

**Political Participation and Parliamentary Debates:
A Study of Andhra Pradesh Dalit MPs in the 14th Lok Sabha**

**Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of requirements for
the award of degree of the**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND INCLUSIVE
POLICY**

School of Social Sciences

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

New Delhi

2019



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DECLARATION

Date: July 18, 2019

I declare that the thesis entitled "Political Participation and Parliamentary Debates: A Study of Andhra Pradesh Dalit MPs in the 14th Lok Sabha" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Acknowledgements

I express my earnest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Yagati Chinna Rao for his, encouragement, support, and suggestions towards my work and who has taken keen interest in my work and it was only his encouragement and brilliant supervision which culminate into this thesis. Only because of his persistent support I could sustain the research.

I am grateful to the CSSEIP, faculty Dr Anuja, Dr Pravav Kumar and Dr Kali Chitti babu RAC member. I am also indebted to my alma mater Department of Political Science, Osmania University, Hyderabad, particularly, Prof. Kancha Ilaiah, Prof. Ravindra Sastri, Prof. K. Laxmi and Prof. V. Yoga Jyotsna, Prof. G. Krishna Reddy and Prof. Ram Reddy, who provided me with the foundation to carry out this study successfully.

I am also thankful to Dr Priyadarshini Vijaisi (CSDS) for her support in difficult times. I am also grateful Dr G. Srinivas (JNU) and Dr Chinnaiah Jangam (Canada) for their encouragement in various stages of this work.

I am grateful to Staff at CSSEIP Mr Rajbir (Rtd), Mr Girender (Rtd), Mrs Poonam, Mr Md. Asif Iqubal for their unconditional support. Staff JNU Central Library specially Dr I. Narasaiah, Mr Mahesh Chand, Staff Exim Bank Library, Central Secretariat Library, Parliament Library, National Archives, JNMML (Teen Murty) Osmania University Library, Hyderabad, Anveshi Library Hyderabad.

I am also grateful to Mr.G.V.Harsha Kumar Ex.MP one of my case for valuable time for interviews and great hospitality, his PA Raju, and the respondents in his constituency during the filed. I am also thankful Dr. Manda Jagannath for his valuable time for interviews, his PA Madhu, and respondents in his constituency.

I am grateful to my friends and colleagues at Zakir Husain Delhi College for their support.

And friends on the Campus from my initial stages to now Sudhakara Karakoti, Venkatesh Nayak and Unnamati Syam Sunder, Babjee, Shankar Chaketi Raju and Pragyanshu with whom I always find the discussions productive and encouraging. My colleagues at CSSEIP Dilip, Deepanjan, Keerti, Mukesh, Narender, Pawan, Rajkumar and Suresh were also supportive.

Special Thanks to my Friends Sampath Thirupati, Ganesh and Rafi for their constant support at various phases.

I find no word to express my deep sense of gratitude to my nieces Sandya, Sneha, Srujana, Bindu, and Priya. My Nephews, Bhagath, Chandu, Babbu, and Mahesh, and my elders, Jashwanth, Utham, Renuka and Anasuya for their constant encouragement. The sources of inspiration to the work are my loving parents Shri. Chinnanna and Smt. Bhumakka. Last but not least, throughout this journey, one who supported at every stage, and most affected Lanka Rajani to whom I dedicate this work.

Santhosh J

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Abbreviations

AAY:	Antyodaya Anna Yojana
AICC:	All India Congress Committee
AIMIM:	All India Maslis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
AISCF:	All India Scheduled Caste Federation
ATM:	Automated Teller Machine
AU:	Andhra University
BAMCEF:	All India Backward and Minority Community Employees Federation
BJP:	Bharatiya Janata Party
BSP:	Bahujan Samaj Party
CITU:	Centre of Indian Trade Union
CM:	Chief Minister
CMP:	Common Minimum Programme
CONYP:	Committee on National Youth Programme
CPI (M):	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CPI:	Communist Party of India
CSR:	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSS:	Centrally Sponsored Schemes
CWC:	Congress Working Committee
DMS:	Dalita Maha Sabha
FCI:	Food Corporation of India
FDI:	Foreign Direct Investments
GAATS:	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GAIL:	Gas Authority of India Limited
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GO:	Government Order
GSPC:	Gujarat State Petroleum Corporation

HRD:	Human Resource Development
IAY:	Indira Awaas Yojana
INC:	Indian National Congress
IND:	Independent
JPC:	Joint Parliamentary Committee
KV:	Kendriya Vidyalaya
LPG:	Liquid Petroleum Gas
M.L.A:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MBBS:	Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgeon
MMTS:	Multi-Mode Transport System
MP:	Member of Parliament
MPLADS:	Member of Parliaments' Local Area Development Scheme
MRPS:	Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi
MSP:	Minimum Support Price
NACO:	National AIDS Control Organisation
NAFED:	National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation of India Ltd
NCSC:	National Commission for Scheduled Castes
NCSCCT:	National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Tribes
NDA:	National Democratic Alliance
NREGS:	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NSUI:	National Students Union of India
NTR:	Nandamuri Tarakarama Rao
OBC:	Other Backward Classes
ONGC:	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
OU:	Osmania University
PAC:	Public Accounts Committee
PCC:	Pradesh Congress Committee
PDF:	Peoples' Democratic Front
PDS:	Public Distribution System
PWD:	Persons with Disabilities

RBI:	Reserve Bank of India
RDS:	Rajolibanda Diversion Scheme
ROB:	Railway over Bridges
RPI:	Republican Party of India
RSS:	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
RUB:	Railway under Bridges
SC:	Scheduled Caste
SFI:	Students Federation of India
ST:	Scheduled Tribe
TDP:	Telugu Desam Party
TPS:	Telangana Praja Samiti
TRS:	Telangana Rashtra Samiti
UNICEF:	United Nations Children Fund
UP:	Uttar Pradesh
UPA:	United Progressive Alliance
UPSC:	Union Public Service Commission
VAT:	Value Added Tax
VIP:	Very Important Person
WTO:	World Trade Organisation
YSR:	Yeduguri Sandinti Rajasekhara Reddy

Chapter I

Introduction

The Dalits¹ are the historically marginalised sections meted with inhuman treatment in this country. And those are in changing scenario keep changes. The forms and processes of discrimination keep changing. At the same time, Dalits are challenging them and questions and caste-based hierarchies in society.

When they challenged and fought against exploitation poses a threat to the dominance of so-called upper castes. The governments run by them try to soothe them. Many a time Dalits forced the dispensations to implement constitutional provisions and take some damage control measures as few welfare schemes. At the same time, they have sought to use suffrage as an essential democratic and political instrument. When Dalits adopted political means, the colonial government had to grant them certain political safeguards. Notably, independent India, in its constitution, provided political reservations for them.

The visionary leader Dr B.R. Ambedkar² through his struggles and writings promoted Dalits to raise new efforts and participate in the political life of the country through democratic means. He was instrumental in providing specific safeguards to the present-day system of reserved seats in Lok Sabha and Assemblies of state legislatures.³

In the post-Ambedkar India, Dalits have become more assertive for their identity and their struggles targeted for equality and eradication of untouchability. As Ambedkar desires, they take an active part in political processes, including fighting

¹ A term meaning downtrodden or broken down but used with the pride as a self-chosen name that reflects no idea of pollution and can include all who identify themselves as oppressed by the caste system. “Dalit” came into currency in the 1970s in movements that took names such as “Dalit Panthers” and “Dalit Literature” in 1980s in AP “Dalitha Mahasabha” here the term ‘Dalits’ used for Scheduled Castes (SC) only, and it is not the homogeneous category.

² Dr. Ambedkar (1891-1956) popularly known as ‘Babasaheb Ambedkar’, inspired and led struggles of Untouchables and written enormously on wide-ranging issues. For more authentic biography of Ambedkar see, Dhananjay Keer (1971), *DR. Babasahed Ambedkar Life and Mission*, Popular Prakashan, New Delhi [first published in 1954]; also see some of his very important writings Valerian Rodrigues (2004), *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

³ Eleanor Zelliot (2005), *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on Ambedkar Movement*, New Delhi: Manohar p. 159. [first published in 1992]

elections. However, never been able to catch the power, due to state power has been in the hands of so-called upper castes. That the role their dominance attracted attention of the scholars.⁴ The dominant caste not just captures power at Delhi even in provinces very few castes captured power. To mention few Brahmins,⁵ Rajputs,⁶ Kayasthas,⁷ Bhumiars,⁸ Vaishyas,⁹ and other landed gentry castes such as Kammas,¹⁰ Reddies,¹¹ Lingayats,¹² and Vokkaligas¹³.

And no matter how active one is in public life ones social background only matters — never been given significant constitutional positions. In case Jagjivan Ram¹⁴ is evident that he has denied prime minister Position. And the constitutional guarantees of the right to equal participation largely denied for Dalits. Theses social and political discriminations against Dalits make them permanent weak in this country.

⁴ To mention a few, Niraja Jayal and Sudha Pai (eds), (2001), *“Democratic Governance in India: Challenges of Poverty, Development and Identity,”* “Sage”: New Delhi; Christophe Jaffrelot, (2003), *“India’s Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India”*, C. Huxts & Co. Publishers: UK; Anupama Rao (2009), Christophe Jaffrelot (2012); “The politics of caste identities”, in Vasudha Dalmia and Rashmi Sadana (eds.), *“The Cambridge Companion to Modern Indian Culture, New Delhi”*: Cambridge University Press; *“The Caste Question: Dalits and Politics of Modern India*, University of California Press”: Berkeley; Vivek Kumar (2014), *Caste and Democracy in India: A Perspective from Below*, Gyan Books Pvt: New Delhi.

⁵ Dominant caste especially in north India and controls all spheres of public and private lives of the people they still enjoy the hegemony.

⁶ Rajputs are very dominant caste in Hindi speaking states largely land owned caste and enjoy political power also

⁷ Kayasthas are also considered as a dominant caste more populous in Bengal, Bihar, Odisha and UP, largely dominant in bureaucracy

⁸ Very dominant caste in Bihar land owned caste and controls politics and also present in UP and some parts of North India

⁹ Traditionally business class present all over India, controls large business and wealth of the country

¹⁰ In the traditional varna order Kammas’ considered as shudras, in AP they very dominant in both socio economic and political spheres.

¹¹ Reddies are largely landed dominant caste in AP and ruling class in the state

¹² Lingayats are populous in Karnataka land owned and politically dominant caste

¹³ Another dominant land owned caste in Karnataka politically significant player in that state

¹⁴ Babu Jagjivan Ram (1908-1986) was a freedom fighter and longtime “minister in the cabinets of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahdur Shastri and Indira Gandhi” also first non-Congress Morarji Desai Janata government he was defence minister and also became deputy Prime Minister from 24 January 1979 to 28 July 1979. For more details see <http://jagjivanramfoundation.nic.in/bio-1.htm>”

In this context, some of the trends among parliamentarians, are concerned the recent study argues that the only path to power for minorities, here if one considers Dalits as such is by gaining influence in mainstream parties.¹⁵ Others reject¹⁶ this model and insist that the voices of opposition and indigenous people or marginalised sections will never practically included in the party platforms or legislative priorities of mainstream parties. Without separate parties, they argue, minorities will always risk being co-opted by the larger parties. Similarly, some MPs advocate for reserved seats or quotas, while others reject them.¹⁷

These differences of opinion come out forcefully in a recent study by Elizabeth Powley.¹⁸ Beyond the challenges of building cross-party support for Dalit rights, there are other specific obstacles that these MPs face. Some could argue that the political system itself, and particularly the lack of transparent decision-making in political parties, was a barrier for Dalits. In addition to discrimination, the above study on parliamentarians mentioned the issue of resources and the cost of campaigning as an obstacle.

In this background, the proposed study is an attempt to map the political participation of Dalits in the India Parliament debates to protect the interests of the Dalits. Although various studies on Dalit issues, specified to electoral politics of the country but this study would be a broader analysis of the level of Dalit participation and their position in successive governments as well as within the political organisations.¹⁹ The caste-based hierarchical relations of dominance and

¹⁵ Elizabeth Powley (2010), *Diversity in Parliament: Listening to the voices of minorities and indigenous People*, IPU and UNDP, Geneva.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 2-3

¹⁷ Ibid p.5

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 56-58

¹⁹ C. P. Barthwal, (1969), "Representation of Scheduled Castes in Parliament and State Legislatures", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4 (36/6) pp. 1451-54; Marc Galanter (1979), "Compensatory Discrimination in Political Representation: A Preliminary understanding of India's Thirty-year Experience with Reserves seats in Legislatures", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 14 (7&8): pp. 437-54; Gawarguru G. N. (1985), *The party politics in reserved constituencies: a case study of Pandharpur Parliamentary Reserved Constituency for the scheduled castes in Maharashtra*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.; Gopal Guru (1986), "Political Reservations for the Scheduled Castes: A Politics of Reformism", in Ram Gopal Singh (ed.) *The Depressed Classes of India: Problems and Prospects*, B.R. Publications Corporation, New Delhi: pp.81-90.; Narender, Kumar (2004), *Dalit Policies, Politics and Parliament*, Shipra Publications: New Delhi; Simon Chauchard (2010), "Can the Experience of Political Power by a Member of a Stigmatized Group Change the Nature of Day-to-day Interpersonal Relations? Evidence from Rural India", *NYU Politics*, 14th October; Francesca Refsum Jensenius (2012), "Political

subordination would also be considered in this study to understand Dalit political consciousness and their assertiveness of democratic struggles in the perspective of liberal democratic principles of equality, freedom, fraternity and social justice. This study is also an attempt to map the caste-based discrimination and exclusion in the decision-making process practised by various political parties in the most significant democratic system as well as the accountability of the elected Dalit MPs from hard-earned reserved constituencies towards the marginalised Dalits in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.

The starting point for undertaking this study is three significant studies on Indian parliament negligent of Dalit concerns. The first study of Devesh Kapur and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (2006),²⁰ argued that Parliament, as an institution of accountability, has failed. They have listed out various weaknesses of parliament. The constitutional mandate has neglected, and disruptions and in the Lok Sabha has normalised. However, what the study ignored is the critical concerns of the marginalised, Dalits and others never came for discussions. If people with criminal background enters in Lok Sabha a severe issue, but the questions of Dalits representation and their participation and deepening democracy missed in the analysis.

However, B. L. Shankar and Valerian Rodrigues (2011),²¹ study answered some critics of India parliament, established the success of democracy and functioning of parliament. Rightly mentioned that nature of representation in the Lower House of parliament is becoming inclusive. The research focused on diversity in parliament regard to Language and regional, plural identities and other issues. The participation of Dalits and specific concerns not been highlighted.

Quotas in India: Perceptions of Constituent Political Representation”, *Asian Survey*, 52 (2): 373-394.; Arun Kaushik and Rupayan Pal (2012), “How Representative Has the Lok Sabha Been?”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII (19): 74-78.

²⁰ Devesh Kapur and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (2006), “Indian Parliament as an Institution of Accountability” Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Programme Paper Number 23, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva. Pp.1-32.

²¹ B.L. Shankar and Valerian Rodrigues (2011), *The Indian Parliament: A Democracy At Work*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi.

While echoing similar concerns raised by Kapur and Mehta and others, Sudha Pai and Avinash Kumar (2014),²² focused on difficulties in the functioning of parliament. The issues like internal dimensions of parliament and external factors like criminalisation of politics, members with criminal backgrounds, and media's negative role in the function of the parliament. However, the question of if parliament becomes dysfunctional and super-rich and criminals become representatives, how would we deal with the interests of the marginalised Dalit and their participation in parliament.

Since three major studies have ignored the significance of parliament function to fulfil the needs of Dalits, the present study attempted to the questions they neglected. To strengthen parliamentary democracy in India, the participation of weaker section is very crucial. Therefore the study looked into the need and how Dalit MPs participate in Lok Sabha debates. If opportunities are given, they can debate any issue meaningfully, one of the studies has is proven.

Review of Literature

In the study of literature instead going by chronological order an attempt is made to in the thematic order such as Dalits in Indian Politics, Marginalisation of Dalits Politics, politics of exclusion Dalit Parliament members in India and Dalit politics and marginalisation in Andhra Pradesh.

Dalits in Indian Politics

The rise of the Dalit movement and politics of the country has witnessed over a hundred years of history. The establishment of British rule in India and assertion by ex-untouchables has brought a possibility of sharing the decision-making process by different sections of society, including the Dalits of the country.²³ In 1881 the British government introduced the Census for the administrative purpose.²⁴ The census as a system primarily tells where each community stands numerically, and with the figures, one can easily understand how much power or place one will have in a political system. The politics of numbers helped the Dalits more positively because

²² Sudha Pai and Avinash (eds) (20014), *The Indian Parliament: A Critical Appraisal*, Orient BlackSwan" New Delhi.

²³ Eleanor Zelliot, *From Untouchable to Dalit*, op.cit. pp. 149-177.

²⁴ Ram B. Bhagat (2006), "Census and Caste enumeration: British legacy and contemporary practice in India", *Genus*, 62(2), pp. 119-134

this helped in establishing their separate identity and the depressed class (Dalits) themselves had become conscious of their political importance and wanted to maintain and assert their independent identity.²⁵ The visionary leader Dr B.R. Ambedkar gave a new beginning creating a platform for the Dalits to enter into the political life of the country in the era marked by social and political upheaval. Who advocated for equal opportunities to every section of the society not only in social and economic life but also for the political empowerment.²⁶

The Independent Labour Party was the first political party of Dalits was established by B.R. Ambedkar in 1936.²⁷ Ambedkar gave the political movement with the focus of emancipation of Dalit in social, economic and political realms of the country.²⁸ The establishing of the political party was necessary for the political development in the country because the existing political parties run by upper castes were capable neither of representing the interests of the Scheduled Castes nor fighting for their cause.²⁹ Therefore Dr Ambedkar realised that one should work for the workers and to advance the welfare of depressed classes. In that context 1942, B.R. Ambedkar also later founded the All India Scheduled Caste Federation (AISCF), a political outfit of ex-untouchables.³⁰ That was considered to be a reformulation of his political plans. He formed a new political party the AISCF and limited it to the untouchables and waged battle for acquiring political power.³¹ With the objectives of securing political rights and representation for the Dalit people, he established the AISCF at an all India depressed classes' conference at Nagpur July 1942.³² In the post-Ambedkar leadership, the Republican Party of India (RPI) was the first political

²⁵ James Massey (1995), *Dalits in India: Religion as a source of bondage or liberation with special reference to Christians*, Manohar: New Delhi, pp.151-52.

²⁶ A.M. Rajasekhariah and Hemalata Jayaraj (1991), "Political Philosophy of B.R. Ambedkar", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 357-75

²⁷ Gail Omvedt (1994), *Dalits and The Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and The Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, Sage publications: New Delhi.

²⁸ Ronki Ram (2004), "Untouchability, Dalit Consciousness and the Ad-dharm movement in Punjab", *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, March, p. 347

²⁹ Prakash Louis (1997), *Political Sociology of Dalit Assertion*, Gyan Publishing House: Delhi.: p.156

³⁰ Gail Omvedt, *Dalits and The Democratic Revolution*, op.cit.

³¹ P. G. Jogdand (1991), *Dalit Movement in Maharashtra*, Kanak Publishing: New Delhi: p.56

³² Prakash Louis, *Political Sociology of Dalit Assertion*, op.cit., p. 56

party formed in India on October 03, 1957.³³ The RPI accorded acceptance to the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution such as justice, freedom, equality and brotherhood among citizens of India. The objective of the party was to organise the oppressed and to fight against the atrocities committed on the Dalits and to get their disabilities removed.³⁴

In north India the early decade of the 1970s, Kanshi Ram³⁵ emerged as a dynamic leader after B.R. Ambedkar who gained all India significance by establishing the various organisations. Initially, there were very few activists with a handful of educated employees from Pune and Delhi, established the All India Backward and Minority Community Employees Federation (BAMCEF) in 1973 and aspired to give it an all India dimension in the next five years.³⁶ After experimenting unity of various sections gained political experience and utilising the BAMCEF as an organic link organisation, Kanshi Ram decided to lay the foundation of a political party, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) on April 14, 1984, on the birth anniversary of B.R. Ambedkar to fulfil the political aspirations of the Dalit people.³⁷ The party adopted Ambedkar's ideology; therefore, within no time and soon became the political voice of the Dalits in India. BSP gave new hope to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in creating a strong platform in Indian politics under the leadership of their community leaders. While the RPI never managed to emerge as the political representative of the Dalits except for Maharashtra, the Bahujan Samaj Party gained momentum on this powerful platform in the 1990s. The founder of the BSP, Kanshi Ram, a disciple of Ambedkar's, drew his inspiration from his mentor's reading of

³³ Sanjay Paswan and Paramanshi Jaideva, (2002), *Encyclopaedia of Dalits in India*, Vol. I, Kalpaz Publishers, Delhi, p. 315

³⁴ Pradeep Kumar Yadav (2011), "Dalit Movement and Republican Party of India: a Case study of Political Emancipation of Dalits in Uttar Pradesh", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 72(2), 1368-76

³⁵ Kanshi Ram (1934-2006) founder of BSP, known as Bahujan Nayak or saheb, because his efforts and hard work Dalits acquired political power for first time in India succeeded in experimenting the social engineering in Indian politics, and became the leader all Bahujans (SC/ST, OBC and Minorities) not just Dalits, and practically next to the Ambedkar, however someone called him leader of just Dalits. See Badri Narayan (2014), *Kanshi Ram the Leader of Dalits*, Penguin, New Delhi.

³⁶ For more details see <http://www.bamcef.org.in/about/>

³⁷ Vivek Kumar and Uday Sinha (2001), *Dalit Assertion and Bahujan Samaj Party A Perspective from Below*, Bahujan Sahitya Samstan, Lucknow.

Dalit identity. In 1995, Mayawati³⁸ – a Dalit woman leader and confidant of Kanshi Ram, who was to succeed him after he had a stroke in 2003– became Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.³⁹ For the first time, the largest state of India gave was governance by a Dalit woman. She immediately became a source of pride for this community.⁴⁰

The Marginalisation of Dalit Politics

The representative democracy in India indicates a deepening of democracy and placed considerable emphasis on electoral politics in providing space for the expression of rights, participation and claims by disadvantaged groups.⁴¹ The traditional social stratification of Indian society has denied the Dalits of the country to access the public place in society. It was under the leadership of Dr Ambedkar the Dalits have gained not only social status but also the constitutional provisions enabled them to participate in the electoral process of the country. However, the Dalits have experienced political marginalisation since the British rule in the country.⁴² During British rule, when the discussion about political quotas was initiated demands were also made by the depressed classes, who had traditionally marginalised.⁴³ The British administration was receptive to the demands of their leader, B.R. Ambedkar and granted to the community of reserved seats with separate electorates in the Government of India Act, 1919 to the minorities and in the Communal Award of 1932 for Dalits.⁴⁴ However, M.K. Gandhi⁴⁵ strongly opposed the rights granted to Dalit communities by the British government. Dalits felt betrayed by Gandhi, particularly because of the

³⁸ Mayawati b. 1956 close confidant of BSP founder Kanshiram, considered as symbol of ‘Dalit Pride’ in Indian politics. Now president of BSP and four time chief minister India’s most populous state Uttar Pradesh (1995, 1997, 2002-03 and 2007-2012)

³⁹ Christophe Jaffrelot (2012), “The politics of caste identities” in Vasudha Dalmia and Rashmi Sadan eds (2012), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Indian Culture*, Cambridge University Press, New York, P.94

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 93-94

⁴¹ Zoya Hasan (2006), “Constitutional Equality and the Politics of Representation in India”, *Diogenes*, pp. 53-68

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Gerard Baader (1937), *The Depressed Classes of India: Their Struggle for Emancipation*, *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 26 (103), Pp.399-417

⁴⁴ Francesca Refsum Jensenius (2012), “Political Quotas in India: Perceptions of Constituent Political Representation”, *Asian Survey*, 52(02), pp.373-94

⁴⁵ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) also known as ‘Mahatma’ spearheaded the freedom struggle from 1920s and in 1930s led some struggles of temple entry for untouchables and called them as ‘Harijans’

election mode for the Dalit representatives. The mode is the result of the so-called “Poona-Pact”,⁴⁶ a compromise to which the Dalit leader B. R. Ambedkar was forced to agree, threatened by M.K Gandhi’s fast unto death in the year 1932 in Poona.⁴⁷

It was Gandhi’s massive and coercive resistance towards Ambedkar’s move because he deliberately wanted to perpetuate the dominance of the Brahmanic order over the Dalits and hold up their political powerlessness. Subsequently, with the agreement between Gandhi and Ambedkar, the British government included provisions for reserved constituencies for the depressed classes in the Government of India Act of 1935 and created a list (called a Schedule) of sub-castes considered depressed and thereby eligible to run for office in these constituencies.⁴⁸ The following table shows the number of parliamentary constituencies’ that reserved for SCs in the 15 largest Indian states according to the delimitation in the 1970s. Parliamentary Constituencies Reserved for SCs in the 15 Indian States, 1974-2008.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Poona Pact result of a compromise between caste Hindu leaders and Dr. Ambedkar on 24 September 1932, at Poona Maharashtra, to save the life of Gandhi. To alter the communal award and to initiate reserves constituencies rather separate electorate

⁴⁷ This pact have had negative impact on independent Dalit politics in India, see Vijay Mankar (2013), *Poona Pact: Historical Herms By Gandhi, Gandhism and Congress- An Inquiry*, Blue World Series, Nagpur.

⁴⁸ Francesca Refsum Jensenius (2012), “Political Quotas in India: Perceptions of Constituent Political Representation”, *Asian Survey*, 52 (2), pp. 373-394.

⁴⁹ In population wise these are the states have significant number of SC population. After 2008 order the constituencies reserved for SCs have been altered and came into force from 2009 general elections

Table 1.1 The Delimitation Order, 2008

State	Parliamentary Constituencies	% of SCs in the population	Constituencies reserved for SCs
Andhra Pradesh	42	13.3	6
Bihar	54	14.1	8
Gujarat	26	7.7	2
Haryana	10	18.9	2
Himachal Pradesh	4	22.2	1
Karnataka	28	13.1	4
Kerala	20	8.3	2
Madhya Pradesh	40	13.1	5
Maharashtra	48	6.0	3
Odisha	21	15.1	3
Punjab	13	24.7	3
Rajasthan	25	15.8	4
Tamil Nadu	39	17.7	7
Uttar Pradesh	85	21.2	18
West Bengal	42	19.9	8

Source: Election Commission of India, 26 November 2008, New Delhi.

The Constitution of India has duly made special provisions for the social and economic upliftment of Dalits to enable them to achieve upward social mobility as well as to gain political power in the process of direct participation and representation in the parliamentary democratic system of the country.⁵⁰ It found in a different part of the country that every time the Dalits challenge the status quo of the social order, and they become victims of atrocities.⁵¹ They face numerous impediments in exercising their constitutionally-mandated rights of representation and rule in democratic bodies.

⁵⁰ Vegard Iversen, Anirudh krishna and Kunal Sen (2017), “Rags to Riches? Intergenerational occupational mobility in India”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 52(44), pp.107-114

⁵¹ T. Kannan (2000), “Caste Violence and Dalit Consciousness: A Critical Interpretation of Dominance”, Working Paper 59, The Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, pp.1-27, also see Ghanshyam Shah (2006), *Untouchability in Rural India*, Sage India, New Delhi, Human Rights Watch (2007), “Hidden Apartheid Caste Discrimination against India’s “Untouchables”, New Delhi, pp. 1-12.

These are cases where Dalits have even killed along with their supporters for daring to file nominations in reserved constituencies.⁵² When elected, most Dalits have to face the opposition of well-entrenched vested interests in the exercise of their legitimate political powers.⁵³ In large parts of Tamil Nadu, some Dalits have never exercised their franchise, for fear of being attacked. Entire villages besieged by the goons of political interests adverse to the rise of the Dalits in politics.⁵⁴ In the post-independent period, says Jaffrelot, the role of the Congress has been to co-opt the leadership and issues of the Dalits and to promote the interests of the local ruling classes.⁵⁵

In the post-Ambedkar India, Dalits have become more assertive for their identity and their struggle targeted for equality and eradication of untouchability irrespective of their religious persuasion. However, gaining equal status was became a significant challenge for Dalit communities. Because initially almost for the first thirty years since Independence, the political hegemony in this process remained with the Congress, which was also the ruling party during this period. The attachment of untouchables to Congress party during the 1930s and 40s was far less than is sometimes assumed.⁵⁶ In the years after Independence untouchables support for Congress strengthened. From 1952 to 1989, except the post-Emergency elections of 1977. The untouchables tended to function in both national and State elections as a ‘vote bank’ for Congress.⁵⁷ In the political history of the country shows that Dalits have been victims of political marginalisation and the political rights of this community have remained in precarious conditions.

⁵² Human Rights Watch (1999), “Broken People Caste Violence Against India’s “Untouchables”, Human Rights Watch, New Delhi see <https://www.hrw.org/report/1999/03/01/broken-people/caste-violence-against-indias-untouchables>

⁵³ Stephen Cynthia and R. Prabhakar (2005), “Political Marginalisation and Empowerment of Dalits”, *Integral Liberation*, 9 (1), pp. 32 -37

⁵⁴ Human Rights Watch (1999), op.cit.,pp. 16-17

⁵⁵ Stephen Cynthia and R. Prabhakar, “Political Marginalisation and Empowerment of Dalits”, op.cit. pp. 32 -37

⁵⁶ See Oliver Mandelsohn and Marika Vicziany (1998), *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and State in Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

⁵⁷ Sharmista Pal and Sugatha Ghosh (2007), “Elite Dominance and Under investment in Mass Education: Disparities in Social Developemnt of Indian States 1960-92, Discussion Paper No. 2852, The Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, Germany

Although the Constitution of India has enabled the Dalits to take part in the electoral system, most of the Dalit leaders have remained with the Congress party as a trustworthy worker under the political master of the region. Most cases, it has also been found that they have marginalised by the so-called elite class political bosses of the different political parties. P.A. Sangma,⁵⁸ former Speaker, Lok Sabha, in his article “Functioning of Parliamentary Democracy in India” clearly mentioned about the internal party democracy, in any political party of the country. In the context of inner-party freedom, he stated that the choice of candidates by political parties for electoral contests not necessarily driven by transparent inner-party democracy. Generally, it is the Party High Command which has the final say in the fielding candidates. Therefore, various Political parties need to introspect on the "High Command Culture" as Sangma cautions multiple political parties in India. In this aspect, historically neither Congress nor BJP both major political forces are not immune to this.

Not just Congress and BJP even the major left forces have not behaved. Differently, the Administrations of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)⁵⁹ between 1977 and 1982, there were even more Brahmins than in the Congress Governments.⁶⁰ There were many Scheduled Caste members of the West Bengal Assembly have almost no chance of rising to the position of a Minister. Even at the Governments formed after the elections of 1952, 1957, 1962, there was no minister from Dalit communities,⁶¹ it is not just Dalits not offered positions in their governments even Muslims, and OBC also denied their due share in West Bengal Cabinets.

The careful analysis is also essential to understand the organisational wings of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and their ideological orientation of the party. Where they are dominant like in south Kerala and West Bengal Dalits are scarcely represented at the highest levels of the Party. In Kerala, those who have risen to lead

⁵⁸ See P A Sangma, “ Functioning of parliamentary democracy in India”, 4 April 2012, <http://www.vifindia.org/transcriptions-paper/2012/04/04/functioning-of-parliamentary-democracy-in-india>, [accessed on 4 April 2015]

⁵⁹ CPIM formed in 1964 separated from CPI. Which is a strong cadre based ideological force in India. The has ruled Wes Bengal consecutively for 33 years 1977-2011, have also ruled Kerala, Tripura have strong presence in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu.

⁶⁰ Vivek Kumar (2004), “BSP and Dalit Aspirations”, Economic and Political Weekly, 39(18), pp.1778-81

⁶¹ Himanshu Charan Sadangi (2008) *Dalit the India's Downtrodden*, Isha Books, Delhi, p.289

party positions from poor backgrounds have almost always come from ‘proletarian’ unions of the towns.⁶² Dalit labour confined in Kerala just as agricultural labourers. It is considered to be a dream that the poor Dalit could become leaders in their ranks.⁶³ At Bengal, until the late sixties, the party was mostly an urban and high-caste organisation.⁶⁴ But most of their members come from various scheduled caste communities from rural areas and agricultural labourers.⁶⁵ It could be an illusion that that poor section emerges as top leaders in the party. It is also essential to understand the internal party democracy (caste composition of its senior members) of the Marxist ideology political party in different states. However, it has been considered the Communists led governments of West Bengal, and Kerala has been among the best state governments for their party in India in terms of both honesty and service to their more impoverished citizens.⁶⁶ However, many people critical of these governments because of their ignorance of the caste question.

Politics of Exclusion: Dalit members of parliament in India

There is extensive literature available on the political reservation and its impact on the overall socio-economic development of Dalits.⁶⁷ These studies seem to suggest that special protections reservations in the political sphere been not proactive in the change of Dalits status in socio-economic and political domains.⁶⁸ Despite agreeing

⁶² Ibid., 249

⁶³ Ibid 249-51

⁶⁴ Alok Mukapdyay and Ashok Mukapadyay (1994), “Politics in West Bengal”, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 55(3), pp.321-34

⁶⁵ Utsa Patnaik (1983), “On the Evolution of the Class of Agricultural Labourers in India”, *Social Scientist*, 11(7), pp. 3-24, also see Hinashu (2008), *Dalit the India’s Downtrodden* op.cit., pp. 249-52

⁶⁶ Oliver Mandelsohn and Marika Vicziany (1998), *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and State in Modern India*, op. cit., pp. 203-37

⁶⁷ For details see, Francesca Refsum Jensenius (2012), “Political Quotas in India: Perceptions of Constituent Political Representation”, *Asian Survey*, 52 (2): 373-394; Arun Kaushik and Rupayan Pal (2012), “How Representative Has the Lok Sabha Been?”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII (19): 74-78.; Narender Kumar (2004), *Dalit Policies, Politics and Parliament*, Shipra Publications: New Delhi. Gopal Guru (1986), “Political Reservations for the Scheduled Castes: A Politics of Reformism”, in Ram Gopal Singh (ed.) *The Depressed Classes of India: Problems and Prospects*, B.R. Publications Corporation, New Delhi: 81-90; Gopal N. Gawarguru (1985), *The party politics in reserved constituencies*, op.cit.; Marc Galenter (1979), “Compensatory Discrimination in Political Representation: A Preliminary understanding of India’s Thirty-year Experience with Reserves seats in Legislatures”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 14 (7&8), pp.437-54.

⁶⁸ Narender Kumar (2008), “Formulation of Inclusive Policies in Parliament”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(29), pp. 80-87

with the referenced works, interestingly some of the studies propose for scraping of political reservations.⁶⁹

Dalits are one of the most disadvantaged and most deprived social categories in the country. In recent times, they have emerged as a leading protest group against subordination based on societal beliefs and customs.⁷⁰ Narender Kumar argues that political representation in Lok Sabha and other constitutional safeguards for more than half a century, Dalits remain at the mercy of the State. And those managing the State apparatus do not formulate the necessary policies. And when they attempt, do not adopt effective measures to get the policies implemented.⁷¹ Members of Parliament primarily take a minor agenda and not the radical one. That could lead to a considerable transformation in the existential realities of Dalit masses at large. Its reflections on historical, political, social and constitutional aspects regarding Dalits would help to visualise the policies needed and efforts required materialising them. While Rajeev Dhavan (2008)⁷² argues that the parliament does not discuss at all the issues of reservations to the Dalits; therefore, the special protections measure and benefits are not reaching the needy.

Narender Kumar (2008) in the light of his analysis on the formulation of inclusive policies in the Parliament, recommended that Parliament and especially the Dalit representatives in it needs to impress upon the government. For formulating inclusive plans in the areas, where they have no legal claims, such as public schools, judges in Supreme Court and high courts, and above all in the private sector, and proper implementation of land reforms.⁷³ A regular discussion on the reports of National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Tribes (NCSCCT) should ensure so that the MPs are aware of the contemporary Dalit conditions and can pursue or pressurise the government to formulate policies accordingly.⁷⁴ The MPs are expected not only to protest against the government's attitude of neglecting their opinions but

⁶⁹ Alister Mcmillan (2005), *Standing At the Margins: Representation and Electoral Reservation in India*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, pp. 308-337

⁷⁰ Narender Kumar (2004), *Dalit Policies, Politics and Parliament*, op. cit.

⁷¹ Narender Kumar (2008), "Formulation of Inclusive Policies in Parliament", op. cit. pp. 84-87

⁷² Rajeev Dhavan (2008), *Reserved! How Parliament Debated Reservations 1995-2007*, Rupa & Co: New Delhi.

⁷³ Narender Kumar (2008), "Formulation of Inclusive Policies in Parliament", op. cit., pp.80-87

⁷⁴ Narender Kumar (2004), *Dalit Policies, Politics and Parliament*, op. cit. pp.22-23

also to walk out of the House to register their resentment. The Question Hour,⁷⁵ the discussion on starred questions, in particular, is also required not merely on the subject of policy implementation but for policy formulation as well. Regarding containing atrocities on SC/ STs, there is a need to fix responsibility on the concerned administrative apparatus, and if no change takes place, then the chief minister of the respective states need to be made accountable. Measures should also be taken to sensitise society against prevalent attitudes, through mass media and civil society initiatives so that inclusive policies could make a dent on the social exclusion of SC/STs.

One has to consider further that the political exclusion is forces these sections prevents freedom of expression and equality of opportunity in the same democratic structure also the denial of citizenship rights such as political participation meaningfully and enjoy the rule of law. In this background, some of the major trends among parliamentarians brought out by Inter-Parliamentary Union (2010)⁷⁶ in the form of interviews with the MPs are that some MPs are arguing that the only path to power for marginalised is by gaining influence in mainstream parties.⁷⁷ Few other MPs rejected this model and insisted that the voices of minority and indigenous people will never substantively included in the party platforms or legislative priorities of mainstream parties. Without separate parties, they argue, the MPs, Dalits and other minority groups will always risk being co-opted by the larger parties. Similarly, some MPs advocate for reserved seats or quotas, while others reject them.⁷⁸

These differences of opinion come out forcefully in several of the (name studies few studies discussed below. Beyond the challenges of building cross-party support for Dalit rights, there are other specific obstacles that these MPs face. Others reported that the political system itself, and particularly the lack of transparent decision-making in political parties, was a barrier for Dalits. In addition to discrimination, the following studies on parliamentarians mentioned that the issues of resources and the cost of campaigning as an obstacle.

⁷⁵ Question hour is the first hour of the sitting of LokSbha where members can ask questions on any aspects of administrative activity

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Powley, *Diversity in Parliament*, op. cit. pp. 54-56

⁷⁷ Ibid p.8

⁷⁸ Ibid. pp. 56-58

Gopal Guru (1979), in his study of Wasim, reserved constituency in Maharashtra shown that how the emergence of the democratic political process in India has provided structural institutions like reserved constituencies to the Scheduled Caste community, to bridge the inequalities which have existed in the social system for centuries.⁷⁹ In a reserved constituency the Scheduled Castes have no political competition with other categories but among themselves how the hierarchical order among these scheduled castes along with other factors plays an essential role in the political process. He had highlighted various shortcomings and weaknesses in the system of political reservations, by looking at the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes some form of political protection is still needed to improve the conditions of deprived sections of the society. He suggested various methods to modify the present form of the reserved constituencies in India.

Barthwal (1969), rightly pointed out the problems in reserved constituencies in his study that he claimed the Scheduled Castes have not been able to win the confidence of the general public.⁸⁰ One can easily imagine, therefore, the fate of the representation of Scheduled Castes if the provision relating to reservation of seats in their favour were to be deleted or were to lapse from the Constitution. There is a need for more Scheduled Caste members to be representatives against unreserved seats. That can achieve when all the political parties agree that they will put up an increasing number of Scheduled Caste candidates against unreserved seats. Alternatively, on an experimental basis, the Articles relating to reservation of seats could be suspended for about five years, and a study made to assess the performance of Scheduled Caste candidates in the elections. If they fare well, there would be no need to restore the Articles relating to reservation of seats.

Vidhya Sagar (1984)⁸¹ his study of Ibrahimpatnam reserved constituency focused on caste and politics in Andhra Pradesh. He claimed that the main focus of the research was to examine the working of the system of the reserved constituency

⁷⁹ Gopal N. Gawarguru (1979), "Politics of Scheduled Castes in Reserved Constituencies: A Study of Washim Constituency in Maharashtra", unpublished MPhil Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

⁸⁰ C. P. Barthwal, (1969), "Representation of Scheduled Castes in Parliament and State Legislatures" op.cit. 1451-54

⁸¹ Kasa Vidya Sagar (1984), *Politics of Reserved Constituencies: A Case study of Ibrahimpatnam Constituency, Ranga Reddy District, Andhra Pradesh, 1978-83*, Unpublished MPhil Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi.

and to point out the inherent weaknesses. Where he concluded in his study that these legislators are strengthening the primordial loyalties to the advantage of dominant castes and also this provision has resulted into emergence of rich among these sections and neglecting the masses from the same social groups and they are also identifying their interests with that of dominant castes.

The background just mentioned in light of the above, and the present work aims to understand some of the above-mentioned conclusions and critically evaluate the accountability of elected parliament members from SC reserved constituencies in the state of Andhra Pradesh. In response or examining existing literature, the study is trying to find out the reasons for degrading and unhealthy debates in the house. The study will look into politics in the reserved constituencies and its impact on practices of democratic norms. The central focus remains on why there is no desirable progress of Dalits in India despite political leaders, and legislators are coming from the same communities.

Dalit Politics and Marginalisation in Andhra Pradesh

The study seeks to explore the Dalits in political arena leadership and their role in policy formulation in Parliament for Dalit masses. Therefore, leadership plays a crucial role in social movements, particularly in the process of mobilisation and in the articulation of ideology and aspirations. Guidance is also critical in social organisations, in framing strategies and policies for development. The question of leadership acquires a special significance for those on the margins in their struggles for inclusion and participation. While the existing literature on social movements and organisations recognises this critical role of leadership, it tends to ignore the process of its formation and its internal dynamics. This study aims to identify possible individual Dalit leaders of Andhra Pradesh who in their way provided leadership to the Dalit movement the focus is primarily on ‘political leadership’, mainly the elected representative from reserved parliamentary constituencies from the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh.

There are six Scheduled Caste (SC) and Two Scheduled Tribe (ST) Parliament constituencies in the fourteenth Loksabha of the State, those are, Amalapuram (SC),⁸²

⁸² East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh State.

Badrachalam (ST),⁸³ Nagarkurnool (SC),⁸⁴ Nellore (SC),⁸⁵ Parvathipuram (ST),⁸⁶ Paddapalle (SC),⁸⁷ Siddipet (SC),⁸⁸ and Tirupati (SC).⁸⁹

Given the political representative mechanism that was adopted, there is a scope to raise the voice by political leaders of Dalits. The role of these leaders in the areas of Dalit education, employment and implementation of various welfare programmes towards the upliftment of Dalit communities, to be studied.

The radical Dalit movement during the colonial period and post independent era are instrumental in Dalit consciousness and assertion among all the Dalit sub-castes. Uniting all these communities had been a challenge even to Ambedkar, in recent times how far the Dalit leaders addressed the issue? Whether the independent and autonomous assertion of each sub-caste liquidated the consolidation of the solidarity of Dalits, if that is so, what could be the way out and what should be the responsibility of the leaders, need to be analysed. Does the conflict among Dalit sub-castes mere conspiracy of the upper castes or it calls for the genuine introspection from the side of Dalit leadership, would be evaluated. If all the sub-castes comes out and raises their voices against atrocities committed by upper castes unitedly, why they can't come to the peaceful resolution of the internal contradictions isn't it leadership deficit in Dalit movement in AP. Therefore, what could be the main issues whether sharing of resources and opportunities equally or perpetuate enmity among them would be interesting to question.

In the first phase of Adi-Andhra movement, Dalit leaders put forth their demands for the Dalits to the Government.⁹⁰ Some of them include permission for using schools, inns, wells, employment for Dalit youth, introducing technical and vocational courses in the curriculum, scholarships for continuing education, and distribution of wasteland to landless Dalits.

⁸³ Khammam district, Telangana State.

⁸⁴ Mahabubnagar district, Telangana State.

⁸⁵ Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh State.

⁸⁶ Vizianagaram district, Andhra Pradesh State.

⁸⁷ Karimnagar and Parts of Adilabad districts, Telangana State.

⁸⁸ Medak district, Telangana State.

⁸⁹ Chittore district, Andhra Pradesh State.

⁹⁰ Yagati Chinna Rao (2014), "Contours of Dalit Movement in South India: A Search for Egalitarian Social Order", in Ashok K. Pankaj and Ajit K. Pankaj (eds) *Subalternity, Exclusion and Social Change in India*, Foundation/CUP, New Delhi, pp. 173-227.

Liberal and modern legalised governance system and changing economic and cultural aspects contributed a lot to bring about many positive changes in the living conditions of the Dalits in Andhra region. Besides, a few Dalit leaders like Undru Tathaih, Golla Chandraiah, Tadi Swamy, Kona Venkanna, Kusuma Darmanna, Jala Rangaswamy, Jala Mangamma, Bojja Appalaswamy and others started schools, hostels and cottage industries.⁹¹ These measures led to the increase of consciousness among Dalits'. It means the colonial liberal institutional mechanism; reformist freedom struggle efforts and Dalits educated leadership within the progressive framework of struggles have contributed to Dalits' interactive and autonomous struggles in colonial Andhra. The critical initiative needs to be mention here that conscious Dalit leaders who contributed to promoting the education of their community were Jala Rangaswamy, who along with this wife Jala Mangamma, established schools at Ramadasupeta, Kontamuru, Kolamuru, Rayudu Pakalu and Palacharla. They also initiated a night school at Kolamuru.

Not only that leaders such as Jala Ranga Swami,⁹² Bojja Appala Swami,⁹³ among other first-generation Dalit intellectuals led 'self-respect movement' in the coastal districts of Andhra, particularly in Krishna, East Godavari and Guntur districts.⁹⁴ They conducted provincial and district conferences to bring about awareness among Dalits. Co-operative societies had been set up in Amalapuram, Chellapally, Kandhikuppa and Kakinada to facilitate economic needs to carry out the movement. In a way, this helped Dalits to become independent of upper castes for their conferences and day-to-day needs. They realised the educational inability of Dalits to fight against exploitation and discrimination some leaders had constructed schools and hostels for Dalits during 1920-30 in Ananthavaram, Allavaram, Mogalakudhuru, Kandhikuppam, Ramadasupet, Kontamuru, Kolanuru, Rayudupaakalu, Palacherla, Ramachandrapuram and Rajamandri. Notable among them were Undru Thathaiah, Bojjala Appala Swami, Jala Ranga Swami and Jala

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Jala Ranga Swamy wrote the first Dalit novel "Rytu Pilla" (Farmer's daughter 1938), he was organic intellectual of Dalits in colonial Andhra.

⁹³ Bojja Appala Swamy (?2005). Prominent Dalit figure in colonial Andhra he started literary magazine called *Jyothi*. In 1952 he was elected to AP legislative Assembly from Alamapuram as Scheduled Caste Federation candidate and in 1955 as independent, later joined Congress

⁹⁴ Yagati Chinna Rao, "Contours of Dalit Movement in South India: A Search for Egalitarian Social Order", op.cit. 173-227.

Mangamma. Jala Ranga Swami even went to the extent of begging to feed the students housed in the privately managed hostels. That is the reason he received the award 'Seva Durandara' and 'Adi-Andhra Mahatma'. Dalit leaders in coastal Andhra had attacked the practice of caste discrimination in the print media and through cultural programs. Those efforts have raised consciousness and unity among Dalits to fight for their rights in post-colonial times.

However, by 1940s, due to internal differences among Dalit leaders, the autonomous Dalit movement started declining, and almost all the Dalit leaders got observed either into the Congress or the Communist movement. For instance, more than 90 per cent of the Dalits in the region were in Congress by 1947 and worked as vanguards for them. Many Dalits participated in the national movement and the Congress-led activities in Andhra, more prominently in the 1940s.⁹⁵

According to Yagati Chinna Rao, "all the political parties including Congress, communists and non-Brahmins have used Dalits for their self-interest, leaving them humiliated but politicised at every stage. All of them thought of having the support of Dalits to win over opponents. They have awakened Dalits for their political benefits. And helped Dalits to come out of the myth created by upper caste Hindus that they would fight for Dalit cause. That paved the way for an independent and social transformative Dalit movement in Coastal Andhra".⁹⁶

In Nizam ruled Hyderabad state, many autonomous Dalit organisations started since 1906. Medari Bagyaiah (popularly known as Bhagya Reddy Varma) founded 'Jagan Mitra Mandali', which was considered to be the first of its kind in Hyderabad. This Mandali campaigned against drugs; spread the idea of the importance of education and scientific knowledge, vegetarianism, the significance of Buddhism, shared dinner for the all Dalit communities to create the feeling of brotherhood feeling among the Dalit sub-castes. The period of 1906-40, witnessed serious attempts from leaders like Bhagya Reddy Varma and Arigay Rama Swami in protecting the self-respect of the Dalits. They demanded proportionate equal share for Dalits in all spheres like education, employment and state administrative bodies during the Nizam's rule'. The Dalit movement took a back seat in Nizam state with the death of

⁹⁵ Yagati Chinna Rao (2003), "Rise and Growth of Dalit Movement in Andhra, 1906-1946", *Indian Social Science Review*, 5(1) pp. 117-153

⁹⁶ Ibid

Bhagya Reddy Varma in 1939. Besides, the strength of Congress and communist parties in the fight against Nizam rule and internal differences among Dalit leadership did not give much scope for independent Dalit organisations to grow. Thus the movement became weak.

During that time Hyderabad Dalit leaders like B.S. Venkat Rao, Arigay Rama Swami and J.H. Subbaiah started Suppressed Class Association, Scheduled Caste Federation for creating the self-respect consciousness among Dalits from the village level.⁹⁷ But there are differences between two groups of Dalits on the matter of reforms proposed by Nizam in 1947. While P.R. Venkat Swami, Shyam Sunder agreed to the changes, J.H. Subbaiah and Rama Swami opposed them. These differences among Dalit leaders confused Dalits about whom to support. They left with no option except to join the famous communist and Congress parties. As Gail Omvedt (1994)⁹⁸ rightly opined "even though Dalit movement in Hyderabad state was highly revolutionary, independent and active, due to differences among the leaders the movement could not spread to the rural areas". As Kancha Ilaiah (1995)⁹⁹ observed that Dalits benefited by reservations, their educated youth and Government employees erected statues of Ambedkar in rural and towns, and widely celebrated his birth and death anniversaries during 1960-70. Due to this, Dalits were partially emotionally empowered. Political reservations for educated and empowered Dalits became a bridge between the Dalit masses and other civil society. As a result of Damodharam Sanjeevaiah, a Dalit made Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁰⁰ Thus many Dalits could rise to the position of becoming an M.L.A, or MP at district and state levels. Given the political representative mechanism that we adopted has voiceless representative space of reserved political leaders, no Dalit was powerful enough to influence politics in the state, with their independent ideology. Unable to digest the increasing empowerment of the Dalits, the upper castes in the state resorted to attacks on Dalits in rural areas during 1960-80s.

⁹⁷ K.Y Ratnam (2008), "Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh", Working Paper No. 13, East West Centre, Washington, p.4

⁹⁸ Gail Omvedt (1994), *Dalits and The Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and The Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, Sage publications: New Delhi. pp. 291-92.

⁹⁹ See Kancha Ilaiah (1995), "Caste or Class" or Caste-Class: A Study in Dalit Bahujan Consciousness in Andhra Pradesh in 1980s". Research-in-progress papers "History and Society", N.M.M.L., New Delhi.

¹⁰⁰ K. Gangaiah (2007), "Emergence of Dalit Movements and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Influence", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 68(1), pp. 935-43

Many unnoticed atrocities on Dalits by upper caste in Andhra Pradesh took place during 1960-70s. The Dalits' response to these savage attacks varied from region to region. While in coastal Andhra, Dalits adopted a liberal approach, the leaders of Telangana took up Marxist revolutionary and Naxalite path. The nature of Dalit struggles in coastal Andhra and Telangana differ because of their varied experiences with liberal democratic setup and the history of having anti-feudal struggles, respectively.

The prevalence of sub-caste movements while looking internal democratisation within Dalits has led to these conditions. Dalitbahujan parties - BSP could not attain the desirable electoral political position in Indian politics, particularly in Andhra Pradesh. Dalit leaders as a united force failed to question the state effectively for withdrawing from welfare schemes and misusing of funds and legal acts to protect Dalits. The present Dalit leadership started responding to issues like the attacks on Dalits based on sub-castes. Thus, it is not able to encourage as the United Dalit force that did in the 1980s. It has given space to all the liberal political parties to use Dalits as their supporters in elections by dividing them into groups. However, it does not mean that the Identity political mobilisation and constructing the theory and politics on subjectivity has no meaning at all. It has changed the methodology in writing the history and articulating the problems in general, particularly Dalits. It made the scholars more meticulous and democratic in studying and constructing the Dalits' struggles.

The intra-caste agitation among the Dalits of Andhra, though disturbing, calls for an urgent enquiry into the nuances of the contemporary Dalit movement. This development, as is evident, is a blow to the very survival and unity of a broader Dalit movement. However, the Madiga demand was the culmination of their discontent and disbelief in Malas 'benignity'.¹⁰¹ Though the Madiga Dandora's claim is logical, the nature of their agitation is a matter of concern. The Madiga leadership has the possibility of contemplating alternative strategies and evolving a procedure, wherein other groups find space for deliberating on harnessing support from among all the sub-castes. Such tactics necessitate more space and time for deliberations, but it would have broader universal appeal with crucial implications for the Dalit

¹⁰¹ P. Muthaiah (2004), "Dandora: The Madiga Movement for equal identify and Social Justice in Andhra Pradesh", *Social Action*, 54(2), pp.184-209

movement. Absence of such an initiation for cooperation has sown a deep sense of resentment and antagonism among the Dalits.

Some of the significant contemporary challenges to the Dalit movement are the problem of mobilisation and accommodation of relatively less developed sub-castes. Within the category of Dalits and the emergence of the Hindu right and active support of some of the Dalit communities to it, besides these, the Dalits are further excluded and marginalised with the ongoing process of globalisation and privation of the public sector in large scale.¹⁰² Whatever the limited fruits of the Constitutional mechanisms, i.e. reservations, and the emergence of the Dalit middle class has covertly or overtly been a victim to the bourgeois political line of thinking.¹⁰³ How do persons once stigmatised try to create political viability and a social worth for themselves? Whether the Dalit ideology is accommodating the real issue of poverty or is it encouraging the Dalit elites to think of their caste groups and secure special privileges for them in a very partisan manner?¹⁰⁴ Some Dalit politicians who often project themselves as guardians of Dalit identity but ignore the interests of all the Dalit communities. And they are being lured to the state-oriented affirmative programmes for promoting their sectarian interests (though it a significant issue to be raised but how far so-called affirmative action plans effectively implemented or its need to improve and continued should also not to ignored). The future holds the answer to how the emerging Dalit leadership would be involved in eliminating the grievances of the Dalit masses so that a radical character of the movements could see at the pan-Indian level.

The Dalits of Andhra Pradesh are one of the earliest groups to start their organisations for their uplift and also to organise an autonomous vibrant Dalit movement outside the sphere of any political outfits, and to imbibe Ambedkar's ideology. However, the Dalit activities of Andhra Pradesh have often fallen to factionalism, co-optation by political forces and divisive policies of the State and

¹⁰² P. Kesava Kumar (2014), *Political Philosophy of Ambedkar: An Inquiry into the Theoretical Foundations of the Dalit Movement*, Kalpaz Publication: New Delhi.

¹⁰³ Rajsekaer Basu (2013), "Recapturing the Moments of Dalit History and Politics: A Journey from the Colonial to the Post Colonial", Presidential Address, (section III modern India, Indian History Congress 74th session), Ravenshaw University, Cuttack 28-30 December.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Deliege (2010), "Introduction: Is there still Untouchability in India", in Michel Aktor and Robert Deliege (eds.) *From Stigma to Assertion: Untouchability Identity and Politics in Early and Modern India*, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen. Pp. 13-30

Government. That has weakened the autonomous Dalit movement of Andhra Pradesh and has denied the Dalits the social and political space they could have acquired through their collective mobilisation.

Research Questions

- What is the nature of the political marginalisation of Dalits in India?
- Why not the legislative process able to prevent violence on Dalits in India?
- Which parliamentarians is better representing the issues of Dalits, whether MP from the mainstream or traditional political parties or Dalit's led Political parties?
- Did the Dalit MPs find enough space to voice their opinions in the Parliament? Or did they find the House to be hostile, isolating or discriminatory towards them?
- What are the issues the Dalit MP's of A.P raised in the Parliament to deal with the structural and systemic discriminations of their communities?
- Do the rules and procedures of the Parliament obstruct Dalit MP's from influencing the debates and the legislative agenda?

Hypothesis

- The rules in Indian Parliament and procedures are not allowed representatives of Dalits not only to serve in parliament but also to influence parliamentary debates and the legislative agenda.
- The desire for active participation of marginalised Dalits in democratic processes may strengthen the parliamentary democracy in India.
- Despite political reservations in parliament, Dalits of Andhra Pradesh not been able to get benefits from their respective elected members.

Scope and Limitations of the study

This study aims to understand the politics in reserved constituencies and the expectations from the Dalits. The role of elected MPs in overall betterment of these marginalised sections in Andhra Pradesh. This study would focus on two reserved constituencies, Nagar Kurnool and Amalapuram in the AP. Geographically these two seats, one is present day Telangana, and AP and both the MPs come from two main

SC sub-castes, i.e. *Madiaga* and *Mala* respectively. The MPs participation in the parliament debates and it would try to find whether the elected members can feel that they are accountable to Dalits though they not elected just by Dalit votes. But they belong to Dalits castes, does that making them realise or not their responsibility. The study also tries to understand what it means to parliamentary democracy at large the active participation of Dalit MPs. The research aims to bridge the gap between Dalit political consciousness and development of parliamentary democracy in India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular.

Objectives

- To find out the marginalisation of Dalit politics in India
- To understand the politics in reserved constituencies in Andhra Pradesh
- To know the expectations of the Dalits from their elected representatives
- To examine the participation of the MP's elected from the reserved constituencies in the Parliament
- To find out whether the MPs feel accountable to their electorate, in particular to the Dalits in their respective constituencies
- To examine the strategies adopted by the Dalit MPs in the Parliament
- Does the socio-political consciousness of the elected Dalit MP's and their participation in the Parliament, help in strengthening the parliamentary democracy in India

Research Methodology

This study based on both analytical and exploratory methods were adopted. Understand the Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh, the historical and systematic approaches employed. The study also used both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The study used intensive fieldwork in reserved constituencies of Andhra Pradesh both in Amalapuram and Nagar Kurnool. The study consulted both primary and secondary sources: government documents, interviews and parliamentary debates and secondary: books, articles in academic journal and newspaper reports, sources of data collection.

Chapterisation

1. Introduction

The chapter will discuss the background of the study and objectives, scope, methodology. The section also provides the conceptual framework of the study.

2. Dalit Politics in Andhra Pradesh: A Historical View

The chapter will discuss the old phrases and events of the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. It also provides the details of different shades in colonial times both Andhra and Nizam state.

3. Contemporary Dalit Politics in Andhra Pradesh

The chapter will provide details of post-independence Dalit politics in the state. It gives details of the emergence of radical Dalit politics in the AP. The section also discusses challenges and opportunities through those politics for Dalits in the region.

4. Case Study of Amalapuram Parliamentary Constituency 2004-09

The chapter will discuss the case study of Amalapuram parliamentary reserved constituency. How G.V. Harsha Kumar Dalit MP has responded to the problems of Dalits in the constituency. What are the issues he could focus on during the 14th Loksabha period, discusses. His political career in the Congress party and his experiences of 'political exclusion and discrimination' chapter will also be focused. Since he was first-time Member of Parliament and how far he has coped with the function of the parliament regarding rules and regulations. And chapter will explore what his suggestions were for the better functioning of Lower house in relation with the new members.

5. Case Study of Nagarkurnool Parliamentary Constituency 2004-09

The chapter will discuss the nature of participation of Nagarkurnool Dalit MP Dr M. Jagannath in the Lok Sabha. Since he was a three-time elected member of the house, will focus on how were his experiences in the house. What were the issues he has concentrated in Lok Sabha debates will discussion. Whether he could make emphasis on Dalit topics in House if so what were those, will explore. The chapter will take into consideration the problems he faced at the party and also in the house.

6. Conclusion

The chapter will present the findings of the study and provides specific general observations in concluding remarks. The section also summarises the experiences of political discrimination and exclusion Dalits MPs both in house and their respective political parties.

Chapter II

Dalit Politics in Andhra Pradesh: Historical Overview

The Dalit movement in India in continuation of the broader social revolutionary tradition become active in the political arena during the 1920s. Under the visionary leadership of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, it had realised the legislative power was the master key could resolve the hardships in social and economic fields. The movement took two paths: one was agitational politics and the other participants in parliamentary politics during the same time. The agitational politics were mainly the struggles against inhuman treatment or protesting untouchability, among others.¹ And the other is political participation in parliamentary bodies from village to parliament levels. The Dalit movement has never been in the same vigour throughout the country, but the movement led by Ambedkar and his intellectual contribution had enjoyed considerable influence at all India level and continues to do so. For the comprehensive understanding of and nuances of these movements throughout the country, one needs to study the regional specific and castes specific struggles to better understand the dynamics of Dalit movement and politics in India.²

The key focus of this chapter is to identify and analyse the Dalit movement. The area of enquiry is colonial south India. Where it concentrates on *Telugu* speaking regions of Madras presidency, it also looks at the then Nizam state of Hyderabad. And it compares both. The chapter divided into four main sections. First is the Dalit mobilisation in Andhra. Second is on Hyderabad. Comparing both regions in the third and fourth is on the challenges and opportunities for the subsequent period. That means it would provide the way to go into post-independence and post Nizam period respectively. The central focus would be on their political participation. That would be in local bodies, state legislatures and their mobilisations.

¹ Ghanshyam Shah, (2001), *Dalit Identity and Politics Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*, vol.2, Sage Publications: New Delhi. p.34

² Shekar Bandopadhyay, (2000), "Transfer of Power and crisis of Dalit politics in India, 1945-47", *Modern Asian Studies*, 34(4): 893-942, also Valerian Rodrigues, (2015), "Future of Ambedkarite Politics", Public Meeting Notes on 24 July 2015, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Dalit Movement in Colonial Andhra

The colonial times in coastal Andhra or in general, the main focus of the Dalits' consciousness was to wage relentless struggles against caste discrimination, oppressive social order and the barbaric practice of untouchability. These movements have never confined to social oppression. Given the fact that in those times, the anti-colonial movements and social reform movements prompted them to take different forms of struggles. Therefore, the Dalits have realised the need for political power and gave importance to the political mobilisation, and at the same time, they haven't ignored the economic exploitation.³

In south India, especially in the Andhra, the early struggles of Dalits were demanded free education. Their demand in both local bodies and outside forced the government led by the Justice Party, and the British Raj were also taken an interest in Dalit education in 1920 and 30s. However, the dominant castes resisted the government move and prevented school to the Dalits.⁴ Adi Andhra Mahasabha and Congress-led Harijan Seva Sangh also tried to educate Dalits. Notably, the local leadership from the Dalits demanded free education for them despite the resistance from the upper castes.⁵ That was crucial and the starting point of the Dalit movement in colonial Andhra, and it is the central focus of this chapter to look into how the Dalit movement evolved during the same period in Andhra and then Nizam state. As far as education in colonial Andhra concerned the Brahmins, Komatis and Kamma, Reddy, Kapu and Velmas were the enormous beneficiaries of British educational initiatives in the early 20th century and traditionally have their *patashalas*.⁶ However, the Dalits were to wait for Christian missionaries to provide them with education and spiritual freedom during the colonial rule in Andhra. The educational attainment of the Dalit or any other demand for that matter was/is always had stiff opposition from the caste

³ Raj Sekhar Basu, "Contextualising Dalit Movement in India" in Mujtaba Khan (ed.); V.Suresh, "Dalit Movement in India", in T.V. Satyamurthy (ed.), *Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India*, (Delhi: 1996).

⁴ Adapa Satyanarayana, (2005), *Dalits and Upper Castes: Essays in Social History*, Kanishka Publishers and Distributors: New Delhi. pp. 30-47.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

Hindus, and the British had to succumb to their pressure in the name of non-interference in the religious matters.⁷

The major initiatives of the Dalits during the colonial period only be understood by a variety of issues and incidents of colonial times. Those were mainly, first the development of education by the colonial state and Christian missionaries, second emergence of caste organisations, and the third co-option tactics of the various political mobilisations including Congress Party and left parties.

Dalits in coastal Andhra for their educational status mainly owing to the efforts of colonial rulers. As far as their education was concerned, the year 1893 was the landmark.⁸ The state-sponsored proposals considered as ‘Magna Carta’ of *Panchama* education has come into operation.⁹ These initiatives much helped them. The then British government also took an interest in providing schools to Dalits in their localities by 1920s. Not only that the government also established the labour department and labour schools for them.¹⁰

Indeed, the British led initiatives and the Christian missionary’s philanthropic activities have helped Dalits. The betterment in education was the source of inspiration for them to question their social oppression. Thereby the then untouchables were started organising themselves in coastal Andhra. In that direction, the first significant political activity registered in the year 1917.¹¹ In Bezawada the first provincial *panchama* conference was held. Notably, that supported by the caste Hindu social reformers. However, the socially cautious Dalit leader from Hyderabad Bhagya Reddy Varma insisted that conference the Dalit should not be called themselves as *Panchamas*. And on his persistence Dalits were started calling

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Y. Vaikutham. (1983), “Panchama Education in Andhra A Case study of British Social Policy 19th and early 20th Centuries”, Indian History Congress Proceedings, Kurukshetra pp. 448-53.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Chinnaiah Jangam (2016) “Dilemmas of Dalit Agendas: Political Subjugation and Self-emancipation in Telugu Country, 1910-50” in Ramnarayan S. Rawat and K. Satya narayana (eds) *Dalit Studies*, Permanent Black : New Delhi pp.118-20

themselves as ‘Adi-Andhra’ that denotes them as the real sons of the soil. However, that was not entirely out of the Hindu fold.¹²

The early efforts of providing education to the Dalits by different agencies have helped in igniting the political consciousness among them in coastal Andhra. Those agencies included not the only colonial government, Christian missionaries and caste Hindu social reformers, but the Dalits themselves also started educating their children. The result of all those efforts, some of the socially conscious educated Dalits emerged. They were the people who initiated questioning social discrimination and atrocities against them. No doubt all these efforts couldn’t materialise without any protest from the dominant castes. The caste Hindus resisted the efforts of the British to provide education to the then untouchables.¹³

No doubt the first Adi Andhra conference in 1917 got prominence for the Dalit politics, and they had raised their voice for identity and political representation.¹⁴ But they didn’t continue the momentum. At the time where there was no human dignity, no respect for Dalits instead subjected to everyday humiliations and the stigma of untouchability attached to them, such a crucial stage Dalits were organising themselves was very vital for them. No doubt the leadership of Adi Andhra argued for their independent identity, but that was not the separate the fold of Hindu social order that was evident in the speech of Bhagya Reddy Varma in that conference. That begs the question of their initial confusions about their ideology and political consciousness.¹⁵

To gain the confidence of the caste Hindus, the Dalits at that time had accepted that they were into corrupt practices. And find the need to be abandoning those ill practices such as alcohol consumption and beef eating, among others. The Dalits also agreed to the Arya Samaj’s *shuddi* initiatives in the coastal Andhra that was also evident in Nizams’ state of Hyderabad under the leadership of Bhagya

¹² Ibid

¹³ Adapa, Satyanarayana, (2005), *Dalits and Upper Castes: Essays in Social History*, op. cit., pp. 30-47.

¹⁵ Gundimeda Sambaiah (2016), *Dalit Politics in contemporary India*, Routledge, New Delhi. Pp. 161-2

Reddy Varma.¹⁶ That was not only the Adi Andhra leadership but also the poets, writers from Dalit communities in their poems and songs propagated that self-clean process of Arya Samaj. However, some of them did not lose their radical agenda of demanding the abolition of untouchability, social equality and political representation. They also questioned in opposition to the political freedom from British rule and the dominant Hindu nationalism.

No doubt, the leadership of Adi-Andhra communities was demeaning their communities and work culture by accepting the *Shuddi* movement.¹⁷ They influenced by Brahmanical ideology and Caste Hindu social reformers. However, that did not mean Adi Andhra Dalit leaders were not unconscious of their political representation. In the backdrop of 1919 Montague-Chelmsford reforms, the question of political representation came up, and all the communities in British India demanded their due share in political power. The Dalits under ‘Adi Andhra Mahajanasabha’ required their recognition and representation in the political institutions from towns, *taluks* to the Councils levels.¹⁸ At the same time, the Andhra Dalits were in illusions in comparison to their counterparts in the Tamil speaking regions of Madras presidency that their patrons or caste Hindu reformers could take care of the question of their political representation.

The social reform movements or to be specific the Brahmins led initiatives attracted some Dalits. They have also opened schools for Dalits, and few of them benefitted and emerged as the leaders. Most of the social reformers were come from Brahmins and supported the Congress and Gandhi. The coastal Andhra Dalits leaders did not differentiate between Ambedkar and Gandhi. That was the time in the early 1930s while Ambedkar has emerged as the sole leader of Dalits. And he was argued for the recognition of Dalit as a separate social entity. Thus, there should be a separate

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Chinnaiah Jangam (2016), “Dilemmas of Dalit Agendas: Political Subjugation and Self emancipation in Telugu Country, 1910-50”, op.cit. p. 115

electorate for them.¹⁹ In opposition to Ambedkar arguments, Gandhi came to protect the majority of Hindu interests' strongly resisted separate electorate for the Dalits.²⁰

In that crisis times, the Adi Andhra leadership should have taken the stand and support Ambedkar for their political future. However, the Adi Andhra leadership was in agreement with Gandhi and Congress. That was possible mainly because of their patrons from Brahmins who influenced them. That was evident in the 1932 conference of Adi Andhra Mahasabha in Bezawada.²¹ The Brahmins led Congress leadership as used Dalits in two directions: one was encouraged to stand against Ambedkar way, and others were shifting the focus from their political representation question.

Congress has intensified their activities and appropriated Dalits through *Harijan Sevak Sangh* was initiated by Gandhi at all India level. While in Andhra in 1932 they had opened its regional branch in Bezwada. The primary leadership was under Brahmins, K. Nageshwar Rao and Bapineedu while they accommodated two Dalit leaders Vemula Kurmaiah and Naralasetti Devendrudu. Under the *Harijan Sevak Sangh* banner, they initiated the slight issue of temple entry for Dalits. One of the temple entries even Gandhi has participated in Krishna district in 1933.²² However, even in that non-material issue, which was targeted to divert Dalits attention from political representation, the *Sangh* Brahmin leaders were not serious and committed. They performed formalities temple entry only in non-functioned and abandoned temples, and the leaders' villages or *Agraharams*' temples entry denied. The Dalits were neither became true leaders nor empowered under the leadership of Brahmins or Congress; however, they supported them.

Unlike in the Nizam state of Hyderabad were in opposition to his rule, Congress and Communists worked together. While in Andhra that was not the case as the Congress was dominated by Brahmins. The other dominant castes Reddy and

¹⁹ Ambedkar's arguments at first roundtable conference at London, 1930, see Dr. Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. II, Education Department, Government of Maharashtra 1982., pp. 503-10

²⁰ Gandhi opposed Communal award and went for indefinite fast at Yerawada jail in Poona in 1932.

²¹ Ibid, p. 126

²² Sambaiah Gundimeda (2016), *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, Routledge, New York, p.181

kammas have come together in communist's formations. The experience of the Dalits was similar to that of the Nizam state. The Dalits had to confine as cadre while all the leadership filled with either kammas or Reddies. Within the kammas, there were different groups like Justice Party, within Congress N. G. Ranga²³ and the Communists. All these groups were tried to appropriate Dalits into their fold.

However, as part of the independence movement, the Congress and the Communists were active in many parts of the country. In Andhra region, Communists were organising different sections of the society. Their central focus was on marginalised sections like agricultural labours. The large numbers of Dalits were dependent on their employment in agriculture. The communists during 1930s focused on these sections. And the Dalit supported the communists led agricultural labour movements, and some of them could also become local level leaders.

While some of the educated young Dalits like Konada Surya Prakashrao²⁴ and others who were inspired by Communist's activities like minimum wages for agricultural labourers joined them from Congress, that initiative of payments has largely benefitted Dalits. However, they had to face caste oppression, and their untouchability question did not find any solution under Communist leadership. Because of their social backgrounds came from dominant castes and lack of proper understanding of social issues.

Other significant political development during the 1930s was the emergence of Gandhi and his 'Harijan' upliftment activities. The Congress had initiated its *Harijan Sevak Sangh* Andhra branch in the year 1932 at Bezawada. The focus was to bring Dalits to the Congress fold in the name of anti-untouchability programmes. These activities of Congress could attract Dalits attention and support. The notable point from the Dalits political perspective was that the radical social revolutionary Adi-Andhra movement of the 1920s was not maintained the momentum in 1930s. The

²³ N. G. Ranga (1900-1995), was associated with Gandhi participated in freedom, later he quit Congress and founded Bharat Krushikar Lok Party and was also founding president of Swatantra Party.

²⁴ Konada Surya Prakasa Rao born at Pedapalaparru in Krishna district in a Dalit labouring family. He passed his SSLC in 1930, later educated at Pithapuram Rajah College at Kakinada. Who was made the president of Agricultural Labour Union (ALU) from 1941 to 1943 and he finally left the organisation due to the strong and anti-Ambedkar and anti-Dalit stand of Communists in 1944. See Yagati Chinna Rao (2015), "Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh: A Historical outline of a hundred years", *Indian Historical Review*, 42 (1), p. 9

Communists and Congress focused on some of the Dalit issues. Therefore, the minimal number of the educated and conscious leaders from the Dalits had appropriated by both the Congress and the Communists.

Whatever has happened or the initiatives by both Communists and the Congress didn't mean that committed by the betterment of the Dalits. Though the Communists propagated the socialist ideals, their caste consciousness was visible in their leadership. The Communist leadership in Andhra was the landed Kamma and the Reddi castes.²⁵ The rich Kammas in the Andhra, Reddies both in the Rayalaseema and Telangana regions strongly supported the Communists. However, they didn't recognise the exploitation of the Dalits based on caste and couldn't understand or theorised the role of caste in Indian society and polity.

On the one hand Communists on the other the Congress were concentrated on Dalits to bring them to their respective folds. Lack of effective leadership among independent Dalit movement also helped these moves. Once radically initiated Dalit movement and politics during the 1920s and 1930s were couldn't be visible in the 1940s. Both these Congress and Communists appropriated the leadership. Many Dalits participated in the national movement and the Congress-led activities in Andhra, more prominently in the 1940s.²⁶

Despite the multi-cornered appropriation of the Dalits into their fold by Gandhi, Congress and Communists in the Andhra region, Ambedkar had also influenced some sections. That was evident in his religion conversion decision the support he got from East Godavari district Adi Andhra conference. During 1935-40 the leaders like Vadapalli, Brahmaiah, supported by the Dalit leaders and poet Kusuma Darmanna were also encouraged Ambedkar. Throughout the 1930s to 1940s actively took part in Ambedkar initiatives and organised Adi Hindu Mahasabha conferences and demanded political reservation and supported separate electorate for Dalits. In the year 1944, when Ambedkar visited Krishna district and Scheduled Castes Federation (SCF) branch established under the leadership of Buldas.²⁷ Thus

²⁵ D.N. Dhanagare, "Social Origins of the Telangana Insurrection (1946-1951)", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, vol.8, (1974), pp.117-127.

²⁶ See Yagati Chinna Rao, (2007) *Andhra Pradesh Dalita Udhya Charitra, Telugu*, Translated by Mandara Prabakar, Hyderabad Book Trust, Hyderabad, pp. 87-88

²⁷ Sambaiah Gundimeda (2016), *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, op.cit., p.171

whatever limited influence of Ambedkar and Adi Andhra leadership they could confine itself to East Godavari district. Beyond a point, the SCF and Adi Andhra leadership couldn't make much difference in the lives of the Dalits. Most of the educated leadership went into either Congress or Communist folds before independence in 1947.

Dalit Movement in Hyderabad State

Dalits led social reform initiatives were the earliest in the region. It was as back as 1906 the farsighted leadership of Bhagya Reddy Varma started the movement.²⁸ And the movement's influence, the programmes and activities were mainly concentrated in Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities.

Unlike the coastal Andhra region of Madras presidency, the Dalit political activism was initiated as early as in the year 1906 by Bhagya Reddy Varma in Hyderabad. In that year, the organisation called 'Jagan Mithra Mandali' was founded. Under the influence of Arya Samaj, this body was also preached reforms in the lives of Dalits in the Nizam ruled Hyderabad state. Before looking into the details of these activities, let us understand the nature of Nizam rule and the status of Dalits.

Nizam's Hyderabad was one of the biggest princely states in British India. The region was unlike any other province was had, diverse linguistic groups. Geographically the Hyderabad state has consisted of 9 districts of *Telugus*, 5 of *Marathis*, and three districts of *kannada* speaking population.²⁹ However, the contradiction of Nizam rule was that the rulers were wealthy, and the vast mass of the populace was under poor conditions.

This contradiction was visible like his support base in the rural areas of the state. The most exploitative structures of Jagirdar, Jamindar and Deshmukhs comprised the dominant castes concentrated on their selfish motives by exploiting large masses imposing different taxes.³⁰ The Dalits were under this unequal structures

²⁸ Madari Bhagya Reddi Varma (1888-1939) founded the *Jagan Mitra Mandali* in Hyderabad to work for the awakening social consciousness among the untouchables in 1906. See Yagati Chinna Rao (2015), "Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh" op. cit., p. 5

²⁹ Marshal Windmiller (1954), "Linguistic Regionalism in India", *Pacific Affairs*, 27(4), pp. 291-318.

³⁰ Inukonda Thirumali (2003), *Agianst Dora and Nizam: Peoples Movement in Telangana, 1939-1948*, Kanishka Publishers, Distributors, New Delhi.

and were worst sufferers. The system of ‘*vetti*’ bonded labour was brutal; the Dalits forced into this cruel practice.³¹

Except for very few ruling classes, the majority of the population under distress in the Hyderabad state. By 1920s the Hindu social reform initiatives like Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj initiatives came up in the region. Which has got a religious tone and as anti-Muslim eventually that was became polarised.³²

In this context, the leadership of Bhagya Reddy Varma has made Dalits based ‘*manya sangham*’ as ‘Adi Hindu Social Service League’. Under his direction in Hyderabad the first ever all India Adi Hindu conference was held.³³ The activists from all parts of India have participated in that conference. That had given the scope to Bhagya Reddy to become one of all India leaders of ‘Adi Hindus’.

Though the Dalits claimed themselves has original inhabits and ‘Hindus’ of this land before Aryan invasion. But that was not created any separate radical identity for them instead as the ‘Hindus’.³⁴ At the same time, Bhagya reddy at one point of the time criticised the Dalits for their plight. And initiated social reforms among Dalits, those reforms were included no alcohol consumption, no to meat-eating, the abolition of the *devadasi* system, and educating the Dalits.³⁵ He also started separate schools for Dalit children. These schools and education to the Dalits confined to the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad only. In those social reform activities under the leadership of Bhagya Reddy has got prominence. He could also be associated and coordinated with caste Hindus and prominent persons in Hyderabad state. Those included dominant castes and wealthy persons in the region.

He also propagated inter-caste marriages among Dalits and dominant castes. But he was reluctant to do weddings among Dalit sub-castes. When he had opposed the wedding of a Mala girl with a Madiga boy in Hyderabad, however, his contemporaries like Arige Ramaswamy also a Mala by his caste and others supported

³¹ K.Y. Ratnam (2002), “Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh”, p.4

³² B. Venkat Rao (2018), “Underpinning Dalit Modernity and Autonomy in Hyderabad State: A Holistic Role of Bhagya Reddy Verma”, *Scholar Critic*, 5(1), pp. 1-49

³³ Chinnaiah Jangam (2016), “Dilemmas of Dalit Agendas” op.cit. p. 108

³⁴ B. Venkat Rao (2008), “Underpinning Dalit Modernity and Autonomy in Hyderabad State” op.cit., p. 31

³⁵ Ibid., p.35

that marriage.³⁶ Bhagya Reddy was social boycotted all those who opposed his views and supported that particular inter-caste marriage. His support to his own caste Mala was become controversial and contradicted to his ideology of Adi Hindus. That was also evident in the case of Adi Hindu Bhavan in Hyderabad. Which was supposed to belong entire Dalit community but he denied entry to the Madigas and who opposed to his views and argued that that Bhavan has belonged to Malas only. That crisis within the Hyderabad Dalits was prompted the Madigas to form their organisation called Arundathiya Mahasabha in the year 1931.³⁷ And also Arigay Ramaswamy and other leaders were deserted Bhagya Reddy and floated their groups.

However, Bhagya Reddy has continued his efforts to uplift Dalits in Hyderabad state. In the backdrop of 1919 reforms ensured some nominated seats for Dalits had changed the direction of their activism. Despite the inner fights and divisions among Dalit leaders, Bhagya Reddy has submitted a memorandum to the Nizam government appointed constitutional reforms committee in 1937.³⁸ The committee was headed by Aravamudu Aiyangar. In his note, Bhagya Reddy demanded the government to provide proportional representation for Dalits in all the representative bodies including municipal councils, district and *taluk* boards.³⁹ He also insisted on the government in case of there was separate electorate Dalits should granted the same. Again on the question of the separate electorate, even the Dalit leadership in Hyderabad state divided. However, the Aiyangar committee issued two Dalit representatives for the legislature, one each for municipal, town and district committees. That was the time when the Dalit leadership could become representatives and could develop their communities in the Hyderabad state. We will discuss this question of political representative and participation of Dalit leaders in legislative bodies later.

³⁶ P. Muthaiah (2004), “Dandora: The Madiga Movement for Equal Identity and Social Justice in A.P.”, *Social Action*, 54(2), pp.185-88

³⁷ Ibid. p. 190, also see P.R. Venkata Swamy (2003) *Maa Vimukti Poratam*, (Telugu) translation by Yendluri, [first published in English in 1955], Ambedkar Publications Society, Hyderabad, pp. 60-61

³⁸ Dick Kooiman (1998), “The Nizam’s Last Victory: Hyderabad on Eve of Second World War”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33(12), pp.645-60

³⁹ Chinna Jangam (2016), “Dilemmas of Dalit Agendas” op.cit., p. 124

Dr Ambedkar and Hyderabad Dalits

Unlike their counterparts in coastal Andhra, the Hyderabad Dalits adopted pro-Ambedkar politics. The issue of political representation was attracted them most. In the backdrop of round table conferences and the debate between Ambedkar and Gandhi, the All India Adi Hindu conference held in Lucknow in 1931 that was presided by Bhagya Reddy. The convention has unanimously adopted a resolution that Ambedkar was the right and sole representative of entire Dalit communities.⁴⁰

Another essential aspect which had got the attention of Dalits in Hyderabad was Ambedkar's declaration of conversion in 1935 Yeola conference.⁴¹ Given the communal tensions in Hyderabad among Arya Samaj Hindus and Muslims, Dalits also enthused with Ambedkar decision. Again on the question of religious conversion, also Hyderabad Dalit leadership was divided. As we mentioned earlier the sub-caste division, unhappy of Bhagya Reddy leadership, the emergence of young Dalit leaders like B.S. Venkat Rao, Arigay Ramaswamy, P.R. Venakatswamy and J.H. Subbaiah and others have added different directions to their activism and politics in the region.

However, they divided into two significant groups. One was pro-Ambedkarite and other was under Bhagya Reddy leadership was for more of internal reforms. The pro-Ambedkar group actively followed and involved political developments in Maharashtra and Ambedkar leadership. Enthused and influenced by Maharashtra Dalits' activism the Hyderabad Dalits initiated Youth League of Ambedkarites in 1936 under the guidance of B.S. Venkat Rao and Venkatswamy. Again they had to face problems within that body. As Venkat Rao took a pro-Islam stand and took the initiative to form Hyderabad Depressed Classes Association and supported Nizam's activities to the development of Dalits.⁴²

The others who opposed Venkat Rao and his pro-Nizam stand had argued Arigay Ramaswamy and revived Hyderabad State Adi Hindu Mahasabha. Despite all these internal differences, the activities of Ambedkar and Dalits in Maharashtra

⁴⁰ B. Venkat Rao (2008), "Underpinning Dalit Modernity and Autonomy in Hyderabad State" op.cit., p. 37

⁴¹ Christophe Jeffrelot (2009), "Ambedkar's strategies against Untouchability and Caste System", Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, Working Paper Series, New Delhi, III(4), p.12,

⁴² P.R. Venkataswamy (2003) *Maa Vimukti Poratam*, (Telugu), op.cit. pp. 78-81.

continued to encourage the Hyderabad Dalits.⁴³ In the year 1942, the Scheduled Castes Federation (SCF) foundation meeting held in Nagpur. Both groups from Hyderabad have participated. They were also got directions from Ambedkar to give up internal fights and was to act united.⁴⁴ However, Venkat Rao refused to work with Adi Hindu Mahasabha leaders. Under the influence of SCF and Ambedkar, the Adi Hindu group has changed their name to that of SCF under the leadership of J.H. Subbaiah and Venkatswamy. However, given the personality problems within the management and sub-caste divisions, they could not make much progress in their activism betterment of Dalit lives in Hyderabad.

The broader political scenario in British India was progressing in new directions in the 1930s and 1940s. Those were the two decades that were a crucial period for not only for the Dalit politics and activism mainly because of the emergence of Ambedkar as the sole leader of Dalits. But also the appearance of M. K. Gandhi and the Communists had added new dimensions in Indian politics. Both developments at politics at all India level and Coastal Andhra and Nizam's Hyderabad state had its resonance. On the one hand, Dalit politics faced challenges in the form of internal fights. On the other hand, initiatives of both the Congress and the Communists had influenced Dalit activism and politics. While Gandhi and Congress politics had affected most of the Dalit leaders in Coastal Andhra and the Communists could attract Dalits' attention in the Nizam state of Hyderabad.

Given the fact that under the Nizam rule, there was no political freedom. Hence, both Congress and Communists unitedly organised in the name of cultural bodies. Initially, they held in the year 1928 under the banner of Andhra Jana Sangham.⁴⁵ Later when they were renamed that body into Andhra Mahasabha. However, the Congress and Communists couldn't work together for long. The Andhra Mahasabha divided into two groups. Though the leadership of Communists, come from dominant reddy caste in the Andhra Mahasabha Dalits were supporting them. Notably, the issues they raised were the abolition of *vetti* and land to the tillers had attracted the Dalits. The Communists could organise all the sections in Hyderabad

⁴³ Ibid,

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 189

⁴⁵ Sarojini Regani (1956), "The highlights of freedom movement in Andhra Pradesh", Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, p.179

state against Nizam rule. They had got prominence and opportunities to bring changes in the lives of the poor in the region. However, their initiatives of land distribution had suffered from caste bias. The significant parts of their land distribution had benefitted dominant castes in the area like Reddy and Kapus. The Dalits have denied their due share. Whatever meagre amount of lands the Dalits get was useless wastelands. However, the Dalits in Hyderabad state unable to realise their denial of rights and they were in illusions that the communists could change their plight and continued to support them.

Comparison of Andhra and Hyderabad Dalit Politics

In the British ruled Telugu regions were in a way advanced. They exposed to multifold political mobilisations. Mainly were from Congress and Communalists alike. In the Hyderabad region, it had mostly anti-feudal movement. Not much Congress influence. But the Nizam rulers had an impact. Therefore some sections of Dalits have supported the Nizam.

In coastal Andhra, the initiation of the Dalit activism in that period backed by the caste Hindu social reformers. Those reforms consisted of mostly the Brahmins. As part of their reform agenda, they have run *Ashram* schools for Dalits. Some of the Dalits who got educated from those schools were thankful to the Brahmins. Thus, resulted in later became the patron of Dalits. They encouraged Dalits to organise themselves. That was the context in which the first *Panchama* conference held in 1917. However, the Dalits could arrange themselves became radical. Challenged social oppression and demanded equality. In that process, many leaders and intellectuals have emerged from the Dalits. But the patronage politics of the dominant castes have continued to influence and pull them different directions.

Subsequently, when Gandhi emerged in all India politics in the 1920s and active in untouchability question in 1930s all the Brahmins in Andhra supported him. That was the time when Ambedkar also emerged as a sole Dalit leader and challenged Gandhi. In Andhra, the Brahmin leadership has used the Dalits persuaded them to support Congress, and Gandhi led the anti-untouchability campaign. In the question of their political representation and that of the separate electorate, they did not find a reason to support Ambedkar. However, they have actively supported Gandhi as their patron, and the dominant caste wished them to follow their directions.

When the non-Brahmin dominant castes were organised under the communist fold again, some of the Dalit leaders from Andhra attracted and joined them. Within the communist camp, when the question of leadership and understanding caste-based social oppression came, the Dalits had to find no place in those politics. They have primarily remained as cadre base of communist politics in Andhra.⁴⁶

At the eve of independence from the British rule, the Congress became a significant force in all over the country and in coastal Andhra. Most of the Dalits leaders have become the Congress cadres and some local leaders. And others were in communists fold. The radical character of the Dalit politics has lost the shine; however, that was not to understand there was not any Dalit politics in Andhra. Subsequently, the Dalit activism and politics have confined to some small pockets within those areas were East Godavari district. The Dalit leadership and politics in East Godavari have continued to become relevant in later parts of post-independence Andhra. This study will focus on these areas and on those leaders who could become elected representatives and their participation in the legislatures.

Unlike coastal Andhra, the Hyderabad Dalits have organised the early 1900s under the leadership of Bhagya Reddy Varma. Though their initial focus was on social reformers influenced by the *Brahma Samaj* and *Arya Samaj* attempted internal reforms. Under his leadership, Dalits were become more conscious of their social oppression and became radical in their political activities under Adi-Hindu ideology. One of pre-Ambedkar Dalit leadership in the county he became a prominent one. However, some of his contemporaries were in Hyderabad criticised him of his mala caste bias and leadership style.

Along with Bhagya Reddy, there were influential young leaders have emerged in Hyderabad. They were also radical in their approach. When Ambedkar emerged in the political arena unlike their counterparts in coastal Andhra, were supported Ambedkar and his politics. However, in the question of political representation and the separate electorate, the leaders had different standpoints. On the personality problem also they divided. The fact was that even all the leaders starting from Bhagya reddy to Venkat Rao, Rama Swamy, Venkat Swamy, Syamsunder and Subbaih all came from mala caste background. The Madigas find no place in their leadership, and

⁴⁶ Yagati china Rao (2015), op.cit., pp. 121-22

they disillusioned with the activities of Bhagya Reddy, they floated Arundathiya Mahajana Sabha. That was not mean all the Mala leadership was united; they have also had their problems and floated own organisations. That means neither the ideology nor the sub-caste has combined the Dalits leaders.

Under the influence of Nizam rulers and their political reforms and provision of some nominated posts, some of the Dalit leaders strongly supported them. That included when the question of Ambedkar and his decision of conversion became the major issue in Hyderabad. In that process, B S Venkat Rao became a minister in Nizam rule and could make specific changes and development of Dalits in Hyderabad notably in the field of education.⁴⁷

When Communists became active in anti-Nizam politics, the Dalits have supported them like in Andhra. But when the land distribution, caste oppression and leadership became the issues, the Communists in Hyderabad have failed the Dalits.⁴⁸ However, the Dalits have continued their loyalties to them and attracted the Communists' radical politics.⁴⁹

While at the time of independence and end of Nizam rule the Dalit politics have fragmented. However, some of the leaders could emerge as elected and nominated ones. However, their activities have confined to the Hyderabad and city surroundings. In the post-independence period, their actions have become notable. That was as independent Dalit voices and within the Congress and communists folds. The study will focus on those leaders and political participation in the following chapters.

Challenges and Opportunities

The mobilisations in both regions have given confidence in the Dalits. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, the movement spread into all the areas. Notably, however, some may argue the leadership is coming from one particular area. The concerns of specific communities got prominence. The initiatives and activities of

⁴⁷ K.Y. Ratnam (2008), "Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh" op. cit. p.4

⁴⁸ K. Srinivasulu (2002), "Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping differential Regional Trajectories", Working Paper 179, Overseas Development Institute, London, p.6

⁴⁹ See Kota Rajesh (2019), *Dalit Movement and Radical Left*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

Andhra had influenced the state. At the same time, the movement reached its shine decreased.

The Dalit movement in Andhra and Nizam state by the time of independence primarily been adopted by the Congress and rulers in Hyderabad state, respectively. Some sections under the influence of well-known left leader Sundaraiah were sympathetic to the left. But it was not that significant. The reason seems to be in both the cases ruling establishments lured them by some positions in the party and made them as elected representatives. In Andhra the staunch supporter of Ambedkar, Sardar Nagappa had to join Congress in 1930 and elected twice to then the Madras assembly.⁵⁰

In the later stage, due to the adverse effect of development and large scale privatisation Dalits were thrown out from traditional jobs in the villages. It resulted in a mass migration of Dalits into towns in, especially Telangana region. In the political sphere, the complete domination of the Reddy community led state gave no scope for them. However, some individuals who could become subservient to Reddies remained with them. That has prompted them particularly Madigas in Telangana to organise themselves on their caste and sub-caste basis. And they were asserted their self-respect and dignity in the society. They went on to suffix their caste name as Madiga to their names. This movement was inspired many other backward castes also to build their caste associations.⁵¹ That means the representation from the Dalit communities has been attached to then the dominant political mobilisations and the upper caste leadership had used them for their party purposes. That does not mean Dalits did not have their political mobilisation and the direction in propagating their ideology and strives for the community betterment. The central concern here is how far these both dominant party supporters and independent Dalit leaders made any difference in their lives. And what were the constraints and remain difficulties for them, to be analysed in the study?

19 Inukonda Thirumali, (2013), *Telangana-Andhra Caste, Regions and Politics in Andhra Pradesh*, Aakar Books: New Delhi, pp.138-9

⁵¹ Ibid pp.138-45

In the 1937 reforms and subsequent actual elections, only Venkata Rao and Syam Sundar elected, while five more were nominated.⁵² Both these elected leaders crystallised more of their pro-Muslim position, and they called upon the Dalits to strengthen the hands of the Muslims of Hyderabad, for political power and to declare an open fight against caste-Hindus.⁵³ However, they had scope to work for the betterment of socioeconomic conditions of the Dalits amongst political power in Hyderabad state. The main focus of this study as to how far these elected or nominated leaders could help their communities. And examine their participation in the legislative bodies whether they have come from independent Dalit parties or dominant castes backed political parties both in Andhra and Hyderabad.

Post-Independence Dalit MPs in Andhra Pradesh

Till 1956 Andhra Pradesh formation Telugu people were under the rule Nizams in Hyderabad and Madras British presidency. As mentioned earlier, Dalit struggles and British reform efforts resulted in political representation for them. While 1932 'Poona pact' had sealed the future of Dalit representation for post independent India.

Following tables are the list of reserved constituencies in Andhra Pradesh from the first Lok Sabha to present study scope fourteenth Lok Sabha. Those include for first Lok Sabha in Hyderabad and Madras. The records also provide the details of the Lok Sabha period, the total number of seats in the state and number of reserved constituencies for the scheduled castes (SC) or Dalits. The lists are also reflecting on each reserved constituency and the Lok Sabha period and the candidates won elections and their respective parties.

⁵² P.R. Venkataswamy, *Our Struggle for Emancipation*, vol. II, pp.359-360.

⁵³ Ibid, p.386-87.

Following tables are a list of Schedule Caste (SC) reserved parliamentary constituencies. The list covers from very first to the 14th Lok Sabha.

Scheduled Caste Reserved Constituencies in Andhra Pradesh from 1952 to 2009

Table 2.1 Members of First Lok Sabha [14/04/1952-04/04/1957]

Hyderabad Nizam State Telugu region Total Seats (25), reserved for SC (2), Madras Telugu region Total Seats (8) reserved for SC (1)

Constituency	Candidate Won	Party
Karimnagar (Two Member Constituency)	M.R. Krishna ⁵⁴	Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF)
Nalgonda	Sunkam Achalu ⁵⁵	Peoples' Democratic Front (PDF)
Chittore	Dr M.V. Gangadhara Siva ⁵⁶	Congress

The first Lok Sabha results are fascinating; the three major political formations of the country at that time have got representation in the state. Those elections to the first Lok Sabha held based on two-member constituencies. In the reserved constituencies, SCs used to have two votes. One for general candidate and other for SC. Both M. R. Krishna and Achalu were very active members of independent Dalit politics. In Nalgonda, when Achalu was denied ticket from scheduled caste federation (SCF), he contested from Communists' led peoples' democratic front (PDF).

⁵⁴ M.R. Krishna (1924-2004) was popular leader and freedom fighter participated in 1942 quit India movement.

⁵⁵ Sunkam Achalu (1924-1983) born in Nalgonda was active member of scheduled caste federation (SCF), worked as SCF Nalgonda district president 1948-1950. In 1952 general election SCF denied ticket, he contested as Peoples' democratic front (PDF) candidate and won, he was one of the youngest member of first Lok Sabha.

⁵⁶ He was born in 1898 in Cuddapah, he was also member of provisional parliament 1950-1951 then member of Lok Sabha for first and second. He was also a member of Madras legislative council 1926-31.

Table 2.2 Members of Second Lok Sabha [05/04/1957-31/03/1962]: Total Seats (46) Reserved for SC (1)

Constituency	Candidate Won	Party
Nellore	B. Anjanappa ⁵⁷	Congress
Karimnagar (General)	M.R. Krishna (SC)	Congress

Interestingly in the second Lok Sabha through the Karimnagar seat was general the SC candidate from there, then the sitting member could win the seat. The Congress dominated by the dominant castes, but in Karimnagar, they encouraged an SC candidate, it became possible only because the candidate M.R. Krishna was a popular leader in the state and also was a freedom fighter participated in the Quit India Movement in 1942. On his demise on 12th May 2004 at Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, at the age of about 80, in his Obituary reference by the speaker of Lok Sabha on 16th Aug 2004, remembered M. R. Krishna's services. M.R. Krishna was a Member of the First to Fourth Lok Sabhas from 1952 to 1970, representing the Karimnagar Parliamentary Constituency of Andhra Pradesh in the First and Second Lok Sabhas; and the Peddapalli Parliamentary Constituency of the same State in the Third and Fourth Lok Sabhas. He was also a Member of Rajya Sabha from 1972 to 1982. He was the General Secretary of the All India States Scheduled Castes Federation; the Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes Federation; and the All India Depressed Classes League.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ B. Anjappa b. 1918 at Madakasira of Anantpur district, he three times MP from Nellore from Congress. He worked for promotion of adult education, education of SC, ST, OBCs, and was actively participated in activities of removal of untouchability. And worked for development of Labour cooperative societies and cottage industries.

⁵⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, III, Second Session, (16), August 16, 2004. Pp.2-3, His administrative capabilities came to the fore when he served as the Union Deputy Minister, Defence, from November, 1967 to June, 1970 and as Deputy Minister, Industrial Development and Internal Trade, from June, 1970 to March, 1971. Earlier, he also served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education in 1962. An active parliamentarian, Shri Krishna was a Member of the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. A devoted social worker, he was associated with various social welfare organisations. He established Jai Jawahar Colony and the Gandhi Memorial Multipurpose Higher Secondary School at Alwal, Secunderabad. He actively worked for the betterment of the lot of the poor and the underprivileged. A sports enthusiast, he was Chairman, National Institute of Sports; and Member, All India Council of Sports.

Table 2.3 Members of Third Lok Sabha [02/04/1962-03/03/1967]: Total Seats (45)
Reserved for SC (4)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram,	Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy ⁵⁹	Congress
Nellore	B. Anjanappa	Congress
Peddapalli	M.R. Krishna	Congress
Tirupati	C. Dass	Congress

By the time of the third Lok Sabha, the reserved seats have increased to four. Three were from coastal Andhra, and only one was in the Telangana region. The political competition also intensified. The congress became a significant and dominant political force in the reserved constituencies during 1962-1967. And for the first time, Amalapuram reserved constituency came into being in the East Godavari district.

⁵⁹ Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy (1906-1979) was freedom fighter, participated in quit India movement. Three times MP from Amalapuram constituency 1967-77. He was journalist and writer. He written book on Dalits in 1972, *Depressed and oppress: forever in agony*, S. Chand, New Delhi.

Table 2.4 Members of Fourth Lok Sabha [04/03/1967-27/12/1970]: Total Seats (42) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy	Congress
Nagarkurnool	J.B. Muthyal Rao ⁶⁰	Congress
Nellore	B. Anjanappa	Congress
Peddapalli	M.R. Krishna	Congress
Siddipet	G. Venkat Swamy ⁶¹	Congress
Tirupati	C. Dass ⁶²	Congress

In the fourth Lok Sabha 1967-72, again the reserved seat increased to six and equally distributed in both regions of the state three each. However, it continues to dominate these seats. And for the first time, Nagarkurnool constituency came into being in the Mahabubnagar district. In the total number of position, one decreased to 41 in this Lok Sabha period.

⁶⁰ J.B. Muthyal Rao (1920-2000), Union Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals, Union Minister for Parliamentary affairs, also was Ambassador to Somaliya, Guyana, M.L.A, M.L.C., and M.P. several times. He was the Chief Whip, represented India in the UN. For details see: http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/1617.htm.

⁶¹ G. Venkat Swamy (1929-2014), was seven times MP, 3 terms from Siddipet and 4 times from Peddapalli. Was senior leader in Congress and was Union Minister.

⁶² C. Dass b. 1922, was freedom fighter took part in 1942 Quit India movement. Two times MP from Tirupati 1962-71.

Table 2.5 Members of Fifth Lok Sabha [15/03/1971-18/01/1977]: Total Seats (41)
Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy	Congress
Nagarkurnool	M. Bheeshma Dev ⁶³	Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS)
Nellore	Doddavarapu Kamakshaiah ⁶⁴	Congress
Peddapalli	V. Tulsi Ram ⁶⁵	Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS)
Siddipet	G. Venkataswamy	Congress
Tirupati	Thamburu Balakrishnaiah ⁶⁶	Congress

In the fifth Lok Sabha (1971-77) same six seats, Congress has challenged in the Telangana region. Out of three two-seat captured by newly formed Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS), Congress could manage Siddipet seat. Nagarkurnool and Paddapalli first time TSP won. Due to emergency imposed in 1975, the term of this Lok Sabha has been extended. The total number of position remained the same at 41.

⁶³ M. Bheeshma Dev b. at Hyderabad 1928. Freedom fighter took active part in Quit India movement also participated movements against Nizam in 1948. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2046.htm. Represented Nagar Kurnool two time in Lok Sabha both on TPS and Congress tickets, actively took part in separate Telanganna movement.

⁶⁴ Doddavarapu Kamakshaiah was b. at Iskapalli village Nellore district in 1922, was two times MP. He was active Congress leader in the district. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2124.htm.

⁶⁵ V. Tulasi Ram was b. at Hyderabad in 1938, three times MP from Peddapalli, two times. Interestingly he represented three times, three different parties. First time TPS, second Congress and third time he represented TDP in 1984 from Nagar Kurnool. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2280.htm.

⁶⁶ Three time MP from Tirupati, was active Congress leader.

Table 2.6 Members of Sixth Lok Sabha [23/03/1977-22/08/1979]: Total Seats (46)
Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Kusuma Krishna Murthy ⁶⁷	Congress
Nagarkurnool	M. Bheeshma Dev	Congress
Nellore	Doddavarapu Kamakshaiah	Congress
Peddapalli	V. Tulsi Ram	Congress
Siddipet	Nandi Yellaiah ⁶⁸ and G.Venkataswamy	Congress
Tirupati	Thamburu Balakrishnaiah	Congress

Interestingly within no time in the sixth Lok Sabha Congress regained its dominance in the state. The party won all the reserved seats. Earlier in both Nagarkurnool and Peddapalli winning candidate are same but they have shifted to Congress. The first non-Congress government couldn't complete its full term. After delimitation, the total number of seats increased to 46; however, the reserved seat is the same as six.

⁶⁷ Was b. Vilasa village in East Godavari district of AP in 1940, was three time MP from Amalapuram. He was very active member of Lok Sabha served in many committees including SC/ST welfare. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2432.htm

⁶⁸ Nandi Yellaiah b. 1942 at Hyderabad, is very senior politician and, seven times MP represented two constituencies, Siddipet and Nagar Kurnool. He was also member of Rajya Sabha. Was worked in various committees' of Lok Sabha See <https://archive.india.gov.in/govt/rajyasabhampbiodata.php?mpcode=1874>

Table 2. 7 Members of Seventh Lok Sabha [18/01/1980-31/12/1984]: Total Seats (44) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Kusuma Krishna Murthy	Congress(I)
Nagarkurnool	Mallu Anantha Ramulu ⁶⁹	Congress (I)
Nellore	Puchalapalli Penchalaiah ⁷⁰ and Doddavarapu Kamakshaiih	Telugu Desam Party (TDP)and Congress (I)
Peddapalli	Gotte Bhoopathy ⁷¹ and Kodati Rajamallu ⁷²	TDP and Congress (I)
Siddipet	Nandi Yellaaih	Congress (I)
Tirupati	Pasala Penchalaih ⁷³	Congress (I)

During the seventh Lok Sabha, the total seat again reduced to 44 but the reserved seat remained six. In this period there were two significant changes have occurred one Congress became Congress (I), and new regional party TDP challenged the Congress. TDP for the first own two reserved seats.

⁶⁹ Mallu Annatha Ramulu (1942-1990), was two times MP from Nagar Kurnool was active Congress leader. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2788.htm.

⁷⁰ Puchalapalli Penchalaiah b. in 1924 three times MP from Nellore from TDP, worked for development of education among weaker sections. He was initially member of SCF then Congress. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2843.htm

⁷¹ Gotte Bhoopathy b. at thangallapalli Sircilla Thaluk of Karimnagar district in 1937. Was two times MP, and was also two times MLA AP Assembly, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2690.htm

⁷² Kodati Rajamallu was b. at peddapalli karimnagar district in 1924. He was associated with socialist party till 1960, was minister of health in AP for five years, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2854.htm.

⁷³ Pasala Penchalaiah (1940-2015) he was very active Congress leader and previously state minister for two times, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/2842.htm

Table 2.8 Members of Eighth Lok Sabha [31/12/1984-27/11/1989]: Total Seats (42) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Aithabathula J. Venkata Butchi Maheshwara Rao ⁷⁴	TDP
Nagarkurnool	V. Tulsi Ram	TDP
Nellore	Puchalapalli Panchalaiah	TDP
Peddapalli	Gotte Bhoopathy	TDP
Siddipet	Dr G. Vijaya Rama Rao ⁷⁵	TDP
Tirupati	Dr Chinta Mohan ⁷⁶	TDP

During the Eight Lok Sabha, the Congress decimated in all the reserved constituencies in the state. TDP own all the reserved seat for the first time. The total position again changed to 42, and reserved seats were the same as six.

Table 2.9 Members of Ninth Lok Sabha [27/11/1989-13/03/1991]: Total (42) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Kusuma Krishna Murthy	Congress(I)
Nagarkurnool	Mallu Anatha Ramulu	Congress (I)
Nellore	Puchalapalli Panchalaiah	Congress (I)
Peddapalli	G. Venkata Swamy	Congress (I)
Siddipet	Nandi Yellaiah	Congress (I)
Tirupati	Dr. Chinta Mohan	Congress (I)

⁷⁴ Aithabathula J. Venkata Butchi Maheashwara Rao b. 1951 Amalapuram, was well educated, was also member of AP Assembly, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3135.htm

⁷⁵ Dr. G. Vijaya Rama Rao b. 1954 at Velair village of Ganpur Taluk in Warangal district, MBBS doctor by profession, won on TDP ticket, he later during Telangana agitation joined TRS and worked as state minister and at present he is with BJP, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3136.htm

⁷⁶ Dr. Chinta Mohan, b. 1954, MBBS doctor by profession, total six times MP from Tirupati, he was also Union Minister, See <https://archive.india.gov.in/govt/loksabhampbiodata.php?mpcode=3001>.

In the ninth Lok Sabha the total, reserved seats have remained the same. Interestingly Congress came back as tremendous force and owned all the reserved seats. And in two constituencies Nellore and Tirupati same candidates possess on Congress tickets. At the same time, all the six MP were previously members of Lok Sabha.

Table 2.10 Members of Tenth Lok Sabha [13/03/1991-10/05/1996]: Total (44) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi ⁷⁷	TDP
Nagarkurnool	Dr. Mallu Ravi ⁷⁸	Congress (I)
Nellore	Padmashree Kudumula ⁷⁹	Congress (I)
Peddapalli	G. Venkataswamy	Congress (I)
Siddipet	Nandi Yellaiah	Congress (I)
Tirupati	Dr. Chinta Mohan	Congress (I)

During the tenth Lok Sabha, TDP could win only Amalapuram seat and Congress own rest. And the total seats changed to 44 and the reserved remain six. Interestingly Balayogi first time MP from Amalapuram chosen for the Speaker of Lok Sabha constitutional post, he was the youngest one to occupy the seat.⁸⁰ Only women candidate, well-educated and teacher from Nellore reserved constituency won. Interestingly in all the reserved for SC seats, first-time women own the Nellore seat.

⁷⁷ Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi (1951-2002) was first time MP could become the Speaker of Lok Sabha. He died in an accident while was in power, see <https://speakerloksabha.nic.in/former/balayogi.asp>

⁷⁸ Dr. Mallu Ravi b.1950, MBBS doctor by profession, two times MP, active leader of Congress since his student days. See http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3534.htm.

⁷⁹ Padmashree Kudumula, b. 1961 teacher by profession, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3528.htm

⁸⁰ Amartan K. Menon (2002), "First Dalit Speaker of Lok Sabha Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi passes away", India Today, March 18, 2002, New Delhi, see <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/obituary/story/20020318-youngest-first-dalit-speaker-of-lok-sabha-ganti-mohana-chandra-balayogi-passes-away-795719-2002-03-18>.

Table 2.11 Members of Eleventh Lok Sabha [10/05/1996- 04/12/1997]: Total Seats (42) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	KSR Murthy ⁸¹	INC
Nagarkurnool	Dr Manda Jagannath	TDP
Nellore	Panabaka Lakshmi ⁸²	INC
Peddapalli	G. Venkataswamy	INC
Siddipet	Nandi Yellaiah	INC
Tirupati	Nelavala Subrahmanyam ⁸³	INC

The eleventh Lok Sabha total seats came down to 42, and reserved seats were the same. TDP could win only one place from Nagarkurnool Dr Manda Jagannath first time own the position, and the details are in the following chapters. Panabaka Lakshmi second women from Nellore later became Union minister in 2004-09 United Progressive Alliance (UPA) I government.

⁸¹ K.S.R. Murthy b. 1935, was teacher see, http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3727.htm.

⁸² Panabaka Lashmi b. 1958, four times MP and Union Minister, see <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/memberbioprofile.aspx?mpsno=3740&lastls=15>.

⁸³ Nelavala Subramanyam, b. 1954, trade unionist, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3809.htm

Table 2.12 Members of Twelfth Lok Sabha [10/03/1998- 26/04/1999]: Total Seats (42) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi	TDP
Nagarkurnool	Dr Mallu Ravi	INC
Nellore	Panabaka Lakshmi	INC
Peddapalli	Chellamalla Suguna Kumari ⁸⁴	TDP
Siddipet	Malyala Rajaiiah ⁸⁵	TDP
Tirupati	Dr Chinta Mohan	INC

For twelfth Lok Sabha total and reserved seats were the same. And Congress and TDP equally shared the places. The first time a women candidate won Peddapalli seat from TDP. Chellamalla Suguna Kumari is a doctor by profession. She defeated senior leader G. Venkataswamy of Congress, in the elections. In Siddipet also first Rajaiiah elected and defeated the senior leader Nandi Yellaiah of Congress.

⁸⁴ Chellamalla Suguna Kumari, b.1955, MBBS doctor by profession, first time she won Peddapalli seat, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3934.htm.

⁸⁵ Malyala Rajaiiah, b. 1944, advocate by profession, two times MP, earlier he was minister in AP government. See http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/_memberbioprofile_.aspx?mpsno=233&lastls=13

Table 2.13 Members of Thirteenth Lok Sabha [10/10/1999-06/02/2004]: Total Seats (44) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi and Ganti Vijaya Kumari ⁸⁶	TDP
Nagarkurnool	Dr Manda Jagannath	TDP
Nellore	Dr. Vukkala Rajeshwaramma ⁸⁷	TDP
Peddapalli	Chellamalla Suguna Kumari	TDP
Siddipet	Malyala Rajaiah	TDP
Tirupati	Dr. Nandipaku Venkataswamy ⁸⁸	BJP

For the thirteenth Lok Sabha total seats increased 44, and reserved seats were the same. For the first time alliance with TDP, BJP owns Tirupati seat. Rest all won by TDP. Dr Manda Jagannath became second time member from Nagarkurnool.

Table 2.14 Members of Fourteenth Lok Sabha [17/05/2004-18/05/2009]: Total Seats (44) Reserved for SC (6)

Constituency	Candidate won	Party
Amalapuram	G.V. Harsh Kumar	INC
Nagarkurnool	Dr Manda Jagannath	TDP
Nellore	Panabaka Lakshmi	INC
Peddapalli	G. Venkataswamy	INC
Siddipet	Sarvey Satyanarayana ⁸⁹	INC
Tirupati	Dr Chinta Mohan	INC

⁸⁶ He is widow of late Balayogi on his untimely demise she became MP from same seat and first women to occupy the seat, see <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/memberbioprofile.aspx?mpsno=3963&lastls=13>.

⁸⁷ Dr. Vukkala Rajeshwaramma b. 1944, MBBS doctor by profession, third women to win Nellore Lok Sabha seat, see <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/memberbioprofile.aspx?mpsno=516&lastls=13>.

⁸⁸ Dr. Nandipaku Venkataswamy, b. educationist PhD from SV University, Tirupati, first time BJP could win SC reserved seat from Tirupati. See <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/members/ArchiveMemberBioprofile.aspx?mpsno=503&lastls=13>

⁸⁹ Sarve Satyanarayana b. 1954 at Hyderabad, first time from Siddipet and next time he won from Malkajgiri general seat and became Union Minister in UPA II, 2012-14, earlier 1985-89 MLA, AP Assembly. See https://archive.india.gov.in/govt_loksabhampiodata.php?mpcode=4027.

For the fourteenth Lok Sabha, the seats were the same. TDP could win only one place from Nagarkurnool Dr Manda Jagannath retained his position. He became a member for the third time. Rest all own by the Congress. From Amalapuram for the first time, G.V. Harsha Kumar became MP. Both Amalapuram and Nagarkunool reserved seats case studies discussed in the following chapters. Two significant changes during this period are after almost a decade, and Congress captures power in the state. At the Centre, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) led by Congress came to power. And from Siddipet first time Sarve Satyanarayana won.

Chapter III

Contemporary Dalit Politics in Andhra Pradesh

This chapter discusses the contemporary Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh and its different phases. In response to the Congress and TDP dominance in the state and violence on Dalits. And how Dalits have been co-opted into these parties and neglected Dalit problems. And how independent Dalit politics responded to those politics and raised new debates made Dalit problems as a political problem in the state. Also, discuss how Dalits experimented Bahujan politics in AP and fragmentations in Dalit politics. Despite Dalit and Bahujan politics how Congress and TDP continue to capture political power in the state and all the MP seats from the region in the Lok Sabha specific to the 14th Lok Sabha.

The dominance The Members of Parliament (MP's) have been elected from reserved constituencies in the state of all the dominant political parties. For that, it has been discovered and focused on various party politics in AP. And also discuss as to how the Dalit politicians emerged as actors in those politics and the initiatives of those parties to develop these communities.

The chapter also provides details of post-independence Dalit politics in the state. It gives an analysis of the emergence of radical Dalit politics in the region. The section also discusses challenges and opportunities through those politics for Dalits in the state and how the Parliamentarians responded. At the eve of independence the politics in the country and Andhra were rapidly changing. The political atmosphere was very positive for the Congress. The leadership of Dalit politics has widely been appropriated by Congress or dominant castes' leaders. The politics of appropriation was not limited to Congress but communists were also exercised same tactics in coastal Andhra. While the Nizam ruled Hyderabad state was in somewhat different political mobilisations. The rulers were still was tried to maintain and sustain their rule without merge into the Indian union. The people in the state had diverse political views on that issue. The Dalits in Hyderabad state also had their concerns and at the same time were divided.

How the appropriation of Dalits into congress helped them to become political representatives and work for the betterment of them and become Leaders in their MLA and MP constituencies. Because of some of these leaders' efforts, successive governments could make some programmes, and a reasonable allocation for education, housing and employment of Dalits has become possible.¹

Immediate concerns of Post-independence Dalit Politics

The political scenario in the post-Independence period in both regions was somewhat similar and different. Same in the sense that in both areas have had some active politicians from Dalit communities' have been appropriated by the dominant political players. While in Andhra region people were enjoyed somewhat self-rule and in Telangana people were still under the clutches of Nizam's undemocratic, authoritarian rule. That was the time in Andhra little bit educational, and employment opportunities came to Dalits.

Nizam's rule was oppressive, and under his control, local dominant castes became the collectors, and the big landlord has been oppressing the poor. While Dalits were majority landless labourers subjected to all forms of oppression, the remarkable feature of their cruelty was *vetti* or bonded labour to landlords. To challenge Nizam rule and landlords, the communists raised armed struggle 1946-51. Interestingly the leadership of this struggle was the dominant castes Reddies, and Kammas. The base was the Dalits and other marginalised sections those had no land.²

As we mentioned above the Dalits were became supporters of communists in Telangana in the post-independence period, and the leadership was appropriated either Congress or Communists some of them became supporters of Nizam also. The Dalits' immediate concerns were to come out from the clutches of bonded labour and getting wages, land and caste based oppression. Because of Communists' struggle in Telangana region land was confiscated from big landlords and distributed among the landless poor. However, this land distribution has not benefited the Dalits much they

¹ K.Y Ratnam (1998), *Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh: A Study of Political Consciousness and Identity*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

² D. N. Dhanagare (1974), "Social origins of the peasant insurrections in Telangana (1946-51)", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 8(1), pp. 109-134. Also see Dalel Benbabaali (2018), "Caste Dominance and Territory in South India: Understanding Kammas' socio-spatial mobility", *Modern Asian Studies*, 52 (6), pp. 1938-76.

remained landless, and even in the movement, they had to confine to the base level cadre but not the leaders. Ideologically the leadership, since they were coming from dominant castes, they never made caste issue as the primary issue, and the only class was their concern.³

Lack of tradition of political participation in Telangana

The ideological struggles within the communist party couldn't concentrate on democratic revolutionary change rather focused on preventing a split in the party. Though electorally, they have got excellent support that didn't translate into the betterment of lives of the poor and the marginalised Dalits they were the base of the movement. Whatever limited scale of land distribution they did that was befitted by dominant castes only if a small fraction of land Dalit got that was not cultivable land.⁴

While in Andhra also Dalits had neither land nor leadership. When they have realised the importance of political leadership made concrete demands on the issue on various public forums. In this context, the sixth Andhra Rashtira Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha conference organised on November 5, 1929, at Bezawada.⁵ The well-known Gandhian nationalist Vemula Kurmaiah was the reception committee chairman, and another Gandhian, Prathipati Audinarayana, delivered the presidential address. The conference passed resolutions about representation for Adi-Andhras on local boards and in legislative councils. They requested the government to select their representatives' by-election instead of nomination.⁶

Andhra Pradesh Politics

In this section, a discussion would be on politics in the state from the state formation in 1956, including the politics around state formation. During the colonial times the present day coastal districts of the Andhra Pradesh were under British control. And

³ Dalel Benbabaali (2018), "Caste Dominance and Territory in South India, op.cit., also see B.T.Ranadive (1979), Caste, Class and Property Relations, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 14 (7/8), pp. 337-348.

⁴ K. Srinivasulu (2002), "Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping differential Regional Trajectories", Working Paper 179, Overseas Development Institute, London, p.6

⁵ Chinnaiah Jangam (2016), "Dilemmas of Dalit Agendas: Political Subjugation and Self-emancipation in Telugu Country, 1910-50" in Ramnarayan S. Rawat and K. Satya narayana (eds) *Dalit Studies*, Permanent Black : New Delhi p. 121

⁶ Ibid., pp. 125-6

the region was the part of the then Madras presidency. Many policy changes and administrative reforms of the British implemented in the area. Mainly in the field of education were noteworthy for the Dalit point of view. Therefore, this region considered to be little more advanced than their counterparts in the Hyderabad region. Primarily it was so in the field of English education of the people of Andhra. Since this region was part of the Madras presidency, the people of Telugu region felt discriminated. Their language and culture have neglected. And demanded a separate state for Telugu region of Madras presidency. That took a long time to materialise. The sacrifices of many people of the Andhra region and martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu resulted in Andhra state formation in 1953.⁷

On the other hand, under the Nizam rule in Hyderabad state, people were facing many difficulties. In the field of education, they were backwards relative to the Andhra region. No English education was available, and knowledge was entirely in Urdu medium. And very few Telugu medium schools were available in the area. And the official language was Urdu. Except in Hyderabad and Secunderabad, very few educational institutions were available in the state. The people who severely affected were Dalits. And the Telugu language and culture had been neglected by the Nizam. And his policies of exploitation and other suppressive measures led to peoples struggles.⁸

In both, the regions to protect Telugu language and culture people have organised in various ways. At the same time, many organisations have established. The process of protecting language and culture resulted in different ideological orientations. And that was mainly dominated by Communists in the Hyderabad state. While in the Andhra region of the Madras presidency, both Congress and Communists were leading players. Influence of communists in both areas to protect language and culture turned into anti-Nizam and anti-British. In the Hyderabad region, they have raised armed struggles. And Nizam brutally suppressed them. At the same time in the Madras presidency, Telugu people experience somewhat similar experiences of oppression.

⁷ “The Martyr of Telugu Statehood”, *The Hindu*, November 11, 2002, Visakhapatnam. <https://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/mp/2002/11/11/stories/2002111101540200.htm>

⁸ P. Sundarayya (1972), *Telangana People’s Struggle and its Lessons*, National Book Agency, Calcutta, pp.8-25

After Andhra state formation, they needed the proper capital city. In Hyderabad and Andhra, the communists gave united Andhra slogan 'vishalandhra'. Despite the opposition of Hyderabad leaders and people, both the regions merged into one as Andhra Pradesh state in 1956.⁹

Congress Dominance

In post-1956 Andhra Pradesh and also in the country Congress has dominated. Till 1983 there was no opposition for the Congress in the state. In the party how Dalits have treated, and the party's initiatives for their development deliberated. In the initial phase, under the leadership of Nehru at the centre took specific positive steps for the development of the state. During that time, like Nagarjuna Sagar, Srishilam, and Sriram, Sagar water projects have been built. And some educational institutions also have come. Provision of water resources resulted in the development of landed communities in the state. And the green revolution has helped this process further. Initially the communities, those were ruling the state or in various positions in the government and the party were mixed. However, Congress became the Reddies dominant political party in the state. But that development model could not satisfy the interests of all the regions of the state. Therefore, people of Telangana and various social groups other than Reddy started feeling neglected. And in the year 1969 separate Telangana movement had been started in Hyderabad region. That was mainly participated and led by students and employees.¹⁰ And inside the party also there were always factions or groups working. Interestingly, all these groups dominated by Reddies all others had to become their supporters. Dalits not exempted from that process.

Due to the above mentioned reasons, central leadership used to change Chief Ministers frequently in the state. Due to those internal problems of the party, the development of the state has been neglected. Before the AP formation from 1954-1956 under Congress ruling three CMs changed, in 1953-1954 Tanguturi Prakasham, 1955 president rule imposed, 1955-56 B. Gopala Reddy was CM of Andhra State. In 1956 united AP first CM was N. Sanjeeva Reddy 1956-1960. However, during the

⁹ Gautham Pingle (2010), "The Historical Context of Andhra and Telangana, 1949-1956", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(8), pp.57-65

¹⁰ K.C. Suri, (2002), "Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh, India", Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute, London p.20

elections, some populist measures helped Congress retain their power. Those internal problems in the party helped in making the first Dalit Chief Minister of the state in 1960, Damodaram Sanjeevaiah (1921-1972).¹¹ He was a freedom fighter during his student days. But that was only for two years he was in the office. Later he could become union minister and he was also the first Dalit could become All India Congress Committee (AICC) president in 1962. But that does not mean all the fellows of his communities got benefitted from that. However, his efforts could make some difference in the lives of the marginalised. And his term as chief minister of Andhra Pradesh has successfully deserted Dalits from the communists and also attracted OBCs with reservations in 1961.¹²

Under Indira Gandhi leadership, the party had to split into two significant groups both at centre and state levels. Slowly she could control the entire party. To maintain her dominance, she has encouraged groups in the party. That was given a chance to internal completion in the party. Therefore, she had resorted to keeping changing the leadership of the party and government in the party. Her background as Nehru's daughter and her populist appeal had helped in no time she could become the core of power in the party and government at the centre. And at the state level, the people of her own choice could become leaders. And she never given a chance to anyone could become an active leader in the party and government.

Due to electoral compulsions, Indira government at the centre and in the state the Congress regime took particular initiative for development. But they never entirely focused on social reforms. Otherwise, during the independence struggle, Congress claimed their commitment to social transformation. Somewhat, this rule in the state had helped dominant castes to consolidate their power both in the party and the state government. The attacks and discrimination against Dalits never been taken seriously by the state government. Instead, the people who were in power and their caste men got state patronage.

Till about 1970 Congress as party and government were led by dominant Reddys from developed regions. That the Congress considered as Reddy's prevailing

¹¹ Ibid p. 17

¹² Ibid p.18

party. And the poor were slowly parting ways from the party. Then the Congress central leadership changed its strategy to accommodate and co-opt some weaker sections. Around the same time, the factional politics in the party and uneven development of the state caused infighting in the party. And the people of Telangana youth and employees agitated for separate Telangana state. The Reddies of Telangana otherwise not got positions in the Congress and government took part in the Telangana struggle. The Congress has suppressed the agitations and later on merged Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS) into Congress.¹³ To address the factions in the party and Telangana struggle, Congress central leadership initiated a pick and choose the leadership of Congress in the state as well as chief ministers. The point in the case was PV Narasimha Rao from Telangana was a choice of Congress Delhi leadership. He had neither a strong base in the party nor a mass leader.¹⁴

In the mid-seventies Indira's has been opposed by many political parties led by Jayaprakash Narayan in Bihar, students and other sections supported that agitation.¹⁵ The movement focused on Indira's authoritarian tendencies. The Left parties and Jansangh have also joined the anxieties. Keeping in mind those oppositions Indira Gandhi had imposed internal emergency on 25 June 1975.¹⁶ That was the first ever internal emergency and suspension of citizen's fundamental rights. Many opposition parties' leaders have been put in jails. Those two years 1975-77 were dark times of Indian democracy. The immediate reasons seem to be four for the declaration of national emergency. One student's protests in Gujarat against fee hike called Navriman Andolan. The student's accused then congress state government was corrupt. Centre had to suspend the state government and imposed president rule in

¹³ K. Srinivasulu (2002), "Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories", Working Paper 179, Overseas Development Institute, London p. 12, also see K.C. Suri (2002), "Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh, India" op. cit., p.21

¹⁴ Ibid 12-13

¹⁵ Oliver Mandelsohn (1979), "The Collapse of the Indian National Congress", *Pacific Affairs*, 51(1), pp.41-66.

¹⁶ Neera Chandoke (2000), "The Lessons of the JP Movement", *The Hindu*, June 23, 2000, New Delhi

1975. The second was the Gujarat developments encouraged students in Bihar. They were also initiated similar movement in 1974.¹⁷

In the general elections to the Lok Sabha was held in 1977 and Indira Gandhi was badly defeated by united opposition. Under the leadership of Morarji Desai, Janata party coalition government came to power at centre. That was first non-Congress government in Delhi. Soon JP took the leadership of the movement and challenged the Indira government. That was JP's challenge caused Indira to declare emergency in 1975. The third reason was the railways strike led by socialist leader George Fernandez in May 1974.¹⁸ That strike lasted for three weeks and caused unrest among labour and general public. Finally the verdict of Allahabad high court by the complaint by socialist leader Raj Narain of mal practices of Indira in her election. The court pronounced its judgement on 12 June 1975 declared Gandhi's election to parliament null and void. This has given impetus to the JP movement although the court has given her 20 days to approach the Supreme Court but she has imposed emergency.¹⁹

In the 1977 election all over the country Congress has received defeat, however, in the state been different. The people of Andhra Pradesh still had faith in Indira leadership and Congress government.²⁰ Meanwhile the Telangana statehood movement was suppressed by the Congress and the leader Marri Chenna Reddy has joined the Congress and became Chief Minister (1978-80 and 1989-1990) from Telangana region. The students and other activists of Telangana movement felt that he has deceived the people of Telangana. Therefore the movement was in search of opportunity and leadership.²¹

Again due to internal issues Chenna Reddy couldn't continue his full tenure as chief minister and had to resign his chief ministership in 1980. Within five years

¹⁷ Adrija Roy Choudhury (2009), "Four reasons Why Indira Gandhi declared Emergency", *Indian Express*, June 25, 2018, New Delhi

¹⁸ Stephen Sherlock (2001), *The Indian Railway Strike of 1974: A Study of Power and Organized Labour* Rupa & co. New Delhi.

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ K.C. Suri (2002), "Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh, India" op. cit., p.23

²¹ K.C. Suri (2002), "Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh, India", Working Paper 180, Overseas Development Institute, London pp. 23

(1978-1982) four chief ministers have been changed. This has given the chance to question the authority of Congress leadership of Delhi.²² So far the Congress rule was a mix of Reddy dominance and certain populist policies. Neglecting peoples aspirations and no respect for civil and human rights. No commitment for social reform. In the political electoral competition except reserved constituencies, Congress never given an opportunities for the Dalits. But due to the party's long history, association with freedom struggle and the leadership of Nehru, then Indira attracted the poor and Dalits. And complete control of state government from Delhi. All these issues paved the way for formation of regional party in the state.²³

Emergence of Telugu Desam Party (TDP)

Formation of TDP in 1982 and new politics in the state have given newer opportunities for certain social groups in the state.²⁴ In TDP, how Dalits have been considered for leadership positions and their experience been discussed.

The consolidation of dominant castes in social and economic fields helped them for political opportunities. In case of kamma community this is what has happened.²⁵ Under Congress though that appeared all the social groups got an opportunity in the government and the party. But real dominance was of reddiees only. In that scenario the socially dominated and land owned kamma caste was aspiring political power. The green revolution and good irrigation facilities helped them acquire wealth. That was surplus and many individuals from them could become big business men. And they were also dominated the cultural industry in the state. Entire media newspapers, news channels and powerful cinema industry were under kamma's control. They were also captured many educational institutions both public and private sectors. In the administration as civil servants and state services they very

²² K.V. Narayana Rao and D. Sundar Ram (1990), "Political developments in Andhra Pradesh 1978-1989: A Study", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 51(4) pp. 540-64

²³ Ibid p. 560-64

²⁴ K.C. Suri (2002), "Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh, India", op.cit. p.25

²⁵ K.Y. Ratnam (2008), "Dalit Movement and Democratization in Andhra Pradesh" Working Papers No. 13, East-West Centre p.14

much visible and also dominant. And all the above miss-governance of the state government by the Congress helped kamma dominant regional party to emerge.²⁶

In the name of Telugu pride and language N.T. Rama Rao²⁷ (1923-1996) popularly known as NTR. At very advanced stage of his cinema career turned into politician. He formed the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) on 29 March 1982 in Hyderabad. Within a year time in 1983 elections TDP secure 202 seats out of 294 seats in assembly. NTR became the first non-congress chief minister of Andhra Pradesh. The success, his party received was a very big change in state politics. The educated, youth, backward communities all considered as non-corrupt could become leaders, MLAs, MPs and ministers. That was considered as new politics. NTR led government initiated some populist pro-poor policies and made some administrative reforms.²⁸ Within less than two years in power TDP faced coup in the form of Nadendla Bhaskara Rao and toppled his government in 1983. NTR fought against Central government intervention and been reinstated in 1984.²⁹ TDP under NTR register huge victory with 202 seats in March 1985 mid-term polls. And from 1985-1989 he was more popular and unopposed leader in the party and state.

During his tenure mainly the backward communities felt little empowered. His policy of abolishment of *Patwari* system reforms in revenue system and introduction of Mandal system received good response. This new Mandal system was considered as a tool of power decentralisation. New leadership from some backward communities has emerged. More important social change of power combinations have been shaped in the state during this time.³⁰ In the social realm, the kamma caste people felt more empowered and got new energy to them. And were displayed that power in public many a times. And they were resorted to brutal attacks on Dalits of the state. In the year 1985 July 17 in NTR relative's village called *Karamchedu* in Prakasham district

²⁶ Ibid pp.15-19

²⁷ N.T. Rama Rao (1923-1996), was Telugu super star, Chennai based multi-millionaire had huge popularity in Telugu land, that had him to success in politics. After formation of TDP within shorter time his party came to power in AP.

²⁸ K. Srinivasulu and Prakash Sarangi (1999), "Political realignments in Post-NTR Andhra Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34 (34/35), pp.2449-58

²⁹ K.C. Suri (2002), " Democratic Process and Electoral Politics in Andhra Pradesh, India" op.cit., pp.26-7

³⁰ Ibid pp. 2450-53

six Dalits were killed by Kamma land owned people. The gruesome attack on Dalits has changed dynamics of state politics.³¹

In 1989 his party lost to congress and NTR became leader of the opposition. Again from 12 December 1994 to 1 September 1995 he was chief minister. This time major coup surfaced and led by none other than his son-in-law N. Chandra Babu Naidu. That was the formal end of his political journey. NTR rule was initially started with very promising with popular appeal. Backward communities and Dalits could become leaders. The case study of this research Dr. Manda Jagannath was a pick of NTR from Dalit community.³² Backward communities' leaders like Devender Goud was another prominent face of the party came to politics as young leader during NTR times. Even in Naidu's tenure in office and in the party this character was intact. But the ultimate authority was commanded by Naidu in his times and NTR in his times. The common point was emergence of many cinema actors into politics from kamma caste and businessmen also followed the suit. Notably many were from kamma community, Murali Mohan and Ramoji Rao and others.³³

In-between from 1989-1994 Congress was in power. In those five years three chief ministers were changed. Interestingly all three were reddy only. The brutal attacks on Dalits started in NTR regimes continued in the Congress rule. In the year 1991 on August 6th mass murder of 8 Dalits in the village called *Chundururu*, reddy dominant village in Guntur district. This was again altered the nature of politics in the state particularly Dalit politics.³⁴

TDP under Chandrababu Naidu

From the year 1995 to 2004 Naidu was long served chief minister of the state. His rule was mix of more capitalist system's advancement.³⁵ No social commitments. Agriculture been neglected. Largely depended on information technology and broadly service sectors. The complete and free hand for private industry, foreign investments

³¹ See subsequent sections

³² See detailed discussion in chapter v

³³ See Harish Damodaran (2008), *India's New Capitalists Caste, Business, and Industry in Modern Nation*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York.

³⁴ See the section on independent Dalit politics

³⁵ G. Krishna Reddy (2002), "Regime Shift under Chandrababu Naidu in AP New Populism and Liberalization", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(9), pp.871-83

were given at that time. And only for electoral compulsions some populist policies have taken up. No commitment for social transformations and altering the caste relations in the state. The kammass have established complete control on almost all the fields of the state.³⁶

Dalits and Left Politics

In this section discussion on left parties and Dalits in their cadre and leadership is been covered. This will also discusses how these parties have taken Dalits into their fold and their initiatives to address those issues.

Unlike pre-independence times, the left parties both revolutionary, various Naxal Groups and parliamentary left both CPI, CPIM and others somewhat declined in the state. Otherwise, left was second dominant political force in the state both Hyderabad and coastal regions. In fact in 1952 first general elections there was talk that communists might come to power in the Hyderabad state. That did not happen and but they had have mass influence on backward and Dalit communities.

Both in naxalite movement and CPI, CPI (M) huge cadre base came from Dalits. One of the naxal founder was K.G. Satyamuthy was a Dalit.³⁷ However until, late nineties parliamentary left never took caste issue into their politics. But the post karamchedu,³⁸ naxal parties there are and were different groups took caste for discussion and strategise their politics. Ultimately the views of the dominant caste leaders prevailed many leaders from naxal parties came out and worked with *Dalita Mahasabha* will discuss in the following section.

Both the Naxal revolutionary and parliamentary left neglected caste question. And no need to say about mainstream political parties like TDP and Congress and other parties. The mismatch of cadre and leader was very much visible. The Dalits' interest were been ignored by all the political parties. Except the left parties' lip service to the social problems of the Dalits in the state, no one cared about. In this very disturbing times Dalit assertion and movement has emerged.

³⁶ Ibid pp.780-83

³⁷ His life story recent came as book by Sujatha Gidla (2017), *Ants among Elephants: An Untouchable Family and Making of Modern India*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.

³⁸ In 1985 massacre of Madigas in Karamchedu village of Prakasam district has changed dynamics of various political parties in AP including revolutionary left.

Autonomous Dalit Politics

The Dalits in the state were always the followers of either Congress or TDP and the left parties. In the post independent and state of AP formation there was no change. After experimentation of all most of all the political parties they have realised the need of independent Dalit politics in the state. And that has challenged the dominance of Kamma and Reddy communities in social and political realms. The question of social reform and self-respect and independent agency had made all the political parties to rethink their tactics and strategies. And at the same time the movement has given new hope of future for the Dalits and the other oppressed sections.

Karamchedu and the formation of Dalita Mahasabha

The TDP rule has become an opportunity for the dominant communities that are the kmmas. On the other hand for marginalised Dalits that regime of TDP and their people was nothing less than a calamity. That was too evident in the coastal region of the state. In many villages there was a kind of war like situation. The kamma youth became more aggressive and resorted to violence. There were many incidents of attacks on Dalits on almost day to day basis. However, many times neither media nor government agencies took the cognisance of the matter.³⁹

The dominance of Kamma's in coastal region is an interesting story. That was not happened within a year or so. Kamma's are in coastal Andhra region largely benefitted by the introduction of new technologies into the agriculture. They are largely land owning community and where they have good irrigation facilities. Therefore, they could focus on introducing commercial crops like cotton and tobacco and making money. For them making money became sole ambition in the post independent and after state formation and neglected education initially. Once they became rich started investment of that huge money for various businesses like entertainment and also education sectors. However, they were lacking big positions in administration and political power until early 1980s.⁴⁰

³⁹ K. Srinivasulu (2002), "Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh: Mapping Differential Regional Trajectories", Working Paper 179, Overseas Development Institute, London p.35

⁴⁰ Harish Damodaran (2008), *India's New Capitalists Caste, Business, and Industry in Modern Nation*, op.cit., pp. 92-98

Formation of Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in 1982 has changed the fortunes of Kammas in many ways.⁴¹ By then they could become dominant in all the villages of coastal Andhra with money power. Became investors and entrepreneurs, the entertainment industry and media was completely in their control in the state. They were looking for capturing political power in the state. That was exactly the time for emergence of the TDP with popular face of NTR with powerful slogan of Telugu pride. Within no time, less than year came to power in January 1983. With TDP came to power Kamma's have expanded their business throughout the country and many of them settled in US as computer experts.⁴²

The financial and political power has been displayed by them in most violent manner. The massacre of Dalits at Karamchedu in 1985 was shook the conscience of the entire Dalit communities.⁴³ the reason was very clear Madiga women stood for her and community's self-respect and right to drinking water was not been digested by the Kamma men. Entire village Kamma people organised planned attack on Dalits and killed six people on the spot and injured many. The kammas have made the Dalits flee from the village for their lives. All the Dalit families run for their lives to nearby town called *Chirala Prakasham* District of Andhra Pradesh. And all the Dalits have showed great solidarity and opposed the Kammas with remarkable unity.⁴⁴

That was the time and struggle united many likeminded people. Dalits from different political outfits came together. Entire movement led by Dalits themselves. Clearly, the independent agency for them was in making. The people who were responsible there many but Kathi Padama Rao⁴⁵ led the movement. Under his leadership, the movement could sustain the struggle and protect the injured Dalits. Could run the camp and establish shelters for the survivors who flown to Chirala from

⁴¹ Ibid pp. 105-109

⁴² Ibid 110-112

⁴³ See U. Sambashiva Rao (2005), eds. *Dalitha Rananninadham*, Telugu, Edureetha Publications, Hyderabad.

⁴⁴ Devarapalli Mastanrao (1997), *Dalitha Dashabdam Telugu*, Lokayatha Publications, Ponnuru, pp. 1-6

⁴⁵ Kathi Padma Rao b.1953 at Guntur, is rationalist and Sanskrit lecturer, and writer, after 1985 Karamchedu massacre emerged as the Dalit leader in the state. Who led that struggle and co-founder Dalitha Mahasabha, later joined BSP but not succeeded, in 2007 he joined Praja Rajyam of Chiranjivi.

Karamchedu. In all these processes Padma Rao have shown greater leadership skills and commitment.⁴⁶

Karamchedu movement was a symbol of Dalit self-respect, a sign of their collective struggle and it has awakened entire Dalit communities therefore if there were no Karamchedu struggle there was no Dalit change in their lives and history. Padma Rao calls it as the symbol of historical fight and change for Dalits like a Naxalbari for Marxist and Leninist struggles.⁴⁷ The movement had emerged from the philosophical background of annihilation of caste, unlike dominant kamma caste bhramanical philosophy of hierarchies. The struggle has given new identity for them as 'Dalit' for SCs otherwise called as 'harijans'. This movement's understand of AP social conditions aimed to organise SC, ST, BC and minorities were all as Dalits. And strengthened in new directions as Dalit consciousness, Dalit literature, Dalit movement, Dalit philosophy posed challenge to the Brahmanism and became a centre for anti brahmanical struggles.⁴⁸

The movement as clearly demarcated the perpetrators of caste violence and their caste and political background and challenged them. This has given new hope and new beginning of autonomous Dalit political movement in the state. Ambedkar's concept of political power is solution for all problems as became a source this new beginning. With the same understanding Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) emerged in Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Dalita Maha Sabha (DMS) has identified with BSP and unified with them. The strong based was women, youth, and awakened democratic culture from village level and made the society to realise no village was immune to caste dominance. Therefore, even the critics of the movement have compelled to study and imitate the struggle.⁴⁹

The decade 1985-1995, no doubt created a new consciousness among Dalits. Before Karamchedu there were many attacks on Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.⁵⁰ But 1985

⁴⁶ Ibid pp. 7-15

⁴⁷ Kathi Padma Rao (2011) in B. Krishnaiah(2011)eds. *Ambedkar Ananthara Dalitha Udyamalu, Sahithyam: Savallu* (Telugu) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Studies Centre (UGC), Kakathiya University Warangal, p.1

⁴⁸ Ibid p. 11

⁴⁹ Ibid pp. 12-13

⁵⁰ Papani Nagaraju (ed), (2015), *Dalitha Prathighatana Poratala Ninadham Karamchedu Nundi Laximpeta Dhaka*, Telugu, Jabali Publications, Hyderabad

brutal attack and movement against social oppression have produced many struggles of marginalised sections like women, mainly the Dalit women struggle, debates on caste and class question, more significant was political consciousness.

This decade initiated new debates on Dalit literature, Dalit identity and definition. The writers and scholars have been divided almost on their caste lines. Newly emerged Dalit literary figures and poets started adopted new language and declared literature has also a reflection of language. The writer's background decides his/her language and prominent writers neglected the language of the Dalits.⁵¹ On the question of Dalit identity and their writings interested many. Debated in different philosophical sources had new world views. The interesting debate initiated by G. Laxminarasaih and demarcated Dalit literature from revolutionary. His critic of revolutionary literature was based on how they look caste question and on what philosophical basis they oppose it. For Dalit writer this comes from the perspective of Jotiba Phule, Narayan Guru and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and recognises the caste oppression was primary problem. But for the revolutionary writers that caste was never their core issue, class always the main problem. Therefore, the two perspectives are different from each other. While challenging this kind of interpretation K. Satyanarayana said the Dalit liberation was very much part of revolutionary social transformation. Therefore, Dalit and caste question is very much part of revolutionary struggle. And he cautioned Dalits that above mentioned divisions are nothing but a conspiracy.⁵² However, no one ignores the significance of the questions the Dalit struggle raised and the debates around the movement.

⁵¹ Kovala Sampathkumacharya (2000) "Bhashaku 'kulamanlu' untaya?" in S.V. Satya Styanarayana(2000) eds. *Dalithavaada vivaadhalu A literary Debate on Telugu Dalit Literature* Telugu, Vishalandhra Publications, Hyderabad, pp.183-189, Bojja Tharakam(2000), "Yenduku Swamee 'Sanskruthakam'?!", pp .194-97, also see in the same volume Chalasani Prasad (2000), "Prathi Kalaaniki O Kulam Undhi...Undhi..." Telugu pp. 1998-2002

⁵² G. Laxminarasaiah (2000), "Dalitha Sahithyaniki Viplava Sahithyaniki Dhrukpathallo Thedha Undhi" Telugu in S.V. Satya Styanarayana(2000) eds. *Dalithavaada vivaadhalu A literary Debate on Telugu Dalit Literature* Telugu, Vishalandhra Publications, Hyderabad, 217-221, also see in the same volume K. Satyanarayana (2000) "Ee Photi Venuka Vunnadhi Kutra!" pp. 222-226

Chundururu and New Struggles

Dali massacre at Chundururu in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh on 6th August 1991 first of its kind barbarian act brutally murdered eight Dalits by Reddy landlords.⁵³ Unlike Karanchedu killings and other atrocities the Dalits in Chundururu didn't fly away from their place and shown exemplary courage and buried died bodies at the centre of the village. And rejected government compensation and demanded immediate arrests of perpetrators of attacks and killings. That they raised new slogan that they said Dalits after attacks need self-respect and self-protection rather compensation money and jobs. And initiated agitation in the village despite police harassments and again killing of one protester Anil Kumar.⁵⁴ This massacre considered as a big test for the democracy in India and its tall promises in the constitution and neglect of the same. Where seeking self-respect becomes crime, the supposed to be protectors of people here police becomes agents of murderers and delayed and denied justice becomes normal, then people of this country have to search for democracy and justice.⁵⁵ The Dalits has raised these fundamental questions and realised that only political power could answer these pertinent questions. And they have shown great courage of new political assertion and challenged both Congress and TDP and supported Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the elections of 1994. Entire struggle has put forward two interesting trends one by supported capturing political power led by Kathi Padma Rao and other was focused on sustained militant united struggles with collaboration with radical left wing outfits.⁵⁶ With this the question of caste in politics became notable and Dalit issues because of BSP politics, made an important political problem in the state.⁵⁷

⁵³ U. Sambashiva Rao (2005), eds. *Dalitha Rananninadham*, Telugu, Edureetha Publications, Hyderabad pp. 53-60

⁵⁴ Ibid p. 59-60

⁵⁵ P. Keshava Kumar (2009), *Dalitha Udhyamma Velugu Needalu*, Telugu, Spruha Publications, Hyderabad pp. 35-41

⁵⁶ Ibid 42-43

⁵⁷ K. Srinivasulu (1994), "BSP and Caste Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 29(40) pp. 2583-2586

The massacre has shaken the nation and Dalits started fighting on the streets and also in the Parliament demanded justice.⁵⁸ Kathi Padma Rao the leader of Karamchedu Dalit movement and founding general secretary of Dalitha Maha Sabha (DMS) in 1985 focused on political solutions to the problem. And visited Delhi, protested, and met various Dalit members of Parliament like Ram Vilas Paswan pressurised government to take action on perpetrators of caste violence at Chundur. That was considered as one man show by his DMS colleagues and accused him of compromised the cause of Chundur Dalits.⁵⁹

Fragmentations in the Movement

The sign of fragmentations surfaced in the movement. That was not a Sub Caste rivalry in the movement because both Kathi Padma Rao and Bojja Tharakam came from same community *Mala*. Therefore, the reasons were evident that the problem of personalities for leadership.

By the time of 1998 Dalit consciousness has asserted their right on land and share in village functioning. This resulted into another brutal killing of Madigas in Vempenta village in Kurnool district in July 15-16 1998. In this attack with involvement of naxalite groups and Rayalasima faction groups and their supporters has made into a complicated issue. However, the fact of matter was entire village various caste groups led by dominant Reddies have burnt Madiga's homes killed eight people.⁶⁰

BSP Experiment

In the state assembly elections of 1994 Dalits in AP contested at many places on BSP tickets. As mentioned earlier, that was not a unanimous decision among the then leading Dalit leaders. Mainly Kathi Padama Rao with initial reservations, joined BSP and contested that election from Bapatla in Guntur district. While, Bojja Tharakam

⁵⁸ Ram Vilas Paswan of Bihar raised the issue in the Lok Sabha and almost all the political parties supported him and demanded justice for Dalits, <https://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/lsdeb/ls10/ses1/0409089101.htm>

⁵⁹ More critical was K G Satya Murthy and U. Sambashiva Rao also Bojja Tharakam, see U. Sambashiva Rao (2005), *Dalitha Rananninadham*, Edureetha Publications, Hyderabad, pp.75-83

⁶⁰ U. Sambashiva Rao (2005), eds. *Dalitha Rananninadham*, Edureetha Publications, Hyderabad pp. 233-36, you can also find various viewpoints in this volume by leading Naxal, Human Rights Activists and Dalit Bahujan intellectuals

did not supported that move and stayed away from it. That the leadership issues have later became fragments in the movement and Tharakam initiated his own organisations.⁶¹

Fragmentations in the Movement

On the one hand leadership issues in the Dalit Mahasabha mainly between Kathi Padma Rao and Bojja Tarakam, on the other, sub-caste assertion of Madigas have emerged at the same time.

Madiga Dandora

The leadership crisis in Dalit politics is major concern in colonial as well as post Independent AP. As discussed above in Nizam's Hyderabad region and Andhra, lack of unity among Dalit leaders damaged the interests their communities. In post Dalita Mahasabha mid-1990s, problems in Dalit politics shifted their focus on reservations.⁶² Various castes among scheduled castes group not used the reservations, and Madigas felt marginalised and raised struggles. The marginalised Madigas' movement for categorisation of reservations popularly known 'Madiga Dandora'.⁶³

The Madigas main concern is lack of their representation in various educational institutions and government employment. Therefore, the youth got agitated, and established Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) in July 7, 1994 at a small village called eedumudi in Prakasam district of AP. An, accused other castes in SC category of enjoying reservation benefits and provided statistical evidence, mobilised Madigas in the state.⁶⁴

The writings from Madiga scholars accused Malas and Adi-Andhras of having brahmanical mind set and they do discriminate Madigas.⁶⁵ Therefore, according to

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Samabiah Gundimeda (2016), "Socila justice and the Question of Categorization of Scheduled Castes Reseravtions: The Dandora Debate in Andhra Pradesh", in Ramnarayan S. Rawat and K. Satya narayana (eds) *Dalit Studies*, Permanent Black : New Delhi p. 202.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ P. Muthaiah (2004), "Dandora: The Madiga Movement for Equal Identity and Social Justice In A.P.", *Social Action*, 54 (April-June)

⁶⁵ Ibid, Sambaiah Gundimeda (2016), op.cit., pp. 202-232, and same author "Madiga Dandora: A Social Movement for Rationalisation of Dalit Reservations" pp. 106-156, and Jangam Chinnaiah " Sub-Caste Conciousness: Challenges before Dalit Intellectuals" pp.

Jangam Chinnaiah Madigas demand for reservations categorisation raised certain critical questions and challenges.⁶⁶ Those are one is Madiga movement questioned internal hierarchies among Dalits. Second is since Dalits are never been homogeneous category, why people accused Madiga of dividing Dalits and their movement. Third one is Dandora movements first time educated and made organic leaders not just in urban areas even in small Madiga hamlets. Fourth one is new sense of self-respect became visible as adding Madiga to their names. Fifth is Dandora made new political culture and final, emergence of new leadership to Dalit political movement came from Madigas.⁶⁷

cause Dalit movement On July 7, 1994 Edumudi village of Prakasam district a new organisation called Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) emerged and demanded equal share of reservations out of 15 percent, proportionate to their population. Also known as 'Madiga Dandora' movement was primarily envisioned to fight for justice.⁶⁸ The leadership of the movement made the issue a political problem through diverse forms of protests in the state.

That internal differences make use of dominant castes initially TDP then Congress. After 2004 categorisation of SC reservations is under parliament consideration. The TDP initially in 1997, 1999 supported Madiga demand, despite Malas resistance implemented. After the year 2004 the Supreme Court judgement Congress at Delhi and AP came to power and promised categorisation but not made sincere efforts.⁶⁹

Yagati Chinna Rao seems more concerned with the haste involved in by the AP state government and various political parties, in what he called 'Dividing Dalits'.⁷⁰ And detailed those efforts in his work. Accordingly he says MRPS within no time forced the AP government to make an announcement of a commission on September 2, 1996 and one-man commission of enquiry was constituted, headed by Justice P.

100-05 in Yagati, Chinna Rao (ed), (2009) *Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub-Categorisation of Scheduled Castes*, Rawat Publications: Jaipur.

⁶⁶ Jangam Chinnaiah "Sub-Caste Consciousness: Challenges before Dalit Intellectuals" pp. 100-05 in Chinna Rao Yagati (ed), (2009) *Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub-Categorisation of Scheduled Castes*, Rawat Publications: Jaipur.

⁶⁷ Ibid. pp. 102-105

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ P. Muthaiah (2004), *op.cit.*

⁷⁰ Yagati, Chinna Rao (ed), (2009) *Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub-Categorisation of Scheduled Castes*, Rawat Publications: Jaipur. pp. 1-50.

Ramachandra Raju. In May 1997, the commission reiterated MRPS claims about disproportionate distribution of reservation and the over representation of “Malas” and “Adi-Andhras” both in public employment and in educational institutions and pointed out the injustice to the Madiga and their sub-castes. And also recommended categorization of SC communities into four groups.⁷¹

Accordingly the state government promulgated an ordinance in June 1997 and sub-categorised all the 59 SC communities in the state into four groups (A, B, C, and D) based on their relative backwardness, and fixed separate quota in state services of the State and seats in state-run educational institutions, for each of these four groups.⁷²

When, those who felt that, equal distribution of reservations was not correct went to the High Court and made to quash the government order (GO). Then the government went to Supreme Court. And also approached the National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC). And in accordance with the NCSC advice, the government withdrew the petition from Supreme Court on January 4, 1998. And made legislation in the state assembly. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes (Rationalisation of Reservation) Act of 2000. From 200-2004 that was in force and MRPS succeeded in ensuring justice to the weakest among SCs.⁷³

Again some of the Mala leaders approached the Supreme Court, and court pronounced its judgment in 2004. That case was known as E.V. Chinniah Vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and Others case, a five judge Supreme Court bench unanimously struck down the Act of AP. The Court also said that it was beyond the power of the state sub-classify a class already recognized by the Constitution and that it violated the Article 14 of the constitution, and said and only parliament empowered to that. Ever since that judgment came and Madigas been defeated, MRPS continuously fighting for justice.⁷⁴

After that AP government led by Congress and all political parties supported MRPS demand and requested union government to take necessary actions. Even AP

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷³ Tenneti Jayaraju, (2007), *Madigas of Andhra Pradesh & Their Struggle for Social Justice*, Intellectual Forum for Madigas, Vishakapatnam.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

assembly also passed resolution for the same. Accordingly in 2007 Union government decided to appoint a commission Justice Usha Mehra, a retired judge of the Delhi High Court, was appointed as the chairperson of the commission with one-year mandate to submit the report. The Commission, technically known as the “National Commission to Examine the Issue of Sub-Categorization of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh” (NCSCSC) and submitted its report in 2008 and recommended for parliament to consider the issue. Apart from other issues MPs in the 14th Lok Sabha were concerned with this problem as discussed in following chapters.

Mala Mahanadu

After MRPS formation and demand for justice in 1994, Malas opposed them and started counter mobilisation against distribution of reservation and formed Mala mahanadu and fighting for their demand.

With demand for sub-categorisation from Madigas and opposition from Malas resulted into long time fragments in the Dalit movement. After 2004 sub-categorisation continues to be a question before the Parliament. Therefore, in the 14th Lok Sabha Dalit MPs addressed the issue is one of the important research problem in this study in following chapters.

Following table provides the list of total 42 Lok Sabha members from the state elected in 2004 general elections to the 14th Lok Sabha. It also informs their respective political party in the table. And it does indicate in the table reserved seats for scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs) against their names wherever applicable.

Table 3.1 List of Successful Candidates Andhra Pradesh, 14th Lok Sabha 2004

Constituency	Winner	Party
1. Srikakulam	Yerrannaidu Kinjarapu	TDP
2. Parvathipuram (ST)	Kishore Chandra Suryanarayana Deo Vyricherla	INC
3. Bobbili	Kondapalli Pydithalli Naidu	TDP
4. Visakhapatnam	Janardhana Reddy Nedurumalli	INC
5. Bhadrachalam (ST)	Midiyam Babu Rao	CPM
7. Kakinada	Mallipudi Mangapati Pallam Raju	INC
8. Rajahmundry	Aruna Kumar Vundavalli	INC
9. Amalapuram (SC)	G.V. Harsha Kumar	INC
10. Narasapur	Chegondi Venkata Harirama Jogaiah	INC
11. Eluru	Kavuru Samba Siva Rao	INC
12. Machilipatnam	Badiga Ramakrishna	INC
13. Vijayawada	Rajagopal Lagadapati	INC
14. Tenali	Balashowry Vallabhaneni	INC
15. Guntur	Rayapati Sambasiva Rao	INC
16. Bapatla	Daggubati Purandareswari	INC
17. Narasaraopet	Mekapati Rajamohan Reddy	INC
18. Ongole	Sreenivasulu Reddy Magunta	INC
19. Nellore (SC)	Panabaka Lakshmi	INC
20. Tirupathi (SC)	Chinta Mohan	INC
21. Chittoor	D.K. Audikesavulu	TDP
22. Rajampet	Annayyagari Sai Prathap	INC
23. Cuddapah	Y.S. Vivekananda Reddy	INC
24. Hindupur	Nizamoddin	INC
25. Anantapur	Anantha Venkata Rami Reddy	INC

26. Kurnool	Kotla Jayasurya Prakasha Reddy	INC
27. Nandyal	S. P. Y. Reddy	INC
28. Nagarkurnool (SC)	Dr.Manda Jagannath	TDP
29. Mahabubnagar	D. Vittal Rao	INC
30. Hyderabad	Asaduddin Owaisi	AIMIM
31. Secunderabad	M. Anjan Kumar Yadav	INC
32. Siddipet (SC)	Sarvey Sathyanarayana	INC
33. Medak	A. Narendra	TRS
34. Nizamabad	Madhu Goud Yaskhi	INC
35. Adilabad	Madhusudhan Reddy Takkala	TRS
36. Peddapalli (SC)	G. Venkat Swamy	INC
37. Karimnagar	K. Chandra Shakher Rao	TRS
38. Hanamkonda	B.Vinod Kumar	TRS
39. Warangal	Dharavath Ravinder Naik	TRS
40. Khammam	Renuka Chowdhury	INC
41. Nalgonda	Suravaram Sudhakar Reddy	CPI
42. Miryalguda	Jaipal Reddy Sudini	INC

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I (National and state Abstracts and detailed Results), Election Commission of India, New Delhi, pp. 85-86.

Following table indicates Loksabha seats won the various political parties in 2004 general elections to the 14th Loksabha.

Table 3.2 Seats Won By Parties 2004, 14th Lok Sabha, Andhra Pradesh

Party	General	SC	ST	total
TDP	4	1		5
AIMIM	1			1
INC	23	5	1	29
TRS	5			5
CPI	1			1
CPM			1	1
Total Seats	34	6	2	42

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I (National and state Abstracts and detailed Results), Election Commission of India, New Delhi, p. 105.

In the history of state politics the fourteenth Lok Sabha is more diverse one. Various parties got representation in the Lok Sabha from the state. However the reserved constituencies of SCs controlled by Congress and TDP only.

Following table shows the votes polled by various political parties including independents in the 2004 general elections to the 14th Lok Sabha.

Table 3.3 Votes' Polled By Parties, 2004, 14th Lok Sabha Andhra Pradesh

Party Type	Party	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Fd In Seats	Votes Polled By Party	% Of Votes Polled
N	BJP	9	0	0	3006018	8.41%
N	BSP	26	0	26	507381	1.42%
N	CPI	1	1	0	479511	1.34%
N	CPM	1	1	0	373148	1.04%
N	INC	34	29	0	14861984	41.56%
S	CPI(ML)(L)	1	0	1	9458	0.03%
S	MUL	2	0	2	16313	0.05%
S	RJD	2	0	2	7260	0.02%
S	SP	2	0	2	41770	0.12%
S	TDP	33	5	0	11844811	33.12%
U	ABJS	1	0	1	649	0.00%
U	AIMIM	2	1	1	417248	1.17%
U	ANC	1	0	1	825	0.00%
U	BRPP	1	0	1	3421	0.01%
U	JP	4	0	4	22591	0.06%
U	MBT	1	0	1	47560	0.13%
U	MCPI(S)	4	0	4	38766	0.11%
U	MRS	1	0	1	3345	0.01%
U	NTRTDP(LP)	1	0	1	759	0.00%
U	PP	1	0	1	485	0.00%
U	PPOI	13	0	13	130362	0.36%
U	PRBP	1	0	1	23282	0.07%
U	RPI	1	0	1	903	0.00%
U	TRS	22	5	17	2441405	6.83%
Z	IND	114	0	113	1483415	4.15%
(Contestants, Seats Won, FD in Seats, Valid Votes) :		279	42	194	35762670	

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I (National and state Abstracts and detailed Results), Election Commission of India, New Delhi, p.148.

Chapter IV

Case Study of Amalapuram Parliamentary Constituency

Dalits in India faces multifold challenges and discrimination against them is an everyday practice. That doesn't mean there is no change in their conditions but whatever progress they have made is hard-earned despite strong opposition and difficulties from the caste Hindus in newer forms. The efforts of the Dalits for change in their lives had never been one dimensional. As their problems are multifold in the same way, they have responded. At the same time, the movements led by Dalits also not similar in their effects, influence and vibrancy. Since the problems faced by Dalits are fundamentally social, political and economical, the effort here has been made to study what are the issues they have faced and how they responded to them through their participation in the political sphere. However, the politics are involved everywhere, and moreover, because of political reasons, the so-called high caste people discriminate Dalits. That means Dalits cannot escape political issues. The effort here is to investigate their participation in the parliamentary politics the problem thereof. How they address those issues.

The Dalit movement's active participation in the parliamentary politics among other recent developments had caused two significant social changes; the emergence of 'Dalit middle class' and infrequency or invisibilisation of the practice of untouchability in public places. However, the elected representatives could not make desirable interventions in the elected bodies and did not reach the benefits to the common Dalits¹ he claims. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore why the

¹ Ghanshyam Shah (2001), *Dalit Identity and Politics Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*, vol.2, Sage Publications: New Delhi. pp.38-42

elected Dalit representatives are not meeting the expectations of their communities in this chapter the case of Amalapuram reserved constituency studied in detail.

Amalapuram Parliamentary Constituency

Amarapuram, one of the regions in coastal Andhra, falls under 'Kona Seema' in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. This area well developed with fertile lands and excellent irrigation facilities. The region is also considered as the active region for Dalit mobilisation and politics from pre-independence to the present. While during 1920 and 1930s had independent Dalit voices; however, when the independence was approaching, Congress had been appropriated Dalit leaders into their fold. Therefore, electorally, the dominant force, has been the Congress party. For local level and state assembly, some of the Dalits independently been elected but to the parliament, it is/has been either, i.e. Congress or Telugu Desam Party (TDP) ruled the constituency. This Lok Sabha constituency has first time made reserved for SCs during third Lok Sabha.² Since then out of twelve terms eight times Congress candidates won the MP seat. The remaining times TDP secured the place.

Under Amalapuram Lok Sabha constituency there were seven Assembly segments and three seats reserved for SC, those were, Thallarevu, Mummidivaram(SC), Allavaram(SC), Amalapuram, Kothapeta, Nagaram(SC), and Razole.

For the first time during the third Lok Sabha period in 1962 general elections, this constituency established and got reserved for SC. Before that, the first and the second Lok Sabha Amalapuram was part of Rajahmudry seat, and a two-member constituency represented by Kanety Mohana Rao from Communist Party of India (CPI) from 1952-62.³ The other was from dominant Zamindary family Nalla Reddi Naidu.⁴ Therefore, the following table gives the details of Amalapuram Lok Sabha constituency since the third Lok Sabha. The details of the Lok Sabha period and the

² Amalapuram was first in third Lok Sabha got reserved for SCs and Bayya Surya Narayana Murthy became MP.

³ Konety Mohana Rao (1925-2014) was freedom fighter, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/959.htm, "The Speaker Made Reference To The Passing Away Of Shri Kanety Mohana Rao on 10 June, 2014", see <https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/748881/1/408.pdf>.

⁴ See http://164.100.47.194/loksabha/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/880.htm

winning candidate's name and his/her political party affiliation. That also covered the 14th Lok Sabha, present study's focus period. Where for the first time G.V. Harsha Kumar from Congress owns this seat.

Table 4.1 Members of Lok Sabha- Amalapuram

Lok Sabha	Candidate won	Party
Third Lok Sabha [02/04/1962-03/03/1967]	Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy	Congress
Fourth Lok Sabha [04/03/1967-27/12/1970]	Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy	Congress
Fifth Lok Sabha [15/03/1971-18/01/1977]	Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy	Congress
Sixth Lok Sabha [23/03/1977-22/08/1979]	Kusuma Krishna Murthy	Congress
Seventh Lok Sabha [18/01/1980-31/12/1984]	Kusuma Krishna Murthy	Congress(I)
Eighth Lok Sabha [31/12/1984-27/11/1989]	Aithabathula J. Venkata Butchi Maheshwara Rao	Telugu Desam Party (TDP)
Eighth Lok Sabha [31/12/1984-27/11/1989]	Aithabathula J. Venkata Butchi Maheshwara Rao	TDP
Ninth Lok Sabha [27/11/1989-13/03/1991]	Kusuma Krishna Murthy	Congress(I)
Tenth Lok Sabha [13/03/1991-10/05/1996]	Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi	TDP
Eleventh Lok Sabha [10/05/1996- 04/12/1997]	K.S.R. Murthy	INC
Twelfth Lok Sabha [10/03/1998- 26/04/1999]	Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi	TDP
Thirteenth Lok Sabha [10/10/1999-06/02/2004]	Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi and Ganti Vijaya Kumari	TDP
Fourteenth Lok Sabha [17/05/2004-18/05/2009]	G.V. Harsha Kumar	INC

The table indicated that the apparent dominance of the Congress in Amalapuram constituency since the time of third Lok Sabha. Out of fourteen terms till the study period, the Congress won the seat for more than half of the period with eight times. And second place was taken by the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) five times. And Bayya Suryanarayana Murthy of Congress represented the constituency consecutive three terms from 1962-1977. Following two terms also represented by the Congress party candidate only ones Kusuma Krishna Murthy in sixth Lok Sabha. After Indira Gandhi expulsion from the party in 1969, Congress got split into two groups. One was Congress (o) means Congress organisation led by old leaders K. Kamaraj, Morarji Desai and others and second was formed by Indira Gandhi as Congress (R). In their annual meeting out of 705 members, 446 went with Indira Gandhi.⁵ In Andhra Pradesh, most of the leaders and people not supported the Indira Gandhi Congress. In Amalapuram Bayya Suryanarayan Murthy and Kusuma Krishna Murthy were from the same group, Congress (o).

For the first time during eight Lok Sabha general elections, Congress faced the severe challenge from newly formed TDP under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao. The Congress was defeated by NTR in 1984 general elections within a year of party formation he came to power in the state. And for Amalapuram constituency TDP nominated Aithabathula J. Venkata Butchi Maheshwara Rao won the seat.⁶

Since ninth to twelve Lok Sabha both TDP and Congress won Amalapuram seat alternatively. The twelfth Lok Sabha represented by TDP's GMC Balayogi and made the Speaker of Lok Sabha in 1998 till 2002. He was the first Dalit member occupied the position.⁷ He won the seat consecutive second term and in 2002 in a helicopter crash died on 02 March 2002 in Krishna district. In by-elections, his widow Vijaya Kumari became MP 2002-04.

⁵ Bipan Chandra and et.al. eds. (2000), *India After Independence 1947-2000*, Penguin Books, New Delhi p. 236

⁶ Aithabathula J. Venkata Butchi Maheashwara Rao b. 1951 Amalapuram, was well educated, was also member of AP Assembly, see http://loksabhaph.nic.in/writereaddata/biodata_1_12/3135.htm

⁷ GMC Balayogi: India's first Dalit Speaker, Times of India March 03 2002 <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/GMC-Balayogi-Indias-first-Dalit-Speaker/articleshow/2641884.cms>

Almost a decade long rule of TDP in the state Chandrababu Naidu as Chief Minister faced huge anti-incumbency and the Congress under the leadership of YS Rajashekar Reddy challenged TDP rule. In the 2004 general elections, the Congress captured to power in the state. And own 29 Lok Sabha seats with the support of Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) are five total 34 seats held by Congress-led UPA in the state. The following table shows the Amalapuram parliamentary constituency results of 2004.

Table 4.2 2004 General Elections, 14th Lok Sabha, Amalapuram Results

No. Candidates	Sex	Age	Party	Valid votes polled General	Postal	Total
3.G.V. Harsha Kumar	M	43	INC	349233	1113	350346
1. Dunna Janardhana Rao	M	53	TDP	308468	393	308861
4. Muneeswara Rao Bhupati	M	59	IND	26698	1	26699
5. Yalangi Ramesh	M	40	IND	9550	0	9550
2. D. Muralikrishna	M	59	BSP	8766	2	8768
TOTAL				702715	1509	704224

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I (National and state Abstracts and detailed Results), Election Commission of India, New Delhi, p. 192

For the first time in Amalapuram GV Harsh Kumar won, defeated his nearest rival of TDP Dunna Janardhan Rao by a margin of 41, 485 votes. That was a massive margin for Harsha Kumar. He was a contestant for the same seat in 1999 and lost to GMC Balayogi.

G.V. Harsha Kumar Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha, Amalapuram 2004-09

Harsha Kumar started his political career as a student activist at a very young age. During his 12th standard level while in College he has been elected as college vice president in the year 1977. At that time he took a keen interest in social service activities. Like in 1977 there were floods in ‘*diviseema*’ area helped people there along with his student team.⁸ And he has continued social work in his graduation level as well. Therefore at college in the first year itself, he has been elected as college

⁸ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar, December 18, 2017, Rajahmundry

joint secretary and general secretary and president to the Congress student wing in the next two years in Rajamandry town. During this period he has mobilised students to resolve their mess charges problem in the college hostel.

In his university days, he has led many movements as a student leader and became popular among students and senior Congress politicians at that time.⁹ In the year 1983 led students to demand provisional certificates to be sent to colleges and in between some been beaten up by university employees and the dominant employees union Centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU) and their student wing Students Federation of India (SFI) has supported employees. Harsh Kumar led student group has beaten SFI students, which resulted in closer university for fifteen days. Police was searched for Harsha Kumar and put various cases on him. At the end when university been reopened Harsha Kumar led students movement has succeeded in fulfilment all their demands. That was the first incident which made him a popular student leader in Andhra University.

In the year 1984 during NTR regime Andhra University (AU) students opposed the imposition of outsider US returned Koneru Ramakrishna Rao as university vice-chancellor. Under the leadership of Harsha Kumar, students took university administration into their control. He has become a trendy leader among students in Andhra University. During this period even he spent seventeen days in prison as a student leader at Vizag central jail. And he claims that as AU student leader he was the only one who has appeared their exams from jail.¹⁰

While talking about elections in college and university level, he took an active part and contested elections. In the university caste-based student politics notable till then only two caste groups were elected as presidents whether Brahmin or Kamma. But first time as SC he has asserted his identity and contested for president post. Though electorally he was defeated he claims that he has created an atmosphere of lower caste assertion became very popular among the students both the times during his graduation and post-graduation. This active participation in student politics resulted in to make him as a popular politician in later period in the Congress party and among SCs in the state.

⁹ Ibid,

¹⁰ Ibid, also communication in Facebook

Harsha Kumar as a Student and Youth Congress leader (NSUI)

He was a very active leader of NSUI in his student days. While he was in AU, could establish contact with all the then state and central leaders of Congress. The leaders included Rajiv Gandhi. While recollecting his political career, Harsha Kumar says that has started with fighting within the party. That was nothing but ‘politics of exclusion’. In the year 1980, he was district NSUI president, one day. Suddenly he was removed by a dominant caste leader. And Harsh Kumar has strongly resisted the move and made it revoke within a day. In that particular context, he has decided that without fighting, he will not get any position in the party. And Kumar also learnt that group politics in the Congress and persons from Dalit and weaker sections would be scapegoats. He decided to continue in the party and fight back discrimination. In that particular incident a lady MLA Thadavarti Satyawati in office 1978-83, was supported him.¹¹

In the year 1988, he has become state vice president of Youth Congress. His relation with Mukhul Wasnik helped him secure a position in youth Congress. Because Mukul was come from a Dalit background and was helped Harsha Kumar in his political career in the party.

Contesting Elections and fight for Amalapuram Parliament Seat

His electoral journey began in 1985. As a student leader, he contested for MLA from Payakrao Peta constituency and lost.¹² Since the time was in favour of Congress and people were sympathetic to the NT Rama Rao, and TDP won that election. In 1989 elections he wanted to contest as MP from Amalapuram, but due to some internal politics in his party, he couldn’t secure the ticket. And party asked him to again contest from Payakrao Peta MLA constituency, dramatically party state president Marri Chenna Reddy didn’t give him B-form. This form signed by the authorised person of the party indicating the name of the candidate who is put up by that political party. The filled-in form has to be provided in a specific format. The way also has a provision for naming a substitute in case the nomination of the approved candidate is rejected. This form is proof that a particular candidate is put up by a political party. The B-Form ensures that he is allotted the reserved symbol of the political party along

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid, and interviews to various TV channels available in YouTube.

with all the other advantages that come with the reserved logo. Then next was an election in the year 1991 to the Lok Sabha by-elections. Since all the parties were given tickets to sitting MPs, he didn't get the opportunity to contest. But during the election campaign, Rajiv Gandhi came to Vizag and Harsh Kumar as youth leader has jointly participated and introduced to Rajiv.

In the 1994 elections in the state and Lok Sabha but he was not eligible to contest. Again in 1996 Lok Sabha elections, he was a contender, but the Congress leadership wanted him to fight for assembly. But Kumar was keen on contesting to Lok Sabha only. The party denied him the ticket, and he felt terrible and wanted to show his strength to the party leaders. Again in 1998 elections to Lok Sabha but Kumar not applied. Then in 1999 Lok Sabha elections by that time Kumar was become a trendy leader and had a significant number of followers in the party. And he was a mighty contender for the MP ticket, and he said that he was the only name was considered in-state party for Amalapuram MP Seat. That was almost clear that Kumar was going to contest and win. However, at the last stage of seat allotment because of YS Rajashekar Reddy Harsha Kumar couldn't get the ticket, he claimed. When the party denied him the ticket along with others, Kumar announced his resignation to the party. And he has supported an independent candidate.

Harsha Kumar explained the reason for YSR opposed his candidature was that of the case of 'political discrimination'.¹³ Before that 1999 elections in an election preparatory district congress activists meeting, for that particular meeting, Harsha Kumar worked hard for all the arrangements. However, while coming to sharing of the stage, he has been humiliated and discriminated. Immediately, Harsha Kumar has resisted that act of 'political discrimination' and walked out of the meeting.¹⁴ At that meeting, YSR repeatedly asked Kumar to stay back and not to leave the room. But Kumar didn't hear to his call. Since then YSR was angry on Kumar, and that was the reason that former stopped ticket to Kumar.¹⁵

In between in a local issue, Kumar has beaten a public servant, irrigation chief superintendent officer. Then ruling TDP government in the state and a Dalit leader

¹³ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar, December 24, 2017, Rajahmundry

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

from the area, Amalapuram MP and Lok Sabha speaker GMC Balayogi has ordered opening a rowdy sheet on him. Harsha Kumar went to the high court and got orders in his favour. The court has asked the police how can person been declared rowdy sheeter has on only one case on him.¹⁶

In 1999 Lok Sabha election, Congress nominee lost votes, and GMC Balayogi became Lok Sabha Speaker.¹⁷ Since Harsh Kumar had announced his resignation but the party did not accept that. Youth congress organised a post-election meet at Bangalore. And the president of the youth congress called Kumar for that meeting. Kumar attended that meeting. Again at that meet, YSR was angry on Kumar, and they planned for his expulsion from the youth congress. And two of his followers have been expelled. Since he was state vice president and right to his removal was under the purview of national president. Harsh Kumar has supported by then youth congress national president Mukul Wasnik, a Dalit leader. One could understand that if you have your people at a higher level then only you will have future in Congress party. No matter how efficient you are, that doesn't matter. That was the clear case of political exclusion and discrimination. And that was evident in the case of Harsha Kumar.

Rajamundry Mayor Elections 2002

Harsha Kumar has become a Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC) secretary in the Satyanarayana Rao led committee.¹⁸ In between Rajahmundry city has become Municipal Corporation. But elections were not held. Since Harsha Kumar stations at Rajahmundry, he has approached the high court and got orders in favour of him, court-ordered conducting polls within six months in 2002. The corporation was declared SC reserved. In that context, Harsha Kumar met Congress president Sonia Gandhi for the ticket. The PCC appointed a three-member committee to find a candidate. That committee favoured Harsha Kumar, but YSR and others opposed it. Kumar has become a trendy leader, and his community *Malas* have become his strong support base. At the last hour of nominations, his opponent complained to PCC that

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ GMC Balayogi first Dalit Lok Sabha Speaker, see <https://speakerloksabha.nic.in/former/baalayogi.asp>

¹⁸ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar, December 24, 2017, Rajahmundry.

Kumar had criminal cases on him and rowdy sheet on him. Then PCC president questioned his credentials at that time his court, as mentioned earlier orders have helped him. And Kumar got a ticket for contesting as Corporation chairman not through the support of any prominent leader but only by fighting. That was nothing but political discrimination in the party. If Dalit becomes a good leader and gets a position in the party, the dominant caste leaders never encouraged instead create problems. In that election within the party, his opponents didn't make the campaign and threatened to resign from the party. In opposition, TDP was in the ruling. TDP did not follow election code, mass rigging occurred in some places, and money power as made Harsha Kumar lose the election, he informs. However, he says that particular election opponents within and outside party conspiracies have helped him to get popularity and sympathy, and he says that helped him in future elections.

Lok Sabha Elections 2004

In 2004 general elections Congress was fighting the election under the leadership of YSR. Again he had to fight for his seat because YSR was not in his favour. But due to high command or central leadership support, he got the ticket and elected to the 14th Lok Sabha from Amalapuram constituency.

Dalit Issues

In the year 1985 July 17, Dalit massacre at Karamchedu. Kamma landlords killed Madigas in Karamchedu village, of Prakasam district. Dalits and various other mass organisations organised protests across the state. As a student leader, Harsha Kumar very actively participated in the agitations centred around Vizag and Andhra University.¹⁹

Another massive killing of Dalits in 1991 August 6 at Chundur in Guntur district. Then the Congress party was ruling the state. Congress supporters in the village dominant Reddies killed *Malas*. Then Harsha Kumar was youth Congress state vice president. And he informed that he could spare his party. And actively participated in the protests and he could protest and stopped the vehicle of then Congress Chief Minister N. Janardhan Reddy at Chundur.

¹⁹ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar, December 18, 2017, Rajahmundry.

Establishment of Educational Institutions at Rajahmundry

In the year 1991, when PV Narasimha Rao was Prime Minister, the then government has brought new education policy. Which has allowed many private players to start educational institutions with new courses. In that process, Harsha Kumar has established Rajiv Gandhi Educational Institutions at Rajahmundry.²⁰ As a student and youth leader well known in academic circles, he could get permissions for the same. However, that was not an easy task. He had to face many challenges, and he says many of his friends have helped him in the Endeavour.

He has started college in 1991 December, of course as he claims with the support of his friends. Though then serving Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University has suggested him to establish a college. And VC wanted some favour for him in return he could give permission. But honestly, Harsha Kumar had rejected the offer. But his idea of starting a college was there. When the new VC has come, and he applied for the same and got permission. He says that everybody was at the surprise and asked how Harsha Kumar can establish a college and how long that would continue. He said that without financial power and social status that was a difficult task, but he could achieve this with his commitment to the institute sustained. By now it has a history of 28 years with more new courses. And he says that through his dedication to education has helped many miserable as he claims that he supports many people who could not pay a fee. Harsh Kumar also said that while remembering his college days when he had to take tuitions for his pocket money.

Occupying Nominated Positions

Harsha Kumar was always felt thankful to the All India Congress leader then NSUI and Youth Congress leader Mukul Wasnik. Because of him, Harsha Kumar could get positions at state level NSUI and Youth Congress. He also says because of Mukul, Harsha Kumar got a national level nominated post in the year 1992. Harsha Kumar appointed as a member, Committee on National Youth Programme (CONYP) under the ministry of youth and sports. Later he could also become national and state consumer rights forum.²¹

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

Harsha Kumar is also thankful to Mukul for his encouragement because of him Kumar could go for a foreign travel first time in 1994. Harsha Kumar has been made a member of the Indian delegation to an international environmental conference at Singapore during 5-7 June 1994.²²

Harsha Kumar's Political Participation

In 2004 general elections Harsha Kumar was first time elected from Amapuram SC reserved constituency. Since he is a member of Congress and the same party led the united progressive alliance (UPA) at Centre has been made the member of some committees. In 2004-05 he had been made a member of the committee on Human Resource Development, member committee on the absence of members from sittings of the house and became a member of the consultative committee on ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas.²³

In 2006 again he had been made the member of the committee on Human Resource Development and member committee on the absence of members from sittings of the House.²⁴ And in the year 2007, he has been made member committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution. And Kumar also became a member of the committee on Human Resource Development. In the fourteenth Lok Sabha except became a member and didn't get an opportunity to participate in any debate.²⁵

MP's participation in Lok Sabha is minimal. He claims Dalit MPs won't get chance to speak on some critical issues if at all they got opportunities to speak in the House they get casual subjects. If one is interested may have to raise voice only during the Zero hour. For the first time, members minimal scope for participation. In the house, the government is supreme what Bill to be tabled, when to be presented and how to pass everything they would decide. If you are an MP, interested in solving

²² Ibid

²³ See <https://archive.india.gov.in/govt/loksabhampbiodata.php?mpcode=4017> also various report of the Committee and their minutes

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid

local issues that could only be done within the party by taking Centre leadership in confidence. But this can't be done through parliament.²⁶

In any political party, SCs getting a ticket for contesting as MPs is not an easy task. One should have a godfather in the party. Or one should be more loyal to the party chiefs. But in his case, he never had any such godfather. In the Congress Party, if one is to get a ticket, he/she should be close to Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC) president or his men. Since Harsha Kumar never had such persons in the party; therefore, he had to struggle independently. He says thus in both the terms in 2004 first elected and 2009, and again in 2014, he had to fight in the party to get a ticket to contest.²⁷

Participation in the Lok Sabha Debates

Harsha Kumar was first time MP in the fourteenth Lok Sabha 2004-09. There was minimal scope for him to participate in the debates. However, he made attempts to take part in discussions and raise specific questions.

On Cooperative Banks

Harsha Kumar's participation in the 14th Lok Sabha is minimal, and it has started in the third session with a supplementary question. The Lok Sabha was in 'Question Hour',²⁸ discussing a starred issue numbered 243, been answered orally, on whether the government was interested in bailing out some of the cooperative banks in India. The minister of finance P. Chidambaram responded that he was received many such complaints about numerous such cooperative banks almost on an everyday basis. But he informed that "the Government of India cannot bail out every failing cooperative bank. The RBI grants the licences; the RBI cancels the licences where they are in breach".²⁹ He also informed the House that the RBI issues licences and also cancels, and the government of India cannot interfere and the government even cannot bailout each cooperative Bank.

²⁶ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar 18 December 2017, Rajahmundry

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ In every sitting of the Lok Sabha first hour 11 a.m. to 12 noon consider as Question Hour, Member can put their questions to the Ministers and questions been selected on the basis of lucky draw only.

²⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VI, Third Session, (13), December 17, 2004, pp. 3-38.

In this context supplementary question, for the first time, Harsha Kumar asked was about the implementation of the RBI guidelines in regards to cooperative banks. Since the problem already asked and minister answered. Then the Speaker of Lok Sabha informed Harsha Kumar, that he was asked same, Harsha Kumar said he had the same question to ask. However, the Speaker complimented Harsha Kumar for his first attempt to ask a problem in the House.³⁰

On Reservation in Educational Institutions

For the first time on December 21 2005, Harsha Kumar participated in a debate on the 104th Constitutional amendment bill, 2005. The speech laid on the table, in that speech, Harsha Kumar supported the bill and explained the necessity of reservations to the weaker sections like Dalits, SCs, STs, and OBCs. He said the government was not in a position to manage the education of all streams. Therefore, the private sector has been encouraged, but the private sector neglects the welfare of weaker sections of society. And the, unfortunately, the private sector considers the education profession as one of the business sectors. Therefore, he explained that the government has to ensure “Right to Education' is a Fundamental Right. It is the constitutional obligation consequently the Government to facilitate downtrodden sections of the society to avail educational facilities at all levels”.³¹

In the era of liberalisation newer, technical and professional courses offered in educational institutions. And traditional arts and sciences have been neglected. After the entry of world trade organisation (WTO) and general agreement on trade and tariffs (GAAT) education has entirely become big business. The doors of these paradises, professional corporate, educational institutions have shut for Dalits and other weaker sections. The situation as became so pathetic that significant corporate education is for precious children and traditional and government education is for SCs, STs, and OBCs. Therefore, he appealed the House that SC, ST students helped to join corporate institutions and get professional knowledge along with wealthy students. For that, the government should be having some control over these institutions in their admissions and fee structures. And finally, he requested the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVI, Sixth Session, (21), December 21, 2005, pp. 595-96

government to constitute a committee to look into the matters of fee structure and admissions.³²

On Environment

In the fourth session on May 10, 2005, Harsha Kumar raised a question number 622 regarding Lutyens' bungalows were unsafe for VIP's security in Delhi, and he said as reported in the media and committees suggested that restructuring and demolition of homes were needed. In that context, he asked how many numbers of flats or apartments in the zone which required to demolished and reconstructed with the provision of residential accommodation, offices, provision of security and improved environment to preserve its heritage and with a coordinated architectural and structural planning to obtain optimal solutions.³³

Harsha Kumar further asked that the demolished bungalows, however, met with stout resistance from a group of architects and environmentalists who argued that the demolition would deprive the Capital of a significant portion of the glorious colonial heritage. It also feared that any destruction of bungalows would do irreparable harm to the Capital landscape. Therefore, he questioned the government that whether the bungalows needed to demolish have become a threat to the VIP security and would involve a significant drain on the coffers and the speaker appreciated his way of putting a question.³⁴ The Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad in his reply informed the House that one could not live in an unsafe house, but in Lutyen's area, there were already guidelines, and the government would follow and cannot mock the instructions.

On Disqualifications

On July 31, 2006, Harsha Kumar, voted for in support of the bill which was to amend to act of 1959 to the prevention of disqualification, act and that bill was already passed by the Rajya Sabha.³⁵

³² Ibid, pp. 596-598

³³ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, X, Fourth Session, (35), May 10, 2005, pp. 2-40.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXI, Eight Session, (6), July 31, 2006

Ban on Use of Plastic

Harsha Kumar on December 18, 2006, asked a supplementary question on implementation of the prohibition of plastic industries. That was again a starred question numbered 362, which answered orally. The exact problem was many states in India promoting a ban on plastic use. And he said that the government of India also encouraged an alternative to the plastic, but that not materialised. And he raised the question that if the government has to decide complete ban on plastic industries, what steps the government would take to protect the employees of that industry.³⁶

He was a first time member of Lok Sabha and new to the House was learning things. As a member of treasury benches, he was supposed to help the Speaker to run the House smoothly. However, at almost end of the fourteenth Lok Sabha UPA government, had to face a no-confidence motion in the House. That necessitated due to Left parties' support to the government in 2008 in opposition to the Indo-US nuclear deal. In the context, Harsha Kumar was interrupted the speech of the Leader of Opposition L.K. Advani on July 21, 2008. The Speaker had to caution him and asked to him to not to disturb the House otherwise had to ask to go out.³⁷ The Left and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) were very critical of the deal with the US. And for the Congress party that considered a prestigious agreement, wanted not to lose the confidence of the House. That next day after a very long debate and at about 8 o'clock in the night, the motion came for voting, Harsha Kumar voted for the motion expressing confidence in the council of ministers. UPA retained the determination of the House with 275 to 256 votes.³⁸

Harsha Kumar thought not participated in many debates and asked the number of questions, but he was regular to the House, and whenever there was voting, he always present and supported his party and UPA government. After no-trust motion in Lok Sabha, the Left parties became more aggressive in the House. They used to oppose the government and challenged them by proposing amendments to the bills. Such was on December 17, 2008, Santasri Chatterjee of CPI and Hannan Mollah of

³⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXIV, Ninth Session, (19), December 18, 2006. pp. 5-41

³⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXV, Fourteenth Session, (1), July 21, 2008.

³⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, Part II, XXXVI, Fourteenth Session, (14), July 22, 2008.

CPM from West Bengal suggested specific changes to the unorganised workers' social security bill, 2008, Harsha Kumar voted twice to say no to various modifications of the Left and other members'.³⁹ In the last session that was the fifteenth one of fourteenth Lok Sabha, on February 25, 2009, Harsha Kumar voted in support of his party and government and opposed various amendments proposed by the opposition parties to the Rehabilitation and resettlement bill, 2007 and Land acquisition (Amendment) Bill, 2007. That motion discussed under rule 388, Hannan Mollah of CPM proposed amendments and demanded a division of House and voting.⁴⁰

³⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, Part II, XXXVI, Fourteenth Session, (14), December 17, 2008.

⁴⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXVII, Fifteenth Session, (9), February 25, 2009.

Table 4.3 Attendance in the Lok Sabha

Session	Sitting period	Total sittings	Attended
First	2.06.2004- 10.06.2004	07	07
Second	05.07.2004- 26.08.2004	24	19
Third	01.12.2004- 23.12.2004	17	16
Fourth	25.02.2005- 13.05.2005	38	24
Fifth	25.07.2005- 30.08.2005	38	13
Sixth	23.11.2005- 23.12.2005	23	18
Seventh	16.2.2006- 23.5.2006	35	24
Eighth	24.07.2006- 25.08.2006	22	09
Ninth	22.11.2006- 19.12.2006	20	13
Tenth	23.02.2007- 17.05.2007	32	20
Eleventh	10.08.2007- 10.09.2007	17	14
Twelfth	15.11.2007- 07.12.2007	17	08
Thirteenth	25.02.2008- 20.03.2008 and 15.04.2008- 09.05.2008	28	16
Fourteenth	21.07.2008- 17.10.2008- 24.10.2008 and 10.12.2008- 23.12.2008	18	14
Fifteenth	12.02.2009- 20.02.2009	10	08
Total		346	223

Source: compiled from data available on Lok Sabha website.

The above table indicated Harsha Kumar's attendance in all fifteen sessions of fourteenth Lok Sabha. The first session of this Lok Sabha initiated on June 02, 2004

and ended with the fifteenth session on February 20, 2009. The table is shown total sittings of each session and in how many meetings Harsha Kumar attended. The full meetings in all the fifteen sessions were 346, Harsha Kumar attended 223 meetings. That amounted to be 64.4 per cent.

Reasons for Limited Participation in the Lok Sabha

Harsha Kumar says that there were many reasons for lack of proper participation of Dalit MPs in the Lok Sabha. Performance lack in Lok Sabha reasons. Among those first and most crucial one is the problem of Language. Though India not has adopted Hindi as an official language, all most all the debates been conducted in the house are in that language only. It's a significant issue with MPs from south India. For Dalit MPs since the majority not been well educated, therefore also lacks English skills. And MPs from south more comfortable in their mother tongues only.

The other problem is if one were to be the first time Member of Parliament he would not get membership in the committees of his interest. Those committees are either consultative or standing, no change in their composition. Again even in those committees based on seniority chairpersons are elected. Therefore for Kumar in the deliberations of those committees is also language again a problem for southern MPs. That continues to be an issue because deliberations conducted in Hindi only. English and other regional language have not been considered worth consideration in those meetings.⁴¹

Support from the Party

For Dalit, MPs support from their respective parties always an issue to deal. The reality in this country is that almost of all the major parties are led by dominant castes. The discrimination in their functioning is an open secret.⁴² If one comes from the same community which their leadership belongs to then only one's chances of

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² In terms of various parties dominated in AP are TDP controlled by Kammas' since its inception, first NTR then his nephew Chandrababu Naidu till now and promoting his son Lokesh for next. The Congress from the very beginning of state formation dominated by Reddies. In 2004 when Congress came to power in the state under the leadership of YS Rajasekhara Reddy, consolidated his community's power in the state. See K. Srinivasulu (2009), "YS Rajasekhara Reddy: A Political Appraisal", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(38), pp. 8-10.

recognition and encouragement depends. Since Dalits are the minority in those parties, never get due respect and support. That does not only happen within the party but also in the Lok Sabha. Dalit MPs have never been properly encouraged no matter how much one could perform and talented. And if he happens to be first time elected member like Harsha Kumar, chances are very bleak for his participation in the House. But of his interest and persuasion in the party, he could become a member of the standing committee on Petroleum and human resource development in 2006.⁴³

The position of Dalits in Congress party he said the user has a soft corner. Since the party have had a legacy of independence struggle used to accommodate all the sections and displayed special care for weaker sections. That was the case with till about Indira Gandhi times. During her tenure, still, the people from rural backgrounds and diverse social categories been encouraged. But when Rajiv Gandhi came to power the composition of the government and the party has changed. Though Harsha Kumar says, he admires Rajiv Gandhi⁴⁴ but the fact he says more people from elite backgrounds were surrounded by Rajiv. Since then the positions both in Congress and government was given only to lobbyists. And many hardworking leaders had been neglected. He informed that people like him who has independent thinking and background of struggles don't like to meet frequently and present gifts for those who considered close to the leadership. Same situation prevalent in the House also who could all the lobbying could get the chance to speak and participate debates in the House. However, he believes that whenever Dalit issues came for debate, almost all political parties support and take positions in favour of them. An interesting and crucial issue he disclosed that the big corporate houses control debates in the House and various political parties position in Lok Sabha. In this case, both opposition and ruling parties employ the same position on whenever there was a question on corporate houses corruption mainly the Reliance, and no one knows that particular day the House won't functions and immediately been adjourned.⁴⁵

⁴³ Researcher's recorded interview with Harsha Kumar, at Rajahmundry (December 19, 2017)

⁴⁴ Harsh Kumar Established Rajiv Gandhi Educational Institutions at Rajahmundry in early 1990s and provides fee concessions for poor students.

⁴⁵ He informed in personal interview on December 24, 2017 at Rajamundry, and informed regarding alleged corruption at KG basin gas by Reliance industries and he has been fighting against it in courts.

He is very much concerned about representation in the Congress party highest decision-making body Congress Working Committee (CWC) minimal space for Dalits. Majority in the CWC are Brahmins and Baniyas he accused. Hardworking Dalit leaders won't get a chance. If Dalits have at all they have to make members of Lok Sabha or party positions, parasites been given opportunities in by the party leadership. With this kind of situation, only people with money like bureaucrats or people from glamour fields have offered positions. They are least concerned with Dalit issues and politics, discrimination within House and party; their only priority is to become an elected public representative or MP. In the long run, this is not good for democracy and weaker sections like Dalits, Harsha Kumar described.⁴⁶

But overall Dalit leaders in various political parties have been discouraging in many different ways and means. Like selection of candidates for elections. In the reserved constituencies, no independent-minded and self-styled leaders like him never been considered. Instead of the new people those from bureaucracy or with celebrity status been considered. And strong leaders have been neglected; therefore, these new faces can't survive in politics. If at all leaders with mass support base been given tickets in the reserved constituencies and never continued more than two terms. Therefore, he claims a political life span of Dalit leaders is very limited. Therefore, he asserts this is nothing but political discrimination against Dalit leaders in the party.⁴⁷

The Community concerns and On Sub-categorization

Except for combined Andhra Pradesh, no Dalit community or leaders support this demand he explained. Only because of Telugu Desam Party (TDP) support the issue is alive in the debate. He says that after gathered and examined data from various sources, including the social welfare department, there were no disparities of reservations utilisation among SC communities, mainly Mala and Madiga. Therefore one should not support it, Kumar reasoned. Whereas in the Parliamentary meeting such as SC/ST parliamentary forum was not in support of this demand. And important national constitutional committee responsible for SC welfare and other issues the National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC) was also opposed the demand for

⁴⁶ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar on 24 December 2017, Rajahmundry

⁴⁷ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar on 18 December 2017, Rajahmundry

sub-categorisation.⁴⁸ Kumar said that the opposition to the demand exists at a high level. At SC/ST parliamentary forum out of 100 plus members except for Madiga MPs from Telangana Dr Manda Jagannath, discussed in the following chapter and Nandi Yellaiah⁴⁹ no one wished to include this as subject to be discussed with lunch meeting in with then Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh in the parliament.⁵⁰

After 2004 general elections under the leadership of YS Rajashekar Reddy Congress came to power in the state. And without discussing in the party forums YS supported this demand, Kumar alleged and strongly opposed it. Kumar has become on the face of its anti YSR within the party. He also tried to appraise and influence the central party leadership by arranging meetings with Mala community leader PV Rao with Sonia Gandhi. And organised Mala MPs like Panabaka Laxmi⁵¹ and J.D. Seelam⁵² and gained the support of some senior members of parliament belongs to Mala community.

By 2008 the issue has become very complicated, and there was the only option left was parliament passes a resolution. The Congress leadership was seriously considered such a recommendation. Before taking up the issue in the parliament, the union government constituted a commission headed by retired Delhi high court judge Justice Usha Mehra.⁵³ In her report, Kumar explained the demand was genuine, and parliament could act a law empowering the state governments to consider the issue. But for that constitutional amendment is necessary. He says both the major parties in parliament Congress proposed and BJP signalled their support for the move. That was before the last session of 14th Lok Sabha congress almost ready to introduce the bill could have passed.

⁴⁸ Minutes of 3rd Meeting of National Commission for SCs held on 13 December 2010, New Delhi <http://ncsc.nic.in/files/ncsc/140.pdf>

⁴⁹ He was elected to 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th and 14th Lok Sabha from Siddipet SC reserved constituency

⁵⁰ Personal interview with Harsha Kumar on 24 December 2017, Rajahmundry

⁵¹ She was elected to 11th, 12th and 14th Lok Sabha from Nellore reserved constituency, she was also the Minister of State in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare 2004-2009.

⁵² He was elected to Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh in 2004 to 2016, later became a minister of state in ministry of finance in 2013-14, before joined politics he was an IAS of Karnataka cadre.

⁵³ Commission was appointed by Union government in 2007 and submitted its reporting 2008. See Yagati Chinna Rao (2009) ed. *Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub-Categorisation of Scheduled Castes*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur pp. 1-50.

In response to the Congress reported moves on the issues almost all the Mala MPs were silent only Harsha Kumar opposed it and threatened the party to resign his Lok Sabha membership. And at the same differed with the party and organised a big public meeting ‘Malala Simha Gharjana’ on 9th February 2009 at Rajahmundry. In that meeting, Harsha Kumar strongly opposed SC sub-categorisation and warned Congress leadership to drop the proposal to move the bill in the Parliament. Over 6 lakh Malas attended at that meeting in Rajahmundry on February 11, 2009.⁵⁴ He claims that despite any MLA, MP of his community, he could gather the highest number of people for that meeting and was a huge success. The aftermath of that enormous meeting the congress party went into a state confusion and dilemma as to how to go about the issue of sub-categorisation. Among the Dalits in Andhra region, Malas are numerically stable, and Harsha Kumar became a very big leader of them who could oppose his party for community interests. The Congress without their votes could not get power. Both central and state leadership understood the problem and have kept the proposal SC Sub-Categorization under cold storage, and he says it was all because of him.⁵⁵

Other issues he has raised were SCs representation in the board of directors in various Banks. And local level nominated positions like marketing committee chairpersons.⁵⁶ And education and employment issues are always problems of Dalits he says keep raising those issues with the party and in the House. Finally, the leaders and their party’s attitude should change towards Dalits and must encourage them in the party and parliament.

The Utilisation of MPLADS and Local Issues in the Constituency

As far as the economic conditions of his constituency Amalapuram is concerned one of the well-developed regions with fertile lands with excellent irrigation facilities in the state. Therefore it is challenging to find surplus land or wasteland in this region, to distribute to the landless Dalits. But alternate ways of development could be taken. Kumar focused on the development of tourism in the area. Improvement and

⁵⁴ Subodh Ghildiyal (2009), “Quota-in-quota new Cong worry”, *Times of India*, February 21, New Delhi, see <https://www.pressreader.com/>

⁵⁵ Interview with Harsha Kumar on 24 December 2017, Rajahmundry

⁵⁶ Ibid

innovation and development of *Dindi* resorts to attract tourist was one of the significant steps during his tenure as MP. That was attracted many tourists and locals have got various kinds of employment opportunities.⁵⁷

The second was *Mada* forest area development he took a keen interest. Out of his MPLADS funds and also funds from the state government, this area developed into an attractive place for tourists. That resulted in employment opportunities for locals, mainly in the hospitality and other self-employment.⁵⁸

The third one was the development of another tourist location in the Amalapuram parliamentary constituency Hope Islands.⁵⁹ This Island is small tadpole-shaped Island situated off the coast Kakinada in the Bay of Bengal. That is part of his constituency around the Island two small hamlets of fishery folks living there. Out of his MPLADS, he said that development and preservation of biodiversity of the Island and safety of the locals.

The fourth one is a unique initiative called “*Konaseema Utsav*” celebrated the first time in 2006. Again from his MPLADS, he has spent funds on the development of essential amenities to conduct sea sports and boat races and other activities/events.⁶⁰

The sixth one is the development of big stadium at Amalapuram that initiated during his predecessor GMC Balayogi⁶¹, but in his tenure that appropriately developed, Harsha Kumar claimed.

Seventh is brought development projects to his constituency. The reliance gas project sanctioned worked in his tenure amounted Rs.45, 000 Crores. Also ONGC, GAIL and CAIRN’s energy projects came to the region. From all these gas and oil exploration and production agencies, in his term as MP, he made it sure that the

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Ibid, also see <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/members/ArchiveMemberBioprofile.aspx?mpsno=4017&lastls=15>

⁶¹ Ganti Mohana Chandra Balayogi was first Dalit Lok Sabha Speaker during 12th Lok Sabha 1998-2002 and represented Amalapuram in the House for three times. He died in a helicopter crash on 3rd March 2002. See, Balayogi killed in copter crash, The Hindu, March 4, 2002, see <https://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/2002/03/04/stories/200203040380100.htm>

agencies spent 2 per cent of their profits as corporate social responsibility and utilised same was for various developmental activities in his constituency. Finally, during his first term as MP constructed distinctive landmarks such as *Konaseema Mukha Dwaram*, *Subhakalagam*, *Vainateya varadi*, those considered as unique structures, and Harsa Kumar made his mark in that efforts.⁶²

Development of Education

As a member of the committee on HRD, he said that could get sanction for Kendriya Vidyalaya (KV) but due to lack of land that couldn't get started in the constituency. However, he claimed that he could bring Navodaya Vidhyalayas to the electorate and district. He also claimed that he tried very hard to get the sanction of Marine University to the region failed.

And other local issues in which he took keen interest to spend MPLADS was the protection of fishery village by building cyclones shelters in the regions and said he paid Rs. 10 to 12 Crores for the purpose.

The construction of the bridge between Yedurulanka and Yanam to reduce the distance from 110kms come down to 62 km between Kakinada with *Kona Seema* region of around Amalapuram was completed and named after GMC Balayogi in 2002.⁶³ But during Harsha Kumar tenure 2004-09 collection of toll fee has been made cancelled and actual benefit to the people came only during his tenure.

Responses from the Field

To learn the opinions of the electorate in the Amalapuram constituency, an attempt has been made to meet diverse sections of the people. Since it's a reserved constituency, however, in this study not just approached SC respondents but also considered the general population. Local-level elected representatives, party workers, youth and women have covered. The method of unstructured, open-ended questions asked. It is mainly in the form of discussion on various issues concerned with constituency and Harsha Kumar's term as MP 2004-09.

⁶² Field notes, also see <http://rgc.ac.in/profile/g-v-harsha-kumar/>

⁶³ The bridge was inaugurated by then Chief Minister N. Chandrababu Naidu on 1st October 2002 <https://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/2002/04/18/stories/2002041802970400.htm>

A native of Amalapuram M. Satyanarayana (45) M, who is a local organiser of various activities and who used to deal with developmental works, said that Harsha Kumar had spent his MPLADS for various projects in the constituency.⁶⁴ He listed the works as a bridge at Amalapuram Bodasakurru-Pasarlupudi on Godavari River at Vynateya without toll fee collected from users. Though the bridge got sanction in his first term during 2004-09 that not completed till about 2013, therefore, then union minister for state road transport and national highways Sarve Satyanarayana had to warn the construction company Gammon India private limited.⁶⁵ Harsha Kumar put complete efforts to sanction some funds for Kotipally-Narsapur railway line long-time dream of *Konaseema* people in East Godavari district. Harsha Kumar tried hard to complete the project and initiated railway station construction at Amalapuram in 2005. Subsequently, the government did not help him to continue with the project.⁶⁶ Though he put some efforts but could not complete that project.⁶⁷ It got further delayed and yet to complete the line, the work seems to be in progress.⁶⁸

In Amalapuram, Harsha Kumar developed Balayogi Ghat or memorial, in remembrance of ex-Speaker of Lok Sabha GMC Balayogi and at the same, in Harsha Kumar's tenure, a stadium has been built and developed with new equipment in regards to various athletics sports. The stadium was named after Balayogi. In the same stadium coaching classes and various events organised for sub-inspector (SI) and police Constable aspirants. Also organised coaching for skill development in food processing, computer training for youth, Satyanarayana informed with those efforts

⁶⁴ Personal interview with Satyanarayana on December 24, 2017, at Rajahmundry.

⁶⁵ The Hans India, (2013), "the delay in construction of bridge across Vynateya: Sarve threatens blacklist Gomman", August 8, Amalapuram, see <https://www.thehansindia.com/posts/index/EastGodavari/2013-08-08/Delay-in-construction-of-bridge-across-Vynatheya-Sarve-threatens-to-blacklist-Gammon/58768>

⁶⁶ B.V.S. Bhaskar (2005), "Kotipalli-Narsapur railway line under cold storage?", *The Hindu*, September 3, Amalapuram, see <https://www.thehindu.com/2005/09/13/stories/2005091312300500.htm>.

⁶⁷ B.V.S. Bhaskar (2014), "Kotipalli-Narsapur railway line on track?", *The Hindu*, May 20, Amalapuram, see <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/andhra-pradesh/kotipallinarsapur-railway-line-on-track/article6030011.ece>

⁶⁸ Rajulapudi Srinivas (2019), "Kotipalli-Narsapur railway line work in full swing", *The Hindu*, January 9, Vijayawada, see <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/andhra-pradesh/kotipalli-narsapur-railway-line-work-in-full-swing/article25944392.ece>

hundreds of youth got benefitted and claimed, that clearly shows Harsha Kumar's commitment for providing employment opportunities for youth.⁶⁹

Another initiative under his leadership during 2004-09 was extensive construction of cement roads in various villages in Amalapuram constituency. And almost all village where people asked his help he granted funds for building community halls for Dalits. More important was the people of the region, since many of the coconut farmers, Harsha Kumar initiated through the National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation of India (NAFED) coconut buying centre in Amalapuram constituency. Therefore, according to Satyanarayana local activist associated with Harsha Kumar asserted for Dalits in the Amalapuram region and East Godavari district, Kumar is the source of strength and pride.⁷⁰

Dukkipati Satyanarayana (DSN) local activist from Ipolavaram area said that Harsha Kumar used to ensure that SCs funds should be spending for them only and no diversions allowed. In the constituency and entire district in many places, Harsha Kumar spent his MPLADS for construction of Community halls for SCs. Mummidivaram constituency and other places. Not only SCs, but he also worked for all the people of the Constituency. More importantly, he fought for reduction of toll fee for vehicles on the Yedurulanka and Yanam Bridge built during GMC Balayogi time in 2002.⁷¹ He took fishers protection measures through Reliance and Gujarat State Petroleum Corporation's (GSPC) Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds. The burning issue was SC Sub-categorization fought against Congress then CM YSR for Dalit unity. He further provided the details of whether he is in power or not Harsha Kumar worked for Dalits. And his good nature and good hospitality at his home in Rajahmundry for the common people and local leaders' earned respect and won their confidence. Not only DSN asserted referring to the local media pre-election survey towards 2009 general elections, but Harsha Kumar also emerged as least corrupt MP in the state of AP.⁷²

⁶⁹ Personal interview with Satyanarayana on December 19, 2017, at Rajahmundry.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Personal interview with DSN, on December 21, 2017 at Jerripothulapalem, Pendurthy Vishakhapatnam.

⁷² Ibid.

The ex-Sarpanch, Akula Venkanna elected head of village council, of Moolastan in Amalapuram constituency said that Harsha Kumar was very supportive for development. He informed that out of his MPLADS Rs. 10 lakh have given for construction of additional classrooms for a school in the village. Because of that funds, the village could upgrade the school. Otherwise, he informed many girls could have dropped from their studies. He also said that Harsha Kumar never delayed his efforts to granting funds for the same.⁷³

The other important work in the village was the construction of a road. In the same village to combine old with the new one he has given Rs. 4 lakh for a link road from his MPLADS. Sarpanch informed that helped them. The third one was according to the Sarpanch Harsha Kumar also granted Rs. 4 lakh for drainage construction in the village around SC colony, from his MPLADS. And finally and fourth work funded for the construction of Community halls for SCs in both old and extended new village.⁷⁴

Though the Sarpanch belonged to TDP and MP from Congress, formerly reported that the later never discriminated politically. Rather respected the elected local bodies' leadership, understood their needs and accordingly helped them. The Sarpanch asserted that that should be the spirit of leaders at MP or MLA level, one should look at caste and party affiliations.⁷⁵

In the same village for Dalit communities, Harsha Kumar was a source of inspiration. He had sanctioned, from his MPLADS community halls and erected Dr Ambedkar statue in the village a symbol of their self-respect. Dalit youth of the village, Martaha Isac (32), Golla Suresh (29), Vinod Kumar (27), Mura Raju (27), Nandika Satish (25), Kumarapu Rajesh (24) and Polumati Ashok (22) have informed that whatever problems they faced like health or any personal issues also Harsha Kumar helped them. Therefore, they asserted, that help by Kumar has given them confidence and felt secured. In general, they understood that MLAs, MPs once elected, never bothered to meet them and give them confidence and assured them of

⁷³ Personal interview with ex-Sarpanch, Akula Venkanna, at Moolastanam village, December 22, 2017.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

help, if needed. In that respect, the village Dalits in the focused group discussion viewed Harsh Kumar stands alone as the great hope for them.⁷⁶

Conclusion

No doubt Harsha Kumar has a keen interest in participate Lok Sabha debates. Because of specific rules, he did not get the chance to pose many questions. And with lack of full support from the Congress party, not able to participate many debates in the Lok Sabha. However, he is very regular to Lok Sabha sittings and achieved more than sixty per cent attendance.

Harsha Kumar has a long association with the Congress Party, and he is a rare case of becoming MP with any godfather in the grand old party. Harsha came from a very ordinary family and had struggled for his studies. Only because of his engagement in social issues and concerned with problems of poor have made him a leader. From his student days took an interest in politics: Became NSUI and youth congress activist. During his masters' days at Andhra University, he made himself a famous leader.

Therefore, he got an opportunity to contest in elections at a very young age to Assembly from Payakrao Peta in 1985, couldn't succeed. With that loss he didn't lose interest in electoral politics, instead developed his desire for becoming MP Lok Sabha. However, until 2004 Harsha Kumar did not get party ticket to stand in Lok Sabha elections. His experience showed that despite hard-working and famous in his region Congress leadership got considered him as MP candidate. To get the ticket, he had to fight with state congress leadership including then PCC president and chief minister hopeful YSR in 2004. That is, according to Harsh Kumar, is the political exclusion of marginalised.

Despite internal politics in Congress party and lack of full support from leadership, he could win Lok Sabha election in 2004 with decent margins. Even in Lok Sabha he informed had to fight. The language and lobbying are two significant problems in identifies. Those resulted in limited participation in his first term as MP. However, he made a long-lasting impact on the electorate of Amlapuram with his works. And he worked hard for developmental activities in his constituency.

⁷⁶ Focused Group Discussion with the SC youth in Moolastanam village, December 22, 2017.

The electorate, especially the Dalits, look at him as a source of pride since the majority of Dalits in his region are mala his strong support base. Harsha Kumar tried very hard to protect their interests. When in 2008 the state government under the leadership of YSR impressed upon the central government to consider SC reservations Sub-categorisation he vehemently opposed. Harsha Kumar even threatened the party to resign. Though he has not got an opportunity to raise the issue in Lok Sabha, he fought it out on the streets.

In early 2009 by organising a huge gathering of Malas' at Rajahmundry gave a clear signal to the party. If at all they make the law to sub-categorise Congress may have face electoral debacle in the region. With that massive meeting, Congress had to reconsider its move and the second time has given him MP seat from the same constituency.

Chapter V

Case Study of Nagarkurnool Parliamentary Constituency

Nagarkurnool Scheduled Caste (SC) reserved constituency falls under a very backward region of the Andhra Pradesh and now Mahabubnagar district in Telangana. This area is known for its backwardness and farmers' distress. And this region is also notable for enormous outward migration. With the liberalisation farmers' conditions, deteriorated and suicides increased.¹

Nagarkurnool parliamentary constituency has formed during the fourth Lok Sabha in 1967. Till the study period 2004-09 that is fourteenth Lok Sabha elections held for 11 times.² Out of 11 times six terms, Congress won this seat, while TDP 4 times and once Telangana Praja Samithi secured this seat.³ Out of four, three times Dr Jagannath has elected from TDP. Under this parliamentary constituency, there were seven assembly segments and, only two seats reserved for SC. Those were Achampet (SC), Nagarkurnool, Kalwakurthy, Shadnagar (SC), Jadcherla, Kollapur and Parigi.

The following table gives the details of Nagarkurnool Lok Sabha constituency from fourth Lok Sabha to the fourteenth one. It also provides the details of each Lok Sabha period. And the names of candidate won and their political party afflictions. By the fourteenth Lok Sabha times Dr Manda Jagannath, focus this chapter, becomes third time member of Lok Sabha. And he is considered as a senior parliamentarian and senior leader of his party, TDP. And interestingly he is the only one who could get elected for three terms in recent times.

¹ Venkatesh (2007) "Liberalisation and Labour Rights: A Study of Palamur Migrant Labour (1980-2005)", Unpublished M.Phil, Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Also see Venkatesh Vaditya (2017), "Economic Liberalisation and Farmers' Suicides in Andhra Pradesh (1995-2014)", *South Asia Research*, 37(2), pp. 194-212.

² Compiled from data from Lok Sabha and election commission of India

³ See the list of elected MPs from Lok Sabha data and election commission of India

Table No. 5.1 List of elected MPs from Fourth to Fourteenth Lok Sabha

LokSabha	Candidate won	Party
Fourth LokSabha [04/03/1967-27/12/1970]	J.B. Muthyal Rao	Congress
Fifth LokSabha [15/03/1971-18/01/1977]	M. Bheeshma Dev	Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS)
Sixth LokSabha [23/03/1977-22/08/1979]	M. Bheeshma Dev	Congress
Seventh LokSabha [18/01/1980-31/12/1984]	Mallu Anantha Ramulu	Congress (I)
Eighth LokSabha [31/12/1984-27/11/1989]	V. Tulsi Ram	TDP
Ninth LokSabha [27/11/1989-13/03/1991]	Mallu Anatha Ramulu	Congress (I)
Tenth LokSabha [13/03/1991-10/05/1996]	Dr Mallu Ravi	Congress (I)
Eleventh LokSabha [10/05/1996- 04/12/1997]	Dr. Manda Jagannath	TDP
Twelfth LokSabha [10/03/1998- 26/04/1999]	Dr Mallu Ravi	INC
Thirteenth LokSabha [10/10/1999-06/02/2004]	Dr. Manda Jagannath	TDP
Fourteenth LokSabha [17/05/2004-18/05/2009]	Dr Manda Jagannath	TDP

The below-given tables consist of the details of the results of fourteenth Lok Sabha of Nagar-Kurnool constituency. The details of all the contested candidates, their party affiliation and also their votes.

Table No. 5.2 2004 General Elections, 14th Lok Sabha, Nagar-Kurnool Results

No. Candidates	Sex	Age	Category	Party	Valid polled votes General	Postal	Total
1. Dr. Manda Jagannath	M	52	SC	TDP	404748	298	405046
4. K.S.Ratnam	M	46	SC	IND	304989	407	305396
3. P.Bhagavanthu	M	28	SC	IND	119812	1	119813
2. P. Lalaiah M	M	60	SC	BSP	27230	17	27247
5. Dr.G.Raghavulu	M	47	SC	IND	25845	3	25848
Total					882624	726	883350

Source: Statistical Report on General Elections 2004 to the 14th Lok Sabha Volume I (National and state Abstracts and detailed Results), Election Commission of India, New Delhi, p. 196.

Dr Manda Jagannath, Member of Parliament Lok Sabha 2004-09

Dr Jagannath till 2004-09 already three times elected Member of Parliament in Lok Sabha. He elected from Nagar-Kurnool reserved constituency in Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. He also served as Telugu Desam (TDP) parliamentary party leader during 11th Lok Sabha in 1996-97.⁴

Dr Jagannath is born on 22nd May 1951 at Kandukuru village Itkyal mandal of Mahabubnagar district the then Nizam state.⁵ Born in a poor *Madiga* family was faced many problems in his childhood. And he was good at his studies and did his MBBS, DLO and MS (ENT) at Osmania Medical College Hyderabad.⁶ From his school days, he was interested in social activities and spent active student life. He was elected general secretary in his college days at Sree S.A.P. College, Vikarabad, Rangareddy district.⁷ And he was also general secretary at Hyderabad ENT surgeons association and A.P. Adijambava Arundatheeya Federation. He was president Andhra Pradesh

⁴ See <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/memberbioprofile.aspx?mpsno=156&lastls=13>.

⁵ Rajashekar, K. Nirmala (2009) eds, *Dr M. Jagannath Parliament lo Prajala Gunde Chappudu*, in Telugu, Centre for Creative Arts, Secunderabad.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid, and personal interview with Dr. Jagannath on December 27, 2017, at Hyderabad.

SC/ST Gazetted Officers Welfare Association during 1994-96 and also served as President AP Arundhatheeya Bandhu Seva Mandali.⁸ And he was also vice president Post-Graduates Association, Osmania Medical College Hyderabad. He was also served as secretary Southern states Adijambava Arundhatheeya Federation. And he was a very dynamic social activist both for his community and also helped the poor. He used to organise free medical camps in the villages around Hyderabad and his Mahabubnagar district.

Dr Manda Jagannath Entry into Active/Electoral Politics

Dr Jagannath entered into politics at the behest of NT Rama Rao; actor turned politician, who initiated TDP, and former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. When NTR chief minister first time during 1984-89, on one particular occasion Babu Jagjivanram memorial meeting Jagannath spoke in the presence of NTR.⁹ Immediately NTR appreciated him and invited him into politics. As Dr Jagannath says though that was a kind invitation, he didn't accept instantly, later on, he joined TDP. The party under NTR offered Dr Jagannath an MLA ticket, but he didn't contest. And he expressed his wish to fight Lok Sabha and keen on it. The party mainly, he says, NTR treated him well, and contested Loksabha elections for the first time in 1996 and elected from Nagarkurnool reserved constituency of Mahabubnagar district. Interestingly at his first time only during 1996-97 Jagannath became the party leader in the Lok Sabha.¹⁰ In 1998 Lok Sabha election he contested and lost. In 1999 to the twelfth Lok Sabha he has been reelected from the same seat for the second term.¹¹

In 1996 though he was elected for the first time to the Lower House of parliament, and was a very active member. He served as the convener, committee on welfare of SC/STs, member Committee on human resource development, member,

⁸ It was established in 1981 at Hyderabad, works for Madigas, Arudathiyas in the state, see <http://www.absm.org.in/>.

⁹ Personal interview with Dr. Jagannath on December 27, 2017, at Hyderabad.

¹⁰ See <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/memberbioprofile.aspx?mpsno=156&lastls=13>

¹¹ Rajashekar, K. Nirmala (2009) eds, *Dr M. Jagannath: A Voice for Dalits in Parliament*, Centre for Creative Arts, Secunderabad.

the joint parliamentary committee on women reservations, member consultative committee ministry of railways all these positions he held during 1996-97.¹²

When in 1999 while he reelected to 13th LokSabha, became a member of the committee on commerce.¹³ In 2000 he became member consultative committee ministry of health and family welfare, and in 2003 he became TDP vice president and got awarded best parliamentarian from his party.¹⁴

Dr Manda Jagannath's Participation in the 14th LokSabha Debates

As a three-time member of LokSabha Dr Jagannath has actively participated in the various debates. The issues he has spoken are wide-ranging. Such as farmers suicides; scholarships for students; irrigation; BC welfare; health issues; general and railway budgets; issues of minority welfare including their inclusion in the army; and SC/ST sub-plan and categorisation of SC reservation in the state; reservations in private sector.¹⁵

He also considered as a leading Dalit voice in the House. Since he was a senior parliamentarian and worked as the leader of TDP parliamentary party has enormous experience. And raise Dalit issues and problems in LokSabha with great interest. From the very beginning from his parliamentarian journey as TDP member, he was always in the forefront to raise Dalit questions in the House.¹⁶ And his coalition partners used to ask him why he only spoke Dalit issues in the House. His response was remarkable he said because of no general constituency MPs interested in those issues. However, for Dalit MPs like him, that was felt like the responsibility to discuss The Dalit problems. That doesn't mean Dalit MPs never raise general questions they do raise since general MPs never raise Dalit issues. Therefore, Dalit MPs raise both general and specific problems of Dalits in the LokSabha and various committees.

¹² See details of his positions held and speeches in Rajashekar, K. Nirmala (2009) ed., *Dr M. Jagannath Parliament lo Prajala Gunde Chappudu*, in Telugu, Centre for Creative Art, Secunderabad.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid and interview notes

¹⁵ K. Rajashekar Nirmala (2009) ed., *Dr M. Jagannath Parliament lo Prajala Gunde Chappudu*, in Telugu, Secunderabad: Centre for Creative Arts, pp. 3-4. And personal interview notes with Jagannath, December 27, 2017, Hyderabad.

¹⁶ Ibid, interview notes

First Session

Dr M. Jagannath was a very active member of the 14th Lok Sabha. Since he was an opposition party member and also senior member and leader of TDP played a proactive role in the House. His participation in the Lok Sabha debates started from the very first session of the fourteenth Lok Sabha. On matters under rule 377.¹⁷ Under this rule member can raise any issue considered as special mention with prior notice addressed to the secretary-general, and which is no point of order or “which cannot be raised under the rules relating to Questions, short notice questions, calling attention” etc. and in the House if the Speaker permits then only member can raise the matter. Under this rule minister, not supposed make statement, if he/she wishes could do that. Members can raise the issues under 377 weekly once only.¹⁸

Farmers’ Problems-Andhra Pradesh

Dr Jagannath, under rule 377, raised the matter of farmers in Andhra Pradesh. He said that hundreds of farmer had been committed suicides in AP in May 2004, due to debts. He also mentioned that that was surprised many that despite the announcement of financial package to the families of farmers who have died, have increased exponentially. Therefore, he requests the union government matters under rule 377, he said:¹⁹

I request the Prime Minister to come out with a national policy to prevent such disasters and send some experts to visit Andhra Pradesh immediately and study the problems of farmers. The Union Government should ask the State Government to go in for long term solutions like crop pattern changes as free power does not mean that a farmer could cultivate his fields. The issue of rural indebtedness in general and how it affected the farmers should also be examined. I, therefore, once again request the Hon'ble Prime Minister's intervention in the matter to prevent farmers' suicides, especially in Andhra Pradesh.

¹⁷ Hand Book for Members of Lok Sabha (2014), Sixteenth Edition, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, p.29

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 30-31

¹⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, I, First Session, (6), June 09, 2004, p. 61

Second Session

In this session, Dr Jagannath raised very critical issues of Dalits and other weaker sections. He demanded reservations in private sector, reminded the UPA government of their promise. Other importance issues he raised are Farmers' Suicides; Governors Replacements; participated in the discussions Railway Budget 2004-05; General Budget 2004-05 and the welfare of SC/STs, finally Health Issues.

Dalit Issues-Reservations in Private Sector

In the very next session, Dr Jagannath had raised a critical Dalit issue. He had brought to the notice of the Lok Sabha that the necessity of making legislation to provide job reservations in the private sector for the deprived classes. And he wanted to remind the government's promise in the Common minimum programme (CMP) of the UPA for the weaker sections. And he demanded the government bring that in the budget session and make legislation. And he rightly claimed that "It is not correct to say that reservation will dilute professional standards and will lead to a reduction in efficiency. It is simply a myth".²⁰

He also informed that there should not be any doubt that the private sector makes more profits than the government. That does not mean people who are working under the government sector not good. And the only thing which was lacking in the government sector according to him was lack of pressure. Therefore, he wanted to redefine the merit and that should be holistic and must include qualities such as honesty, hard work and integrity. Since the private sector is increasing and government sector jobs are shrinking, it is the government duty to provide opportunities to the weaker sections in the growing private sector. And he also called upon the corporate sector to come forward and fulfil their social responsibility by learning from advanced countries like the United States for their commitment to social responsibility.²¹

Later in the same session, members of Lok Sabha expressed similar concerns and supported the demand. On the private member's resolution in the Lok Sabha on July 16, 2004, Ajaya Kumar of CPM, Ottapalem from Kerala introduced a declaration

²⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, II, Second Session, (2), July 06, 2004, p. 61.

²¹ Ibid.

of “Reservation for SC/STs and Backward Communities in private Sector”.²² The decision has debated for more than 2 hrs. At the end of the debate Mrs Meira Kumar, minister of social justice and empowerment intervened, reiterated that her government’s commitment for reservations in the private sector, she said:²³

The UPA Government is very sensitive to the issue of affirmative action, including reservations in the private sector. It will immediately initiate a national dialogue with all political parties, industry and other organisations to see how best the private sector can fulfil the aspirations of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes youth.

Meira Kumar reminded the House that the similar concerns had raised in the President’s address to the Lok Sabha. On her request of government support and consultations with the various stakeholders at the end of the discussion, the bill was withdrawn.

On Farmers’ Suicides

In the same session again, he raised the issue of farmers. And demanded the minister of agriculture to include chilly in the list of agricultural commodities and ensure minimum support price for the same. He informed the House that chilly (Mirchi) is one of the essential agricultural product, produced in the states of AP, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. He said that due to no-enumerative prices farmers had to face loses due to no storage facilities if they could manage storage at a later stage the colour of the product changes and cannot get the due price, due loses some are even forced to commit suicides. Therefore he wanted the government to include chilly in the agricultural produce and provide minimum support price.²⁴

On Political Issues-Governors Replacements

On the same day, Dr Jagannath took part in the discussion under Rule 193, according to this rule, any member desirous of raising discussion on the matter of urgent public importance to have to give prior notice along with other two members’ signatures

²² Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, II, Second Session, (10), July 16, 2004, p. 419-478.

²³ Ibid, pp. 468-475.

²⁴ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, II, Second Session, (6), July 12, 2004.

send to the secretary-general.²⁵ The issue raised by the Leader of the Opposition, L.K.Advani, regarding the removal of governors in various states by the UPA government.

In his speech, Dr Jagannath said that “soon after the UPA government took over, they have removed four Governors, which is an arbitrary, unwanted, unconstitutional and a politically motivated action”.²⁶ He called the government to respect the governor post as a non-political one. Neither the governor position should use for political purposes, but that done under Congress rule and democratically elected AP government removed when N.T Rama Rao was in power, he provided this example amid interruptions in the House. The UPA removed governors might have RSS ideology, but he asked they were indulging in the RSS activities. Therefore, he insisted on if the government was serious about ideology, why they were appointed politically active people as governors. And he demanded whoever party comes to power the governors should not be changed, must be allowed their full term of office. Doing so he claimed was unconstitutional.²⁷

On Railway Budget 2004-05

While participating in the railway budget, Dr Jagannath welcomed the same for not increase in fares and focus on improving passenger amenities, safety and for modernisation plans. Commitment for increasing jobs, fee travel for youth to attend central government jobs, and free passes for widows of deceased defence and paramilitary personnel who died in fighting the extremists. And he also supported the railway budget for providing concession for persons' with disabilities (PWD). And Dr Jagannath noted that mobilisation of funds for modernisation was not being specified by the minister. That he said raises doubts in the minds of the people.²⁸

While he laid his speech on the table and raised his voice against his perceived injustice e to the state of Andhra Pradesh and south central railway. He has listed problems like new lines, surveying of new lines, gauge conversion, doubling and introduction of new trains in these areas the injustice has done to AP, Dr Jagannath

²⁵ Hand Book for Members of Lok Sabha (2014), op.cit., pp.35-37

²⁶ Ibid., p. 485

²⁷ Ibid., p. 485-87

²⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, II, Second Session, (7), July 13, 2004, pp. 436

reported in his speech. And he compared the fund allocations to the state with the previous budget 2003-2004 with 2004-05 and noted the problems, and he accused the government of neglecting his constituency and the state.²⁹

On General Budget 2004-05

Dr Manda Jagannath participated in General Budget 2004-2005 - General Discussion Demands Grants On Account - General- 2004-2005 and Demands for Excess Grants - General-2001-2002, in the Lok Sabha on July 20, 2004. In his speech, Dr Jagannath said that the general budget was not an action-oriented document with any direction rather that was just a replica of their promises in the Common Minimum Programme. Since that was the first policy document of the government, it has disappointed the expectations of the people, Jagannath reasoned. However, Jagannath appreciated many references to agriculture, education, health and employment. On the employment front announcement of the revival of public sector enterprises was a good gesture and however, he cautioned the government that perennially loss-making PSUs has to be deal with somewhat differently and public money should not be wasted on them. On the agriculture, Jagannath appreciated the government for revival of the rural infrastructure development fund. And he asked the government to make necessary arrangements for form loans from various banks and farmers' should not be left on the mercy of private money lenders.³⁰

Dr Jagannath demanded the government to increase fund allocation for crucial programmes like rural employment programmes, Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY), a government of India sponsored scheme to provide subsidised food to the poor was launched in the year 2000. Given the severe drought prevailing in the country, migration was rampant; starvation deaths taking place; therefore, do deal with the huge rural distress government should formulate a national action plan. At the same time, the moderate increase in fund allocation for drinking water was not sufficient, at the same time for electricity funds should be increased. Dr Jagannath also requests the government to deal with development disparities among states and increase of funds allocation for backward state grant funds. He also mentioned about defence

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 437-39

³⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, III, Second Session, (12), July 20, 2004, pp. 513-19

allocations appreciated. And he also supported foreign direct investments (FDI) for the development of the country.³¹

On the welfare of SC/STs

Dr Jagannath accused the finance minister that he was seemed liking these people in his speech, but accordingly, funds have not allocated. Therefore, he demanded the government to proportional, about twenty-five per cent funds allocation for the welfare of SC/STs. Therefore, he said the overall Budget was very disappointing. It was very disappointing for the reason that no concrete measures have proposed for the employment generation.³²

Finally, he brought to the notice of the House regarding the issue of river linking in the country. At that time in the country was facing floods, in the most parts of the South namely Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu have become perennially drought-prone States. To deal with the situation, he informed that the previous government was initiated linking of rivers in a big way. Nothing has mentioned in the Budget about the linking of the rivers. And asked the finance minister in his reply to say something about the linking of the rivers because it would help the farming community.³³

On Health Issues

As a medical doctor, Dr Jagannath has raised several questions in Lok Sabha on health-related problems. In the second session July 21, 2004, he raised a 'starred question',³⁴ numbered 223, to be answered by the concerned ministry in oral form. He has submitted to the House that if there is no uniform National Policy for disposal of bio-medical wastage, there is the scope of States succumbing to the pressures put by some international bodies to adopt the policy of open-air burning which will cause serious environmental pollution, as apprehended by the environmentalists. Therefore, he asked the health ministry that whether a uniform pollution control policy would be devised for bio-medical waste management throughout the country and if so, the

³¹ Ibid. 514-15

³² Ibid. pp.515-17

³³ Ibid. pp.517-19

³⁴ Hand Book for Members of Lok Sabha (2014), op. cit., pp. 9-10

details thereof. While expressing similar concerns, the health minister said that his government was following strict norms of Pollution Control Boards of all the individual States. He also said that the government had had a national guideline on hospital waste management based on the Bio-medical Waste Management Handling Rules of 1998. The Central Environment Minister looked into the issue.³⁵

Third Session

Like in the previous two sessions of 14th Lok Sabha, Dr Jagannath actively participated in various debates. The third session commenced from December 1, 2004, to 23 of the same month. He raised various issues concerned with the state and health, Railways and price rise and other subjects.

On Health Issues

In the third session on December 06, 2004, under rule 377, in a special mention, Jagannath raised the matter of need to take suitable measures to check the spread of AIDS in the country. He has brought to the notice of the House that the fact was 5.1 million AIDS victims were there in India, and more of them were the youth of age 15-24. He also informed the house various reasons for such a rise in the country. He listed and demanded the government to take certain measure are following. One was to the regulation of TV channels to ensure that obscenity provoking minds of youths should not be allowed to telecast; second, Adequate mass awareness programmes in rural areas, semi-urban areas and in schools and colleges to enlighten the children about AIDS, the dreaded disease. The third supply of condoms free from different critical public places. And he believed that only such measures would halt the spread of the disease. Therefore, he requested the union government to take necessary action in this regard.³⁶

On Railway Grants

Dr M. Jagannath participated in the discussion on demand for supplementary grant Railways 2004-05 on December 8, 2004. In his speech, he has expressed his pleasure that, that majority of the funds sought under the Supplementary Demand for Grant

³⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, III, Second Session, (13), July 21, 2004, pp. 4-54

³⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, V, Third Session, (04), December 06, 2004, p. 471

(Railways) are for safety and special railway safety measures apart from expenditure like assets, acquisition, construction, replacement, and capital expenditure. Asked the government and the railways that the safety of the passenger should be most important concerned. To prevent accidents, railways need to build more bridges, check manned crossings, and requested the railway minister to ensure the unmanned gates should become manned on war-footing.³⁷

He also raised the concerns of AP projects and criticised the government that a lot of injustice had done to Andhra Pradesh regarding the budgetary allocations for new lines, doubling works, gauge conversion, traffic amenities, road safety, and they are very meagre. Therefore, he requested the minister to increase budgetary allocations. He had also raised his constituency problems and informed that there was one line only. Several times, a survey had conducted. Nearly a 292-kilometre project between Gadwal and Raichur had been given the sanction, had assured that the remaining parts between Macherla and Gadwal would be taken up in due course. This line goes from Macherla to Raichur. But to his surprise, said that piece from Macherla to Nalgonda only was given the sanction, and the budgetary allocation was very meagre. He questioned the minister that when the project cost was nearly Rs.100 crore, with the inadequate budget of Rs.5 Crore, when the project is going to complete.³⁸

Coming to Railway over Bridges (ROB) and Railway Under Bridges (RUB), Jadcherla is a big business station in his parliamentary constituency. The turnovers were perfect. There was only one gate located very near to the railway station. It divides the old city with new. Whenever the trains are passing through, or they stand there, it is causing obstruction. He had been requested repeatedly for the construction of a RUB. It has not been taken up. Therefore, he asked for the minister to see to that a RUB could be constructed at Jadcherla, a ROB at Yenugonda railway gate, which was also in the same section of Mahabubnagar-Jadcherla, and a ROB at Gadwal railway station which was also an essential station. He has also raised the issue of local train the multi-mode transport system (MMTS) from Hyderabad extended to Shadnagar Mahbubnagar district, at that time it was running till Falaknauma, from

³⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, V, Third Session, (06), December 08, 2004, p. 731

³⁸ Ibid. pp. 732-33

there shadnagar 30 kilometres only, therefore he requested the minister to reach the train. Finally, he asked for the minister to order for the halting of Dharmavaram Express train which runs between Secunderabad and Puttaparthi. In Mahabubnagar and Jadcherla areas, there are many Sai devotees. Time and again, they have been requesting for the halting of Dharmavaram Express so that it could facilitate them to go to Puttaparthi and have *darshan* of Sai Baba.³⁹

On price rise

Dr M. Jagannath participated in the debate on price rise in petroleum products under Rule 193.⁴⁰ He said that the then hike in petroleum products like petrol, diesel and liquid petroleum gas (LPG) was most unfortunate and unwarranted and caused a lot of burden on the common man. He criticised the Congress-led UPA government's commitment to controlling the prices. Asked what has happened to their promises. And he disputed amid interruptions in the House, that price in petroleum products did not have an impact on poor and informed the House that the most affected were weak only.

He has also noted that contrary to the UPA promise and stated in the Economic Survey that the growth rate would be seven to eight per cent and would result in poverty reduction and increase in employment. But he critiqued, that after the first Budget of the UPA Government, we find that instead of gross domestic product (GDP), the inflation has crossed eight per cent. And weaker sections were suffered, and many farmers committed suicides. Disputed the construction of irrigation projects in the state to help the farmers. If that was the case, he asked why there were more than 2000 farmers committed suicides. And many of them not been given relief in the state of Andhra Pradesh.⁴¹ Under those grave circumstances, behalf of TDP and on his behalf, demanded the Government to roll back all the increased prices.

On Irrigation

In the third session on December 20, 2004, in a starred question number 266, on the farmer's issue, Dr Jagannath asked agriculture minister, what kind of incentives they

³⁹ Ibid. p. 734

⁴⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, V, Third Session, (07), December 09, 2004, p. 535-37

⁴¹ Ibid.

offered to the farmers who adopted micro-irrigation. Dr M. Jagannath in response to the statement of the Minister of agriculture, the decline in area under *Kharif* crops in the year 2004 has been caused by the deficiency in rainfall, particularly in July, from the South-West monsoon. In such a situation, the farmer could adopt alternative methods. And he wanted to know from the Minister whether the Government of India has any proposal to promote drip irrigation throughout the country in a big way or not. And whether the Government has any plan to give incentives to those farmers who were adopting micro-irrigation.⁴²

The minister replied that they were thinking of introducing a new Micro Irrigation Policy, probably from February 2005 and the Central Government would be able to provide 50 per cent of subsidy for that policy. And they were expecting 25 per cent subsidy to be offered by the State Governments, and a burden of the rest 25 per cent would have to be borne by the farmers.⁴³

On Electricity

In the same third session on December 21, 2004, Dr Jagannath asked the starred question number 285 on implementation of electricity act of 2003.⁴⁴ He wanted to know from the minister as to what were the penalties and stringent measures the Government was proposing to impose on the licensees if they fail to fulfil their commitments provided in the Electricity Act, 2003. And would the licences be cancelled of the licensees who were not complying with the requirements of the Act, he questioned. And also asked Minister whether the Government of India was planning for a National Electricity Tariff Policy for a uniform tariff throughout the country for stakeholders, i.e., domestic users, agriculture, industry and local bodies?

Minister, in his reply, informed that their main point is, 'electricity to all in five years'. For that, the distribution sector was to be attended to properly. For that, they have initiated many schemes. Minister informed in the Lok Sabha that as per the

⁴² Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VI, Third Session, (14), December 20, 2004, p. 4-37

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VI, Third Session, (15), December 21, 2004, p. 3-35

comprehensive Electricity Act, 2003, an electricity policy was to be formed. And they were in the final stages of that.⁴⁵

On Farmers' Problems

In the same session on December 22, 2004, Dr Jagannath participated in discussion under rule 193 on difficulties faced by the farmers.⁴⁶ He said 80 per cent of the population depends on agriculture in rural India. What they needed was, he informed irrigation, water, quality seeds, quality pesticides and fertilisers, loans from the banks, private crop insurance and remunerative prices. Unfortunate, he claimed they did not have proper irrigation facilities and water. Spurious drugs and spurious pesticides and fertilisers were rampant in the market, and they were sold unchecked. And crop insurance has not been taken up, and due to those issues, the farmers were suffering.

In such a situation that was not the duty of the Government, he questioned and demanded they have to provide irrigation, water, edible seeds, good pesticides and suitable fertilisers. But at present, the status of the farming community in the rural areas is desperate. They are so fear-stricken and psychologically disturbed that they are opting for suicides, not in one State or the other, but all over the country. And Farmers applied the government that should not be taken as a State issue and not politicised. And must be helped the farming community by giving them the remunerative price. For that, he said the government should undertake significant irrigation projects. If the government could not complete big projects well in time and for an extended period should think of implementing smaller projects, which could give immediate results and the farmers might benefit the most.

He also raised the issues of farmer suicides in AP and Karnataka and criticised UPA governments' in-action. When Congress was in opposition in 2002 Congress president Sonia Gandhi had visited Andhra Pradesh State after the farmers had committed suicides. It was a good gesture, and even his party TDP welcomed her in the State. However, his question has been in power both at the Centre and in the State, when within 200 days, more than 200 farmers and 150-200 weavers committed suicides, why has she not visited the State. Was that she had to visit the areas only

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VI, Third Session, (16), December 22, 2004, pp. 607-10

before elections to give false promises to get elected, he has forcefully criticised and questioned the government amid interruptions in the House. And he even accused the prime minister when he visited the state of AP twice but not given sufficient assistance to the farmers from central government. He had again questioned Congress president Sonia Gandhi why were she not visited the state and helped the farmers, again amid interruptions in the House the Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha adjourned the House and the subject was very important, and all were very much concerned. Therefore, the discussion would continue, asked Dr Jagannath to continue his speech the next day.⁴⁷

On December 23, 2004, Deputy Speaker permitted Dr Jagannath to continue the debate under same rule 193.⁴⁸ Dr Jagannath informed the House that the suicides by the farmers throughout the country, particularly in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, were taking place. And he accused the governed that they were not taking concrete measures in spite of our discussions on this issue, informed amid interruptions. He informed the House that despite the Prime Minister visit to Andhra Pradesh, an announcement regarding *ex gratia* made over and above the State Government's grant of Rs. 1,50,000. He also assured that every care would be taken, but it has not changed. Even then, nearly six to ten deaths occur daily in Andhra Pradesh, which went on unchecked. And demanded the Government of India to bring out the policy. And accused state government that even they were not caring for anything and also not taking any step.⁴⁹

Fourth Session

In the fourth session, also Dr Jagannath continued to raise his voice in the Lok Sabha debates. The issues he discussed were numerous, which concerned with his state and his constituency.

On General Railway Budget 2005-2006

In the fourth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion on Railway Budget 2005-2006 - General Discussion, Demands Grants On Account (Railways), 2005-

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VI, Third Session, (17), December 23, 2004, p. 487-88

⁴⁹ Ibid.

2006, and Demands for Supplementary Grants (Railways), 2004-2005, on March 14, 2005.⁵⁰ While welcoming that budget, he had provided detailed allocations, proposed projects, identified insufficiencies in the allocations and demands for AP. He argued that the budget was populist one with many new announcements without a proper road map of how to mobilise funds for the same. About overall allocations to the state of Andhra Pradesh, he said that something had given to the State as compared to previous years. However, he expressed concerns for budgetary allocation and argued that in respect of many aspects, like gauge conversion, new lines, doubling etc. that wasn't matched the then requirements and provide details of each project, and identified the difficulties.

He informed that for Peddapalli-Karimnagar-Nizamabad new line, only Rs. 30 crores have allocated, and that was not sufficient. For Kakinada-Kotipalli new line, the requirement was Rs. 67 crore, but the allocation was only Rs. 2 crore;⁵¹ For Kotipalli-Narasapur new line, the demand was Rs. 329 crore, but the distribution was only Rs. 1 crore; For Kakinada-Pithapuram new line, the requirement was Rs. 61 crore, but the allocation was only Rs. 1 crore; For Nandyal-Yerraguntla new line, the demand was Rs. 420 crore, but the assignment was only Rs. 5 crore. For Macherla-Nalgonda new line, the requirement was Rs. 125 crore, but the allocation was only Rs. 1 crore; For Munirabad-Mahaboobnagar new line, the demand was Rs. 460 crore, but the distribution was only Rs. 5 crore; Likewise, for Gadwal-Raichur new line, the requirement was Rs. 86 crore, but the allocation was only Rs. 4 crores, he informed the House.⁵² In respect of gauge conversion, he said the distribution was gradually come down. In 2003-04, the allocation was Rs. 133.90 crore; in 2004-05, it reduced to Rs. 102.90 crore; in 2005-06, it further reduced to Rs. 87 crore. In respect of doubling, he said, there was a marginal increase in the budgetary allocation. It has increased from Rs. 135 crore to Rs. 155 crore. And he appreciated that.⁵³

It looked at the insufficient funds for various projects, and he has raised doubts about whether he was able to see in his lifetime a train rolling on the tracks. And he demanded that while keeping in view the requirements, the money should be

⁵⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VIII, Fourth Session, (11), March 14, 2005, pp. 693-98

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Ibid

allocated. And he pointed out that projects mentioned above mostly were in the backward areas of Telangana and requested the government not to neglect that region. Similarly, he noted the problems in allocations for gauge conversion works, construction of ROB/RUB for road safety, survey for new lines where a total of 46 have been requested from the state government only two tracks mentioned in the budget. Again he accused the government of not been considered, many of them were in the backward regions of the state. Requested the government all those new lines proposed by the state government should be regarded as and cleared.

Referring to his constituency projects thanked the railway minister for proposing a survey of new lines between Jadcherla and Nandyal and Manuguru to Ramagundam.⁵⁴ At the same time, he asked the minister the lines which introduced earlier should be completed. Pointed out one such case in his constituency, the path from Raichur to Macherla which goes through the backward areas of Raichur, Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda and Macherla of Andhra Pradesh. Previously, for two portions from Gadwal to Raichur and Nalgona to Macherla, sanction was given. He informed the middle part between Gadwal centred in his constituency and Macherla did not find any mention. And he said that was very much essential. That could cut nearly 100 km from the coastal area like the Mumbai region.⁵⁵ And he also pointed out that if such type of lines laid in the backward areas like Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda districts, then the farmers could go in for other commercial crops instead of the traditional crops and make their financial status better. Therefore, he requested the minister to take up updating the survey between Gadwal and Macherla in his constituency. And he reminded the House that, that was despite minister's promise on the floor of the House been but did not make any mention of these projects. And he again requested the minister to take up the Gadwal-Macherla middle part of the Macherla-Raichur railway line. Even for the sanctioned plans, sufficient funds have not allocated.⁵⁶

He had repeatedly requested for construction of either one RUB at Jadcherla or ROB. Also, there should be an overbridge at Yenugonda level crossing. These are

⁵⁴ He asked the Minister to finish the survey as soon as possible for details see his speech Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VIII, Fourth Session, (11), March 14, 2005, pp. 696-98

⁵⁵ Ibid pp. 697-98

⁵⁶ Ibid

between NH-7 and the district headquarters of Mahaboobnagar.⁵⁷ And also, one road overbridge should be constructed at Gadwal in his constituency. At the same he had also requested various new trains between Secundrabad to Kurnool Town, a Rajdhani Express between Hyderabad and New Delhi and Super-Fast Trains between Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad and from Chennai to Howrah via Visakapatnam have not fulfilled, he had pointed out. And he had also requested for extension of various trains in the state and, improvement of passenger amenities, safety measures, and prevention of accidents by building new bridges at different places in the state.⁵⁸

On Interstate Water Disputes

Dr Jagannath in the fourth session has raised the water dispute issue between AP and Karnataka on March 14, 2005, and accused Karnataka government of excess water use than allotted according to the interstate agreement from the Rajolibanda Diversion Scheme (RDS) inter-State irrigation project between the States of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.⁵⁹ He informed the House that the allocation of water was 17.1 tmc, had to share between Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka at 15.9 and 1.2 tmc respectively. And irrigation of land of acres to have been allowed under this project was 87,000 in Andhra Pradesh and more than 5,000 in Karnataka.⁶⁰ In spite of the best efforts by the State Government of Andhra Pradesh, not more than 40,000 acres of the land could be irrigated because the Government of Karnataka is illegally drawing water from the Rajolibanda Diversion Scheme, accused the Karnataka government. He further criticised the Karnataka government for approval power project for the production of 4.5 megawatts of power. The place allocated for that project was just above the take-off point of the RDS headwork.

He informed that and suspected that if the power project could allow there, not even a drop of water goes into the RDS canal thereby making 87,000 acres of land in Gadwal and Alampur areas, in his constituency, which was perennially drought-prone areas in the Mahabubgagar district had to become dry. And farmers had to face famine situation there. Amid repeated interruptions from a member of Karnataka, and

⁵⁷ Those were in his constituency, he persisted his demand for the same in almost all the sessions, Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VIII, Fourth Session, (11), March 14, 2005

⁶⁰ Ibid

the Speaker's requests, Jagannath accused Karnataka and requested the government of India to intervene and save the interests of farmers of Gadwal and Alampur areas in his constituency.⁶¹

Standing Committee on Water Resources

As an active member of the Standing Committee on water resources, Dr Jagannath presented the third report of the committee's demands for grants 2005-2006, of the ministry of water resources.⁶²

On Dalit Issues

Need to amend the Constitution to enable uniform distribution of the benefits of reservations to all sub-castes of Scheduled Castes, particularly in Andhra Pradesh. Dr Jagannath informed the House that the reservation facilities for the Scheduled Castes were not reaching uniformly to all the sub-castes of the people of Scheduled Castes in various States and particularly in Andhra Pradesh.⁶³

When the Scheduled Caste population divided into four subgroups A, B, C, D depending on various castes population in AP 1999-2004.⁶⁴ The 15% of reservation in proportion to their population which had helped all sub-castes, and there was marked differences after the categorisation, he claimed. And he the House that merely on technical grounds when the Supreme Court had struck down in November 2004. And had opined that only the Parliament is the competent authority to do so and not the State Legislature, he informed.⁶⁵

He requested the Government of India to take up the matter and amend the Constitution to categorise the SC population into A, B, C, D groups to give sub-castes of Scheduled Caste in India, particularly in Andhra Pradesh uniform opportunities in respect of reservations.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VIII, Fourth Session, (11), March 14, 2005

⁶² Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, IX, Fourth Session, (22), April 20, 2005, p. 538.

⁶³ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, VII, Fourth Session, (09), March 10, 2005, p. 412.

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Ibid.

In the fourth session, Dr Jagannath raised the issues atrocities against Dalit matters under 377, on May 2, 2005. Focused on the need to take steps to check atrocities on Dalits and set up a separate Ministry for the welfare of Backward Caste people.⁶⁷ He has raised serious objections concerning atrocities on Dalits in various parts of the country even after 58 years after independence. He referred to the cases on in Bihar, and other was in Rajasthan. At the same in the same time, he also raised the issue of welfare of more than 50 per cent population of OBCs welfare and demanded separate ministry for them.⁶⁸

On Electoral Reforms

In the fourth session of 14th Lok Sabha on May 5, 2005, Dr Jagannath participated in a debate on electoral reforms under rule 193. Many a time in India regarding electoral reforms the Supreme Court but political parties have not been able to make a consensus on those reforms. Specific to the reforms were the use of money and criminal records of elected representatives and their increased income and assets.⁶⁹

The election commission guidelines on expenditure in MP and MLAs election largely been violated in this country. Excessive use of money power in elections have adverse impacts on weaker sections it influences their electoral preference and as well as their prospects in elections. Therefore, he claimed his party TDP had proposed for a long time that the Government should fund the election process and with strict vigilance on the same. And criminalisation of politics was another issue he had raised serious concerns. Dr Jagannath asked that if the criminals become lawmakers, who would implement those laws, would the agencies of law enforcement have the freedom to implement laws properly against those criminals.⁷⁰ These criminals always make use of loopholes in the existing laws. Therefore, he demanded the law ministry formulate a very stringent law. And most important for him was every political had to introspect on criminal elements in their respective political parties. And he reasoned that that was the main issue which prevented parties to come to a consensus on electoral reforms in India. Another critical issue Dr Jagannath raised was if a person

⁶⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, IX, Fourth Session, (29), May 2, 2005, p. 463

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, X, Fourth Session, (32), May 5, 2005, pp. 379-83

⁷⁰ Ibid

with criminal charges elected, there should be speedy trial and asked thought of remedial law was to make and ensure that none of the political parties sponsors people with criminal records.⁷¹

Another issue was seeking votes based on religion and communalism has become part and parcel of electioneering nowadays and need to curb it. And using muscle power and booth-capturing, in some of the States was a serious concern. And large scale rigging and countermanding the elections at those places. But if a law is to make that wherever there is such type of booth capturing, the election will countermand automatically, then there will be a fear in the minds of candidates that if this happens, the election will be revoked. That would keep the people away from using muscle power. Finally, he requested the Government of India to make a real effort, had to pursue continuously, then only a consensus could be brought in.⁷²

On Courts

In the fourth session on May 11, 2005, Dr Jagannath raises the matter under rule 377, the need to review the decision to observe winter/summer vacations in courts. In that special mention, he raised the question that in Indian courts, 21/2 crores or more cases were pending. Therefore affordable and speedy justice not met. He informed the House in a year, in all only 90 days Courts were working. Therefore he requested to review the provision and dissolve issue soon.⁷³

On Foreign Affairs

In the discussion under rule 193 Statement made by the Prime Minister regarding visits of Chinese Premier and the President of Pakistan to India Dr M. Jagannath appreciated the initiative taken by the government for better relations with the neighbouring countries. And he claimed that by confrontation no problem could be solved only and better way is by sitting together and discussing, could resolve the issues.⁷⁴ He informed the House and asked prime minister that, by keeping the mind the historical experience with both the countries, careful engagement and dialogue to

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, X, Fourth Session, (36), May 11, 2005, p. 537

⁷⁴ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, X, Fourth Session, (37), May 12, 2005, pp. 482-84

take forward, and assured his party support for the establishment of peace in the region.

Fifth Session

During the fifth session, also Dr Jagannath continued his active participation in LokSabah debates. One major issue of corruption allegations against minister came for discussion he participated in the same.

On the UN Oil-for-Food Programme in Iraq

In the fifth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion on a motion for adjournment on the alleged involvement of some Indian entities and individuals as non-contractual beneficiaries of the UN Oil-for-Food Programme in Iraq, initiated by the leader of opposition in the Lok Sabha, on November 28, 2005, and supported the motion. In his speech referred to the background of the allegations, said that After Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, there were so many difficulties for the country in general and the human beings in particular in Iraq. Reports had started appearing that millions of people were dying of malnutrition and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) also came out with the announcement that if something not done, the country was heading towards a disaster. That paved the way for putting Oil for Food Programme in place.⁷⁵

Importantly he informed the House that the Volcker Committee Report has made it very clear and exposed how the Congress Party and some of its leaders behaved inhumanly for the programmes which made for the welfare of the human beings. The report also accused contravention of the guidelines suggested by the United Nations, and there were allegations of corruption in awarding contracts, and money generated from the sale of oil under Oil for Food Programme has diverted for other purposes. Nearly 130 companies from India had contravened the United Nations' guidelines and got illegal gratification and illegal money.⁷⁶ At the same time, the Congress party the role of Natwar Singh, the former Minister of External Affairs

⁷⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XIV, Sixth Session, (04), November 28, 2005, pp. 622-24

⁷⁶ Ibid

and then the Minister without portfolio have listed in the freshly released Volcker committee report.

Therefore, he informed the House on behalf of the Telugu Desam Party, and he had strongly condemned the Congress Party and its leaders for compromising the interests of the country for their monetary gains. And he also condemns the UPA Government's efforts to cover up the serious crime of the Congress Party and its leaders by ordering a Commission of Inquiry which did not have any sanctity under the commission of inquiry Act. And on behalf of the Telugu Desam Party, he demands that the entire case should be handed over to the CBI so that an impartial enquiry could be conducted and necessary action can be taken.⁷⁷

Sixth Session

Dr Jagannath participated debated on diverse issues. Including railway budget and general budget among others and also asked questions.

On Trains' Punctuality

In the sixth session, Dr M. Jagannath asked a starred question number 122, on the issues of punctuality of trains, on December 1, 2005. He accused the government that they were concerned only with mail and express trains. Asked the railway minister the position of passenger trains wherein crores of people were travelling and the measures taken at the unmanned railway gates during foggy season.⁷⁸

The Minister in his reply said that railways had got about 20,000 unmanned gates. In the foggy season, it was challenging and have informed the House that they planned for speed restrictions in all those places. Dr Jagannath said the answer was not satisfactory.

On Farmers' Issues

In the sixth session, Dr Jagannath raised the issues of farmers' of AP, in the matters under rule 377 and informed the House the need to release additional stock of fertiliser to the State of Andhra Pradesh to meet its shortage in the State. Dr M.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XIV, Sixth Session, (07), December 1, 2005, pp. 2-25.

Jagannath told the House for the first time in many years there was copious rainfall in almost all the district of the State. Even those in rain-shadow zones like Anantapur received excess moisture. But the joy of farmers over good monsoons has been cut short by the severe shortage of fertiliser, particularly urea. The prospects of farmers getting a bumper yield that year appeared bleak with the farming community falling short of five lakh tonnes of fertilisers for the Kharif season.⁷⁹

He also brought the issue to notice of the house that required urea was about 16 lakh tonnes while only 11 lakh tonnes was available in the market. And he said urea was used commonly used for many crops. He also informed that there was also a shortage of single super phosphate fertiliser. And Dr Jagannath requested the minister of chemical and fertilisers to release more stocks to the State to overcome the acute shortage and protect the standing crops from withering away.

On Railway Budget Grants 2005-06

In the sixth session participated in the discussion on demands for supplementary grants (Railways), 2005-2006, on December 12, 2005. He has raised the concerns of safety in the railways.⁸⁰ And asked the minister that despite one of the largest railway network not been able to manage appropriately. Dr Jagannath while laying his speech on the table of the House brought to the notice of the House the pressing concerns of the people and noted increased accidents at various places, in diverse situations like rail derailments, accidents at level crossings, collisions all were on the rise. Therefore, he asked the entire House for introspection that whether railways lived up to the expectations of people of India. Instead of having proper planning and management and improvement of the railway infrastructure, the unrealistic budget allocations became a resinous concern.

Referring to the needs of Andhra Pradesh, he accused the government that the budgetary allocations were gradually getting reducing in all the departments whether

⁷⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XV, Sixth Session, (11), December 7, 2005, p. 467.

⁸⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XV, Sixth Session, (14), December 12, 2005, p. 600-602.

it was new lines, gauge conversions, doubling and on the safety measures. Therefore, he requested the railway minister, the following things.⁸¹

1. Take necessary steps to increase the Secunderabad - Dronachalam Section as it is becoming the bustling route for the southbound trains.
2. Electrification of Railway track between Secunderabad and Dronachalam Section.
3. Construction of Road Under Bridge (RUB) at Jedcherla Railway Station between Jedcherla and Gollapalli Railway Stations.
4. Construction of ROB's at Yenugonda level crossing gate and Gadwal level crossing gate near Gadwal Railway Station.
5. Provision of stoppage for Dharmavaram Express at Jedcherla Railway Station.
6. Stoppage of all the passenger trains which passes through Kotturu Railway station between Secunderabad and Dronachalam section.
7. Construction of new Railway line between Gadwal and Macherle for which survey had already conducted.⁸² And Dr Jagannath requested for supplementary grants for the railways.

On Farmer issues -Tea Price

In the sixth session Dr Jagannath raised the matters under rule 377, special mention, the Need to issue directions to the government of Andhra Pradesh to reduce Value Added Tax (VAT) levied on tea from 12.5 per cent to 4 per cent, on December 15, 2005.⁸³ He informed the House that high VAT rates would push up tea prices and tea being price-sensitive item could witness a drop in consumption. Drop-in tea consumption and resultant depression in demand could destabilise realisations of tea producers further affecting an industry, which has been seeing a severe recession in the last five years. It is, therefore, imperative to keep end-consumer prices at a reasonable level, he explained.

At the same time, he informed that India was the biggest producer and a significant exporter of tea. It was a significant foreign exchange earner for the country. And at the same time, the Tea industry was the second highest employer after

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XV, Sixth Session, (17), December 15, 2005, p. 378.

the Indian Railways, with nearly 50 per cent of the employees being women. And urged for protection of this employment, and said that would crucially depend on a sustained increase in tea consumption.⁸⁴

On Ragging in Educational Institutions

In the sixth session on December 15 2005, raised the issue of ragging in various educational institutions in the state of AP, said that had become death knells for some of the students.⁸⁵ In recent past, that activity, supposed to be the introduction of fresher's, was created a scare in the minds of the parents of the students who are entering into the collegiate education as the ragging had gone from bad to worse. In deriving sadistic pleasure, both boys and girls are competing for each in some of the professional colleges in AP.

Also, he informed that House, though the educational institutions were claiming that they were taking remedial measures, yet that gone on unchecked. Unless the Government of India comes out with a comprehensive Bill in the Parliament for banning ragging in educational institutions, this inhuman, barbaric activity cannot be contained, he said. And Dr Jagannath urged the government of India to come out with a comprehensive Bill in the Parliament banning ragging in educational institutions which are sometimes leading to unpleasant and irreparable loss to the students, the parents and the society.⁸⁶

On AP Legislative Council and Political issues

In the sixth session, the government has proposed to revive the AP state legislative council, which was earlier abolished by the TDP regime. On December 15, 2005, the bill came for discussion and passage, TDP opposed the law to provide for the creation of Legislative Council for the State of Andhra Pradesh and matters supplemental, incidental and consequential to it, be taken into consideration, was voted against by Dr Jagannath along with his TDP colleagues.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XV, Sixth Session, (17), December 15, 2005.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.465

On Reservations

In the sixth session on Constitutional (one hundred and fourth Amendment) bill, 2005, was introduced by the human resource development (HRD) minister Arjun Singh to amend the Constitution to provide reservations to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and socially backward communities. Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion on December 21, 2005, and supported the move.⁸⁸ And he appreciated the initiative of the government to promote the advancement of the socially and educationally backward class citizens of the country. And the matter of admission of students belonging to the OBCs, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes categories in unaided educational institutions was a laudable thing for him. He also informed the House that the Amendment would undo the injustice done to the people of these categories, by the then the judgement of the Supreme Court, wherein the reservations prevailing earlier were set aside in the private and unaided educational institutions.⁸⁹

At the end of his speech, he said that on behalf of TDP and his behalf, supported the Bill with a suggestion that there should be a provision for reservation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs, even in the linguistic minority, aided and unaided private institutions. Unless it provided, it was not a comprehensive Bill, he asserted. He also informed the House that on that day when on behalf of the Forum of Members of Parliament of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes represented the Prime Minister and it had brought to his notice that unless this provision was made applicable in all the educational institutions, this Bill couldn't be comprehensive.⁹⁰

On the Functioning of Parliament and conduct of MPs in the Lok Sabha

In the sixth session on December 23, 2005, Dr Jagannath participated in a discussion on the report of the Committee to inquire into the allegations of improper conduct on the part of some Members. In this discussion initiated by the leader of opposition, Dr Jagannath in his remarks said that, that was harrowing situation to talk about our

⁸⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVI, Sixth Session, (21), December 21, 2005, pp. 535-537

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

colleagues for expelling them from the House, but the way some of the Members of this House have conducted is unethical and unwanted on their part, which is not conducive to parliamentary dignity.⁹¹ He had submitted in the House that before moving the motion, the then suspended ten members should have given a chance to appear put their case before the committee. However, he reiterated his party that those who have committed mistakes should be punished, and confirmed that. However, he asserted at the same time the conduct of the electronic media -- by entering the houses of the Members of Parliament and making sensational news -- has to be probed, and appropriate action should be taken.

Seventh Session

He participated in the discussion on minorities -Sachar Committee Report. Discussed language questions. Railway budget, farmer's issue and SC/ST welfare.

On Minorities -Sachar Committee Report

In the seventh session in the process of submission by members, Dr Jagannath, on February 17, 2006, brought to the notice of the House. Regarding the Information reportedly sought by the Sachar Committee about statistical break up of religious minorities of the personnel of the Defence and Para Military Forces in the country, said that it was unfortunate that in our country the employment opportunities or recruitment provided to the minority communities were not adequate.⁹² And Dr Jagannath submitted the House that whatever could be the reason, that practice of not recruiting the minority communities into the Army or paramilitary services was not correct. Therefore, he asked the government to proper steps should be taken that their sentiments were respected, and at the same time, he affirmed that they should be part and parcel of this country and adequate measures should be taken to see that they get the sufficient number of their people in the recruitment.⁹³

⁹¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVI, Sixth Session, (23), December 23, 2005, pp. 457-458.

⁹² Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVII, Seventh Session, (2), February 17, 2006, pp. 246-271.

⁹³ Ibid.

On the Telugu Language

In the seventh session, Dr Jagannath raised the issue of Telugu language and spoke in Telugu on February 21, 2006. He informed the House that Telugu is 3000-year-old classical language. And many Telugu people contributed the freedom struggle, including Pingali Venkayya who designed the National Flag. He continued his speech in Telugu amid interruptions and raised the issue of lack interpretation for Telugu for a very long time, in the House and the Speaker assured him of providing Telugu interpreters soon.⁹⁴

Language Question

In the seventh session, Dr Jagannath raised the matter under rule 377, the need of conducting standard entrance test in vernacular languages for appointment in defence forces in India, on March 1, 2006, and asked why only English and Hindi used.⁹⁵ He urged the government like the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) has permitted the use of vernacular language for writing their examinations; the same system could adopt for defence forces common entrance test.

On Railway Budget 2006-07

In the seventh session on March 2, 2006, Dr Jagannath participated in the general discussion on Railway budget 2006-07 and demands for grants on account (railways), 2006-07. In his speech, Dr Jagannath discussed the detailed railway budget in general, AP needs, and also discussed his constituency issues in specific.⁹⁶

In a lengthy statement, he has repeated many demands from previous year speech. Asked for zero per cent railway accidents. And unfortunately, he said The Budget does not have any significant proposal for reducing the railway accidents. He had vehemently opposed the proposal of outsourcing of jobs and asserted that would deprive the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates of their job opportunities.

⁹⁴ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVII, Seventh Session, (4), February 21, 2006.

⁹⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVII, Seventh Session, (10), March 1, 2006, p. 320.

⁹⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVIII, Seventh Session, (11), March 2, 2006, p. 560-68.

He appreciated the introduction of the metro system in Delhi and requested similar construction in fast-changing and developing cities in AP, in Hyderabad, Vijayawada and Visakhapatnam.⁹⁷ Other projects of Andhra Pradesh the allocation were very meagre and not commensurate with the aspirations of the people and also to the expected level for completing the ongoing projects early, in those days. He had raised issues of introduction of new trains, the extension of railroads, surveys and sanction of new lines for which surveys conducted long back, allocation of money was very meagre. Those fields required a sympathetic consideration, to have further inquiries, the extension of trains and the introduction of more new railway lines, particularly in the Telangana area in Andhra Pradesh which is very backward.

He had requested for the construction of ROBs at the following places: at Yenugonda level crossing gate which located between Jadcherla and Mahboob Nagar railways stations; level crossing gate at Gadwal railway station; and Devarakadra Railway Crossing Gate, among other demands, he put forward in his speech.⁹⁸

On SC/ST Welfare

In the seventh session on March 9, 2006, Dr Jagannath asked starred question number 266, on Special Component Plan for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people.⁹⁹ And Dr Jagannath accused the Government of Andhra Pradesh of diversion Rs.37 crore from the fund meant for the development of Scheduled Caste people under the Special Component Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan. And that was nothing but depriving the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people of their share of development. And asked the government of India what action they have proposed to take against such types of States, particularly Andhra Pradesh and also some other states?

In her reply, social justice and empowerment minister Mrs Meira Kumar expresses her inability. That they were not in the know of such diversion of funds in AP, but they knew that there were three other States. However, she assured him that

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸ Further details see his speech, March 2, 2006. Ibid.

⁹⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XVIII, Seventh Session, (16), March 9, 2006, pp. 3-40.

the government would look into the matter and Dr Jagannath not satisfied and interrupted her and asked to take action against AP state government.¹⁰⁰

On Farmer Issues-Suicides

In the seventh session discussion under rule 193, Dr Jagannath participated in the debate on deaths by farmers in various parts of the County, on May 17, 2006.¹⁰¹ He noted multiple reasons in his speech, for suicides by farmers including exploitation by private moneylenders, high-cost of borrowings, failure to increase institutional credit-flow, non-remunerative prices for agriculture products and spurious pesticides, spurious seeds and spurious fertilisers, all were combined, he accused, forcing farmers to commit suicides.

He mentioned that as regards to the Minimum Support Price (MSP), the government announces them almost at the end of the season by the time, out of frustration, farmers sold out their products to the private entrepreneurs at throwaway prices.¹⁰² He also informed the House that the Purchasing Centres like the Food Corporation of India (FCI) or the Civil Supplies Departments not taking proactive measures and open their centre in time, only when farmers' demand for it by resorting to rampage or agitation.¹⁰³

He also noted the necessity of a stringent law to curb spurious drugs, pesticides, seeds and artificial fertilisers those became rampant. If there were any laws for it, yet the officials concerned not initiated any action against the people who indulge in such practices. And other significant problems for farmers were lack investments and various financial institutions negligence in granting loans to them. That was nothing but discrimination against the farmer for not been considered them for loans, but big corporates quickly get the loans. He said all those added problems for the farmers and forced them to take such extreme steps like suicides. Severely hit States were Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Rajasthan where respective state governments have miserably failed to protect their farmers. Therefore, he

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XX, Seventh Session, (31), May 17, 2006, pp. 617-20.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

requested the government of India to take proper measure to stop farmer suicides in India.

Eighth Session

He discussed health issues, students' concerns, gender question, floods, price rise and political issues in this session.

On Health Issues

In the eighth session, Dr Jagannath had raised calling attention to a matter of urgent public importance, the situation arising out of the spread of Chikungunya fever in various parts of the country, particularly in Andhra Pradesh and steps taken by the Government in that regard, on July 26, 2006.¹⁰⁴ Dr Jagannath, in the speech, was very critical of AP government amid repeated interruptions by the treasury bench members, noted that there were two deaths in his Parliamentary Constituency. And he requested the union minister of health to depute some team to take stock of the present situation and to take adequate measures to control that disease before it takes the form of a national tragedy. Further requested the Government of India to declare a health-emergency in Andhra Pradesh and other States where Chikungunya was rampant and accordingly take necessary measures.

On Gender issues

In the eighth session, on July 27, 2006, Dr Jagannath asked a starred question numbered 62 to the ministry of defence regarding the percentage of women in the defence forces. And reported their representation of women in numbers as follows, in Army, Navy, Air Force, Army Medical Corps and Army Dental Corps were 2.56 per cent, 2.86 per cent, 5.42 per cent, 13.58 per cent and 18.92 per cent respectively. And he said that only in Military Nursing Service, their representation is 100 per cent.¹⁰⁵

Dr Jagannath asked the defence to spell out the reasons for such a low representation of women in defence forces. And he raised the question that wasn't that considered as the discrimination or not. At that time, there were several reports in the newspapers that some of the women officers were forced to resign and asked why

¹⁰⁴ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXI, Eight Session, (3), July 26, 2006, pp. 354-370

¹⁰⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXI, Eight Session, (4), July 27, 2006, pp. 2-41

they court-martialled not given a chance to represent their cases accurately. In his replay to Jagannath's question, Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee accepted that the percentage of women officers was quite low. And he reasoned for that, only in 1991 a decision was taken to allow them entry in some other services including short service commission. Till then, women were not permitted to enter into armed forces, except in the Army Medical Corps and Military Nursing Service. Those figures were the reflections of that system. And Dr Jagannath argued amid interruptions in House that minister did not answer the forced resignations of two women officials.¹⁰⁶

On Price Rise

In the eighth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion under rule 193 regarding Rising in prices of essential commodities, on July 27, 2006, and argued that that was a moral responsibility of any Government whether Central or State Government to ensure that essential products are made available to its citizens at affordable prices. Therefore, Dr Jagannath demanded the government irrespective of rising prices, and essential products should be made available to the weaker sections of the society.¹⁰⁷

In his lengthy speech, Dr Jagannath had compared various necessary commodities prices of July 2003 with July 2006 and argued UPA government's inaction in controlling the price rise about 100-150 per cent amid interruption and running commentary from the treasury benches.¹⁰⁸ Dr Jagannath, in his speech, focused on the price rise of essential commodities in the state of AP and criticised the government. And reported the prices of consumer items like edible oils, pulses, tamarind and vegetables have gone so high that they have gone beyond the purchasing capacity of the common man, leave alone the poor man, he raised his serious concern amid repeated interruptions in the House.

And Dr Jagannath requested whichever Government is in power, it should be sincere, and the efforts taken by the Government should yield results. However, he accused then UPA Government was not honest in their efforts to curb the price hike.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXI, Eight Session, (4), July 27, 2006, pp. 471-76

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

And there was no firmness in implementing the laws to control price hike like the Essential Commodities Act also to curb the price hike. And he demanded the Congress government Andhra Pradesh of fulfilling their election promise of setting aside Rs. 500 crore as stabilisation money to control prices, where was that fund? He asked. If not state government the Government of India, he demanded, should implement them in managing the prices of essential commodities and made a list of demands were as follows:¹⁰⁹

1. To allocate separate funds for price stabilisation and regulation and to make the FCI purchase food grains.
2. All sections of the society should be brought under the purview of one Civil Supplies Organisation.
3. All consumer items should be distributed through the Civil Supplies Corporation only and the Public Distribution System (PDS). The PDS is to be strengthened.
4. Creation of Special Fund for stabilisation of prices.
5. Restoration of subsidy ration, and finally the National Employment Guarantee Scheme should be implemented in all districts of the country, and he had placed those on the floor of the House amid repeated interruptions.

On Disqualification of Elected Representatives

In the eighth session, when the bill further to amend the Parliament (Prevention of Disqualification) Act, 1959, as passed again by Rajya Sabha, be moved, came for consideration of the House, Dr Jagannath proposed certain amendments on July 31, 2006. However, Deputy-Speaker of the House did not allow him to move his changes, in protest Dr Jagannath have staged walkout from the House.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 476

¹¹⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXI, Eight Session, (6), July 31, 2006.

On Participation of opposition in the Lok Sabha—Political issues

In the eighth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion on observations of the Speaker regarding the involvement of Opposition in proceedings of the House, on August 8, 2006.¹¹¹

Dr Jagannath, in his remarks, mentioned that on behalf of TDP, he associated himself with the sentiments expressed by his colleagues from various political parties. And he informed that House TDP deeply resented the way the aspersions were cast at the Speaker's Chair, by the main opposition and boycotted the House. And he reminded the House that in any Parliamentary democracy, the Opposition had got as much responsibility as the Ruling Party. And he said they had reached a right to boycott or stage a walkout, but the way they have cast aspersions on the Speaker, TDP resented them, and in protest, Dr Jagannath has staged a walkout from the House.¹¹²

On the Floods

In the eighth session, Dr Jagannath raised the issue of the flood situation in various parts of the country in the submission by members, on August 8, 2006. He had brought to the notice of the House that due to heavy rains in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka all the rivers in the Andhra Pradesh were in spate and caused floods in many districts of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the Telangana and Coastal Andhra Pradesh, he reported. More than one thousand villages were underwater, and more than 100 people have died, and many more were missing; at the same time lakhs of people have become shelterless, huge cattle loss, failure of communication networks.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXII, Eight Session, (12), August 8, 2006, pp. 2-10

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXII, Eight Session, (12), August 8, 2006, pp. 293-296

And Dr Jagannath accused the government of Andhra Pradesh their lukewarm and no proper response to evacuate and rehabilitate the flood-affected people and provide them drinking water, food and civic amenities. Finally, he requested the government of India to intervene immediately and take steps on a war-footing to help the victims in flood-affected areas, arrange for help in cash and kind and send medical teams to look after the people in those areas.¹¹⁴

On Students' Scholarships

In the eighth session raised the matters under rule 377, regarding the need for timely release of adequate funds for providing scholarships to SC/ST/OBC students of Andhra Pradesh, on August 10, 2006. He brought to the notice of the House that students belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs depend mostly on Government's financial assistance (both from Central Government and State Government) to pursue their studies of both professional or non-professional courses.¹¹⁵

He raised the issue of Osmania University, and its affiliated colleges' rejection of the admissions of SC/ST/OBC students into their colleges stated that they have to pay the fees in advance and asked without scholarships how they would pay the fees.¹¹⁶ And informed the House that demanding fees from weaker section student in advance were unconstitutional. He cautioned if that process was continued for every year the SC/ST students would get demoralised and could not pursue their studies. Therefore, he requested the Government of India to sanction the scholarship funds and fees well in advance to SC/ST/OBC students so that they could pursue the studies peacefully and get good results.

Ninth Session

He continued to raise health and Dalit issues. And he spoke on bidi workers and railway budget grants.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 297-98

¹¹⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXI, Eight Session, (13), August 10, 2006, p.343

¹¹⁶ Ibid

On Bidi workers

In his submission, Dr Jagannath informed the House that crores of poor people were dependent on bidi making and other such tobacco products. And then, the Ministry of Health of the Government of India issued a G.O. No.297 accordingly, that states that on all tobacco products, a pictorial graphic of the human skull and two bones should be printed. And he said that was very terrorising picture severely affects the prospects of Crores of people throughout India are involved in bidi making, specifically in Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the Telangana region there are 10 lakh people who are engaged in bidi making in Karim Nagar, Mahboobnagar, Nizamabad and Medak districts of Andhra Pradesh.¹¹⁷

He also informed the house that when that legislation passed, all the political parties had felt that the dangerous symbol should not be printed on tobacco products and an alternative should be thought. Alter concerned minister promised to amend the law, but that did not happen. Therefore, Dr Jagannath requested the Government of India to immediately withdraw G.O. No.297 so that that dangerous symbol removed and people should also be educated about the ill effects of tobacco products.

On Railway Budget Grants

In the ninth session on December 5, 2006, Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion and motion considered on demands for excess grants (Railways) 2004-2005 and claims for supplementary grants (Railways)-2006-2007. And he congratulated railway minister, Lalu Prasad and his team of ministers and officials in the railway board for taking the Railways into profits and also for caring the common man by starting the air-conditioned train, namely, *Garib Rath* for them. At the same, he also expressed unhappy that in the supplementary demands for grants no allocations were made to the State of Andhra Pradesh. And Dr Jagannath reiterated his previous demanded in his speech.¹¹⁸

Dr Jagannath expressed his displeasure at no appropriations for the new lines, the ROBs and RUBs, mainly long-pending application and request were for one ROB

¹¹⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXIII, Ninth Session, (4), November 27, 2006.

¹¹⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXIII, Ninth Session, (5), December 5, 2006 pp.532-533.

or RUB at Jadcherla Railway Station, has been neglected, and other projects like new trains, some further train stoppages and certain trains extensions, which he mentioned earlier.¹¹⁹

On Dalit Issues

In the ninth session, Dr Jagannath raised the issue regarding one-man commission, Durai Swamy Raj Commission, to inquire into and suggest measures to be taken to categorise Scheduled Castes, 59 sub-castes into A, B, C, D categories or groups basing on the population percentage and fix up portion of distribution of Scheduled Castes reservation in Andhra Pradesh to each caste. And he reminded the House when reservations distributed proportion to their population in the TDP regime all the groups got the fair deal and there was steady development.¹²⁰

Amid interruptions Dr Jagannath demanded that afterwards, the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh has unanimously passed a resolution in favour of categorization of 59 sub-castes of Scheduled Castes into A, B, C, D groups and sent it to the Government of India to take further course of action by amending the Constitution so that that could be practised in Andhra Pradesh. Amid repeated interruptions Dr Jagannath said that though Justice Durai Swamy Raj Commission was announced then five months back, the actual work of Commission has not started, he accused. And because of that, he said the Madiga and their allied sub-castes deprived another academic year. And they also at loss of percentage share of jobs to the youth, therefore, he requested the government to see that the Commission expedites its work and submit its report to the Government of India so that the Constitutional (Amendment) Bill could be taken up in the Parliament, he expected.

On Health Issues

In the ninth session on March 14, 2007, Dr Jagannath raised a starred question number 231, regarding modernisation of blood banks, licensing and funding the blood banks. And asked how many blood banks were to be modernised and permitted and how National AIDS Control Organisation (NACO) has given a license, and funds

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXIV, Ninth Session, (12), December 7, 2006.

released, without having the permissions.¹²¹ Dr Jagannath mentioned in the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) Report, Phase II, and informed the House that out of 125 blood banks modernised, 75 were not have had the license. And h asked whether they got any time-frame to upgrade the blood banks in these 39 districts.

Tenth Session

In this Dr, Jagannath focused on farmers' difficulties. And he raised the issue of drought situation in his state.

On Drought Relief activities in AP

In the tenth session, Dr Jagannath raised matters under rule 377, regarding the need to sanction Rs. Three hundred seventy crores as Central assistance for drought relief operations in Andhra Pradesh, on March 19, 2007. When the central team visited AP had acknowledged the fact that drought conditions in the State were acute and had assured to recommend liberal financial assistance to the State. The State Government has requested for sanction of Rs 370 crores as assistance for the drought relief operations. However, he informed the House that, the Central team had not submitted its Report and as a result, the financial aid to the State not announced.¹²²

The most disquieting fact was that despite the promise of waiver of loans and announcement of Special package by Prime Minister, Dr Jagannath brought to the notice of the House that, state police have arrested farmers in his constituency at the instance of Banks filing cases for recovery of loans. And two farmers were put in jail for having failed to repay credit. They released from prison only after a part of the loan amount refunded. Therefore, he requested the government to give directions to the banks from refraining from filing cases in the courts for the recovery of loans from the farmers. Also urged the government of India that generous financial assistance should be released to the state expeditiously.¹²³

¹²¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXVI, Tenth Session, (13), March 14, 2006, pp. 3-47.

¹²² Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXVI, Tenth Session, (16), March 19, 2006, p. 407.

¹²³ Ibid

Eleventh Session

In this session, he questioned the railway minister the issue concerned with the constituency.

On Rail stoppage at Shadnagar

In the eleventh session, Dr Jagannath raised the matter under rule 377, the need to provide stoppage of all famous express trains at Shadnagar Railway Station in Mahboobnagar district, Andhra Pradesh in his constituency, on August 21, 2007. He said that Shadnagar is very close to Hyderabad on 50 km. Distance and various locational advantages, a lot of industries have come up in this town, and the business activities have increased manifold. Because of that, he requested the railway minister, and stoppage could be provided at Shadnagar Railway station for all famous Express trains especially Yeshwantpur Express and Chennai Egmore express.¹²⁴

Twelfth Session

In this session, he focused on education and mining issues in Andhra Pradesh.

On Education

In the twelfth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the motion to considered on Rajiv Gandhi institute of petroleum technology bill, 2007, on December 3, 2007, and supported it to set up an institute of national importance, and said to match with international standards and increased domestic needs such institutions were very much needed. But not supported the institute proposed a location, Rae Bareli in UP. And suggested that institute been located at a place like Krishna-Godavari Basins where we have the wealthiest petroleum and natural gas deposits, or in Bombay High or Gujarat, it would have served the purpose better, he reasoned.¹²⁵

However, he said no matter where that institute was coming, he supported it and urged the Government to propose such Institutes at least one in each region like North, South, East and West. And appreciated the bill for taken care of the interests of

¹²⁴ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXVIII, Eleventh Session, (7), August 21, 2007, p. 430.

¹²⁵ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXI, Twelfth Session, (13), December 3, 2007, p. 537-538.

the SCs and STs, as per the Constitutional provisions and requested those provisions strictly implemented and students belonging to those categories should be taught free of cost.

On Mining issues in AP

In the twelfth session, Dr Jagannath raised a starred question number 263, on December 4, 2007, on illegal mining in Anantpur district of Andhra Pradesh. He informed the House that an ancient temple was demolished encroaching upon the area which was not allotted to that mining company. And some of the local representatives went to see that place, and the company threatened that if anybody comes to that place, whether it is an MLA or an MP, he will be done to death by stoning. That been widely published in the papers. Therefore, he asked the minister if any miner could warn like that and what action the Government proposes to take on that company.¹²⁶ However, the Chair, the Speaker, termed it irrelevant and didn't allow minister to answer, Dr Jagannath's question.

Thirteenth Session

In this session, he continues his active participation. The issues he raised and discussed are ISRO, irrigation projects in AP, Railway and general budgets and various farmers and Dalit issues.

On Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO)

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath asked a starred question number 112, what were the objective of the launching of the Satellites by ISRO and what are the benefits that accrue to India apart from the revenue, on March 5, 2008.¹²⁷

On Irrigation Projects in AP

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath asked a starred question number 145 regarding irrigation projects in AP, on March 10, 2008. Dr Jagannath said when the Central Government has come out with the list of 14 projects, in AP projects like Ichampalli,

¹²⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXI, Twelfth Session, (14), December 4, 2007, p.2-43.

¹²⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXII, Thirteenth Session, (8), March 5, 2008, p.5-73.

Jurala, SRSP phase II, and Vamshadara fit into the criteria to be selected as the national projects, and asked why not even a single project in Andhra Pradesh has been taken up as the national project. Because of that, several projects in Andhra Pradesh got delayed for want of funds.¹²⁸

On Community Participation in Curbing Crimes

In the thirteenth session Dr Jagannath raised a starred question number 165 regarding community participation in policing, in curbing the crimes and asked that once the criminals and anti-social elements come out of the police station, they would physically maltreat the people and cause harm to them. Under the circumstances, whether any protective measures contemplated in the proposed Police Act, which is going to replace the Police Act of 1861, to protect the common men, the *maithri* group and also other groups?.¹²⁹

On Delimitation Bill

In the thirteenth session on March 11, 2008, Dr Jagannath participated in discussion and motion to consider the statutory resolution regarding disapproval of Delimitation (Amendment) Ordinance, 2008; Delimitation (Amendment) Bill, 2008;¹³⁰ and Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 2008, on March 11, 2008, and supported the bill.¹³¹ And he said that after 1970, the delimitation process not taken up, though it was obligatory according to the Constitution to conduct this exercise every ten years. And he claimed that has deprived the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people to lose their seats. In the present delimitation, it seems that 12 Lok Sabha seats added and nearly 59-60 Assembly seats added, and the representatives of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes were growing up. Therefore he supported.

¹²⁸ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXII, Thirteenth Session, (9), March 10, 2008, p.4-47.

¹²⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXII, Thirteenth Session, (10), March 11, 2008, pp. 6-38

¹³⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXII, Thirteenth Session, (10), March 11, 2008, pp. 620-621, for the changes in Parliament and Assemble seats see Annexure II.

¹³¹ Ibid

On General Budget 2008

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the general discussion on General budget 2008-09, on March 12, 2008. He had laid his speech on the table. In that speech he extensively dealt with various aspects of the budget and supplementary grants and said that the Finance Minister had tried to satisfy every section of the society on paper, but in reality, it would prove his ill-conceived notions in specific fields.¹³² On National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) he accused that has become Automated Teller Machine (ATM) for the Congress workers in AP, as payments made on Benami names and intermediaries swallowed the money;¹³³ on debt waiver and relief package he said out Rs. 60,000 Crores debt relief, he quoted the survey conducted by some Agencies only 25% of the small and marginal farmers getting benefited and 80% of farmers are in the grip of private money lenders, and Government of India had not taken any step to relieve the farmers from the private money lenders.

In the irrigation sector, he argued, under the national irrigation projects scheme the major Projects were identified by the Government of India. And to help them to the tune of 90% of the cost by central Government. Even though there were many eligible projects existed but not even a single project was identified from Andhra Pradesh, that was discriminatory.¹³⁴ Public Distribution System (PDS) had become irrelevant and defunct by the policies of the present Government, and in the housing sector, the cost of construction of one Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) house has gone several times and demanded the allocation should be increased.¹³⁵ On education and health after the 60 Years of Independence, the literacy rate in India was 64%, and in the women, it was even low, and he reasoned it for lack of sufficient budgetary allocations and corruption. And Dr Jagannath also demanded to fill vacant post in the schools. At the same time, Dr Jagannath has urged the Finance Minister to double the budget for Midday Meal so that children could be provided at least reasonably nutritious food.

¹³² Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXIII, Thirteenth Session, (11), March 12, 2008, pp. 552-556.

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴ Ibid

¹³⁵ Ibid

On Schemes Benefitting SCs/STs, he reported the House, and allocations were not commensurate with the percentage of the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Country. It was just merely not even 3% of the total planned Budget. Therefore, he requested the government of India to take stringent steps to stop diversion of SCP and TSP funds and allocate the funds to the tune of 25% of the gross budget for SC/STs Welfare.¹³⁶

On Dalit Issues

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath raised the matters under 377 regarding the need to expedite the Usha Mehra Commission Report. On categorization of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh on March 17, 2008 and reported the House, in Andhra Pradesh an agitation was carried out for more than 14 years by Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) for the categorisation of 59 castes' of Scheduled Castes into A B C D groups depending upon the social, cultural proximity of Sub Castes. And Dr Jagannath said that after 60 years of Independence, the fruits of reservations not uniformly enjoyed by the 59 sub-castes of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.¹³⁷

In that context, he said the Government of India had constituted justice Usha Mehra Commission to enquire into and submit a report for the categorisation of Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh into ABCD groups. Accordingly, the Commission had conducted many sittings in Andhra Pradesh to elicit the opinion of the people, and the report was to submit. In the meanwhile government of Andhra Pradesh had taken up the process of recruitment to the government vacant posts. If that were allowed before the Commission report submitted to the Central Government, the Madigas and allied caste people would lose the opportunity as they were not in a position to compete with the 'Malas' and its allied caste as they are very backward, he raised his severe concerns in the House.

Therefore, he requested the Government of India to hasten up the process of submission of Usha Mehra Report to the Government and take further necessary steps

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXIII, Thirteenth Session, (14), March 17, 2008, p. 392

to amend the Constitution to categorise Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh into ABCD groups.¹³⁸

On Farmer Issues

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath participated in the discussion on Statutory Resolution Regarding disapproval of Sugar Development Fund (Amendment) Ordinance, 2008. And Sugar Development Fund (Amendment) Bill, 2008 and the Motion to consider on March 17, 2008, and supported the Bill with a few reservations. And he accused the government of not have anything said about the farmers of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the areas of Telangana - Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad and Karimnagar districts, in the Bill.¹³⁹ He accused the government for negligence of the sugarcane producers throughout the country as well as in AP. That had distressed the farmers, and some of them were forced to commit suicide. Therefore, he requested the government to follow the Swaminathan Commission recommendation to provide proper minimum support price (MSP) to the farmers.¹⁴⁰

On Railway Budget 2008

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath participated in a discussion demands for grants (railways) 2008, on April 17, 2008, and accused railway minister of only focus on needs of his state, not entire Country.¹⁴¹

It is good that the Minister has introduced a Tatkal Ticket scheme and requested the Minister to modify it and see that the passengers were charged only for the distance for which they travel in a particular train. For Andhra Pradesh and South-Central Railway, in particular, he accused of a great injustice in construction of new lines, doubling or gauge conversion allocations declined. And he asked how they would complete big projects, at the same time requested to the Minister the distribution made to the State of Andhra Pradesh to double the amount.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXIII, Thirteenth Session, (14), March 17, 2008, p. 429-430.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXIII, Thirteenth Session, (19), April 17, 2008, p. 463-469.

A great injustice was done in the sanctioning of the RUBs and ROBs, in his constituency, a RUB at LC No. 47 of Jedcherla Railway Station of Secunderabad-Dronachalam section was required. And Dr Jagannath requested for a ROB at Gadwal railway station level crossing.¹⁴² ROBs at Yenugonda level crossing gate between Mahabubnagar and Jedcherla. Railway station and Devarkadra railway level crossing gate are required. My long pending request is for the provision of manning of double-crossing at Kuttur railway station between Thimmapur and Shadnagar railway stations.

Coming to the construction of new lines, doubling, surveys, recently, an updated study has been ordered for Gadwal-Macherla. I request the hon. Minister to expedite and sanction funds for it. Likewise, one more survey had commissioned in 2005 between Jadcharla and Nandyal. He demanded this has to be advanced and completed. After that, the remaining parts of his speech laid on the table.¹⁴³ Several old bridges are still existing in the various parts of the country which need reconstruction for safety. But this is not attended to, and budgetary allocations are not enough. In some of the prestigious trains and AC chair cars, the maintenance is abysmal and highly unhygienic.¹⁴⁴ The way the Tatkal Passengers charged, it is nothing but looting the common man.

In his constituency, the RUBs and ROBs at earlier mentioned the places been long pending for consideration requested them to sanction and complete. Those were, as follows, RUB at LC No. 47 of Jadcherla Railway Station of Secunderabad - Dronachallam section, ROB at Gad Railway Station level crossing, ROB at Yenugonda Level Crossing Gate between Mahaboob Nagar and Jadcherla, ROB at Deverkadu Railway level crossing Gate. And finally the provision of manning of double-crossing at Kutnoor village between Tmmapore and Shadnagar. And requested an increase in allocation for ongoing projects in AP and his constituency, at the same time new lines surveys, doubling, extension some trains and introduction of few new trains have been requested.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Gas

In the thirteenth session, Dr Jagannath had presented 19th and 20th reports of the Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Gas, on April 23, 2008. The reported read was the nineteenth Report on Action Taken by the Government, in consideration of recommendations contained in the Fourteenth Report of the Committee on 'Demands for Grants (2007-08) of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas; and Twentieth Report on 'Demands for Grants (2008-09) of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas.¹⁴⁶

On Dalit Issues and Ambedkar

In the thirteenth session, on April 29, 2008, Dr Jagannath raised the matters under rule 377 regarding the need to take action against the persons involved in the desecration of the statue of Dr B.R. Ambedkar in Mahboobnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁴⁷ He has brought to the notice of the House then the Statements has been made against Dr B.R. Ambedkar. Which show the intolerance for the National Integrity and the development of Scheduled Castes and weaker sections of the society, and he said even the statues of Dr B.R. Ambedkar have been damaged and desecrated all over the country time and again. But as no punishment given to the offender, those incidents were repeatedly happening.

The specific case he referred to was at a village called Sreerangapor Pebbar Mandal of Mahaboobnagar District of Andhra Pradesh on 8.3.2008 a full-length statue of Dr Baba Saheb Ambedkar was damaged.¹⁴⁸ The head and hand of the statue of Dr B.R. Ambedkar were chopped off by unscrupulous persons at 2.30 AM. There was considerable scale resentment among the Dalits, and that led to Dharnas and road blockades. Even the local Dr B.R. Ambedkar youth association had filed a complaint with the local police giving the names of the suspects.

Instead of arresting the real culprits and punishing them, the local police were tried to dilute the case and punish the innocent persons. Therefore, he requested the

¹⁴⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXIV, Thirteenth Session, (22), April 23, 2008, p. 367.

¹⁴⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXIV, Thirteenth Session, (26), April 29, 2008, p. 386.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Government of India to direct the Government of Andhra Pradesh to arrest the real culprits and punish them and take necessary steps to curb such incidents shortly and throughout the country. And also he urged the Government of India to come out with legislation awarding stringent punishment or life imprisonment to those who commit such types of heinous crimes.¹⁴⁹

Fourteenth Session

This session practically became the last session for him as he disqualified from the House.

On No-confidence Motion and his Disqualification

Finally, in the fourteenth session of the fourteenth Lok Sabha Dr Jagannath, otherwise healthy critic of UPA government in the case no-confidence motion came for, before the House, the Speaker put the motion as, "That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers.", for consideration on July 22, 2008. The House divided, and surprisingly Dr Jagannath voted as 'yes' to the motion and supported the government.¹⁵⁰ And in the same session on the petition of TDP member K. Yerram Naidu, on 15th December the Speaker of the Lok Sabha has taken a decision to disqualified Dr Jagannath from his membership of the House under the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution and the Members of Lok Sabha (Disqualification on ground of Defection) Rules, 1985.¹⁵¹

Dr Jagannath: Political Journey and Experiences in the Lok Sabha

Dr Manda Jagannath from his student days was active and became the leader in Osmania University (OU) medical college, Hyderabad. After his education Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgeon (MBBS) from OU as a practising doctor and worked as a social activist.¹⁵² For equal opportunities for all the communities in SCs, he was instrumental in the establishment of Arundathiya Bandhu Seva Mandali and worked fourteen years, served as its president till 1996, Under his leadership activities

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXV, Thirteenth Session, (2), July 22, 2008, pp. 240-255

¹⁵¹ Lok Sabha Debates, Fourteenth Series, XXXVI, Thirteenth Session, (15), December 18, 2008.

¹⁵² Personal interview with Dr. Jagannath on December 27, 2017, at Hyderabad.

his organisation spread all over the state, not just Hyderabad city, he claimed.¹⁵³ As part of his social activities like free medical camps and health awareness programmes, he has served people in Hyderabad and neighbouring Mahabubnagar district. As part of such plans in the year 1992 in a public meeting, NTR invited him into politics. Initially, Dr Jagannath reluctant and asked the politicians are unwilling to well-educated and won't encourage them. However, he showed his interest in individual reservations. Subsequently, Dr Manda joined TDP in 1992. In 1994 assembly elections NTR asked him to contest elections, but Manda didn't and requested party that we were interested in fighting for Lok Sabha elections.¹⁵⁴

Meanwhile, he became active in TDP and participated in all the activities and became a known face in the party as educated, aware of social problems and came from a marginalised community background. Dr Jagannath said TDP leadership encouraged youth and marginalised sections like BCs, and SCs. In the process, Dr Jagannath became close to the administration.¹⁵⁵ After NTR, when Chandrababu Naidu took over the party leadership, Manda was with him. In the 1996 Lok Sabha elections, TDP has given the ticket to Dr Manda Jagannath to contest from Nagarkurnool of Mahabubnagar district SC reserved constituency. Until then that seat was in Congress hands and considered as a tough fight against Mallu Ravi sitting MP from Congress.

Dr Manda Jagannath elected to the 11th Lok Sabha for the first time from NagarKurnool as he claimed that TDP has encouraged him and made him TDP parliamentary party leaders in Lok Sabha 1996-1997.¹⁵⁶ At the same time, he was convener committee on welfare of Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes in 1996-97. And also a member of Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) on women's reservations, member committee on human resource development and the consultative committee on railways at the same time 1996-1997. As a member of various relevant committees and also the leader of TDP he said learned many things and evolved as a

¹⁵³ Ibid

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Detailed Profile of Dr. M. Jagannath, see <https://archive.india.gov.in/govt/loksabhampbiodata.php?mpcode=156>

leader and good speaker in Lok Sabha. Even as an active member of those committees, he became a well-known face of TDP in the house.

And Dr Manda Jagannath re-elected to 13th Lok Sabha in 1999 for the second term. And became general secretary, SC/ST parliamentary forum actively worked for the interests of the members and communities at large. At the same time, he became a joint convener on chief whips and whips committee.¹⁵⁷ Dr acted as a member of several committees such as a consultative committee on health and family welfare; member of the committee on commerce and member of the committee on human resource development. At the second term as a member of Lok Sabha worked diverse committee and said earned good experience.

In 2000-2004 of 13th Lok Sabha he became a member of some other essential committees like consultative committee on health and family welfare, committee on human resource development and member committee on subordinate legislation. Dr Jagannath said that he was a relevant committee's member and worked hard to raise concerns of people, made meaningful interventions in those meetings. And he raised his voice in those meeting and the Lok Sabha as an active member of TDP. The critical issue he raised concerned with SCs on 22 August 2000, while participating the debate on eighty-eight constitutional amendment bill to guarantee the reservations in promotions as against Supreme Court judgments and various operative guidelines which were discriminatory towards Dalits.¹⁵⁸ He forcefully argued anti-Dalit anti reservations atmosphere in the country and demanded that the provisions of the reservation should be included in the ninth schedule of the constitution.¹⁵⁹ In the year 2002, after the sudden demise of then sitting Lok Sabha speaker and leader of TDP, after him, Dr Manda Jagannath was the front-runner for the speaker post but couldn't get the position.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ See <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/memberbioprofile.aspx?mpsno=156&lastls=13>

¹⁵⁸ Rajashekar, K. Nirmala (2009) eds, *Dr M. Jagannath: A Voice for Dalits in Parliament*, op.cit., pp.25-27.

¹⁵⁹ Lok Sabha Debates, 22 August 2000, available at <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/1808325/?type=print>

¹⁶⁰ "Who will be the next Speaker?" , *The Hindu*, online edition March 05, 2002, <https://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/2002/03/05/stories/2002030507131100.htm>

With this vast experience as member and leader of his party in the Lok Sabha member, convener of various committees and leader of SC/ST parliamentary forum he re-elected to the 14th Lok Sabha in 2004 for his third time. In his previous terms, he was a member of the ruling coalition from 1996 to 2004. First time in united front government and second time 1999 to 2004 his party was a part of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) alliance partner. Therefore for the first time, he was elected to the 14th Lok Sabha as an opposition party member under United Progressive Alliance (UPA). After more than decade rule in Andhra Pradesh TDP lost to congress in the state. Out of 42 seats in the AP, TDP could win only five-seat Dr Manda was one of them.¹⁶¹ Though that was because Chandrababu Naidu considered reviewed his decision to withdraw his party support to NDA after Gujarat violence on minorities¹⁶², however, Dr Jagannath said that he was very vocal, have an independent mind and was not submissive therefore not been given a chance to become the speaker of Lok Sabha. And Dr Jagannath emphasised that despite his talent and experience TDP's denial of him the post of speaker nothing but discrimination and political exclusion of marginalised with independent thinking. That was not to accuse the leadership, but when he enquired the matter with one of the senior leaders said that he was not submissive.¹⁶³

While talking about why TDP gave opportunities in the party and MP ticket because of constitutional mandate. They thought that instead of giving tickets to uneducated people if they encourage educated youth, entire communities would support their party. First time during NTR era, particularly educated and youth from weaker sections, SC/ST have been picked and encouraged. But then they think of distributing positions in the party or the government they denied. Example of his candidature for the speaker of Lok Sabha dismissed. Even for GMC Balayogi, TDP didn't make him speaker wilfully. That was out of compulsion that unhappy section of Dalits the Malas' because of SC subcategorisation to appease them, Balayogi made as to the speaker of Lok Sabha.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ See the details in chapter three

¹⁶² T. R. Ramachandran (2002), "Naidu reviewing support to Centre" *The Tribune*, March 05, 2002, Chandigarh, <https://www.tribuneindia.com/2002/20020305/main6.htm>

¹⁶³ Personal interview with Dr. Manda. Jagannath on December 27, 2017, Hyderabad

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

Table 5.3 Attendance in the Lok Sabha

Session	Sitting period	Total sittings	Attended
First	2.06.2004- 10.06.2004	07	07
Second	05.07.2004- 26.08.2004	24	21
Third	01.12.2004- 23.12.2004	17	13
Fourth	25.02.2005- 13.05.2005	38	30
Fifth	25.07.2005- 30.08.2005	38	20
Sixth	23.11.2005- 23.12.2005	23	18
Seventh	16.2.2006- 23.5.2006	35	25
	24.07.2006- 25.08.2006	22	14
Ninth	22.11.2006- 19.12.2006	20	15
Tenth	23.02.2007- 17.05.2007	32	17
Eleventh	10.08.2007- 10.09.2007	17	11
Twelfth	15.11.2007- 07.12.2007	17	07
Thirteenth	25.02.2008- 20.03.2008 and 15.04.2008- 09.05.2008	28	20
Fourteenth	21.07.2008- 17.10.2008- 24.10.2008 and 10.12.2008- 23.12.2008	18	08
Fifteenth	12.02.2009- 20.02.2009	10	NA ¹⁶⁵
Total		346	226

Source: compiled from the data available at the Lok Sabha website.

The above table indicates that Dr Manda Jagannath's attendance in all fourteen sessions of fourteenth Lok Sabha. Due to his disqualification didn't attend the fifteenth session. The chart is shown total sittings of each session and in how many

¹⁶⁵ As he was disqualified during fourteenth session from the House.

meetings Dr Jagannath attended. The full meetings in all the fifteen sessions were 346, Dr Jagannath attended 226 meetings. That amounted to be 65.3 per cent.

Party support in LokSabha and Politics in the Constituency

Dr Manda Jagannath said that the assumption of people in general that Dalit MPs did not speak in LokSabha is misplaced. Who will participate in debates and who would ask questions decides by respective political parties. And for asking questions and special mentions selected by lottery. In the name of effective presentation of issues or countering the other side parties allot speakers from their parties. Where the problem of who would present effectively is the question. Political parties never encourage and provide opportunities for Dalit MPs. Until unless one gets a chance to speak how could one becomes a good debater or speaker.¹⁶⁶

Another aspect of who could become speakers in the house is when one made a leader of the political party. This again, a problem for Dalits. No matter how intelligent you are, how much experience you have if you are Dalit MPs, no chances of becoming party leaders in the LokSabha. One or two exceptions apart, he said that unless political parties change their attitude towards Dalit MPs. If political parties make them speakers and party leaders in LokSabha, there are no options left for Dalits to take active participation in the House.¹⁶⁷

With his experience as third time MP till 14th LokSabha Dr Jagannath explained that parliament as the representative body and highest legislative organ of democracy mostly displayed negligence in debating Dalit issues on the floor of the House.¹⁶⁸ However, he said whenever Dalit MPs get an opportunity would raise problems of all, not just Dalit problem. But MPs from general constituencies and their political parties neglect Dalit issues. Therefore for Dalit, they have to sail through in the House and never been an easy task.

He also accused all political parties casteist attitude is deep-rooted in parties. At one level they won't give opportunities to Dalit MPs to speak in the House. Another level in the governments in the entire history of the parliamentary journey in

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

this county except for Babu Jagjivan Ram no SC/ST members' have been allotted essential portfolios. In this aspect of discriminating Dalit, no party and government are immune to this disease. If you are MP minimal chance that one could become the minister. If at all Dalits had to become a minister in any cabinet led by any party Dalits are given only SC/ST welfare or child health and other non-significant portfolios or departments.¹⁶⁹

The main problem in the development of the constituency where MPs been elected but have no role to play. The leaders of the state government chief minister, minister, and MLA are controlled every developmental activity in the constituency. This trend has initiated by Chandrababu Naidu TDP regime in the mid-1990s, and still, it continues. Unfortunately, MPs have made as just statues. And no one cares about who MP is and what he/she does for constituency development.¹⁷⁰

Therefore MPs have the only source is MPLADS to play some role in the constituency development. During the 14th Lok Sabha Jagannath said that for MGNREGA as MP he fought at the centre for more funds and other rural development projects. But at district level spending of those funds and are under the jurisdiction of the district collector. MPs and MLA can recommend the works. Again there was a competition and who will support the actions on whose name constituencies developed. The MLAs would out power the MP. In his case also in the TDP regime Nagam Janardan Reddy, an MLA and minister used to control MP.¹⁷¹ Used dictated the terms and asked him not to visit constituency frequently.¹⁷² Out of the fear of MP becomes powerful or make his influential base MLAs don't allow more powers to MPs in constituency affairs. Other problem with MLAs in that they think that MPs might develop his group and subsequently sideline the MLA. This problem is with every MP in their respective constituencies.

But if one elected from reserved constituency chances of MP neglected by state ministers and local MLA becoming very common.¹⁷³ In the Mahabubnagar

¹⁶⁹ He narrated his experience in Personal interview with Dr. M. Jagannath 27 December 2017, Hyderabad

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ Ibid

¹⁷² Ibid

¹⁷³ Ibid

district, whether it is Congress or TDP, the Reddies used to control the party and government affairs. In that scenario, the chances of getting funds for development are for MP is very bleak. Therefore if one is more vocal from Dalit communities as MP chances maybe about 10-15 per cent of opportunity one could manage funds. Otherwise no funds, no role and development of the constituencies.¹⁷⁴

Even at Delhi level in various central ministries like railways or rural development projects everything managed by Chief Ministers. That was evident during TDP regimes Chandrababu Naidu as chief minister very frequently used visit Delhi and led works with different ministries. After that, this has been continues. Another difficulty for getting funds from union government is that if one is a member of opposition party minimum chances of funds and development projects. With all these difficulties, the role of MPs has minimised.

However, in spite of these difficulties, Dr Jagannath claimed that during 2004-09 14th Lok Sabha period, he could manage to get sanction for two big projects in his constituency. One was Gadwal to Macharla railway line proposed but got sanctioned till Gadwall to Raichur. The second one was the four-lane road in the national highway from Hyderabad to Srishilam about Rs. 870 Crore major projects. He has also worked for sanction of drinking water projects in the constituency and provided water in many villages.¹⁷⁵ Therefore he said Dalit MPs are capable of doing developmental works and they should get more opportunities, and if they are not delivered, then anyone question them. But only because of MPs social background denial of opportunities does not strengthen the democracy in India.

As far as special needs and development of SCs are concerned, the state governments have given more powers and responsibilities. Constitutionally mandated that in every three months chief minister of the state should do a review with various ministries and departments at the state level. And at the level of the district, the responsibility of the district collector to have the analysis of SCs development. Since collectors broadened with so many things, they hardly bother about having these meetings. Neither state government is interested nor district administration. To solve

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Personal interview with Dr. M. Jagannath 27 December Hyderabad. And discussion with people at Amangal Mandal of his constituency 28 December 2017

this problem, Dr Jagannath offered solutions and said that senior-most MP should be given powers to conduct these meetings and ensure the development of the Dalits. And it seems a functional and practical solution for the problems of Dalits. Because many projects of central government Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) including some SC development have to implement at the district level and MPs are better suited for the same to have proper coordination with the central government in Delhi.

Under the united front government for the first as MP in 1996-1998, Dr Jagannath said that everything chief minister used to manage at Delhi level.¹⁷⁶ The positive things were that he had made as leader of TDP in the Lok Sabha. That leadership gave him good experience and learned many things. As a coalition partner who was in the government, he was made a member in various committees.

Second time again he was in the ruling coalition for five the year 1999-2004 NDA government. The TDP was a partner in that government. Back AP CM Chandrababu Naidu played a key role.¹⁷⁷ Whenever as MP goes to central ministers especially for railway projects then minister told him that whatever the CM asks they would give to the state. That was the state of affairs in during NDA, and TDP rule MPs role has minimised.

For the third time during UPA, I 2004-09 Dr Jagannath was in opposition. He said that opposition member getting funds from the central government was not that easy and he had to fight for the development of the constituency and his communities.

On Community Concerns-Sub-Categorisation

During the TDP regime in the state of AP proportional distribution of SC reservation or SC sub-categorisation done in the year 2000.¹⁷⁸ The state government enacted the law to distribute 15.5 per cent of reservations among 59 communities of SCs. All these grouped into ABCD and proportionally allocated the special protections.¹⁷⁹ That was from 2000-20004 implemented some of the castes otherwise didn't get chance got some jobs and entered into various educational institutions in the state.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

Within SCs who used to get more opportunities otherwise challenged the act in the Supreme Court. And the same court struck down the AP law in 2004. Questioned the authority of the state government and only centre through the bill in the parliament can enact such legislation. All the SC communities' leaders and scholars have divided based on their caste concerns.

During the 14th Lok Sabha, disadvantaged Madiga MPs like Dr Jagannath and Nandi Yellaiah have been raising the issue with the UPA government in Delhi. Dr Jagannath said because of him and his community MPs pressure UPA government appointed a commission headed by Justice Usha Mehra in 2007 and submitted her report in 2008. Dr Jagannath reported that the commission had favoured the SC sub-categorisation and central was not acting on it. He also raised this issue in the Lok Sabha in 2008.

Other significant development during 14th Lok Sabha for Dr M. Jagannath was the change of his party. In the year 2008 June-July after India-US nuclear deal the Communist parties withdrew their support to the UPA government. In that, no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha has opposed his party TDP whip and voted for congress. He reasoned it to the more significant benefit of the country. As an educated person, he said he took a bold decision to support Congress. Nuclear energy could be used in many fields such as defence, roads and building, including his medical area. Though he got disqualified from his membership in the Lok Sabha on December 2008, he felt that was well-considered move by him for the country.¹⁸⁰ He blamed communists that they misunderstood the deal and even BJP, and later they have admitted their mistake. And he joined Congress party and been appointed as AP government special representative in Delhi in the same year.

While commenting on the party politics, he has observed very strictly both the Congress and for long time TDP, the Congress fully controlled by the Brahmins and TDP by the Kammas. They don't want any internal party democracy, no debates in the party and the leadership expect Dalits should be submissive if one asks questions

¹⁸⁰ "Lok Sabha MP disqualified for defying Party Whip", *India Today*, December 16, 2008, see <https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/story/lok-sabha-mp-disqualified-for-defying-party-whip/647451>

and discussions never been encouraged. Instead, if Dalit does that never get promoted in the party as well as in their governments.

Conclusion

Dr Jagannath has proven as an active opposition member of Lok Sabha. From the very beginning to the final session continues to raise the issues of farmers, various difficulties, including suicides and sharply criticised the government. He remained as the leading voice of the Dalits. Repeatedly mentioned their concerns in the House. He seems to be committed for the interests of his community Madigas, echoed their demand of categorisation of scheduled castes reservations into four groups in AP.

In regards to his constituency concerns, especially during almost all the railway budgets, he demanded various projects new lines, upgradations, building ROBs, RUBs and bridges including an extension of rail services and stoppages of few trains in his constituency. However, his repeated requests for RUBs and ROBs not materialised. No major railway projects have granted.

As a senior member, he took part in the debates on extensive issues. However, he had to follow his party directions and no independent thinking and decision making his hands. When in consideration of national interest voted for nuclear energy he has suspended from Lok Sabha membership as well as the party.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

Dalits in India not just faces social oppressions but many brutalities from dominant castes. These historically excluded communities, however, never been in complete silent. These castes adopted diverse methods to tell the society that they are also human beings, demanded recognition and respect. During colonial times, ex-untouchables forced, the rulers to take specific measures to uplift them. Those are protection for their lives and education for the future.

Different regional trajectories of social oppression prompted them to espouse multiple ways of resistance. Through various means including the colonial regime, Dalits acquired education and developed their Dalit consciousness. They have experimented new identities from imposed to self-respect and resistance, i.e. Dalit.

The colonial intervention and introduction of modern institutions of democracy offered many openings for Indians, including some Dalits. The education among others helped Dalits to acquire new consciousness and demanded equal opportunities for them. In that process, very few educated people from these communities emerged in the early twentieth century. In the decade 1920-1930, the emergence of Dr Ambedkar has changed the face of Dalit identity and engagement with the colonial state.

He demanded the colonial regime to play a proactive role to reform caste-ridden Indian society. At the same time probed caste Hindus to change their age-old traditions. The significant effort of Ambedkar is to ascertain the plight of Dalits in London round table conferences 1930-32. He requested with proper evidence of discrimination despite certain British efforts to eliminate disparities, to sanction political rights for Dalit communities when British granted 'Communal Award' few political rights for Dalits resisted by Gandhi. And Gandhi forced Ambedkar to seal 'Poona Pact' in 1932. Latter had to agree for reserved constituencies instead of the separate electorate in India.

Independent India adopted the same methods of the democratic system of governance in the Constitution, which promised measures for the betterment of Dalits including political representation in the form of reserved constituencies both at Parliament and state legislatures. Successive governments, primarily controlled by Congress have continued specific welfare measures for Dalits. However, deprived sections had to fight for their constitutional rights. In this context, implementation of legal commitments for social change and formulating new legislation, the parliament became an institution with huge responsibilities.

In early decades under the leadership of Nehru, the functioning of parliament and other public institutions attracted the attention of scholars. The parliament promised and ensured representation to various sections, including Dalits. At the same time, researchers focused on Dalit representatives and their emergence and functioning across multiple state legislation. The trend is visible until about 1970s in India.

However, during Indira regime, same institutions struggled for survival. The role of parliament undermined and constitutional rights of citizens suspended. Similarly, the focus of various scholars shifted to invariably discuss on these themes. In mid-1970 in opposition to Indira's authoritarian tendencies, and people's resistance like JP movements and others got prominence. Subsequently, in 1977 Janata government, discussion on non-Congress coalitions got the attention of the scholars.

In the decade 1980s emergence of regional parties and centre-state relations have dominated the discussions of political scientists. Rightly so the coalition governments, the role of regional parties are topics of research. Such as in the case of Andhra Pradesh time mentioned above period emergence of TDP and posed a challenge to Congress. Though in 1984 BSP also established but did not get the attention of scholars till the early 1990s, when the party formed UP government with SP in 1993.

In the early 1990s implementation of Mandal commission report, reservations to the OBCs announced the focus various political scientists shifted to discuss on caste and politics. The protests across India opposing the reservations and caste has become the main point of deliberations. At the same emergence of right-wing politics, demotion of Babri masjid, research on secularism is visible. Another significant

change in the period is liberalisation of the Indian economy. And coalition politics continues its prominence.

Throughout the above referred times, after the 1970s, the studies on parliament as an institution is very minimal. And the representation of Dalits in parliament been neglected. And in the early 2000s focus has shifted to a liberal economy and undermining various institutions including Parliament. And wealthy class controlling politics is visible, and the same section becomes politicians and entered parliament.

In 2007 Kapur and Mehta argued that Parliament as an institution of accountability has failed. The constitutional mandate has neglected, and disruptions and in the Lok Sabha has normalised. However, what the study ignored is the critical concerns of the marginalised, Dalits and others never came for discussions. If people with criminal background enters in Lok Sabha a severe issue, but the questions of Dalits representation and their participation and deepening democracy missed in the analysis.

However, B. L. Shankar and Valerian Rodrigues (2011), study answered some critics of India parliament, established the success of democracy and functioning of parliament. Rightly mentioned that nature of representation in the Lower House of parliament is becoming inclusive. The research focused on diversity in parliament regard to Language and regional, plural identities and other issues. The participation of Dalits and specific concerns not been highlighted.

While echoing similar concerns raised by Kapur and Mehta and others, Sudha Pai and Avinash Kumar (2014) focused on difficulties in the functioning of parliament. The issues like internal dimensions of parliament and external factors like criminalisation of politics, members with criminal backgrounds, and media's negative role in the function of the parliament. However, the question of if parliament becomes dysfunctional and super-rich and criminals become representatives, how would we deal with the interests of the marginalised Dalit and their participation in parliament.

Since three major studies have ignored the significance of parliament function to fulfil the needs of Dalits, the present study attempted to the questions they neglected. To strengthen parliamentary democracy in India, the participation of

weaker section is very crucial. Therefore the study looked into the need and how Dalit MPs participate in Lok Sabha debates. If opportunities are given, they can debate any issue meaningfully, one of the studies has is proven.

In this context, the research confined itself to an unexplored region Andhra Pradesh in regards to Dalit MPs participation in Lok Sabha debates. In the background, it has found the necessity of Dalits political participation to deepen democracy. It has foregrounded the historical trends of Dalits and their struggles in India, specifically efforts of Dr Ambedkar. Various attempts of Dalits in the political sphere.

Therefore, the present work focused on Dalits in Andhra Pradesh and their histories. And research attempted to map the political participation of Dalits in the India Parliament debates to protect the interests of the Dalits. In the introduction, the study noted that Dalits in various political parties and their independent political experiments marginalised or termed as caste-based ones.

The second chapter discussed the history of Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh during the colonial era and Nizam rule until the 1956 state formation. And it found innumerable efforts of Dalits for their identity formation and challenged existing hierarchies. Dalits mobilised and formed their new identities like Adi-Hindu and Adi-Andhra in Hyderabad in colonial Andhra, respectively. The chapter in comparing both regions stated that the radical nature of the initial movement in the early twentieth century. Dalits experimented numerous ways of participatory political methods. They initiated various organisations from social reform to political power. Together they have influenced by Dr Ambedkar led movements in Maharashtra and elsewhere.

In the later period, Dalit politics experienced fragments and internal contradictions. And at the same time, they worked with Congress and Communists. At the end of 1940s major leaders appropriated by the Communists in both the regions. Towards independence, Congress became a significant force of attraction and appropriated the Dalits.

The third chapter discussed the contemporary Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh and its different phases. In response to the Congress and TDP dominance in the state and violence on Dalits. And the chapter noticed Dalits have co-opted into these parties and

neglected their problems. Under the TDP rule, Kammas brutally attacked Dalits at Karamchedu in 1985. In response, Dalits raised militant struggles. Formation of Dalita Maha Sabha in the same year considered as a watershed moment in Dalit politics in AP. That changed the dynamics of not just Dalit politics but also state politics, including the Left. The question of caste debated widely in all the parties. In Congress rule, Reddies attacked Dalits in 1991 again Dalits unitedly resisted. Archived separate law and special courts.

When Dalita Mahasabha try to transform into a political force the BSP, the differences in the leadership appeared. Therefore that has not taken proper shape. The internal leadership question not solved; at the same time, the question of sub-caste politics emerged. And they challenged internal hierarchies among Dalits. Demanded equal distribution of reservations. The Dalits are not able to resolve this challenge. The ruling parties try to appease both the differing groups. They continued their dominance. Both Congress and TDP not just controlled AP politics and even become critical players at Centre.

In this context MPs and MLAs elected from reserved constituencies and electoral politics have got significance. Whether these representative address the concerns of the Dalit become critical. Since the problems faced by Dalits are multifold, the social, political and economical, and how they responded to them through their participation in the political sphere. However, the politics are involved everywhere, and moreover, because of political reasons, the so-called high caste people discriminate Dalits. That means Dalits cannot escape political issues. Therefore the effort is to investigate their participation in the parliamentary politics the problem thereof how they address those issues.

The Dalit movement's active participation in the parliamentary politics among other forms of struggles the recent developments had caused two significant social changes; the emergence of 'Dalit middle class' and infrequency or invisibilisation of the practice of untouchability in public places. However, the elected representatives could not make desirable interventions in the elected bodies and did not reach the benefits to the ordinary Dalits.¹ Therefore, chapter four explored why the elected Dalit

¹Ghanshyam Shah (2001), *Dalit Identity and Politics Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*, vol.2, Sage Publications: New Delhi. pp.38-4

representatives are not meeting the expectations of their communities — and taken the case of Amalapuram reserved constituency studied in detail.

The chapter tells us Dalit MPs from the state of Andhra Pradesh have made specific efforts which may be considered limited but given the political scenario in the state those have helped Dalits. As individual capacity and also as party functionary as G.V. Harsha Kumar from Congress party made some efforts to help Dalits.

As the elected representative in case of Harsha Kumar his was the first term in the 14th Lok Sabha and made certain efforts. Despite internal politics in Congress party and lack of full support from leadership, he could win Lok Sabha election in 2004 with decent margins. Even in Lok Sabha he informed had to fight. The language and lobbying are two significant problems in identifies. Those resulted in limited participation in his first term as MP. However, he made a long-lasting impact on the electorate of Amlapuram with his works. And he worked hard for developmental activities in his constituency.

The electorate, especially the Dalits, look at him as a source of pride since the majority of Dalits in his region are mala his strong support base. Harsha Kumar tried very hard to protect their interests. When in 2008 the state government under the leadership of YSR impressed upon the central government to consider SC reservations Sub-categorisation he vehemently opposed. Harsha Kumar even threatened the party to resign. Though he has not got an opportunity to raise the issue in Lok Sabha, he fought it out on the streets.

In early 2009 by organising a massive gathering of Malas' at Rajahmundry gave a clear signal to the party. If at all they make the law to sub-categorise Congress may have face electoral debacle in the region. With that massive meeting, Congress had to reconsider its move and the second time has given him MP seat from the same constituency.

The final chapter discussed the case of Manda Jagannath is a senior politician, and as of 14th Lok Sabha, he already served three terms in Lok Sabha. He had vast experience and earlier he had worked as TDP leader in the House. His efforts have shown some result in the lives of the Dalit community in his constituency and also in the state.

Nagarkurnool Scheduled Caste (SC) reserved constituency falls under a very backward region of the Andhra Pradesh and now Mahabubnagar district is in Telangana, This area known for its backwardness and farmers' distress. And this region is also notable for massive outward migration. With the liberalisation farmers' conditions, deteriorated and suicides increased.²

In this context, Dr Jagannath has proven as an active opposition member of Lok Sabha. From the very beginning to the final session continues to raise the issues of farmers, various difficulties, including suicides and sharply criticised the government. He remained as the leading voice of the Dalits. Repeatedly mentioned their concerns in the House. He seems to be committed for the interests of his community Madigas, echoed their demand of categorisation of scheduled castes reservations into four groups in AP.

In regards to his constituency concerns, especially during almost all the railway budgets, he demanded various projects new lines, upgradations, building ROBs, RUBs and bridges including an extension of rail services and stoppages of few trains in his constituency. However, his repeated requests for RUBs and ROBs not materialised. No major railway projects have granted.

As far as their status in the parties, both have to say many things. Both of them had experiences of political discrimination in their respective parties. However, those instances are in a roundabout way they spoke. As Dalit leaders in their parties as they said was an everyday struggle for survival. And they informed that only individuals who have some financial backing might have a good future in realisation their aspiration. While those come from a poor background, have to depend on the rich and dominant caste people in their parties.

The experiences of both the MPs shown mixed response as the regional party have some space to Dr Jagannath to speak in the Lok Sabha. While GV Harsha Kumar is from Congress national party not given an opportunity, and discriminated in terms of his first term and faced language problems. The rules of business in the House, in

² Venkatesh Nayak (2007) "Liberalisation and Labour Rights: A Study of Palamur Migrant Labour (1980-2005)", Unpublished M.Phil, Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Also see Venkatesh Vaditya (2017), "Economic Liberalisation and Farmers' Suicides in Andhra Pradesh (1995-2014)", *South Asia Research*, 37(2), pp. 194-212.

case of both Dr Jagannath and Harsha Kumar, expressed not friendly to the marginalised. Because the people they felt accountable for, the Dalits faced many problems. But in the House, the MPs did not get time to reflect on those issues and find possible solutions.

There three broader points to be noted here in the concluding remarks, as follows:

Aspirations of active participation of marginalised Dalits in legislative processes may strengthen the parliamentary democracy in India.

The rules and procedures of Parliament do not permit the Dalit MP's to serve in the Lok Sabha. It also restricts their participation in the parliamentary debates and decision-making process.

The discrimination faced by the Dalit MP's within their respective political parties and the Parliament does not allow them to become the catalyst of progress as expected by their fellow Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.

Therefore, the question is for the further probe is to how to make Indian parliamentary democracy more inclusive. And participative friendly for the marginalised sections.

Annexure No I***Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008, Election Commission of India
Nirvachan Sadan, Ashoka Road New Delhi-110001****Table of Contents**

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The Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008

Whereas the orders relating to the delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies in the States (Excluding Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland) and Union Territories of Delhi and Puducherry have been made

Schedule – I
Allocation of Seats in House of People

Serial Number and Name of the State/Union Territory	Number of seats in the House as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time	Number of seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008					
		Total	Reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Reserved for the Scheduled Tribes	Total	Reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Reserved for the Scheduled Tribes
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	I. States						
1.	Andhra Pradesh	42	6	2	42	7	3
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	2	-	-	2	-	-
3.	Assam	14	1	2	14	1	2
4.	Bihar	40	7	-	40	6	-
5.	Chhattisgarh	11	2	4	11	1	4
6.	Goa	2	-	-	2	-	-
7.	Gujarat	26	2	4	26	2	4
8.	Haryana	10	2	-	10	2	-
9.	Himachal Pradesh	4	1	-	4	1	-

10.	Jammu and Kashmir	6	-	-	6	-	-
11.	Jharkhand	14	1	5	14	1	5
12.	Karnataka	28	4	-	28	5	2
13.	Kerala	20	2	-	20	2	-
14.	Madhya Pradesh	29	4	5	29	4	6
15.	Maharashtra	48	3	4	48	5	4
16.	Manipur	2	-	1	2	-	1
17.	Meghalaya	2	-	-	2	-	-
18.	Mizoram	1	-	-	1	-	-
19.	Nagaland	1	-	-	1	-	-
20.	Orissa	21	3	5	21	3	5
21.	Punjab	13	3	-	13	4	-
22.	Rajasthan	25	4	3	25	4	3
23.	Sikkim	1	-	-	1	-	-
24.	Tamil Nadu	39	7	-	39	7	-
25.	Tripura	2	-	1	2	-	1
26.	Uttarakhand	5	-	-	5	1	-
27.	Uttar Pradesh	80	18	-	80	17	-
28.	West Bengal	42	8	2	42	10	2
II. Union Territories							
1.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1	-	-	1	-	-
2.	Chandigarh	1	-	-	1	-	-
3.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	-	1	1	-	1
4.	Delhi	7	1	-	7	1	-

5.	Daman and Diu	1	-	-	1	-	-
6.	Lakshadweep	1	-	1	1	-	1
7.	Puducherry	1	-	-	1	-	-

Schedule II
Allocation of Seats in the Legislative Assemblies

Serial Number and Name of the State/Union Territory	Number of seats in the House as constituted on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time	Number of seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008					
		Total	Reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Reserved for the Scheduled Tribes	Total	Reserved for the Scheduled Castes	Reserved for the Scheduled Tribes
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	I. States						
1.	Andhra Pradesh	294	39	15	294	48	19
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	60	-	59	60	-	59
3.	Assam	126	8	16	126	8	16
5.	Chhattisgarh	90	10	34	90	10	29

6.	Goa	40	1	-	40	1	-
7.	Gujarat	182	13	26	182	13	27
8.	Haryana	90	17	-	90	17	-
9.	Himachal Pradesh	68	16	3	68	17	3
10.	Jammu and Kashmir*	76	6	-	-	-	-
11.	Jharkhand	81	9	28	81	9	28
12.	Karnataka	224	33	2	224	36	15
13.	Kerala	140	13	1	140	14	2
14.	Madhya Pradesh	230	34	41	230	35	47
15.	Maharashtra	288	18	22	288	29	25
16.	Manipur	60	1	19	60	1	19
17.	Meghalaya	60	-	55	60	-	55
18.	Mizoram	40	-	39	40	-	39
19.	Nagaland	60	-	59	60	-	59
20.	Orissa	147	22	34	147	24	33
21.	Punjab	117	29	-	117	34	-
22.	Rajasthan	200	33	24	200	34	25
23.	Sikkim	32**	2	12	32**	2	12
24.	Tamil Nadu	234	42	3	234	44	2
25.	Tripura	60	7	20	60	10	20
26.	Uttarakhand 70 12 3 70 13 2	70	12	3	70	13	2
27.	Uttar Pradesh	403	89	-	403	85	-
28.	West Bengal	294	59	17	294	68	16
II. Union Territories							
1.	Delhi	70	13	-	70	12	-

2.	Puducherry	30	5	-	30	5	-
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*Under the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of that State excluding the 24 seats earmarked for Pakistan occupied territory is 87 out of which 7 seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes in pursuance of the Jammu and Kashmir Representation of the People Act, 1957.

**Reserved of: seat for Sanghas, 2 seats for Scheduled Castes and 12 for the Sikkimese of Bhutia Lepcha origin under section 7(1A) of the representation of the People Act, 1950.

Schedule - III

Andhra Pradesh

Table A- Assembly Constituencies

Sl. Number & Name	Exstent of Assemly Constituencies
1. District: Adilabad	
1. Sirpur	Kouthala, Bejjur, Kagaznagar, Sirpur (T) and Dahegaon Mandals.
2. Chennur (SC)	Jaipur, Chennur, Kotapalli and Mandamarri Mandals.
3. Bellampalli (SC)	Kasipet, Tandur, Bellampalli, Bhimini, Nennal and Vemanpalli Mandals.
4. Mancherial	Luxettipet, Mancherial and Dandepalli Mandals.
5. Asifabad (ST)	Kerameri, Wankdi, Sirpur (U), Asifabad, Jainoor, Narnoor, Tiryani and Rebbana Mandals.
6. Khanapur (ST)	Jannaram, Utnoor, Kaddam (Peddur), Khanapur and Indervelly Mandals.
7. Adilabad	Adilabad, Jainath and Bela Mandals.
8. Boath (ST)	Tamsi, Talamadugu, Gudihathnoor, Ichoda, Bazarhathnoor, Boath and Neradigonda Mandals.
9. Nirmal	Dilawarpur, Nirmal, Laxmanchanda, Mamda and Sarangapur Mandals.
10. Mudhole	Kuntala, Kubeer, Bhainsa, Tanoor, Mudhole and Lokeswaram Mandals.
2. District: Nizamabad	
11. Armur	Nandipet, Armur and Makloor Mandals.
12. Bodhan	Ranjal, Navipet, Yedpalle and Bodhan Mandals.
13. Jukkal (SC)	Madnoor, Jukkal, Bichkunda, Pitlam and Nizamsagar Mandals.
14. Banswada	Birkoor, Varni, Banswada and Kotgiri Mandals.

15. Yellareddy	Yellareddy, Nagareddipet, Lingampet, Tadwai, Gandhari and Sadasivanagar Mandals.
16. Kamareddy	Machareddy, Domakonda Kamareddy and Bhiknoor Mandals.
17. Nizamabad (Urban)	Nizamabad (M).
18. Nizamabad (Rural)	Jakranpalle and Sirkonda Mandals Nizamabad Mandal (Part) Nizamabad [except Nizamabad (M)], Dichpalle and Dharpalle Mandals.
19. Balkonda	Balkonda, Mortad, Kammarpalle, Bheemgal and Velpur Mandals.
2.District :Karimanagar	
20. Koratla	Ibrahimpatnam, Mallapur, Koratla and Metpalle Mandals.
21. Jagtial	Raikal, Sarangapur and Jagtial Mandals.
22. Dharmapuri (SC)	Dharmapuri, Dharmaram, Gollapalle, Velgatoor and Pegadapalle Mandals.
23. Ramagundam	Ramagundam Mandal.
24. Manthani	Kamanpur, Manthani, Kataram, Mahadevpur, Mutharam (Mahadevpur), Malharrao and Mutharam (Manthani) Mandals.
25. Peddapalle	Peddapalle, Julapalle, Eligaid, Sultanabad, Odela and Srirampur Mandals.
26. Karimnagar	Karimnagar Mandal.
27. Choppadandi (SC)	Gangadhara, Ramadugu, Choppadandi, Mallial, Kodimial and Boinpalle Mandals.
28. Vemulawada	Vemulawada, Konaraopeta, Chandurthi, Kathlapur and Medipalle Mandals.
29. Sircilla	Yellareddipet, Gambhiraopet, Mustabad and Sircilla Mandals.
30. Manakondur (SC)	Manakondur, Ellanthakunta, Bejjanki, Timmapur (LMD Colony) and Shankarapatnam Mandals.
31. Huzurabad	Veenavanka, Jammikunta, Huzurabad and Kamalapur Mandals.
32. Husnabad	Chigurumamidi, Koheda, Husnabad, Saidapur, Bheemadevarpalle And Elkathurthi Mandals.
4 - District: Medak	
33. Siddipet	Siddipet, Chinnakodur and Nangnoor Mandals.

34. Medak	Medak, Papannapet, Ramayampet and Shankarampet -R Mandals.
35. Narayankhed	Kangti, Manoor, Narayankhed, Kalher and Shankarampet -A Mandals.
36. Andole (SC)	Tekmal, Alladurgh, Regode, Raikode, Andole, Pulkal and Munnalle Mandals.
37. Narsapur	Kowdipalle, Kulcharam, Narsapur, Hathnoora, Yeldurthy and Shivampet Mandals.
38. Zahirabad (SC)	Zahirabad, Kohir, Nyalkal and Jharasangam Mandals.
39. Sangareddy	Sadasivpet, Kondapur and Sangareddy Mandals.
40. Patancheru	Jinnaram, Patancheru and Ramachandrapuram Mandals.
41. Dubbak	Mirdoddi, Doultabad, Chegunta, Dubbak and Toguta Mandals.
42. Gajwel	Tupran, Kondapak, Gajwel, Jagdevpur, Wargal and Mulug Mandals.
5- District: Rangareddi	
43. Medchal	Medchal, Shamirpet, Ghatkesar and Keesara (Rural) Mandals.
44. Malkajgiri	Malkajgiri Mandal.
45. Quthbullapur	Quthbullapur Mandal.
46. Kukatpalle	Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) - Ward No.24 (Part) (Area in Balanagar Mandal) Kukatpalle (M) (Part) Kukatpalle (M) - Ward No. 5 to 16.
47. Uppal	Uppal Municipality, Kapra Municipality.
48. Ibrahimpatnam	Hayathnagar, Ibrahimpatnam, Manchal and Yacharam Mandals.
49. Lal Bahadur Nagar	Saroornagar Mandal (Part) Gaddiannaram (CT), Lal Bahadur Nagar (M+OG) (Part) Lal Bahadur Nagar (M) - Ward No. 1 to 10.
50. Maheswaram	Maheswaram and Kandukur Mandals Saroornagar Mandal (Part) Medbowli, Almasguda, Badangpet, Chintalakunta, Jalpalle, Mamidipalle, Kurmalguda and Nadargul (Rural) Mandals. Hyderabad (OG) (Part) Balapur (OG) - Ward No.36 Kothapet (OG) - Ward No.37 Venkatapur (OG) - Ward No.39 Mallapur (OG) - Ward No.40 Lal Bahadur Nagar (M+OG) (Part) Lal Bahadur Nagar (M) - Ward No.11 Nadargul (OG) (Part) - Ward No.12 Jillalguda (OG) - Ward No.15 Meerpet (CT).

51. Rajendranagar	Rajendranagar and Shamshabad Mandals.
52. Serilingampally	Serilingampally Mandal Balanagar Mandal (Part) Kukatpally (M) (Part) Kukatpally (M) - Ward No. 1 to 4.
53. Chevella (SC)	Nawabpet, Shankarpalle, Moinabad, Chevella and Shabad Mandals.
54. Pargi	Doma, Gandeed, Kulkacherla, Pargi and Pudur Mandals.
55. Vicarabad (SC)	Marpalle, Mominpet, Vikarabad, Dharur and Bantwaram Mandals.
56. Tandur	Peddemul, Tandur, Basheerabad and Yalal Mandals.
6 – District : Hyderabad	
57 Musheerabad	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.1
58. Malakpet	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.16 Ward No.17 (Part) Block No. 8 and 9
59. Amberpet	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) - Ward No.2 Ward No.3 (Part) Block No. 1 to 4
60. Khairatabad	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.6 Ward No. 3 (Part)Block No. 5 and 6 Ward No.8 (Part) Block No. 2. Ward No.5 (Part) Block No. 10
61. Jubilee Hills	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.8 (Part) Block No. 1, 3 and 4.
62. Sanathnagar	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.7, 24 (excluding the area in AC – 46 Kukatpalle) and 25 to 30.
63. Nampally	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No. 10 to 12.
64. Karwan	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.9 Ward No. 13 (Part) Block No. 3 to 6.
65. Goshamahahal	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No. 4, 14 and 15 Ward No. 5 (Part) Block No. 1 to 9 Ward No. 13 (Part) Block No. 1 and 2.
66. Charminar	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No. 20 to 23.
67. Chandrayangutta	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.18 (Part) Block No. 1 to 3 and 8 to 14.

68. Yakutpura	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part)- Ward No.17 (Part) Block No. 1 to 7 Ward No.18 (Part) Block No. 6 and 7.
69. Bahadurpura	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.18 (Part) Block No. 4 and 5 Ward No.19.
70. Secunderabad	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part) Ward No.33 (Part) Block No. 4 to 7 Ward No. 34 and 35 Osmania University Area.
71. Secunderabad Cantt. (SC)	Hyderabad (M Corp.+OG) (Part) Hyderabad (M Corp.) (Part)Ward No. 31 and 32 Ward No.33 (Part) Block No.1 to 3 Secunderabad Cantonment Board.
7- District : Mahbubnagar	
72. Kodangal	Kodangal, Bomraspet, Kosgi, Doulathabad and Maddur Mandals.
73. Narayanpet	Koilkonda, Narayanpet, Damaragidda and Dhanwada Mandals.
74. Mahbubnagar	Hanwada and Mahbubnagar Mandals.
75. Jadcherla	Jadcherla, Nawabpet, Balanagar and Midjil Mandals.
76. Devarkadra	Bhoothpur, Addakal, Devarkadra, Chinna Chinta Kunta and Kothakota Mandals.
77. Makthal	Makthal, Maganoor, Atmakur, Narva and Utkoor Mandals.
78. Wanaparthy	Wanaparthy, Pebbair, Gopalpeta, Peddamandadi and Ghanpur Mandals.
79. Gadwal	Gadwal, Dharur, Maldakal and Ghattu Mandals.
80. Alampur (SC)	Ieez, Itikyaly, Waddepalle, Manopad and Alampur Mandals.
81. Nagarkurnool	Nagarkurnool, Bijinapalle, Thimmajipet, Tadoor and Telkapalle Mandals.
82. Achampet (SC)	Balmoor, Lingal, Amrabad, Achampet, Uppununthala and Vangoor Mandals.
83. Kalwakurthy	Veldanda, Kalwakurthy, Talakondapalle, Amangal and Madgul Mandals.
84. Shadnagar	Kondurg, Farooqnagar, Kothur and Keshampet Mandals.
85. Kollapur	Veepangandla, Kollapur, Peddakothapalle, Kodair and Pangal Mandals.
8- District: Nalgonda	

86. Devarakonda (ST)	Chintapalle, Gundlapalle, Chandampet, Devarakonda and Pedda Adisarlapalle Mandals.
87. Nagarjuna Sagar	Gurrampode, Nidamanur, Peddavoora, Anumula and Thripuraram Mandals.
88. Miryalaguda	Vemulapalle, Miryalaguda and Damercherla Mandals.
89. Huzurnagar	Neredcherla, Garidepalle, Huzurnagar, Mattampalli and Mellachervu Mandals.
90. Kodad	Mothey, Nadigudem, Munagala, Chilkur and Kodad Mandals.
91. Suryapet	Atmakur (S), Suryapet, Chivvemla and Penpahad Mandals.
92. Nalgonda	Thipparthi, Nalgonda and Kangal Mandals.
93. Munugode	Munugode, Narayanapur, Marringuda, Nampalle, Chandur and Choutuppal Mandals.
94. Bhongir	Bhongir, Bibinagar, Valigonda and Pochampalle Mandals.
95. Nakrekal (SC)	Ramannapeta, Chityala, Kattangoor, Nakrekal, Kethepalle and Narketpalle Mandals.
96. Thungathurthi (SC)	Thirumalagiri, Thungathurthi, Nuthankal, Jajireddigudem, Sali Gouraram and Mothkur Mandals.
97. Alair	M.Turkapalle, Rajapet, Yadagirigutta, Alair, Gundala, Atmakur (M) and Bommalaramaram Mandals.
9 – District : Warangal	
98. Jangaon	Cherial, Maddur, Bachannapet, Narmetta and Jangaon Mandals.
99. Ghanpur (Station) (SC)	Ghanpur (Station), Dharmasagar, Raghunathpalle, Zaffergadh, and Lingalaghanpur Mandals.
100. Palakurthi	Palakurthi, Devaruppula, Kodakandla, Raiparthi and Thorur Mandals.
101. Dornakal (ST)	Narsimhulapet, Maripeda, Kuravi and Dornakal Mandals.
102. Mahabubabad (ST)	Gudur, Nellikudur, Kesamudram and Mahabubabad Mandals.
103. Narsampet	Narsampet, Khanapur, Chennaraopet, Duggondi, Nekkonda and Nallabelly Mandals.
104. Parkal	Parkal, Atmakur, Sangam and Geesugonda Mandals.
105. Warangal West	Warangal Mandal (Part) Warangal (M Corp.) (Part) Warangal (M Corp.) - Ward No. 1 to 7, 15, 21 and 23 to 25

106. Warangal East	Warangal Mandal (Part) Warangal (M Corp.) (Part) Warangal (M Corp.) - Ward No. 8 to 14, 16 to 20 and 22.
107. Waradhanapet (SC)	Hasanparthy, Hanamkonda, Parvathagiri and Wardhanna Pet Mandals.
108. Bhupalpalle	Mogullapalle, Chityal, Bhupalpalle, Ghanpur (Mulug), Regonda and Shayampet Mandals.
109. Mulug (ST)	Venkatapur, Eturnagaram, Mangapet, Tadvai, Kothaguda, Govindaraopet and Mulug Mandals.
10- District: Khammam	
110. Pinapaka (ST)	Pinapaka, Manuguru, Gundala, Burgampahad and Aswapuram Mandals.
111. Yellandu (ST)	Kamepalle, Yellandu, Bayyaram, Tekulapalle and Garla Mandals.
112. Khammam	Khammam Mandal.
113. Palair	Thirumalayapalem, Kusumanchi, Khammam Rural and Nelakondapalle Mandals.
114. Madhira (SC)	Mudigonda, Chinthakani, Bonakal, Madhira and Yerrupalem Mandals.
115. Wyra (ST)	Enkuru, Konijerla, Singareni, Julurpadu and Wyra Mandal.
116. Sathupalle (SC)	Sathupalle, Penuballi, Kallur, Tallada and Vemsoor Mandals.
117. Kothagudem	Kothagudem and Palwancha Mandals.
118. Aswaraopeta (ST)	Mulikalapalle, Velairpadu, Kukunoor, Chandrugonda, Aswaraopeta and Dammapeta Mandals.
119. Bhadrachalam (ST)	Wazeed, Venkatapuram, Cherla, Dummugudem, Bhadrachalam, Kunavaram, Chintur and V.R. Puram Mandals.
11- District: Srikakulam	
120. Ichchapuram	Kanchili, Ichchapuram, Kaviti and Sompeta Mandals.
121. Palasa	Palasa, Mandasa and Vajrapukothuru Mandals.
122. Tekkali	Nandigam, Tekkali, Santhabommali and Kotabommali Mandals.

123. Pathapatnam	Pathapatnam, Meliaputti, L.N. Pet, Kothur and Hiramandalam Mandals.
124. Srikakulam	Gara and Srikakulam Mandals.
125. Amadalavalasa	Amadalavalasa, Ponduru, Sarubujili and Burja Mandals.
126. Etcherla	G.Sigadam, Laveru, Ranastalam and Etcherla Mandals.
127. Narasannapeta	Jalumuru, Narasannapeta, Saravakota and Polaki Mandals.
128. Rajam (SC)	Vangara, Regidi Amadalavalasa, Rajam and Santhakaviti Mandals.
129. Palakonda (ST)	Seethampeta, Bhamini, Palakonda and Veeraghattam Mandals.
12- District: Vizianagaram	
130. Kurupam (ST)	Kurupam, Gummalakshmipuram, Jiyammavalasa, Komarada and Garugubilli Mandals.
131. Parvathipuram (SC)	Parvathipuram, Seethanagaram and Balijipeta Mandals.
132. Salur (ST)	Salur, Pachipenta, Mentada and Makkuva Mandals.
133. Bobbili	Bobbili, Ramabhadrapuram, Badangi and Therlam Mandals.
134. Cheepurupalli	Merakamudidam, Garividi, Cheepurupalli and Gurla Mandals.
135. Gajapathinagaram	Gajapathinagaram, Bondapalli, Gantyada and Dattirajeru Mandals; and Vizinigiri, Thandrangi, Jannivalasa, Venne, Sasanapalli, Attada, Bheemasingi, Somayajulapalem, Lotlapalli, Mokhasa Kothavalasa, Kumaram and Annamrajupeta villages of Jami Mandal.
136. Nellimarla	Nellimarla, Pusapatirega, Denkada and Bhogapuram Mandals.
137. Vizianagaram	Vizianagaram Mandal.
138. Srungavarapukota	Srungavarapukota, Vepada, Lakkavarapukota and Kothavalasa Mandals; and Jami Mandal (Except 12 villages i.e. Vizinigiri, Thandrangi, Jannivalasa, Venne, Sasanapalli, Attada, Bheemasingi, Somayajulapalem, Lotlapalli, Mokhasa Kothavalasa, Kumaram and Annamrajupeta)
13 – District : Visakhapatnam	

139. Bhimili	Anandapuram, Padmanabham, Bheemunipatnam and Visakhapatnam Rural Mandals.
140. Visakhapatnam East	Visakhapatnam (Urban) Mandal (Part) Visakhapatnam (M Corp.) - Ward No.1 to 11 and 53 to 55.
141. Visakhapatnam South	Visakhapatnam (Urban) Mandal (Part) Visakhapatnam (M Corp.) - Ward No.12 to 34, 42 to 43 and 46 to 48.
142. Visakhapatnam North	Visakhapatnam (Urban) Mandal (Part) Visakhapatnam (M Corp.) - Ward No.36 to 41, 44 to 45 and 49 to 52.
143. Visakhapatnam West	Visakhapatnam (Urban) Mandal (Part) Visakhapatnam (M Corp.) - Ward No.35 and 56 to 71.
144. Gajuwaka	Gajuwaka Mandal (Including Gajuwaka Municipality)
145. Chodavaram	Chodavaram, Butchayyapeta, Ravikamatham and Rolugunta Mandals.
146. Madugula	Madugula, Cheedikada, Devarapalle and K.Kotapadu Mandals.
147. Araku Valley (ST)	Munchingiputtu, Pedabayalu, Dumbriguda, Araku Valley, Hukumpeta and Ananthagiri Mandals.
148. Paderu (ST)	Paderu, G.Madugula, Chintapalle, Gudem Kotha Veedhi and Koyyuru Mandals.
149. Anakapalle	Kasimkota and Anakapalle Mandals.
150. Pendurthi	Pedagantyada (excluding areas included in Gajuwaka Municipality), Paravada, Sabbavaram and Pendurthi Mandals.
151. Yelamanchili	Rambilli, Munagapaka, Atchutapuram and Yelamanchili Mandals.
152. Payakaraopet (SC)	Kotauratla, Nakkapalle, Payakaraopeta and S.Rayavaram Mandals.
153. Narsipatnam	Nathavaram, Golugonda, Narsipatnam and Makavarapalem Mandals.
14 – District : East Godavari	
154. Tuni	Thondangi, Kotananduru and Tuni Mandals.
155. Prathipadu	Sankhavaram, Prathipadu, Yeleswaram and Rowthulapudi Mandals.
156. Pithapuram	Gollaprolu, Pithapuram and Kothapalle Mandals.
157. Kakinada Rural	Karapa and Kakinada Rural Mandals. Kakinada Urban Mandal (Part) Kakinada Urban (M) (Part)

	Kakinada (M) - Ward No.66 to 70.
158. Peddapuram	Samalkota and Peddapuram Mandals.
159. Anaparthi	Pedapudi, Biccavolu, Rangampeta and Anaparthi Mandals.
160. Kakinada City	Kakinada Urban Mandal (Part) Kakinada Urban (M) (Part) Kakinada (M) - Ward No.1 to 65.
161. Ramachandrapuram	Kajuluru, Ramachandrapuram and Pamarru Mandals.
162. Mummidivaram	Polavaram, Mummidivaram, Thallarevu and Katrenikona Mandals.
163. Amalapuram (SC)	Uppalaguptam, Allavaram and Amalapuram Mandals.
164. Razole (SC)	Razole, Malikipuram and Sakhinetipalle Mandals. Mamidikuduru Mandal (Part) Mamidikuduru, Gedda, Edarada, Komarada, Magatapalle and Gogannamatham Villages.
165. Gannavaram (SC)	P.Gannavaram, Ambajipeta and Ainavilli Mandals. Mamidikuduru Mandal (Part) Pedapatnam, Appanapalle, Botlakurru, Doddavaram, Pasarlupudi, Pedapatnam, Nagaram, Mogalikuduru, Makaanapalem, Lutukurru, Pasarlupudilanka and Adurru Villages.
166. Kothapeta	Ravulapalem, Kothapeta, Atreyapuram and Alamuru Mandals.
167. Mandapeta	Mandapeta, Rayavaram and Kapileswarapuram Mandals.
168. Rajanagaram	Rajanagaram, Seethanagaram and Korukonda Mandals.
169. Rajahmundry City	Rajahmundry Urban Mandal (Part) Rajahmundry (M Corp.) (Part) Rajahmundry (M Corp.) - Ward No. 7 to 35 and 42 to 89.
170. Rajahmundry Rural	Kadiam and Rajahmundry Rural Mandals. Rajahmundry Urban Mandal (Part) Rajahmundry (M Corp.) (Part) Rajahmundry (M Corp.) - Ward No.1 to 6, 36 to 41 and 90.
171. Jaggampeta	Gokavaram, Jaggampeta, Gandepalle and Kirlampudi Mandals.
172. Rampachodavaram (ST)	Maredumilli, Devipatnam, Y. Ramavaram, Addateegala, Gangavaram, Rampachodavaram and Rajavommangi Mandals.
15 – District : West Godavari	
173. Kovvur (SC)	Kovvur, Chagallu and Tallapudi Mandals.
174. Nidadavole	Nidadavole, Undrajavaram and Peravali Mandals.
175. Achanta	Penugonda, Achanta and Penumantra Mandals.

	Poduru Mandal (Part) Kavitam, Jagannadhapuram, Pandithavilluru, Miniminchilipadu, Poduru, Pemmarajupolavaram and Gummaluru Villages.
176. Palacole	Palacole and Yelamanchili Mandals. Poduru Mandal (Part) Kommuchikkala, Vedangi, Jinnuru, Mattaparru, Penumadam, Ravipadu and Vaddiparru Villages.
177. Narasapuram	Mogalthur and Narasapuram Mandals.
178. Bhimavaram	Veeravasaram and Bhimavaram Mandals. Bhimavaram (M+OG) Bhimavaram (M) - Ward No. 1 to 27 China-Amiram (OG) (Part) - Ward No. 28 Rayalam (R) (OG) (Part) - Ward No. 29.
179. Undi	Kalla, Palacoderu, Undi and Akividu Mandals.
180. Tanuku	Tanuku, Attili and Iragavaram Mandals.
181. Tadepalligudem	Tadepalligudem and Pentapadu Mandals.
182. Unguturu	Unguturu, Bhimadole, Nidamarru and Ganapavaram Mandals.
183. Denduluru	Pedavegi, Pedapadu and Denduluru Mandals Eluru Mandal (Part) Malkapuram, Chataparru, Jalipudi, Katlampudi, Madepalli, Manuru, Sreeparru, Kalakurru, Komatilanka, Gudivakalanka, Kokkirailanka, Pydichintapadu and Prathikolla lanka Villages.
184. Eluru	Eluru Mandal (Part) Eluru (M) (Part) Eluru (M) - Ward No. 1 to 28 Eluru Mandal (Part) Eluru Mandal (OG) (Part) Satrampadu (OG) - Ward No.29 Gavaravaram (OG) - Ward No.30 Tangellamudi (R) (OG) - Ward No.31 Komadavolu (OG) (Part) - Ward No.32 Eluru (R) (OG) (Part) - Ward No.33 Eluru Mandal (Part) Chodimella, Sanivarapupeta, Eluru (Rural), Komadavole (Rural) and Ponangi Villages.
185. Gopalapuram (SC)	Dwaraka Tirumala, Nallajerla, Devarapalli and Gopalapuram Mandals.
186. Polavaram (ST)	Polavaram, Buttayagudem, Jeelugumilli, Koyyalagudem and T.Narasapuram Mandals.
187. Chintalapudi (SC)	Chintalapudi, Lingapalem, Kamavarapukota and Jangareddigudem Mandals.
16 – District : Krishna	
188. Tiruvuru (SC)	Vissannapet, Gampalagudem, Tiruvuru and A.Konduru Mandals.
189. Nuzvid	Agiripalli, Chatrai, Musunuru and Nuzvid Mandals.
190. Gannavaram	Bapulapadu, Gannavaram and Unguturu Mandals

	Vijayawada (Rural) Mandal (Part) Ambapuram, Phiryadi Nainavaram, Pathapadu, Nunna, Enikepadu, Nidamanuru, Done Atkuru, Gudavalli, Prasadampadu and Ramavarappadu Villages.
191. Gudivada	Gudlalleru, Gudivada and Nandivada Mandals.
192. Kaikalur	Mandavalli, Kaikalur, Kalidindi and Mudinepalle Mandals.
193. Pedana	Gudur, Pedana, Bantumilli and Kruthivennu Mandals.
194. Machilipatnam	Machilipatnam Mandal.
195. Avanigadda	Challapalli, Mopidevi, Avanigadda, Nagayalanka, Koduru and Ghantasala Mandals.
196. Pamaru (SC)	Pamaru, Thotlavalluru, Pamidimukkala, Movva and Pedaparupudi Mandals.
197. Penamaluru	Kankipadu, Vuyyuru and Penamaluru Mandals.
198. Vijayawada West	Vijayawada Urban Mandal (Part) Vijayawada Urban (M.Corp) (Part) Vijayawada (M Corp.) - Ward No.1 to 13, 15 to 19, 75 and 76.
199. Vijayawada Central	Vijayawada Urban Mandal (Part) Vijayawada Urban (M.Corp) (Part) Vijayawada (M Corp.) - Ward No.14, 20 to 31, 33 to 35, 42 to 44, 49, 77 and 78.
200. Vijayawada East	Vijayawada Urban Mandal (Part) Vijayawada Urban (M.Corp) (Part) Vijayawada (M Corp.) - Ward No. 32, 36 to 41, 45 to 48 and 50 to 74.
201. Mylavaram	Ibrahimpattam, G.Konduru, Mylavaram and Reddigudem Mandals. Vijayawada (Rural) Mandal (Part) Kotturu, Tadepalle, Vemavaram, Shabada, Paidurupadu, Rayanapadu, Gollapudi and Jakkampudi Villages.
202. Nandigama (SC)	Kanchikacherla, Chandarlapadu and Veerullapadu Mandals Nandigama Mandal (Part) Pedavaram, Thakkellapadu, Munagacherla, Latchapalem, Lingalapadu, Adiviravulapadu, Chandapuram, Kethaveeruni Padu, Kanchela, Ithavaram, Ambarupeta, Nandigama, Satyavaram, Pallagiri and Raghavapuram Villages.
203. Jaggayyapeta	Vatsavai, Jaggayyapeta and Penuganchiprolu Mandals Nandigama Mandal (Part) Magallu, Konduru, Ramireddipalle, Jonnalagadda, Konathamakuru, Torragudipadu, Damuluru, Somavaram, Rudravaram and Gollamudi Villages.
17 – District : Guntur	
204. Pedakurapadu	Bellamkonda, Atchampet, Krosuru, Amaravathi and Pedakurapadu Mandals.

205. Tadikonda (SC)	Tulluru, Tadikonda, Phirangipuram and Medikonduru Mandals.
206. Mangalagiri	Tadepalli, Mangalagiri and Duggirala Mandals.
207. Ponnuru	Ponnuru, Chebrolu and Pedakakani Mandals.
208. Vemuru (SC)	Vemuru, Kolluru, Tsunduru, Bhattiprolu and Amarthaluru Mandals.
209. Repalle	Nizampatnam, Nagaram, Cherukupalli and Repalle Mandals.
210.Tenali	Kollipara and Tenali Mandals.
211. Bapatla	Bapatla, Pittalavanipalem and Karlapalem Mandals.
212. Prathipadu (SC)	Guntur Mandal (except M.Corp.) Vatticherukuru, Prathipadu, Pedanandipadu and Kakumanu Mandals.
213. Guntur West	Guntur Mandal (Part) Guntur (M. Corp) (Part) Guntur (M Corp.) - Ward No.1 to 6 and 24 to 28.
214. Guntur East	Guntur Mandal (Part) Guntur (M. Corp) (Part) Guntur (M Corp.) - Ward No.7 to 23.
215. Chilakaluripet	Nadendla, Chilakaluripet and Edlapadu Mandals.
216. Narasaraopet	Rompicherla and Narasaraopet Mandals.
217. Sattenapalle	Sattenapalli, Rajupalem, Nekarikallu and Muppalla Mandals.
218. Vinukonda	Bollapalli, Vinukonda, Nuzendla, Savalyapuram and Ipur Mandals.
219. Gurajala	Gurajala, Dachehalli, Piduguralla and Machavaram Mandals.
220. Macherla	Macherla, Veldurthi, Durgi, Rentachintala and Karempudi Mandals.
18 – District : Prakasam	
221. Yerragondapalem (SC)	Yerragondapalem and Pedda Araveedu, Pullalacheruvu, Tripuranthakam, Dornala and Peda Araveedu Mandals.
222. Darsi	Donakonda, Kurichedu, Mundlamuru, Darsi and Thallur Mandals.
223. Parchur	Yeddapanudi, Parchur, Karamchedu, Inkollu, Chinaganjam and Martur Mandals.
224. Addanki	J. Panguluru, Addanki, Santhamaguluru, Ballikurava and Korisapadu Mandals.

225. Chirala	Chirala and Vetapalem Mandals.
226. Santhanuthalapa du (SC)	Naguluppalapadu, Maddipadu, Chimakurthi and Santhanuthalapa Mandals.
227. Ongole	Ongole and Kothapatnam Mandals.
228. Kandukur	Kandukur, Lingasamudram, Gudluru, Ulavapadu and Volivetivaripalem Mandals.
229. Kondapi (SC)	Singarayakonda, Kondapi, Tangutur, Jarugumalli, Ponnaluru and Marripudi Mandals.
230. Markapuram	Konakanamitla, Podili, Markapur and Tarlapadu Mandals.
231. Giddalur	Bestavaripeta, Racherla, Giddalur, Komarolu, Cumbum and Ardhaveedu Mandals.
232. Kanigiri	Hanumanthunipadu, Chandrasekharapuram, Pamur, Veligandla, Pedacherlopalle and Kanigiri Mandals.
19 – District : Nellore	
233. Kavali	Kavali, Bogole, Allur and Dagadathi Mandals.
234. Atmakur	Chejerla, Atmakur, Anumasamudrampeta, Marripadu, Sangam and Ananthasagaram Mandals.
235. Kovur	Vidavalur, Kodavalur, Kovur, Buchireddipalem and Indukurpet Mandals.
236. Nellore City	Nellore Mandal (Part) Nellore Mandal (M+OG) (Part) Nellore (M) - Ward No.1 to 15, 27, 28 and 31 to 44.
237. Nellore Rural	Nellore Mandal (Part) Golla Kandukur, Sajapuram, Vellanti, Kandamur, Upputur, South Mopur, Mogallapalem, Mattempadu, Amancherla, Mannavarappadu, Mulumudi, Devarapalem, Pottapalem, Akkacheruvupadu, Ogurupadu, Ambapuram, Donthali, Buja Buja Nellore (Rural), Kallurpalle (Rural), Kanuparthipadu, Allipuram (Rural), Gudipallipadu, Pedda, Cherukur, Chintareddipalem, Visavaviletipadu, Gundlapalem, Kakupalle-I, Kakupalle -II (Madaraja Gudur) and Penubarthi Villages. Nellore Mandal (M+OG) (Part) Nellore (M) - Ward No. 16 to 26, 29 and 30 Allipuram (OG) (Part) - Ward No. 45 Kallurpalle (OG) (Part) - Ward No. 46 Buja Buja Nellore (OG) (Part) - Ward No. 47 Nellore (Bit.1) (OG) - Ward No. 48.
238. Sarvepalli	Podalakur, Thotapalligudur, Muthukur, Venkatachalam and Manubolu Mandals.
239. Gudur (SC)	Gudur, Chillakur, Kota, Vakadu and Chittampur Mandals.
240. Sullurpeta (SC)	Ojili, Naidupet, Pellakur, Doravarisatram, Sullurpeta and Tada

	Mandals.
241. Venkatagiri	Kaluvoya, Rapur, Sydapuram, Dakkili, Venkatagiri and Balayapalle Mandals.
242. Udayagiri	Jaladanki, Seetharamapuram, Udayagiri, Varikuntapadu, Vinjamur, Duttalur, Kaligiri and Kondapuram Mandals.
20 – District : Kadapa	
243. Badvel (SC)	Kalasapadu, B.Kodur, Sri Avadhutha Kasinayana, Porumamilla, Badvel, Gopavaram and Atlur Mandals.
244. Rajampet	Sidhout, Vontimitta, Nandalur, Rajampet, Veeraballe and T Sundupalle Mandals.
245. Kadapa	Kadapa Mandal.
246. Kodur (SC)	Penagalur, Chitvel, Pullampeta, Obulavaripalle and Kodur Mandals.
247. Rayachoti	Sambepalle, Chinnamandem, Rayachoti, Galiveedu, Lakkireddipalli and Ramapuram Mandals.
248. Pulivendla	Simhadripuram, Lingala, Thondur, Pulivendla, Vemula, Vempalle and Chakrayapet Mandals.
249. Kamalapuram	Pendlimarri, Chinthakommadinne, Kamalapuram, Vallur, Veerapunayunipalle and Chennur Mandals.
250. Jammalamadugu	Peddamedium, Mylavaram, Kondapuram, Jammalamadugu, Muddanur and Yerraguntla Mandals.
251. Proddatur	Rajupalem and Proddatur Mandals.
252. Mydukur	Duvvur, S.Mydukur, Khajipet, Brahmamgarimattam and Chapad Mandals.
21 – District : Kurnool	
253. Allagadda	Sirvel, Allagadda, Dornipadu, Uyyalawada, Chagalamarri and Rudravaram Mandals.
254. Srisailam	Srisailam, Atmakur, Velgode, Bandi Atmakur and Mahanandi Mandals.
255. Nandikotkur (SC)	Nandikotkur, Pagidyala, J. Bungalow, Kothapalle, Pamulapadu and Midthur Mandals.
256. Kurnool	Kurnool Mandal (Part) Kurnool (M Corp.) (Part) Kurnool (M Corp.) - Ward No.1 to 69.
257. Panyam	Kallur, Orvakal, Panyam and Gadivemula Mandals.
258. Nandyal	Nandyal and Gospadu Mandals.

259. Banaganapalle	Banaganapalle, Owk, Koilkuntla, Sanjamala and Kolimigundla Mandals.
260. Dhone	Bethamcherla, Dhone and Peapally Mandals.
261. Pattikonda	Krishnagiri, Veldurthi, Pattikonda, Maddikera and Tuggali Mandals.
262. Kodumur (SC)	C.Belagal, Gudur and Kodumur Mandals. Kurnool Mandal (Part) R.Kanthalapadu, Sunkesula, Remata, Ulchala, Basavapuram, Edurur, G.Singavaram, Nidzur, Munagalapadu, Mamidalapadu, Panchalingala, E.Thandrapadu, Gondiparla, Dinnedevarapadu, B.Thandrapadu, Pasupula, Rudravaram, Noothanapalle, Devamada, Pudur, Gargeyapuram and Diguvapadu Villages.
263. Yemmiganur	Nandavaram, Yemmiganur and Gonegandla Mandals.
264. Mantralayam	Peda Kadubur, Mantralayam, Kosigi and Kowthalam Mandals.
265. Adoni	Adoni Mandal.
266 .Alur	Devanakonda, Holagunda, Halaharvi, Alur, Aspari and Chippagiri Mandals.
22- District : Anantapur	
267. Rayadurg	D.Hirehal, Rayadurg, Kanekal, Bommanahal and Gummagatta Mandals.
268. Uravakonda	Vidapanakal, Vajrakarur, Uravakonda, Beluguppa and Kudair Mandals.
269. Guntakal	Guntakal, Gooty and Pamidi Mandals.
270. Tadpatri	Peddavadugur, Yadiki, Tadpatri and Peddapappur Mandals.
271. Singanamala (SC)	Garladinne, Singanamala, Putlur, Yellanur, Narpala and B. K. Samudram Mandals.
272. Anantapur Urban	Anantapur Mandal (Part) Anantapur (M+OG) (Part) Anantapur (M) - Ward No.1 to 28 Narayanapuram (OG) - Ward No. 29 Kakkalapalle (R) (OG) (Part) - Ward No. 30 Anantapur (R) (OG) - Ward No. 31.
273. Kalyandurg	Brahmasamudram, Kalyandurg, Settur, Kundurpi and Kambadur Mandals.
274. Raptadu	Atmakur, Raptadu, Kanaganapalli, C. K. Palli and Ramagiri Mandals, Anantapur Mandal (Part) Kodimi, Thaticherla, Somanadoddi, Rachanapalle, Sajjalakalva, Kurugunta, Gollapalle, Kamarupalle, Alamuru, Katiganikalva,

	Kakkalapalle (Rural), Upparapalle, Itikalapalle, Jangalapalle, Kandakur, Chiyyedu, Mannila and Papampet (CT) Villages.
275. Madakasira (SC)	Madakasira, Amarapuram, Gudibanda, Rolla and Agali Mandals.
276. Hindupur	Hindupur, Lepakshi and Chilamathur Mandals.
277. Penukonda	Parigi, Penukonda, Gorantla, Somandepalle and Roddam Mandals.
278. Puttaparthi	Nallamada, Bukkapatnam, Kothacheruvu, Puttaparthi, O. D. Cheruvu and Amadagur Mandals.
279. Dharmavaram	Dharmavaram, Bathalapalle, Tadimarri and Mudigubba Mandals.
280. Kadiri	Talupula, Nambulipulikunta, Gandlapenta, Kadiri, Nallacheruvu and Tanakal Mandals.
23- District : Chittoor	
281. Thamballapalle	Mulakalacheruvu, Thamballapalle, Peddamandyam, Kurabalakota, Peddathippasamudram and B.Kothakota Mandals.
282. Pileru	Gurramkonda, Kalakada, K. V. Palle, Pileru, Kalikiri and Valmikipuram Mandals.
283. Madanapalle	Madanapalle, Nimmanapalle and Ramasamudram Mandals.
284. Punganur	Sodam, Somala, Chowdepalle, Punganur, Pulicherla and Rompicherla Mandals.
285. Chandragiri	Tirupati (Rural), Chandragiri, Pakala, Ramachandrapuram, Chinnagottigallu and Yerravaripalem Mandals. Tirupati (Urban) Mandal (Part) Konkachennaiahgunta, Mangalam and Chennayyagunta Villages.
286. Tirupati	Tirupati (Urban) Mandal (Part) Tirumala (CT) Tirupati (NMA) (CT) Akkarampalle (CT) Tirupati (M+OG) (Part).
287. Srikalahasti	Renigunta, Yerpedu, Srikalahasti and Thottambedu Mandals.
288. Satyavedu (SC)	Narayanavanam, B. N. Kandriga, Varadaiahpalem, K.V.B.Puram, Pitchatur, Satyavedu and Nagalapuram Mandals.
289. Nagari	Nindra, Vijayapuram, Nagari, Puttur and Vadamalapeta Mandals.
290. Gangadhara Nellore (SC)	Vedurukuppam, Karvetinagar, Penumuru, S. R. Puram, G. D. Nellore and Palasamudram Mandals.

291. Chittoor	Chittoor and Gudipala Mandals.
292. Puthalapattu (SC)	Puthalapattu, Irala, Thavanampalle, Bangarupalem and Yadamari Mandals.
293. Palamaner	Gangavaram, Palamaner, Baireddipalle, V. Kota and Peddapanjani Mandals.
294. Kuppam	Santipuram, Gudupalle, Kuppam and Ramakuppam Mandals.

Table B - Parliamentary Constituencies

Sl. No. & Name	Extent of Parliamentary Constituencies
1. Adilabad (ST)	1-Sirpur, 5-Asifabad (ST), 6-Khanapur (ST), 7-Adilabad, 8-Boath (ST), 9-Nirmal and 10-Mudhole.
2. Peddapalle (SC)	2-Chennur (SC), 3-Bellampalli (SC), 4-Mancherial, 22-Dharmapuri (SC), 23-Ramagundam, 24-Manthani and 25-Peddapalle.
3. Karimnagar	26-Karimnagar, 27-Choppadandi (SC), 28-Vemulawada, 29-Sircilla, 30-Manakondur (SC), 31-Huzurabad and 32 -Husnabad.
4. Nizamabad	11-Armur, 12- Bodhan, 17-Nizamabad (Urban), 18- Nizamabad (Rural), 19 -Balkonda, 20 -Koratla and 21-Jagtial.
5. Zahirabad	13-Jukkal (SC), 14-Banswada, 15-Yellareddy, 16-Kamareddy, 35-Narayankhed, 36 -Andole (SC) and 38 -Zahirabad (SC).
6. Medak	33-Siddipet, 34-Medak, 37-Narsapur, 39-Sangareddy, 40- Patancheru, 41-Dubbak and 42 -Gajwel.
7. Malkajgiri	43- Medchal, 44 -Malkajgiri, 45-Qutbullapur, 46 -Kukatpalle, 47-Uppal, 49-Lal Bahadur Nagar and 71-Secunderabad Cantt. (SC).
8. Secunderabad	57-Musheerabad, 59-Amberpet, 60-Khairatabad, 61-Jubilee Hills, 62-Sanathnagar, 63-Nampally and 70 -Secunderabad.
9. Hyderabad	58-Malakpet, 64-Karwan, 65-Goshamahhal, 66-Charminar, 67-Chandrayangutta, 68-Yakutpura and 69-Bahadurpura.
10. Chevella	50-Maheswaram, 51-Rajendranagar, 52-Serilingampally, 53-Chevella (SC), 54-Pargi, 55-Vicarabad (SC) and 56-Tandur.

11.Mahbubnagar	72-Kodangal, 73- Narayanpet, 74-Mahbubnagar, 75-Jadcherla, 76 -Devarkadra, 77 -Makthal and 84-Shadnagar.
12.Nagarkurnool (SC)	78-Wanaparthi, 79-Gadwal, 80-Alampur (SC), 81-Nagarkurnool, 82-Achampet (SC), 83-Kalwakurthy and 85-Kollapur.
13.Nalgonda	86-Devarakonda (ST), 87-Nagarjuna Sagar, 88-Miryalaguda, 89- Huzurnagar, 90-Kodad, 91-Suryapet and 92-Nalgonda.
14.Bhongir	48-Ibrahimpattam, 93-Munugode, 94-Bhongir, 95-Nakrekal (SC), 96-Thungathurthi (SC), 97-Alair and 98-Jangaon.
15.Warangal(SC)	99-Ghanpur (Station) (SC), 100-Palakurthi, 104-Parkal, 105-Warangal West, 106-Warangal East, 107-Wardhannapet (SC) and 108-Bhupalpalle.
16.Mahabubabad (ST)	101-Dornakal (ST), 102-Mahabubabad (ST), 103-Narsampet, 109-Mulug (ST), 110-Pinapaka (ST), 111-Yellandu (ST) and 119-Bhadrachalam (ST).
17.Khammam	112-Khammam, 113-Palair, 114-Madhira (SC), 115-Wyra (ST), 116- Sathupalle (SC), 117-Kothagudem and 118-Aswaraopeta (ST).
18.Araku (ST)	129-Palakonda (ST), 130-Kurupam (ST), 131-Parvathipuram (SC), 132-Salur (ST), 147-Araku Valley (ST), 148-Paderu (ST) and 172-Rampachodovaram (ST).
19.Srikakulam	120-Ichchapuram, 121-Palasa, 122-Tekkali, 123-Pathapatnam 124-Srikakulam, 125-Amadalavalasa and 127-Narasannapeta.
20.Vizianagaram	126-Etcherla, 128-Rajam (SC), 133-Bobbili, 134-Cheepurupalli, 135-Gajapathinagaram, 136-Nellimarla and 137-Vizianagaram.
21.Visakhapatnam	138-Srungavarapukota, 139-Bhimli, 140-Visakhapatnam East, 141 -Visakhapatnam South, 142-Visakhapatnam North, 143-Visakhapatnam West and 144-Gajuwaka.
22.Anakapalle	145-Chodavaram, 146-Madugula, 149-Anakapalle, 150-Pendurthi, 151-Yelamanchili, 152-Payakaraopet (SC) and 153-Narsipatnam.
23.Kakinada	154-Tuni, 155-Prathipadu, 156-Pithapuram, 157-Kakinada Rural, 158-Peddapuram, 160-Kakinada City and 171-Jaggampeta.
24.Amalapuram (SC)	161-Ramachandrapuram, 62-Mummidivaram, 163-Amalapuram (SC), 164-Razole (SC), 165-

	Gannavaram (SC), 166-Kothapeta and 167-Mandapeta.
25.Rajahmundry	159-Anaparthi, 168-Rajanagaram, 169-Rajahmundry City, 170-Rajahmundry Rural, 173-Kovvur (SC), 174-Nidadavole and 185-Gopalapuram (SC).
26.Narsapuram	175-Achanta, 176-Palacole, 177-Narsapuram, 178-Bhimavaram, 179-Undi, 180-Tanuku and 181-Tadepalligudem.
27.Eluru	182-Unguturu, 183-Denduluru, 184-Eluru, 186-Polavaram (ST), 187-Chintalapudi (SC), 189-Nuzvid and 192-Kaikalur.
28.Machilipatnam	190-Gannavaram, 191-Gudivada, 193-Pedana, 194-Machilipatnam, 195-Avanigadda, 196-Pamaru (SC) and 197-Penamaluru.
29.Vijayawada	188-Tiruvuru (SC), 198-Vijayawada West, 199-Vijayawada Central, 200-Vijayawada East, 201-Mylavaram, 202-Nandigama (SC) and 203-Jaggayyapeta.
30.Guntur	205-Tadikonda (SC), 206-Mangalagiri, 207-Ponnuru, 210-Tenali, 212-Prathipadu (SC), 213-Guntur West and 214-Guntur East.
31.Narasaraopet	204-Pedakurapadu, 215-Chilakaluripet, 216-Narasaraopet, 217-Sattenapalli, 218-Vinukonda, 219-Gurajala and 220-Macherla.
32.Bapatla (SC)	208-Vemuru (SC), 209-Repalle, 211-Bapatla, 223-Parchur, 224-Addanki, 225-Chirala and 226-Sanathanuthalapadu (SC).
33.Ongole	221-Yerragondapalem (SC), 222-Darsi, 227-Ongole, 229- Kondapi (SC), 230-Markapuram, 231-Giddalur and 232- Kanigiri.
34.Nandyal	253-Allagadda, 254-Srisailam, 255-Nandikotkur (SC), 257-Panyam, 258-Nandyal, 259-Banaganapalle and 260-Dhone.
35.Kurnool	256-Kurnool, 261-Pattikonda, 262-Kodumur (SC), 263-Yemmiganur, 264-Mantralayam, 265-Adoni and 266-Alur.
36.Anantapur	267-Rayadurg, 268-Uravakonda, 269-Guntakal, 270-Tadpatri, 271-Singanamala (SC), 272-Anantapur Urban and 273-Kalyandurg.
37.Hindupur	274-Raptadu, 275-Madakasira (SC), 276-Hindupur, 277- Penukonda, 278-Puttaparthi, 279-Dharmavaram and 280-Kadiri.

38.Kadapa	243-Badvel (SC), 245-Kadapa, 248-Pulivendla, 249-Kamalapuram, 250-Jammalamadugu, 251-Proddatur and 252-Mydukur.
39.Nellore	228-Kandukur, 233-Kavali, 234-Atmakur, 235-Kovur, 236-Nellore City, 237-Nellore Rural and 242-Udayagiri.
40.Tirupati (SC)	238-Sarvepalli, 239-Gudur (SC), 240-Sullurpeta (SC), 241-Venkatagiri, 286-Tirupati, 287-Srikalahasti and 288-Satyavedu (SC).
41.Rajampet	244-Rajampet, 246-Kodur (SC), 247-Rayachoti, 281- Thamballapalle, 282-Pileru, 283-Madanapalle and 284-Punganur.
42.Chittoor (SC)	285-Chandragiri, 289-Nagari, 290-Gangadhara Nellore (SC), 291- Chittoor, 292-Puthalapattu (SC), 293-Palamaner and 294-Kuppam.

Note: - Any reference in **Table A** to a CT, OG, Mandal and Villages or other territorial division shall be taken to mean the area comprised within that CT, OG, Mandal and Villages or other territorial division as on the 15th day of February, 2004. Further, any reference in Table – A, to wards in municipal areas shall be taken to mean the areas as defined in the Census of India 2001 Report.

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THE DELIMITATION OF PARLIAMENTARY AND ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES ORDER, 1976

Whereas orders relating to the delimitation of Parliamentary constituencies and Assembly constituencies in the States and Union Territories have been made by the Delimitation Commission under the provisions of the Delimitation Act 1972 (76 of 1972) or, as otherwise provided by law by the Election Commission and published in the official gazettes; Now, therefore, in pursuance of and in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 8 of the Representation of the People Act, 1950, as amended by the Representation of the People*(Amendment) Act, 1976, the Election Commission makes the following Order namely.—

1. This Order shall be known as the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976. . ;
2. The number of seats allotted to each State in the House of the People, and the number of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House for each such State, is as shown in SCHEDULE-I.
3. The number of seats assigned to the Legislative Assembly of each State and Union Territory, and the number of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in such Assembly, is as shown in SCHEDULE-II.
4. The Parliamentary constituencies into which each of the States and Union Territories to which more than one seat is allotted in the House of the People, is divided for the purpose of elections to that House, the Assembly constituencies into which each State and each Union Territory having a Legislative Assembly are divided for the purpose of elections to the Legislative Assembly, and the extent of each such Parliamentary and Assembly constituency shall be as shown in SCHEDULES III to XXVIII to this Order Where the name of a constituency as shown in the Schedules is distinguished by the brackets and letters"(SC)", the seat in that constituency is reserved for the Scheduled Castes; and where such name is distinguished by the brackets and letters "(ST)", the seat in that constituency is reserved for the Scheduled Tribes.

T. SWAMINATHAN,
Chief Election Commissioner of India
New Delhi,

The 1st December, 1976.

Note—The Assembly constituencies into which the State of Jammu and Kashmir and Sikkim are divided for the purpose of elections to the Legislative Assemblies of those States and, the Metropolitan Council constituencies into

which the Union Territory of Delhi is divided for the purpose of elections to the Delhi Metropolitan Council are shown in the Annexure I to III for convenience of reference.

* Only Andhra Pradesh details have been taken from the report

Schedule I
Number of seats in Lok Sabha

Sl. No.	Name of the State/Union Territory	As on 1-1-1974			Subsequently Constituted		
		2	3	4	5	6	7
	States						
1.	Andhra Pradesh	41	6	2	42	6	2
2.	Assam	14	1	2	14	1	2
3.	Bihar	53	7	5	54	8	5
4.	Gujarat	24	2	3	26	2	4
5.	Haryana	9	2	-	10	2	-
6.	Himachal Pradesh	4	1	-	4	1	-
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	6	-	-	6	-	-
8.	Karnataka	27	4	-	28	4	-
9.	Kerala	19	2	-	20	2	-
10.	Madhya Pradesh	37	5	8	40	5	8
11.	Maharashtra	45	3	3	48	3	3
12.	Manipur	2	-	1	2	-	1
13.	Meghalaya	2	-	2	2	-	-
14.	Nagaland	1	-	-	1	-	-
15.	Orissa	20	3	5	21	3	5
16.	Punjab	13	3	-	13	3	-
17.	Rajasthan	23	4	3	25	4	3
18.	Sikkim	-	-	-	1	-	-
19.	Tamil Nadu	39	7	-	39	7	-

20.	Tripura	2	-	1	2	-	1
21.	Uttar Pradesh	85	18	-	85	18	-
22.	West Bengal	40	8	2	42	8	2
		506	76	37	525	77	36
	Union Territories						
23.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	-	-	1	-	-
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	1	-	1	2	-	-
25.	Chandigarh	1	-	-	1	-	-
26.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	-	1	1	-	1
27.	Delhi	7	1	-	7	1	-
28.	Goa, Daman & Diu	2	-	-	2	-	-
29.	Lakshadweep	1	-	1	1	-	1
30.	Mizoram	1	-	1	1	-	-
31.	Pondicherry	1	-	-	1	-	-
		16	1	4	17	1	2
Total		522	77	41	542	78	38

Schedule II
Number of seats in State Legislative Assemblies

Sl. No.	Name of the State/Union Territory	As on 1-1-1974			Subsequently Constituted		
		2	3	4	5	6	7
	States						
1.	Andhra Pradesh	287	40	11	294	39	11
2.	Assam	114	8	10*	126	8	16
3.	Bihar	318	45	29	324	46	28

4.	Gujarat	168	11	22	182	12	25
5.	Haryana	81	15	-	90	17	-
6.	Himachal Pradesh	68	16	3	68	15	3
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	75	6	-	76**	6	-
8.	Karnataka	216	29	2	224	29	2
9.	Kerala	133	11	2	140	12	2
10.	Madhya Pradesh	296	39	61	320	42	64
11.	Maharashtra	270	15	16	288	17	17
12.	Manipur	60	1	19	60	1	19
13.	Meghalaya	60	-	50	60	-	-
14.	Nagaland	52	-	-	60	-	-
15.	Orissa	140	22	34	147	22	34
16.	Punjab	104	23	-	117	29	-
17.	Rajasthan	184	31	21	200	32	24
18.	Sikkim	-	-	-	32***	1	-
19.	Tamil Nadu	234	42	2	234	42	2
20.	Tripura	60	6	19	60	7	17
21.	Uttar Pradesh	425	89	-	425	89	1
22.	West Bengal	280	55	16	294	59	17
		3625	504	317	3821	525	282
	Union Territories						
23.	Arunachal Pradesh	-	-		30	-	-
24.	Delhi	56	7	-	56****	7	-
25.	Goa, Daman & Diu	30	-	-	30	1	-
26.	Mizoram	30	-	-	30	-	-
27.	Pondicherry	30	5	-	30	5	-
		146	12		176	15	-

Grand Total	3771	516	317	3997	540	282
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Note: *Excludes 4 Tribal Seats in the Autonomous districts.

**Excludes 24 seats for the Pakistan occupied territory.

***Includes 1 seat reserved for Sangha constituency.

****Metropolitan Council Constituencies.

Schedule III

Andhra Pradesh

Part A- Parliamentary Constituencies

Sl. No. & Name	Extent of Parliamentary Constituencies
1.Srikakulam	1-Ichchapuram, 2-Sompeta, 3-Tekkali, 4-Harichandrapuram, 5-Narasannapeta, 15-Amadalavalasa and 124-Srikakulam,
2. Parvathipuram (ST)	5-Patapatnam, 7-Kothuru (ST), 8-Naguru (ST), 9-Parvathipuram, 10-Salur, 13-Vunuktru and 14-Palakonda (SC).
3. Bobbili	11-Bobbili, 12-Therlam, 17-Etcherla (SC), 18-Cheepurupalli, 19-Gajapathinagaram, 20-Vizianaaram and 21-Sathivada.
4. Visakhapatnam	22-Bhogapuram, 23-Bheemunipatnam, 24-Visakhapatnam I, 25-Visakhapatnam II, 26-Pendurthi, 27-Uttarapalle and 28-Surangavarapukota (ST).
5. Bhadrachalam (ST)	29-Paderu (ST), 37-Chintapalli (ST), 38-Yeilavaram (ST), 71-Gapalpuram (SC), 73-Polavaram, 274-Bhadrachalatn (ST) and 275-Burgamphad (ST).
6. Anakapalli	30-Madugula, 31-Cho4avaram, 32-Anakapalli, 33-Paravada, 34-Elamanchili, 35-Payakaraopeta (SC) and 36-Narasipatnam.
7. Kakinada	42-Jaggampsta, 43-Peddapuram, 44-Prathipadu, 45-Tuni, 46-Pithapuram, 47-Sampara and 48-Kakinada.
8. Rajahmundry	39-Buragupudi, 40-Rajahmundry, 41- Kadium, 50-Anaparthi, 51 Ramachandrapuram, 52-Alamuru and 72-Kovvur.
9. Amalapuram(SC)	49-Tallarevu, 53-Mummidivaram (SC), 54-Allavaram (SC), 55-Amalapuram, 56-Kothapeta, 57-Nagaram (SC) and 58-Razole.
10. Narasapur	59-Narasapur, 60-Palacole, 61-Achanta (SC)

	62-Bhimavaram, 63-Undi, 64-Penugonda and 66-Attili.
11. Eluru	65-Tanuku, 67-Tadepalligudem, 68-Ungutur, 69-Dendulur, 70-Eluru, 74-Chintalapudi and 87-Kaikalur.
12. Machilipatnam	82-Nuzvid, 83-Gannavaram, 84-Vuyyur, 85-Gudivada, 86-Mudinepalli, 88 Malleswaram and 89-Bandar.
13. Vijayawada	75-Jaggayyapet, 76-Nandigama, 77-Vijayawada West, 78-Vijayawada East, 79-Kankipadu, 80-Mylavaram and 81-Tiruvuru (SC).
14. Tenali	90-Nidumolu (SC), 91-Avanigadda, 93-Repalle, 94-Vemur, 95-Duggirala, 96-Tenali and 102-Mangalagiri.
15. Guntur	99-Prathipad, 100-Guntur I, 101-Guntur II, 103-Tadikonda (SC), 104-Sattenapalli, 105-Peddakurapadu and 110-Chilakaluripet.
16. Bapatla	92-K.uchinapudi, 97-Ponnur, 98-Bapatla, in-Chirala, 112-Parchur, 113-Martur and 114-Addanki.
17. Narasaraopet	106-Gurzala, 107-Macherla, 108-Vinukonda, 109-Narasaraopet, 120-Cumbum, 121-Darsi and 122-Markapur.
18. Ongole	115-Ongole, 116-Santhanmhalapadu (SC), 117-Kandukur, 118-Kanigiri, 119-Kondepi, 124-Udayagiri and 125-Kavali.
19. Nellore (SC)	126-Allur, 127-Kovur, 128-Atmakur, 129-Rapur, 130-Nellore, 131-Sarvepalli and 132-Gudur (SC).and 172-Rampachodovaram (ST).
20. Tirupathi (SC)	133-Sullurpet (SC), 134-Venkatagiri, 135-Srikalahasti, 136-Satyavedu (SC), 137- Nagari, 138-Puttur and 149-Tirupathi.
21. Chittoor	139-Vepanjeri (SC), 140-Chittoor, 141-Palmaner(SC), 142-Kuppam, 143-Punganur, 147-Pileru and 148-Chandragiri
22. Rajampet	144-Madanapalle, 145-Thamballapalle,, 146-Vayalpad, 150-Kodur (SC), 151-Rajampet, 152-Rayachoty and 153-Lakkireddipalli.
23. Cuddapah	154-Cuddapah, 155-Badvel, 156-Mydukur, 157-Proddatur, 158-Jammalamadugu, 159-Kamalapuram and 160-Pulivendla.

24. Hindupur	161-Kadiri, 162-Nallamada, 163-Gorantla, 164-Hindupur, 165-M.adakasira, 166 Penukonda and 173-Dharmavaram.
25. Anantapur	167-Kalyandrug (SC), 168-Rayadrug, 169-Uravakonda, 170-Gooty, 171-Singanamala (SC), 172-Anantapur and 174-Tadpatri.
26. Kurnool	175-Alur (SC), 176-Adoni, 177-Yenuniganur 178-Kodumur (SC), 179-Kurnool, 180-Pattikonda and 181-Dhone.
27. Nandyal	123-Giddalur, 182-Koil-kuntla, 183-Allagadda, 184-Panyam, 185-Nandikotkur, 186-Nandyal and 187-Atmakur.
28. Nagarkurnool (SC)	188-Achampet (SC), 189-Nagarkurnool, 190-Kalwakurthy, 191-Shadnagar (SC), 192-Jadcherla, 195-Kollapur and 203-Pargi.
29. Mahbubnagar	193-Mahbubnagar, 194-Wanaparthi, 196-Alampur, 197-Gadwal, 198-Amarchinta, 199-Makthal and 200-Kodangal.
30. Hyderabad	201-Tandur, 202-Vicarabad (SC), 204-Chevella, 215-Karwan, 216-Yakutpura, 217-Chandxayangutta and 218-Charminar.
31. Secunderabad	206-Musheerabad, 207-Himayatnagar, 208-Sanathnagar, 209-Secunderabad, 210-Khairatabad, 213-Asafnagar and 214-Maharaigunj.
32. Siddipet (SC)	211-Secunderabad Cantonment (SC), 219-Medchal, 220-Siddipet, 221-Dommat, 222-Gajwel (SC), 223-Narsapur and 228-Ramayampet.
33. Medak	224-Sangareddy, 225-Zahirabad, 226-Narayankhed 227-Medak, 229-Andole (SC), 232-Kamareddy and 233-Yellareddy.
34. Nizamabad	230-Balkonda, 231-Armoor, 234-Jukkal (SC), 235-Banswada, 236-Bodhan, 237-Nizamabad and 238-Dichpalli.
35. Adilabad	239-Mudhole, 240-Nirmal, 241-Boath (ST), 242-Adilabad, 243-Khanapur (ST), 244-Asifabad (SC) and 246-Sirpur.
36. Peddapalli (SC)	245-Luxettipet, 247-Chinnur (SC), 248-Manthani, 249-Peddapalli, 250-Myadaram (SC), 251-Huzurabad and 253-Indurthi.
37. Karimnagar	254-Karimnagar, 255-Choppadandi, 256-JagtJalj 257-Buggaram, 258-Metpalli, 259-Sircilla and 260-Narella (SC).

38. Hanamkonda	252-Kamalapur, 261-Cherial, 262-Jangaon, 268-Ghanpur (SC), 270-Hanamkonda, 271-Shyampet and 272-Parkal (SC).
39. Warangal	263-Chennur, 264-Dornakal, 265 Mahbubabad, 266-Narsampet, 267 Wardhannapet, 269-Warangal and 273-Mulug.
40. Khammam	276-Kothagudem, 277-Sathupalli, 278-Madhira, 279-Palair (SC), 280-Khammam, 281-Shujatnagar and 282-Yellandu (ST).
41. Nalgonda	205-Ibrahimpatanam (SC), 212-Malakpet, 289-Nalgonda, 291-Alair (SC), 292-Bhongir, 293-Mungode and 294-Deverkonda.
42. Miryalguda	283-Tu.ngaturthi, 284-Suryapet (SC), 285-Kodad, 286-Miryalguda, 287-Chalaturthi, 288-Nakrekal and 290-Ramannapet.

Part B—Assembly Constituencies

Serial No.& Name	Extent of Constituency
Srikakulam District	
1. Ichapuram	Ichapuram taluk; and Kolluru and Kanchili firkas in Sompeta taluk.
2. Sompeta	Sompeta taluk (excluding Kolluru and Kanchili firkas); and Palasa firka in Tekkali taluk.
3. Tekkali	Tekkali taluk (excluding Kannevalasa, Ravivalasa and Palasa firkas).
4. Harishchandrapuram	Ravivalasa and Kannevalasa firkas in Tekkali taluk; Harishchandrapuram, Palatalagam and Tilaru firkas in Narasannapeta taluk; and Temburu firka in Patapatnam taluk.
5. Narasannapeta	Narasannapeta taluk (excluding Harishchandrapuram, Palatalagam and Tilaru firkas); Sarvakota firka in Patapatnam taluk; and Nagarikatakam firka in Srikakulam taluk.
6. Patapatnam	Patapatnam taluk (excluding Temburu, Sarvakota, Kothuru and Baleru firkas).
7. Kothuru (ST)	Baleru and Kothuru firkas in Patapatnam taluk; Seetammampeta Agency, Veeraghattam and Navagam firkas in Palakonda taluk.
8. Naguru (ST)	Parvathipuram taluk (excluding Parvathipurani Pedabondapalli and Garugubilli firkas).

9. Parvathipuram	Parvathipuram municipality and Parvathipuram, Pedabondapalli and Garugubilli firkas in Parvathipuram taluk; and Makkuva firka in Salur taluk.
10. Salur	Salur taluk (excluding Makkuva firka).
11. Bobbili	Bobbili municipality and Bobbili, Chintada and Seethanagaram firkas in Bobbili taluk.
12. Therlam	Therlam, Perumali and Donkinvalasa firkas in Bobbili taluk; and Merakamudidam and Vedullavalasa firkas in Cheepurupalli taluk.
13. Vunukuru	Balijipeta firka in Bobbili taluk; and Kottisa Vunukuru and Rajam firkas in Palakonda taluk.
14. Palakonda (SC)	Palakonda, Ungarada, Santhakaviti and Mandavakuriti firkas in Palakonda taluk.
15. Amadalavalasa	Laxminarasupeta, Purushothapuram and Amadalavalasa firkas in Srikakulam taluk; and Narayanapuram and Burja firkas in Palakonda taluk.
16. Srikakulam	Srikakulam municipality and Srikakulam, Sangapuram, Srikurmam and Gara firkas in Srikakulam taluk.
17. Etcherla (SC)	Etcherla, Budumuru, Laveru and Ranasthalam firkas in Cheepurupalli taluk.
18. Cheepurupalli	Cheepurupalli, Karlam, Ganguvarisigadam and Ponduru firkas in Cheepurupalli taluk.
Visakhapatnam District	
19. Gajapathinagaram	Gajapathinagaram taluk.
20. Vizianagaram	Vizianagaram East and Vizianagaram West firkas in Vizianagaram taluk.
21. Sathivada	Vizianagaram taluk (excluding Vizianagaram East and Vizianagaram West firkas).
22. Bhogapuram	Bhogapuram, Konada, Kumili and Denkada firkas and Tagarapuvalasa firka (excluding villages 46-Tagarapuvalasa and 87-Sangivalasa) in Bheemunipatnam taluk.
23. Bheemunipatnam	Bheemunipatnam municipality including villages 46- Tagarapuvalasa and 87 Sangivalasa of Tagarapuvalasa firka and Bheemunipatnam, Anandapuram Revid and Korukonda firkas in Bheemunipatnam taluk; and Alamanda firka in Srungavarapukota taluk.

24. Visakhapatnam-I	Wards 1 to 19 in Visakhapatnam Municipality.
25. Visakhapatnam-II	Wards 20 to 33 and 35 to 38 in Visakhapatnam Municipality.
26. Pendurthi	Visakhapatnam taluk (excluding wards 1 to 33 and 35 to 38 in Visakhapatnam municipality, and I-Gorapalli, 7-Rampuram, 8-Pinagadi, 9-Pedagadi, 9-A—Chintala Agraharam, 10-Chintagatla, in Jerripothulapalem and 12- Narava villages in Pendurthi firka).
27. Uttarapalli	Uttarapalli, Kottavalasa and Lakkavarapukota firkas in Srungavarapukota taluk ; and A. Koduru and KKotapadu firkas in Chodavaram taluk.
28. Srungavarapukota (ST)	Srungavarapukota, Dharmavaram, Boddam, Jami and Vepada firkas in Srungavarapukota taluk; and Sunkarimetta firka in Paderu taluk.
29. Paderu (ST)	Paderu taluk (excluding Sunkarimetta firka).
30. Madugula	Madugula, Kinthali, Veeravilli, Turuvolu, Kaligorla and Devarapalli firkas in Chodavaram taluk.
31. Chodavaram	Chodavaram, Butcheyyapet, Gompa, Laxmipuram and Medivada firkas in Chodavaram taluk; and Rolugunta firka in Narsipatnam taluk.
32. Anakapalli	Anakapalli municipality and Anakapalli, Kasimkota and Narsingibilli firkas in Anakapalli taluk.
33. Paravada	Paravada, Chintanippula Agraharam, Munagapakp and Sabbavaram firkas in Anakapalli taluk; and i-Gorapalli, 7-Rampuram, 8-Pinagadi, 9-Pedagadi, 9-A-Chintala Agraharam, 10-Chintagatla, n-Jerripothulapalem and 12-Narava villages in Pendurthi firka in Visakhapatnam taluk.
East Godavari District	
38. Yellavaram(ST)	Yellavaram and Rampachodavaram taluks.
39. Burugupudi	Burugupudi, Raghudevapuram and Gokavaram firkas in Rajahmundry taluk.
40. Rajahmundry	Rajahmundry municipality.
41. Kadium	Rajahmundry firka (excluding Rajahmundry municipality) and Rajanagaram aad Kadium firkas in Rajahmundry taluk.
42. Jaggampeta	Peddspuram taluk (excluding Peddapuram firka and Peddapuram municipality).

43. Peddapuram	Peddapuram municipality and Peddapuram firka in Peddapuram taluk; and Samarlakota municipality and Samarlakota firka in Kakinada taluk.
44. Prathipadu	Prathipadu taluk.
45. Tuni	Tuni taluk.
46. Pithapuram	Pithapuram taluk (excluding Kothapalli firka).
47. Sampara	Kothapalli firka in Pithapuram taluk; and Kakinada firka (excluding Kakinada municipality) and Sampara and Thimmapuram firkas in Kakinada taluk.
48. Kakinada	Kakinada municipality.
49. Tallarevu	Tallarevu, Kazuluru and Karapa firkas in Kakinada taluk.
50. Anaparthi	Anaparthi and Someswaram firkas in Ramachandrapuram taluk.
51. Ramachandrapuram	Ramachandrapuram taluk (excluding Anaparthi and Someswaram firkas); and 41—Teki, 42-Machara and 43-Korumilli villages in Kapiieswarapuram firka in Alamuru taluk.
52. Alamuru	Alamuru and Mandapeta firkas and Kapiieswarapuram firka (excluding 41-Teki, 42-Machara and 43-Korumilli villages) in Alamuru taluk.
53. Mummidivaram (SC)	Mummidivaram taluk.
54. Allavaram(SC)	Devaguptam and Uppalaguptam firkas and 30-Nandampudi, 31-Thondavaram, 32 Gunnepalli Agraharam, 34-Sakurru, 35-Indupalli, 36-Idarapalle, 38-Peruru and 59-Bhatnavilli villages in Amalapuram firka in Amalapuram taluk.
55. Amalapuram	Tottaramudi firka and Amalapuram municipality and Amalapuram firka (excluding 30—Nandampudi, 31—Thondavaram, 32—Gunnepalli Agraharam, 34—Sakurru, 35— Indupalli, 36—Idarapalle, 38—Peruru and 59—Bhatnavili villages) in Amalapuram taluk.
56. Kothapeta	Kothapeta and Atreyapuram firkas and 21—Gopalapuram, 22—Mummidivarappadu, 35—Ganti and 36—Gantipedapudi villages in Patha Gannavaram firka and 30 Vanapalli and 32—Billakurrvillages in Narendrapuram firka in Kothapetataluk.

57.Nagaram (SC)	Narendrapuram firka (excluding 30—Vanapalli and 32—Billakurru villages) and Patha Gannavaram firka (excluding 21—Gopalapuram, 22—Mummidivarappadu, 35—Ganti and 36—Gantipedapudi villages) in Kothapeta taluk ; and Manepalli firka and Kadali firka (excluding 30—Goganamatham, 31—Katrenipadu and 53—Kesanapalli villages) in Razole taluk.
58. Razole	Razole and Antarvedipalem firkas and 30—Goganamatham, 31—Katrenipadu and 53—Kesanapalli villages in Kadali firka in Razole taluk.
West Godavari District	
59. Narasapur	Narasapur municipality and Narasapur, Kaja and Mogaltur firkas in Narasapur taluk.
60. Palacole	Palacole municipality and Palacole and Kopparru firkas in Narasapur taluk; and Veeravasaram firka in Bhimavaram taluk.
61. Achanta (SC)	Achanta, Jinnur and Doddipatla firkas in Narasapur taluk.
62. Bhimavaram	Bhimavaram municipality and Bhimavaram and Vissakoderu firkas and 63 Gollalacoderu, 64—Garagaparru, 65—Mypa, 66—Korukollu and 67—Mogallu villages in Undi firka in Bhimavaram taluk.
63. Undi	Kalla firka, Akividu panehayat and Akividu and Kolanxuru firkas and Undi firka (excluding 63—Gollalacodem, 64- Garagaparru, 65—Mypa, 66—Korukollu and 67—Mogallu villages) in Bhimavaram taluk.
64. Penugonda	Penugonda, Iragavaram and Peravali firkas in Tanuku taluk.
65. Tanuku	Tanuku and Undrajavaram firkas in Tanuku taluk; and Alampuram firka (excluding 27—Aru.golanu, 28—Madhavaram, 29—Jagannadhapuram, 30—Nandanwu and, 33—Navabpalem villages) in Tadepalligudem taluk.
66. Attili	Attili and Penumantra firkas in Tanuku taluk; and Ganapavaram firka in Tadepalligudem taluk.
67. Tadepalligudem	Tadepalligudem, Pentapadu and Nidamaru firkas and 27—Arugolami, 28 Madhavaram, 29—Jagannadhapuram, 30—Nandamuru and 33—Navabpalem villages in Alampuram firka in Tadepalligudem taluk.

68. Ungutur	Ungutur and Nallajerla firkas in Tadepalligudem taluk; and Dwarakatirumala and Bhimadole firkas in Eluru taluk.
69. Dendulur	Dendulur, Mundur, Pedfpadu and Vatluru firkas in Eluru taluk.
70. Eluru	Eluru municipality and Eluru and Chataparru firkas in Eluru taluk.
71. Gopalpuram (SC)	Gopalpuram, Lakkavaram, Yernagudem and Chagallu firkas in Kovvur taluk.
72. Kovvur	Kovvur municipality and Kovvur firka., Nidadavole municipality and Nidadavole firka and Tallapudi firka in Kovvur taluk.
73. Polavaram	Polavaram taluk.
74. Chintalapudi	Chintalapudi taluk.
Krishna District	
75. Jaggayyapet	Jaggayyapet sub-taluk; and Penuganchiprolu firka and 15—Sanagapadu, 38—Somavaram, 39—Rudravaram, 40— Gollamudi, 41—Pallagiri, 44.—Munagacharla, 45 Thotacherla, 46—Nawabpeta, 47 Konakanchi, 48—Pochampalli and 49— Bandipalem villages in Nandigama firka in Nandigama taluk
76. Nandigama	Kanchikacherla and Chandralapadu firkas and Nandigama firka (excluding 15—Sanagapadu, 38— Somavaram, 39—Rudravaram, 4c—Gollamudi, 41—Pallagiri, 44—Munagacharla, 45—Thotacherla, 46—Nawabpeta, 47. —Konakanchi, 48 Pochampalli and 49—Bandipalem villages) in Nandigama taluk.
77. Vijayawada West	Vijayawada municipality (excluding Wards 20 to 36).
78. Vijayawada East	Wards 20 to 36 in Vijayawada Municipality.
79. Kankipadu	Kankipadu and Poranki firkas and Vijayawada firka (excluding Vijayawada municipality) in Vijayawada taluk.
80. Mylavaram	Mylavaram, Velvadam, Kondur and Kondapalli firkas in Vijayawada taluk: and Kondur firka in Tiruvuru taluk.
81. Tiruvuru (SC)	Tiruvuru taluk (excluding Kondur firka).
82. Nuzvid	Nuzvid taluk.

83. Gannavaram	Gannavaram, Vedumpavulur, Veeravalli and Telaprolu firkas and 63—Indupalli. 65 Vemanda, 66—Kalavapamula, 67—Nandamuru 68—Madhirapadu and 72— Katuru villages in Katuru firka in Gannavaram taluk.
84. Vuyyur	Gannavaram taluk (excluding Gannavaram, Vedurupavulur, Veeravalli and Telaprolu firkas and 63—Indupalli, 65—Vemanda, 66 Kalavaparnula, 67.Nandamuru, 68—Madhirapadu and 72—Katuru villages in Katuru firka); and Valluru firka in Vijayawada taluk.
85. Gudivada	Gudivada municipality and Gudivada, Ventrapragada and Pamarru firkas in Gudivada taluk.
86. Mudinepalli	Gudivada taluk (excluding Gudivada, Ventrapragada and Pamarru firkas); and Kanukollu and Vadali firkas in Kaikalur taluk.
87. Kaikalur	Kaikalur taluk (excluding Kanukollu and Vadali firkas).
88. Malleswaram	Bandar taluk (excluding Bandar firka).
89. Bandar	Bandar municipality and Bandar firka in Bandar taluk.
90. Nidumolu (SC)	Nidumolu, Lankapalli and Kodali firkas and Challapalli firka (excluding 56-Pedaprolu, 57-Kaptanupalim, 62-Annaram, 63 Venkatapuram, 72-Tekupalli, 73 Merakanapalli and 74-Chiruvolu villages) and 66-Pedayadara village in Koduru firka in Divi taluk.
91. Avanigadda	Avanigadda and Nagayalanka firkas and Koduru firka (excluding 66-Pedayadara village) and 56-Pedaprolu, 57-Kaptanupalim, 62-Annaram, 63-Venkatapuram, 72-Tekupalli, 73-Merakanapalli and 74 Chiruvolu villages in Challapalli firka in Divi taluk.
Guntur District	
92. Kuchinapudi	Kuchinapudi firka (excluding any area included in Repalle municipality) and Chodayapalem, Pedamatlapudi and Dhulipudi firkas in Repalle taluk.
93. Repalle	Repalle municipality and Repalle and Cherukupalli firkas in Repalle taluk.
94. Vemur	Vemur, Amarthalur and Chebrole firkas in Tenali taluk.

95. Duggirala	Duggirala, Kollipara and Kollur firkas in Tenali taluk.
96. Tenali	Tenali Municipality and Tenali firka in Tenali taluk.
97. Ponnur	Poinut miicipality and Ponnur and Kakumanu firkas in Bapatla taluk.
98. Bapatla	Bapatla Municipality and Bapatla and Yazali firkas in Bapatla taluk.
99. Prathipad	Prathipad firka and Pedakakani firka (excluding 65-Kopparavur, 72-Venigandla, 73-Pedakakani, 75-Narnbur, 76-Kantamraju-Kondur, 77-Penumuli and 78 Devarayabhotlapalem villages) in Guntur taluk.
100. Guntur-I.	Wards 11 to 30 in Guntur Municipality.
101. Guntur-II	Guntur firka (excluding Wards n to 30 in Guntur Municipality and 56-Mandapadu, 57-Velvarthipadu, 58-Visadala, 60-Bandarupalli, 66-Jonnalagadda, 67-Lam, 68-Damarapalli and 71-Gorantla villages) in Guntur taluk.
102. Mangalagiri	Mangalagiri municipality and Mangalagiri firka in Guntur taluk.
103. Tadikonda (SC)	Tadikonda firka and 56-Mandapadu, 57-Velavarthipadu, 58-Visadala, 60-B and amp alii, 66-Jonnalagadda, 67-Lam, 68-Damarapalli and 71-Gorantla villages in Guntur firka and 65-Koppuravur, 72-Venigandla, 73-Pedakakani, 75-Nambur, 76-Kantamrajukondur, 77-Penunauli and 78- Devarayabhotlapalem villages in Pedakakani firka in Guntur taluk.
104. Sattenapalli	Sattenapalli and Phirangipuram firkas in Sattenapalli taluk.
105. Peddakurapadu	Atchampeta, Bellamkonda and Peddakurapadu firkas in Sattenapalli taluk.
106. Gurzala	Gurzala, Dachepalli and Piduguralla firkas in Palnad taluk.
107. Macherla	Macherla, Karempudi and Veldurthi firkas in Palnad taluk.
108. Vinukonda	Vinukonda taluk.
109. Narasaraopet	Narasaraopet taluk (excluding Nadendla and Chilakaluripet firkas).

110. Chilakaluripet	Chilakaluripet municipality and Chilakaluripet and Nadendla firkas in Narasaraopet taluk.
Prakasham District	
111. Chirala	Chirala Municipality and Chirala firka in Chirala taluk.
112. Parchur	Parchur and Santharavur firkas in Chirala taluk, and 53-Budavada, 54-Kotapadu, 70-Pargulur, 72-Chandalur, 73-Gangavaram and 74-Koniki villages in Duddukur firka in Addanki taluk.
113. Martur	Martur and Kommalapadu firkas in Addanki taluk; and Marella firka and 56-Tammalur, 73-Sankarapuram 74-Avisanavaripalem, 75-Polavaram, 76-Pedaravipad, 77- Vempadu, 78-Mundlamur and 130-Malkapuram villages in Tallur firka in Darsi taluk.
114. Addanki	Addanki and Msdarametla firkas and Duddukur firka (excluding 53-Budavada, 54-Kotapadu, 70-Pangului, 72-Chandalur, 73-Gangavaram and 74-Koniki villages) in Addanki taluk; and Tallur firka (excluding 56-Tammalur, 73-Sankarapuram, 74 Avisanavaripalem, 75-Polavaram, 76-Pedaravipad, 77-Vempadu, 78-Mundlamur and 130-Malkapuram villages) in Darsi taluk.
115. Ongole	Ongole municipality and Ongole and Ammanabrolu firkas in Ongole taluk.
116. Santhanuthalapadu (SC)	Santhanuthalapadu, Tangutur, Chimakurthi and Maddipadu firkas in Ongole taluk.
117. Kandukur	Kandukur taluk (excluding Kondepi, Ponnalur and Singaraya Konda firkas).
118. Kanigiri	Kanigiri taluk"(excluding Thimmareddipalli firka).
119. Kondepi	Kondepi, Ponnalur and Singaraya Konda firkas in Kandukur taluk; and Marrisudi firka in Podili taluk.
120. Cumbum	Cumbum and Ardhavedu firkas in Giddalur taluk; and Podili taluk (excluding Podili and Marrisudi firkas) and Thimmareddipalli firka in Kanigiri taluk.
121. Darsi	Darsi taluk (excluding Marella and Tallur firkas); Thripuranthakam firka in Markapur taluk; and Podili firka in Podili taluk.
122. Markapur	Markapur taluk (excluding Thripuranthakam firka).

123. Giddalur	Giddalur taluk (excluding Cumbum and Ardhaveedu firkas).
Nellore District	
124. Udayagiri	Udayagiri taluk.
125. Kavali	Kavali taluk (excluding Bogole firka).
126. Allur	Allur firka and Buchireddipalem firka (excluding 58- Challayapalem, 65 Kalayakagollu, 66-Damararnadugu and 67-Patur villages) in Kovur taluk; and Bogole firka in Kavali taluk.
127. Kovur	Kovur, Kodavalur and Duvvur firkas and 58-Challayapalem, 65-Kalayakagollu, 66-Damaramadugu and 67- Patur villages in Buchireddipalem firkain Kovur taluk.
128. Atmakur	Atmakur taluk.
129. Rapur	Rapur taluk (excluding Sydapuram firka); and Mulumudi, Kanupur and Manubolu firkas in Nellore taluk.
130. Nellore	Nellore municipality and Nellore firka (excluding 19-Kondayapalem, 20 Gundlapalem, 21-Hissa Vaviletipadu, 22-Chintareddipalem, 24-Peddacherukur, 25-AHipuram, 48- Kakupalli-I and 65 Kakupalli-II villages) in Nellore taluk.
131. Sarvepalli	Sarvepalli, Muthukur, Pedur and Indukurpet firkas and 19-Kondayapalem, 20 Gundlapalem, 21-Hissa Vaviletipadu, 22-Chintareddipalem, 24-Peddacherukur 25-Allipuram, 48-Kakupalli-I and 65-Kakupalli-II villages in Nellore firka in Nellore taluk.
132. Gudur (SC)	Gudur taluk (excluding Kurugonda firka).
133. Sullurpet (SC)	Sullurpet taluk.
134. Venkatagiri	Venkatagiri taluk; Sydapuram firka in Rapur taluk; and Kurugonda firka in Gudur taluk.
Chittoor District	
135. Sri Kalahasti	Sri Kalahasti taluk (excluding Pallakuru, Pallamalla and Buchinaidu-Kandriga firkas).
136. Satyavedu (SC)	Pallakuru, Pallamalla and Buchinaidu Kandriga firkas in Sri Kalahasti taluk; and Satyavedu taluk (excluding Nindra and Mangalam firkas).

137. Nagari	Nindra and Mangalam firkas in Satyavedu taluk; Nagari and Karvetinagar firkas and Puttur firka (excluding 29—Eswarapuram, 30-Puttur town panchayat, 31-Thorur, 76- Cherlopalle and 77-Nandimangalam villages) in Puttur taluk.
138. Puttur	Vadamalpet, Rayalcheruvu, Vedurukuppam, Srirangarajapuram and Palasamudram, firkas and 29— Eswarapuram, 30-Puttur town panchayat, 31-Thorur, 76— Cherlopalle and 77-Nandimangalam villages in Puttur firka in Puttur taluk.
139. Vepanjeri (SC)	Chittoor taluk (excluding Chittoor and Yadamu firkas).
140. Chittoor	Chittoor municipality and Chittoor and Yadamu firkas in Chittoor taluk; and Tavanampalle firka in Bangaripoliem taluk.
141. Palmaner (SC)	Bangaripoliem taluk (excluding Tavanam- Palle and Irala firkas); Palmaner and Baireddipalle firkas and 53 Gonumakkalapalle, 54-Krisnapuram, 55-Jownipalle. 56- Peddanapalle, 57-Patrapalle, 58-Paipalle, 59-Nernipalle, 60-Bodiguttapalle, 61-Thirumala Paichugudlapalle, 62-Hanumepalle, 63-Venkatagirikota; 65-Papepalle, 66 Gudipalle and 67-Kumbarlapalle villages in Venkatagiri Kota firka in Palmarer taluk.
142. Kuppam	Kuppam taluk; Ramakuppam firka and Venkatagiri Kota firka (excluding 53-Gonumakkalapalle, 54-Krisnapuram, 55-Jownipalle, 56-Peddanapalle, 57-Patrapalle. 58— Paipalle, 59-Nernipalle, 60-Poruguttapalle, 61-Thirumala Paichugudlapalle, 62-Harnapalle, 63 Venkatagirikota; 65— Papepalle, 66-Gudipalle, 67-Kumbarlapalle villages) in Palmaner taluk.
143. Punganur	Punganur taluk (excluding Sodam firka and 20-S. Nadimally, 21-Thimmanayaripalle 27-Nanjampeta alias Chadambylu and 28-81-Uppalapalle villages in Chowdepalle firka), and 107-Kondamarri village in Madanapalle East firka in Madanapalle taluk.
144. Madanapalle	Madanapalle West firka and Madanapalle municipality and Madanapalle East firka (excluding 107- Kondamarri village) and 56-Berangi, 57-Padikayalapalle, 58-Kothakota, 60-Gummasamudram, 61-Ghattu and 82- Thettu villages in Ghattu firka in Madanapalle taluk.
145. Thamballapalle	Peddatippasamudram, Thamballapalle and B. Kota firkas and Ghattu firka (excluding 56-Berangi, 57-Padikayalapalle, 58-Kothakota, 60-

	Gummasarr.udram, 61- Ghattu and 82-Thettu villages) in Madanapalle taluk.
146. Vayalpad	Vayalpad, Nadimcherla and Medikurthi firkas and Garnimitta firka (excluding 20-Kambhamvaripalli, 21- Kethamreddipalli, 22-Kasireddipally, 23-Vagalla, 81 Sorakayalapeta, 82-Erlampalli and 83 Gorantlapalli villages) in Vayalpad taluk.
147. Pileru	Pileru and Yerravaripalem firkas and 20-Kambhamvaripalli, 21-Kethamreddipalli, 22-Kasireddipalli, 23-Vagalla, 81-Sorakayalapeta, 82-Erarnpalli and 83-Gorantlapalli villages in Garnimitta firka in Vayalpad taluk; and Sodarn firka and 20-S. Nadimapalle, 21—Thimmanayanipalle, 26-Somala; 27-Nanjampeta <i>alias</i> Chadambylu and 28-81-Upparapalle villages in Chowdepalle firka in Punganur taluk.
148. Chandragiri	Chandragiri, Panapakam, Pulicherla and Pakala firkas in Chandragiri talukj and Irala firka in Bangaripoliem taluk.
149. Tirupathi	Tirupathi municipality and Tirupathi and Renigunta firkas in Chandragiri taluk.
Cuddapah District	
150. Kodur (SC)	Kodur, Pullampet and Chitvel firkas in Rajampet taluk.
151. Rajampet	Rajampet, Nandalur and Obili firkas in Rajampet taluk; Obulam firka and Vontimitta firka (excluding 22- Rangampalli, 23-Malinenipatram, 25-Uppaturj 26-Chenduvoy and 59-Ponnappalli villages) in Sidhout taluk.
152. Rayachoty	Rayachoty, Chinnamandam and T.Sundupalli firkas and 26-Galiveedu and 27-Araveedu villages in Galiveedu firka in Rayachoty taluk.
153. Lakkireddipalli	Lakkireddipalli, Chakrayapet and Veeraballi firkas and Galiveedu firka (excluding 26-Galiveedu and 27- Araveedu villages) in Rayachoty taluk; and ChintaKornrnadinne firka in Cuddapah taluk.
154. Cuddapah	Cuddapah municipality and Cuddapah and Chennur firkas in Cuddapah taluk; and Sidhout firka ia Sidhout taluk.
155. Badvel	Badvel taluk (excluding Palugurallapalli firka); Kondur firka and 22-Rangarnpalli, 23-Malinenipatram,25-Uppatur, 26-Chenduvoy and 59-Ponnappalli villages in Vontimitta firka in Sidhout taluk.

156. Mydukur	Mydukur and Duvvur firkas in Proddatur taluk; Khajipeta firka in Cuddapah taluk; and Palugurallapalli firka in Badvel taluk.
157. Proddatur	Proddatur municipality and Proddatur, Arakata vernula and Chapad firkas in Proddatur taluk.
158. Jammalamadugu	Jammalamadugu taluk.
159. Kamalapuram	Kamalapuram taluk; and Pendlimarri and Vallur firkas in Cuddapah taluk.
160. Pulivendla	Pulivendla taluk.
Anantapur District	
161. Kadiri	Kadiri taluk (excluding Nallamada, Mohammadabad and Tanakal firkas).
162. Nallamada	Nallamada, Mohammadabad and Tanakal firkas in Kadiri taluk.
163. Gorantla	Bukkapatnam and Kothacheruvu firkas in Penukonda taluk; and Gorantla firka and Chilamathur firka (excluding 44-Tekuledu, 45-Demakethapalli, 46-Yegnsettipalle, 47-Hussainapuram, 48-Veerapuram and 49-Chilamathur villages) in Hindupur taluk.
164. Hindupur	Hindupur municipality and Hindupur and Parigi firkas and 44-Tekuledu, 45-Dema Kethapalli, 46-Yegnissettipalle, 47 Hussainapuram, 48-Veerapuram and 49-Chilamathur villages in Chilamathur firka in Hindupur taluk.
165. Madakasira	Madakasira taluk.
166. Penukonda	Penukonda and Roddan firkas in Penukonda taluk; and Ramagiri, Medapuram and Kanganapalli firkas in Dharmavaram taluk.
167. Kalyandrug (SC)	Kalyandrug taluk.
168. Rayadrug	Rayadrug taluk (excluding 44-Thumbiganur, 45-N. Hanumapuram, 46-Sollapuram, 47-Rektala, 48-Mylarampalli, 49-Peddakow Kuntla, 50-Rampuram, 51-Hanakanahal, 52-Malayam and 53-Kalekurthi villages in Kanekal firka).
169. Uravakonda	Uravakonda taluk; and 44-Thumbiganur, 45-N. Hanumapuram, 46-Sollapuram, 47-Rektala, 48-Mylarampalli, 49-Peddakow Kuntla, 50-Rampuram, 51-Hanakanahal, 52-Malayam and 53-Kalekurthi villages in Kanekal firka in Rayadrug taluk; and Nagasamudram firka in Gooty taluk.

170. Gooty	Guntakal municipality and Thimmancherla and Gooty firkas in Gooty taluk.
171. Singanamala (SC)	Singanamala, Narpala and Kudair firka and 52-Madigubba, 54-Sajjalakalva, 83-Kurugunta 84-Gollapalli, 85-Kamarupalli, 87-Sanapa and 88-Goridindla villages in Bukkacherla firka in Anantapur taluk.
172. Anantapur	Arantapur municipality and Anantapur firka and Bukkacherla firka (excluding 52-Madigubba, 54-Sajjalakalva, 83-Kurugunta, 84-Gollapalli, 85-Kamarupalli, 87- Sanapa and 88-Goridindla villages) in Anantapur taluk.
173. Dhamavaram	Dharmavaram municipnlity and Dharmavaram and Tadimarri firkas in Dhaimavaram taluk; and yellanur and Putlur firkas in Tadpatri taluk.
174. Tadpatri	Tadpatri municipality and Tadpatri, Peddapappurand Yediki firkas in Tadpatri taluk; and Pamidi firka in Gooty taluk.
Kurnool District	
175. Alur (SC)	Alur taluk.
176. Adoni	Adoni municipality and Adoni and Kowthalam firkas and 64-Thovi, 69-Yerigeri, 70-Kuppagal, 71-Ballekal, 72- Pandavagallu, 89-Pesalabanda, 90-Sultanapuram, 91-Doddanakeri, 92-Jalibenchi, 96-Mantriki and 109-Pedda Thumbalam villages in Pedda Thumbalam firka in Adoni taluk.
177. Yemmiganur	Yemtniganur municipality ard Yemmiganur, Nandavaram and Kosigi firkas and Pedda Thumbalam firka (excluding 64-Thovi, 69-Yerigeri, 70-Kuppaga], 71- Ballekal, 72-Pandavagallu, 89-Pesalabanda, 90-Sultanapuram, 91-Doddanakeri, 92-Jalibenchi, 96-Mantriki and 109-Pedda Thumbalam villages in Adoni taluk).
178. Kodumur (SC)	Kurnool taluk (excluding Kurnool and Vorvakal firkas).
179. Kurnool	Kurnool municipality and Kurnool firka in Kurnool taluk.
180. Pattikonda	Pattikonda taluk (excluding Devarakonda firka).
181. Dhone	Devarakonda firka in Pattikonda taluk; and Dhone Krishnagiri and Peapally firkas in Dhone taluk.
182. Koilkuntla	Koilkuntla taluk; and Owk firka in Banganapalle taluk.

183. Allagadda	Allagadda taluk.
184. Panyam	Panyam firka in Nandyal taluk; Banganapalli and Nandavaram firkas in Barganapalli taluk; and Bethamcherla and Veldurthi firkas in Dhone taluk.
185. Nandikotkur	Nandikotkur taluk; and Vorvakal firka in Kurnool taluk.
186. Nandyal	Nandyal taluk (excluding Panyam and Gadivemula firkas).
187. Atmakur	Atmakur taluk; and Gadivemula firka in Nandyal taluk.
Mahbubnagar District	
188. Achampet (SC)	Achampet taluk; and Kalwakurthi circle (Excluding 123-Kalwakurthi Village) in Kalwakurthi taluk.
189. Nagarkurnool	Nagarkurnool taluk (excluding Thimmajipet Circle).
190. Kalwakurthi	Midjil, Amangal, Talakondapally and Veldanda circles and 123-Kalwakurthi village in Kalwakurthi circle in Kalwakurthi taluk.
191. Shadnagar (SC)	Shadnagar taluk (excluding Balanagar circle).
192. Jadcherla	Jadcherla and Nawabpet circles and 125-Tatiparthi, 126-Kothur, 127-Bhootpur, 134-Gopalpur Khurd, 135-Kappeta, 136-Patha Molgera, 137-Kotha Molgera and 138-Karvena villages in Annasagar circle in Mahbubnagar taluk ; Balanagar circle in Shadnagar taluk; and Thimmajipet circle in Nagarkurnool taluk.
193. Mahbubnagar	Mahbubnagar municipality and Mahbubnagar and Koilkonda circles and Annasagar circle (excluding 125- Tatiparthi, 126-Kothur, 127-Bhootpur, 134-Gopalpur Khurd, 135-Kappeta, 136-Patha Molgera, 137-Kotha Molgera and 138-Karvena villages) in Mahbubnagar taluk.
194. Wanaparthy	Wanaparthy taluk (excluding Srirangapur circle).
195. Kollapur	Kollapur taluk.
196. Alampur	Alampur taluk; and Srirangapur circle in Wanaparthy taluk.
197. Gadwal	Gadwal taluk.
198. Amarchinta	Atmakur taluk; and Dhanwada circle (excluding 20-Anthwar, 21-Ayyawarpalle, 22-Kollampalle, 23-Lingampalle, 24-Thirumalpur, 25-

	Narsappapalle, 26 Abhangapur and 27-Kota Konda villages) in Makthal taluk.
199. Makthal	Makthal, Narayanpet, Chinnaporla and Krishna circles and 20-Anthwar, 21-Ayyawarpalle, 22-Kollanipalle, 23-Lingampalle, 24-ThiruniaJpur, 25-Narsappapallej 26-Abhangapur and 27-Kota Konda villages in Dhanwada circle in Makthal taluk; and Maddur circle (excluding 58-Kankurthy, 105-Nagireddipalle, 106- Damganpur, 108- Laxmipur, 109-Ashanapalle, no-Lokurthy, in-Narsapoor, 112-Mallareddypalle, 113-Piddampalle, 115-Gadimankanpalle, 116-Udmalgidda, 133-Khajipoor and 134-Maddur villages) in Kodangal taluk.
200. Kodangal	Kodangal, Doulatabad, Bomraspet and Kosgi circles and 58-Kankurthy, 105-Nagireddipallej 106- Damaganpur, 108-Laxmipur, 109-Ashanapalle, 110-Lokurthy, 11 i-Narsapoor, 112-Mallareddypalle, 113-Piddampalle, 115-Gadimankanpalle, 116-Udmalgidda, 133-Khajipoor and 134-Maddur villages in Maddur circle in Kodangal taluk.
Hyderabad District	
201. Tandur	Tandur taluk; and Kotpalli circle in Vicarabad taluk.
202. Vicarabad (SC)	Vicarabad taluk (excluding Kotpalli circle).
203. Pargi	Pargi taluk; and Shahabad circle in Chevella taluk.
204. Chevella	Chevella taluk (excluding Shahabad circle); and Narsingi, Sharnshabad and Katedhan circles in Hyderabad West taluk.
205. Ibrahimpatnam (SC)	Ibrahimpatnam taluk.
206. Musheerabad	Ward I in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and Zamistshanpur and Osmania University area.
207 Himayatnagar	Wards 2 and 3 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.
208. Sanathnagar	Wards 1 to 5 and 7 to 9 in Secunderabad division and ward 7 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and Fatehnagar town in Amirpet circle of Hyderabad Urban taluk.
209. Secunderabad	Secunderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (excluding Wards 1 to 5 and 7 to 9) and Railway Quarters Colony.

210. Khairatabad	Wards 6 and 8 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and Lingampally and Kukatpalli circles in Hyderabad West taluk.
211. Secunderabad Cantonment (SC)	Secunderabad Cantonment and Bowenpally Town and village 14-Ferozguda in Amirpet circle, and Macha Bolaram, Lalaguda, and Malkajgiri town and Tirunalgiri circle in Hyderabad Urban taluk.
212. Malakpet	Ward 16 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad; and 65-Gaddiannaram village of Saidabad circle in Hyderabad Urban taluk; Saroornagar, Hayatnagar and Amberpet circles in Hyderabad East taluk.
213. Asafnagar	Wards 5, 10 and 11 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.
214. Maharajgunj	Wards 4, 14 and 15 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.
215. Karwan	Wards 9, 12 and 13 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.
216. Yakutpura	Wards 17 and 22 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and 67 Kar.dikal village in Saidabad circle in Hyderabad Urban taluk.
217. Chandrayangutta	Wards 18 and 23 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.
218. Charminar	Wards 19 to 21 in Hyderabad division of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and The mi 1 vlhges Ampur, Alisanvmdir, Bumrukunddoula,Mail rdevpally, Pallecheru, Lakshmiguda and Balapur in Bahadurpura circle in Hyderabad Urban taluk.
219. Medchal	Medchal taluk; Uppal and Ghatkesari circles in Hyderabad East taluk.
Medak District	
220. Siddipet	Siddipet municipality and Siddipet and Rajgopalpet circles and 18-Malaipalli, 19-Chellapur, 20-Rajakkapet, 21- Ellapur, 22-Machapur Patti Dubback, 23-Dumpalapalli, 25-Habshipur, 48-Timmapur, 49-Dharmaram, 50-Pedda Gundavelli, 51-Appanpalli, 52-Hasan Mirpoor, 53-Chintamadka, 54-Ankampet and 55-Sitarampalli villages in Dubback circle in Siddipet taluk.
221. Dommat	Siddipet taluk (excluding Siddipet and Rajgopalpet circles and 18-Malaipalli, 19-Chellapur, 20 Rajakkapet, 21-Ellapur, 22-Machapur Patti Dubback, 23-Dumpalapalli, 25-Habshipur, 48 -

	Timmapur, 49 Dharamaram, 50-Pedda Gundavelli, 51-Appanpalli, 52-Hasan Mirpoor, 53-Chintamadka, 54-Ankampet and 55-Sitarampalli villages in Dubback circle); and Begampet circle in Gajwel taluk.
222. Gajwel (SC)	Gajwel taluk (excluding Begampet circle).
223. Narsapnr	Narsapur taluk.
224. Sangareddy	Sangareddy municipality and S angareddy, Kondapur, Kandi and Patancheru circles and Sadasivpet town and 53— Sadasivpet (Rural) and 54-Yavapur villages in Sadasivpet circle in Sangareddy taluk.
225. Zahirabad	Zahirabad taluk (excluding Niyalkal circle).
226. Narayankhed	Narayankhed taluk; and Niyalkal circle in Zahirabad taluk.
227. Medak	Shankarampet, Tekmal and Papannapet circles in Andole taluk; and Medak circle and 15-Lingsanpally, 17- Thimmaipally, 18-Ananthasagai-, 19-Dantepally, 20-Parvathapur, 21-Katrij-al, 22-Laxmapur, 23-Tonigandla, 24-Gangapur, 25-Byathole, 26-Shamnapur, 61-Jhamsnnglingapur, 62-Sadayivanagar and 63-Akkarnapet villages in Ramayampet circle in Medak taluk.
228. Ramayampet	Medak taluk (excluding Medak circle and 15-Lingampally, 17-Thimmaipally, 18-Ananthasagar, 19- Dantepally, 20-Parvathapur, 21-Katriyal, 22-Laxmapur, 23- Tonigandla, 24-Gangapur, 25-Byathole, 26-Shamnapur, 61- Jhamsinghliagapur, 62-Sadasivanagar and 63-Akkarnapet villages in Ramayampet circle).
229. Andole (SC)	Jogipet, Choutkur and Devnoor circles in Andole taluk; and Makta Kysaram circle and Sadasivpet circle [excluding Sadasivpet town and 53-Sadasivpet (Rural) and 54-Yavapur villages] in Sangareddy taluk.
Nizamabad District	
230. Balkonda	Balkonda, Magdi, Khudavandpur and Kammerpalli circles in Armoor taluk.
231. Armoor	Armoor taluk (excluding Balkonda, Magdi, Khudavandpur and Kammerpalli circles).
232. Kamareddy	Kamareddy taluk (excluding 1-Dhaggi, 2-Timmajiwadi, 3-Kammojiwadi, 4 Tukkojiwadi, 5-Kalwaral, 6-Padmajiwadi, 7-Bhompalli, 8-Lingampalli, 9-Jangaon, 10- Muddojiwadi, 11-

	Dharmaraopet, 12-Modegaon, 13-Sadasivnagar, 14-Tirmanapalli, 15-Markal, 16-Moshampur and 36- Amarlabanda villages in Sadasivnagar circle ; and 30-Yellareddy, 31-Elchipur, 32-Tekrial, 33-Brahmanpalli, 34-Kuprial, 35- Kalojiwadi, 37-Kankal, 38-Sangojiwadi, 39-Chandapur, 40-Peddademi, 41-Yenrapahad, 42-Nandiwada, 43-Endrialj 44- Chinnademi, 45-Tadwai, 46-Devaipalli, 47-Krishnajiwadi, 48-Brahmajiwadi, 49-Abdullanagar, 65-Chinna Mallareddy, 66-Sarampalli, 67-Lingapur and 68-Devanpalli villages in Kamareddy circle).
233. Yellareddy	Yellareddy taluk; and i-Dhaggi, 2 Timmajiwadi, 3-Kammojiwadi, 4 Thukkojiwadi, 5-Kalwaral, 6-Padmajiwadi, 7-Bhompalli, 8-Lingampalli, 9-Jangaon, 10-Muddojiwadi, 11-Dharmaraopet, 12-Modegaon, 13-Sadasivnagar, 14-Timmanapalli, 15-Markal, 16-Moshampur and 36-Amarlabanda villages in Sadasivnagar circle and 30-Yellar eddy,. 31-Elchipur, 32-Tekrial, 33-Brahmanpalli, 34-Kupnal, 35- Kalojiwadi, 37-Kankal, 38-Sangojiwadi, 39-Chandapur, 40- Peddademi, 41-Yerrapahad, 42-Nandiwada, 43-Endrial, 44;Chinnademi, 45-Tadwai, 46-Devaipalli, 47-Krishnajiwadi, 48-Brahmajiwadi, 49-Abdullanagar, 65-Chinna Mallareddy, 66-Sarampalli, 67-Lingapur, and 68-Devanpalh villages in Kamareddy circle in Kamareddy taluk.
234. Jukkal (SC)	Madnoor taluk; and Pitlam and Nizamsagar circles in Banswada taluk.
235. Banswada	Banswada taluk (excluding Pitlarn. and Nizamsagar circles); and Pothangal, Kotgir, Rudrur and Mosra circles in Bodhan taluk.
236. Bodhan	Bodhan municipality and Bodhan, Ranjal and Yedpally circles in Bodhan taluk; and Navipet circle in Nizamabad taluk.
237. Nizamabad	Nizamabad municipality ard Nizamabad circlein Nizamabad taluk.
238. Dichpalli	Nizamabad taluk (excluding Nizamabad and Navipet circles).
Adilabad District	
239. Mudhole	Mudhole taluk; and Lohesera and Oala circles in Nirmal taluk.
240. Nirmal	Nirmal taluk (excluding Lohesera and Oala circles).

241. Boath (ST)	Boath taluk; and Utnoor taluk (excluding Utnoor and Marlawai circles).
242. Adilabad	Adilabad taluk.
243. Khanapur (ST)	Khanapur taluk; Marlawai and Utnoor circles in Utnoor taluk; and Ada circle in Asifabad taluk.
244. Asifabad (SC)	Asifabad taluk (excluding Ada circle); and Bheemini circle in Sirpur taluk.
245. Luxettipet	Luxettipet taluk (excluding 124-Mandamarri urban panchayat, 125-Kyathanpalli and 126-Am.arwadi villages in Mandamarri circle).
246. Sirpur	Sirpur taluk (excluding Bheemini circle). 247. Chinnur (SC)—Chinnur taluk; and 124-Mandamarri urban panchayat, 125 Kyathanpalli and 126-Amarwadi villages in Mandamarri circle in Luxettipet taluk.
Karimnagar District	
248. Manthani	Manthani taluk; and Kamanpur circle in Peddapalli taluk.
249. Peddapalli	Sultanabad and Kunaram circles and Peddapalli circle (excluding 67-Palthem, 87-Wadkapur, 88-Kachapur and 89-Turkalmaddikunta villages) in Peddapalli taluk.
250. Myadaram (SC)	Myadaram, Chegaon and Ramagundam circles and 67-Palthem, 87-Wadkapur, 88-Kachapur and 89-Turkalmaddikunta villages in Peddapalli circle in Peddapalli taluk.
251. Huzurabad	Huzurabad, Elkathurthi and Vangara circles in Huzurabad taluk.
252. Kamalapur	Kamalapur, Elbak and Jammi Kunta circles in Huzurabad taluk.
253. Indurthi	Indurthi, Husnabad and Koheda circles and Elgandal circle (excluding 25-Achampalli, 26-Gatbuthukur, 48-Velchal, 49-Baddipalli, 50-Nagulmallial, 51-Asifnagar <i>alias</i> Baopet, 52-Odyaram 53-Khazipoorj 54-Elgandalj 55-Kamanpoor, 56-Malkapoor and 57 Laxmipoor villages) in Karimnagar taluk.
254. Karimnagar	Karimnagar municipality and Karimnagar and Nusthulapoor circles in Karimnagar taluk.
255. Choppadandi	Choppadandi and Ramadugu circles and 25-Achampalli, 26-Gatbuthkur, 48-Velchal, 49-Baddipalli, 50-Nagulmallial, 51-Asifnagar <i>alias</i> Baopet, 52-Odyaram, 53-Khazipoor, 54-Elgandal,

	55-Kamanpoor, 56-Malkapoor and 57-Laxmipoor villages in Elgandal circle in Karimnagar taluk; and Gollapalli circle in Jagtial taluk.
256. Jagtial	Jagtial municipality and Jagtial and Mallial circles in Jagtial taluk.
257. Buggaram	Buggaram and Bhoopatipuram circles in Jagtial taluk; Paidmadugu circle and 40-Iyalapur and 43-Yusufnagar villages and 57-Koratla Urban in Koratla circle in. Metpalli taluk.
258. Metpalli	Metpalli taluk (excluding Paidmadugu circle and 40-Iyalapur and 43-Yusufnagar villages and 57-Koratla Urban in Koratla circle).
259. Sircilla	Vilasagaram and Modepalli circles and Sircilla circle (excluding 130-Mandepalle, 131-Thangallapalle and 132-Thaduru villages) and Konraopeta circle [excluding 17-Advipadira, 18-Maddimalla, 19 Veernapalle, 20-Kancherla, 23-Almaspur, 24-Rajannapetal, 25-Gollapalle, 26-Timmapuram, 27-Gundaram (Patti Racherla), 28-Gajasingaram, 29-Gorential and 31-Boppapuram villages] in Sircilla taluk.
260. Narella(SC)	Narella, Ellanthakunta and Gambiraopet circles and 130-Mandepalle, 131 Thangallapalle and 132-Thaduru villages in Sircilla circle and 17-Advipadira, 18-Maddimalla, 19-Veernapalle, 20-Kancherla, 23-Almaspur5 24-Rajannapeta, 25-Gollapalle, 26-Timmapuram, 27-Gundaram (Patti Racherla), 28 Gajasingaram, 29-Gorential and 31-Boppapuram villages in Konraopeta circle in Sircilla taluk.
Warangal District	
261. Cheriya	Cheriyal, Rebarthi and Narmetta circles in Jangaon taluk.
262. Jangaon	Jangaon municipality and Jangaon and Ippagudacircles and Chennur circle (excluding 100-Gudoor, 147- Deveruppall, 148-Gollapally, 149-Manpahad, 151-Laxmakapally, 152-Dharmapur, 153-Mylaram, 158-Visnoor, 159 - Laxminarayanpur, 162-Bommera, 163-Palakurthy, 166-Teegaram and 167-Chennur villages) in Jangaon taluk.
263. Chennur	Koda Kondla circle and 100-Gudoor, 147-Deveruppall, 148-Gollapally, 149-Manpahad, 151-Laxmakapally, 152-Dharmapur, 153-Mylaram, 158-Visnoor, 159-Laxminarayanpur, 162-Bommera, 163 Palakurthy, 166-Teegaram and 167-Chennur villages in Chennur circle in Jangaon

	taluk; and Nellikudur and Narsimlapet circles in Mahabubabad taluk.
264. Dornakal	Dornakal and Chillamcherla circles and 38-Nadivada, 39-Jamandlapalli, 40-Gumdoor, 41-Anantha ram, 42-Bethole, 110-Nerada, ni-Tattupalli, 124-Ayyagaripalli, 125-Madhapur, 127-Kurvi, 133-Nallella and 134-Tirumalapur villages in Mahbubabad circle in Mahbubabad taluk.
265. Mahbubabad	Kesamudram circle and Mahbubabad circle (excluding 38-Nadivada, 39-Jamandlapalli, 40-Gumdoor, 41-Anantharam, 42-Bethole, 110-Nerada, 111-Tattupalli, 124-Ayyagaripalli, 125-Madhapur, 127-Kurvi, 133-Nallella and 134-Tirumalapur villages) in Mahbubabad taluk; and Nekkonda circle in Narsampet taluk.
266. Narsampet	Narsampet taluk (excluding Nekkonda circle).
267. Wardhannapet	Wardhannapet and Sangam circles and 137-Garimillapalli, 138-Tidugu, 150-Nandanam, 151-Kakkiralpally 152-Inole, 153-Punnole, 154-Singaram Patti Vidyanagar, 155-Bollekunta, 156-Gadepalli, 162-Panthini and 163-Upparapalli villages in Inole circle in Warangaltaluk.
268. Ghanpur(SC)	Ghanpur and Dharmasagaram circles and Inole circle [excluding 137-Garimillapalli, 138-Tidugu, 150-Nandanara, 151 Kakkiralpally, 152-Inole, 153- Punnole, 154-Singaram Patti Vidyanagar, 155-Bollekunta, 156-Gadepalli, 162-Panthini and 163 Upparapalli villages] in Warangal taluk.
269. Warangal	Warangal municipality (excluding wards 1 to 9).
270. Hanamkonda	Wards 1 to 9 in Warangal municipality, Hanamkonda circle and Hasanparthy circle [excluding 22-Sudanpalli, 23-Mallareddipalli, 28-Venkatapur (Chandragiri), 29-Kogilvai, 30-Pulkurthi, 31-Singarajpalli,,32-Ledella, 33-Demera, 34-Oblapoor, 35-Oorgonda,, 36-Pesargonda and 37-Malakpet villages] in Warangal taluk.
271. Shyampet	Atmakur circle (excluding 211-Mallampalli and 212-Ramachandrapuram villages) and 22-Sudanpalli, 23- Mallareddipalle, 28-Venkatapur (Chandragiri), 29-Kogilvai,, 30-Pulkurthi, 31-Singarajpalli, 32-Ledella, 33-Demera, 34-Oblapoor, 35-Oorgonda, 36-Pesargonda and 37-Malakpet villages in Hasanparthy circle in Warangal taluk; and Shyampet circle in Parkal taluk.

272. Parkal (SC)	Parkal tahrk (excluding Shyampet circle).
273. Mulug	Mulug taluk; and 211-Mallampalli and 212-Ramachandrapuram villages in Atmakur circle in Warangal taluk.
Khammam District	
274. Bhadrachalam (ST)	Nugur and Bhadrachalam taluks.
275. Burgampahad (ST)	Burgampahad taluk, Bangaruchelka circle in Yellandu taluk; and Mulkalapalli circle in Kothagudem taluk; and 35-Katkoor village in Dammamet circle in Sathupalli taluk.
276. Kothagudem	Palwancha and Chandrugonda circles in Kothagudem taluk.
277. Sathupalli	Sathupalli taluk (excluding 35-Katkoor village in Dammamet circle).
278. Madhira	Madhira taluk.
379. Palair (SC)	Palair No.i, Palair No. 2 and Sublaid circles and Gokinepalli circle (excluding 107-Khanapuram village) and 84-Khanapuram village in Khammam circle and 24-Tallachery, 25-Pocharam, 26-Kushmanchi, 40-Munigepalli, 41-Jeedlachervu and 42-Chegemma villages in Tallampadu circle in Khammam taluk.
280. Khammam	Chintakani circle and Tallampadu circle (excluding 24-Tallachery, 25-Pocharam, 26-Kushmanchi, 40-Munigepalli, 41-Jeedlachervu and 42-Chegemma villages) and Khammam Circle (excluding 58—Papatpalli 59-Dharedu, 60-Chimmapudi, 61-Manchugonda, 62- Erlapudi, 63-Gubbagurthi, 64-Singarayapalem, 65- Mallupalli Thanda, 66-Thummalapalli, 67-Mallepalli Chintagurthi, 68—Koyachelka, 71—Raghunathapalem, 72- Ballepalli, 86-Venkatapalem V., 87-Yepakuntla, 88-Thanikella, 89-Konjerla, 90-Sivar Venkatapuram, 9i-Gundrathimadugu and 84-Khanapuram villages) and 107- Khanapuram village in Gokinepalli circle in Khammam taluk.
281. Shujatnagar	shujatnagar circle in Kothagudem taluk; Karnepalli circle in Yellandu taluk; and 58-Papatpalli, 59-Dharedu, 60-Chimmapudi, 61-Manchugonda, 62-Erlapudi 63—Gubbagurthi, 64—S ingaryapalem, 65—Mallupalli Thanda, 66-Thummalapalli, 67-MallepalliChintagurthi, 68- Koyachelka, 71-Raghunathapalem, 72-Ballepalli, 86-Venkatayapalem V., 87-Yepakuntla, 88-Thanikella, 89-Konjerla, 90-Sivar Vankatapuram

	and 91-Gundrathimadugu villages in Khammam circle in Khammam taluk.
282. Yellandu (ST)	Yellandu taluk (excluding Kamepalli and Bangaruchelka circles).
Nalgonda District	
283. Tungaturthi	Tungaturthi, Nagaram and Yerrapahao circles and 45—Lingampalli, 46—Mediguda, 87—Nemmikal, 88—Gattikal, 89—Kandagatla, 91—Patarlapahad, 92—Istalpur, 93—Muk kududevipalli, 94—Atmakur, 95—Nasimpet, 99—Bopparam and 100—Midthanpalli villages in Atmakur circle in Suryapet taluk.
284. Suryapet (SC)	Suryapet taluk (excluding Tungaturthi, Nagaram and Yerrapahad circles and 45—Lingampalli, 46—Mediguda, 87—Nemmikal, 88—Gattikal, 89—Kandagatla 91—Patarlapahad, 92—Istalpur, 93—Muk kududevipalli, 94—Atmakur, 95—Nasimpet, 99—Bopparam and 100—Midthanpalli villages in Atmakur circle).
285. Kodad	Kodad, Medlacheruvu and Nadigudem circles Huzurnagar taluk.
286. Miryalguda	Huzurnagar and Kalamalcheruvoo circles in Huzurnagar taluk; and Miryalguda circle in Miryalguda taluk.
287. Chalakurthi	Miryalguda taluk (excluding Miryalguda and Topcherla circles).
288. Nakrekal	Nakrekal, Aitpamula and Kattangur circles in Nalgonda taluk; and Topcherla circle in Miryalguda taluk.
289. Nalgonda	Nalgonda municipality and Nalgonda, Tipparthi and Narkatpalli circles and Gaddamvari Yedavalli circle (excluding 139—Bodangaparathi village) in Nalgonda taluk.
290. Ramannapet	Ramannapet, Addagudur and Athmakur circles, and 3—Redla Repak, 4—Sunkishala, 6—Velverthy 83—Mallepalli, 84—Valigonda and 85—Poddutur villages in Chinnakondur circle in Ramannapet taluk.
291. Alair (SC)	Bhongir taluk (excluding Bhongir and Bommal Ramaram circles).
292. Bhongir	Bhongir municipality and Bhongir and Bomtnal Ramaram circles in Bhongir taluk; and Chinna kondur circle (excluding 3—Redlav Repak, 4—Sunkishala, 6—Velverthy, 83—Mallepalli, 84—

	Valigonda and 85—Poddatur villages) in Ramannapet taluk.
293. Mungode	Mungode and Narayanpur circles and 139-Bodangaparthi village in Gaddamvari Yedavalli circle in Nalgonda taluk; and Chintapalli and Ghatla Mallepalli circles in Deverkonda taluk.
294. Deverkonda	Deverkonda taluk (excluding Chintapalli and Ghatla Mallepalli circles).

Note—Any reference in this Part to a district, taluka, firka, circle, ward or other territorial division shall be taken to mean the area comprised within that district, taluka, firka, circle and ward or other territorial division on the 1st day of August, 1975.

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