" would welcome a Hindu India, in which the Muslims could be allowed to exhist as a fifth class of the Hindus. The clans, who have been living in water-tight chamber for centuries, cannot possibly concieve the idea of a United India with equal rights for all.

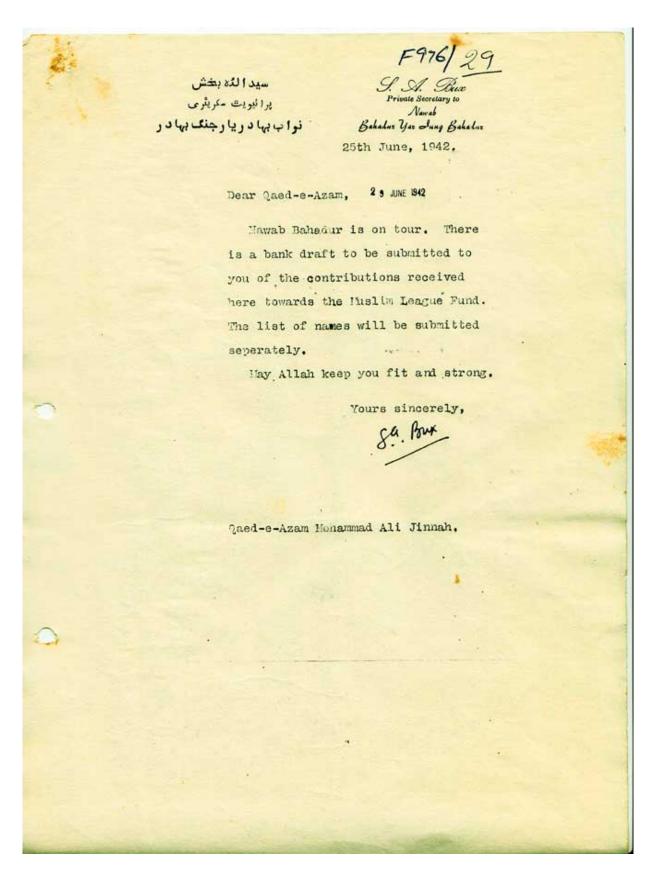
I hope that you will appreciate the decision to which I have arrived at the end. May God lift the gurk curtain off the eyes, likewise, of all my Muslim brethern. Amen!

Yours fraternally,

St. Pow

To,

Quaed-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, (Camp) Hyderabad.



Quaide Azam Letters 3 Contribution towards Muslim League fund.

سيدالته بخش يرانيويت مكريترى adjusticy to put the second

30th June, 1944.

5. J. Bux

Aserbatantenkur kierselenuatindenkur

Mr Mohammed Bahadur Khan (Late.)

My dear Qaede Azam,

The news of the too sudden death of Mr Bahadur Khan has been

communicated to you. It is rather surprising that no condolence message has reached the bereave family yet. Hashim Ali Khan, Judge of the Hyderabad High Court was one of such friends of the Qaidemillat in whom he used to confide. It was Hashim Ali Khan who tried to bring togather Mr Bahadur Khan and Qazi Abdul Ali Khan who tried to bring togather Mr Bahadur Khan and Qazi Abdul Gaffar of the Daily Piam; so that they may come to understand each other better. On June 23, Hashim Ali Khan had a talk over the telephone and the appointment for an informal dinner was fixed for the minight of 25th. On the evening of 25th at about 6.P.M. he had a telephone call from Mr Liaquatulla Qurieshi, ex-Judge of the Gwaliar High Court who was also invited to the party and promised to pick him up on his way. He started from the Dewdi (Qaidemillath's residence) at a quarter to Nine. He refused to take the driver and drove the car himself, and was not accompanied by any servant either. At a quarter past ten, a servant rushed to my house and informed me that there was just then a telephone call saying that Qaede Millath was there was just then a telephone call saying that Quede Millath was ill and senseless. I ran to the Dowdi and before I could start for Hashim Ali Khan's I had another call to say that he had expired. By this time many neighbourers had collected and were insisting to go with me. A lorry was got and we reached the place of death. Begum Bahadur Khan who had already left was thefe when we reached. As I reached there, I saw many important persons from within a radius of seven miles were present. Immediately I saw the face, which by this time had assumed a bluish hue, I suspected foul play. I tried to confide in some one and tried Khan Bahadur Ahmed Nawaz Jung (Ahmed Alladin), but he was too scared at the idea and I had to give him up.
Then I tried Dr. Bahadur Khan (the famous surgeon of Hyderabad and
who is related to the late Mr. Bahadur Khan). He was at first
hesitant to declare his opinion but at last suspect such things.

To be heath the dignity of Qaede Millath to suspect such things.

In grief and dispair, I gave up and watched. Begum Saheba was not in her senses to be approached; she was crying all along. What struck me most was that all other people except the deceased's nearest kith and kin who had reached there, were at a distance and their efforts to make a show of their grief could make any one laugh.

The body was removed to the larry which had taken us there, and police did not seem to have been informed at all. We reached the Dewdi where by this time hundreds of people had assembled - grief stricken and stunned at the news which had already spread like wild fire. On my way back, Dr. Yaseen zubairi, brother of Mr. Yamin Zubairi Secretary Ittehadul Muslim en, who had also reached there accompanied with Mr. Yamin, but to late, was with me. I questioned him if he was quite sure about the cause of death and what the idetails were that he had heared and seen. According to the version of Mr. Yamin and Dr. Yaseen, it seems they received the telephone Mr. Yamin and Dr. Yaseen, it seems they received the telephone message from Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung's (Hashim Ali Khan having no telephone himself) that Qaede Millath was very ill with what seems to be a heart attack. They both rushed to the place. Before they reached there Dr. Hyder Ali Khan, Dr. Benkat Chander, Dr. Munawar Ali Dr. Shah Nawaz and Dr. Waghray were already there. They all had lost hope. The circumstances as described to them were that he was

45

F976/45

smoking a Mooka when he coughed suddenly and spasms of convulsion were doserved. One or two of the guests ran to abserve telephone for Doctors, but before the doctors arrived, the first to arrive thing Dr. Hyder Ali Khan, he had expired. Dr. Yaseen hinted that the hooka should have been examined. But on a taunt from his brother, he was scared and explained that some poisonous worm might have fablen into it. This made my suspicion the stronger. It was about 2 a:m that night, when again I took aside Dr. Bahadur Khan and requested him to satisfy himself about the cause of death. Sometime later, I found him telephoning to some doctor, informing him of this sad news and asking him to come at once. He also said that he could not takk such matters over the telephone. Later on I found him talking in whispers to Mr. Ameer Ali Khan, a near telative of the deceased. Morning came and thousands of people gathered in and around the Dewdi making it extremely difficult to move about.

H.E.H arrived and his face clearly indicated grave doubts.
The Coroner and Assistant Inspectors of police arrived at 12 noon on 26th June. They began taking statements in a quiet corner. It was most surprising that statements were taken only from those persons who could not throw any light on the circumstances of his death. Those who were examined, as far as I know, were Mr. Amir Ali Khan who reached there long after the death, Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali who was also a late arrival, Mr. Syed Yusuf Thasawar who arrived just before the "inquest" (?) an Nawab Doulath Khan the youngest brother of the deceased who arrived from Nizamabad just then. The Coroner did not declare his verdict nor did he permit the press that even a mention could be made about it.

At about 2 p:m, the Price of B rar arrived and was very inmatkit inquisitive about the circumstances of death. Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali, I do not know why, tried his best to impress upon him that it was a heart failure, by all sorts of concockted stories of the death of his father by heart failure and about some bullet that had passed through the thigh of the deceased some twenty years back, which he said, had done him up now. All my afforts to find one important person to stand by me were in vain and the body was buried.

Information from the King Kothi reveals that N.E.H immediately on receiving the news declared that there was foul play. Dr. Bahadur Khan who was his family doctor and knew the Qaede Millath's constitution in and out has at last confessed before me that it could never have been a heart failure. We says that it must have been some terribly strong irritant that has found its way into the vocal cards at the moment and has locked the muscles with such force that the Qaede Millath has been internally strangled to death; just as he would have been, had he been hanged by the rope. He says, also, that it was not his jurisdiction. The Police Surgeon and the Superintendent of Police who had to take the necessary action and hold an inquest were untracable intil after the burial. Dr. Bahadur Khan had been looking out for a lead from the members of the Working Committee of the late quede Millath in that direction, but none came within a radius of five yards of the dead body and were all of them.trying to explain away things rather than think over and investigate matters.

(next page.)

سید النّه بخش پرائیویت عریثری نوا ب بها د ریا رجنگ بها د ر

(Page Three)

S. J. Buk Private Secretary to Nawab Bahalur Yas Jung Bahalur

Statements of those who were present at the moment of his death differ from one another. The versions of Mr. Hashim Ali Khan himself differ every time. Dr. Shah Nawaz who also saw the body within half an hour after death thinks that it can never be a heart failure.

a heart failure.

Members of the Working Committee of the Ittehadul Muslimeen have already begun quarreling over the question of electing their president. A meeting of the Council for election of the president has been fixed for July 5.

More details are opening up, but on most sides there is a tendency to hush up matters. I am enclosing a statement given by Begum Saheba to the Police to-day.

With this, I leave it to you Qaede Azam, to think what you can

With this, I leave it to you Qaede Azam, to think what you can and to do what you want. Telegraphically a line to acknowledge the receipt of this letter would put me at peace.

Devotedly yours,

Sa. Brut

F976/47

786

NOTE OF THE STATEMENT OF THE BEGUN SAHIBA OF THE LATE BAHADUR YAR JUNG: DATED June 30, 1944; FRIDAY; DEWDI OF THE LATE NAVAB SAHIB; TIE 1.20 P.M. BEGUN.

on the 25th June at 10 O'Clock in the night, Mrs De Munawwar Ali telephoned to me but I could not myself talk to her as the telephone at the unpper story was out of order. I ordered that the instrument from below which is kept in the Guard Room be brought up. But instead I received information that Nawab Sahib has become senseless while my received information that Nawab Sahib has become senseless while my smoking a hooka at the residence of Hashim Ali Khan Sahib and that I should bring Dr. Bahadur Khan with me. I went to Dr Bahadur Khan's and was told that he was called for and had already left. About 10.30 in the night I reached there. The males went aside and Mrs. Hashim Ali Khan and her sister came to receive me in a manner as if I had been invited to xex; a party, I was bewildered and asked how he was, in what state and where he was. I was asked to come up and when I reached the verandah Mrs Hashim Ali Khan told me that Nawab Sahib was finished. There were no signs of sorrow was whatever on their faces but contrary to habit they were chewing 'pan'. When I went to the dead body there was no body beside it. The face and that the went to the dead body there was no body beside it. The face and the lips were quite blue. Experienced people say that in a case of heatt failure the colour does not change so quickly. I asked what had happened and what they had fed him with. I was told that he did not take anything. Asked how he died, Mrs Hashim Ali Khan told me that he was finished in two pulls at the hooka. I demanded the kooka to be brought and shown to me and was told that it was in the adjoining room. I could not go and see the hooka as there were males there. If such a thing had happened at my place to my guest and if my heart were clean, I would have first of all shown the hooks and would have handed it over to the Police. These people did not do like that. From the dead body I was taken away into another room. There, after ten minutes, Lady Doctor Mrs Maqbool Ali came wadant and sat by my side. I asked her, "Have you seen the dead body. How the colour has turned blue and how the lips are above all so blue." Without any hesitation she replied, "What is there to see. God had sent draw and the watcher death and he died. And now you should try to be as your husband was. At this I began to ory and she said, "Are you a Muslim to cry like this. And can Muslims like you make xxxxxxxxxxx me a Muslim." I was badly hurt and did not talk to her. Mrs Macbool Ali was wearing a silk sari. 2 Show She did not express any sympathy with me. Whether she was already there ar had arrived later I do not know. The revolver that went off many years ago had would wounded his thigh but he had never complained of any pain from on this account, to at any time. The revolver had wounded his right leg. In the knee of the left leg during winter he used to feel pain. After theaten the death of the Nawab Sahib, I have informed every important personage that Nawab Sahib died of poisoning through the hooka. Even now I suspect this. Complet inquiries and investigation may be held and I may be informed. Out of the invitees at Hashim Ali Khan's, is only Qazi Abdul Gaffar, Editor of the Daily Plam, who had differences with him on political grounds. It was Hashim Ali Khan himself who had tried to bring these two togather for a better understanding. The late lawab Sahib was not used to taking supper at night but would take xxx some fruits, milk or some light diet. He used to take a full lunch.

P.T.O.

Quaide Azam Letters 5 Note; Statement of Begum Bahadur Yar Jang to Police

Read out and accepted as correct.
In Person. In our presence the above notes were taken from the Begun Sahiba in person, Shah Alam Khan. (Signed) Bhikan Khan. (Signed) In Preson. Abdul Nacem Khan. (Assistant Superintendent of the C.I.D.) "XXXXXXXXXXXXX" Translation of the Notes
By Syed Alla Bux, Private Secretary to
The Qaidemillath, from a copy made by him
as the notes were made.

سيداللة بخذ پرائد، بـ ت حكرية Private Secretary to 3rd july 1944 فوا ب بهاد ريا رجفاء هاد. Dear Sirder Saheh, fearing that my letter addressed to Quede. Igam might be consored and may not reach him, I am sending a copy to you. The letter will speak for itself. The tendency here is to hush up matters. According to a cutting from the Daily Meezan, enclosed an open investigation has been demanded by Mr. Abul Herson. That too when he felt that public opinion was going against him suspicion is getting stronger and Chres are opening up. I am confident that your closest attachment with the deceased will wake you up to action and that by your efforts the Law-e- Ayam will take every interest in seeing his death reverged. If somehow if were to go unaverged, it would be a death blow on he smarily of purpose

Ouaide Azam Letters 6 to SIrdar Abdur Rab Nishtar

F1102/322 and perseverence of a bold policy of all political and jouble workers to meesed. Please to save the muslim community not only in Hyderubas, but in all Indian stales and provinces de teke an active in this malter . you are a true pathan Vengence is your of your brother is your heridetany right Willis bincere regards

سید الله بخش پرائیویک ستریثرس مر نواب بهاد ریا رجنگ بها در 1336 C(1), Begum Basar Hyderabad Deccan, 8th February 1946. S. J. Biex
Ex Private Secretary to .

The Lake Newab Bahalur Yar Juny Bahalur

My dear Qaide Azam,

I thank you for having given me and hour at Delhi on 27-1-46. An undesirable person was with me and though your Secretary pointedly told us that the appointment was in my name and that I could choose to go with him or alone he clung to me and I had to drop off the object of my troubling you.

Rumours were rife in Hyderabad that Sir Mirza Ismail was to be appointed the President of the Executive Council of H.E.H. The rumour was also current that it was your intervention that had stopped his appointment here at least for the time being. The next choice that was named in knowledgable circles was Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur of the well known Salar Jung family. It was known that hawab Salar Jung was working feverishly for achieving fixit this object and his money flowed into the open mouths of British agents for the purpose. It was believed that he had converted the Residency to his side and that he was working on Political Department officials at Delhi for their support. Your remark about the present President is fresh in my memory and I think that the same word would be a hundred times more suitable to this aspirant of that office. I think that if the choice was between this gentleman and Sir Mirza, any one would prefer the latter and even if the choice was between the present occupant and the latter, one would cast his vote in favour of the latter. As a Mysorean, I have had occasion to study Sir Mirza from close quarters and even without this intimate knowledge I would proclaim him to be one of the best administrators in India. The only hurdle according to Muslim Circles here is that he is an out and out pro-Hindu politician. I do not think that he is a political mind at all; his politics are unswerving loyalty to the Ruler and every effort for the all round progress of the State that he Serves. In short I believe that he can adjust himself to circumstances. I thought that if I were given an oppartunity of could study his reactions to the case of the Hyderabad Muslims. So I contacted him and sought to meet him; he replied favourably.

I met the Muslim leaders here; but they were uncommunicative. T got the impression that his other handicap was that he is a Shia and that the Shia party here would succeed in enveloping him and erasing his zest in no time. But, compared with the other aspirant who is also a Shia and who is in the bad books with both the Ruler and the public and who must needs thrustwaman be thrust upon an unwilling Ruler and an unwilling public by the British paramountry to strengthen its held further, Sir Mirza would be definately better. Moreover in the present situation, when the Muslims and H.E.H are both trying to induce the Hindus to work out the Reforms, it would be sasier to bring round the Hindus with a strong man at the helm of affairs with Sir Mirza's pro-Hindu reputation as another advantage, if he held out an assurance to those responsible that he would not loosen the Muslim held over this vast kingdom. With these ideas, I proceeded to Jaipur having studied the Muslim case as best as my understanding could grasp. The intention was that even if he did not held out any such assurance and was thrust upon an unwilling Hyderabad, I would have the satisfaction of having put the case of Muslims before him

Quaide Azam Letters 7 on Sir Mirza Ismail.

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before him in time before he takes a decision.

In my six successive interviews with him, I discussed many things and was at last able to discuss Hyderabad frankly with him. He told me that he was not hankering after the job, but that he was convinced that he was the only man who could save Hyderabad and develop it. I talked away how it was believed that he killed Urdu in Jaipur. He denied it emphatically and claimed that he had actually saved it from being strangled to death. I said that it was believed that he had a hand in the late Qaide Millahh's externment from Kashmir. He replied that nothing could be more untrue. I said that the late Qaide Millath was told that he had spoken ill of him before the Princess of Berar. He replied that it was incredulous there being neither an occasion not the necessity for him to do it. He said that his picture could not have been painted blacker. I told him that he had written a letter to you before he came to Jaipur and that hhe same was the subject of a great many misunderstandings about him. He replied that he was not wrong in writing that letter, nor was there anything bad about it and that he could even now write a similar letter to you.

I explained to him the case of Hyderabad, the Muslim case and the Muslim demands and gave him a note a copy of which as re-written from memory is enclosed. He gave me a very patient hearing and remarked that the Muslims were the obstacle to his coming to Hyderabad. I said that the obstacle could become his biggest support if he could assure them of his intentions regarding their spirstions. He said in reply, "After all Lam a Muslim". I clarified the position saying that he must not do snything which would harm the Muslim cause, he must do everything to satisfy the demands of the Majlis, must do everything to secure and uphold the independance of Hyderabad, and must not allow himself to be ruled by party cliques. He said that he would do his best. I next told him that I would write a letter to him about these and asked him if he would condescend to reply it assuring me about these and asked him if he would condescend to reply it assuring me about these things; to this he replied, 'Don't drag me dowm to that. If you like you can assure the Muslims of Hyderabad on my behalf that I will do nothing which would harm their interests". I ask if I could say that he had told me to assure them; he said "Yes". It would not be out of place to mention here that I had assured him that I was speaking in my personal capacity and that I had no other capacity.

I told him that from Jaipur I was proceeding to Delhi to see the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and if possible Qaide Azam and asked him if it would be desirable to give a graphic account of this interview to them. He said that he did not know the Raja Sahib but if I thought fit I could tell him also, besides you. I promised him my best efforty and told him that I would communicate to him the result of my interview with you

The gigantic post-war schemes require a man of sound administrative experience and a great builder. Constitutional Reforms require a man of his proNindu reputation. Bahadur Yar Jung is dead, with him is gone the strength and
solidarity of the Majlis. His most veritable successor is practically out of
the Majlis. Chattari's extension hasge been defered. The efforts of both
these candidates must be enough to oust him. It will be ruinous to Hyderabad
if the other man succeeds. If our weight is in the scale in favour of Sir Mirza
he will bolder and stronger; of course Muslims will make a show of opposing him
but that will further strengthen his hands.

You should know better. If I am wrong command me to shut up.

Wilk wsheels Yours Obediently

Academy of the Punjab in North America: http://www.apnaorg.com

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F1107/18

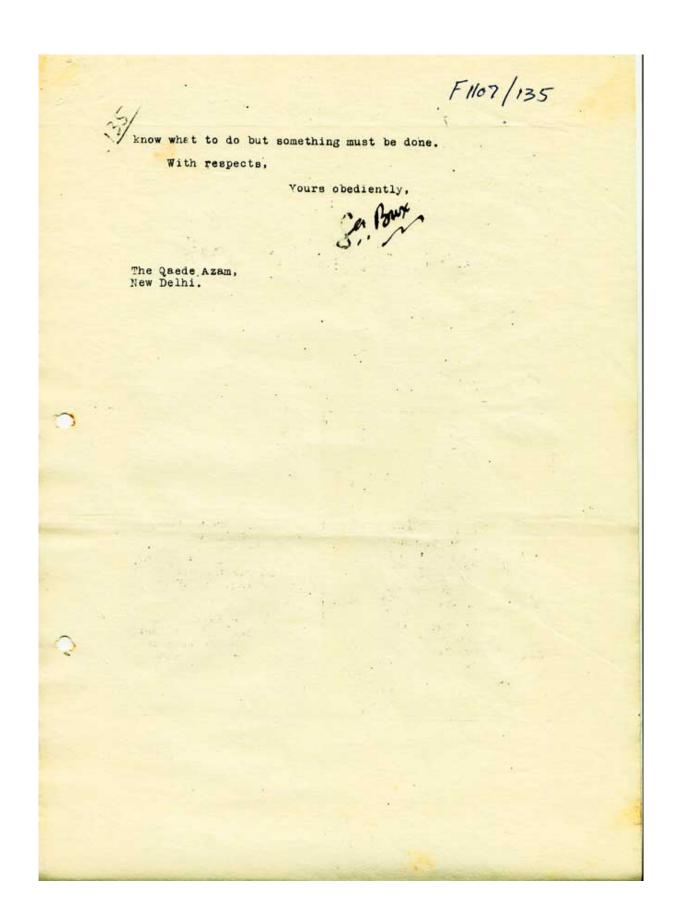
- 1. The proposed constitution as conceived in the Gazette Extraordinary shall be considered de pove in the light of the following
 and untillare constitution is ready, the one proposed shall be
 kept in cold storage. No Constitution for Hyderabad can be acceptable to the Muslims unless based on the following fundamentals.
- 2. This is a Muslim State in the sense that the Asafjahi Dynasty is the manifestation of Muslim paramountcy in these Dominions. The theory of a soverighty inherent, indivisible and intransferable resting in the Ruler to be maintained and exessised and worked by an all powerful Ruler, fountainhead of all legislative, executive and judicial authority.
- 3. Acceptance fundamentally of the two nation theory and its implementation in the sense that made it the breaking point of the Simla Conference: namely, Muslims at parity with all the other communities put togather.
- 4. A Legislature satisfying the implications of Paras 2 and 3 with an elected majority of 5:3 would be preferable. If a bicameral legislature is prefered the lower house shall be recommendatory to the upper house, the upper house based on functional representation and the lower on territorial representation. If a unicameral legislature is prefered it shall be composed of both territorial and functional representation. In both cases details shall be worked out under the principles enunciated in Para 5.
- 5. In a territorial basis for the upper house, the qualifications for voters to the Mysore Legislative Council may be adapted with seperated electorates for Muslims and reservation of seats at parity with non-Muslims. In a functional basis for the Upper house 51% of the total number of votes secured by the candidate to be secured from the candidate's own community and each constituency to send an equal number of Muslims and non-Muslims the be obligatory if a joint electorate is prefered. For the lower house the qualifications for voters to the Mysore Representative Assembly may be adapted with seperate electorates for Muslims and reservation of seats at parity with non-Muslims.
- 6. The block of mominated members both official and nonofficial shall be above all bias and considerations to be nominated by the Ruler, subject to the proviso that non-official members excluding representatives of the Sarfe Khas who shall be nominated independently of the Executive Council shall be nominated from a panel double the required number to be submitted by the Executive Council, provided that no less than half the sumber of the panel shall consist of Muslim names while remainder may consist of names from the unrepresented Kamananix non-Muslim communities. This principle shall hold for both the houses in the case of a bicameral legislature.
- 7. The legislature shall in effect be recommendatory to the Executive Council which shall have the power to veto any proceedings of the Legislature without prejudice to the legislative and executive prerogatives of the Ruler who can reto any decision of the Executive Council and who can initiate any Legislation, promulgate any ordinance and repeal any law for the time being in force.
- 8. In the rest of the relevent matters, the Mysore Act 1940 may be adapted to the local conditions. The list of the Reserved Subjects proposed in the Gazette Extraordinay shall be amended to allow for discussimalpon matters refered to in Para 9 and matters relating to Berar, Military Budget and Political Charges. Supplementary questions shall not be allowed; The upper house shall have the power to vote on demands for grants.

9. Appointment, removal and fixation of salaries and allowances of the Members of the Executive Council shall rest with the Ruler, subject to the proviso that not less than four Members shall be appointed by him from among those elected members of the Legislature who have been elected on the tickets of loyal representative political organisations of the Dominions, provided further that no less than

F1107/19 than half the number thus appointed shall be Muslims. Loyal political organisations shall man those which would subscribe to the creed of Para 2. Members of the Executive Council shall be individually and collectively responsible to the Ruler; but the Legislature shall have the right to comment, criticise and give suggestions regarding their work. SN/3/ 6-2-46

Ex-Private Secretary to HYDERABAD DECCAN the late Nawab Bahadur. and April 1946. My dear Qaede Azam, You must be too busy. Please enlist me as one of your soldiers in the coming fight. Ittehadul Muslamin leaders have left for Delhi yesterday by train. Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali has left for Delhi by air today. Both these may seek to meet you and place their views on different matters before you. The Dichpalli mosque agitation which culminated in the Shah Manzil episode may figure in the talks. As I analyse, the party in power in the Majlis desired to make a political stunt out of this commonplace affair which could have been set right without much ado. Chattari wanted a stunt to his credit for securing extention. H.E.H was out to shoot two birds at a time - one, allaying muslim suspicions in him and the other, creating a convention of interfering in the day to day administration in spite of the Executive Council. The British element in the Council opposed this interference The forces fought each other - and the clash came when all had been settled as every body desired. H.E.H. himself is not, many believe, above intrigues. But Chattari certainly is not innocent. If he pleads not guilty he must admit his incompetence. The party in power in the Majlis has demostrated its bankruptcy of leadership and is now at its with end to get out of the situation. Their opinions and activities are influenced by their desire to secure release of arrested leaders by cajoling Government. They are supporting Chattari and seeking his protection not knowing that his boat is sinking. H.E.H has decided to take Wirze decided to take Mirza. But Wirza shall not come here unless he comes through you, unless you are sure that he will not harm Muslim interests. The decision has been taken. The announcement may come any moment. You should

Quaide Azam Letters 9 on political situation in Hyderabad.



سید الته بحش پرانبویت عریاری ن<mark>واب</mark> بها دریار جنگ با در 1336 C (1), Begum Bazar, Hyderabad Dn. 19th June 46.

S. A. BILY

Ex- Private Secretary to

the 18tolorab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur

My dear Qaide Azam,

I invite your reference to my letters dated 8th February, 11th February and 2nd April, 1946. I enclose herein copies of two letters, one written by me to Sir Mirza Ismail and the other his reply to it. With all the emphasis at my command I have fully impressed upon him during numerous interviews and several letters that Hyderabad must be saved at any cost for the Muslims under the guise of building it and that to achieve that to object your patronage and the support of the Muslim Th League is indispensable. I am glad to say that he has pledged himself to this programme and due to different influences I have brought to bear upon him he is willing to cooperate with the Muslim League for carrying out this programme in Hyderabad. I hope to bring him on his knees before you and I request you not to push back a very useful man who is comin; into your folds. I need not tell you that only a man who is apparently an established pro-Hindu but who is at heart plegged to serve the Muslim cause, can save Hyderabad now. Sir Mirza has come round and has been fully inspired. I am today leaving for Bangalore and hope to get a more definate commitment from him.

A Firman of H.E.H was privately circulated the day before yester-day among Members of the Executive Council announcing the appointment or Sir Mirza and saying that if the Nawab Sahib of Chattari desires to relinquish office immediately he may hand over charge to Sir Mehdi Yar Jung, the Deputy President. Yesterday a letter has been written by H.E.H to Sir Mirza asking him to come and take over charge of office as soon as possible. I want that he should obtain your blessings before he assumes office in Hyderabad. Anyhow I shall acquaint you with the

Quaide Azam Letters 10 on Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

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whole situation after my return from Bangalore.

I was glad to learn from a youngman named Mr. Bahauddin Salim that you have accepted his invitation to come to Hyderabad to be weighed in gold and silver. I very warmly welcome the honour you want to bestow on Hyderabad. All the Muslims here are beeming with enthusiasm to give a befitting reception to their Qaede Azam, the single-handed fighter and champion who has successfully fought to liberate the Muslims from a double yoke of slavery. But the notice is too short. It would facilitate arrangements if you would please fix your programme somewhere in the end of July. I trust you will have received a telegramme to this effect before this reaches you.

With respects,

Obediently yours.

8 10m

The Caede Azam, New Delhi.

Paclosures . 2

SyED ALLA BUX F 3/ 10
Shamsia, Chanchalguda,
Hyderabad Deccan,
12th June 46.

My dear Sir Mirza,

This letter claims your careful perusal. I want to place he before you things as plainly as possible and if anything looks rather sharp please attribute it to the agitated state of my mind.

Mr. Jinnah, I am assured by informed quarters, is coming to Hyderabad to prevent H.E.H from taking you. I await confirmation from Delhi but his visit is decided. I am determined to make a desperate and bold move driven by my conviction that you are best suited to Hyderabad and that this time you are entirely for the Muslims and Muslim cause.

Your statement before a responsible person during your stay here that Muslims could at best hope for a cent per cent weightage and that their claim for parity in representation was ridiculous is being circulated in all responsible Muslim quarters. All the Civil Service officers including some heads of departments and Secretaries as well as influencial public spirited young men whom I had converted to favour you have begun to criticise sharply on this score. The open and unreserved lift you gave to Nawab Hosh Yar Jung who has beyond any doubt proved himself, throughout his career, the most clever and dangerous intriguer of Hyderabad has badly startled sincere workers and officials. I have carefully watched how he tried to budge in at the opportune moment as your prime supporter even though he was loudest in opposing you not long back. I also know how Sir Sultan Ahmed began to take an open interest in your case, thereby trying to establish a permanent grip over you; and as to how he employed Heshyar Jung and Qasi Abdul Ghaifar. I have noted with grave apprehensions that these persons were trying to encircle you in a net of intrigues. I have keenly observed with a heavy heart the vaning enthusiasm of Nawab Shaheed Yar Jung your most sincere and ardent supporter from the very outset, when he felt that you had been surrounded by Hoshyar Jung and his friends. It is a matter of grave concern to me that strange rumours are being spread by some of those who met you, which have startled sincere patriots, dynamic young muslims and capable officers who did not think it proper to meet you or to talk to you on the real problems facing Hyderabad just yet.

You will have to excuse me a little frank talk. Thingshave been developing so fast that there is no other way.

One thing must be made clear at the outset, even though it might appear a reiteration. We want you in Hyderabad for more sublime reasons than imm better administration. Things are changing so fast and so decisively in the All-India field that we have to make up our mind whether to quit Hyderabad once for all or stay here honourably. We are interested in Hyderabad because this is the island in sight for Muslims from Hindu Provinces and States where they can seek refuge. Muslims of Mysore too look up to Hyderabad as their last refuge. We do not believe that we are going to have an easy time in any Hindu-dominated Government. And that is why we do not want to lose our dominated Government. And that is why we do not want to lose our dominated Government. The immunitable of saving Hyderabad for Muslims is a very grave one and very difficult too. We back you as the champion of our cause and we want you for the cleak you have worn all these days of pro-Hindu and pro-Gandhi leanings. We cannot now depend on the strength of Muslim public opinion in Hyderabad to be able to save this State for Muslims. Aurangzeb Alsmgir conquered this land 600 years back with the force of arms. You are going to do it again. This battle

Ouaide Azam Letters 11 Copy of letter to Sir Mirza Ismail

Muslims. Aurangzeb Alamgir conquered this issue. This battle the force of arms. You are going to do it again. This battle must be fought with the cunning and skill of clever brains. It is a struggle for existence. If I think that you are the right man for this, it is not my fault. You and your ability have given me to believe it.

If what they say is true in connection with Mr Jinnah's visit it looks as though all our efforts on that front have been negatived by some agency more powerful and influencial — most probably Mr Gulam Muhammad and Mr Laik Ali on the one hand and the Chattari clique on the other. Though Chattari himself seems to be indifferent as to what happens, max his sympathisers are working with unabeted energy still. I learnt from a reliable source that Mr Jinnah is going to ask H.R.H to select one of the three, Sir Firoz Khan, Sir Nazimuddin and Mr Gulam Muhammad. You know H.R.H has got to accept his advice if he insists or he would have to risk the support and sympathy of Muslim public opinion. The risk is too great and we curselves wish he does not take that risk. But somehow we have got to straighten out things.

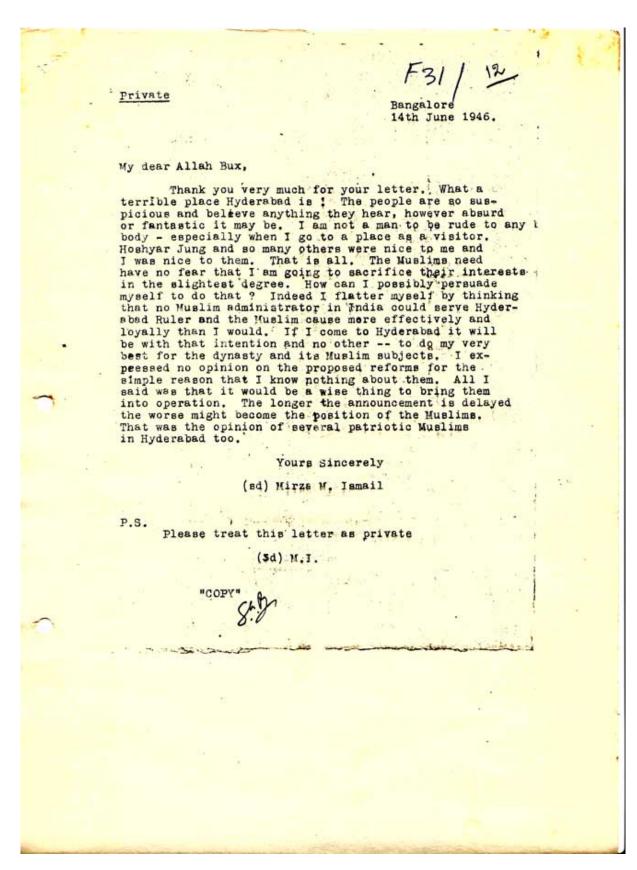
I must be frank in spite of the fear of offending you. You do not care for the job and might not care for Hyderabad and the Muslims of Hyderabad. But what have you really done for the Muslim community in the past? Have you made any substantial xest contribution to the Muslim cause? If you have not, is it not high time that make some testing contribution to atone for your past? We want the sacrifice of your self-respect, your personal attachments and political idealogies. I appeal to you in the name of the life and existance of 25 lakh Muslims of Hyderabad and lakks of others who will have eventually to take refuge in Hyderabad to make this sacrifice, for now is the opportunity. No mix sacrifice is too great when you know what is at stake.

I need not tell you Mr Jinnah is no fool. He must know your value and your worth. He must realise that you are the right man for Hyderabad. He must be able to assess the value of your pro-Hindu reputation. We will have our chance with him and maxx may be we will maxama succeed. But that depends on how much willingness on your part to make a compromise with Mr Jinnah will be translated into action. We are mobilising all support we can secure for you. We have our arguments, entreaties and the assurances held out by you. We can assure, on this strength, that the position of Muslims will be protected in this State. But in spite of all this we may not be able to convince him without a direct commitment from you. If you like you may contact the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad either directly or through us. But the necessity for a compromise cannot be overlooked.

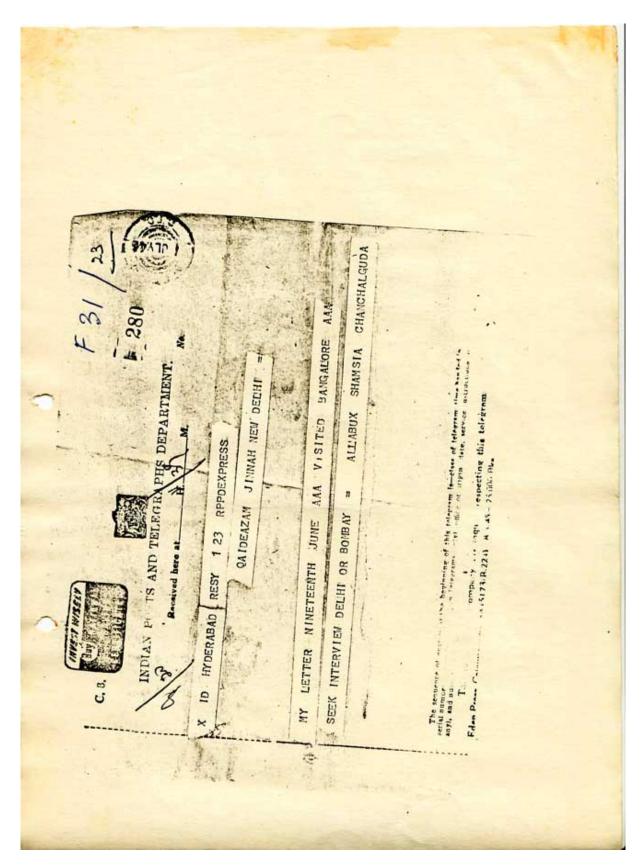
This is how we think you are going to adjust matters. You will assure Mr Jinnah or somebody on his behalf that in All-India matters the policy of the State will not be such as to be unacceptable or harmful to the Muslim League. You will pledge financial help and moral support to the Muslim cause in the All-India field. You will work with an understanding with local Muslim patriots that they should, to all appearances, charge you with pro-Hindu and at times anti-Muslim bias and you will encourage agitation by them and as if to placate Muslim public opinion you will concede to them as much as possible short of anything which would cause a Hindu revolt. In short you will work on a clever plan calculated to save Hyderabad for Muslims under the guise of building it. As President of the Executive Council your public utterances will be so balanced as to give xxxxx no room farms for misunderstanding or discontent in Indian Muslim public opinion.

I do not know if I should or should not take some liberties on your behalf. I want your reactions to my frank opinions and sincere suggestions. You can trust me with a line in reply. Immediately I hear from you I will proceed to Delhi and so I am anxious that this reaches you in time.

You must excuse me a little presumptuousness if you believe that Very sincerely yours. Sir Mirza M. Jamail, M.C.I.E., O.B.E.,



Quaide Azam Letters 12 Reply from Sir Mirza Ismail



Quaide Azam Letters 13 Telegram to Quaide Azam

S.A. Bux

Shamsia, Chanchalguda, 33
Hyderabad Deccan,
5th July, 1946.

Dear Qaide Azam,

On July 1, I sent you an Express Reply Paid telegram requesting you to grant me an interview at Delhi or Bombay to discuss latest developments relating to the matters I had refered to in my letter of June 19, which was received by you on June 24. No reply has been received. I am afraid you do not intend to give sufficient credence to my entreaties; and If I am not wrong it may be that I have been wasting my time writing letters to you. I might mention here that in my very first letter dated February 8, 1946, I zm closed the letter with the words: "You should know better. If I am wrong command me to shut up." I meant exactly what J said. A word of reply at that time would have stopped my efforts. I waited for a reply for a long time and got to work in earnest only during March. By this time nothing worth any note had happened. We took up the job seriously after the Shah Manzil incident which became the deciding factor against the extension of the present man. It was a hard job to convert the quarters that really count. Even during April tables could have been turned and my services and those of my way of thinking could have very essily been mobilised against what I had myself done. But you did not care to stop me even when I talked to you in Delhi. It looked as if you encouraged me in a way to proceed to get him into the folds of those of your ways of thinking. I proceeded and reported to you every phase, every development in my rather tediously long letters, the more important of which I sent by insured post. Even in this I felt I was acting expressly under your personal instructions to keep you in touch. You kept silent all this while and now you jump into the arena as deliberately and publicly as you should never have done.

The position now is that the leading Hindu Papers have guessed that you are coming here with the sole and express intention of preventing H.E.H from taking him. Editorials have appeared in certain papers welcoming him. Dr Moonje welcomed him as a most competent man and a friend of the Hindus. The Muslim Press is silent in obedience to the Firman of H.E.H on this score. One popular Hindu Paper wrote a strong and pungeant editorial on what it

Quaide Azam Letters 14 If Jinnah bartered away Hyderabad for Kashmir.

said was 'Jinnah's paramountcy over Hyderabad'. Much worse is the grumbling of some sections of the Majlis Ittehadul Muslamin and patriotic non-Majlis Muslims that your have actually bartered away Hyderabad for Kashmir by your having endorsed the demand for responsible government in Kashmir; also that your deliberate interference at this juncture will accelerate the pace of direct interference on the part of the Congress. This is most unfortunate.

If it is one of your want usual pincer movements, I bessech you not to press it too hard lest any one or even both concerned sight be driven to desperation. The gentlem man now is exactly where you want him. He is prepared to go farther than the implications of my letters of June 19. I feel it my duty to write this last letter of this series. I do not mind the result of our efforts, having done my duty faithfully by God and by you, who I believe is my Caide Azam.

With respects,

Yours Obediently,

Oside Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, New Delhi.

S.A. Bu

F1106/439 Shamsia, Chanchalguda, Hyderabad Deccan, 12th July 1946.

Dear Qaide Azam,

In reply to my request for an interview, your Secretary told me that you said that if I was seeking an interview to discuss the subject matter of the letters I had been writing to you, you saw no need to grant me an interview.

I do not mean to affend you if I tell you that the money of a Laik Ali or an Alladin could buy your support to their aims, while all our sincerety and selfless entreaties could not attract your attention. You could not have dared to refuse an interview to a mediocre like Babu Khan and you could take the initiative to invite a declared and deliberate enemy of the Muslim cause like Ali Yavar Jung to come and see you. You should not take this as an offence as in these are plain facts. I am taking this opportunity to write to you because I am anxious to tell you inspite of your refusal to meet me what I would have told you if I had secured an interview. The only pity is that you cannot now search my mind by cross-examining me.

In the first instance, ever since this affair began you have relied most probably on reports from interested quarters which sought to exploit your personal dislike of Sir Mirza. I have every reason to believe that my method of approach to the problem was the right one and that you are, now, convinced of it yourself, having studied the position from close quarters. If you have understood the position as correctly as I do, even now much can be saved.

one side of the developments since July 5 (my last letter)
may still be unknown to you. H.E.H was very much perturbed at the
prospect of his being forced by your extraordinary influence to
change his decision. If his decision had not become as public and
as final as it was, he might have revised it. To add to this there
was the clamour of the Congress Press that you were coming here with
the one and only object of preventing him from Taking Sir Mirzs. The

Quaide Azam Letters 15 Final and very strong protest to Jinnah.

plain fact is that he was afraid that any change in his already too public a decision would give a just reason for the undesirable interference on the part of the Cong ess. This reluctance on his part to displease you on the one side and to maintain his own prestige on the

other, landed him in a very xxx uncomfortable position. That was when we could, and did, exert all our influence in your favour on the right plea that to displease you in the least would be to create a division in the loyalty of the local Muslims and putting a stop to all the sympathies of Muslim India in general.

F 1106/440

At this juncture the statement of the President of the Wajlis who could not be brought round to accept this line of action turned the tables against us. He is known to have been instigated by Chattari to issue that statement. Inspite of this set back we were not disheartened. We suppressed all counter statements we could lay hands upon. Of course, Hindu leaders did issue statements commenting upon this, but the fact that for two days we could successfully control even the deliberately anti-Ittehadul Muslimeen IA' from publishing such matters must be noted. We actually got a prioted statement erased from the printing machine at 4 O'clock in the morning and burned the copies that carried it. I am enclosing a copy of this statement as printed in the copies which were burnt (July 7th) as also a copy which was finally distributed.

and we were asked to help him to save the prestige of the Throne. To do his as harmlessly as possible we decided to bring out a pamphlet which would carry statements supporting in Mirza, so that we could give you an impression of the strength of the section of opinion supporting him and at the same time strengthen the hands of H.E.H. (an interpreted by circles close to him). But this pamphlet could not come out of the press untill the evening of 9th July that is after your audience with H.E.H. In the meantime one statement in favour of Sir Mirza had slipped out of our hands and that was perhaps one of the reasons for the stiff attitude of H.E.H. The attitude of I.E.H before your arrival here was this. He was going to tell you of the difficulties in his way to change the decision and was going to give you every possible assurance on behalf of Sir Mirza or himself and was in favour of convincing you by arguments and if nece-

that you would not be adament and that in view of his unenviable position you would agree. This is perhaps where they committed the

F 1106/441

mistake. I apprehend that your interview with wr. Zahid Husain suddenly changed his attitude. You must have laid all your cards on the table, with the result that every word that was told to you during the audience was pre-determined; so that he might not lose his case by allowing you a chance to argue. We came to know of this during the night itself and met his advisors and told them that in any case you shall not be displeased. We were given the impression that it would be so. My greatest handicap was that in spite of my efforts I could not secure an interview with you before you saw H.S.H. Without having known the attitude of H.E.H which is best reflected from that of his advisors as it had developed after your interview with Mr. Zahid Husain, the way in which you opened the question was a little too abrupt. In the meantime we were hoping, all of us, that matters ancillary to the position of Hyderabad vis-a-vis Cabinet Mission's proposals would prolong your interviews with him and that the stage of decisions would come only after two or three days. But the decision had been taken that H.E.H would adopt a firm attitude, as firm as he could, and he would simply not allow you to open your cases by announcing that everything had been decided and that all advice at this stage was too late. As far as I know, and indeed the fact is an open secret, that he did not allow you to talk upon this matter and the meeting ended abruptly, within forty minutes.

On your side the cause of your insistance was said to be H.E.H's telegram to the Viceroy that you were not to be allowed to interfere in his internal affairs. If this issue had been raised directly but in a rather appearance application application application appearance to the you might have been more successful. But what has happened cannot be undone.

Our misfortune is that you immediately began discussing this matter as loudly as you could, for instance, you discussed the issue in your interview with Nawab Hassan Yar Jung, and Nawab

Vandoor Phan in the presence of two irresponsible type of youngmen, Mr. Rahauddin Salim and Kolas and before long your whole attitude was public. You are said to have suggested direct cotion on the issue to Majlis leaders. This attitude of yours gave rise to grave apprehensions in circles close to H.E.H and in the minds of all informed Hyderabedies. Our gravest fear was that you might say something undesirable at the public meeting. We conveyed this fear to the circles close to H.E.M, and their reaction as also that of H.E.H himself was that he was prepared to meet you and make it up with you if you did not say snything in the public meeting detramental to the interests of Hyderabad and if you took the initiative to meet him again. The real fact is that the attitude of H.E.H depends on his advisors, but when he takes a definite stand they are powerless to change it. But as you know he is a man of moods and when he is in a good mood they take the opportunity to convert him to their views. It is no use cursing his lack of oresight; we have to make the best out of a bad situation.

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F 1106/442

The first condition having been fulfilled, whether through the appeals of the Resident or others, the only thing that now remains is that you should seek another interview apparently to discuss other matters with H.E.H. If this is done, I am convinced, H.E.H himself will try to make it up with you. It appears that the Resident and Ali vavar Jung have given H.E.H the impression that matters will as a matter of course be straightened out after one or two weeks and that there is no cause for anxiety. This means that time will heal everything. We do not want this. We desire that your presence and its disquisting affect on H.E.H will sober him down to ease out feelings of both sides. If the other impression gains ground a compromise may become very difficult.

Some quarters fear that Sir Mirza may not be so anxious to seek your blessings and pleasure, now that you have exerted your full ressure and influence against him and failed. But I don't think his is correct. To do justice to him, he is not a man to use such actical advantages where you are concerned. I am sure he sincerely believes that your sympathy and support will be necessary to save lyderabad. As such I am confident that he is still prepared to make

it up with you in the same manner again was when I last met him at sangalore on June 23.

You might ask, "why all this". You are doing nothing for yourself and a revenge for a disappointment which you had to suffer

F 1106/443

at the hands of the very man whose interests you desired to safeguard does not behave your sincerety. To revenge or to take any
strong action against H.E.H at this moment would be to ruin Hyderabad and her Mussalmans. If you break off your connections with
Hyderabad we might be severely handicapped, for it is through his
fear of you that we can bring him round if he (Sir Mirza) fails us
in his promises. You shall not fail us now saying, "Your Ruler
did not accept my advice. So go to hell with him". For God's sake
do not even think of this. Sir Mirza has been taken for 2 years.
"Ou can push some dynamic administrator like Sir Ghulam Muhammad into
the Vice-Premiership in place of the imbecile Sir Mehdi Yar Jung
and you can make sure that he succeeds Sir Mirza. During these two
years we will exploit Sir Mirza's pro-Hindu reputation as usefully
as we can. When that cloak is off, any other would be as good as he.

There are very vital problems before Hyderabad, for instance, the status of Hyderabad in the Union if it comes into being, the Megotisting Committee vis-a-vis Hyderabad, the Ceded Districts, the question of securing a Sea Port. One supreme effort should be made now when things are still being shaped. All these questions must be discussed by you with H.T.H. The way Chattari bartered away Hyderabad to the Chamber of Princes through the machinations of Ali Yavar Jung deserves all condemnation. All Yavar Jung is now master of all he surveys. Please get him out of Hyderabad if you can and you will save Hyderabad. He is a hundred times more harmful than what Sir Mirza might have been if he were what you think he is.

Concluding, I must reiterate that if you express the least hostility to Hyderabad and her Ruler you will play a part analogous to what Jawaherlal played in Kashmir. Your hostility may even end Hyderabad within two years, for there will be the invasion of Hindus and the division of loyalties between the Ruler and yourself wouldarive put the last nail in the coffin.

Vesterday's developments are worth notice. Some responsible

persons approached Hosh Var Jung and asked him to initiate a compromise from that side. As the public meeting was in sight he had promised to take interest in this. But this morning he flatly refused.

F1106/444

whis man is definitely known as the man of Sir Sultan Ahmed and as such all his actions are feared to be calculated to harm your prestige. But the biggest difficulty is that this man enjoys the confidence of H.E.H. Therefore it is better that you take the initiative to meet H.E.H and clear all the cloud.

In the meantime we will work on the other front and will try to persuade Sir Mirza to understand your point of view and work out his way to see you and settle matters at first hand.

Let me urge on you that any compromise on this score either with H.E.H or the Resident will be of no avail. Sir Mirza was quite prepared to give you every possible commitment to your entire satisfaction. Although certain interested persons have communicated to m on the telephone every development since you came here, still I trust that he can be forced to come to terms with you. Few people in Hyderabad desire this. And My friends and I are among these few. I am determined to purmexpurme pursue my line of action, driven by a strong conviction that you shall appreciate my sincerety soon after you have overcome your rage at this disappointment. However a hint of your reactions in regard to my line of action would further strengthen my hands and my determination to fight it out to a successful conclusion.

With respects,

Yours Obediently,

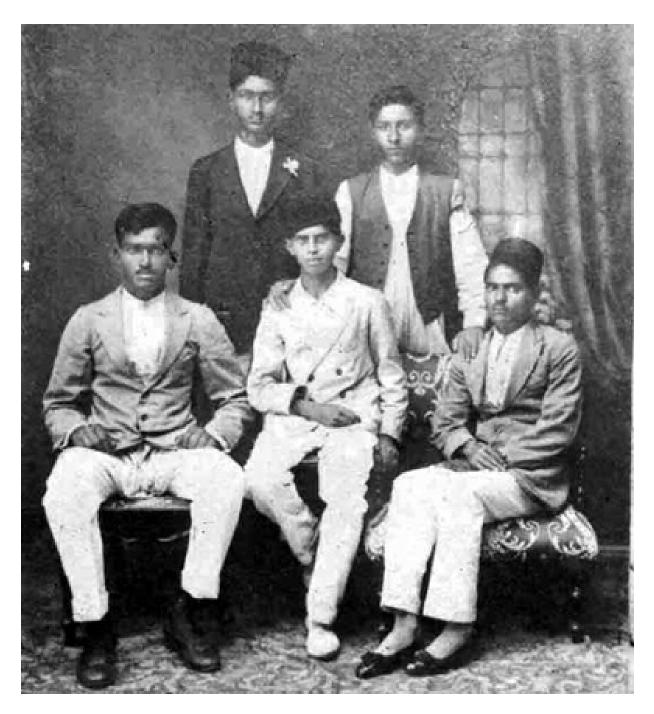
TITE TO A POST IL

Sa. Pout

Qaide Azam !'uhammad Ali Jinnah, Rocklands, Hyderabad Deccan.

SN .

LOOKING BACK	- APPENDIX 03 -	PHOTOGRAPS	OF SYED ALLAH	Bux



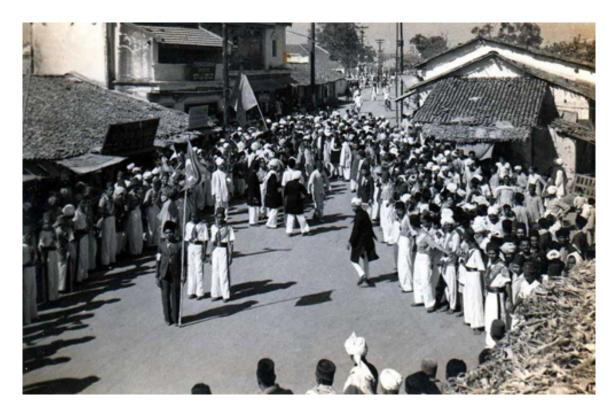
Abdun Nabi, Syed Mustafa, M, Ghaus, Syed Allah Bux, and Abdul Wahab Channapatna 1929.



Left to right C.A. Ghani, Chaudhry Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, and Syed Allah Bux. Simla 1938



Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang addressing Mehdavia Conference Channapatna in open session



Reception of the guests to All India Mehdavia conference.



Syedna Bruhanuddin and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang during All India Mehdavia Conference



Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang and Sir C.V. Raman looking handicraft during the exhibition of the Channapatna lacquer ware.



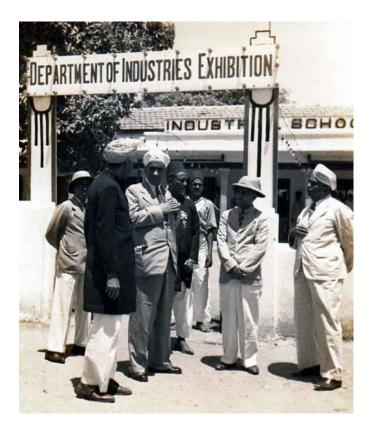
Sir C.V. Raman and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang walking to the Exhibition in Channapatna



Sir C.V. Raman and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang discussing about the exhibits displayed in the exhibition



Exhibition and Conference in Channapatna general view



C.V. Raman and other guests in front of the industrial School in Channapatna.



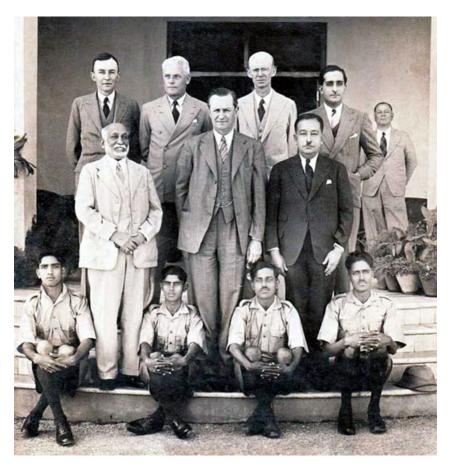
Nawab of Palanpur during his visit to Bangalore. 1940



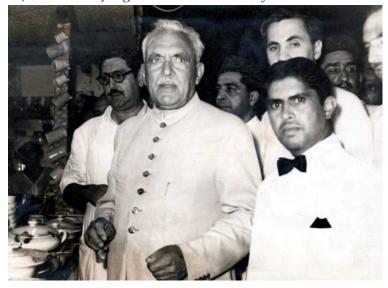
Molvi Sir Mohammad Yakub Simla 1938



Nawab of Palanpur. 1938



Mr. Brunnyate, Lloyd Jones, Hon. Sir Theodore Tasker, Nawab Ali Yawar Jang, Sir Akber Hyderi, Lord Lothian, Mehdi Yar Jang and the Tourists. Hyderabad 1938



Dr. Khan and Syed Allah Bux.



Air Force Officer, Sirdar Abdur Rab Nishtar, and Syed Allah Bux, Ghulam Ishaq Khan in the background.



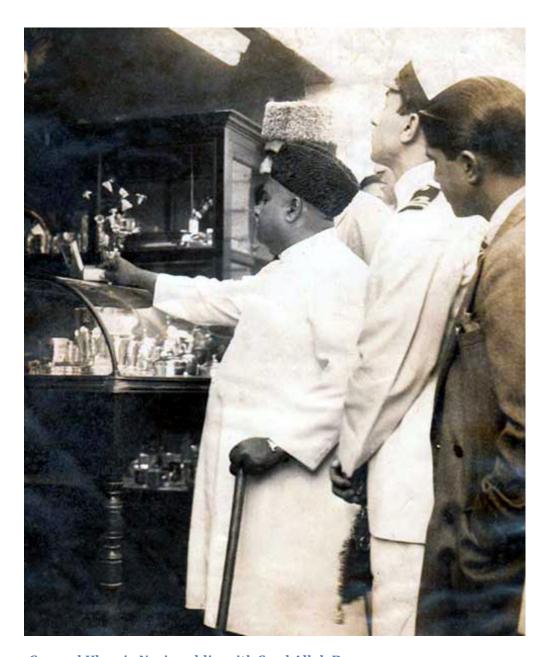
Syed Allah Bus and Major General Iskender Mirza president of Pakistan.



Syed Allah Bux and Sir Mirza Ismail. Bangalore 1954



Syed Allah Bux with I.I. Chundrigar Governor N.W.F.P. at PWD stall.



Governer General Khwaja Nazimuddin with Syed Allah Bux.



Syed Allah Bux with Ghulam Ali Mahammadi. Hyderabad Deccan 1954



Syed Allah Bux with H.H Nawab Saheb of Palanpur. Bangalore 1940



Syed Allah Bux with Khan Abdul Qyuum Khan. Peshawar.



Syed Jaffer Mohiuddi, Syed Yedullah, Jalal Baba, and Syed Jaffer.



With Major General Iskender Mirza President of Pakistan.



Syed Allah Bux with I.I. Chundrigar.



Syed Allah Bux in Prize distribution with I.I. Chundrigar.



Syed Allah Bux standing with Jalal Baba.



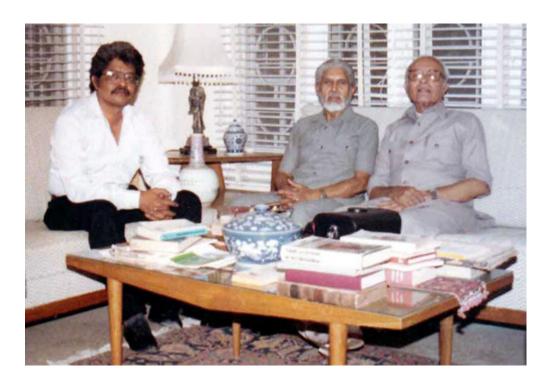
With C.A Gnani and Dr. G.M Mehkri. Karachi 1983.



Syed Allah Bux, Dr. Zaki Hassan, Azeem Ghani, Syed Najiullah.



Syed Allah Bux with Mr. Osman Ali, London.



Syed Jaffer, Syed Allah Bux, Mr. Agan Hilaly.

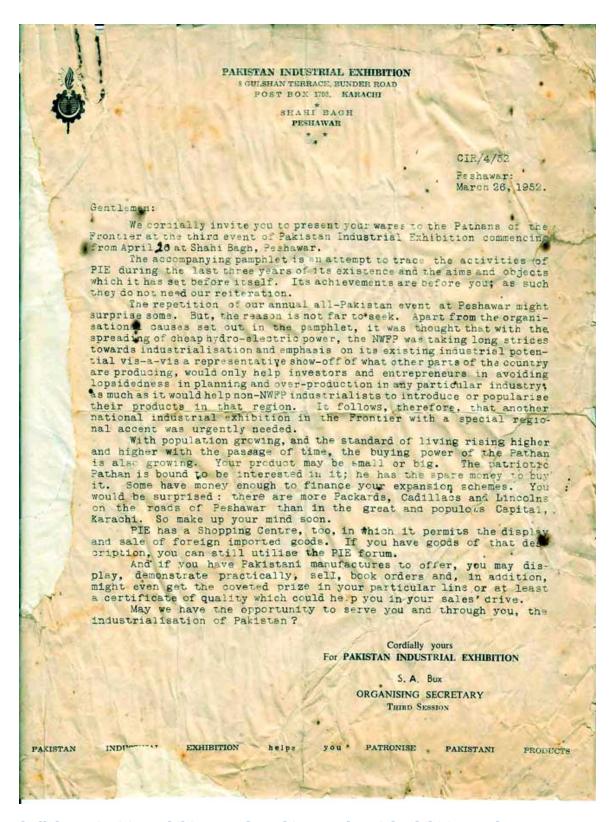
LOOKING BACK - APPENDIX 04 - NEWS PAPER CUTTINGS AND DOCUMENTS



Press Conference of Syed Allah Bux weekly "Zalzala Multan July 15, 1955



Press Conference Daily Karzar Multan June 29, 1955



Syed Allah Bux inviting exhibiters to the Pakistan Industrial Exhibition Peshawar.

PAGE FOUR

Thursday, May 2, 1946.

The Memorandum together with notes on the background was presented by Syed Alla Bux. Secretary General YOUNG MUSLIMS' ORGANISATION MYSORE on April 30, 1946.

Memorandum to Cabinet Mission

Mysore Muslims' Demands Based on Their Historical Position in the State

The following is the text of the memorandum on the historical position and demands of the Muslims of Mysore State, submitted to Lord Pathick-Lawrence, leader of British Cabinet Mission:

1799, the year in which Seringapatam fell to the British happened to be the year of founding the existing Mysore State and of installing in Mysore State and of instailing in power the present dynasty. Before this, the Raja of Mysore was a Palligar (Chieftain) of 33 villages having descended from a Viceroy of the Vijayanagar Empire. The Moghul Emperor at Delhi was the paramount. authority in those days, subsequent to the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. This Palligar paid an yearly subsidy to the Moghuls through the Gov-ernor of the Province Sira. Hyder All by his personal efforts rose from a sepoy, in the service of the Raja of Mysore, to the Governorship of the Province of Sira. In the beginning he acted under the authority of the Moghul Emperor and later the Mo ghul Emperor at Delhi recognised him as an independent sovereign by conferring the title of 'Nawab' on him. In the meantime the Palligari of Mysore which was a vassel of the Moginus automatically became Mognus automatically occurs as ubordinate of Hyder Ali But as Hyder Ali had served under Mysore Raja he respected him so much that even without a demand he recognised the sovereignty of the Raja over the 33 villages and did not not be the sovereignty of the Raja over the 33 villages and did not not be sovereignty. in any way interfere with his inter-nal administration. The subsidy that was being paid to the Sira Subedari was waived.

A MUSLIM STATE

Hyder All's State was the octatic Muslim State by reason of having a Muslim at its bead and by virtue of the Islamic laws of adapt instation enforced therein. A Muslim State was thus carved excluding the areas administered by the Raja which continued to exist as a separate Palli-gari. The independence of the State gari. The independence of the State was recognised by the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, by the Caliphate of Constantinopie and by several other European and Asiatic countries by their diplomatic relations with this Muslim State. The very style of the name of the State "Sultanate Khudadad" which recognises the Islamic theory of paramountcy is a further argument that this State was reargument that this State was re-cognised as a Muslim State interna-

tionally. The Palligari of Mysore had voluntarily allied itself with the State in its foreign policy and de-fence, so much so that it had become a Protectorate of this Muslim State. a Protectorate of this Muslim State.

In modern terms of state-craft the State's paramountry vested in the Muslims and that paramountry was untransferable without the consent of its custodians.

EAST INDIA COMPANY

The East India Company, charter-ed as it was, a trading concern, had no right by any code of morality or existing international custom to dispose them off or constitute itself a body charged with the responsibi-lity of governing a people. They had no authority to transgress the very object for which the Company was chartered. Nor can the setions of the Company be validated by a transfer of their self-assumed powers to the British Crown, for the assur tion of the powers itself makes their transfer null and void, more so where the Indian States are con-

THE REAL RULERS

In the case of Mysore there are many more arguments besides this. One such is that the conquest of Seringapatam reduced this Muslim State to the status of a vanquished ma-tion, but under no international custom does a vanquished nation consti-tute a chattel transferable from one to another at the will of the conqueror. The Palligar who was re-cognised by the Company as the Ru-ler of Mysore was not entitled to this privilege, firstly, because he was an alien to this Muslim State and for this reason the Raja must be construed to be a representative of the East India Company setting under the authority and on behalf of the Company; Secondly, the British have admitted this as their policy in regard to Mysore and given effect to that policy in their interference from time to time in the administra-tion of the State and later in their direct assumption of the authority to rule the State as a Province of British India under a Chief Commis-sioner. Having had unequivocal as-surances from the Raja the State was again restored to him. This rendition proves that the British never intended to recognise the present ruling family as the real rulers of Mysore. Needless to emphasise, these

transections do not invalidate or efface the paramountry that my with the Musalmans of Mysoredus to they are the real rulers of Myan and should be recognised at rich

MINIMUM DEMANDS

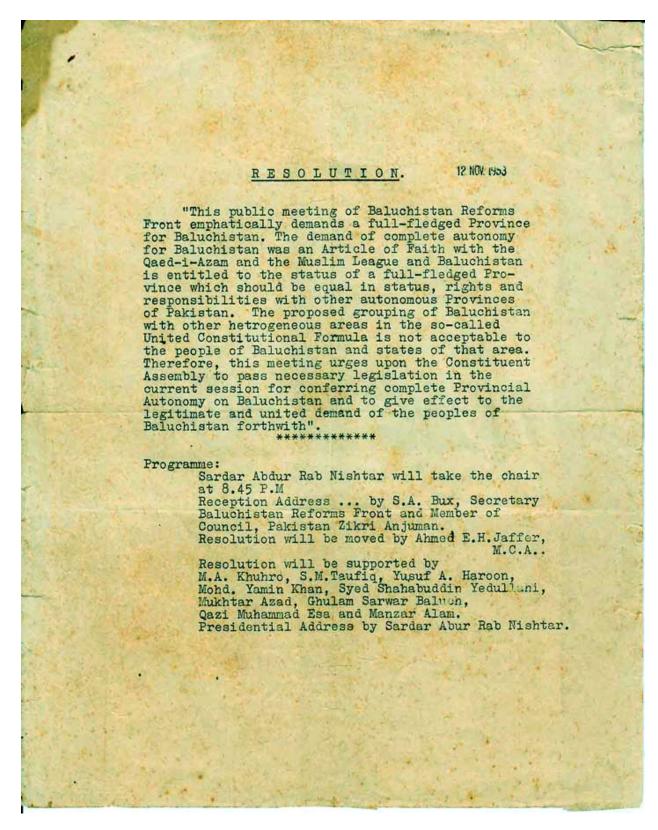
The transfer of the responsible ty of governing India to India naturally necessitates the consider tion of the historical facts summ up above. That this is a Mails State and should be recognised such by the powers that be, is to most logical demand in the circum stances. If old ideologies like king. ship have become obsolete, a position becomes easier. The Max lims of Mysore are prepared a share the responsibility of governing the State with non-Muslims, Muslims, Muslims lims at parity with non-Muslims a completely responsible Government of the type of a Republic if ment of the type of a Republic of the institution of kingship is retan-ed, Muslims demand that som direct descendant of Tippu should be installed on the throne of Myon and he by a, proclamation shal grant full responsible Government to his people with certain, abiola-tely necessary safeguards are residuary powers for the protection of Muslim interests.

SET RIGHT THE WRONGS

Other matters arising out of the change may well be left to be adjusted between the Government that will be constituted on the above lines and the neighbouring ernments and peoples especially matters such as the restoration of the territories ceded over to diffe ent powers or taken over to be governed as part of British India after the fall of Seringapatam, whether it desires to be an independent State or to join any federation that might come to exist in the meantime, and the foreign relations of the State i it chooses to be independent.

As the present state of affairs to unable to satisfy the Muslims of Mysore and as the logicality and desirability of such a change cannot be questioned it is expedient that consider the above the settle the claims of the Muslims of Mysore and set right the wrongs done to them and blunders committed by the East India Company before they transfer power to Indian hands if the demands of the Mysore Mulims are ignored in the new schene of things, they will have 'nobot' whose sympathy, support or be; they could claim except World

Daily Dawn Delhi May 2, 1946 reporting the presentation of memorandum to the Cabinet **Mission**



Resolution demanding Provincial Autonomy for Baluchistan.



INDIANS' SALES TOUR

FINDING MARKETS FOR LACQUER WARE

The promotion of the lacquer ware industry of India, as I of Mysore State, in particular, is the aim of four young men who have undertaken a four-year tour in which they propose to visit all the important trade and fashion centres of the world. They are Mr. S. A. Bux, Mr. C. A. Gnani, Mr. S. Khasim and Mr. H. Khan, residents of Channapatha, an important industrial centre of Mysore. Talking to a representative of the Statesman yesterday Mr. Bux and Mr. Ghani, who are now in Delhi, stated that the Mysore Government was partly financing the

venture. They carry equipment with which they manufacture lacquer ware articles and support themselves from its sale. Two of their comrades are still in Bombay undergoing a training in arts and will join them in September.

After staying a week in Delhi the two men, who are fresh from college, will leave for Simla where they will interview the Commerce Member and then leave for Lahore. They hope to leave India by the end of September via Afghanistan. They are trying to persuade the Mysore Government to present them with a car for their world tour.

They were enthusiastic over the chances of creating a market for

They were enthusiastic over the chances of creating a market for lacouer ware in Europe and will devote their time to studying the requirements and models fancied in the countries they visit. They will advise the Mysore Industries Department on the possibilities of the market and the sort of articles required.

The Statesman Delhi July 30,1938 reporting on the tourists



THE TRIBUNE

Thursday, December 1, 1938.

2 YOUNG TOURISTS AT LAHORE

Two young men, Messrs. C. A. Gani and S. A. Bux, who are on a world tour, have arrived at Lahore.

Their main object is to popularise some of the Indian Cottage industries, particularly those of Mysore:

During their two months' travelling they have been studying home industries in different provinces. المروس ووسلمان المسال المراسيات ونيا كوسلمان المسال والمائية ونيا كوسلمان المائية والمائية و

The Tribune Lahore December 1, 1938 and Daily Zamindar of December 1, 1938 reporting about the tourists.

برتاب لاہور المحروب ا

Partap Lahore December 2, 1938 and Khalil Lakhnaw June 6, 1938 reporting about the tourists.



THE PIONEER WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1938. MUSLIM TOURISTS IN LUCKNOW OUT TO STUDY COTTAGE INDUSTRIES Four Muslim young men, who started on a world tour from Mysore in January last, arrived in Lucknow on Monday last after visiting the Bombay Presidency and some of the Indian States. The party consists of Mr. L. A. Ghani, Mr. S. A. Bux, Mr. S. Kasim and Mr. H. Khan, The object of the tourists is to study the cottage industries of different countries and to see how far they are applicable to their own country,

Clips from The Pioneer Lucknow June 15, 1938 and Times of India Times of India January 22, 1938 report about the tourists.

MYSORE PRODUC'TS Enterprising Search For Markets

Four enterprising young men who set out from Mysore on a world tour with the object or finding and creating markets outside India for the products of the cottage industries of India in general and of Mysore in particular are now in Bombay.

They are not of the grave, official type of trade emissaries, but just four youths, one of them quite fresh from college. The leader, Mr. C. A. Gam, is short statured, genial and a lively talker. He should do well as a salesman. His companions are Mr. S. A. Bux, a commercial traveller, Mr. H. Khan, a lacquerware expert, and Mr. S. Khasim, an artist.

Khasim, an artist.

They have a four-year tour programme in which they propose to visit all the important trade and fashion centres of the world, and while creating markets for Mysere and Indian products they will also devote their time to studying the requirements and models fancied in those places and advise the Industries Department of Mysore accordingly.

THE TIMES OF INDIA FEBRUARY 8, 1938.

The tourists have obtained concessions for train and steamer travel, and the Mysore Government, they stated in an interview, have promised to defray part of their expenses. The rest they will raise by their own efforts. They carry with them implements for the manufacture of office equipment and presentation articles. They cook their own food.

They have obtained letters of introduction to prominent people in India and outside.

Leaving Bangalore on January 9, they have already visited the city and districts of Hyderabad State. They were presented to the Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir Akbar Hydari and the Marquess of Lothian.

The tourists propose to sail from Bombay in the first week of April for Suez, and after visiting Egypt, they travel through the Continent. They expect to be in Europe for two years and then leave for America and thence to Australia.

Times of India February 8, 1938 reports about the tourists.

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روزنامه في كلهنو

جاریا به من منان دوان موان موران میران میران میران در این میران در در این میران به در این میران میران به در این میران میرا

Tamir Ajmeer May 2, 1938 and Daily Haq Lacknow June 8, 1938



Daily Haqiquat Kucknow June 15 1938, report about the tourists.



روز نامراصان الا مور و و و المراسال المراس المراس

Daily Wakeel Lucknow June 15, 1938 and Daily Ehsan Lahore, November 30,1938 gives coverage to the tourists.

القلاب لابولا ١٠ ١٠ روميرستية



News Paper Inqilab Lahore November 30, 1938 reports about the tourists.

اخار کرمت مرد کاد

اور بھی استین می من برنے قداد وہ مقامی دیوسی ہے۔
مالان و فرو تیا رکر آبی اوران استیماء کون دن کرنے
سے مالے من اس کی ماق ہے کہ جیک ان کی افالی می داد
وسے کر ان کی حصل افرائی میں اضافہ کرسے گئے۔
ان لکوں سے مباولہ خالات کے پر معلیم میں کھیڈت
میں مندرستان میں غربت ہی صنعت و وضائے او او میں
مائی ہے ۔ وہ وک و اس بورستا کا رائ ان کو از اربی ان کا
محمت کے مطابق آبیت انس ملی حب کی سا دی فرمد و اوری
محمت کے مطابق آبیت انس ملی حب کی سا دی فرمد و اوری
محمت کے مطابق آبیت انس ملی حب کی سا دی فرمد و اوری
موری فروش ہوگ میدوستان کھ صنعت کوری بری طری سے
موری میں ہوئی میں نیز کو بیائی دوسری میکا بنس بری طری سے
میں میں میں مائی میں مندوستان کی صنعت و وقت میں تری ہوئی ا

Daily Hukumat Muradabad January 9, 1938 gives coverage to the tourists.

સુન્દર ફોલ્ડ્રીતા એક ક્ટાંટા સાડેશ સાર્યથી હતી. આપ પેટી પણ તેમતે એવી સીતે હતીએ સામ પાય કેટલાક સારા ઓડ્રિંગ મહપા હતા. તેમો પણ કેટલાક સારા ઓડ્રિંગ મહપા હતા. તેમો માહિયા ભક્સ ગણ છે. તાંચી વડાદરા, મહપદા, ગાદ, પાલતપુર થઇ દિલ્સી, પંજાપ જરી. ત્યાંથી આદ્માતિસ્તાન, કરા, કરાદ તુર્દા પેટી પેડા સમસ્તાનો સરી સરા, કરાદ તુર્દા માને સેવ સમસ્તા અમેરીકા દૂરશે. માતે, એ ભાષ્ટઓની એવી

મેળ તમલ માના તાતાને બિલાન મહ માના કુનરથી રસ્તામાંજ, ઓલા કુરામુક્ષ્ય માણ કુમકા કુમકાના માનામાં માલે કુ કુર કુમ ફુક્ષ્ય કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમાને કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું કુમ્મું

मांद कि क्षेत्र मांत्र हिस्स सुर्ग पण इ की मांत्र सिंह मांत्र मांत्र सिंह मांत्र मांत्र सिंह मांत्र मांत्र

મુસ્લમ ગુજરાત • ... મેરોતરી સુસ્લિમ જવાનાની હુનફી જગત-સફર મૈસોરી ઘર-હુનરાને બધેબધ ચમકાવશે. જગતની રહેલે સાકકલ સફરે ચાર મૈસોરી

मुरुषम कवानानी यार भास उपर यथवी सुरतनी

મુલાકાતના આ પાનાઓ ઉપર થયલા પરિચય वांचडाने याह दशे. सेवाल भीका त्रश मैसारी अने भें ज्यारी-मुस्सिम जवाना, अन जुडाक પણ વધુ મુરી; અને સાદસિક, તવ્યલીમ અને हवाशी हेतुया करात-सहरे नीडल्या छे. तेला રાવર સાઉટા છે, મૈસાર રાજ્યના ગ્રામ્ય-ક્રદ્યોગાના भास भादिर अने इसाधर छे अने स्वतंत्र रीते પાતાની સફર કરી રહ્યા છે છતાં મેસાર રાજ્યના २६ भरी अभने भहह पथा तेमने भणी रही छे. तेमना नामा भेससे सी. . अ. गनी (सरहार) એસ. એ. બખ્શ અને એચ. ખાન છે. બેંગ્લેરિયી આ જવાના દીવાન સર મીરઝા કરમાં કલના આશ્રય અને આશિર્વાદ સહિત, લેડ શેહિઅન સાથે ગઇ તારીખ ૯ મી જન્યુઆરીએ ઉપડયા हता. इतर अने इधे।भनी इद्र करनार इयहराजाह अने इंबर्डीओ तेभने राज परेखा तरीहे राणी ઉતેજન આપ્યું હતું. ત્યાંથી તેઓ પુના, મુંબઇ

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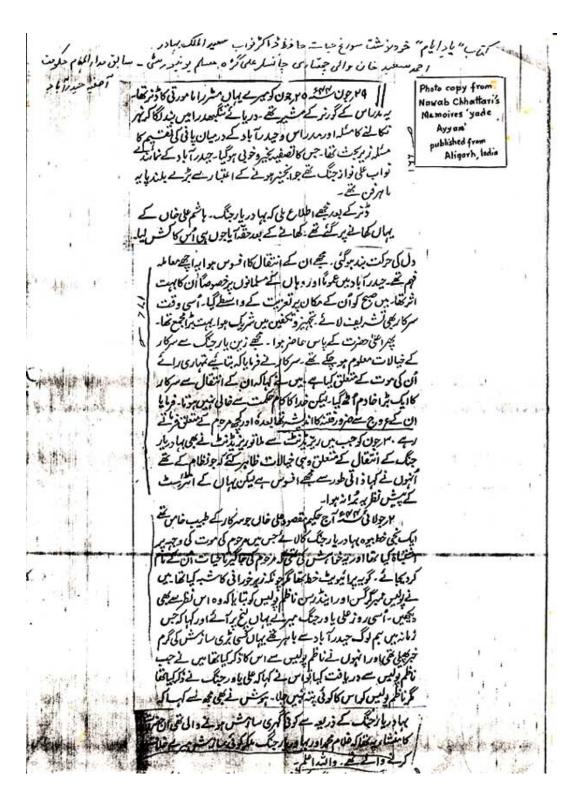


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