

**ASSERTIONS OF IDENTITY FOR STATEHOOD  
IN A FEDERAL POLITY: A CASE STUDY OF  
THE TELANGANA STRUGGLE (1969-2014)**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled, "ASSERTIONS OF IDENTITY FOR STATEHOOD IN A FEDERAL POLITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE TELANGANA STRUGGLE (1969-2014)" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to 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

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**To My Parents and Krishnasree**

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## **Introduction**

The main objective of the study is to understand the demands of assertions of identity for statehood in India. The demands of assertion for statehood based on identity surfaced in fact, right after independence in India in 1947. Having just attained independence the main concern of the state was to ensure that there is no threat to its sovereignty. Perhaps, the concerns of sovereignty kept the liberal state from addressing these demands of assertions immediately in 1947. Interestingly, the demand for a separate state of Andhra from Madras Presidency was recognised by the congress as early as 1937 in its annual session. This demand was based primarily on the notion of cultural and linguistic identity of Andhra being completely different from that of Madras. However, this demand was realised only in 1953. Along with other princely states, the accession of the state of Hyderabad into India was completed in 1948. In 1953, Sri Potti Sriramulu intensified the demand for a separate state for the Telugu speaking majority from the state of Madras. The demand was met in 1953 and finally, the state of Andhra was carved out on the principle of a separate cultural and linguistic identity for the first time in independent India. It was indeed Potti Sriramulu's fast unto death and the violence that followed after his demise that the Andhra state was formed in 1953. That marked the beginning of the assertions of various demands for statehood based on cultural and linguistic identity.

India also being a federal polity, not only understood the genuine nature of the demands but set up a States Reorganisation Commission to work out a plausible solution for the same. It was a most stupendous task that the Commission had to address and eventually, it was decided that the states would be carved on the basis of linguistic identity primarily. Language became the main principle upon which the formation of the new states happened in 1956. It was during this reorganization that the Telugu speaking people within the state of Hyderabad were to be integrated into the state of Andhra and there by created a state of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. It was much to the discontentment of the Telugu speaking people within the state of Hyderabad. They had expressed their strong wish to be given a separate status as Telangana and not be integrated into the state of Andhra. While people spoke the same language, the culture and history of both regions was substantially different. It is something that the Commission, along with Nehru himself, recognised. Nonetheless,

the region was merged with the then Andhra with hope that the people of both regions will achieve peace and development together. As a liberal state, India continued its main emphasis on the principle of unity in diversity. At a federal level, the principle of accommodation remained fore-grounded in these decisions. This left its own set of problems unaddressed within the state. Some of these were voiced by the States Reorganisation Commission when it underlined the need to look at some of the demands of assertion based on cultural and ethnic identity along with the linguistic identity. Telangana demand was one such demand where the principle of language alone could not address it.

### **Hypothesis and Research Questions**

The present study aims to understand the problem of assertions of identity for statehood in India. The central hypothesis of the research is that assertions of identity are not necessarily demands made on the state only for resolving resource sharing aspirations of the people; they are perhaps, as much demands for recognition and respect. From this follows my following research questions. How does a state which is both a liberal state and a federal polity address these demands of recognition based on cultural identity? What is the scope of a liberal state to reconcile the rights of people based on identity as opposed to individual rights? Are these assertions of identity merely demands for political autonomy? What are the normative constraints of a federal polity in accommodating the assertions of identity for statehood?

The attempt is to mainly understand the conceptual concerns underlying the assertions of identity posed to India's liberal federal democracy in general. Telangana struggle provides a unique experience to understand the above normative concerns and gives a new insight into the theoretical implications for a liberal federal polity in accommodating assertions of identity for autonomy. In a world where ever increasing demands of such nature are visible the research is an effort to provide a theoretical direction in understanding ever changing perceptions of the liberal federal polity.

### **Methodology and Sources**

This study is basically a theoretical interpretation of the problem of cultural identities in India's federal democracy with reference to the empirical facts of the case study of Telangana. This research has been conducted mainly with the help of



secondary sources. Primary sources were made use of depending upon the availability of the data and relevance.

The research methodology of interview technique was adopted during the field-study to draw conclusions. To a certain extent the study is also partly an ethnographic research. The mode of interviews conducted is based on the principle of the interviewer playing a participant observer role. The questionnaires consisted of an open-ended but broadly pre-coded set of questions in order to maintain the objectivity of the study as far as possible.

### **Outline of the Study**

The study has been divided into six chapters with a separate general introduction and conclusion. Chapters one and two deal with the theoretical and conceptual issues. In chapter one the main theme revolves around the question of recognition and accommodation of cultural differences and identities in Liberal-Federal democracies, in general. Chapter one examines how a Liberal-Federal democracy is not necessarily antithetical to the principal of cultural recognition and accommodation of assertions of various cultural identities. In chapter two, one makes an attempt to analyse the problem of assertions of identity in India, in particular. In both chapters, an extensive review of literature is done to draw insights for a possible theoretical framework to understand the problem of Telangana.

Chapter three makes an attempt to understand the cultural identities in the particular context of Telangana. It is mainly looking at historical narrative and development of Telangana identity. The problem of regional imbalance in Telangana is mainly understood to be so, owing to the absence of equitable resources in that region. Subsequently the aspirations of the people of Telangana had been understood as the resource-sharing aspiration where redistribution of resources alone would resolve matters. This economic aspect was no doubt important but at the same time it also led to the neglect of discourse of another important aspect of the problem that is the problem of the Telangana identity as opposed to the Vishalandhra identity of the dominant group of Andhra who belonged to coastal Andhra and Rayalseema, popularly known as Seemandhra. The development of this identity of Telangana had led to its assertion for cultural recognition and accommodation in the form of a

demand for separate state of Telangana. In particular, the problem of Telangana identity starting from 1948 to 1973 has been analysed in this chapter. It takes up the demands made by the people of Telangana during 1955-56 and 1969-73 respectively. This chapter also looks into how the demands of the Telangana went unaddressed from within as well as without.

Chapter four examines the continuing resurgence of the demand for separate state of Telangana once again in the 90's and in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This resurgence comes after a long spell of silence for over twenty-years. It was consequent to the non-recognition of their demands. Telangana identity had been mis-recognised and betrayed in the name of new experiments of the state both in 1956 and 1973. As a result of this betrayal they were almost muted into silence after the 1973 struggle. However the discontentment remained among the people of Telangana and this in turn led to the resurgence of the Telangana identity. What does this resurgence mean? What are the new demands being made? And what are the underlying linkages between their demands and the State's response? These are the main questions which this part addresses.

Chapter five and six, the concluding part, looks at the culmination of a long drawn out Telangana struggle with the formation of Telangana as the 29<sup>th</sup> state of India on 2 June, 2014. When this research began one was mainly analyzing the nature of the assertions of identity but with formation of Telangana as a separate state, one has a new perspective into the challenges of meeting such demands of statehood by the state. In the chapter the chronology of events leading to the formation of the state is closely analysed. The Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2014 is also carefully examined to understand the implications for the people of Telangana in the new state of Telangana. Further, its relevance to a multicultural federal democracy is looked at.

Furthermore, the research draws out the theoretical implications of the problem of recognition and accommodation of cultural identities in a multicultural federal democracy called India. The implications are made with the help of the inference drawn out of the research work. The main theme running through is that a multicultural federal democracy, like India, ought to defend the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation of various cultural identities. Each cultural identity should be allowed to exist and evolve for its intrinsic worth and the good it believes

in. The State can do so by providing the essential material and normative conditions for such a life, in the given context.

The study, thus, aims to understand and interpret the demands for cultural recognition and accommodation made by the cultural identities in relation to the liberal traditions of a federal polity, in general and India, in particular. This study concludes with the interpretation that the ways to address the demands of this nature can be found within the liberal-federal democratic traditions. They both have the essential foundation and strength to revise some of the existing traditions to find relevant alternatives to these problems. The question is whether they are ready to do so.

## **Chapter One**

### **Understanding Identity in a Liberal Democracy**

A liberal democracy understands, responds and negotiates identity in a specific way. Liberal democracy treats the question of rights of the cultural community as a goal which can be expressed, developed and realised within the domain of individual rights. Somewhere this argument restricts the normative claims made by certain communities in a liberal state. Individual identity is conceptualized and realised in a dialogical relationship with others as a self- interpreting being<sup>1</sup>. It implies to a certain extent that identity then is as much a collective realization of a community at some level. Liberal state does understand individual identity is evolved at an interpretative level in relation to others. Therefore, such a state understands that individual finds meanings to his good and makes choices about the goals of his life based on both a collective and individual conception of identity, which is to certain extent not entirely exclusive but has a layered inclusive notion of identity. Thus, a liberal state which recognises such a conception of individual identity must also recognise the rights of community along with that of an individual. Therein, a liberal democracy will understand identity, both in its individual and collective sense. Such a state will move beyond its procedural capacity to identify and define the notion of what we call the assertions of identity for separate statehood in a liberal democracy that is also federal.

This chapter makes an attempt to understand the question of identity in a liberal-federal democracy. The chapter is divided into three parts. Part one deals with the understanding of identity and the normative claims it makes in a federal democracy. Part two deals with the negotiation of rights of a cultural community. And part three deals with the reconciliation of identity and rights of a cultural community within a liberal state that is also a federal polity.

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, Charles. The Politics of Recognition, in Guttman, A. and Taylor, Charles.(ed.) Multiculturalism and Politics of Recognition: An essay by Charles Taylor. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) p.2.

## 1. Identity and its Normative Understanding

In understanding identity there are two distinct issues, firstly one must recognise that identities are inherently plural and the importance of one identity need not to be subsumed by the others. This is true both of individual and group identities<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, the choices that are made by an individual are both explicit and implicit. Therefore, in a particular context there is a possibility that relative importance is attached to one indicator and certain aspects of identity may become a priority. What then forms an identity? Identity can be understood as shared norms evolved among individuals in a shared context. Thus, the values formed as such may give precedence to language, economy over politics and religion or vice-versa, depending on what choices are shaping a particular context. At times, there can be a consistency in a choice or it can be also beset with inconsistency. Interestingly, both shape our understanding of identity.

Reasoning and choice act as important agencies in the interplay of diversities for a cultural community. The collective may decide that some identities are more relevant than others. The question of Telangana identity also throws up the problem of negotiating multiple memberships and the idea of singular affiliation to a particular identity<sup>3</sup>.

If cultural identity is understood as shared norms and history in a particular context, then cultural difference gets its shape with the recognition of this identity. And cultural differences become significant not just with the recognition of the identity but more so by the 'misrecognition'<sup>4</sup>, of the identity and its right to self-fulfillment.

Likewise, in a different context when the cultural differences among the groups are sharp then cultural identities are more clearly defined and marked. However, it must be borne in mind that these differences do not always result in antagonism.

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<sup>2</sup> Sen. Amartya, *Identity and Violence- The Illusion of Destiny*, (London: Penguin, 2006), p.19.

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, the same point was also pointed out by some respondents of various political parties in 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor, Charles. *The Politics of Recognition*, in Guttman, A. and Taylor, Charles.(ed.) *Multiculturalism and Politics of Recognition: An essay by Charles Taylor*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)p.2

In understanding cultural identity of community, it must not be assumed that this community is a homogenous group with no differences within a cultural group. The differences within a cultural group may also exist but these differences are not so well developed that they can dissolve the groups inherent identity. Therefore, cultural identity is a shared set of norms and history in a context which questions itself and re-defines as it changes. And the differences within the group arise as a result of the moral space and orientation those members give to themselves. Cultural identity of group does not mean that its goals and ambitions of self-fulfillment remain unchanged with the change in context. It is indeed, contrary, 'the cultural community and its component individuals form and revise their aims and ambitions'<sup>5</sup> with context. Cultural identity, therefore, may have internal differences within the group may or may not be homogenous. Cultural identity of a group is not static and does not remain same for all the times to come i.e. the group continues to define itself with the changing context. Culture as a social experience is also understood as a way of life which expresses the structure of feeling of a social group and therefore should be analysed, clarified and valued in terms of the meanings (that are sometimes tacit) and values of ordinary behavior and social institutions in a given context.<sup>6</sup>

The problem of identity within the specific context of India will be dealt with the details in the following chapter. However, it is important to clarify that when I speak of a cultural difference and identity in Indian federal democracy, I do not imply any characterization of India, as a 'multi-national states'<sup>7</sup>. The inclusiveness of pluralist toleration in India has tended mainly to take the form of accepting different groups of persons as authentic members of society, with a right to follow their own beliefs and customs (that may be very different from those of the dominant cultures).<sup>8</sup> The cultural identity, this study is looking at, is one of a people within the same cultural community who share culture, a language, a history and certain sociological conditions which define their cultural membership and identity<sup>9</sup>.

The identity of a group will also have to be defined in relation to the changing external and internal conditions and values. The cultural identity of a group will never

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<sup>5</sup> Kymlicka, Will. Liberalism, Community and Culture. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)p.135.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, Mark J. Culture –Reinventing the social sciences, (New Delhi: Viva, 2002), p.23.

<sup>7</sup> Vanaik, Achin. The Painful Transition (London: Verso, 1990)p.118.

<sup>8</sup> Sen, Amartya. The Argumantative Indian, (London: Allen lane, 2005), p.34.

<sup>9</sup> Kymlicka, Will. Liberalism, Community and Culture. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)p.135.

be embedded only in itself and be independent of the context and differences. Perhaps it could be so, at some level. But a group can define its identity, in general, and cultural identity, in particular, when it exists in a 'dialogical relationship' to both the external and internal conditions of the context. It is this dialogical character which gives a richer understanding of the self and therefore a realization of a conditions which are crucial for human self-fulfillment<sup>10</sup>. Taylor argues that the significant feature of human life is its basic dialogical character. As he puts it, "we welcome full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining an identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression... the other modes of expression whereby we define ourselves, including the 'languages' or art, of gestures, of above and the like. But we are inducted into these in exchange with others. We are introduced to them through exchange with others. Who matter to us- what George Herbert mead called 'significant other', and in this sense we are not monological, not something each accomplishes on his/her own, but dialogical"<sup>11</sup>.

The conditions which shape this identity are also determined in this dialogical relationship. The conditions are essentially connected to the conception of good of the cultural identity in question. Taylor further provides thesis for this, 'there is a close connection between the different conditions of identity, or of one's life making sense, one could put it this way, because we cannot but orient ourselves to the good, and thus determine our place relative to it and hence determine the direction of our lives, we must inescapably understand our lives in narrative form, as a 'quest'... this is because we have to determine our place in relation to the good, therefore we cannot be without an orientation to it'. This relation to good in turn determines not only the normative claims of an identity but the identity itself.

The notion of an identity of a cultural community also changes in context. Partha Chatterjee begins this notion subtly in his analysis on the formation of nationalism and its consciousness. Chatterjee reads anti-colonial nationalism by dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains- the material

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<sup>10</sup> Taylor, Charles. The Politics of Recognition, in Guttman, A. and Taylor, Charles.(ed.) Multiculturalism and Politics of Recognition: An essay by Charles Taylor. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)p.4

<sup>11</sup> Ibid,P5

and the spiritual<sup>12</sup>. These two domains, the material and the spiritual, explain social institutions and practices. The material and the spiritual, on the other hand, is an 'inner' domain bearing the 'essential' marks of cultural identity<sup>13</sup>. Sudipta Kaviraj however, maintains that the idea of space is a modern phenomenon.<sup>14</sup> Chatterjee states that the colonial state is kept out of the 'inner' domain of national culture and if the nation is imagined community, it is imagined in this 'domain'. It is also important to note that it is in the material domain that the west had been able to exercise its influence. Therefore, if the material domain is considered to form the external conditions of context, then the spiritual domain forms the internal conditions of that context. It is also a domain which guards the value of the identity of the cultural context of any given identity, individual or group. At the same time, Kaviraj contends that it is not possible to develop a full and complete argument about the diverse ways in which social world, social space and social time come together and at times also get fuzzily interlocked.<sup>15</sup>

In understanding and explaining a cultural identity we could broadly apply the two domains the material and the spiritual as described by Chatterjee. The core of the meaning of a cultural identity would lie in the spiritual domain, which defines, and redefines itself in a dialogical relation with both the material and spiritual domains. The cultural group, thus, gets the essence of its character in the spiritual domain. The cultural group, thus, gets the essence of its character in the spiritual domain. The external conditions within the material domain may bring about changes both in telos and ontology. The telos of a cultural identity lies in its actions and goals which defines the core value of the cultural group. But why should telos of the cultural identity be important? It is quite significant because just as an individual decides what is his/her good, so does a group decide what is their good. This good in turn shapes their rights. Although right may be prior to good in certain instances, however, ultimately when an individual or a group decide or choose what ought to be their being and entity, the good will always be (at least it should be) prior to right. I believe that in the first instance the former may decide the group character but in but in the final instance it is the later which will decide the group character. Good should define

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<sup>12</sup> Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments*. (Delhi:OUP,1994),p.6

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*,p.6-7

<sup>14</sup> Kaviraj, Sudipta. *The imaginary institution of India*.(Ranikhet: permanent black,2010),p.142.

<sup>15</sup> Kaviraj, Sudipta. *The imaginary institution of India*.(Ranikhet: permanent black,2010),p.142



right because only then the recognition of different notions of values is possible. Taylor, in his criticism of Rawls's claims can be accepted in so far as good is merely used as principle of maximization of the good as per the utilitarians claims in their teleological theory. And if good is essential for its instrumental significance then it ought to be said that the right should be prior to good. "but when we use good in the sense of this discussion, where it means whatever is marked out as higher by a qualitative distinction, then we could say that the reverse is the case, that, in a sense the good is always primary to the right.... The good is what in its articulation, gives the point of the rules which define the right."<sup>16</sup>

Now let us go back to the spiritual and material domains and identify the presence of different values, or what Joseph Raz calls, 'value pluralism'<sup>17</sup> within them. Value -pluralism literally means presence of plural values<sup>18</sup>. We will identify them in order to explain the principle of difference and accommodation which is vital to the existence, and continued survival of a liberal democracy. Sen also provides an interesting analysis that plural affiliations of the self continue to shape social contexts and it is here, Sen believes that choice makes all the difference.<sup>19</sup> The importance accorded to a particular choice is really something that an incumbent self makes.<sup>20</sup>

We understand that each individual defines his/her value both in relation to his/her own self and the significant other. The values of each individual will find both its correlation and difference within a whole. Therefore, we will have a situation where the good of one human either is in tandem or is in difference with the other. Sometimes the difference may be so sharp that they may even contradict and be in conflict with each other. The contradiction of value, however, is not the point. The point is that we acknowledge that there are different individual values existing within a whole. I believe that the same principle applies even in the case of groups in general, thus, plural groups exist and each group's value may be different from the other. Likewise, the different cultural groups have different values which defines their particular cultural identities in a given time and space.

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<sup>16</sup> Taylor, Charles. Sources of the Self. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), P.89.

<sup>17</sup> Raz, Joseph. Multiculturalism: A Liberal Perspective, in Ethics in the Public domain,1994,p163

<sup>18</sup> Ibid,p.165

<sup>19</sup> Sen. Amartya, Identity and Violence- The Illusion of Destiny, (London: Penguin, 2006), p.23

<sup>20</sup> Ibid,p.24

The difference of cultural groups and their values will result subsequently in different cultural identities. The principle of difference is governed and located mainly in the spiritual domain i.e the value and the good of the cultural identity as compared to the visible external difference but what is vital in this definition is the nature of the difference within the spiritual domain at a given time. The recognition and respect of each good can be realized with a dialogical and mutually inclusive dialogue. By inclusive, I mean a tolerable level of consensus even if it is not for the good and values of the groups in question but at least, for their mutual co-existence, as recognition of their differences. The accommodation of this cultural difference and identity must be carried out by a liberal democracy even at the level of the cultural groups just as it does in case of the individual differences.<sup>21</sup> This argument will be further discussed in the following sections where we will try to understand the need for recognition of the cultural difference to recognise the rights of cultural community in a liberal democracy.

## **2. Rights of cultural community**

'In order to understand the close connection between identity and recognition we have to consider a crucial feature of human life which is its fundamentally dialogical character'. An individual or group identity cannot be either defined or understood independently. It can be negotiated through dialogue partly overt, partly internalized<sup>22</sup>. An identity therefore, depends on its dialogical relation with self and others, and that in turn gives it the importance for its recognition. Recognition therefore, depends on our definition of what is good and valuable and what is not. This further shapes the aims of our life. Recognition, is also vital not only because democracy stands for equal opportunity and respect for all to enable their 'self-realisation or fulfillment', but also because to recognise is to give the self or the group a reason to exist both for its own sake and its good. The need for recognition also comes from misrecognition and intolerance. This leads to distortion and oppression in one form or another by another, or by a group, or by the whole. The principles of

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<sup>21</sup> Smith, Mark J. Culture –Reinventing the social sciences, (New Delhi: Viva, 2002), p.42

<sup>22</sup> Taylor, Charles. The Politics of Recognition, in Guttman, A. and Taylor, Charles.(ed.) Multiculturalism and Politics of Recognition: An essay by Charles Taylor. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)p.5

tolerance and open dialogue would make possible, the politics of equal recognition, in all healthy democratic societies.

In the particular case of liberal democracy, the conflict between the individual and group rights cloud the spirit of liberalism which is embedded in its spirit of tolerance and its ability to accommodate variant choices of good (because of which equal recognition of various cultural identities becomes difficult, if not impossible). Kymlicka explains, how the right is not necessarily always prior to good and how good is also prior to the right in the liberal theory of rights. But the point is not only of what is good and right in relation to recognition (although good and sometimes important in determining the level of recognition a cultural group is able to get at a given point of time). The point is to understand the fact that it is not negative to recognise cultural identities and their rights, whether in minority or not, and also that it does not impinge or take away the rights of the individuals by simply recognizing and giving an opportunity of self-realisation to a cultural group for that matter group rights, in general.

Among other things, our various claims and resistance to identities make sense only against the background of other identity claims and social valuations. As Charles Taylor has argued, we need to be wary of a kind of “soft-relativism” that suggests that all claims to recognition have the same standing and that recognition can proceed without judgment<sup>23</sup>. To try to grant a priori equal recognition to all identity claims amounts to taking none seriously. Those making identity claims often present them within an implication that everyone is equally endowed with identity, equally entitled to their own identity, and equally entitled to respect for it<sup>24</sup>. But this liberal conception can be at best provides a ground of tolerance, not for mutual respect or acceptance, and not for understanding the phenomenon of identity formation itself.

The conception of the relationship between self and community and their rights in the liberal doctrine as well as communitarian doctrine puts a normative compulsion on the democratic societies, in general, for developing and affirming a political attitude which tolerates and recognises the cultural difference and identities in accommodating them and their rights, as far as justified by the norms of freedom

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<sup>23</sup> Calhoun, Craig. *Social Theory and The Politics of Identity*. ( USA: Blackwell, 1995), p.24.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p.25.

and human dignity. At the very least one may say, that it is both a responsibility and a necessity of the societies governed by democratic norms and principles. The debate between relationship of self, community and rights in the contemporary times is a logical necessity of the times, which also expresses some of the above mentioned concerns. The following section will look into the debate in relation to the rights of the cultural identities to their cultural rights.

### **3. Reconciling Identity and Rights of Cultural Community**

Rights provide the basic conditions of expression and development of human life. Such rights are classified as fundamental rights or basic rights of life, liberty and equality. The question often debated is whether groups have such basic rights. And if they do have rights, then a cultural community, by virtue of it being a group, will also have certain rights. Whether, or not, groups have rights is a question that arises out of the liberal conception of self. I will try to locate this debate of a cultural community in the liberal and communitarian understanding of the problem. It is important to note here that not all communitarians and liberals are clearly separated and some of them are at once, liberal as well as communitarian depending upon the question involved<sup>25</sup>. I will restrict it here to debate on group rights, in general and rights of cultural community, in particular.

The rights of cultural community can be understood better if we have a clear notion of individual, self and community. The conception of individual is expounded best by Rawls in liberal traditions of political theory. According to Rawls, people in original position, are denied knowledge of their talents and endowments, motivated not by a particular conception of the good but by their interest in their capacity to frame, revise and rationally pursue such conceptions would agree that their society should be regulated by the following principles of justice, 'first, each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all. Second, social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, and b) attached to offices and positions open to all under the conditions of fair equality of opportunity.'<sup>26</sup> The first principle is the principle of basic liberties and second is the

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<sup>25</sup> Mullhall, Stephen and Swift, Adam. Liberals and Communitarians. Cambridge: Blackwell,1996)p10.

<sup>26</sup> Rawls, John. Theory of Justice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press,1971), p.302.

principle of equality of opportunity. And when there is conflict in between two, priority is given to the first principle over the second. This is also known as the priority of right over good.

However, this notion of individual or self underlying the liberal theory has been under criticism from the communitarian thought. 'The communitarian claim is that liberal political theory takes people to be distinct from their ends (or values or conceptions of the good) in a way that simply fails to correspond to the way in which they actually do relate to those ends. For the communitarian, the liberal picture of the person as someone separate from his/her conception of the good ignores the extent to which people are constituted as the people that they are precisely by those conceptions themselves'. Michael Sandel criticizing Rawlsian conception of self says that it excludes the possibility that we can know a good in common that we cannot know alone<sup>27</sup>. Alasdair MacIntyre, like Sandel, criticises Rawls for his inability to accommodate the importance of the community, which in turn would maintain the objectivity of the normative conditions of an individual identity<sup>28</sup>.

Let us examine the notion of community as defined by Charles Taylor. He is one of the leading exponents of communitarian thought. According to Taylor, "if human beings are self- interpreting animals, and the languages needed for such self interpretation are essentially social phenomenon, then community is a structural precondition of human and moral agency<sup>29</sup>". Taylor further explains that someone's identity is defined not just by self but by a reference to the community as well.

Similarly, MacIntyre also claims that, the notion of community is evolved out of a primary bond that is a shared understanding both of the good for human beings and of the good of that community, and within which individuals identify their primary interests by relating to those goods.

Now let us understand the relation of the self, community and rights in the liberal tradition. According to liberals, 'the community has no moral existence or claims of its own. It is not that community is unimportant to the liberal, but simply

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<sup>27</sup> Sandel, Michael. Liberalism and the Limits of Justice. ( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1982.),p.183

<sup>28</sup> MacIntyre, A. After Virtue.(London: Duckworth,1988.),pp.232-233.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor, Charles. Sources of the Self. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1990),p.36.

that it is important for what it contributes to the lives of individuals, and so cannot ultimately conflict with the claims of individuals. Thus, individual and collective rights cannot compete for the same moral space, in liberal theory, since the value of the collective derives from its contribution to the value of individual lives'. This leads us to the conclusion that the liberal principles seem to be endorsing a 'difference-neutral' state, which means a universal mode of incorporating citizens into that state. However, liberalism is essentially also a principle of tolerance between members of different, and sometimes, conflicting beliefs and faith. And so long as different people have differing ends, then mutual respect requires that the state ought not to favour one group over another. Hence the members of each group should be free to practice their shared life-style as provided by the liberal principle of freedom of association. Therefore, at some level, liberal states are recognizing the rights of groups (and hence rights of a cultural community) in practice, although they may not be doing so in theory. Therefore, we have a case of a liberal tradition where the rights of individuals are not necessarily in conflict with the rights of groups or cultural communities, in so far as they are allowed their shared life-style and norms.

Let us now understand the relationship between self, community and rights according to the communitarian traditions. As individual is a self-interpretating being. And the individual can define his good only in relation to the common good of the community or group within which individuals shape themselves. The options and choices are given to an individual by their cultural community. Cultural community, means a history of shared ways of life and norms<sup>30</sup>. The cultural community does not impose choices on an individual, in fact, the cultural community continues to exist even when its members are free to modify the character of the culture, should they find its traditional ways no longer worthwhile. Therefore, the notion of respect and recognition for persons in their capacity as members of a cultural community is not saying that the community is more important than the individual members who compose it. It is also not saying that the state should impose what it thinks to be the best conception of the good life on its citizens in order to preserve the purity of the culture. The point being emphasized is that rights of cultural communities or groups are important in pursuing our essential interests in leading a good life, and so

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<sup>30</sup> Kymlicka. Will. Liberalism, Community and Culture, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 164-165.

considerations of common good is actually in a way a consideration of the individual good as well.

Walzer, a communitarian exponent on the theory of rights to cultural communities, in general and minority rights, in particular, says that his theory of justice is grounded in respect for people's cultural membership. According to him, we are one another's equals by virtue of the fact that "we are culture-producing and we make and inhabit meaningful worlds. We should inhabit meaningful worlds"<sup>31</sup>. We should treat people equal because they make and inhabit meaningful world even if it is different from ours. Therefore, respecting people as culture-producing creatures mean that the principles of justice are derived from the shared understanding of social goods in a given culture. And thus, 'there is no way one can rank and order these worlds with respect to their understanding of social goods, we do justice for men and women by respecting their particular creations and to override those understanding is (always) to act unjustly. It means that where social meanings are integrated and hierarchical, in such a society, justice will come to the aid of inequality'.

Walzer distinguished two broad forms or models for accommodating ethno-cultural diversity. One model rests on the non-discrimination principle 'cultural identity should be neither supported nor penalized by public policy. Rather, the expression and perpetuation of cultural identities should be left to the private sphere'<sup>32</sup>. This model is an expression of the way religious minorities were treated in liberal states. 'The second model by contrast involves public measures aimed at protecting or promoting an ethno-cultural diversity, Walzer calls this the corporatist state'<sup>33</sup>. Therefore, according to Walzer, no state can be truly neutral in its relation to cultural identities.

Among other advocates of the models of state to accommodate cultural identities, Nathan Glazer also figures prominently. Glazer, like Walzer, distinguished two models for accommodating ethno cultural diversity. According to the first model, the state does not interfere with the cultural identity of a group, its ethnic heritage nor does it oppose the freedom of people to express their particular cultural attachments.

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<sup>31</sup> Walzer, Michael. *Spheres of Justice*, (New York: Basic Books, 1983)p.314.

<sup>32</sup> Walzer, Michael. *Pluralism: A Political Perspective*, in Kymlicka, Will (ed)., *The Rights of Minority Cultures*.(New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.)p.149.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*,p.149.

The point, however, is that such a state does not protect the cultural rights and needs of expression of their cultural attachments. The second model is aimed at recognizing and promoting cultural identities at various levels such as language rights, regional autonomy, land claim, guaranteed representation, veto- rights etc. Glazer calls this the ‘group rights model’<sup>34</sup>. Glazer is of the view that the non-discrimination model (or the group- rights model) is appropriate whenever the government aims at integrating disparate groups into a single national culture, based on a common language, shared history, and political institutions. And on other hand, the group rights model is appropriate if a society operates on the assumption ‘that it is a confederation of groups, that group membership is central and permanent, and that the divisions between groups are such that it is unrealistic or unjust to envisage these group identities weakening in time to be replaced by a common citizenship. Glazer also describes group rights or collective rights as minority rights.

The defence of minority rights or group rights will limit the freedom to individual members to make choices, or revise their traditional ways of life says Kukathas. Kukathas claims himself to be a liberal. However, he defends the right of minority cultures to impose many internal restrictions on the freedom of their members, so long as the member retains one essential liberty i.e., the right to exist<sup>35</sup>. He recognises the possibility that this might lead to injustice. However, he thinks that the right to exist reduces the dangers of injustice or discrimination of any kind. And just as minority cultures should be protected from pressure to assimilate to the majority culture, so internal subgroups should not be forced to comply with the traditional norms and practices of the group i.e., within a minority culture sub-groups should not be discriminated against.

In attempting to understand the rights of a cultural community, Gurpreet Mahajan argues that multiculturalism has brought the concern for equality in public domain. ‘While pluralism speaks of the peaceful co-existence of different communities, multiculturalism examines whether diverse cultures and communities co-exist as equals. By pointing out that culture-based discrimination can continue

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<sup>34</sup> Glazer, Nathan. Individual Rights against group rights in Kymlicka, Will.(ed), *The rights of Minority Cultures*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.)pp.131-132.

<sup>35</sup> Kukathas, C. Are there any Cultural Rights, in (ed) Kymlicka, Will. *The rights of Minority Cultures*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)p251-252.



even after legal equality is ensured, multiculturalism has deepened democratic consciousness and awareness of citizenship.’

Multiculturalism theory establishes greater democratic awareness about culture, community, minority discrimination and diversity in addressing the discourse of rights. There are mainly four distinct arguments that have been offered in defense of the agenda for preserving cultures, protecting diversity and sanctioning special rights for minorities. The most important argument is about the principle of difference. By privileging differences absolutely, multiculturalism argues that respect for difference requires unconditional protection of diverse cultures and practices.<sup>36</sup> Limiting the latter in the name of democratic or human rights necessarily entails a certain kind of imposition of a universal or liberal stand point, and this, says Mahajan, must be avoided at all costs. Therefore, rejecting the ideal of assimilation and the corresponding ideology of melting pot, multiculturalism values cultural diversity.<sup>37</sup>

In the second argument multiculturalism addresses liberal apprehension by limiting special rights to only a few minorities and stipulating that these rights are not intended for use against internal dissent or difference. Therefore, these rights are to be given only to protect and empower communities against pressures of assimilation that come from the outside. The third argument accepts that protecting minority cultures does not entail protecting and preserving all types of minority practices.<sup>38</sup> However, Mahajan argues that there is need to discuss the limits of permissible diversity in society. It further suggests that the parameters of the permissible diversity may be defined with reference to the values enshrined in the constitution of the land. This perspective of multiculturalism emerges most sharply in the writings of Bhikhu Parekh, who argues that no political community is tolerant of all practices. Hence, one needs to reflect upon the prescribed limits of permissible diversity. It also needs to scrutinize the practices of liberal democracies to reveal the inconsistencies in their attitude towards diverse cultural practices. This framework of multiculturalism values diversity but does not privilege it unconditionally thereby presenting an argument in multicultural theory of reconciling cultural rights with individual freedom.

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<sup>36</sup> Bhargava. Rajeev, *Multiculturalism, Liberalism and Democracy*, (New Delhi: Oxford, 1999).p.6

<sup>37</sup> Mahajan. Gurpreet, *The Multicultural Path: Issues of Diversity and Discrimination in Democracy* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002).p21

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid* P24

Fourthly, multiculturalism states that special group rights are to be given only if they enhance genuine inclusion of minority communities within the polity and when minorities exercise these rights in a way that is compatible with the principle of fair treatment to all members. Further, special rights of minorities are intended only for protecting collectively valued conceptions of good life. Multiculturalism comes really close to addressing and reconciling individual autonomy with the rights of cultural communities. This research argues for such a multicultural federal democracy in India.

To sum up, it may be said that the rights of cultural community for their self-expression and development are just as essential as the individual rights. Liberals argue that the individual rights are restricted by the group rights. However, Liberals have not been able to prove that the state indeed is culturally neutral. In fact, we have found that the state does not and cannot remain neutral to the demands of the rights of a cultural community for its recognition and against its discrimination. An individual is a self-interpretating being and s/he finds meanings to his good in his dialogical relationship with others in common. And if the state recognises as such an individual good and allows him to choose and revise the ends and goals of his life then the state in turn is not neutral to a value which is formed in common. Therefore, the state is not in reality culture or difference-blind. Rather, it is responsive to the demands for cultural recognition but some responses are subtle while others are more obvious. Whatever the manner of response, it is evident that the liberal state does feel the need to recognise and respect the individual good, which is derived in common, hence, it also recognises the collective good as well as right of a group to cultural recognition, respect and accommodation.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Identity Assertion and Recognition in Telangana**

In the Indian context, assertion of identity and their demand for recognition mainly revolve around as the expressions of autonomy of various states. In 1956, the States reorganisation commission took cognisance of the demand for reorganisation of the Indian state on linguistic basis in order to balance challenges been thrown due to cultural hegemony of the dominant groups in various state. In 1953, Andhra state was carved out to contend with the challenge the cultural dominance of the dominant group in the state of Madras. Interestingly, the demand for separate state made by the people of Andhra was primarily to ensure that the identity of Andhraites does not get subsumed within the Tamilian identity. The main claim to this identity was made by Andhraites on the basis of language.<sup>39</sup> Despite language being at the centre of the demand, the demand was also shaped by lack of regional disparities in the development process, that have led to gross anomalies in the economic growth and development of the region. In 1956, the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed as a result of SRC response to many such regional demands based on linguistic identity. States reorganisation process in fact, according to Sarangi made the category of language very important where language as a category aligned herself with geography, economic viability, socio-cultural distinctiveness, region, and so on in India since 1956.<sup>40</sup> In 1969, the demand for separate Telangana first surfaced as a reflection of similar demand for autonomy against the dominant Andhraites in Andhra Pradesh. However, the Telangana demand in 1969 was not entirely based on language and economic imbalance but also on the difference of culture. It was also emphasized in the 2014 demand, when eventually Telangana state was formed.

This chapter can be mainly divided into three parts. Part one deals with understanding the nature of assertions of cultural identity in the India. Part two analyses the process of recognition of those demands. Part three tries to understand the formulations of cultural Identity of Telanagana.

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<sup>39</sup> Kudaisya, Gyanesh. Reorganisation of states in India, (New Delhi: NBT, 2014)p148.

<sup>40</sup> Sarangi, Asha. Language and Politics in India, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009).p.19.

## 1. Cultural Identity in India

After independence regarding the question of linguistic reorganization of states and Nehru's vision on democratic India, Asha Sarangi observes that language for Nehru was not just an instrument of communication but a philosophical concept that had deep cultural significance. Nehru concerned about the need to maintain unity and integrity of Indian nation-state in the aftermath of partition and ethnic bloodbath maintained that 'language could remain a marker of distinctive cultural identity but should not necessarily become a fundamental basis for creating separate states. Perhaps, it was due to this reason that he was not in favour of radical alteration in the boundaries of the provinces. Sarangi points out, that it was later by 1958 that Nehru started expressing openly about anxieties on the redistribution of boundaries. Nehru, however through his speeches and writings has always asked his fellow colleagues and countrymen to maintain equilibrium between traditional particularistic ethnic loyalties and modern universalistic legal rational order. She further states that the linguistic and cultural re-territorialisation of Indian states that took place in 1950s and 1960s resulted in 'institutionalisation of linguistic politics'. It was the notion of identity based on language, culture and region that led to the transition from pluralism to cultural nationalism. The linguistic factor, however did not last long and the linguistic cultural issue got interwoven with the economic underdevelopment of the regions thus resulted in a far more complex situation.

Cultural identity, as we have already understood, means a shared way of life and values. In India there are different and sometimes incompatible ways of life that seek their own way of life. This presence of differences is understood in other words as cultural diversity. India being a culturally diverse nation adopted liberal democratic system and federal polity in order to accommodate diversity. The assertions of cultural identities in the modern state, in general and India, in particular, have taken various forms and nature. According to Bhikhu Parekh there are four different forms of such assertions. Firstly, 'the indigenous people are anxious to preserve their distinct and largely pre-modern ways of life. Their main concern is to recover or retain their land and to be left alone to lead their traditional ways of life within the frame work of

the existing states'.<sup>41</sup> This is particularly true of the tribal assertions in India in order to protect their way of life and values.

Secondly, 'there are territorially concentrated and politically self-conscious communities that wish to preserve their languages and cultures, if possible within the existing states, if not by becoming independent'.<sup>42</sup> The secessionist movement in Jammu and Kashmir and the Khalistan struggle can be broadly classified under this kind of cultural assertion. The Muslims unlike the Sikhs remained fragmented regionally, linguistically and culturally.<sup>43</sup> The Sikhs were politically more conscious about the need, desirability and possibility of continuing as a separate and autonomous religious group.<sup>44</sup>

Thirdly, 'there are territorially dispersed but culturally distinct groups who wish to preserve their ways of life'.<sup>45</sup> They include such groups as immigrants, indigenous ethnic and religious communities. They, unlike the first two groups, seek the cultural space to lead and transmit their way of life and an opportunity to make their distinct contribution to the collective life.<sup>46</sup>

Fourthly, Parekh identifies that the demand for the recognition of cultural diversity also comes from the groups of men and women sharing in common a self-chosen life style. They include such groups as gays, lesbians and those opting for unconventional forms of living together, these groups demand not mere toleration but respect. And this group is firmly committed to the individualist liberalism in its uses of freedom and opportunities for preserving their self-chosen life –style.

And there is another form of demand that is made by the cultural groups at the regional level for autonomy and recognition within the state. They believe that they should be given their rights to protect their cultural identity in relation to the significant other within the state. They argue that since their cultural needs are

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<sup>41</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy in Beetham, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. (London: Sage, 1994), p.199.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p.200.

<sup>43</sup> Majumdar, A.K. and Singh, B. (ed.), *Regionalism in Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Radha Publication, 1997), p.27.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p.271.

<sup>45</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy in Beetham, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. (London: Sage, 1994), p.200.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p.200.

different, they require rights and power as opposed to the majority group or groups, also that there is nothing inherently unfair or unequal in an asymmetrical federalism. The demands for separate states within the state to meet the ethno-lingual and cultural rights of recognition are broadly similar to this kind. In India such demands have been made for Bodoland in Assam, Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand in Bihar, Gorkhaland in Darjeeling, and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. Today other than the case of Bodoland and Gorkhaland, demands of Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Telangana have been fulfilled. This form of assertion of cultural identities in India had been further classified into three types of regionalism by Iqbal Narain. He says that though regionalism is not always coterminous with present-day boundaries because a state can still be treated as a unit for evolving types of regionalism. And on this basis he identifies three major types. First, there is 'Supra-state regionalism'<sup>47</sup> which refers to that manifestation of regionalism which cut across state boundaries or in which states or parts are grouped together in terms of regional identity. For example, the conflict between North and South India.

Secondly, "there is phenomenon of inter-state regionalism which is conterminous with state boundaries and involves juxtaposing of one or more state identities against another on specific issues which threaten their interests. River water disputes in general and the Maharashtra-Karnataka border dispute in particular can be cited as example".<sup>48</sup> Thirdly, there is phenomenon of intra-state regionalism, which embodies the quest of a part within a state for self-identity and self-development in positive terms and negatively speaking, reflects a psyche of deprivation and/or exploitation of a part in relation to other parts of the same state.<sup>49</sup> This type of regionalism is most rampant, typified by a Vidharbha in Maharashtra a Saurashtra in Gujarat, and Bundlkhand in Uttar Pradesh and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh.

I have so far, broadly understood the forms of assertions of cultural diversity, vis-à-vis cultural identities, can take in a modern state, in general and India, in particular. The theme central to them is the principal of recognition and respect of differences. (That we had discussed earlier in chapter one). The argument is that,

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<sup>47</sup> Narain, Iqbal. A Conceptual Analysis in the Indian Context in Akhtar. Majeed (ed.), Regionalism Development Tensions in India (New Delhi: Cosmo, 1984), p.31.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

differences in shared norms and ways of life means the presence of different values and each value cannot be ranked as better or less compared to the other values. Therefore, each good or value must be given their equal space and rights for recognition, respect and accommodation, more so, by a liberal democratic state which has adopted a federal polity, like the Indian democracy. This raises two questions, as to why various cultural identities make these demands? And how should a state, a liberal state, respond to them?

When a Cultural group feels that their identity is threatened within the existing states, then they want to assert themselves either against the state itself or against the group from which they feel threatened. Let us identify three different factors at work. Firstly, the oppression or discrimination at the hands of the majority population.<sup>50</sup> These often express in a superiority complex and hostility towards the minorities within the state. Secondly, that brings cultural identities to rebel is the existence of strongly centralising and assimilationist policies on the parts of the state.<sup>51</sup> And thirdly are the forces of the world economy itself. It is often believed that as the economy becomes global in scale, so it will create a global identity which leads to rapid dislocation of traditional ways of life. And this in turn to a reassertion of the older forms of consciousness for their rightful recognition and accommodation. It is important to note that not all forms of cultural identity assertions are made against the state, they are made to stop the neglect and discrimination that group faces within the state. Underlying all these is at a psychological level a threat from the other”, known unknown in the given context.

But the question is, as to how a liberal-federal democracy like India would respond to the demands of recognition made by the cultural identities within the state. Our constitution says “India shall be a union of states”. The unity of India is predicted on its capacity to coalesce its much diversity in a pattern of autonomy and harmony for the peace and progress of this continental polity. More over’ in India unity itself is a federal concept...It is a unity born out of the inter-dependence of diverse socio-cultural entities that pass through the stages of competition, conflict and reconciliation, and realise that it is a mutual confrontation they might themselves

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<sup>50</sup> Beetham, David. The future of the nation state in McLennan. G, Held, D. and Hall, S. (ed) The idea of the modern state (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1984), p. 218.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 219.

destroy each other, while in reciprocal co-operation they can thrive jointly and severally.<sup>52</sup>

Indian federal democracy also faces two dichotomies, the social-horizontal dichotomy and the economic-vertical dichotomy.<sup>53</sup> The social dichotomy constitutes multi-regional identities, religious and linguistic or language communities and cultural communities. And the economic dichotomy is manifested in each region in terms of caste, class and income group. To overcome these dichotomies, Indian State went in for the liberal democratic principles of liberty, equality and justice its entire people and a federal system to maintain its cultural diversity. However, 'since both federation and democracy have inbuilt propensity for permitting, if not actually promoting dissent', the assertions of cultural identities for recognition as a separate state become a regular feature in a deeply divided society like India.<sup>54</sup> The policies of difference often acquire aspects of separation mainly, one in the name of great regional autonomy, and the other on the plea of more explicit right of self-determination. So how does a liberal-federal democracy like India, in particular, respond to those voices? I will try to examine the main arguments of articulation.

Firstly, there is the assimilationist procedure. This would mean a uniform treatment of all the differences as well as adopting a universal mode of incorporating all the differences into one state. This entails adopting a culture-blind or difference blind approach.<sup>55</sup> The reasons for adopting such an approach is that at the level of liberalism is that the liberal is committed to equal respect for their ways of life. Moreover, they have to be treated unequally in order to establish equality. Liberals also argue that they rightly value cultural diversity and pluralism on moral and epistemological grounds. Cultural diversity increases the range of available options, expands imagination and sympathy, and enriches life; it also encourages a healthy competition between different ways of life and deepens our knowledge of the nature and possibilities of human existence.<sup>56</sup> On the basis of this argument, the liberals can consistently protect the liberal way of life and conduct an assimilationist campaign

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<sup>52</sup> Khan, Rasheeduddin. *Federal India: A Design for Change*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1992), p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18-19.

<sup>54</sup> Khan, Rasheeduddin. *Bewildered India*, (New Delhi: Harnanda, 1994). p. 24.

<sup>55</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. *Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy in Beetham*, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. (London: Sage, 1994), p.202.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, p. 203.



against those that differ from his or her own since human capacities and aspirations conflict, to develop some of them is necessarily to neglect, suppress or marginalise others. Every way of life cherishes and highlights some human capacities and form of excellence which should be given their cultural-space to evolve and flourish.<sup>57</sup>

The assimilationist response is also evident at the federal level where we have the example of the ‘melting pot’ approach adopted by the US, sought to eliminate primordial distinctions of the indigenous people and of immigrant from Africa, from other parts of Europe and later from Asia, in the cauldron of emerging American nationalism. In India we had rejected the ‘melting pot’ approach to ethnic problems and preferred the “bouquet” approach of existing diverse flowers each with its own individuality, yet tied together as a single whole.<sup>58</sup> Indeed a Federal Nation a ‘bouquet’. It is not a ‘melting pot’. And it’s significant to note that this distinction is basic.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, Indian liberal-federal democracy rejects the assimilationist approach at the level of cultural diversity.

Secondly, we have the ‘cultural laissez faire’ method of responding to the demands of cultural identities. This entails extending the liberal principles of choice and competition to the realm of culture, however, the state should observe strict neutrality and not throw its weight behind the liberal way of life.<sup>60</sup> It should be purely formal, and procedural institution requiring nothing more of its acceptance of its authority. John Gray, an advocate of this tradition, in liberal democracy, says that, the place of government is to respect diversity in cultural traditions and so allow for the emergence of viral and perhaps, incommensurable forms of human flourishing, but not to attempt to institutionalise traditions or ways of life in state subsidised.<sup>61</sup> The implication of this perspective is that the modern government must be a limited government.<sup>62</sup> The role of the government is first and last that of preserving liberty in civil association under the rule of law.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p. 204.

<sup>58</sup> Khan, Rasheeduddin. *Federal India: A Design for Change* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1992), p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p.30.

<sup>60</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. *Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy* in Beetham, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. (London: Sage, 1994), p.205.

<sup>61</sup> Gray, John. *The Politics of Cultural Diversity*, *The Salisbury Review*, September, 1998, p.42.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p. 42.

The federal polity at a confederation level may advocate for this principle of cultural *laissez fair* and also for a limited government, in general. However, we see that federal countries which talk about the melting pot concept of treating uniformly all the cultural differences are also increasingly moving away from both the assimilationist and procedural republic or cultural *laissez fair* methods of responding to the problems of cultural identities. Why should this be the case?

This is so because firstly, one cannot presuppose that the society is an individualist moral culture.<sup>63</sup> Secondly, the state cannot remain neutral to an individualist moral culture. For a government has vital role in ‘preserving’ or repairing, the framework of practices on which the individual depends. Therefore the government or state has a considerable educational and cultural role to play. And finally, ‘the idea of a morally, neutral state is logically incoherent and impossible’.<sup>64</sup> For instance, the state could be based on separation of powers as in the case of the liberal-federal polity or it might concentrate all its authority, whatever may be the case, the state never remains absolutely neutral. Indian federal democracy by adopting the bouquet method instead of the melting pot approach cannot be defined as a procedural republic which believes in the cultural *laissez* principles of neutrality.

And the third, and most viable, form of responding to these demands could be the method of cultural pluralism as Parekh believes. Culture pluralism, unlike assimilation method, welcomes cultural diversity and the possibility of a multi-cultural society. It argues that human beings are cultural beings. And as self-reflective beings they develop distinct cultures in the course of coming to terms with their natural and social experiences and giving meaning to their lives. This claim is justified by the idea which Charles Taylor expresses that ‘not only should I not mould my life to demands of external conformity; I cannot even find the model by which to live outside myself. I can only find it within’.<sup>65</sup> Colin Tyler, in assessing the implication of Parekh’s cultural pluralism says that the reason why Parekh is advocating cultured pluralism is because, both Parekh, like Taylor, recognises the

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<sup>63</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. *Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy* in Beetham, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. (London: Sage, 1994), p.206.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 207.

<sup>65</sup> Taylor, Charles. *The Politics of Recognition*, in Guttman A. and Taylor C. (ed.) *Multiculturalism and the politics of Recognition- An essay by Charles Taylor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 30.

necessary cultural embeddedness of human consciousness that entails that there can never be a non-situated position from which to gain this critical distance.<sup>66</sup> A culturally diverse society then is one where cultures do more than merely live side by-side peacefully. Its members maintain valuable interpersonal relationships of all sorts with members of the other cultural groups, cultural identities, within that society.<sup>67</sup> This is the kind of method through which liberal federal democracies, in general, and India, in particular, should respond to the variant demands that the cultural identities make within the state.

The demands for state autonomy at one level are considered to be 'sub' or any other type of nationalism. On the other hand the same demands are also considered as demands for rights to their culture both for recognition and respect. The former understanding is predominant broadly in the Marxist school of thought and the latter in the liberal school of thought, especially in case of India. In the section first we will examine the National-Question in the Indian context and then understand how these demands should be looked beyond the National question.

The growth of nationalism in Western Europe saw, this indigenous growth of capitalism in unilingual, culturally homogenous and historically demarcated regions where the emergent bourgeoisie took hold of such communities for the creation of a unified home market for the circulation of commodities. The consequent consolidation led to the typical nation-state of our times.

Therefore, modern nations are a product of a definite epoch-the epoch of rising capitalism. The process of the abolition of feudalism and the development of capitalism was also process of formation of peoples into nations. The British, French, Germans and Italians formed into nations during the victorious march of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity. Where the formations of nations on the whole coincided in time with the formation of centralised states, the nations naturally became and developed into independent bourgeois national states. Such was the case with Great Britain (without Ireland), France and Italy.

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<sup>66</sup> Tyler, Colin. The Implications of Parekh's Cultural Pluralism, *Politics* (1996), 16(3), pp. 151-152.

<sup>67</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy in Beetham, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. (London: Sage, 1994), p.208.

In the Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the formation of centralised states, accelerated by the exigencies of self-defence (against the invasions of the Turks, Mongols and others), took place prior to the breakup of feudalism, and therefore, prior to the formation of nations. Here as a result, the nations did not and could not develop into national states, but formed into several mixed-national bourgeois states such as Austria, Hungary and Russia.<sup>68</sup> A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and physiological make-up manifested in a community of culture.<sup>69</sup>

In the Indian context, ‘the anti-colonial movement for independence in India was a supra-nationality nationalism’, states Javeed Alam, and the various national movements of the people belonging to different national groups remained subsumed under it so the Indian state came into being with independence is a multi-national sovereign state.<sup>70</sup> According to A.R.Desai, ‘Indian nationalism under colonial rule was an uneven process that resulted in the rise of political and national consciousness which unevenly matured among different regions and communities and demanded their amalgamation, of the free use and the unfettered development of their languages and cultures, and others, they only expressed their national democratic yearning for full self-expression and self-development. This yearning did not conflict with the urge to unite with other nationalities and the rest of India in a broad national movement for Indian Independence.’<sup>71</sup>

Further, he analysed that in countries where the process of economic and resultant linguistic and cultural consolidation of loosely existing peoples into united nation-states, preceded the establishment of centralised national states, and in such situations, no appreciable problem of nationalities and minorities emerged. On the contrary, In countries where due to historical reasons, a centralised state came into existence before the loose mass of tribes or peoples, whom it governed, was transmuted into a well-knit nation living a common economic life and feeling a common cultural impulse as a result of the unifying power of the capitalist economic

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<sup>68</sup> Stalin, J.V. *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> Alam, Javeed. *Class, Political and National Dimensions of the state Autonomy movements in Majeed. Akhtar (ed.) Recognition Development Tensions in India* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1984), p.59.

<sup>71</sup> Desai, A.R. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1976), p. 389.

development, the problem of nationalities and national minorities did arise in the course of historical development.<sup>72</sup> The problem emerged only when the dominant classes among the awakened nationalities utilised the aroused mass consciousness to consolidate their own position with regard to the dominant classes of their nationalities. Desai argued that until and unless the capitalist organisation of society based on production for profit is not replaced by socialist society based on co-operation and collaboration between nationalities, problem will remain alive. A retarded and crisis-ridden capitalism is always; politically a divisive force, especially so in multi-national and socially diverse context,<sup>73</sup> also agrees Alam.

But India is not a multi-lingual state argues Achin Vanaik. He says that this is a misconception due to a flaw in the understanding of the actual nature of the growth of the idea of nation-state and nationalism. Firstly, he says that there is no proper marxist theory of nationalism and Stalin's attempt to theorize the 'national question' has only made matter worse. However, Lenin provided an essentially pragmatic but principled approach which did help communists politically to orient themselves towards the national movement of his times. Lenin's views were strongly shaped by the Russian experience and the immediate circumstances of Tsarist rule. The rise of 'nationalist' consciousness in the struggle against Tsarist Russification and the emergence of 'nationalist' rebellions against the same meant that a multi-national empire was breaking-up. And if a stable, socialist republic comprising the huge territorial expanse of the former empire was to be constructed it could only be done through recognition of and respect for the reality of national all oppressions. Therefore, it was necessary to adopt a political approach which respected their right to self-determination, i.e., secession.<sup>74</sup> This principle was subordinated to the more important principle of defending and promoting the interests of proletarian unity and socialism. However, in Indian context there was no equivalent of Russification before the arrival of the British states Vanaik.

Further, he argues, that, 'nationalism is about politics or power, it is about culture, and about the immensely complex relationship between the two. The nation

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p. 382.

<sup>73</sup> Alam, Javeed. Class, Political and National Dimensions of the State Autonomy movements in India in Majeed. Akhtar (ed.) Regionalism Development tensions in India (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1984), p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> Vanaik, Achin. The Painful Transition, (London: Verso, 1990), p.133.

can be conceived of as a cultural entity or as political fact. The state, of course, is always a legal and political entity. However, the nation as a cultural fact and the state need not be indivisible or symbiotically bound together. State can exist without nation, or even before the nation. But when the nation becomes a political fact, it expresses itself in just such a symbiosis –the nation-state.<sup>75</sup> He draws mainly from the analysis of Gellener, Anderson and Kohn to prove this fact.

According to Earnest Gellner, it is nationalism that engenders nations and not the other way around, this can be understood in two ways.<sup>76</sup> Nationalism as a cultural process precedes and induces the formation of a nation as a political category. Alternately, nationalism as a cultural process and a political movement precedes and induces the formation of a nation as political fact. This means that nationalism can refer to the idea of the nation as consciousness (both cultural and non-cultural); or also nationalism can refer to a specific political doctrine or movement. Therefore, cultural nationalism can thus be seen as both prior to and capable of existing independently of political nationalism. In fact, Gellener, in his analysis based the models of modern society on a combination of two crucial factors, power and access to education or a modern culture (which is viable); And the equations between these two factors determined the structures of a society at various levels from agrarian to industrial societies.<sup>77</sup>

The cultural perception of nationalism can take as its point of analytical departure either the fact of common consciousness or identity or the existence of a cluster of identity, such as script, language, ethnic or racial similarity, and so on. And although, the latter may be responsible for the former, states Anderson, ‘it need not be, given the modular character of the idea of a nation.’<sup>78</sup> demonstrated that nations were not the determinate products of given sociological conditions such as language, or race or religion. They had been in Europe and everywhere else in the world, imagined into existence. Vanaik says that Benedict Anderson has provided an impressive case for choosing common consciousness or identity as one’s starting point, this is applicable to India’s context.” In the Indian case nationalist

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, pp. 115-116.

<sup>76</sup> Gellener, E. Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 55.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, pp.90-91.

<sup>78</sup> Anderson, Benedict. Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983), pp.14-15.

consciousness was initially an intellectual import, though its subsequent consolidation and extension into a popular consciousness and ideology owed much to the absorption of indigenous cultural symbols, ideas and values and to the impact of the national movement itself. Nationalist ideology and political movement developed in a reciprocal relationship. This is in conjunction to Kohn's idea of nationality. 'Nationality is formed by the decision to form a nationality.'<sup>79</sup> Usually factors such as territory, language, tradition, religion and state play a part in the genesis and consolidation and in fact, individually none of these factors is indispensable. This crucial linkage between culture and politics is evident when Kohn argues that nationalism is a state of mind striving towards a political fact that is, the transformation of the nation as cultural entity, lodged above all in consciousness into a political entity, the nation-state.<sup>80</sup>

The above analysis shows that in the context of India, is both a nation-state in the political sense (dating from 15 August, 1947) and in a cultural sense very much a nation-in-the-making (understood here as a process of consolidation, not genesis).<sup>81</sup> This nation-in-the-making seeks a stronger cultural-emotional foundation for a pan-Indian Identity which obviously cannot be based simply on regional or linguistic characteristics, but is no less real for that.<sup>82</sup> Therefore the sub-national identities or movements should not be perceived as nations-in-embryo or immune nationalities existing in some early stage of national identity formation. In the Indian case they often post-date the emergence of national identity and are linked to the problems thrown up by the nation-state's attempt to promote national integration.

The perspective that India is a multi-national state is also rejected by Rasheeduddin Khan. He says that, "while the concept of nationality was valid in the context of the soviet union where indeed many nationalities which were earlier subjugated as colonies in Czarist Russian Empire, were coalesced into a multi nationality federation (though not, as is evident now, as a successful experiment), it is certainly not valid in the background" of India's historical experience and political context. According to him, India is a multi-regional federation. In India, the most

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<sup>79</sup> Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: MacMillan, 1944), p. 15.

<sup>80</sup> Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: MacMillan, 1994), p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Vanaik, Achin. *The Painful Transition* (London: Verso, 1990), p.117.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, p. 117.

inclusive segment is a territorially defined region. A region in India has its own composition of ethnic and linguistic groups, religious communities and land-based Jatis. It has its specific pattern of economy, craft and loom and a local history and psychological makeup and behavioural pattern of its people. This kind of description of cultural differences and pluralities marks a shift away from the Marxist school of thought and makes a move towards the liberal school of thought.

The Indian society had been characterised as a segmented one consisting of a large number of ethnic language and religion at the different levels of “self-conscious awareness” of their identities, according to Brass. These groups exist parallel to one another, and are hierarchically divided within themselves and also compete with one another, not only for the entire system but only for the dominance in their respective regions.<sup>83</sup> Despite this characterisation he further, argues that India is a multi-dimensional state, in the sense that nationalism should not be merely equated with patriotism. And the state should try to recognise the ‘regional-national identities’ as well as to promote unity in India as a country.<sup>84</sup>

Iqbal Narain, as we had already analysed, treated regionalism in the Indian context as a multi-dimensional phenomenon in terms of its components at once geographical, historico-cultural, economic, politico-administrative and psychic. It is difficult to indicate which component has ascendancy, though it will not be surprising if the economic factor has an edge over the other in the ultimate analysis. It is also interesting to note that demands for regional identities or, regionalism in India seem to manifest itself in overlapping circles in terms of major types (supra-state regionalism, inter-state regionalism or intra-state regionalism) which, as such, are not immune fusing into each other and also being diffused, if an overarching national loyalty structure emerges to transcend them. The basic issue is not of regionalism vs nationalism but one of right ordering of loyalties between the regional and the national identities. This is the crux of the problem management of regionalism in India, to the resolution of which the political elite little administrators and educationist have to join hands and work.

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<sup>83</sup> Brass, Paul. Language, Religion and Politics in North India, (London: Cambridge University Press),p.14.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid,p.15.



The analysis of Indian State can also be done through the concept of idioms or language which are the styles, manners or fashions. He states that, 'politics at the state, district and local level, which covers the caste segments of Indian society is carried through the traditional" language, which can be described as the language of a host of tiny world', according to Morris Jones.

Another powerful (liberal) exposition of the Indian politics is given by Rajini Kothari. According to him, the present trend of demands for fragmentation within the state are results of the decline of the overarching centralising tendencies of the state. He says that two seemingly are contradictory processes, namely, 'sharp and systematic increase in authoritarianism', on the one hand, and gradual decline in authority, on the other hand, are bound to go together in a fundamentally diverse and federal society. According to Kothari, the main reason for the decline in authority and cohesion had been the erosion of intermediate institutions between the centre and the localities by centralising tendencies and populist appeals in a situation where political process is not confined to elites only but had acquired a mass base.<sup>85</sup> He further states that undermining the old structure and failure to provide a new structure responsive to the new reality has led to the creation of a great vacuum and that had been filled in by the regional communal and caste and the other elements.

To sum up the analysis of the process of cultural recognition and the national question in the Indian context, we can say that the problem of regionalism is recognised as a part of the "Integration crisis" or "Identity crisis", which differ from one cultural community to another depending upon their historical antecedents and normative conditions in that given context. 'India is a classic plural society and a massive federal polity, and its plural-federal character is evident in every major aspect of its collective life, be it social system, economic formations or cultural patterns. Therefore the demands for cultural recognition arising from various cultural communities should not lead us to believe that India is a multi-national or nationality state. India is, in fact, in a multi-cultural state where the demands for cultural recognition ought to be understood as an assertion to protect a value and conditions of shared existence. Marxists, therefore, should support all effort to rectify regional economic imbalances, to deepen political democracy and make its application more

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<sup>85</sup> Kothari, Rajini. A Fragmented Nation, Seminar, 281, January, 1983, pp.24-29.

consistent. Marxists should also make every effort to promote integration and to break down the barriers separating people, particularly the working classes and the discriminated cultural groups. This would entail recognition and respect for the equality of all languages and cultures in the multicultural society in India.

## **2. Recognition and Accommodation**

The changing nature of the cultural identity in relation to the changing nature of the political identity will be examined in this section. This will help us to understand the demands for cultural recognition and accommodation in India. Political identity is an identity of a member, or a group, or group, or groups of members who share history, geography and norms of a political community to which they belong. Cultural identity means a group of individual of a cultural community having common shared history and norms. And cultural identities in a given political identity may or may not differ by the political identity within a culture or among different cultures can remain same. The demands for redrawing of internal boundaries in recent times in India is an instance where the political structure is perhaps as much imagined and reimagined as culture, says Tillin, Louise.<sup>86</sup>

In India, on the one hand, there is a clearly evolved idea of political identity as far as the notion of citizenship. On the other hand, the society is culturally plural constituting of diverse cultural identities existing and evolving in the state. The crucial feature is that although they exist and evolve within the state, the cultural identities are restricted mainly to the domain of the private sphere where the role of the state is neutral. However, there is a contradiction existing within this understanding. The contradiction is that the nature of political identity is not entirely free from the influences of the cultural identity or vice versa as the state claims to, in theory. Indian State advocates the principles of equidistance from all the cultures existing within its framework.

The institution of the state should be seen as an instrument for the defence of 'life, liberty and estate of its citizens in a liberal democracy. This state of liberty given to man is respect the rights of others. And the only freedom that deserves a place in

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<sup>86</sup> Tillin, Louise. Remapping India: New states and their Political origins, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press,2013) P,143.

liberal democracies is that, of pushing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs or impede their effort to obtain it.<sup>87</sup> However, infringement on the liberty of citizens could be expected as the state expands to cope with the pressures of the modern age. And also as there will be some people who will not respect the rights of other individuals there will be non-recognition and discrimination of the rights of the others. This leads to demands for recognition of the same. The demands made for recognition, especially in case of India, are not just political demands. In reality, the demands for cultural recognition and accommodation have outnumbered the demands for political rights by many times. It was mainly due to a contradiction which the state had, perhaps, deliberately left unaddressed in the course of its history. On the other hand, 'the demands of national-unity require that one national identity evolves though the nation-building process. And on the other hand, this national-identity, which according to the state was a political identity, subsumes a wide and contentious cultural areas unorganised within the state. The complex process of evolution of both within the state led to many more demands for recognition and accommodation.

India under the colonial state had a unique sense of political identity that was shaped by the colonial rule. However, Indians fighting the British rule were not a homogenous whole. They were constitutive of much cultural diversity. However, in their struggle for national liberation they came together as one political identity to liberate India. This political identity did not exist in vacuum it had its co-relation with the cultural identity or identities. Together they fought the colonial rule to win independence and thus a Sovereign Democratic Republic of India was established.

India in the period after 1947 recognised all its citizens as equal despite of the many cultural differences. However, neither the political identity nor cultural identity can exist independently and mutually exclusive to each other. Therefore, changes in one identity meant changes at another level. As the stage grew stronger and more centralised, the equations of the cultural identities changed. The demands for recognition of the various areas and people discriminated and neglect started. They wanted to be recognised and protected. The nature of cultural identities assumed a more significant role with each changing government at the centre and the state levels

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<sup>87</sup> Mill, J.S. On Liberty.(London: Oxford University Press,1960),P72.

the cultural and group assertions at government at the centre and the state levels grew stronger. Clifford Greetze analysed that the process of modernisation and westernisation accelerated the reversion to primordial ties rather than attenuating them.<sup>88</sup> The primordial sentiments became politically significant where colonial rule was replaced by an independent, nationally anchored purposeful unitary state.<sup>89</sup> The problem becomes alarming because with the impact of modernisation, an individual does not remain isolated from the overall polity and simultaneously he is reluctant to set aside the parochial attachments in favour of a commitment to broader civil state. The integrative process has to be one, says Greetz, which will reconcile primordial alliances and oppositions with the unfolding civil order.

This problem is also identified as the *Crisis of Integration* within the transnational politics where the pressure on the system is much more than the capacity of the system to bear, says Myron Weiner. The process of political developments in a state is linked with economic development which accelerated 'after the independence in India. Therefore, the issues arising out of capital and investment allocation and distributing had resulted in regional, linguistic, and tribal of claim for recognition within the cultural space. This was so mainly because the political identity could not address and meet all the genuine demands for cultural recognition of various cultural identities. Weiner advocates a means of consensus among the elites, these conflicts could be solved. However, this far from the reality, especially in Indian case, or for that matter any culturally diverse federal polity.

Kothari maintains that these demands are results of the sharp and systematic increase of the over centralising tendencies of the state, in his *State against Democracy*. However, it may be unfair to amount so much criticism on a state which was a result of its historical and political experience. The state cannot be criticised for not recognising diversity, in fact, it did recognise diversity, but the underlying principle of unity increased to such an extent that it was suffocating the cultural area within which the political identity has its roots. Thus, started demands from various groups. However, this language formula adopted to solve the cultural problem did not address the essential needs of the various cultural communities. Meanwhile the

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<sup>88</sup> Greetz, Clifford. *The Integrative Revolution*, in Greetz, Clifford. (ed), *Old Societies and New States: the Quest for Modernity*, (New Delhi: Amerind Publishing Co., 1971), p.120.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*,p.109.

emphasis on a strong and unified political community continued. This emphasis was by no means wrong. The need however was to reconcile the political identity with the cultural identities. The entry of cultural community into political community or vice versa is not new, for in reality the distinction between the two is thin because individuals are the members of both communities at the same time. The challenge facing any culturally –diverse Federal democracy is to reconcile both the cultural and political identities.

But how does a state reconcile these identities? For at one level it protects the political identity and at another level it leaves the cultural identity to the private domain, thus out of the state's domain. To bring about the reconciliation the state adopted measures in its constitution like secularism, to handle religious conflicts; socialism, to weaken economic inequalities, democracy, to safeguard fundamental rights and equality to its citizens; and a federal polity to maintain unity in diversity of a culturally plural society. These principles in theory appear to be more than sufficient. However, the state in the process of its evolution had become more rigid and less flexible in its stance towards accommodating cultural identities under one political identity. And cultural identities in turn are either retreating back from the state in an alienated condition or are asserting even more strongly for recognition. While the former is a condition of insecurity and distrust, the latter is a case which marks the direct entry of cultural identity into the arena of political identity- for such demands change the nature of the political identity which is compelled to become more culture conscious than it was.

In Indian case although the conflict is present but it is not so strong and sharp. The need, however, is to reconcile them and make them more receptive to the other. For in reality they are not two totally separate entities. They are in fact two separate entities shaped by each other. The need is to recognise both identities, understand their influence upon each other, and to address the each makes on the other in a much more receptive federal democracy.

### **3. Cultural Identity of Telangana**

In this section, we will make an attempt to understand the role played by a culture in defining their norms and demands for recognition and equality in India's

federal democracy, in general and Telangana in particular. The cultural identity of Telangana is not totally different from its various counter parts in the sense that they are making similar demands on the state, although at a different plane. The present restructuring of the boundaries of Telangana has led to revival of similar demands.<sup>90</sup> However, Telangana also has a distinct and unique set of reasons that makes its case different. Let us study the similarities and differences of the case of Telangana with other ethno-cultural identities in the state and put forward the case for Telangana and its quest for cultural recognition respect and accommodation within the large Indian State.

Individual well-being depends on the successful pursuit of worthwhile goals and relationships. Goals and relationship are culturally shaped to some extent. The group may flourish its culture prospers and vice versa when it is left neglected in the course of history.

In India, the process of integration of various ethno-culturally diverse social groups brought about a certain degrees of assimilation in the nature of treatment of various cultural identities. The cultural identities had historically demarcated regions. Some of them demanded recognition of their differences and rejected the assimilationist policy of the state in the cultural space. These demands were voiced by groups who were members of a culture community, in general and living in a region in particular. Therefore, these demands can also be said to be both cultural and regional demands for separation in order to give the right of respect and accommodation to their cultural group. Thus the state responded to these demands by going in for the linguistic reorganisation of the states.

The reorganisation of the states could not make all states homogenous. However, it was meant to be a process that would act as a balancing act that would balance cultural and political hierarchies within a particular context.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, wherever the differences were sharp, the demands for separate states started. These demands are mainly classified as sub-regional movements because the cultural demands were being voiced from specific regions and for separate regions. These

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<sup>90</sup> Tillin, Louise. Remapping India: New states and their Political origins, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press,2013),p.143

<sup>91</sup> Sarangi, Asha. Language and Politics in India, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009).p.19.

disputes are named as intra-state disputes. These demands also have socio-economic and political dimensions to their cultural needs. One such example is Telangana's demand for a separate state.

At one level Telangana struggle being a sub-regional movement had similarities with other demands of a separate state made in India like, Vidharbha in Maharashtra, Utrakhand in Uttar Pradesh and many such demands. These were demands being voiced from within those states that were carved out based on the states reorganisation recommendations. They have distinct cultural differences with the dominant cultural group in majority in their respective states. These groups have been subjected to discrimination at various socio-cultural levels. And they are also the part where the poverty is acute, socio-economic inequalities are sharp and the economic development has not reached these areas.

Telangana at another level has some distinct and unique features which makes it an interesting study. They are, firstly, Telangana shared almost the same history with the people of Andhra region till 1320 A.D. i.e. the fall of Kakatiyas. However, after Kakatiyas the development of both regions saw the influence of two different set of culture conditions. Telangana was ruled by the Muslim rulers and the Andhra by the British colonial rules. Secondly, despite the Muslim influences certain similarities of the past remained with Andhra and that lay in their not-so-different Telugu – language. Thirdly, Telangana witnessed the growth of feudal economy and the Andhrans were existing within a capitalist economy. And fourthly, Telangana cultural identity was a blend of the Hindu-Muslim and Urdu-Telugu culture which had roots in both the cultural groups. Thus despite the similarities within and without the region, Telangana identity is a unique amalgam of the similarities as well as the differences that form a separate cultural identity of Telangana.

In order to assert this distinct and unique cultural identity Telangana wanted to remain as a separate state. However, in 1956 as per the linguistic guidelines of the states reorganisation commission, Telangana was merged with the state of Andhra. This merger was not a balanced equation because Telangana was placed in an unequal relation to the Andhrans at various levels- social, cultural and economic. The fears of Telangana people came true when they were treated unequally and their region remained under-developed economically and politically. The safeguards which had

formed the basis for this merger were also violated. That started a renewed demand for their cultural recognition and accommodation in 1969. However, a compromise was reached once more in 1973 with another set of safeguards. Even their violation and the consequent belief that their rights as a cultural group are not secure within the state of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana had started the struggle for a separate state yet again in 90's and towards the turn of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The culmination of the Telangana struggle finally with formation of a separate state of Telangana itself in some ways explains the nature of Telangana identity. The nature of the Telangana identity can therefore, be drawn from its socio-cultural historical background that formed the basis of the demands for a separate state of Telangana.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Telangana: A Historical Narrative**

History of Telangana<sup>92</sup> has been formed very distinctly, mainly by the colonial factors as well as the post-colonial factors. History in many ways is also a result of an experience of shared norms and values in a given context.

In this chapter, I will discuss how the narrative of Telangana identity evolved. In the first part, the historical underpinnings of the formation of the Telangana identity will be analysed. Second part, makes an attempt to understand the distinctiveness of Telangana identity. And the third part, tries to examine the reasons that shaped Telangana's struggle for a separate statehood from 1948 till the emergence of Telangana Rashtra Samithi. One will also try to discuss the nature of the recurring demand of a separate Telangana during this period of nearly fifty years.

#### **1. Shaping of Telangana identity**

The history of Andhra reveals that the region of Andhra as well as Telangana (what we term as Telangana region today) had a common history starting from the Maurayans to Kakatiya empire. It is only after the fall of the Kakatiya empire that the region started evolving as two separate social, political, economic and cultural entities. Andhra and Telangana regions were read as separate names only after the fall of the Kakatiyas. Hyderabad state was under the direct control of Nizam and was in turn under the indirect control of British rule. Telangana region from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> CE was a part of Hyderabad state. According to Ashish Nandy, 'colonialism is a psychological state rooted in earlier form of social consciousness in both the colonizers and the colonized. It also represents certain cultural continuities and carries a certain culture baggage'<sup>93</sup>. One can understand from this that in defining the cultural meaning of the identity of the people of the region, there are bound to be some continuities from the past. In case of Telangana, similarly, the influence of the feudal system and the Nizam proved to be quite significant. However, the colonial influence

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<sup>92</sup> Present state of Telangana that was formed on June 2014, has an area of 114,840 sq. km. the census of 2011 states the population of Telangana region as 3,51,93,978. It was later revised by Telangana household survey report in 2014 and the total population of the state according to this survey is 3,63,37,160.

<sup>93</sup> Nandy, Ashish, *The Intimate Enemy* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.2.

in the Telangana region was almost negligent. Therefore, the Andhra region that was under Madras Presidency felt the direct impact of the British colonial rule. The colonial influence or the lack of it in both the regions to a large extent went on to shape the distinctive identity of Telangana as well as Andhra.

Some historians trace the origin of Andhras<sup>94</sup> to the Aitereya Brahmana written as early as in 1000 B.C. Although it is only with the Mauryans that the historic understanding of the idea of Andhra Desa begins. Andhra also found a mention in one of the rock edicts of Ashoka in the district of Anantpur. It provides a testimony to the fact that Andhra was indeed an integral territory within the Mauryan empire. Further, Greek Ambassador, Magasthenes, during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya also referred to Andhras several times in his classic, Indica. Andhras declared their independence after the decline of Mauryas during the rule of Satavahanas. Satavahanas rule started approximately during 221 B.C.-218 A.D.

The coastal region located in between the Krishna and Godavari rivers constituted the original home of Andhras. This view remained contested as the Andhras Satavahanas rule first established over the Marathwada region of Maharashtra<sup>95</sup>. It extended towards east in the valleys of Godavari and Krishna, and only following the decay of their power in the west, have they shifted the capital to the present Andhra region. Looking through the historical lens, both the Andhra and Telangana regions remained as a combined region under the rule of Mauryas and Satvahanas and later on under the Kakatiyas of Warangal. The historical development of Andhra and Telangana as two separate political regions started with the fall of Kakatiyas of Warangal. It is the significant development for it resulted in the development of both as two different cultural communities within their particular evolving contexts. This separation continued till 1956, when Andhra and Telangana region were merged together to form a single region namely, the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The rulers of Delhi Sultanate took over after the Kakatiya fell in 1380 A.D. The Telangana region came under the rulers of Muslim Delhi Sultanate and thereby,

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<sup>94</sup> Here Andhras refers to people of Andhra and Telangana. It may be noted that both the regions of Andhra and Telangana regions were politico-geographically same entity till the fall of the Kakatiyas..

<sup>95</sup> Rao.P.R., History of Modern India, (New Delhi : sterling,1993), p. 2.

came under direct influence of Islamic culture. And the Andhra region went into the hands of rulers of the Vijayanagar Empire. The interplay of language and politics changed the nature of cultural identity in both the regions. While Telugu remained the dominant language in the Vijayanagar Empire, Urdu continued to exercise its dominance in the Telangana region. Telugu literature and its journey under the Vijayanagar Empire reached its zenith during the rule of Sri Krishna Devaraya, most famous and successful Telugu speaking of Andhra king of this empire. The rule under him was not only prosperous but also peaceful. In contrast, it is believed under the sultanate rulers Telangana remained caught in Hindu-Muslim conflicts and to a large extent, it was also a very cruel and oppressive rule of the Muslim rulers.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the problems of communalism, an oppressive feudal order and casteism continued to shape the Telangana region.

The Bahmani rule that followed the Sultanate rulers did not change the cultural and political reality of Telangana region. Later, Mughals took over the region and following the reign of Aurangzeb, the Deccan area, of which Telangana had been part since the Bahmanis, disintegrated into independent states. And one of these independent states of Deccan, was the Hyderabad state. Hyderabad state came into existence in 1724, during the rule of Subedar Mir Quamaruddin Chin Quilich Khan. He was also popularly known as 'Nizam-ul-Mulk'. The Telangana region as we understand it today, was a part of the State of Hyderabad under the rule of Nizam. Meanwhile, after the decline of Vijayanagar empire, the Andhra region came under the rule of British East India Company in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Till 1947, the time of India's independence, Telangana and Andhra regions remained respectively, under the rule of Nizam and British. Andhra continued to be within the fold of Madras Presidency and Telangana within the Hyderabad state. At the time India's independence, Andhra automatically became a part of India on 15<sup>th</sup> august 1947. However, Hyderabad state declared itself an independent sovereign by refusing to become a part of either India or Pakistan. The British parliament meanwhile, purposed that the Hyderabad state should join either of the two dominions, India or Pakistan, as per India's Independence Bill. With this, a sense of utter betrayal dawned

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<sup>96</sup> Jadhav, Kesav Rao. Towards a history of the Telangana Movement in Simhadri, S. and Vishweshwara Rao.P.L. (ed), Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment, ( Hyderabad: Centre for Telangana Studies,1997.)P.144-145

on Nizam. The Hindus, who formed the majority within the Hyderabad state welcomed the idea of merging Hyderabad state with India.<sup>97</sup> Hyderabad state congress leaders, Burgula Ramakrishna observed as the Join India Day.

The Join India Movement within the short period of time became a mass movement within the autocracy of Nizam. To face this challenge, the Razakars was encouraged by the Nizam to terrorise Hindus. It led to a complete change in the communal compositions of the state. Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam. Further, Nizam also imported north Indian Muslims particularly from Lucknow to run the administrative of state. This put him out of favour with the local Muslims. The local Muslims then led a movement that was against the Nizam and his move to bring Muslims from Lucknow to do the administrative jobs within the state. This movement was successful and eventually the Nizam had to accede to the demands of local Muslims, which resulted in the creation of Mulki rules to protect the local interests. The history of Mulki rules dates back to 1328 Fasli, when Nizam, the seventh, had promulgated Hyderabad Civil Service Regulation to ensure fair and adequate opportunities for local people in government services. Rule 39 of the above regulations prescribed the requirement of residence to be entitled to a job in government service on par with 'natural born subjects'. There was discrimination against local candidates in the recruitment to higher services from 1328 to 1354 Fasli as a consequence of the persistent representations pressure from different quarters the Nizam had promulgated the Mulki rule on 9<sup>th</sup> Khurdad 1354 Faslias an Appendix 'N' to the Hyderabad Civil Services Regulations of 1919. (Appendex I on Mulki Rules.).<sup>98</sup>

Meanwhile, KasimRazvi, the then President of Ittihadul Muslimeen, opposed the 'Join India Movement'. After much deliberation, Nizam finally, agreed to sign a 'stand' still agreement with the Indian government on November 20, 1947. The terms of agreement included the defence and external affairs would be under control of the Indian government. Nizam entered this agreement to gain some in order to launch his offensive in full swing. This was immediately evident, when he appealed to UNO (United Nations Organisation) for help. With the assistance of Pakistan prime minister, Liaquat Ali khan. Indian government, quickly realizing and understanding

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.P.146.

<sup>98</sup>See Appendex I on Mulki Rules

the gravity of this situation, launched police action on Hyderabad State on September 13, 1948. On September 23, 1948 Hyderabad state had to accede to become an integral part of the Union of India. Finally, the police action of 1948 put to an end to the feudal and autocratic rule of Nizam (as well as Razakar's atrocities) and a popular government was established after the first general election 1952, with Burugula Ramakrishna Rao as the first chief minister. The period of 1952- 1956 can be described as the happiest period for the people of Telangana for a long time. This period was marked with peace and contentment because the people of Telangana were recognised as a separate identity with the formation of Hyderabad state which replaced the autocratic rule of Nizam with the democratic rule under the Indian democracy. In this part, I have examined the historical genesis of the Telangana identity and its historical development as a separate identity. In the following part, I will look into the factors that helped shaping the Telangana identity.

## **2. Distinctiveness of the Telangana identity**

Language played a very important role in defining the state of Andhra Pradesh as a first linguistic state to be formed in the country in 1956. The Telugu speaking people demanded a separate state from Madras presidency primarily basing their arguments on the linguistic identity. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, there was a certain sense of pride in all the three regions of Andhra, Rayalseema and Telangana that the three Telugu-speaking regions have come together as one on their linguistic identity. Interestingly, Telangana people had always argued that the Telugu they speak substantially is different from that of the rest of the state as their dialect is much different than the dominant dialect of spoken Telugu in Seemandhra region. To a certain extent this forms the beginning of the separate notion of cultural identity of Telangana people.

In the field study conducted, response to the second question<sup>99</sup> as to whether the people of Telangana believed they had a separate cultural identity as opposed to Vishalandhra identity, an overwhelming positive response of about 72% was received. The respondents believed that they had a separate cultural identity as opposed to the people of Seemandhra. Most of them actually began with language as an essential

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<sup>99</sup> See Appendix VI for reference.

parameter to define the nature of their distinctive identity. They pointed out further, that how the spoken Telugu in Telangana is much different from that of Seemandhra.

In Andhra Sanskritised version of Telugu was developed, but in Telangana urduised version of Telugu was prevalent. The Telugu dialect spoken in Telangana was enriched by incorporating a lot of Persian, Marathi and Kannada along with Urdu words and accent.<sup>100</sup> There is another school of thought which thinks that Telugu was not the language of Andhra region. Andhra had its own language and it had etymological roots in Sanskrit. This Andhra language evolved among the coastal Andhra Sanskritic Brahmin elites. Therefore, linguistic construction of Andhra language never included the present Telangana-Telugu-speaking people in itself. Telugu evolved from Pali and tribal languages (Gondavana and Koyabasa etc.) among the productive masses, who were spread over Andhra, Telangana and Rayalseema.

Telugu soon acquired a script of its own. Andhra language as it survives in texts today, borrowed the script from Telugu, where its cultural content is Sanskrit. The word Telangana has two words, 'Telugu + Gana'. The term Telugu means language and Gana refers to statehood. The Telugu of Telanganites was unrelated to Sanskrit language and culture. After the region came under Muslim rule Telugu language acquired Urdu flavor. Later, under Muslim rule the entire region got subsumed under Urdu language and culture spread into the village masses as well as ruling elite. Whatever, may be the controversy surrounding the Telugu language and its original inheritors and home, the language of Telugu was a language of both areas. But Telugu changed its character with context. In case of Andhra it was Sanskrit that influenced Telugu language while in case of Telangana, Telugu was under Urdu influence. Therefore, in the formation of Vishalandhra the similarity of Telugu language was emphasized whereas the differences of both the regions in the same Telugu language and the socio-cultural condition were emphasized for the formation of Telangana.

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<sup>100</sup> Anyone speaking with either people from Andhra or Telangana, this difference in language is clearly evident.

Languages spoken by regional distribution<sup>101</sup>

Region	Telugu	Urdu	Tamil	Marathi	Others
Andhra Pradesh	85	8	1	1	5
Telangana including Hyderabad	77	12	1	2	9
Telangana excluding Hyderabad	81	8	0	2	8
Hyderabad	47	39	2	2	10
Rayalseema	80	12	4	0	4
Coastal Andhra	93	4	1	0	2

Source: AP Statistical Abstract 2009

Telangana cultural identity is thus, based on one of its main claims of linguistic principles. On the question of linguistic diversity, “the question that has caused the greatest controversy is the position to be accorded to language in the reorganization of the state of the Indian union”<sup>102</sup> (SRC: 35)

The SRC discussed thoroughly the pros and cons of linguistic states, arriving at the following conclusion: “to recognise linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative, financial or political”. It also rejected the theory of “one language one state” arguing that there could be more than one state speaking the same language without offending the linguistic principle. The idea of linguistic states received strong support from many quarters including Dr. B.R.Ambedkar who underlined the importance of a common language in fostering a sense of unity and belongingness among the people of a state.<sup>103</sup> He supported the demand for reorganization of states on linguistic principles. Although aware of the dangers of reorganization of states on purely linguistic method, he believed that the contemporary problems could be sorted by together them with the linguistic demand. He also thought that it may prevent the tyranny of linguistic and communal majorities on minorities which in turn might contain the challenges posed by the idea of national

<sup>101</sup>The figures are in percentage and may not add to 100 due to rounding off

<sup>102</sup> States Reorganisation Committee Recommendations (SRC), (Para :35), 1955.

<sup>103</sup> Sarangi, Asha. Language and Politics in India, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press,2009) P. 21

language and regional languages.<sup>104</sup> There was also consensus that administration and education should be in the regional language to ensure the healthy development of people of a state and to allow for effective communication with those who governed them. What the SRC strongly repudiated, however, was the “home land” concept, which according to it, negated one of the fundamental principles of the Indian constitution, namely, “equal opportunities and equal rights for all the citizens throughout the length and breadth of the union.” It thus warned against exclusivity on the basis of any primordial identity- whether of birth, language, caste, region or religion. A “sons of the soil” policy cannot really work in socially diverse society in which the histories of migration are also multi-layered.

While, those opposed to the reorganization of states on linguistic basis, say that in considering the merits of regional assertion one must also consider the ways in which such assertion can be counter- productive. When couched in terms of cultural difference, such a demand can create division and also spur numerous other demands. When couched as self- determination there are implications for the unity and integrity of the nation state. It may be recalled here that in previous chapters, we precisely argued for recognizing these assertions of cultural identity for statehood and how they are not necessarily antithetical to a liberal state but rather enhance its inherent strength. It is more so true especially with India as it is not only a liberal democracy but a federal polity as well.

It is important to look at the linguistic diversity of the state as AP was the first linguistic state to be formed in the country, as a consequence of the demand for a separate state by the Telugu speaking population of the erstwhile Madras Presidency. In the assertions made for Telangana, language has again become a contentious issue with coastal Andhra and Rayalseema claiming that the Telugu language underpins the fundamental unity of the regions and for this reason the state needs to be preserved as it is. Telangana people, on the other hand, have argued that their dialect, if not language, differs substantially from that of Andhra region, connoting a separate cultural identity.

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<sup>104</sup> Kumar, Avinash and Pai, Sudha. Revisiting 1956- B.R. Ambedkar and States Reorganisation, (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan Pvt. Limited, 2014), p.5.



In more than one way, this diversity has not only affected the relations between the two regions, Telangana and Seema-Andhra but it also shaped in turn the distinctiveness of the Telangana identity. The people of Telangana often complain that people from coastal Andhra ridicule the Telangana Telugu as inferior and pass derogatory comments. The language spoken in coastal Andhra is considered as “Standard Language”<sup>105</sup> while Telangana language is condemned as an “Ordinary Dialect”. The Telangana language is also ignored in the academic syllabus. Text books published by the government are written in coastal Andhra language. This puts an extra burden on the children from Telangana as they have to learn an alien Telugu. The Telangana dialect is ridiculed in government offices, universities and colleges. There is no feeling of unity among the people of the different regions on the basis of language. They claim that Telangana Telugu is a separate language. The difference between Andhra Telugu and Telangana Telugu can be found in the literary works of Telangana poets like Pothana and Palakuriki Somanatha, compared to the Andhra poets like Nannayya and Tikkanna or for that matter, Rayalaseema poet like Srinatha. Hence, it is felt that a new linguistic state can be forged on the basis of a distinctive language that forms the crucial aspect of the Telangana identity.

The people who support the cause of United Andhra, however, claim that Telugu language is the same all over the state and minor variations are present not only in Telangana but within all the three regions. According to them, dialects may vary between regions and also within regions, and certain words may carry different meaning locally but this cannot be made a basis for separate statehood. Differences in colloquial speech creep in due to locality, ethnicity, caste and social class. Thus, even coastal Andhra has different ways of speaking among literates, illiterates, urban and rural people. However, they admit that Telangana has a different dialect because of the predominant Urdu influence. Nevertheless, Telugu remains the mother tongue in all three regions.

The coastal Andhra language “purified” (or Sanskritized) by the Brahmins and “standardized” by the British (and because of its role in embodying and consolidating a Telugu identity during the pre-independence period) became the “superior” language. Many scholars have pointed out these diverging paths of Andhra and

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<sup>105</sup> Brown, C.P. had much to do with the initial standardization of Telugu through the production of Dictionaries and the resurrection of Telugu literary works.

Telangana Telugu while emphasizing its fundamental underlying unity.<sup>106</sup> While coastal Andhra Telugu may have become hegemonic due to historical factors, it retains basic linguistic unity with Telugu spoken over the rest of the State. Dialects and accents vary all over the country; some receive a higher standing while others are considered inferior variants. The social standing of a language or a dialect is however, not static and is subject to change as the socio-economic-political fortunes of the speaking community change. Recent times have seen an efflorescence of literature and poetry in Telangana Telugu and there is no reason why it should not attain a respected place in the Telugu literary world. It is however, difficult to support the creation of new political units on the basis of differences in dialects. Protagonists of united Andhra Pradesh say instead that the state can support nurturance of Telangana Telugu and that of other dialects besides paying attention to the preservation of tribal languages.<sup>107</sup>

It is claimed that cultural domination by coastal Andhra in the field of art and literature has also led to the development of distinctive Telangana culture with lack of respect for Telangana writers, poets, artists and other literary figures. One of the common discontentments that was also expressed during field study was that funds are refused to Telangana literary organizations. In an interview, Prof. Jayashankar conducted at his residence on 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, underlined the discrimination faced by the Telangana writers as they never treated as a part of mainstream Telugu literature<sup>108</sup>. The recent compilation of poetry in Telangana reflects the growing unease of Telangana poets with the discriminatory and humiliating approach of the literary partisans from coastal Andhra. Coastal Andhra elites and the ruling classes show a negative attitude towards the folk art of Telangana.

Further, it is claimed that festivals like Bathukamma, Bonalu, Dashera, Deepavali, Holi, Peera Panduga (Muslim festival), Jataras (festivals of Tribals and Dalits) are celebrated in Telangana but not in coastal Andhra and not given recognition in the state. Rituals followed in marriages are also not the same between the regions. It is argued that the style of clothing and colours favoured in the two

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<sup>106</sup> Yamada, Keiko. Origin and Historical evolution of the identity of modern Telugus, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol., XLV, No. 34, 2010..

<sup>107</sup> Sri Krishna Report, 2010, p.

<sup>108</sup> The interview with Prof. Jayashankar was conducted at his residence on 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2007.

regions is different and coastal Andhra people look down upon Telangana people's clothing style and eating habits and compare them in public with tribal people. People in Telangana villages worship Gods like Pochamma, Yellamma, Maaremma, Mallamma, Mysamma, Uradamma, Andalamma, Beerappa etc. the coastal Andhra people laugh at these names as they are local names unlike Gods in coastal Andhra who have Sanskrit names. Coastal Andhra festivals, which are celebrated by four or five manadals, are highlighted as Telugu culture and are perpetuated through the school syllabus. But Telangana festivals (like Bathukamma and Bonalu), which are celebrated in all ten districts of Telangana, are not mentioned in text books."<sup>109</sup>

Further, another major dissatisfaction among Telanganites<sup>110</sup> that they have also pointed out was that the media, which is dominated by the other regions unflinchingly represents them in a poor light lowering their self esteem and making them feel like second class citizens in their own state. Hence, the demand for Telangana in current phase of the struggle is being presented as a demand for self-rule to protect its culture identity, self-respect, and to escape the "yoke" of Andhra-Seema regions.

Almost all respondents also have highlighted<sup>111</sup> that "the entertainment industry has been used as means to ridicule Telangana culture. Films and Television channels use Telangana dialect to portray criminal or comical characters. Telangana leaders and their language are projected as laughing stocks in most films and programmes." They claim that although the film industry has been located in Hyderabad and subsidies given on land and infrastructure, the local people are discriminated against and not given any employment opportunities in the film industry. People employed, from light boys to technicians, are all from coastal Andhra.

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<sup>109</sup>Prof. Jayashankar has argued that the culture showcased and taught in school books is that of the Andhra region and its people's history and that the people from Telangana do not share this cultural world which has no intrinsic connection with their world. He bisects the regional perspective with the superiority of culture perspective of region over the other.

<sup>110</sup>Nearly all the respondents in the field study believed that it is common knowledge that press, media and cinema are all dominated both culturally and economically by the people Coastal Andhra in particular.

<sup>111</sup>Many respondents felt the manner in which the mainstream Telugu Film Industry depicts a character of a comedian or the buffoon always from Telangana is another reflection of the dominant Culture of the Andhra people over Telangana.

It is clear now to see the reasons justified by the Telangana region for demanding a separate state. It is a strong cultural identity based on a distinctive culture. Distinctiveness is asserted on the basis of a cultural self formed through, firstly, historical experience that was common to the people of the region especially during Nizam period which binds them together while distinguishing them from coastal Andhra and Rayalseema people. Secondly, a distinctive dialect born out of the synthesis of several languages, primarily Telugu and Urdu but further enriched by languages such as Marathi and Gondi, and presently being called Telangana Telugu. Thirdly, there are other distinct cultural forms which are shaped by a specific regional topography, climatic and other factors, resulting in a separate cuisine or diet, region specific festivals etc. Fourthly, the social composition of the region comprising higher percentages of what may be called disadvantaged or non-upper caste groups-SCs,OBCs,STs,Muslims. Above all, a Telangana self which sees itself as being more diverse and cosmopolitan than Andhra-Seema Telugus.

### **3. The Formation of Andhra Pradesh and the Demand for a Separate Telangana**

Telangana Identity and its struggle for a separate state came into overt existence and manifested itself out of its latency with the formation of the state of Hyderabad in 1948. The end of Nizam's rule over the state of Hyderabad was virtually meant accession to the Union of India. The then state of Hyderabad was virtually the present Telangana according to Sundarraya.<sup>112</sup> After 1947, the Andhra region was included into the Madras state. The Telugu speaking majority in the Madras state wanted a separate state for Andhra. In 1953, Poti Sriramulu fasted unto death for the same demand. After the death of Poti Sriramulu, the Andhra state, first linguistic state was created in 1953. With the formation of this state the demand for creation of other linguistic states started.

Nehru, on 22 December, 1953, announced the decision to set up a States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) to examine objectively and dispassionately the whole question of the reorganization of the states of the Indian Union. This decision was supported by the people of the Andhra for they hoped that the idea of Vishalandhra could be realised. Vishalandhra was a concept of a Telugu –speaking

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<sup>112</sup> Sundarraya, P. Telangan People's Struggle and its lessons, (Calcutta: ,1971),p.12.

people's state and this would include the merger of the state of Hyderabad (in other words, the Telangana region) with the Andhra state to form Vishalandhra. However, there was difference of opinion among the people of Telangana regarding the future of Telangana and while some favoured its inclusion in Andhra to form Vishalandhra, the other school dissented the same and had wanted to maintain the identity of Telangana as a separate state. The domination of the Hyderabad was like Madras presidency a multilingual state, consisting of Telugu, Marathi and Kannada speaking areas. Among them the Telugu speaking area was the largest both in area and population. There was yet another section in Telangana after 1952 under the congress and communist parties which endorsed their previous commitment of uniting the Telugu speaking people into a single political unit, "Vishalandhra".

The States Reorganisation Commission on examining the demands of groups, one for Vishalandhra, another for separate Telangana, decided indeed to form two Telugu linguistic states i.e., Andhra and Telangana. In fact, Nehru and Lohia also advocated a separate Telangana state. This opinion helped certain sections of the Congress party within Telangana to strengthen their demand for a separate state of Telangana.

It is note worthy that upon examining the ground realities of this conflict, SRC summarized in the para 378 of their report as to why Telangana be retained as a separate state. It said that," one of the principal causes of the opposition of Vishalandhra also seemed to be that apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana was that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of Coastal area. The real fear of the people of Telangana is that if they join Andhra, they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in their partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telanagana itself may be converted into an area dominated by the enterprising coastal Andhra".<sup>113</sup> Finally, SRC opined, that "it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganize states on the basis of the single test of either language or culture but that a balance approach to the whole problem is necessary in the interest of our national unity."<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> SRC report, 1955, Para 378.

<sup>114</sup> Ragavaiah, Venkat. History of Andhra Movement, Vol.II, (Hyderabad : 1982), P.105.

The Commission in fact, recommended, “it will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana, if for the present, the Telangana area is constituted into a separate state, which may be known as Hyderabad state, with the provision that its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961, by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad express itself in favour of unification. The state of Hyderabad (as we should refer to call this unit) to be constituted for the time should consist of the following districts, namely, Mahabubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak and Bidar and Mernagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna districts of the existing Andhra state.”<sup>115</sup>

SRC therefore, recommended the disintegration of the Hyderabad state as “public sentiment, both, within and without the state, is overwhelming and insistent on the need for disintegration of the state.”<sup>116</sup> The report also added that we are not impressed by the claim that during the last two hundred years a specific Deccan culture has developed in the whole area and this culture is a major contribution to the unity of India. The common culture of Hyderabad, like the unity of the state, is something that has been imposed from above. Subsequently, the state of Hyderabad was trifurcated into Karnataka, Marthwada and Telanagan regions and the areas of Karnataka and Marthwada were merged with Mysore and Maharashtra states in accordance with recommendation of SRC, 1955.<sup>117</sup>

It proved to be a major setback to those fighting for Vishalandhra. As far as the congress leadership was concerned it looked from the angle of the ministerial positions within the cabinet in the central and state government, and caste considerations. The Telanagana leadership feared that the Andhra leadership i.e, Kammas, would dominate the state.

The dominant castes that dominate in the different regions of Andhra Pradesh are the Reddys in Rayalseema and Kammas in the Coastal Andhra region and Velamas in the Telangana region. The united Andhra Pradesh was a dream conceived strongly by the Communists, majority of the congressmen (both in Telangana and

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 106.

<sup>116</sup> SRC report, 1955, Para364.

<sup>117</sup> Rao.P.R. History of Modern Andhra, (new Delhi: Sterling),1993,p.164-165

Andhra region), and also by the dominant caste groups in the three regions. The dominant caste groups within the state, also wanted to establish their dominance over the Brahmin and Communist domination within the state. Leaders of Andhra Maha Sabha in Telangana Burgula Rama Krishna Rao, M. Hanumantha Rao, J.V.Narsingha Rao supported the merger of the Andhra state and Telangana that formed the part of the state of Hyderabad. From the Andhra region Bejawada Gopala Reddy, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Gonthu Lachanna, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju were the strong advocates of the formation of Vishalandhra state. However, there was some resistance (which was offered) from certain Telanagana leaders, K.V. Ranga Reddy, Marri Channa Reddy to the formation of Vishalandhra. Intense lobbying was done by both the advocates of Telangana and Vishalandhra, especially after the SRC report favoured the ceratinity of Telangana. The Communists reacted quickly and announced that they would resign their seats and contest the elections on that issue. Telangana Congressmen also joined the issue. K.V. Ranga Reddy and M. Chenna Reddy upheld the recommendations of SRC. But a majority of the Congress legislators from Telangana and seven out of ten district Congree committees supported Vishalannhdra. In the Hyderabad legislative assembly the issue was raised. In the 174 member house, 147 memebers expressed their views. Of this 103 supported Vishalandhra and only 29 wanted Telangana and fifteen remained neutral.

Meanwhile, “C. Rajagopalachari floated the idea of Dakshina Pradesh by merging Madras state, Kerala and Mysore. These suggestions provoked violent reactions in different parts of the country. The Congress high command was in a dilemma with this development. Consequently, it disowned the idea of the bi-lingual and multi-lingual state as quickly as it had accepted it.”

The Congress high command, finally, accepted Vishalandhra. The decision was partly influenced by some of the arguments of the Hyderabad state in favour of Vishalandhra. The hardcore of Telangana protagonists like K.V.Ranga Reddy and Marri Chenna Reddy stuck to their demand for a separate Telangana. In order to prevent misunderstanding between the two regions of Andhra and Telangana, the Congress high command arranged a meeting of leaders of both regions at Delhi on 20 February, 1956.

Andhra region was represented by B. Gopala Reddy (the then chief Minister of Andhra state), N. Sanjeeva Reddy, G. Lachanna ( Minister from Andhra) and A. Satayanarayana Raju (President, APCC). Telangana was represented by B. Ramakrishna Rao (the then Chief Minister of Hyderabad state), K.V. Ranaga Reddy, M. Chenna Reddy (Minister from Hyderabad state) and J.V. Narasingha Rao (President of the Hyderabad Congress Committee.) The meeting resulted in an agreement over the formation of Vishalandhra by providing safeguards to Telangana. Thus, the merger of Telangana with Andhra region was finalized on the basis of a fourteen point agreement on 20 February, 1956, which is known as The Gentlemen's agreement<sup>118</sup>. And this move was in tandem with one of the SRC recommendations made in 1955, that is in the absence of creation of a separate state of Telangana the merger of Andhra with Telangana for a trial period for five years may be considered.SRC also some advantages in the merger of the Telangana and Andhra regions and it stated that, "the advantage of a larger Andhra state including Telangana are that it will bring into existence a state of about 32 millions with a considerable hinterland, with large water and power resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This will also solve the difficult and vexing problem of finding a permanent capital for Andhra; the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad are very well suited to be the capital of Vishalandhra."<sup>119</sup> SRC counted another advantage of the formation of Vishalandhra will be that the development of the Krishna and Godavari rivers will thereby be brought under unified control; then Telangana, as part of Vishalandhra, will benefit both directly and indirectly from this development, there is a great deal to be said for its amalgamation with the Andhra State.

The new experiment of the state of Andhra Pradesh was based on the Gentleman's safeguards provided in the favour of Telangana. The success of this experiment was dependent on the proper implementation of the Gentleman's agreement, as per this agreement political power sharing formula was suggested whereby the positions of the Chief Minister and deputy Chief Minister were to be held by Andhra and Telangana alternatively. The public employment guarantees were also to be made on the basis of Mulki rules in the Telangana area. The educational

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<sup>118</sup> see Appendix II

<sup>119</sup> SRC report,1955, para 371.



opportunities to the people of Telangana was also meant to be ensured as per the Gentleman's agreement. However, soon after the formation of the Andhra Pradesh on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1956, violation of almost all the clauses, political, economic, educational, employment and irrigation aspects led to the rise of demand for a separate state once again. The continuous and consistent violation of the safeguards guaranteed by the Gentleman's Agreement resulted in the increased dissatisfaction and discontentment among the people of Telangana. The demand for a separate Telangana resurfaced in the year 1969. It started as a struggle for the continuance of the Telangana safeguards and the Mulki rules provided at the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956.

The complete neglect and non-implementation of Gentlemen's agreement and Mulki Rules led to struggle in Telangana region known as 'Jai Telangana Movement' (JTM) in 1968-69.<sup>120</sup> The epicenter of this movement was Osmania University and students from other colleges in the city also took out procession in support of demand. People of Telangana began to organize protest movements and observed Telangana Safeguards Day on July 10, 1968. In 1969, the non-gazetted officers from Telangana also joined the movement demanding repatriation of 6000 coastal Andhra employees occupying the Telangana posts.

To keep the situation under control All party accord of January 1969 emerged in a meeting of leaders of all political parties convened by K.Brahmananda Reddy. They agreed upon two main issues which were: firstly, the appointment of a senior civil service officer to decide the question of Telangana surpluses. Secondly, relieving of all domicile persons from Telangana posts and providing jobs for them in the Andhra region.

Following the accord, the state government issued orders for the transfer of non-domicile public employees from Telangana under Public Employment Act of 1957. The rules were challenged by Andhra employees in the Andhra Pradesh high court but the court struck down the public employment act and the rules. The constitution bench of the Supreme Court gave its judgement on March 28 and quashed the orders of government. In its decision the bench concluded that the Mulki

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<sup>120</sup> Ram Reddy, B. and Sharma, B.A.V. Regionalism in India : A study of Telangana, (New Delhi: Concept),p.15.

Rules existing in the former Hyderabad state must continue to operate by virtue of Art. 35 (b) in this area.

To tackle the struggle, Smt. Indira Gandhi after several days of talks with the leaders of both the regions on April 12, 1969 came up with Eight-point plan. By this plan, five committees were appointed- i) high powered committee to determine financial surpluses to Telangana, ii) Telangana Development Committee, iii) Plan Implementation committee, iv) committee of jurists to be consulted on safeguards, v) committees to look into grievances of public servants.

In spite of all these measures the struggle mounted and grew in intensity. Bandhs, hartals and processions became quite frequent in the region. The leaders and followers of Jai Telangana Movement, however, failed to withstand the pressure of Smt. Indira Gandhi government and thus, withdrew.<sup>121</sup>

Another interesting aspect of the history of Andhra Pradesh was that it not only witnessed the movement for separate Telangana but also movement of separate Andhra by the people of Andhra in early 1970s. This was the after (Supreme Court verdict) effect of the decision given by the Supreme Court of India regarding Mulki Rules.

Referring to the history of Mulki rules a member of Rajya Sabha said, 'in the former princely state of Hyderabad, under a rule forming part of the Hyderabad civil service regulations, no person could be appointed to any government service, superior or inferior, without specific sanction of the Nizam, if he was not a Mulki. One of the grounds for acquiring Mulki status was permanent residence in Hyderabad state for at least 15 years. This provision was continued after merger of the state in 1948, and was subsequently protected under article 35 (b) of the constitution. At the of formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, one of the points of agreement between the leaders of Andhra and Telangana regions was that the benefits of securing employment in government service for the people of Telangana region on the basis of local residential qualification would be continued in the new state for that region. the parliament accordingly passed the public employment (requirement as to residence) act, 1957, which, while repealing the Mulki Rules through section 2, enabled the

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid,p.24

central government under section 3, to make rules prescribing requirement as to residence within Telangana area in regard to appointments to any subordinate service or post under the state government or any local or other authority.

The then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, in the view of requirements of the integrated state and to protect the legitimate interests of the people discussed about the various measures regarding the Mulki rules.<sup>122</sup> The measures decided upon were as follows: 1. The residential qualification prescribed in the Mulki Rules would apply only for the purpose of recruitment to non-gazetted posts of Tehsildar, Civil assistant surgeon and Junior engineer in the Telangana region. 2. These safeguards would remain operative in the Telangana region up to the end of December, 1950. However, in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderbad, the safeguards would continue only to end of December, 1977. This distinction had been made because the state capital was located in these cities. 3. In order to provide adequate of promotion to the government servants working in each of the two regions, the various service cadres would be regionalized upto the first or second gazette level. This would not, however, be applied to the services which act as direct feeders to All India Services. 4. Educational facilities, including those in the technical and professional fields which were available to Telangana students in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad would not be adversely affected. In these cities the facilities would be suitably expanded and these additional facilities would not be subject to any restrictions on the basis of residence. 5. For the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, there would be a composite police force, the details of which would be worked out in consultation with the state government.

The Public Employment Act and the rules framed were challenged in the Supreme Court in 1969. Connected issues were further agitated in various cases in the Andhra Pradesh High Court in its judgment dated October 3, 1972 held that section 2 of the Public Employment Act was also bad in so far as it dealt with Telangana area, and that the residential qualification for recruitment to government service provided under the Mulki rules should continue to be in force in the Telangana region.

The Supreme Court on October 3, 1972, gave a judgment upholding the Mulki rules. This triggered 'Jai Andhra' or separate Andhra struggle. People of Andhra felt

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid,p27.

that they were reduced to status of second class citizens in their own state's capital. The leaders of Jai Andhra movement demanded either to scrap all the safeguards given to the people of Telangana or bifurcate Andhra Pradesh into Andhra and Telangana state. As a result of this struggle, Andhra came under President's rule in January 1973 due to which P. V. Narasimha Rao, threatened to resign as the CM when central rule was imposed in the state for a period of over ten months.

The then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi came out with six point formula to resolve the matter. An announcement regarding this was made in Lok Sabha on September 20, 1973. The highlights of this Six Point Formula<sup>123</sup> as per the statement issued by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh were: 1. Constitution of a planning board at the state level as well as sub-committees for different backward areas. 2. Preference to local candidates in the matters of admission to educational institutions and establishment of a new central university at Hyderabad. 3. Preference to specified extent to local candidates in the matters of desired recruitment and organization of local cadres. 4. Constitution of administrative tribunal. 5. Amending constitution suitably for above purpose. 6. The above would render the continuance of Mulki Rules and Regional Committee unnecessary.

This formula once again was not successful in gaining the intended results. As a result of Six Point Formula, Telangana Regional Committee was replaced by the State Planning and Development Board along with separate Planning and Development Committees for the three regions of the state<sup>124</sup>. This change, however, could not tackle the backwardness of region. Further, the Regional Development Boards were abolished by the Telugu Desam government in the state.

On the educational front new universities or additional educational institutes were established in the region by amending Article 371(D) with the establishment of the Central University in Hyderabad. Also, adoption of common entrance examination and seat reservation for non-locals in Andhra universities did not benefit the youth of Telangana student while Andhra students who were already residing in Hyderabad

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<sup>123</sup> See appendix IV

<sup>124</sup> Ram Reddy, B. and Sharma, B.A.V. Regionalism in India : A study of Telangana, (New Delhi: Concept),p.

took a majority of these seats. All this generated a sense of deprivation and thus, resulted in frustration amongst the students of Telangana.<sup>125</sup>

Also the formula had stated that job preference would be given to the localites but the criteria for being a local person was of four years. This made all non-telangana people eligible for job in the region that had immigrated and been staying in the region from past four years. Also, the jobs in the Secretariat and heads of department, police, common institutions judiciary, APSRTC, State Electricity Board, corporations and boards were thrown open depriving opportunities of Telangana people. Major industries in Ramagundaam, Medak, RangaReddy district, Khammam and Nalgonda were thrown open for all that meant lakhs of Telangana youth will be deprived of their jobs. Further, 20 percent reservation was given in the zonal cadres for non-locals that rendered continuance of Mulki rules in Telangana inconsequential.

With the failure of the implementation of the Six-Point formula yet again, a sense of discontentment and disappointment continued among the people of Telanaga said Shri. Jaipal Reddy.<sup>126</sup> He also pointed out that the Six point formula was perhaps, agreeable to most people on both sides as Indira Gandhi was also in the midst of international crisis in terms of the ongoing Bangladesh war around that time. She perhaps, wanted to contain domestic crisis in Telanagana of a demand for a separate state by pitting against national crisis i.e., the Bangladesh war. It worked well and all agreed to her suggestions. In another interview M.Satyanarayana Rao, who was a young leader of the movement in the 1970 Telanagan struggle, said that the fact is that before entering her room we were sure that no matter what we will not budge from our stance of a separate state for Telangana. However, everything changed the moment we entered her room for negotiations in New Delhi. All the points she put forward were so convincing that she was able to win over all of us by her sheer charisma.<sup>127</sup> Indira Gandhi really set out to convince the people of Telangana that their problems rang a bell with her and she was really concerned about their demands.

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<sup>125</sup> Among the respondents in the field study students from Hyderabad and Secunderabad, Nizamabad and Ranga Reddy district in Telangana expressed these concerns largely.

<sup>126</sup> Interview conducted on 12 February, 2012 at his residence in New Delhi.

<sup>127</sup> M. Satyanarayana Rao was one of the members from Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) along with its leader M.Chenna Reddy who went to New Delhi for negotiations with the central government for a separate Telangana. It would be note worthy to remember here soon after TPS was merged with Congress and M.Chenna Reddy soon became the Chief Minister of the state. The interview with Shri. M Satyanarayana Rao was conducted in 28 October,2007 in Hyderabad.

In fact, a little later in 1980, she fought Lok Sabha elections from Medak Constituency and retained this as her constituency. Till her assassination in 1984 and subsequent Congress government at the centre and the Telugu Desam government in the state kept the Telangana people and their demands fulfilled to a large extent. This period some also claim was the period when the political representation (in terms of the chief ministerial births or cabinet births in the government) given to the people of Telangana was almost highest.

It was not till the early 1990's that one saw the rise of a minor phase of Jai Telangana movement again demanding the formation of a separate state of Telangana. The movement was led by Indra Reddy. It could not capture the large scale support that later Telangana Rashtra Samithi under K.Chandrashekar Rao would garner.

#### **4. Emergence of Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS)**

On April 27, 2001 K.Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) established Telangana Rashtra Samithi in Hyderabad with sole aim of achieving the state of Telangana.<sup>128</sup> Prof. Jayashankar provided the intellectual support to the TRS party headed by KCR. This party filled the political void in Telangana movement and marched the dissatisfied and enraged people of Telangana towards the formation of Telangana state. The TRS party was successful in inculcating the need for Telangana state as a political necessity through the political process of elections. For this reason TRS party is described as a historical inevitability. The TRS turned the fighting spirit of Telangana people towards democratic methods and played a key role in the formation of Telangana state without shedding a single drop of blood.

Kalwakuntla Chandrashekhar Rao who popularly known as KCR, established TRS, was previously a youth Congress leader. Later, he joined TDP in 1983 established by NTR. He was elected as MLA for four consecutive terms (1985, 1989, 1994, 1999) from Siddipet assembly constituency. He worked as transport minister between 1996-99 and as Deputy Speaker in Chandrababu's cabinet in 1999. In 2000 a document by name 2020 was prepared by Chandrababu. KCR disagreed on certain issues of the document and expressed resentment as the document did not contain anything about scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and minorities.

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<sup>128</sup> Eenadu, 28, 2001.

He also questioned for not mentioning anything about Telangana. Similarly, he wrote a letter to Chandrababu opposing the enhancement of electric charges in August 2000. The summary of this letter was published in all the newspapers. Many people understood that KCR's thoughts were stepping towards Telangana and began to meet him and discuss on the formation of Telangana state. In this context Santhapuri Raghuvver Rao, who was one of the initiators of Telangana movement in 1969, met KCR in September, 2000, and invited him into Telangana movement. In October 2000 when Jayashankar and KCR discussed this matter, Jayashankar said to KCR "I have worked with many leaders for Telangana but after speaking to you I believe that the Telangana state will be formed in your leadership".<sup>129</sup> Telangana intellectuals, lawyers, students, politicians and many others with confidence in KCR met him and discussed with him about achieving the Telangana state. KCR felt that the formation of a party was the only solution for this and began to make preparations in that direction. Chandrababu came to know this through the intelligence sources and tried to lure KCR by offering ministers position. Yet KCR did not respond. At this time supreme court ordered panchayat elections. KCR felt this was a good time and resigned deputy speaker post, MLA position and also TDP membership, and established TRS on 27<sup>th</sup> april, 2001 with the unique agenda of forming Telangana state. KCR decided Rose colour flag with the map of 10 districts of Telangana as the party's flag.

Telangana people invited this party with pleasure and 19 lakhs of people joined as members within 9 days. With an intention to conduct large public meeting with the name 'Simhagarjana' in Karimnagar on may 17, 2001, KCR organised meetings in Jaladrushya and explained the importance of Telangana to the party workers. KCR announced that the 'Simhagarjana' meetings success will decide the future of Telangana movement as he believed good beginning is half success. Lakhs of people thronged the meetings as he expected. Prof. Jayashankar and KCR together reached the meeting venue. Jharkhand leader Shibu soren attended the meeting and expressed his support for the formation of Telangana state.

In this meeting KCR spoke on the weavers problems, increasing suicides, locked up factories, recruitment, selling of children by Lambada mothers. He

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<sup>129</sup> The same confidence was expressed by the Late.Prof. Jaya Shankar when I interviewed him.

explained the governments favour to Seemandhra and partial and biased treatment to Telangana with proofs. He narrated the difference in the attitude of central government in closing the Ramagundam Fertilizer corporation and the efforts of Chandrababu to avoid the closure of the sick Vishakha steels.

As the first public meeting was successful, with doubled enthusiasm large scale public meetings were held in Palamuru on June 1, 2001, in Nalgonda on June 2 and in Nizamabad on June 4, in Nirmal on June 5 and in Warangal on June 21. All the meetings were attended by people in large numbers. In all these meetings KCR reiterated the one and only solution for checking the loot of Andhras, the formation of Telangana state was necessary. In the panchayats elections conducted after two months of the inception of the party, the TRS won 1000 MPTC seats, 87 ZPTC seats, 84 MPP seats and ZP chairman posts in Karimnagar and Nizamabad. In this elections TRS established remarkable existence even in villages. This wonderful victory raised confusion in TDP, congress, BJP and leftist parties.<sup>130</sup>

By elections for the Siddipet assembly constituency for which KCR resigned was held on September 22, 2001. In this election KCR won more than 58,712 votes majority on his opponent K. Srinivas Reddy (TDP). To the assembly in which the speaker gave a ruling not to utter the word “Telangana”, KCR was reelected by forming TRS. This was a wonderful event.

The win gave increased encouragement, KCR prepared the people in the meeting held in all the districts. ‘Prajagarjana meeting was held in Khammam on November 17, 2001. This meeting was more successful than expected and the Telangana ideology strongly penetrated in Khammam district. With the same spirit TRS organized ‘Shankharaava’ meeting in Vikarabad of Ranga Reddy district on March 27, 2002. On one side KCR continued to awaken people by conducting meetings and on the otherside kept the issue of Telangana alive with his speeches in the assembly especially, his speeches on 610 G.O.,<sup>131</sup> NagarjunaSagar Project, Sri Ramsagar project, Rajolibunda diversion stirred the thoughts of Seemandhra assembly members. As Telangana is in Deccan plateau, scarcity of water is natural a prank

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<sup>130</sup> This Victory said KCr was a reflection of the aspirations of the Telangana people for a separate state.

<sup>131</sup> It is noteworthy that during my interview with him I noticed that one thing that infuriated him more than anything else was that this G.O.610.



always was put forth by the Andhra governments. KCR introduced the Nizam, Burgula government plans of upper Krishna, Bheema project canal designs along with maps to shut the mouths of Seemandhras. When Chandrababu boasted of allotting more funds in the budget for the irrigation water in Telangana, KCR refuted it with his eloquent speech. Speaking on the false encounters he said that the bloodshed from any side was of the Telangana's son and if Telangana state was formed there won't be any false encounters.

On April 27, 2002, the first annual meeting was held in Nalgonda. In the meeting attended by more than 10 lakh people, Shibusoren, Ajitsingh, Bheem Singh Prof. Jayashankar, R. VidyaSagarRao explained the necessity of the formation of Telangana state.

In order to unite all the Telanganites, BJP leader and Medak parliament member Ale Narendra intended to merge his 'Telangana SadhanaSamithi' in TRS. KCR accepted the proposal and invited Ale Narendra with great respect. The Telangan SadhanaSamithi merged with TRS on August 11, 2002.

KCR and party workers on behalf of TRS party begged and accumulated money to give financial help to the weavers of Dubbaka, Pochampally and Siricilla.

At this time though abundant coal was available in Bhoopal Pally, the government instead of producing electricity allotted the coal to the power plants in Andhra. With a demand of installing new power producing centres in Bhoopal Pally KCR organized a public meeting on October 28, 2002. The government having no other alternative, started a 500 megawatt electricity producing centre. To strengthen the Telangana ideology in villages and towns TRS party organized 'Pallebata' and Basthibata programmes in September and continued till October 7. In these programmes TRS head directly participated in villages and towns to speed up the movement. TRS conducted 'JalaSadhana' programme from November 25, 2002 to January 5, 2003 to educate people on the cheating of the government in matter of irrigation water supply. As a part of this programme, TRS organized mass hunger strikes in villages. In this JalaSadhana programme retired chief engineer R.VidhyasagarRao, retired engineers JavaruppaPrabhakar, Shyam Prasad Reddy actively participated. TRS conducted 'Telangana garjana', a mega public meeting in

Gymkhana grounds, Hyderabad as the concluding meeting of Jalasadhana. As this meeting was successful, the Andhra rulers began to allot funds to Telangana projects, though in small quantities. Similarly, TRS party obstructed the shifting of Musheerabad Gandhi hospital.

To ignite the need for Telangana state formation, all over the country TRS intended to organize a great public meeting in Ramleela grounds in the national capital, Delhi. The TRS party leaders and workers left for Delhi in a rally of 1000 cars on road from Falakhunuma Palace on March 27, 2003. Ramvilas Paswan welcomed them in the meeting venue.

TRS second annual day meeting was organized on April 27, 2003 in Warangal as “Jaitrayatra”. More than 10 lakh people attended the meeting. KCR from Siddipet and the leaders from all districts came on bicycles. This was an interesting feature of this meeting. Another interesting feature of the meeting was the presence of Ex-Prime minister, Deva Gowda, Vidharbha leader, Prof. Banwarlal, Bundelkhand leader, Prof. Babulal Tiwari and Ajitsingh and their announcement of full support to Telangana movement.<sup>132</sup>

KCR felt ‘Padayatra’ will enable him to mingle with people. He started the first padayatra from Rajolubanda diversion on left canal in Rajolimandal of Mabubnagar district on May 20, 2003 and continued it till May 25.

While steering the party single handedly, KCR to gain wide public support and intended to gather other parties and leaders with ideological similarity on Telangana on a single platform. Keeping this in view, he arranged a meeting on 25 June 2003 to discuss about a joint action committee. The then PCC president M.SatyanarayanaRao, CPI leader SuravaramSudhakar Reddy, MIM leader Asaduddin Oswaissi, Telangana congress leader, K. KeshavRao attended the meeting and discussed the issue of achievement of Telangana state formation.

To meet the people, KCR again started second padayatra from Mabubnagar district only. He walked from Alamour to Godwal a total of 180 kms and organized a large public meeting in Gadwal on July 30. To look after the problems faced by the

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<sup>132</sup> KCR himself pointed out that this support from neighbouring states in particular gave him lot of encouragement to move ahead strongly with the demand for a separate state of Telangana state.

farmers depending on Nagarjunasagar left canal, he Baganpadayatra from Kodad on August 25, 2003 and reached haliya on 30 th. On the same day addressing in the public meeting he narrated the injustice done to telangana state. Similarly, TRS party in august organized 'kolahalam' meeting kollapur, mahabubnagar district, in September 'nagara'' meeting in nagarkurnool, mabubnagar district and enhanced its strength in mabubnagar district.

In order to materialize Telangana state, KCR thought of a national level movement along with the leaders of other states who were also demanding separate states. He organized a meeting in Delhi on September 9,2003. Ajitsingh, Shibusoren, Bhanwarlal attended the meeting. KCR was elected as the national convener for separate states. Conducting the meetings seminars and padayatra KCR met political leaders, intellectuals, masses and advocated the necessity of separate state for Telangana. In order to involve the students also directly in the movement he conducted large scale public meeting infronts of Arts college building Osmania University on September 17, 2003. A large number of students of all the districts of Telangana attended the meeting.

As the congress party observed that the TRS party was gaining strength, it wanted to tie up with TRS party thereby divert the votes of TDP to gain power. With this plan, congress vested the responsibility of tieing up with TRS to the then Andhra Pradesh congress committee president D.Srinivas. as a part of this plan Andhra Pradesh congress party in-charge, Gulam Nabi Azad came to KCR's house and discussed this matter. Later also, Pranab Mukherji and KCR discussed on alliance in Delhi. Congress leaders gave assurance to KCR that they will take necessary steps for the formation of Telangana state after assuming the power. KCR also, felt that NDA was not in position to come to power for the third time and accepted alliance with congress. The congress and TRS came to an agreement on February 25, 2004.<sup>133</sup>In the assembly seats of Telangana, TRS contested on 42 seats and out of 17 Lok Sabha seats, TRS contested on 6 seats. The congress sent a group of representatives under the leadership of Gulam Nabi Azad to the state for signing the agreement. TRS demanded the congress to announce that it will accept the first SRC recommendations

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<sup>133</sup> KCR believed that Congress should fulfill the promises it made during the elections and that there was an un necessary delay being made the central government in granting Telangana. As mentioned in 2007 interview.

of states reorganization on linguistic basis. The representatives group sent by high command did not accept this as it preferred the formation of second SRC. Congress, due to her alliance with TRS, formed Telangana regional congress committee. Similarly, it included the issue of Telangana in its manifesto. BJP in alliance with TDP made an agreement to contest for 27 assembly seats and 9 Lok Sabha seats. In the elections Congress, TRS and the two communist parties became a front and TDP, BJP tied up in the elections as another front.

After making an agreement with TRS, Sonia Gandhi speaking in a public meeting in Karimnagar on march 12,2004 announced, 'we know the emotions of Telangana people. We respect their feelings. We will try to fullfill their desire'. In the same 2004 elections the then central minister, L.K. Advani, announced that if all the parties in Andhra Pradesh assembly express consensus on Telangana, the NDA government in the centre will add Telangana issue in its agenda. As the elections were nearing, impatient Chandrababu Naidu alleged that KCR had no sincerity. He would also cheat the movement like Chennareddy did in 1969 by making secret agreement with congress. He brought the Telangana issue into forefront as he was not given ministers post. In the last 40 years there had been tremendous development in Telangana. The threat of Maoists is a hindrance to development; if Telangana was formed barriers will appear in the form of barrages on Godavari, delta and coastal area will turn into a desert. He also alleged if congress won, with the fear that TRS would reveal the secret agreement between them, cuts the state into two pieces. In this context, the Andhra business men who mingled with Chandrababu ridiculed the status of Hyderabad. The BJP having an alliance with TDP also spoke in two tones. BJP president Venkaiah Naidu speaking about the resolution made in 1998 Kakinada meeting for the formation of Telangana state satirically stated that the Kakinada resolution was still in Kakainada only. Advani also tried to escape from speaking clearly on the issue of Telangana. He announced that BJP will support the formation of small states. The congress in an agreement of alliance with TRS but its leader YSR speaking to media in Delhi, stated that congress will stand by the second SRC. 'what will be the state of Hyderabad?'<sup>134</sup> Is it going to be a common capital for both the states? Is it going to be a union Territory?' are the issues to be examined he said. For

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<sup>134</sup> KCR was very confident that Hyderabad should be made the capital if the new state of Telangana and it was most desirable solution according to him even as early as 2007.

the first time YSR raised the issue of Hyderabad and indirectly warned that 'if Telangana state is formed Hyderabad will be lost'. On the statements, KCR on may6, 2004 said that if Hyderabad is not made the capital of Telangana, the situation of 1969 will repeat. I won't accept any one to take away even an inch of Telangana soil'. We constructed Hyderabad with our toil and seat.<sup>135</sup> The above statements of different leaders clearly gave an understanding to people who is provoking and whom?

In the elections TRS contested for 54 assembly seats including 42 assembly seats allotted to it in alliance. TRS was successful in 9 districts except Khammam (vote percentage- 6.68). congress which contested for 243 seats won 185 (votes percentage 37.56) seats, TDP contested for 207 seats won 47 seats (37.59% votes). TRS in the allotted 6 MP seats won 5 seats. Political analysts expressed that loosing the Nagarkurnool seat was due to confusion in the party symbol. KCR, for the first time won the Karimnagar parliamentary seat and the MLA seat in Siddipet simultaneously. Ale narendra from Medak, T. Madhusudhan Reddy from Adilabad, D.RavindraNaik from Warangal, B. Vinod Kumar from Hanamakonda were elected as MLAs. In Nagarkurnool TRS candidate K.S.Ratnam was defeated byDr.MandaJagannadham of TDP. After the election results were announced, Sonia Gandhi on phone invited KCR to join in government.

TRS in UPA: KCR demanded for including the Telangana issue in UPA announced common minimum programme for giving support to UPA. As congress accepted this, KCR agreed to join in Union government. Similarly, the Left parties also extended support to UPA which resulted in the formation of UPA government under the leadership of Congress and the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh. Yet, KCR declined to join in the state government headed by YSR. On 13 May, 2004, Y.S.Raja Shekhar Reddy took the oath of office as Chief Minister. However, the YSR cabinet was formed without TRS.

In May, 2004, UPA Government allotted shipping ministry to KCR and rural development ministry to Ale Narendra. But DMK, one of the allied parties of UPA strongly demanded for shipping ministry. The congress party was in a dilemma. Understanding the situation and stating clearly that their main aim was attaining

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<sup>135</sup>Hyderabad was always an emotional issue for both the people of Andhra as well as Telangana. In many ways it was a historical dilemma.

Telangana but not ministry, KCR voluntarily left his post within 24 hours of assuming the office. He continued as a minister without portfolio for six months. He was allotted ministry of labour and employment later. At this time elections were announced to Rajya Sabha. As TRS had 26 assembly members, one Rajya Sabha seat was to be allotted to it. The CPM with only 9 seats demanded for it. In order to pull up congress from the difficult situation KCR relinquished the Rajya Sabha membership as he sacrificed the ministership. On May 26, 2004, congress fulfilled its promise by adding the issue of Telangana in the Common Minimum Programme.

UPA Common Minimum Programme: In 2004 elections UPA Front consisting of RJD, DMK, NCP, PMK, TRS, JMM, LJP, MDMK, AIMIM, PDP, IUML, RPI (A), RPI (G) AND K.C. (JI) formed the government and leftist parties supported from outside. All the allied parties in the UPA jointly designed a common minimum programme. In this common minimum programme under the head, union and states relations- regional development, the Telangana issue was included. The UPA government will consider the demand for the formation of a Telangana state at appropriate time after due consultations and consensus.

For fulfilling the above announcement UPA-1, UPA-2 governments took up many programmes and formed a number of committees. Initially the UPA carefully stepped forward in the matter of formation Telangana but finally it had successfully formed the Telangana state as mentioned in its common minimum programme.

President's address: In the parliament, in the joint session of both the houses the then president APJ Abdul Kalam, speaking about state central relations introduced the issue of the formation of Telangana state. The president stated in the house that the government will consider the demand for the formation of a Telangana state at an appropriate time after due consultations<sup>136</sup>. It's matter of fact that the president's speech is prepared by the ruling party. Political analysts questioned the words consultations and consensus. Why these are needed in the case of Telangana only and why cant it be formed just as other states were formed, they asked. However, as an allied party of UPA, TRS influenced the Congress leadership and was successful in getting it included in the common minimum programme and in the president address.

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<sup>136</sup> It was a historical moment as no other President of India said Jaipal Reddy, had ever raised the issue of Telangana on an official platform.

We fulfilled your desires.... You have to respect our desires...saying to Sonia Gandhi requested KCR once again to join the state government schemes, TRS party agreed to join the state government. On June 23, 2004, 6 members of TRS took oath of office as cabinet ministers. They were G.Vijaya Rama Rao (civil supplies ministry), A.ChandraShekhar (small irrigation ministry) T.HarishRao(youth services, printing and stationery), capt. Lakshmi KantaRao(backward classes welfare), NayaniNarasimha Reddy (technical education, ITI) N.Santosh Reddy (transport ministry). As TRS joined the state government, coalition government was formed for the first time.

**Pranab Mukherji Committee:** Inspite of many efforts to put congress into action for Telangana state there was no progress at all. the congress tended towards postponing the issue in the name of consultations. In order to pressurize the union. TRS along with UPA parties organized a large scale public meeting in Parade grounds on December 1, 2004. Ajitsingh, Ramdas, Dr. Krishnan attended the meeting.

To check the speeding up by TRS, the congress appointed a cabinet sub-committee under the chairmanship of Pranab Mukherji on January 8, 2005 to obtain the opinions of UPA allied parties and other parties on the issue of Telangana. Raghuvansha Prasad of RJD, DAYANIDHI Maran of DMK were the members. The UPA government prescribed eight weeks time for the submission report.<sup>137</sup>

The committee issued letter to all the parties inviting their opinions. In this context TRS, MPs, KCR, Narendra ,Vinod Kumar, RaveendraNaik, MadhuSudhan Reddy along with prof. Jayashankar met all party leaders, they explained the necessity of formation of Telangana state and requested them for favourable opinions. Out of 13 parties in UPA, 11 parties (RJD, NCP, PMK, JMM, Lok Janashakthi, MDMK, TRS etc) wrote letters expressing support to Telangana state formation. DMK did not express its support in the letter form but accepted for the formation of Telangana in the UPA meeting held on august 24, 2006. Congress did not submit any letter and the whole issue is being dealt by them only.

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<sup>137</sup> Pranab Mukherjee Committee for reasons un specified could not submit its report, that was in some ways dented the credibility of Congress towards the cause of Telanagana expressed, Jaipal Reddy.

Out of 11 parties which are supporting the UPA from outside, six parties (BSP, RashtriyaLok Dal, Forward Block, JD, Sikkim democratic front, SJP(R) wrote letters in favour of Telangana, Samajwadi party did not express its opinion. As they are confined to the formation of states. On linguistic basis, CPM opposed the formation of Telangana state. As congress, BJP supporting Telangana, the TRS won't oppose both these parties. As the congress was supporting Telangana, the TRS party won't withdraw their support to UPA, the TRS Party expressed.

CPI expressing its views stated that special packages, formation of regional boards would settle the injustices done to Telangana and if they fail to do so, a special committee should be appointed for examining the issue of Telangana formation . In the opposition front NDA out of 14 parties, 8 parties (BJP, ShiromaniAkali Dal, JDU, IFD, MNF, NPF, BNS) supported the telangana in writing. Shivsena,AJP, national Conference parties stated they would support the decision of BJP. The TDP which maintained silence initially, wrote a letter supporting Telangana on October 18, 2008 as Devendergoud and NagamJanardhan Reddy left the party and the elections were nearing.

Though 80% of loksabha members expressed support, the congress party did not react positively. KCR warned the government that if no decision was taken in the parliament monsoon session the TRS ministeries would resign their posts. Yet, there was no movement in congress. Even after the lapse of 20 months PranabMukherji committee report was not submitted. The report was never submitted even after that.

KCRs Resignation: On the one side the congress leaders were in active in Delhi, and on the other side YSR was enjoying power in the state as he wished. YSR took up Pulichinthala, Polavaram, Singoor canal projects without discussing in the cabinet.<sup>138</sup> As this way of administering was harmful to Telangana region, the TRS ministers were in great impatience. At this time on July 1, 2005 a famous Naxalite leader was killed in police firing. As TRS announced that their agenda was almost the agenda of Maoists they decided to resign. Except Santosh Reddy all the TRS ministers submitted their resignations on 4 July, 2005. In order to explain the people

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<sup>138</sup> KCR in his interview underlined that a separate Telangana would mean first solving the water sharing problem equitably that would see the development of the region that has been neglected for over half a century.



why TRS had withdrawn from the government, the party organized a meeting in Warangal on July 17, 2005. Cabinet Minister, Sharad Pawar, attended the meeting and expressed his support to Telangana.

TRS party with the intention of spreading Telangana ideology decided to train one lakh party workers in the name of 'Telangana Jana Jagarana Sena'. As a part of this programme, in the first phase 605 workers selected from all the districts of Telangana were given training in Noma function hall, Nacharam (Hyderabad) from September 10, 2005. These workers were called 'preraks'. They were provided with uniform, stick and a tie. Along with ideology they were also trained in physical activities. Due to various reasons, this kind of training was not given to many but training classes were conducted in each district.

TRS conducted 'polavaramgarjana' in Bhadrachalam on February 12, 2006 supporting the tribals who were against the polavaram project. Cabinet Minister, Shibu Soren, attended this public meeting.

With the support of YSR, nine TRS MLAs signed the nomination of independent candidate Kasani Gnaneshwar in the council elections. KCR appealed the speaker in a letter to declare these nine elected from TRS party defying the TRS whip by supporting Kasani as ineligible (wasting 2 years time in the pretext of enquiry, the speaker declared them disqualified on December 22, 2008.)

In spite of TRS's pressure congress continued its delay tactics. Even after the lapse of 16 months time, Pranab Mukherji's report was not submitted. Having lost their patience, KCR and Narendra resigned their posts as Union Minister on August 22, 2006. They staged hunger strike at Jantar-Mantar on August 24, 2006 to inform the people the reasons for which they have resigned. They have made all the party representatives in the Lok Sabha to pressurize the government for a discussion on Telangana in the house. On behalf of Lok Sabha, Speaker, Somnath Chatterji appealed KCR to withdraw his hunger strike. On the same day, at 10 in the night Sharad Pawar visited the camp and made KCR withdraw the strike by offering lemon water.

In this backdrop to reveal to the people why they resigned and how the congress had been playing with different tactics the TRS party organized a mammoth

public meeting on September 8, 2006 in Siddipet naming it as Telangana Samara Shankharavam. As the meeting was successful beyond expectations, the congress leaders and TRS rebels criticized TRS and personally abused KCR. As a part of this then sports minister M.SatyanarayanaRao said ‘ KCR after enjoying ministership for 2 years was speaking on Telangana’ infact he won the MP seat with the support of congress. He challenged KCR to resign the seat and seek fresh election. Accepting the challenge in good spirit, KCR resigned to the MP seat on September 12, 2006. At the same time having been vexed with the attitude of congress, the TRS submitted a letter to the Speaker of Lok Sabha withdrawing its support to government on September 23, 2006. Karimnagar Lok Sabha bye election was conducted on December 4, 2006. Before the elections, YSR sarcastically commented that the Karimnagar bye election was a referendum for Telangana. The voters of Karimnagar Parliamentary constituency proved this as a truth. KCR won with a majority of 2,01,582 votes.<sup>139</sup> The election filled confidence, faith and strengthin TRS workers. However, after this election in the assembly elections conducted on March 22, 2007, TRS had to taste mixed results. In this contest ensued Sudarshan and Rehaman, Rehaman won but sudarshan wasa defeated. Similarly, the candidates Dilipkumar and Satyanarayana, supported by TRS, won the election.

After the elections from April6, 2007 to april 12, 2007 KCR organized padayatra in the fluoride effected villages of Nalgonda. In the padayatra called ‘Nalgonda Nagara’ KCR expressed that if the Andhra rulers had given drinking and irrigation water from NagarjunaSagar project, the people of Nalgonda would not have faced such physical disabilities and if the SLBC works were completed and Krishna water was supplied to Nalgonda for drinking and irrigation Telangana sons would not have faced such misery. KCR observed a one day hunger strike at Indira Park on July 15, 2007 for the implementation of Sachar Committee recommendations for the welfare minorities. Though the people of Telangana were struggling for their rights, Andhra snatched away the Singareni jobs violating the 610 G.O. TRS awakened Telangana workers successful. Similarly, the struggles of TRS against the open cast were invaluable.

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<sup>139</sup> Jaipal Reddy believes this really brought back great impetus to the Telangana movement. In many ways it was a major turning point in the movement according to him.

As difference in opinion cropped up regarding Kathari case between KCR and Narendra a day before the sixth TRS annual day (Vishwaroop Sabha, Warangal), on April 26, 2007 Ale Narendra was expelled from the party (later narendra started his own party in the name of real TRS party)

The TRS public representatives decided to resign and accelerate the struggle for the formation of Telangana without caring for their posts. On February 11, 2008 assembly session started. As the Telangana issue was not included in the conventional address of the governor, the TRS members walked out. On February 13, the TRS members in the assembly and in the council forced the resolution to be introduced for Telangana. These members were suspended. Similarly, in the parliament meetings started from 25<sup>th</sup> the TRS members demanded discussion on Telangana. In this context, on February 28, 2008, BJP leader L.K.Advani announced his party's support to Telangana,<sup>140</sup> if the bill was placed. As decided previously; on March 3, 2008 parliament members KCR, B.Vinodkumar, T.Madhusudhan Reddy, D. Revindra Naik resigned. On March 4, 2008, 16 MLAs and 3 council members resigned their membership. But 10 TRS rebel member did not resign. In the bye elections conducted for this reason, YSR acted tactfully. TRS was unable to break his plans.

As a result of this in the elections held on May 29, 2008 TRS had to face degrading defeat. Out of 16 resigned seats of assembly TRS won 7 seats and out of 4 parliamentary seats TRS won 2 (including KCR) seats only. In this bye election congress won 6 assembly seats and 1 parliamentary seat. Keeping this in view, some political analysts commented that the ideology for separate state for Telangana was weakened.

**Rosaiah Committee:** As the elections were nearing and Telangana movement gaining momentum, YSR formed an all party committee to examine the demand for Telangana formation. On February 12, 2009, Y.S. Rajashekar Reddy announced the formation of a committee with the members of both the houses under the leadership of finance minister Rosaiah in the assembly. In this committee there were 4 members from Telangana and 3 from Andhra. Except Akbaruddin Owaissi all the members were from congress. The opposition parties TRS, CPI, CPM, BJP wrote letters to chief secretary Ramanath Reddy, not to include their members in the committee. So,

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there were no members in the committee from the above parties. Rosaiah was the chairman of the committee and Konathala Rama Krishna, J. Geetha Reddy, Uttamm Kumar Reddy, Sridhar Babu, Padma Raju, ShaikHussain, Akbaruddin Owaissi were the members.

The terms of reference of the committee were announced on March 4, 2009.

1. To recognise the elements that strengthened the sentiment of Telangana and to find out the facts related to employment opportunities and examine the misappropriation of resources.
2. To examine the fears of the people who settled in Hyderabad metropolitan and to examine the fears of the people settled in the rest of the region excepting Hyderabad.
3. To examine the terrorist related activities of Maoists if Telangana state was formed.
4. To examine the fears of minorities if Telangana was formed.
5. To examine the demands for separate state formation in other regions of the state.  
Ex: Rayalseema, jai Andhra, Kalinga Andhra.
6. To examine the matters related to mines, coal mines and real estate and to find out the inconveniences to these on formation of Telangana.
7. To formulate methods related to river water distribution.
8. To chalk out the action to be taken to be established and promote friendly relations among all the regions if Telangana was formed.
9. To formulate future plans for Telangana and Andhra Pradesh on formation of Telangana. Due to various political reasons this committee could not submit its report.

As TRS experienced a great loss in the bye elections of May, it was determined to win some more seats in the general elections. At the same time YSR was waiting to strike KCR. Keeping his feelings discrete, Chadrababu Naidu decided

to say Jai Telangana to bring TDP into power. PrajaRajayam party declared that it would stick to social Telangana. All the parties went to elections making Telangana as the centre point. Political experts stated these elections were a referendum to Telangana sentiment. Political atmosphere was heated in the contest of elections. DevenderGoud left TDP and formed Nava Telangana Party. VijayaShanthi merged 'Talli Telangana' party in TRS.

As these elections were to decide the political future of KCR, Chandrababu, YSR and Chiranjeevi the heads of all the parties put their total efforts on winning. As a part of his efforts, Chandrababu in July 2008 suggested KCR to work together for which KCR, asked Chandrababu to support Telangana. They stepped into the field of elections together in the name of 'Telugu JathiVaibhavam'. On Dasara festival, Chandra babunaidu announced to media that the Telugu Desam party bureau passed a resolution supporting Telangana. He also said that TDP would support separate Telangana, respecting the ambition of Telangana people and formation of Telangana was a historical necessity. Keeping this view the three year movement of Telangana people, after holding discussions TDP changed its earlier stand. Having a name as 'AparaChanakya' Chandra babu planned the formation of 'MahaKootami'. TDP, TRS, CPI,CPM joined as MahaKootamito fight the elections. Jayashankar played a key role in materialising the 'agreement' of these parties.

'We bring Telangana, we give Telangana with this slogan Congress went to the masses. It narrated its accomplishments in the centre and the states by including the formation of committees for Telangana from G.ChennaReddy to Rosaiah. In the election campaign in many places of Telangana YSR in his addresses told the people that their ambition for Telangana would come true if the congress was elected and the win of MahaKootami, BJP, Prjarajyam parties would be of no use to them. After the first phase of election was over, the same YSR in the second phase of election campaign in Nandyal (Kurnool district) provoked the people by saying that if Telangana gets separated the people of other regions will be foreigners in Hyderabad and will need a passport to go to Hyderabad.

BJP campaigned stating that it would support the formation of small states and their slogan to reach the people was 'one vote-two states'. While stating that it was against the formation of small states CPI announced that it was in favour of

Telangana. Prajarajyam expressed that it would stick to social Telangana. The agenda of TRS was none other than Telangana.

TDP, for the first time in its manifesto state that it was in favour of Telangana but in practice it resorted to treachery. This led to the failure of the agreement made between TDP and TRS. In the time of nominations chandrababu gave B' forms to many TDP candidates in places allotted for TRS in the agreement. Moreover, TDP encouraged independent candidates and rebel candidates who contested in some places allotted to TRS and thereby became instrumental for the defeat of TRS.

In the first phase elections conducted on April 16, 2009 for 13 districts (Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishkapatnam, and the 10 districts of Telangana) Telugu people showed disinterest in MahaKootami which was full of contradictory ideas. Chiranjeevi's charisma, though was not useful in winning successfully but divided the votes. Thus congress came to power once again. In this elections TRS won only 2 MP seats (KCR from Mahabubnagar and Vijayashanthi from Medak). Out of the 45 assembly seats contested TRS won only 10 seats.

#### 2009- Assembly elections- results

S.No.	Party	Seats won	Pulled votes	Votes percentage
1.	Congress	156	1,53,74,075	1.35
2.	TDP	92	1,18,26,483	1.80
3.	Prajarajyam	18	88,20,845	2.84
4.	TRS	10	16,78,906	1.31
5.	MIM	7	3,49,896	0.83
6.	CPI	4	5,52,259	1.31
7.	BJP	2	11,92,898	2.84
8.	Loksatta	1	7,57,042	1.80
9.	CPM	1	5,67,220	1.35
10.	Independents	3		

TRS party was formed with the agenda of formation of Telangana. In the election strategies that it followed from 2001 to 2009 for achieving Telangana state, it was successful by making alliance with congress in UPA in 2004 elections, in getting included the issue of Telangana in UPA common minimum programme and in the address of the president. Similarly, as an allied party in Mahakootami of 2009 elections TRS exhibited its tactfulness in making Chandrababu say 'Telangana was a historical necessity'. TRS could gain the support of national parties and national leaders by conducting seminars and meetings on Telangana issue at national level. It was because of TRS consultations with the centre, Pranab Mukherjee committee was formed. TRS party representatives describing itself as a party of movement and stating that assuming posts was not their interest and resigned to their posts several times to prove their sincerity. They explained the people why the movement was launched and they awakened people on the problems of Singareni workers, minorities, tribals, fluoride affected people. TRS party was successful in impressing upon the urgency and necessity of Telangana state, and turn the intellectual support for Telangana into a 'people's movement'.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Politics of Recognition of the demand for a Separate State of Telangana**

This chapter tries to analyse the politics of recognition of the demand for a separate state of Telangana. Understanding the politics of the Telangana demand is very important given the fact that the Telangana demand for a separate state both in 1956 and 1972 some believe remains unfulfilled due to the politicisation of the demand. The assertion of Telangana demand and its articulation since 2009 onwards will be analysed in the first section. In the second section, the response of various political parties will be looked into. The third section, look into the response of the Seemandhra to the Telangana demand for a separate state. And the fourth section will look into the Srikrishna committee recommendations.

#### **1. Telangana demand from 2009 onwards**

It would be helpful to begin with the analysis on the politics of the Telangana demand by analyzing the first question<sup>141</sup> that all the respondents asked the interviewees. When asked as to what the Telangana struggle is all about? Most of the respondents believed that it was about fulfilling the political aspirations of the ruling elite in Telangana. They did not also completely place their trust on any of the main political parties. The political intentions of Telangana Rashtra Samithi were also doubted as they had the example of Telangana Praja Samithi led by M.Chenna Reddy was merged with the Congress party in 1972. Linked to this is also question number five which asked the respondents as to what they thought about the overall political representation given to the people of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. Most respondents again believed that people of Telangana have not received proper political representation. However, the leaders of Telangana have. The answers given were ambivalent therefore, it also points out that may be there was an underlying hope that may be this time it would be different.

It is particularly interesting as to how they responded to questions three and four. Question three asked them to state what was the development process in

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<sup>141</sup> See Appendix(vi)



Telangana like in the last fifty years? What are the indicators of the development? The response was overwhelmingly said that the development as far as Telangana region goes it is only the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad where the overall development of the region can be said to have occurred. Elsewhere, that region remains underdeveloped. Question four was rather specific when it stressed to emphasise the reasons for backwardness in the region if they believe that region was underdeveloped? The answer was a yes. Interestingly both the urban and rural respondent were on the same page when they said that the region continues to be extremely backwards.<sup>142</sup> It was not just a case of economic backwardness but also backwards in terms of education as the literacy levels of the people are comparatively much low.

As far as the response of the rural respondent was concerned they invariably linked up the lack of development in the region with the lack proper share of water resources of their farmer as well as urban citizen.<sup>143</sup> Some how, this was always pointed out as the main reason for the underdevelopment in the region. Being predominantly agrarian (other than the twin cities) water was the main source of contention between both Andhra and Telangana region.

Questions seven, eight and eleven when analysed together give us a sense of things.<sup>144</sup> Question eight was specifically about what is the plight of the farmer in the region. Question eleven was about the water resource sharing between the regions of Andhra and Telangana. Responses to both questions have to be analysed together as the respondents saw a pattern in the nature of exploitation which is linked primarily to the idea of neglect. The plight of farmer would stand to improve once the Telangan region becomes a separate state as they bring it out of neglect. Question seven was to understand as to how a separate Telangan would help the people of Telangana. One of the first response is that it will automatically result in a better share of water to Telangana region and therefore, the farmer would be in position to benefit. It is something that invariably all respondents have pointed out. At some level water resource sharing for the people of Telangan was an emotive issue. KCR in his interview repeatedly pointed out to the problem of water resource as most important

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<sup>142</sup> See tables1-6

<sup>143</sup> See tables no 1-6

<sup>144</sup> See appendix (vi)

reason for the economic backwardness of the region. He said once Telangana comes to power this should be one of the first things that need to be addressed. Overall region of Telangana would be a much developed region once the problem of water sharing is resolved by both the states.

In 2009, during the general elections campaign that took place in two phases, KCR started addressing the issue of separate state of Telangana at very serious level. It must be pointed out here that while TRS emerged as the main political stakeholder in the Telangan region, however, people do understand that TRS alone cannot resolve the matter and therefore, support of other political parties would also be important. It is important to understand that while at some level they believed that the federal consensus reached in 1956 and 1972 may have been enough if they were properly implemented but now they believed that a separate Telangana alone be able to answer their problems.

Question six really was the key as to why a separate was a must most respondents felt. Question six raised the issue as to whether they know anyone from the regions Seemandhra in personal capacity and what is their disposition towards them. They said they believed that they are friendly, however, most have pointed out to the fact there is a subtle sense of superiority of identity that the people from that region display as opposed to Telangana. This display is not always overt and that in most cases is very subtle. As long as this predisposition remains the development of the region of Telangana would be difficult in the sense one gained from the respondents in clear terms.

The first phase of the elections took place in Telangana and the Second phase took place in the Seemandhra.<sup>145</sup> The main agenda of all the political parties in the first phase was the formation of the Telangana State. Each party campaigned by stating that the formation of the State was possible only by it and the parties competed among themselves on this aspect. The demand for a separate Telangana was included in the Election Manifesto of each political party. It was also made clear by each party through their campaigns in Telangana. Telugu Desam Party (TDP) informed that if its

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<sup>145</sup> The 2009 elections are significant for the first time all the national and regional parties fought elections in Telangana on the promise that if they come to power they will accommodate the demand for Telangana.

party came to power, the Telangana Bill would be introduced in the first legislative meeting itself. It was again reinforced in the election campaign by TDP leader, Chandra Babu Naidu. The Communist Party of India (CPI) said that they have decided that if vote is given to their party they will fully support the formation of the Telangana State. The Praja Rajyam Party (PRP) and its leader Chiranjeevi stated during the election campaign that its party would make efforts for the formation of not only the geographical Telangana but also for creating of a social Telangana. There was no need to doubt the trustworthiness of the Congress Party in the matter related to the formation of a separate Telangana state stated, Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy extensively the Congress party campaigns. He also claimed that to give or not to give Telangana depended on their party and their party alone could make the demand for a separate Telangana a success. The Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) also, in its nationwide campaign stated that if its party came to power in the Centre, it would give Telangana within 100 days. The Telangana Rastra Samithi Party campaigned that its party was formed for the formation of Telangana State itself. The CPM and MIM parties did not take the decision in favour of the formation of the Telangana state. The MIM was restricted and confined to a region in the Hyderabad city, and the Communist Party of India (Marixist), CPM, did not have people's support in Telangana except in a few places.

In these circumstances, a Grand Alliance was formed with the aim to defeat Congress and Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy. Telugu Desam, Telangana Rashtra Samithi, CPM and CPI formed into a Grand Alliance to contest elections. The Congress Party and MIM came to an understanding and contested the elections.<sup>146</sup> The Party Rajyam Party and the BJP contested the Elections separately. In this way, the Elections took place between the Mahakutami or Grand Alliance (TRS etc.), Mega Alliances (Praja Rajyam party), and People's Alliance or Praja Kutami (Congress Party). The TRS party joined the grand alliance. But the people of Telangana remained in uncertainty as there was no clarity as to which party was in favour of the formation of Telangana or not. Meanwhile, the people's organization mostly remained silent and there were some plausible reasons for this silence. Firstly, the people's organisations participating in the elections did not come to a favourable opinion on the elections. Secondly, some people's organisations were against the injustices done by the TDP to the Telangana

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<sup>146</sup> Grand Allaince to defeat Congress in General Elections, Enadu, April, 2009.

people. Thirdly, the Grand Alliance of the TDP, TRS, CPI and CPM was opposed by the people. Fourthly, the role of TRS was circumspect during the elections due to it being a part of the grand alliance. And fifthly, all parties including TDP approved of the Telangana issue. It is for these reasons that the people's organisations became neutral and ineffective at the time of the elections. The uncertainty of the people and the silence of the people's organisations turned the votes away from TRS and resulted in victory of the Congress Party.<sup>147</sup>

While the polling was coming to a close in the Telangana region, Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy in an election meeting at Nandyal stated that if the Congress Party is defeated and the Grand Alliance comes to power in the state and the formation of the Telangana state takes place, it would become necessary to take passports to go to Hyderabad. YSR further, stated that the Seemandhra region would become a desert without the waters of the rivers, Krishna and Godavari, and Seemandhra would have perennial drought in the region. With his heated campaign both in Telangana and Andhra regions, YRS was able to powerfully influence the people and once again brought the Congress Party to power in the 2009 elections of the state legislative assembly.

There are many reasons for the defeat of the Grand Alliance in the 2009 general elections. The newly formed Praja Rajyam Party divided the votes of the other parties but it did not succeed in getting many seats. TRS fought elections with the sole aim to attain Telangana state. However, it suffered a massive defeat. It contested in 9 Lok Sabha and 50 Assembly seats but won only 2 seats in Telangana. The Grand Alliance was not trusted by the people. With the result the Grand Alliance dissolved. The selection of the constituencies by TRS was not strategic. The TRS contested in some constituencies in which TDP had support and strength of the voters but the functionaries of the TDP did not cooperate with the leaders of the TRS. The TDP votes could not get transferred to the TRS. In the selection of the candidates, TRS gave tickets to persons not connected with the Telangana struggle. People with key roles in TRS from the beginning became far and distanced from the party. Some revolted against the party. Even before the election results were announced, the TRS joined the NDA which led to serious scrutiny. The TRS members, who were not given

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<sup>147</sup> Congress won the elections in Andhra, Deccan Chronical, June, 2009.

tickets revolted against the party with discontent. The Congress, TDP and Praja Rajayam Party took advantage of the discontent in the TRS Party and made attempts to divide the party. To some extent they were also successful. Kapilavai Dilip Kumar not in cordial terms with KCR, formed the Telangana Vimochana Party on 23rd August 2009<sup>148</sup>. The TRS had to face crisis as never before.

The Congress Party which came to power for the second time did not make efforts for the formation of the separate Telangana state but started programmes to suppress Telangana struggle. The opposition parties also did not make attempts for the formation of a separate state and also did not put pressure on the ruling party for the same. The TRS Party which responded to the formation and problems of the Telangana was insulted by the Seemandhra parties both in the Assembly and outside. The Chief Minister himself insulted the TRS Party on 10th June 2009 in the Assembly. While the Chief Minister insulted the TRS leader in the Assembly, Etela Rajendra and the Telangana Struggle, all the Seema Andhra Legislators present in Assembly irrespective of their party affiliations were smiling quietly and insulted Telangana. The Telangana supporters after seeing these incidents on the TV channel became agitated and were thrown into turmoil. The Telangana struggle was insulted at all places but no party did anything to condemn the continuing insult on Telangana. During the same period, the Chief Minister began the Programme Operation Akarsh and got the people's representatives of the other parties into Congress Party. The leader of the opposition began the operation swagruha in order to bring the representatives of other parties into Telugu Desam Party, Both the ruling and the opposition parties started to increase the strength of their parties in the Assembly but both the parties did not take any steps for the formation of the Telangana State or to solve the problems of Telangana.

After the 2009 Elections the Andhra supporters felt that the Telangana Movement was probably taking a back seat. On the other side the people's organisations and intellectuals of Telangana started initiatives for implementing the strategy to strengthen the Telangana Struggle.<sup>149</sup> Plans were made to strengthen the Telangana Struggle at all places in Telangana by each person according to his power. After the 2009 elections, YSR enhanced his stature in politics in the State and also at

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<sup>148</sup> Telangana Vimochana party udhbhavamu, Andhra Bhoomi, 24 August, 2009.

<sup>149</sup> Prajala Pilupu Telangana Kosamu, Eenadu, 24 September, 2009.

the Centre as a powerful and undisputed leader of the Congress. The Rachahabanda Programme was to solve the people's problems after meeting them face to face. The Rachhabanda Programme was to solve the people's problems after meeting them face to face. The Monsoon session of the Assembly ended on 1st September. On the next day 2nd September, 2009, YSR started by helicopter from Hyderabad to participate in the first Rachhaabanda Programme of the State at the Chittoor district and met with sudden demise in an accident. At once there were changes in the state politics. The succession struggle began in the Congress after the death of YSR as it always took place in the Congress earlier. Most of the 257 Congress legislators demanded that YSR's son Jagan Mohan Reddy should be made the Chief Minister of AP. They put their signatures on the representation to make the son of YSR as CM even before YSR's funeral took place. Majority of the ministers also signed the representation

The issue was understood by the Congress High Command and they immediately appointed Rosaiah as the acting Chief Minister and the swearing in took place before the funeral of YSR took place. Many in the Rosaiah's ministry were against him. Many of the ministers abstained from attending the Cabinet and the other official meetings. They began expressing their protests against Rosaiah. Chaotic conditions prevailed while Rosaiah was the Chief Minister. The state administration became paralysed. He could not take any decision fearlessly. In these circumstances, the Telangana Movement again gained momentum.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court in its division bench decision dated 9th October 2009 declared Hyderabad as Free Zone.<sup>150</sup> The State Government did not respond correctly to the Supreme Court. The State Government appointed an advocate from Gujarat who did not have an understanding of the Presidential Orders on Telangana. He did not argue competently and the Supreme Court had to depend on the counters of the State Government. The Supreme Court gave its decisions keeping in view the Para 14 of the presidential Orders mentioning about the offices of Secretariat department heads, State level offices and State Level establishments not bound by the Presidential Orders. The full Bench of High Court gave its judgement mentioning that the appointments of the police officers under section 1348 F of the Hyderabad Police Act was proved in the Court by the petitioners and were therefore

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<sup>150</sup> Hyderabad is a free zone, The New Indian Express, 10,October,2009.

not exempt from the purview of the Para 14(F) of the Presidential Orders. All Police Officers in the Hyderabad Police Commiserate had to belong to Sixth Zone by appointment or promotion. In the Schedule 2 of the Presidential Orders and Hyderabad was made a part of the Sixth Zone. The High Court of AP gave its opinion that in the issues of appointments, promotions and transfers the Article 371 (D) (10) of the Constitution of India and Para 14 of the Presidential Orders should be followed. The High Court did not allow the exemption by Para 14 as the petitioners did not prove that the appointment were made by 1348F of the Hyderabad City Police Act. The Supreme Court observed that they were appointed by the Hyderabad City Police Act 1348F and were therefore also exempt as per Para 14 of the Presidential Orders. The Supreme Court allowed the exemption by Para 14.

In response to question 12,<sup>151</sup> whether Hyderabad should be made a joint capital, if a separate state of Telangana is formed? If so, why? If not, why not? Most respondents of Telangana in particular said categorically that should Telangana be made a state then Hyderabad should be made the capital of Telangana. Almost an overwhelming 93% of the respondents said so. They believed that their educational and employment opportunities are intrinsically linked to the region of Hyderabad. So when Hyderabad was declared a free zone it had a spiraling effect on the Telangana region and the resurgence of the struggle for a separate state of Telangana across the region. In fact, many analysts believe that this order sort of acted as a catalyst.

The responses to Q10.<sup>152</sup>, interestingly, in one way or the other revolved around the region of Hyderabad. In response to Q10., What are the educational and employment opportunities available to people of Telangana in united Andhra Pradesh? Is it good as it exists? Or does it stand to improve for the people of Telangana in particular, in a separate state of Telangana?, nearly 90% respondents felt that they the development of educational and employemeny will definetly stand to

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<sup>151</sup> Across the sections of various classes people believed that Hyderabad should be made the capital of Telangana. Prof. Jayashankar also underlined that without Hyderabad there is hardly anything left in the state of Telangana and that the entire spectrum of development stayed concentrated in Hyderabad whose benefits have been so far enjoyed by the people of Andhra and it is about time Hyderabad also served as platform to fulfill the dreams and aspirations of Young men and women from Telangana.

<sup>152</sup> The response clearly points to the discontentment that the people of Telangana suffer from due to continuous neglect of its people in united Andhra Pradesh especially in matters concerning education and employment.

be improved in an independent state of Telangana should Hyderabad be made a capital of the state of Hyderabad.<sup>153</sup>

As opposed to the people of Telangana, many Andhra leaders insisted that Hyderabad should be changed to Free Zone. If Hyderabad remained in the Free Zone their economic and political aims will be fulfilled. The Seemandhras faced difficulties in the education and employment opportunities after Hyderabad was made part of Sixth Zone by the Presidential Orders. As the Secretariat department heads, State level offices and State level establishments were at Hyderabad and were not bound by the Presidential Orders, therefore the non-locals from Andhra were able to grab 90% of the government jobs. The Seemandhras also wanted that now the small obstruction and hindrance of Hyderabad is part of Sixth Zone should be removed. The rich Seemandhra groups in Telangana did not want to lose their control on education, employment, business and taking of resources in which they were dominating. They always brought the Free Zone controversy to the front. These conditions were responsible for the emerging of the Telangana Movement again.

The misplaced intentions of the Seemandhra rich groups in Telangana were understood by the Telangana employees associations. They also demanded that Hyderabad should be made a part of the Sixth Zone and that necessary amendment should be introduced by the government in the parliament to this effect. The government understood the seriousness of the struggle of the employees' unions and called for an all-party meeting on the subject of Free Zone. The Government also announced afterwards a review petition on Free Zone would be filed in the Supreme Court. All the parties except the TRS and the Lok Satta Party agreed to the Government plan. The review petition should be filed by the Government as opposite side. The affidavits had to be filed in the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court in only exceptional circumstances allows the petition. It was only by the amendment to the Constitution that Hyderabad can be removed from the Free Zone. The employees' unions, people's organization and TRS demanded the Government for amendment to the Constitution to cancel Hyderabad as Free Zone (just as it was done in 1972 when through a Constitutional amendment the Mulki Rules were abolished.

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<sup>153</sup> People of Andhra have protested that this would be unfair to their region as their region would become more underdeveloped if Hyderabad is made the capital of a separate state of Telengana.



The requests and representations of the employees' unions, various people's organisations and TRS Party were thought to be mere political gimmicks by the government. However, all of them were on the same page on the issue of Hyderabad being declared a Free Zone. A Joint Action Committee (JAC) of all the employees union was formed to conduct the Telangana struggle jointly. The TRS party supported the employees against the Hyderabad as a Free Zone. People participated in thousands of numbers in this programme and made it a success. Poets, artists and intellectuals attended the meeting. In this meeting the demand was made to make an amendment to the Constitution. In this meeting, KCR spoke emotionally by raising slogans like, "Telanganawala Jago, Andhrawala Bago" that can be literally translated as "Telangana people awaken, Andhra people run away". KCR also stated that by the month end, they will make efforts for attaining a separate state, and if not successful, then he would go on indefinite hunger strike at his birth place, Siddipet, near the Martyrs Stupa. To attain Telangana, even by sacrificing his life was the goal of the hunger strike. The hunger strike would take place on the lines of the Gandhian ideology. Therefore, non-violent methods were proposed to be followed. It was left to the Telangana people, to decide if they wanted to participate in his funeral procession or in the victory celebrations after achieving attaining Telangana, stated KCR.

The announcement of hunger strike by KCR and the warnings of the employees' organisations and the announcement of hunger strike were not received seriously by the Central and the State Governments. There were no elections in the near future to prove that the wish to attain separate single demand for a separate state and no party supported it in the beginning. The TRS Party got much courage because of the complete cooperation that they received from the people. And TRS faced the restrictions imposed by the police and resistance from the Seemandhra ruling elite with much fortitude. The historical necessity of KCR's hunger strike was spread by drawing comparisons with the fast of Potti Sriramulu for the formation of Andhra in 1953. This was systematically propagated in the entire Telangana by conducting conferences, meetings, rallies, cultural and literary programmes in the Telangana region. The TRS along with other pressure groups like students and employees unions and organisations continued the Telangana struggle.

The role of the students in the Telangana struggle was important. After the announcement of the hunger strike by KCR the students kept watch on the political changes with diligence. The Sadassulu (group meetings) and Samaveshams (conferences) were conducted in the universities by the different people, students and employees of Telangana. In these circumstances, a public meeting took place on 22nd November, 2009 at the Kakatiya University<sup>154</sup>. KCR was the chief guest and spoke about the participation of the students in the Telangana struggle, the key role they had to play as a historical necessity for the struggle. KCR spoke emotionally and stated, 'it is KCR dying or Telangana formation that will take place'. It is to be decided by you Telangana students, if you want to participate in the Telangana victory march after attaining separate State."<sup>155</sup> The speech of KCR not only inspired the Kakatiya University students to participate but almost the entire Telangana youth joined the struggle.

As the Osmania University is in the midst of the Hyderabad City, the influence of the state's politics is more visible within the campus of the Osmania University than in the other universities. Also, students from all the corners of Telangana come to Osmania University to study. Besides, the Telangana struggle, the students of the Osmania University took part in many the struggles where the question of peoples rights are involved. The students of Osmania University spearheaded as leaders. The students' elections were banned in 1980. The prevailing conditions pushed the students to participate announcements of the hunger strike by KCR. Besides, the announcement of hunger strike, the famine in the villages back home and the economic struggle of their parents coupled with the desperation that they will not get employment despite being qualified, and the deplorable conditions on all sides is what seems to have brought students towards the struggle.

Along with these problems, the injustices done in the name of water sharing, fund allocation and lack of employment opportunities all propelled the students of the Osmania University into the movement. It was understood by these students that turning Hyderabad into a Free Zone would subject them to more injustice. They

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<sup>154</sup> Kakatiya Vidyarthi Garjana, Eenadu, 22 Novemeber, 2009.

<sup>155</sup> KCR has emerged here as a reliable leader among the region and people started trusting that perhaps under KCR Telangana is achieveable. It was further reinforced by the academia especially in Kakatiya university.

started believing that their problems would be solved only if separate Telangana State is created.<sup>156</sup> The students temporarily suspended their studies and with the slogan of success or martyrdom they took to the path of agitating for separate Telangana. The students divided on the basis of castes, groups associations and ideologies came into a single platform after a long time for following the strategies, plan with a single aim of attaining Separate State. On 13th November 2009 the leaders of different organisations conducted a Conference and announced their support for the hunger strike by KCR. On the night of 28th November 2009,<sup>157</sup> just a few hours before KCR was to commence the indefinite hunger strike, the students of Osmania University conducted a huge candle light rally in the campus.

After the Siddipet employees meeting, the TRS party demanded both the Central and State Government to cancel Hyderabad as Free Zone and get necessary amendment to the constitution. Jail Bhara Strike took place on 28th November 2009 under the aegis of TRS Party. This Jail Bhara Strike took place to inform everybody the extent to which the Telangana society was prepared to go to get the cancellation of Hyderabad as Free Zone. The Students organisation and the people's organisations actively took part in the jail Bhara Strike. The employees' unions took part by wearing black badges and protesting. The Government was not stirred or shaken by the Jail Bhara Strike. With the result that instead of agitating for lesser demands, it was decided to agitate with the single big demand of a Separate State the TRS Party made preparations for indefinite hunger strike by KCR. As the main aim of the TRS Party was to attain separate state, it made it clear that it will not contest the Municipal Elections.

To awaken the people to the Telangana cause and to make them conscious of the injustices, the TRS Party conducted different types of strikes and protests as part of the Telangana Struggle. On 23rd November 2009, it conduct prayer programme by all the religions. On 24 announcements were made by the beating of the drums at village to village. On the same nights there were protests by candle lights and flame torches at the Martyrs Stupa. On 26th November 2009, the students boycotted classes. They participated in rallies and formed human chains at many places. The TRS Party members applied saffron religious marks to the foreheads of all as part of the

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<sup>156</sup> Responses to qs 7,10&12 from appendix(vi) point out this even more clearly.

<sup>157</sup> KCR on Hunger strike, Eenadu, 29 November,2009.

initiation to the hunger strike. On 28th it conducted rallies by bullock carts, cycles and motors. At the same time a delegation with KCR as the leader met leaders of both the ruling and opposition parties at the Centre and State and requested them to cooperate for the Hunger. KCR also met the UPA chairperson, Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh and the president and informed them about the indefinite Hunger Strike by him. Efforts took place significantly to get the cooperation of all the leaders from the gallis (Lanes) to nation's capital Delhi. At the same time preparations were taking place actively at the Telangana Martyrs Stupa opposite to the Highway at Rangadhampalli for the Hunger strike. The TRS party district level meeting place had taken place at this site.

Telangana was getting united while 29th November was approaching. Whatever may be the consequences the Government was determined to break the indefinite hunger fast which was to be started. Siddipet and its neighbouring areas were taken into its control by the police. it prevented anybody coming to Siddipet from the other places of Telangana, kept blockades from step to step and began checking. There were blockades on all the highways. At all places police check posts and police camps were seen on the roads. At Siddipet and its neighbouring areas police conducted parades. There were barricades and thorn fencings of the police at all places in the vicinity of Siddipet. The curfew conditions prevailed at Siddipet and its surroundings.

The police implemented a strategy to prevent the hunger strike by all means. Despite many strategies, many blockades and many bind overs made by the police, the Telangana supporters with unflinching belief got ready for hunger strike. Some people disappeared and came back at the right time of the commencement of the Hunger Strike. Despite the police obstructions in many ways, the hunger strike camp was filled with people on 28th November, 2009. The supporters with different art forms in severe cold and without food conducted many cultural activities waiting for the hunger strike to begin.

Three days before the commencement of the hunger strike and as part of the strategy, KCR reached the North Telangana Bhavan at Karimnagar<sup>158</sup>. From there he had discussions on the Police blockades; the preparations for the hunger strike, and

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<sup>158</sup> KCR Pai Polusula Otthidi, Eenadu, 29 November, 2009.

the government's plans, etc with his supporters present there and top leaders of his party without cessation. To prevent KCR from commencing hunger strike, the police officials made plans to arrest him one day before the hunger strike began. Police acted strictly and imposed Section 144 CrPC. The official curfew situation prevailed in Karimnagar.

At midnight of 28 November 2009 the higher police officials reached the Telangana Bhavan to arrest KCR. After getting the information that the police plan was being implemented. The leaders of TRS party, the leaders of the different Telangana organisations and the party functionaries waited protecting KCR. They declared that in the event of the rest of KCR, they will commit suicide there. All through the night there was high drama between the police and the Telangana supporters and war like situation was created.<sup>159</sup> Police could not arrest anybody in the night.

KCR Zindabad or long live KCR, We will sacrifice our lives. We will achieve Separate Telangana - The Telangana Bhavan was filled with these slogans. In the end amidst ceaseless anxiety, KCR started at 7.50 AM on 29th November 2009 from Karimnagar to the place of Hunger strike at Siddipet. Along with KCR were JayaShankar, Captain Lakshminkantha Rao, Nayani Narasimha Reddy, VijayaRama Rao, Rajaiah Yadav, Etela Rajendra, K.Tarakarama Rao, Nayani Narasima Reddy, Vidya Sagar Rao, other leaders and party functionaries started in a convoy of about 100 vehicles from North Telangana Bhavan. The vehicle in which KCR was going in the midst of Police vehicles was stopped at Alganuru Centre. The top officials of the Police units surrounded the vehicle in which KCR was present. The top officials of the Police stated that he is being arrested. KCR immediately started dharna protest on the road by sit down Strike. KCR was arrested in the midst of arguments and altercations of the supporters with the police.

Within minutes, the arrest of KCR spread to all places by announcements made in the TV News Channels. The news of the arrest of KCR united the entire Telangana.<sup>160</sup> Despite allegiances to separate flags and agendas, different ideologies

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<sup>159</sup> Vivek. T, Venugopla N, Lokeshwar P, Ragavachari M, Sridhar Deshpande, SrinivasSangiseti (2008), Andhra PradeshYerpatu- VidrahaCharita: Telangana History Society, Hyderabad.

<sup>160</sup> KCR arrested by the Police, Sakshi, 30 November, 2009.

and beliefs, different parties and organisations, different castes and religions the 4 cores people of Telangana united. All the people came onto the roads and protested in different way. They protested in the manner they felt with freedom and by many methods. The conditions were created to the extend the traffic was blocked all through the day and the place was filled with tension.

After the news of the arrest spread, the students of the Osmania University burnt the effigy of the Chief Minister. Within minutes hundreds of students assembled at the Art College. They went in a peaceful rally from Arts College to the NCC Gate. The students in the rally were lathi charged without any warning by the police. They beat up many rallyists without discretion. Each student was kicked by a dozen policemen with the metals of the boots, by winging their sticks and many students fell unconscious. The campus remained obstructed by police blockades. Many unconscious students and students suffering with lathi injuries were seen in the campus but the police refused permission to send the injured and unconscious students to hospital by ambulances. The students had no alternative and stoned the police. The police officials arrested many students. The situation that turned into a battle field in the campus was telecast live by the TV news channels.

Along with the Osmania University, the other Universities such as Kakatiya University, Telangana University, Palamuru University, Satavahana University and Mahatma Gandhi University became battlefields. Protesting the atrocities of the Government against the Telangana agitators, at LB Nagar cross roads with the statues of Ambedkhar and Jagjivan Ram as witnesses Kasoju Shrikanth Chary of Nalgonda district burnt himself raising slogans of "Jai jai Telangana" and the police unleashed harsh methods on the Osmania University students. Ram Reddy, advocate filed public interest litigation in the High Court mentioning that by obstructing the hunger strike of KCR, the government violated the democratic right. Meanwhile, Shrikanth Chary was admitted into hospital with severe burn injuries.

After arresting KCR, the police wanted to shift him to either Warangal or Hyderabad. After observing the intensifying of the struggle and the prevailing disturbed conditions, the Government felt that the influence of the struggle was less at Khammam and shifted KCR to that place. In Khammam, the government and the intelligence had to face severe resistance and opposition under the leadership of the

students, people's and employees associations organized as never imagined by them. Mainly, CPIML (New Democracy Party) which was in favour of the United AP a few days before the commencement of the hunger strike took its decision now in favour of separate Telangana. It protested by its members taking part in the sit down strike. The Khammam district was rocked and simmered because of the flast dharnas (protests), rasta ramos (obstructing of roads) and rallies of the New Democracy Party. The Magistrate remanded KCR, former Minister Captain Rao, G.Vijayarama Rao, Nayani Narasimha Reddy, Rajaiah Yadav, D.Subba Rao, j Ramjoga Rao, Battula Somiah, G.Shankar Rao, Myneni Ram Babu and M.P.Abdul Naji. Despite the arrest of KCR, the indefinite hunger strike continued in jail.

## **2. Political parties and their Response**

After the arrest of KCR and the attacks on the students by police, the political parties and the people's organisations responded in many different ways. Protesting against the arrest of KCR and the lathi charge on the students, TRS party along with the political parties and the people's organisations gave call for Bandh or total closure. In the Hyderabad Capital and in the entire Telangana region life was paralysed. With the Government employed protesting by pen down strike, the government offices became centres of protests. Telangana was rocked with dharnas or protests and Rasta ramos or obstructing on the roads at all places. The funeral processions of the effigies of the Congress leaders were burnt in thousands of numbers. In the districts, advocates boycotted courts and protested. The workers of the Singareni did not get down into the mines and took to protesting. Whatever seen the Telangana people came on the streets, sang songs, danced on the streets and expressed their protests<sup>161</sup>. The students organisations, people's organisations employees' unions, TRS Party, BJP, New Democracy Party and other associations protested by rasta ramos and other methods of protests against the non-responsive attitude of the State and the Central Chief Minister of AP, Central and State Ministers, Congress leaders and Seemandhra leaders were destroying their effigies. From towns to cities the flame torches and the candle lights protests were conducted. Many hunger strike camps came up expressing solidarity with the indefinite hunger strike of KCR. Many thousands of agitators were arrested and cases were filed. Lathi charges took place at many places. Despite many

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<sup>161</sup> The modes of protest clearly point towards showcasing the Telangana culture and celebrating the same.

blockade measures of the Government, the Telangana agitators did not go back. The Telangana struggle in its new phase sort of reached its zenith and high water mark.<sup>162</sup>

The hunger strike of KCR continued in the jail. As the health condition of KCR deteriorated, he was shifted from the Khammam Jail to the Government District Hospital on 30th November 2009. After observing functioning of the district officials, the Telangana supporters repeatedly informed the government that there was harm to the life of KCR in the jail. In these circumstances, KCR was suddenly seen on the TV channels drinking fruit water in the presence of the TRS leaders.<sup>163</sup> At 7 pm this scene was visible on the TV were disheartened and discouraged. After the scene was seen by the students, they again lost faith in the political leadership. Protests began in many places against breaking fast. The students made it clear that from now onwards they themselves will continue the struggle. In the Osmania University itself, the members of the student organisations and the students not in any political parties formed the students not in any organisations kept aside their ideologies, flags, agendas and without uniting with the political parties formed the students joint Action Committee (JAC) on 30th November 2009 at Art College. From that time on wards it will continue the Telangana KCR. They also stated that they will continue the struggle on their own without any support from other organisations and political parties. The students JAC announced that for attaining separate Telangana they will not go back even at the cost of their lives. The students of the stop their studies and took to struggle till the separate Telangana State was formed. The Telangana associations made it clear that they will stand in support of the students JAC. KCR was surprised by the opposition of the students, Telangana associations and the people to the scene of breaking fast. KCR himself spoke to the TV Channel by phone. He announced by the TV Channel and stated, "I have not ended my indefinite hunger strike".<sup>164</sup> The police tried to forcibly break my hunger strike. From NIMS, it should be my victory march or my funeral procession. There is no possibility of ending my hunger strike till the formation of separate Telangana State. The news coming from the media is false and not true. Students please do not believe this news. "Students please do not commit

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<sup>162</sup> Venkateshwara Rao Adiraju. Telangana Saga of Tragic Struggle, Hyderabad: Om Sri Satya Publishers. (2009).

<sup>163</sup> KCR breaks fast, Andhra Bhoomi, 1 December, 2009.

<sup>164</sup> KCR continues fast for separate Telangana, Eenadu, 2 December, 2009.



suicide, We will live to attain separate Telangana", KCR requested the students and the agitators through the TV Channels.

The attempt of the Government with the help of the doctors, police officials and district officials to make KCR to end his indefinite hunger strike failed. KCR announces that he will continue his hunger strike till the Separate Telangana State is formed. Under the aegis of the student JAC hunger strikes began at the Art College. The teachers of the Osmania University extended support to the hunger strike camp of the students and supported. From this stage onward camps of the Osmania University students and extended their support. From this stage onwards the relay hunger strike camp of the students and support. From this stage onwards the relay hunger strike camps were turned into Struggle fairs with the poetry of the poets and the cultural activities of the Telangana artists.<sup>165</sup> The struggle of the Osmania students was not restricted to the campus and call was given to conduct different forms of protest strikes and programmes so as to increase pressure on the Government on the Telangana problem. The hunger strike camps also began in the Kakatiay, Sathavahana, Telangana, Palamuru and Mahatma Gandhi Universities in Telangana. The students in the entire Telangana gave up their studies and began besieging or surrounding of the houses of the people's representatives, gearing and protested by dharnas and these became the daily activities.

In support of the hunger strike by the KCR, The entire Telangana was in flames. Telangana was rocked by rallies, rasta rokos and slogans of Jai Telangana. The AICC responded on 1st December 2009 on the hunger strike of KCR by stating, "The Telangana issue is the most serious problem. It is inherent with sentiment and opinion. It has to be solved by discussions. This is a subject pending since a long time. The parties and the government must come to a unanimous decision on this problem". This was announced by Singvi, the official spokesman of the AICC at Delhi. The CPU Party with its affiliated parties joined the Telangana Struggle. At all places in Telangana there were strikes, dharnas, rasta rokos, relay hunger strikes, protests by the employees and the besieging of the houses of the people's representatives with the result that the entire Telangana was paralysed. The police

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<sup>165</sup> Venkateshwara Rao Adiraju. Telangana Saga of Tragic Struggle, Hyderabad: Om Sri Satya Publishers. (2009).

restrictions were increased and attempts were made by police to suppress the Struggle instead of having talks with the agitators.

The health condition of KCR deteriorated and became critical. There were no facilities in the Khamman Government Hospital to provide better medical care to KCR. Petitions were filed in the court on the health conditions of KCR. The indefinite hunger strike and the continuing struggle disturbed the Government. Due to the pressure on the Telangana Congress leaders, the senior Congress leaders repeatedly conducted meetings and expressed their concerns on the events taking place. They sent a letter to the Congress High Command requesting the UPA Chairperson and the Prime Minister to intervene in the State affairs and to have talks directly with KCR. The students assembled at the meeting place of the senior Congress leaders. The students requested them to join the Telangana struggle and warned them they will have to pay the penalty if they did not join the struggle. The next moment in the journalists meeting, only MLA Shankar Rao announced his support to the Telangana struggle. There was much pressure on the Telangana Ministers attended a meeting in the chamber of Home Minister. They discussed the arrest of KCR, health condition of KCR, the participation of the student organisations and employees in the struggle. On behalf of the Telangana Ministers, Ministers Ram Reddy Venkat Reddy and Shridhar Babu were sent to Khammam to end the indefinite hunger strike of KCR. It was made clear by KCR to Ram Reddy Venkat Reddy (Shridhar Babu did not go to Khammam) that he will not end his indefinite strike till the Telangana State is granted. Finally, the Telangana Minister spoke to the Chief Minister in Delhi and got KCR shifted to NIMS Hospital at 3.A.M. on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2009.

Response in Delhi: The chief Minister went to Delhi on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2009. He submitted reports on the situation in the State to the UPS chairperson and the Prime Minister. Afterwards Rosaiah spoke to the media. He stated the," the subject of the Separate Telangana was not in the jurisdiction of the State Government. It has to be resolved by the Centre. If the separate Telangana State has to be formed it is only the Centre that can do it. We told UPA chairperson to take decision. Whatever decision is taken it will be approved by the Congress leaders in the State.

A delegation of the TRS Party under the leadership of the former MP, B,Vinod Kumar went to Delhi on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2009 to get support for the Telangana

struggle at the national level. They met the Congress MP Sukhender Reddy at his residence and requested him to increase pressure on the Centre for separate Telangana. He was in favour of the TRS delegation. Afterwards they met the other leaders of the UPA, the Agriculture Minister Sharad pawar, RLD leader Ajit Singh, Raghuvansh Pratap Singh and others, They informed these UPA leaders about the Telangana problem, the assurance given by the UPA for Telangana and also about the indefinite hunger strike of KCR. On 4<sup>th</sup> December 2009, they met the BJP leader L K Advani, the Parliamentary Opposition leaders, Sushma Swaraj, Arun Jaitley and Javedkhar. The TRS delegation met them separately and requested them to pressurise the Congress Government for the formation of a separate Telangana. On the same day they met the Telugu Desam Parliamentary leader, Nama Nageshwar Rao and requested him to join the Telangana struggle with the Telangana TDP group.

After the Telangana struggle was intensified the suicides increased immensely. Srikantha Chary made suicide attempt at LB Nagar cross roads and died on the night of 3<sup>rd</sup> December. The students increased their attempts to harness support for the struggle. All parties taking clear stand on the Telangana struggle took place. The Osmania University JAC on 4<sup>th</sup> December 2009 met Chandra Babu Naidu and requested him to participate in the struggle by taking steps to get the Telangana Bill introduced in the Assembly and the Parliament. The TDP did not give clear stand on the Telangana problem and there were differences between the Seemandhra and Telangana TDP leaders. On 5<sup>th</sup> December, the Osmania University Students JAC met the key Congress leader, D.Srinivas<sup>166</sup> and requested him to pressurize Dattatreya, Praja Rajyam Party leader, Chiranjeevi and CPI State Secretary, Narayana. The Telangana organisations wished that Delhi should be pressurised to get favourable decision on Telangana and also wanted the TRS leader to stop the indefinite hunger strike. On 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2009 former Union Minister Vekatswamy, PRP president Chiranjeevi and PRP Legislator Maheshwas Reddy visited KCR in the hospital. Also Swamy Goud, Allam Narayana, Kodenda Ram, Devi Prasad, Juloori GowriShankar and MahipalReddy met KCR. Afterwards it was stated to the media, “KCR is in the verge of death. The Government is not considering his hunger strike. This is sad state

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<sup>166</sup> In his interview the then PCC president pointed out that it would be wrong for history to read that KCR was the main protagonist of Telangana and that many leaders especially the Congress party was equally, or perhaps more, sincere in its commitment to the cause of the Telangana people. Interview held in Hyderabad on 27 december, 2009.

of affairs. If the Government makes announcement that the resolution on Telangana will be introduced in the Assembly and that the discussion on Telangana would take place with UPA chairperson, we will get the hunger strike stopped by KCR". In the midst of serious protests, the Chief Minister Rosaiah visited KCR and requested him to stop the hunger strike. KCR told CM that there was no alternative to the formation of a separate Telangana State for him to end the Hunger Strike. The CM went away favourable result to end the Hunger Strike. The attempt of the former Union Minister and RJD leader Ajit Singh, and KCR close associate Professor Jaya Shandkar to end the hunger strike failed. On 7<sup>th</sup> December the TDP leader Chandra Baby Naidu, T.Devender Goud and Revanth Reddy facing protests from the Telangana supporters met KCR and went away. The advisor of the UPA chairperson Ahmed Patel by phone requested KCR to stop his hunger strike. KCR made it clear that he will continue his hunger strike till the Telangana victory march or his last journey.<sup>167</sup>

Unable to fact he struggle by the students, 15 days holidays were declared for the educational institutions. The hostels of the Universities were closed. About 20 to 30 students participated in the relay hunger strikes earlier and from that day on wards hundreds of students participated in the relay hunger strike by closing the hostels. The decisions of the Government caused much anger to the students and the people. The people's organisations and students filed cases in High Court against the closure of hostels by the Government as the Government was of the opinion that if the hostels are closed the students would go to their native places as they will not get food in the closed hostels. The students were in the midst of a powerful historical struggle, the sacrifices of the students were seen by all, the people and the independent establishments supplied them daily with the required food after knowing about the sacrifices of the students. Ashok, running canteen in Hyderabad, had key role and was responsible for supplying food to the students. The students were used to taking food separately in the mess but now they took meals as Arts College and Osmania University on the main road together. The support of the people to the students made the High Court to order for the immediate opening of the hostel messes. These conditions increased the courage of the students and the Telangana sentiment of the people.

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<sup>167</sup> KCR on Hunger Strike, Eenadu, 7 December, 2009.

Despite the Telangana struggle intensifying, there was no change of attitudes of the Centre or state Governments. On the other hand the cases on the Telangana supporters went on increasing. The health of KCR also declined. Under these circumstances the TRS Politburo meeting took place. In this meeting there was much discussion on the new changes that took place and on the future action in the struggle. It was decided that as to get more pressure on the Government, parties having same opinion for formation of a separate Telangana should be involved in the struggle. It was also decided to prevent the suicides increasing day by day and to instill confidence in the people. Further it was also decided to observe two days or 48hrs continuous Bandh to put more pressure on the silent Congress ministers, the State and the Central Governments.

The BJP, New Democracy Party and CPI decided to support the Bandh. The first of the Bandh was successful. The entire Telangana was paralyzed because of the Bandh. Despite the Government conspiracies to prevent the bandh, the people participated in the Bandh by protests of new types, made the bandh a grand success, and expressed their serious resentment to the Government. Protesting against the inaction and negligence of the Central Government on the formation of separate Telangana State, the Telangana people themselves declared the separate Telangana for themselves. The Telangana supporters changed the boards in Andhra by boards written in Telangana Telugu at all places in Telangana. The boundaries of the Telangana State were also decided by the Telangana people themselves and Telangana boards were placed at the villages on the border of Telangana. The substitution of the Andhra words with Telangana words continued as a great cultural revolution. The caste associations continued their non-cooperation against the elected representatives of the ruling Congress Party as never before. The Telangana employees went on Pen Down strike and also participated in noncooperation strike against the Government. It was because of participation of the different groups, employees, and students in the struggle that the government administration was completely paralyzed.

The then Chief Minister understood the prevailing conditions, conducted a Cabinet meeting on 6th December 2009. The JAC of the employees' unions called for emergency meeting and demanded the state of Government to take decisions on the

formation of the Separate Telangana State and wanted written assurance should be given if not they would continue with their Pen down Strike.

The Student JAC decided to conduct a Chalo Assembly programme on 10th December 2009 against the negligence attitude and inaction of the State and the Central Governments on the Separate Telangana issue and for making the programme a success the student JAC made preparations with strategy and action plan. It had discussions with student leaders of other universities and student leaders of different colleges. The Government guessed that if the student Chalo Assembly takes place there would be much devastation and destruction in the Hyderabad capital. The Government decided to stop or prevent the Chalo Assembly (March to Assembly) programme from taking place by all means.<sup>168</sup> The Government placed the paramilitary forces, Rapid Action Force, CRPF, BSF and other units in the Osmania University with thorn fencing and barricades. Near each hostel many policemen were positioned. Each police man wore bulletproof jacket, helmet, had stem gun in the left hand and a lathi in the right hand. The entire campus was turned into a police camp.

On 7th December 2009, in the morning the police removed the hunger strike camps of the students in the Osmania University. They beat up students mercilessly intervening with them. The students were beaten by the police. They prevented the students in the 18 hostels from coming out by putting fencings all around the hostels. To disperse the groups of students, the police resorted to use of tear gas shells and rubber bullets. Many number of students received injuries and other students became unconscious.

The police did not provide opportunities for providing primary first aid to the suffering students or to send them by 108 ambulances to hospital. The entire campus became frightful with conditions that were more than that of curfew. The campus was rocked by strewn shoes, chapels, used rubber bullets, used tear gas shells and used water cans.

The female students in the ladies hostel after observing that their fellow male students were beat with utmost bias and without any mercy also came out. While they were proceeding towards the hunger strike camp, they were attacked by the police

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<sup>168</sup> Chalo Assembly March, Sakshi, 8 December, 2009.

without any consideration that they were female students. Some police officials pulled some female students by their plates. Unable to bear the beating by police lathis, some students many times had escaped to Manikeshvaranagar or Wadder Bashti. Some students many times had escaped to police came Manikeshvaranagar and hid there when there was no police suppression in the campus. After the police came to know about this, they attacked most indiscriminately many at that place. The police created havoc in the locality. They searched for the students hiding in that locality and attacked them. The police did not spare the students falling on their feet unable to bear the beating and request ion for mercy. The police conduct parade in the locality. The students and the people of the locality felt as without any direction and cried loudly with distress. The TRS MLA's, Harish Rao and Etela Rajender wanted to come to the place after coming to know about the prevailing bad conditions created by the police in the campus but they were prevented by the police from entering the Osmania University Campus. The MLA's complained to the Home Minister and the police station. The Osmania University Professor and MLC Nageshwar Rao was also not permitted to enter the Osmania University Campus. Even Konda Lakshman was arrested. While the PAC meeting was taking place in the Assembly, the journalists present at the Assembly went on flash strike by conducting dharna and raising slogans against the journalists. After the discussions she got prepared to resign from her post by stating that in her department there were decisions being taken without her knowledge. She was requested and prevented by the other Ministers and the Chief Ministers from resigning. The Home Minister announced that DCP Stephen was being removed from the duties of maintaining law and order holding him responsible for all the incidents that took place in the Osmania University campus. An enquiry was ordered on the O.U. incidents. Police Additional IG Rayudu was appointed to enquire. The enquiry took place on all the incidents that took place on the 7th December 2009. The human rights were violated and the Osmania University campus was turned into a battle field.

In response to question nine as to whether the people of Telangana believed that the law and order situation would improve for the people of Telangana, if a separate state for Telangana is granted.<sup>169</sup> Most respondents had an ambivalent position on this question. In fact, people from rural background belived that perhaps,

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<sup>169</sup> See appendix(vi)

the protection they received now, may stand withdrawn. It was response that clearly also shows that people from Telangana as well lacked trust as to what forms of violence might be unleashed on them by their own. That obviously also points out to some inconsistencies that the Telangana movement would not openly discuss.<sup>170</sup>

With the Telangana struggle taking the form of a powerful great struggle, on this side in the villages, the towns and other Telangana places echoed with Telangana slogans and on that side at Delhi the Telangana became the hot topic. The Telangana Congress legislators made efforts to have talks with their High Command. On 4 December, 2009. They met the Prime Minister in his office in the Parliament and informed him about the intensification of the struggle as well as the new changes and events that took places as part of the Telangana struggle. The forces of Seemandhra did not have the power to face the struggle and declared widely that there were Naxalite involved in the Telangana struggle. To strike at the untrue statement made by the Seemandhra, the MP's from Telangana met the National Security Advisor Narayanam and informed him that there were no Naxalite involved in the Telangana struggle and also about the intensifying of the Telangana struggle. In the Telangana region hundreds of ZPRCs, MPTCs, Sarpanchas and ward members resigned from their posts irrespective of the party which they belonged. They continued demanding that the Centre should immediately announce the formation of a separate Telangana state. Thousands of Gram Panchayats and Mandal Parishads passed unanimous resolutions demanding that the Centre should immediately announce the formation of a Separate Telangana State. The people put pressure on the MPs, MLAs, MLCs and Ministers to make them resign and to make them put pressure on the Centre for a separate state. The functionaries of the ruling party and the opposition parties brought pressure on the people's representatives to resign. At some places dharnas (protests) were held at the houses of the people's representatives. At some more places they were forced to resign from the primary membership of their parties.

KCR began indefinite hunger strike three days before the parliament sessions were held. The hunger strike received much support and to the extent of reaching the stars. The Rosaiah Government was rocked by the Hunger Strike. The Ministers were shaken. There was support to the 48hours Bandh as never before known in the history

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<sup>170</sup> It is something that even human rights and civil rights movement leaders also point out.



of Telangana struggle. The people of Telangana freely participated in the Bandh and spread the power of Telangana sentiment. In these circumstances the Assembly winter session began on 7th December 2009. On the first day of the assembly session, the condolences were held for the death of YSR and the Assembly session was adjourned. In this meeting the TRS party demanded that the separate Telangana resolution should be introduced in this session of the Assembly. The BJP and CPI stood in support of TRS Party.

The strategy to be followed by the Congress party in the winter sessions of the assembly was discussed. In this meeting the Telangana MLA's demanded that the resolution for a separate state should be introduced but the Seemandhra MLA's informed that without their opinions there should be no resolution in the Assembly on Telangana. Finally, the Congress party made unanimous decision to leave the Telangana problem for the high command to decide. The TDP also discussed the strategy to be followed by its party in the winter sessions of the assembly. The party representative stated there was no need to inform again and again about Telangana problem. When there is regional sentiment there should be honesty the TDP condemned the lathi charge on the students, it also condemned the destruction of the house etc. it stressed that the TDP does not start any struggle and will also not provide support to any struggle. The TDP decided that congress party was in power in the state and there was no need for the TDP to take decision on Telangana.

The hunger strike of KCR, Telangana Bandh, Pen Down strike by the employees, suicides, the Chalo assembly by the students, the non-cooperation by the different groups, and the pressure brought by the opposition created havoc on the congress high command. In these circumstances the parliament winter session began. the BJP party questions the UPA ruling congress in the parliament (in the Lok Sabha the BJP Lok Sabha Deputy leader, Sushma Swaraj and in the Rajya Sabha Venkaiah Naidu protested) and demand that the government should inform about the Telangana problem, the congress should respond favourable to the problem, and that the Telangana Bill should be introduced in the parliament in this session. The state was rocked by the different types of strikes of Telangana struggle.<sup>171</sup> The BJP cautioned that if the government did not respond, it will have to pay for its negligence. The

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<sup>171</sup> BJP's position here on Telengana demand was considered an ambivalent position.

AICC was stirred because of the pressures on the Telangana problem both at the state and the centre. The congress took the initiative to decide on the problem. on 7th December 2009 at 4 in the evening in the Parliament hall itself, the parliament congress core committee meeting took place with UPA chair person, Pranab Mukherjee, Anthony, Chidambaram, Ahmed Patel and Veerappa Moily. The discussions took place on the position of the other parties on the Telangana problem and the action that should be taken by the Congress.<sup>172</sup>

After the congress core committee discussed, it was decided to hold an all-party meeting at Hyderabad on the same day. This decision of the congress core committee was communicated by the congress in charge of AP Veerappa Moily to the chief minister Rosaiah. Immediately after the AICC orders were received by the chief minister, he invited all the leaders of the different political parties for all party meeting at Hyderabad. The all party meeting of the political parties took place amidst the political analysis and belief that its decision will definitely influence the decision to be taken by the centre. There was much significance given to the meeting. The meeting took place amidst political tension on the 7th December 2009 at the state secretariat under the leadership of Rosaiah. the meeting took place with Rosaiah. the meeting took place with Rosaiah, ministers Geetha Reddy, Anam Ram Narayana Reddy, Botsa Sathyanarayana, MLA Shashidhar Reddy and MLC Yadav Reddy on behalf of the ruling congress party; Ashok Gajapathi Raju, Nagam Janardhan Reddy, G. Krishnama Naidu and Mothkupalli, Narsimlu on behalf of TDP; Chiranjeevi of the Praja Rajyam Party; the TRS legislature leader Etela Rajender., TRS deputy legislature leader Harish Rao and MLA Ravinder reddy on behalf of the TRS party; the BJP legislature leader Kishan reddy; the CPI legislature leader G. Mallesh; CPM leader J. Ranga Reddy, president of lok satta party J.Narayan and the Majlis Party legislature leader Akbaruddin Owaisis. Before the commencement of the proceedings of the meeting, all the opposition leaders insisted that the congress should inform its opinion. The chief minister differed with the opposition parties and made it clear by stating, "There is no opinion of the state congress particularly. This meeting is taking place as the AICC wanted this meeting. We will inform your opinions in Delhi. The decision taken in Delhi will be binding on us. The opinion of the different parties at the all party meeting were as follows.

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<sup>172</sup> UPA clearly was under pressure to fulfill its promises made during the general elections in 2009.

"If the resolution on Telangana is introduced in the assembly we will support it. What is the intention of the Government has not been stated till now. It was stated by the TDP before the last elections that TDP will support the Telangana cause. This decision is binding on TDP, We have told the same in him PAC meeting" Said the TDP senior leader, Ashok Gajapathi Raju.<sup>173</sup>

"We are prepared to support the Telangana resolution if it is introduced in the Assembly. We had already decided after discussions in the Party. We have also informed in our party manifesto that social Telangana is required. I said yes to the same opined the PRP President, Chiranjeevi.

"If the resolution for Telangana is introduced in the Assembly, TDP, PRP, BIP, CPI and all the other parties had stated that they will support it. The decision of the Congress is binding on the lok Satta. The CPM had informed that it will decide soon. MIM wants two days time. The State Congress Party also stated that the decision of High Command is binding. Immediately the resolution should be introduced in the Assembly if all say yes," was the statement of the TRS Legislature leader Etela Rajendra.

"We have been telling from the beginning that Telangana resolution should be introduced in the Assembly. Telangana is been rocked. The struggle is on a large scale. It was stated that discussions would take place. Except this the government did not tell anything more. At least now it should decide without much delay," CPI Legislative leader G.Malles. h.

"We have been telling our opinion since a long time. Our national party also gave its opinion in writing. Is the Congress having strength in the Parliament or the Assembly to solve this problem but the Congress should avoid opportunistic politics", CPM legislative leader J Ranga Reddy.

"The decision should be taken truthfully and not for the votes in the elections. These six years what has the Congress Party done. Measures should be taken after thinking for the development of the backward regions and for the development of the Hyderabad which were delayed for the last six years, "Lok Satta leader J.P,Narayana.

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<sup>173</sup> His opininon clearly was not the real stand of the TDP was what claimed both by TRS and Congress leaders in their interviews.

"We will discuss about Telangana and take decision in a day or two" Majlis Legislature party leader Akbaruddin Owaisi.

On 8th, 9th December, 2009, the two Assembly sessions were rocked by the Telangana resolution and there was heated arguments resulting in the adjournment of the Assembly and no progress was made on the subject of Telangana.

The health condition of KCR deteriorated and became critical. The medical in attending on KCR made it clear on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2009 that there was nothing in their hands to improve the health condition of KCR. The NIMS director Dasari Prasad Rao and Superintendent Sathyanarayana jointly announced by medical bulletin on KCR health and stated that if KCR does not immediately end the fast and take food, they cannot save his life. With this, there was tension in the entire Telangana. The Telangana people were disturbed as to what will take place at what time or what bad news that they should hear. Huge numbers of people gathered at NIMS. After seeing KCR on the stretcher, they were even more agitated.

The administration was completely paralysed in the State because of the Telangana struggle. The struggle and the protests also started in the Parliament session on the health condition of KCR. On 9 December, 2009, there was detailed discussion on the health condition of KCR. Different groups in the Parliament requested the Centre to immediately intervene as the health of KCR was deteriorating. The leader of the opposition in the Parliament L.K.Advani stated that, "Just as the formation of Telangana State is important, equally important the life of the TRS leader, and the Central Government should immediately intervene in the matter". Sharad Yadav JD (U) stated, "The prevailing conditions in Andhra Pradesh are causing disturbance, the government should intervene immediately. It is ten days since KCR began the hunger strike and it is regrettable that the Government is most reluctant ". The senior CPI leader, Gurdus Gupta requested the Central Government by stating, "We are announcing our support for Telangana. The all Party meeting should be called immediately and this problem should be looked into". The All Party meeting should be called immediately and this problem should be looked into." The SP Leader, Mulayam Singh Yadav stated, "The decision to this problem should be found by discussions".

After all the parties expressed their decisions in favour of Telangana in the Parliament, the BJP party insisted that announcement should be made on Telangana; but the Government did not respond and the MPs rushed towards the well of the Parliament house, raised slogans resulting in the adjournment of the Lok Sabha.

The Chalo Assembly protest march of the Student JAC was supported by all the Telangana associations, TRS, BJP, CPI and the New Democracy parties. The employees associations also stood in support of the Students JAC. The lower level leaders of the Congress and the TDP also stood in support of the Students JAC. In these circumstances, the Students JAC began preparations so that it can surround the Assembly with thousands of students participating in the protest march. All the students from the different universities and colleges plunged themselves in the Strike.

On the other side, the Government decided to prevent and disturb the protest march of the Student JAC on 10<sup>th</sup> December, 2010. The Government posted about 23 thousand Police officials in the entire Hyderabad city. It posted 60 IPS Officers in the entire Telangana and another 35 IPS Offices were posted in the Hyderabad City. 1152 Central Forces, 504 CRPF forces, 126 CINF forces, 1344 officials of the Delhi Armed Reserve and 630 BSF forces were posted on bandobast duty. Besides, 2500 district level police officials were also a duty in the district of Telangana. Security measures were taken and no person from any place of Telangana was allowed to enter the Hyderabad City. 20 check posts on the borders of the city and 35 check posts were set up in Hyderabad city. In the Hyderabad capital many traffic restrictions were imposed and the Government imposed Section 144 Cr. P.C in the entire Telangana. The Police warned the people from entering Hyderabad. The people lived with fear conscious without having the knowledge as to what take place in Hyderabad and when.<sup>174</sup>

The police took control of all roads of the Hyderabad and blockaded them. In the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad there were police camps, police picketing, thorn fencings and barricades seen in all directions. The twin cities were turned into police camp. The DGP himself checked the law and order situation in the

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<sup>174</sup> Many interviewers( especially in Hyderabad) explain this as a major turning point as far as trust in the then Congress govt was concerned. How can the same party support the cause of Telangana in public platforms and deny the same as a govt by imposing stringent law order restriction in the region.

city and the curfew conditions prevailed totally in Hyderabad. The students warned the Government that they will besiege the Assembly even if the Government imposed all restrictions. With both the sides making their own arrangements, Hyderabad was filled with tension and disturbed heated conditions.

By 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009 the disturbed conditions were created as never before in the Telangana region. Fears and tensions began in the minds of the people that if anything untoward happens to KCR, the situation in the Telangana region would suddenly deteriorate irretrievably plunging Telangana into anarchy and chaos. The conditions were formed whereby huge losses to life and properties might take place in Telangana particularly in Hyderabad as never before in the history of India because of the protest to besiege of the Student Joint Action Committee. There was perilous attack on the Congress Party both inside, Outside the all the sides. There were no other alternative except for the formation of the Telangana State for the UPA government. In these circumstances, the Congress Core Committee met in the evening at the Prime Minister's Office and prolonged discussions took place. Again at 7pm, the Congress Core Committee discusses, for the third time the Congress Core Committee that day the meeting took place at the residence of the Prime Minister. After prolonged serious discussions, the Union Home Minister, P.Chidambaram announced on the night of 9<sup>th</sup> for the formation of the Telangana State<sup>175</sup> is being commenced. The announcement made by the Union Home Minister is as follows.

“The process for the formation of the Telangana State will be begun and we will introduce the Telangana resolution in the State Assembly. The Centre requested the AP Chief Minister to remove all the cases filed since 29<sup>th</sup> November, 2009 on the leaders, students and others participating I all struggle. The chief Minister informed that he is taking measures to this effect. We are disturbed by the health condition of KCR. He should end his hunger strike immediately. All the students end their struggle and cooperate for restoring the normal conditions.”

The Union Home Minister made clear announcement on behalf of the Government of India that the Separate Telangana would be created. After the announcement, KCR ended his hunger strike that was taking place since the last eleven days. Professor Jaya Shankar and the supporters of the Telangana gave him

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<sup>175</sup> Congress committed to the formation of the Telangana State, Eenadu, 10 December, 2009.

water amidst slogans of Telangana at 11.20 pm in the night and hunger strike of KCR. After ending his hunger strike, KCR states to media as follows.

‘I convey special thanks to Madam for granting Telangana. My thanks to the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the leader of Opposition, L.K. Advani and others who supported Telangana in the Parliament today. After my health improves, I will meet them personally and convey my thanks. We will go to rescue of the families who were affected by this struggle. We are happy that the Centre had announced about the starting of the process for the formation of the Telangana State. Many students, lawyers, lecturers, teachers and party functionaries became participants and took the struggle forward. I will be grateful and indebted to them all through my life. I wished for Telangana since my childhood. The media stood in support of the struggle and made publicity. I am also grateful for them. At this time I cannot talk more than this’.

After 54 years of continuous struggle a clear announcement was made by the Central Government about the formation of the Telangana State. Till then the entire Telangana was tense. After the declaration of the formation of Telangana will be considered by the central government the mood changed at once to celebrations all over Telangana. In the villages, towns, cities, from the lanes of Telangana to Nation’s capital, Delhi, the people of Telangana raised slogans of “Jai Telangana”, “Jai Jai Telangana”, also everybody sang and danced. In the severe cold conditions from the infant to the oldest came out of their houses and burst crackers. Each other greeted themselves with Alai Balai as during the festivals. They extended Telangana greetings; they distributed sweets amongst themselves and celebrated the entire night. The celebrations in the entire Telangana reached the sky. The students of the Telangana came on the roads, sang, danced and reiterated their support for the Telangana cause.

### **3. Response of Seemandhra to the Telangana Demand**

While the victory celebrations were going on in Telangana, the struggle began on the same night in the Seemandhra region protesting against the announcement of a Separate Telangana State by the Centre. Without following the right method for resignations, the Andhra leaders made attempts to blackmail the Central Government and to create political crisis in the State.

About 140 MLA's, 20 MPs and 30 MLAs resigned and warned the Central and State Governments, All the political parties except, TRS, were of the opinion that there was no possibility of the Centre granting a separate Telangana State before the Union Home Minister Chidambaram made the announcement. The ruling Congress Party made the announcement so that the other parties are put to inconvenience in the society and to gain politically. On the one side, there was the people's struggle, on the other side, there were political pressure on the Central Government on the issue of formation of separate Telangana State. In these circumstances, the Central Government made announcement for the formation of a separate Telangana State. The announcement of the Central Government made the leaders of many political parties highly skeptical about the upcoming elections. There was the possibility of TDP and the PRP losing their influence in the Telangana and these parties getting restricted only to the Seemandhra region. The Congress had the opinion that the future of both ChandraBabu Naidu and Chiranjeevi will become zero in the Telangana and will be only a minimum in the Seemandhra region.<sup>176</sup>

The future of the Seemandhra investors and the leaders became highly doubtful with the announcement of the Telangana State. The MLAs, MPs, and MLCs declared that they resigned as per wishes of the people responsible for their success in the elections. The main reason for their quitting the membership of the Assembly and Parliament was that the values of other uses were many times more than the elected posts and would be affected. The properties and real estate worth crores of rupees of the leaders, their supporters, their relatives and their friends would suffer financial losses. The elected representatives had to resign to protect their properties, finances and to increase these.

Bandhs took place continuously in Seemandhra immediately after the Telangana formation was announced. The universities, colleges and schools were shut down. At all places the strike camps began.

In Seemandhra everybody united setting aside ideologies, parties, agendas, election manifestos, ruling party or opposition parties immediately after the announcement of the Telangana State Formation was made. The Chief Minister made announcement that if majority support is obtained in the Assembly for Telangana, the

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<sup>176</sup> Chidambaram in talks with Congress leaders on Telangana, Eenadu, 9 December 2009.



resolution for Telangana State would be introduced in the Assembly. The PRP leader changed his opinion and stated that the announcement for a separate Telangana should have been made after discussions with leaders of all the regions of AP. The leaders of the opposition in the AP Assembly Chandra Babu Naidu stated that, “We stated that we will cooperate if the resolution for Telangana is introduced in the Assembly, but for this no action took place; discussions with the people of all the regions, obtaining unanimous decision, and consent of the people of all regions should take place. The Congress Party has acted irresponsibly on this controversial subject which is sentimental. This party had indulged in match fixing and took a decision unilaterally making the State into a fire Furnace and made Andhra Pradesh to lose its respect in the entire nation,” minutes after the Telangana announcement Chandra Babu Naidu made his statement. He raised the curtain for the resignation of the Seemandhra elected representatives.

Opposing and protesting against the division of the AP State, 22TDP MLAs and one MLC belonging to the Seemandhra conducted bus yatra or protest bus journey. This bus yatra began on 18<sup>th</sup> December 2009 from Kurnool to Srikakulam and took place under the leadership of Yanamala Ramakrishnu. PRP leader Chiranheevi had stated earlier that Social Telangana was their slogan and policy but supported united AP on 18<sup>TH</sup> December 2009. To strengthen the united AP struggle, Chiranjeevi began his bus yatra from his constituency of Tirupati. The important cine persons such as MohanBabu made efforts for strengthen the united AP struggle. On the one side bandhs, rallies, rastorokos, hunger strikes and bus rallies took place after the Telangana announcement was made; and on the other side in the Seemandhra MLAs created political crisis by resignations so that no decisions is taken in the Assembly was rocked with slogans of Jai Telangana and Jai Samaikyandhra. As the situation became serious and critical, the speaker Kiran Kumar Reddy adjourned the sessions of the Assembly indefinitely on 10<sup>th</sup> December 2009. In parliament the Seemandhra MPs protested in the same manner.

While protest flames of the Seemandhra rose against the formation of the Telangana state, the supporters of Telangana became restrained. At this critical juncture if any struggle takes place or any instigating activities take place it would result in serious violence between people of both the regions, therefore the Telangana

society remained peaceful. If the Telangana struggle became violent, it may be side lined, with the government and the police proving to Telangana society followed restraints and used peaceful methods. During this stage, KCP himself conveyed the message of peace and non-violence to the Telangana society. “The creating of the Telangana State is the responsibility of the Central Government. Once they have announced about the granting of separate state, they should solve all the problems that arise. Again struggle is not necessary. We have trust in the UPA chairperson. Hyderabad should be the capital of Telangana State. If the Central Government goes back on its announcement, if they also create trouble in the declaring of Hyderabad as capital of Telangana there would be frightening struggle.

After the announcement of Union Home Minister the regions of Telangana and Seemandhra were divided into two without any chance of reconciling or uniting. There were restraints to the functioning of the High Court as the advocates belonging to the Telangana and Seemandhra divided into two groups and they raised slogans of Jai Telangana and Jai Samaikyandhra<sup>177</sup>. The High Court premises became a agitating place with daily dharnas and echoed with sloganeering. In these circumstances, the central changed its voice and contentions. Initially it had announced that the Telangana State cannot be formed without the resolution being introduced in the Assembly. The Central Government slowly stated that it will not go forward in the formation of Separate Telangana State without discussions between people of both the regions and between the parties. The struggle in Seemandhra did not stop and the announcement of the Union Home Minister was just the beginning and not the end. The congress Government at the Centre made it clear once again that he announcement for Telangana State was made so that KCR ends his fast. Despite all efforts and attempts by the Central Government, even after 15 days the raging struggle and protest fires did not stop in Seemandhra. Therefore, on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2009 the Central Government got yet another announcement made by the Union Home Minister.

“In the question which arose for the formation of separate Telangana State when the Chief Minister conducted on all party meeting on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2009, there was unanimity of opinion. The central government on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009 made the

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<sup>177</sup> Jai Samakhya Andhra, Andhra Bhoomi, 12 December, 2009.

announcement based on the opinions of all the parties. But the conditions changed in the AP State after that announcement was made. All the parties have separated on the issue of Telangana. There is need for detailed discussions with all the parties and groups in the united AP State to go forward with Telangana formation. The Government of India is taking measures to make all groups connected with the issue as participants. In the meantime there is need for restoring peace and order in the AP State. There should be opportunities provided for development. The central Government requests all the political parties and people of the two regions and students to stop their struggle and to safeguard the peace, tranquillity and sovereignty”.

The second announcement on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2009 of the Union Home Minister about detailed discussions with all concerned before the Central Government can go forward with the formation of Telangana made the people of Seemandhra to take out victory rallies. At all places in the ten districts of Telangana wherever seen there were protests, rallies and dharnas and chaos by the second announcements. The people in large numbers came to the roads and conducted bandh or closures. The announcements of the Home minister vertically split the people of the two regions and also the main political parties in the united AP. As the leader of the PRP took decisions in favour of the party in the favour of Samaikyandhra or united AP, his party workers in Telangana pulled down the foundations of the party in the Telangana region. They themselves removed the flags of PRP. They also submitted their joint resignations to the party and established a branch of PRP separately in Telangana region. They themselves removed branch of PRP separately in Telangana region. The ruling Congress Party, the opposition TDP, the people of Telangana and Seemandhra were divided vertically. The elected representatives belonging to the Telangana region resigned.<sup>178</sup>

The Chief Minister announced that sections 144 and 30 Cr.P.C are being imposed in Telangana within a few minutes of the second announcement of the Union Home Minister. In Seemandhra region the persons and supporters of the TDP, Congress and PRP participating in the struggle they were not arrested, but in the Telangana region the police forces were present at each step and proved the bias of

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<sup>178</sup> Telangana representatives resignation believed the Seemandhra leaders to be a ploy to put pressure on Congress and UPA Government to grant their demands were separate state.

the State Government. In these circumstances within a few hours of the second announcement of the Union Home Minister, the TRS leader K. Chandraskhar Rao met Jana Reddy of Congress Party and mentioned about TJAC. Afterward they met the leaders of other political parties, employees' unions, and people's organizations and had discussion. On 24<sup>th</sup> December 2009 at Kalinga Bhavan, Road No.12, Banjara Hills, Hyderabad, the TRS Party, Congress, BJP, Telangana Praja Rajyam, NGOs Association, Teachers Associations, Workers Association, and the Organizations of the Writers, Artists and the Educated Persons held a meeting with the professor Kodanda Ram as its president. In the meeting there were detailed talks and the political parties along with the people's organizations formed into Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC). The president of the Telangana Vidyavanta Vedula or Telangana Educated persons Forum Professor Kodanda Ram was unanimously elected as the Convenor of TJAC. It was unique that the TJAC formed by the joining of the different political parties, people's organizations, employees union and teachers unions had as its Convenor a person not associated with politics. The next day the Telangana Joint Action Committee met and elected its Working Group, passed resolutions and announced its immediate actions. It was an important historical event in the united AP, when a committee with many organizations without much political affiliations or ideologies or flags or agendas joined together setting aside all their differences to agitate and to face the Seemandhra forces. Within no time Telangana Joint Action Committees (TJACs) were formed at all levels and slowly the formation of the Telangana Joint Action Committee spread to the village level also. In this way, the formation of the different TJACs in Telangana could not be guessed by the Seemandhra leaders and the Central Government. Till this time, the Seemandhra rulers were successful in keeping the Telangana people disunited and preventing them from becoming a united powerful force. All the parties and organizations of Telangana joining together as a Joint Action Committee after setting aside all their flags is a great victory in the history of Telangana struggle. The TJAC made the people's representatives to take the oath that, "We as members from the level of panchayats to the level of parliament will resign and create constitutional crises. We will not go back under any condition till the aim is attained. We will struggle relentlessly till the Telangana State is formed."

The Telangana political parties, organizations and Joint Action Committee gave a call for a Bandh or closure to be held on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2009<sup>179</sup> to increase pressure on the Centre to immediately announce the Telangana State. All the political parties, people's organizations and employees' unions participated in the Bandh for which call was given by the Telangana Joint Action Committee. The people of Telangana having much anger on Central Government participated freely in the Bandh. The entire Telangana society without any political affiliations, without ideologies, without flags and without any agendas set aside their differences and also without any caste or religious discriminations or differences united for the first time in the history of Telangana and participated in the Bandh as never before.

On 24<sup>th</sup> December 2009 about 18 students of the Osmania University began indefinite hunger strike at Arts College demanding that the process for the formation of the Separate Telangana should take place immediately. The Government understood the intensity of the student struggle and again closed the hostels and messes from 28<sup>th</sup> December 2009 by issuing a circular for the same. In Kakatiya University the student had continued relay hunger strikes and from 28<sup>th</sup> December 2009 began indefinite hunger strike. In the remaining universities also the students began indefinite hunger strike. In this way the Telangana struggle in the Universities reached the zenith or highest level or sky limit.

As the situation becoming critical in all the Telangana University, the police conducted sudden raids on the hunger strike camps on the night of 28<sup>th</sup> December 2009. At the Osmania University, the police took into custody 12 students on hunger strike and forcibly sent them to Gandhi Hospital. A delegation of the representatives of all parties and representatives of all organizations under the aegis of the TJAC met the Chief Minister express its protest on this incident. The students admitted to the Hospital continued their hunger strike in the Gandhi Hospital. The University professors and teachers of Telangana formed themselves into an association on 28<sup>th</sup> December 2009 to participate in the struggle for separate Telangana. At Teachers Home in Secunderabad, the teachers of the nine universities of Telangana formed the Telangana Federation of University Teacher Association. Bhattu Sathyanarayana of Osmania University was appointed as the Convenor of this Association and the Co-

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<sup>179</sup> Telangana Bandh, Eenadu, 31 December, 2009.

convenor was Papi Reddy of Kakatiya University. This Association stood mainly as support for the students agitating in their respective universities. As the police began imposing restrictions on students, the student also intensified the struggle. The Students JAC gave call by announcing that the year 2010 should be the year for attaining separate Telangana State and that the students and the people of Telangana should refrain from participating in the New Year celebrations because of the call given by student JAC and also the political JAC; but all through the night the people conducted Dhoom dhaam( Telangana cultural programmes) and participated in singing and dancing. The health condition of the students of the Osmania University continuing the definite hunger strike since the last seven days deteriorated. The leaders of the political parties and people's organizations visited the students on hunger strike in the hospital after coming to know about their bad health condition. On 30<sup>th</sup> December 2009 as their health condition further deteriorated and as they become serious, KCR told that all of them would struggle and get Telangana and requested them to end their hunger strike. The indefinite hunger strike of the 16 students ended but the relay hunger strikes continued.

The Central Government conducted a meeting of all political parties on 5<sup>th</sup> January 2010 to remedy the political crises created by two contradictory political announcements on Telangana by Centre. All the eight political parties recognised in Andhra Pradesh were called to the meeting. Two days before the meeting took place at Delhi, the Osmania JAC gave a call for Students Garjana to show their strength and express the need for a separate Telangana State. The Arts College of Osmania University became the place for the OU Students movement. Despite the government and the police blocking, imposing restrictions and taking other measures, the students came in huge numbers from all corners of Telangana to Arts College. The Osmania University and the neighbouring areas became filled with students. It is by the Students Garjana that the students could send messages to the central and the state government that the struggle would not stop till the separate Telangana is formed. The Osmania University Joint Action Committee warned that if in the all party meeting to be held on the 5<sup>th</sup> January, a decision is not taken for formation of Telangana state they will create serious constitutional crisis for the central and state governments by participating in the people's struggle. The Students Garjana made it clear that they will bury the future of the political leaders not in favour of Telangana state formation.

The students Garjana was a successful as not guessed and not understood by the state and central government. The opportunity was got by this student Garjana to intensify the Telangana struggle.

The Bandh or Closure that took place on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2009 influenced the Central and the state Governments much immensely. As never before, the ruling party elected representatives, played key role in the Bandh. Without any influence of any political party, Telangana united to continue the great Telangana Movement and struggle.<sup>180</sup> It was also decided under the aegis of the working group of the political and people's organizations of Telangana Joint Action Committee to make the ruling and the opposite parties representatives along with the Ministers to resign; and also to make efforts to get resignations from the panchayats members to the parliament members submitted, the resignations of all the representatives were to be done in order to create political crisis in the State. In these circumstances, the Central Government was stirred. To secure opinions of the different parties on Telangana State formation, the eight recognised political parties (Congress, TDP, PRP, TRS Party, BIP, CPI, CPM, and MIM) in the united AP State were invited to attend the All Party Meeting on 5<sup>th</sup> January 2010 by the Central Home Department with each party represented by to members. The Lok Satta Party leader Jai Prakash requested the Central Government to invite the unrecognised parties also to the All Party Meeting. The Telangana Joint Action Committee made it clear that the struggle should continue till the Centre begins the process of Telangana State formation. It also gave call to intensify the struggle with many protests, strikes and programmes. To put more pressure on the Central Government relay hunger strikes, manava haralu or formation of human chains, rasta rokos or blockade of roads, dharnas( or protest by slogans, demonstrations, etc.) and sabhalu or public meeting took place under the aegis of the TJAC. The students stopped their studies and continued the Telangana struggle in different forms of protests. The employees' unions also were plunged in the activities of intensifying the struggle.

In these changing circumstances, the All Party Meeting took place under the supervision of Union Home Minister on 5<sup>th</sup> January 2009. Two members from each party with one member representing each of the two regions attended the meeting. In

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<sup>180</sup> Many congress leaders also joined this movement and that marks in a way turning point in the Telangana movement.

the meeting the Central Government did not take into consideration the opinions of the political parties but considers the opinions of the person present. In the meeting, out of the two members, a member from the TDP party spoke in favour of Telangana whereas the other member spoke in favour of united AP; similarly, a member of the Congress Party spoke in favour of Telangana whereas the other member spoke in favour of the united AP. The members of the TRS Party, BJP and CPI requested for the formation of a Separate Telangana. CPM and MIM wanted the Congress to give its opinion on Telangana. The PRP demanded that the State should be united. Finally, the Union Home Minister requested the members from both the regions to stop bandhs, and maintain law and order. It was mentioned in this meeting that the Central Government made its decision based on the decision taken in the ALL Party Meeting held earlier on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2009. The Central Government gave its decision by stating that these conflicting conditions were created because of the changing of decision in favour of Telangana by some political parties, that detailed discussion should be take place for the formation of the Telangana State and therefore with regard to the announcements made on 9<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> December the Centre was appointing a Committee soon and the Centre gave its message so.

#### **4. Srikrishna Committee Recommendations**

The All Party Meeting could not satisfy even a dingle group in Telangana with the result that the furious flames of Telangana rose. With the suspicion that Telangana State would not be formed, the number of suicides increased day by day. With these conditions, Telangana became chaotic and administration was paralyzed in the State. On the one side, while the Telangana Joint Action Committee was attempting to create political crisis by intensifying the struggle if the Centre did not begin the process of creating a Separate Telangana State, on the other side the people of Telangana insisted that the Centre to abide by its 9<sup>th</sup> Dec announcement resulting in the intensifying of the struggle. In the other direction, the Seemandhra leaders insisted that the State should be kept united. The Centre observed the struggles going on in both the regions of AP and with the pretext that the formation of Telangana is possible after detailed discussions appointed the Shri Krishna Committee.<sup>181</sup> The Committee was totally rejected by the Telangana people and supporters with

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<sup>181</sup> See appendix V



contempt. The TJAC made it clear that the Telangana State should be announced even without the appointment of the Committee. It announced that because of the Pranab Mukherjee and Rosaiah Committee in the past, the Telangana people have lost faith in the Committees.

The Telangana Political Joint Action Committee and the Student Joint Action Committee decided to intensify the struggle because the Centre was appointing the Shri Krishna Committee for gaining time and delaying the process. The TJAC and the Students JAC formulated a strategy to put pressure on the Central Government. The Osmania University JAC began a Maha Padayatra or Great Protest by Walk to take the Telangana struggle to the villages. In this protest the students from all the Telangana universities participated. This walk protest took place with two delegations in the southern direction from 18<sup>th</sup> January to 7<sup>th</sup> February 2010. The Padayatra or walk protest began by the solidarity rallies with the singing and dancing of the artists and participation of the Telangana poets. The Padayatra was flagged by Gaddar, Damodar Reddy, Nayani Narasimha Reddy, Konda Laxman Babuji and others.

The students in two delegations went on Padayatra or protest walk in the ten districts of Telangana for 21 days and reached Kakatiya University on 7<sup>th</sup> February. The Maha Padayatra was concluded with a huge public meeting with thousands of students making the public meeting unforgettable for the people. The guests for the huge public meeting were Swamy Agnivesh, Deshipati Srinivas, Manda Krishna Madiga and others. They addressed the meeting. The people gave support to the student Padayatra that took place for 21 days and held it as the Divine Brahma Chariot journey at every step. The Maha Padayatra by the students brought increased pressure on the elected representatives and on the both the central and state governments. On 19<sup>th</sup> January 2010, near Tagore's Auditorium, Osmania university campus, student Venugopal Reddy poured kerosene on himself and committed suicide by burning himself for the cause of separate Telangana. The Telangana region became heated and boiled all at once by the death of Venugopal Reddy. The students demanded that the elected representatives should resign. The Telangana universities were rocked by the death. On 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2010, a public meeting took place with thousands of students at the Nizam college grounds, Hyderabad under the supervision of the ABVP or Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad. In the meeting, the Lok Sabha

opposition leader Smt. Suhsma Swaraj announced that the BJP will unconditionally support the Telangana Bill if the congress party introduces the bill in the parliament.

On the other side, the people of Telangana agitated in large scale in the entire region under the leadership of the Telangana political joint action committee. The struggle for the separate Telangana transformed into a people's struggle. From village to village thousands of tent were erected. Along with hunger strikes, dharnas (protests), meeting, Rasta rokos (obstructing the roads), manavas harula (human chains formation) and vanta varpu (cooking on the roads); the Telangana cultural forms also became part of the struggle. The Telangana region was rocked by the struggle activities every day. The people kept aside all their problems and took part in the struggle. The struggle under the leadership of the Telangana joint action committee became the life breath for the Telangana people. With the united or joint resignations of these Seemandhra leaders, the central government took back the decision of the 9<sup>th</sup> December. In these circumstances, the Telangana people desired that the elected representatives from Telangana would also resign to increase pressure on the central government. As demanded by the people, the TJAC had discussion with all political parties and a joint decision was taken along with the political parties. It was decided in the TJAC meeting with the political parties that if the central government does not begin the process for the formation of a separate Telangana state by 28<sup>th</sup> January 2010, the resignations of Telangana representatives should take place in a united manner. The congress party conducted meetings many times keeping in mind the dead line of TJAC.<sup>182</sup> Pressure increased from all directions on the state congress party. A representative delegation state congress party went to Delhi and requested the high command to begin the process for the formation of a separate Telangana. There was motion and stir at the central because of the pressure on the congress and intensifying of the great Telangana struggle under the supervision of the Telangana joint action committee.

In these circumstances, and in continuation of the discussions in the All Party meeting held on 5<sup>th</sup> January, the central government appointed retired justice Shri Krishna as the head of the committee along with four other members of the

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<sup>182</sup> Venugopal G. Telangana –United Andhra: Illusions-Falsehoods-Facts: Forum for Sustainable Telangana Publishers, Hyderabad.(2010)

committee. The central government announced on 3<sup>rd</sup> February that the committee was appointed to have detailed talks with all groups in both the regions of Telangana and Seemandhra and decide. The full details of the central government announcement are as follows:

After the 9<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> December announcements and so as to have detailed consultations with eight recognised parties and other groups, the central government has appointed a committee with following members Head of committee as Justice B.N. Krishna, members, Prof. Ranbir Singh, Vice principal, National Law University, Dr. Abusale Arif, Senior Research fellow, Dr. Ravinder kaur, professor, human social resources department, IIT, Delhi, Vinod K Duggal, retired IAS, ex-Secretary, home Dept.”

Despite the announcement of the Shri Krishna committee by the central government, the struggle would be continued peacefully till the process for the formation of a separate Telangana and this was made clear by the convenor of the Telangana joint action committee, Professor Kodanda Ram. To increase the pressure on the central government further along with the national tricolour, the flag of Telangana was unfurled on the republic day after a call was given by the TJAC. Two huge public meetings which are unforgettable by the Telangana people were conducted on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2010 demanding immediate beginning of the process for the formation of a separate Telangana state. Protesting the contention of the Seemandhra people that Muslims were against the formation of a separate Telangana state, a public meeting took place at Nizam college grounds attended by thousands of Muslims under the supervision of Jamate Muslim Hind. The second public meeting took place at Kakatiya University for the conclusion of the Mahapada yatra from Osmania University to Kakatiya University attended by thousands of students. The advocates of the AP high court began relay hunger strikes from 11<sup>th</sup> February 2010 demanding the Centre to immediately begin the process formation of separate Telangana states. The TJAC demanded the resignations of the representatives of all the parties so as to create political crises in the state. The congress party representatives were pressurized from all directions to resign and they felt insulted as well as oppressed for the reason that that they did not resign and also for the reason that these elected representatives of state congress could not get any favourable

announcement made by the congress high command. With no other alternative left, the elected representatives of the state congress states that they will resign if the functioning of the Shri Krishna committee is against the formation of the Telangana state and they requested the TJAC for some time till then. The home ministry announced on 12<sup>th</sup> February 2010, the functions and policies of Shri Krishna commissions as the central government was pressurized from all directions.

Within 10 days the announcement of the appointment of the Shri Krishna committee by the central government, the home ministry informed the functions and policies of the committee. The committee was to study on totally seven subjects and submit its report within ten months by 31<sup>st</sup> December 2010.<sup>183</sup>

Terms of reference of the committee:

1. To examine the conditions for the demands of separate Telangana and also to keep the AP united as it is.
2. To examine the changes by development in the different regions of AP state till now and the influences by the changes.
3. To examine the influence by fresh changes in the state on different groups in the society such as the women, children, students, minorities, other backward classes, scheduled classes and scheduled tribes.
4. To ascertain the key subjects while examining the above three points.
5. To have discussions and consultations with all groups in the society mainly the political parties and to take their opinions, to solve the present situation, to obtain different opinions from all parties and people's organizations for encouraging the benefit of all groups of people and to identify the complete adjustments and settlements for all the problems. To recommend a working plan and a road map for solving all the problems by complete adjustments and settlement.
6. To have discussions and consultations on the above stated subjects with the industrial, business, workers, farmers, females, students and other associations on

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<sup>183</sup> The terms of reference of Shri Krishna Committee clearly shows that there was no pressure on the committee to work for the formation of Telengana.

the above stated subjects. To take the opinions of the associations after giving importance to the subject of the all-around improvement of different regions in the state.

7. Along with the above functions, the committee also could give other advices and make other recommendations.

There were protests on the functions and policies of the Shri Krishna committee. The people's organizations and the TJAC alleged that the congress party has kept the formation of separate Telangana state which was the wish of the Telangana people in cold storage with the name and pretext of the examining of the Telangana problem. An emergency meeting of the TJAC took place. It was decided in the emergency meeting that it was for gaining time and delaying the process of formation of Telangana state that the central government has appointed the Shri Krishna committee and therefore the committee should be boycotted; further it was also decided that the elected representatives should resign so as to create political crises in the state. The congress party informed that their representatives would not resign and came out of TJAC. The TDP party also kept a condition and stated that their elected representatives in Telangana would resign only if the Telangana congress representatives resign.<sup>184</sup> The TDP also stated that it is only if all the representatives from different parties unite and resign at the same time that there will be political and constitutional crises; only then pressure can be brought on the Centre, and TDP went back. Abiding by the decision taken on 14<sup>th</sup> February 2010 at the TJAC office, twelve MLAs ( one TDP, one BJP and TRS MLAs) went by Padayatra or protest walk from the TJAC office to the Martyrs stupa (Gun park) observed homage(condolences)and handed over their resignations to the speaker Kiran kumar Reddy. The congress leaders had the opinion that there was no necessity for their elected representatives to resign as it was their congress party that would bring or grant separate Telangana and separated itself from the TJAC. As the president of the TDP indulged in activities against the Telangana and also got the Telangana advocates lathi charged in his presence, the TDP was expelled and banned from TJAC.

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<sup>184</sup> Manoj, CL.'New TRS, stable Congress in close fight in the new state Telangana', Economic Times, March 20,2014.

In these changed circumstances the Telangana joint action committee, the student JAC and the BJP abstained from talks with the Shri Krishna committee. Many agitators, organizations and parties had the opinion that there was the responsibility on them to inform about the injustices done to Telangana and about the struggle to Shri Krishna committee and therefore thousands of representations and reports were submitted by them to the committee. CPI, New Democracy Party, Telangana TDP, Telangana PRP, Telangana congress and TRS party submitted in favour of the formation of a separate state to the Shri Krishna committee. The PRP, CPM, Seemandhra congress leaders and Seemandhra TDP leaders gave report or representation in favour of united AP. The MIM gave representation that the state should be kept united and if not possible to create Rayala Telangana state. The Lok satta party in its representation did not completely favour and did not completely support the separate Telangana. In this way the political parties were divided into two groups in the state.

The central and the state government got opportunity to weaken the Telangana struggle as the main political parties which were to support the Telangana struggle went against and betrayed the Telangana cause. It was only to gain time and delay that the Centre had appointed the Shri Krishna committee. The committee was used as a pawn to side track the Seemandhra and Telangana societies. For this media under the control of the Seemandhra provided complete cooperation stealthily. There was publicity that the report of Shri Krishna committee to be submitted was a remedy for all problems and diverted the attention of the people towards the report to be given. The central government, state government and the forces against the Telangana causes implemented strategies to weaken the Telangana struggle before the time of the shri Krishna committee beds. The Telangana jac functioned with a strategy in order to preserve the unity of people participation in the struggle. It set right the defects and weaknesses faced and made attempt to harness the power of the Telangana people. in order to set right the cowardice of the Telangana political leadership, the immigrant sentiment of the Seemandhra political leaders, to restrain the false publicity by the media, to prevent the students and youth getting influenced by the media and to prevent discouragement and diffidence of the Telangana people. The jac decided to go directly to the people. as part of its activities the JAC conducted many programme to convert the struggle into a great Telangana struggle and movement.

The OU students' JAC gave a call for the besieging or surrounding of the assembly to take place on 21st February 2010. The political JAC also supported the programme. The government deployed thousands of police and imposed blockade. It restrained the students by preventive arrests. The first phase of the bus yatra took place from 9th to 12th April 2010 from Komaravalli to Mancheri to increase pressure on the government. In these circumstances the TJAC of the Telangana supporters elected to the 12 assembly seats by huge majority as never before. Chenamaneni Ramesh resigned from TDP criticizing the dual polity of TDP and joined and contested as TRS party candidate. The TDP lost in all constituencies it contested in the bye elections. The ruling Congress party which stated that giving or getting Telangana was within the power of its party ruling at the Centre also lost in many constituencies. The results of bye elections proved from the grass to the national capital, Delhi the influence of Telangana cause sentiment. On 16th December 2010, the TRS party conducted a huge Public Meeting at Warangal with 30 lakhs of Telangana supporters at the meeting filling more than a kilometer wide space as never before in the history of public meetings. The TJAC provided full cooperation for the success of this meeting. The great Telangana movement reached the highest level under the aegis of Telangana Joint Action Committee by the time Shri Krishna committee submitted its report to the government. It examined the Telangana struggle time-to-time and took, the anti-Telangana forces to people's court. TJAC also made breathing hard for the central and state government and increased pressure on the leadership.

The Seemandhra rich groups always made attempts to suppress the struggle but the Seemandhra Dalit organizations and Bahujan organizations along with many Seemandhra struggle and for attaining separate Telangana and separate Seemandhra. Many types of struggles took place in Seemandhra for separate Andhra. On 15th October 2010 at NGO Bhavan in Ongole, a Conference took place with B. Puranchandra Rao as president. With the decision of the conference a Sadassu or group meeting took place with Kurapalani as president at Vishwa Brahma Kalyan Mandapam at Guntur on 1st November 2010 or AP formation day and this day was observed or considered as small states formation day. In this Sadassu Samajika Jai Andhra Maha Sabha was formed. Chemukula Sudhakar was elected the state advisor of this organization. On 23rd January 2011 under the aegis of social Andhra joint committee a rally took place from municipal guest house to Ambedkar statue at

Guntur. Afterwards at VKT church grounds a public meeting was held. Gaddar attended this public meeting as chief guest. This samajika Andhra jac extended its solidarity to the Telangana struggle by taking part in the Telangana bus yatra in the ten Telangana districts which took place under the aegis of united committee for Telangana state formation struggle formed by Konda Laxman Bapuji. He stated that despite many conspiracies of the Seemandhra rich groups we should separate as brothers.

The Shri Krishna committee which held detailed discussions in Andhra Pradesh submitted its report on 30th December 2010 to the central government. The Indian government spent about 20 crores for shri Krishna committee. The Home minister, Chidambaram decided to hold allparty meeting on 6th January again but now on the report of shri Krishna report. The Home ministry invited the eight recognised parties in the state and each party was to be represented by two members. There were protests at all places on the decision of the Centre was encouraged dual policy and delaying the Telangana problem further. The congress MIM, CPI, CPM, and PRP attended the meeting. In the all party meeting, the CPI and Telangana congress representative Uttam Kumar Reddy told in favor of Telangana. In the meeting the ruling congress and home minister did not give their opinion on Telangana but ended the meeting by giving a copy and a cd of the report. The chief minister Kiran Kumar Reddy had 668 pages with 9 chapters. The details of the report are as follows

1. The demand for a separate state came on the scene because the gentlemen's agreement was not fully implemented.
2. The most backward region in the state of AP was Rayalaseema. it is more backward than Telangana. In Telangana also, the improvement was in Hyderabad but not in the entire Telangana. The GDP of Telangana is more than that of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand.
3. After 1971 the Telangana literacy rate recorded was more than that of other regions of united A.P. as far as education institutions were concerned Telangana region had improved.
4. In the field of irrigation, no region of A.P.was neglected.



5. The protective measures existing in the employment field in Telangana should be implemented. There is no necessity for the new measures.
6. There is opinion among Telangana people that their language and culture is being insulted by the cinemas. Not only Telangana people but also in northern Andhra the same opinion exists. There is the need for government to intervene when a region dominates over the culture of another region and attempts to suppress the other region politically.
7. The importance of Hyderabad was described.
8. The committee gave the key suggestion on law and order and other key subjects (this chapter was kept in a sealed cover and directly given to the home minister)

After examining the above eight chapters it gave six suggestions for future which are as follows.

1. To continue the status quo position. There is no use if as usual the Telangana problem is considered as political/ law and order problem and is left to the states. If immediate definite measures are not taken, there is a possibility of the Telangana people becoming discontented.
2. To divide the states into Seemandhra and Telangana and also to make Hyderabad into a union territory. Both the new states to have their separate capitals built. As there is no financial loss for the Seemandhra people it may be useful for them will be serious protests in Telangana. They will not have the contentment of having got a separate Telangana with Hyderabad. Therefore it is difficult in practice.
3. To divide the state into Rayala Telangana and coastal Andhra. To have Hyderabad as a part of Rayala Telangana. The MIM has made this suggestion considering the strengths of some Rayalaseema group and the Muslim population there. The Telangana supporters will not agree to this suggestion. Further, this suggestion may give impetus to religious forces. This may not be acceptable to all.
4. To separate Seemandhra and Telangana. to extend the boundaries of Hyderabad (via Nalgonda district upto Guntur and via Mahabub Nagar district up to Kurnool district) and to make it a joint capital as well as union territory. The Telangana

supporters will not accept if Hyderabad is made into a joint capital. If part of the state is brought under direct central control, there might be opposition from all the three regions of the United Andhra Pradesh.

5. To divide the State into Seemandhra and Telangana. To make Hyderabad as capital for Telangana and a new capital for Seemandhra. With this there will be fulfillment of their wish for Separate Telangana State for Telangana people. There might be disturbances in Seemandhra on the issues of Hyderabad and water resources. There may be demand for separate Rayalseema and demands for separate states in the entire nation. There is sufficient justification for the demand of separate Telangana. If the state is divided, the needs of the Seemandhras should be taken care of.
6. To keep the State united by taking Constitutional measures for the development of Telangana region both socially, economically and also for political unity. The present problems cannot be solved by dividing the State. The key for development of all the regions is to keep the State united. And to create a Regional Board by the Constitutional procedure for the improvement of Telangana. This is better if seen from national angle. And it is for this reason that the first vote is for this recommendation or suggestion.

The Shri Krishna Committee made it clear that it is not possible for implement four put of the six suggestions. There are difficulties in implementing the fifth recommendation and of the sic=x suggestions. There are difficulties in implementing the fifth recommendation and therefore gave secondary importance to it. The Committee made it clear although some difficulties are faced in implementing the sixth recommendation it is practically feasible and significant.

The eight chapter of the report was not disclosed along with the other chapters. It is because of the dual policy of the central government in the All Party Meeting that there was serious discontentment of the Telangana people <sup>185</sup>. The unclear recommendations made by the Shri Krishna suddenly made the Telangana struggle flames to reach the highest level. After the boycott of the All Party Meeting, the TRS Party along with BJP, New Democracy Party, people's organizations and employees'

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<sup>185</sup> This raised speculation over the intentions of the central govt towards the Telangan demand.

unions under the aegis of the Telangana region became turbulent and the copies of the report were burnt. The students of the Osmania University and the other universities became angry and furious. Yet again the police used tear gas shells, rubber bullets and also resorted to lathi charge. The police made the campus as a battlefield. The Bandh organized on 7th January 2011 by the Telangana joint action committee protesting against the central government's negligence and the bias of the Shri Krishna Committee was successful.

Under these circumstances the Telangana people's and employees organizations exposed the conspiracies of the Shri Krishna committee. The Telangana supporters alleged from the beginning that the functioning of the members of the Shri Krishna committee was suspicious. The committee member Duggal personally attended the private dinner organized by the Seemandhra MPs. The central government had made contradictory announcements on 9th and 23rd December 2009 and there were struggles in both the regions of AP. The central government appointed the Shri Krishna committee because of the struggles of both sides. The Telangana problem had justifiable social and administrative issues and therefore this committee comprised of former Judge of Supreme Court, a Vice Chancellor, a sociology professor, an investigator of policy and former Home Secretary. The eighth chapter of the Committee's report was submitted in a sealed cover to the Indian Government. The committee had decided that the eighth chapter should not be disclosed. On each page of this chapter the word secret was printed so that it is not disclosed. The decision to keep it a secret was not taken by the government on its own. The Telangana supporters protested stating that to keep the eighth chapter undisclosed was opposed to the constitution of India. Shri Narayan Reddy the former MP of Nizamabad filed writ petition in the high court to get the contents of the chapter disclosed. The writ petition was enquired by Justice L. Narasimha Reddy. The High court made it clear that under the mask of secrecy the committee had conspired to bury the demands of the Telangana people. The high court gave historical judgment that the chapter eight should be disclosed.

The fifth recommendation of the committee mentioning about the forming the Telangana state was given in the report of the committee. The committee wanted that this recommendation should not be implemented by the central government and made

suggestions to this effect in the undisclosed eighth chapter. The committee suggested three guidelines on this aspect.<sup>186</sup> They are;

1. To obtain unity among the ruling party leaders. There should be strong and powerful leadership in the State. To appoint the Telangana people's representatives in key positions (Chief Minister, Deputy Chief Minister). As far as possible to weaken the TRS Party as it was functioning having the main aim for formation of a separate Telangana State. The Congress leaders should not give support to the struggle directly or indirectly and take precautionary measures. The Congress Party should keep their party MPs, MLAs and MLCs under control. If the ruling party and the opposition parties come together at once and agitate, the agitators would succeed. So, it should be seen that the ruling and the opposition are not united. Further, immediately after the report is submitted to the Central Government, message should be sent to the people that the Central Government is prepared for detailed discussions. The people should have to be informed that the process would start most urgently.
2. The news in the media about Telangana should not be telecast under the Headlines of the NEWS programme. The opinions of the publishers or reporters, the regional connections and the district publications should have truthful information. The information connected to the Telangana struggle should be given without much importance and the Government should make use of the announcements for the communication of the Telangana information. Finally, the government should take steps to see that news's on the Telangana struggle are not telecast or published.
3. The committee also suggested as to the methods by which the struggles and Strikes are suppressed. The committee mentioned that struggle is indispensable if any recommendation given by it is followed. The committee informed the Government as to the way the police should take measures and as to which guns they should use. There should be watch and surveillance on the agitators. Weapons which do not cause death should be used by the police. The committee also recommended to the government that at the same time such type of powerful weapons should be used as to immediately control the agitators.

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<sup>186</sup> The Committee in its recommendations clearly keep the door open for the state to be retained as United Andhra Pradesh.

The Shri Krishna Committee in the eight chapter of the report had mentioned about the method in which the struggle can be controlled but it did not mention about hundreds of people committing suicides for the cause of Telangana struggle, mainly the students committing suicide. Further, it submitted its report to the Government with the daily falsehoods and half-truths of the Seemandhra leaders. Therefore, the Telangana Joint Action Committee decided that only by united struggle that the Telangana State can be obtained. Its action was planned with this aim of united struggle for Telangana State can be obtained. Its action was planned with this aim of united struggle for Telangana it conducted strike programmes of Non-cooperation, Million March, Vanta Varpu (cooking on the roads), Sakala Janula Sammey (All People's Struggle), Sagara Haram (human chain around the Hussainsagar lake) and transformed the Telangana struggle into a Great powerful Telangana struggle.

Telangana Praja Front or Telangana People's Front was established on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2010 with the uniting of all the people's organisations having identical opinions for Separate Telangana. The Front did not associate with any political party and it independently united the people for the struggle. Gaddar, Veda Kumar, Hanumanlu, Pasham Yadagiri, Ratnamala, Akula Bhumiah, Chikkudu Prabhakar, Keshav Rao Jadhav and Vimalakka played a prominent role in the establishment of the front. On 9<sup>th</sup> October 2010 at Maruthi Gardens, Hyderabad many people's organisations and many student leaders took part in a meeting to elect Gaddar unanimously as the president of the front. A temporary committee was formed with 84 members in this meeting. The aims of the front are

1. To agitate with the only agenda of forming a separate State.
2. The Telangana Bill should be kept in Parliament and approved.
3. The MP's should get pressure for the introduction of the Telangana Bill and to request for help from the MP's of other States for the same.
4. To struggle for every local problem as part of the Struggle and to proceed uniting all the local problems.
5. To observe 1<sup>st</sup> November as Telangana Betrayal Day.

6. To agitate with social justice as the basis for people's struggle and to bring about political awakening for the same.
7. To participate in elections and not to spare the persons opposing the struggle and to use them for the struggle. To get unity after discussions at the village level for the opinion that decision should be taken based on people's sentiment.
8. To give pattas to podu or waste lands.
9. To abolish open cash mining.
10. The lands in the surrounding of Hyderabad which were taken possession by the immigrants should be taken over by the government.
11. The lands allotted to SEZ's and land not utilized after allotment should be taken back by the Government.
12. To begin the activities of rehabilitating the people displaced by projects.

The Telangana People's Front agitated for these states aims. Besides its own activities, it also participated and supported the strike programme of Telangana Joint Action Committee and other people's organisations. Mainly, the front made it efforts for the success of Million March and Sagara Haram for which calls were given by the Telangana Joint Action Committee. On 9<sup>th</sup> December 2010 the front conducted a public meeting observing the Martyrs Sacrifice Day. The president for this front after Gaddar was Akula Bhoomish and after Bhoomian's death 'Mussilettula was the president.

On 28<sup>th</sup> February 2011 the Telangana Untied Front was formed with the single agenda of struggle for Telangana differing with the Telangana People's Front as it also had the aim of struggle for Telangana without any concern for the elections. The president of the Telangana United Front was Keshav Rao Jadhav, vice president was Vimalakka, and the general secretary was Kapilavi Dilip Kumar. The United front also functions without associating with any political party and with the opinion of agitating for Telangana as other organizations. This Front conducted many struggle strikes and struggle programmes in Telangana. Mainly, the serious problems in Telangana of water, funds and appointment in which injustices took place were made

known to the Telangana people right from the highest educated scholar or poet to the common person by the front with dancing, singing, and other art forms.

The united Front destroyed the toll Gates on the national highways of Telangana for the reasons that the Seemandhra leaders and investors were preventing the formation of the Telangana state. The state government arrested Vimalakka along with the functionaries of the Telangana United Front (TUF) and sent them to jail. The government kept a watch on the activities of TUF and imposed by the government with the result it could not work independently. No political party associated with TUF because of opposing statement made by it in the past. Keshav Dilip Kumar himself left the front and joined RLD. In this circumstance the chances of strengthening of the Front were reduced. This Front used to make success the calls for strikes given by the Telangana Joint Action Committee, people's organisations and students organisations. The Front functioned under the leadership of Vimalakka for the formation of a separate state despite facing many difficulties and problems.

Telangana is the birth place for struggles. The Telangana people with weapons took to the historical peasant armed struggle against the Nizam's tyrannical absolute rule, against the atrocities and illegal possessions of Razackers and the Landlords against them. The Peasant Armed Guerilla Struggle continued even after the Hyderabad state merged with the Indian Union. In the stated Peasant Armed Struggle more than four thousand revolutionaries sacrificed their lives. In the 1969 Telangana struggle about 369 students were killed in the police firings and murders but none committed suicide.<sup>187</sup> The Telangana region experienced crisis as never before in the seconds sate of struggle with the suicides and suicides of lives by the male and female youth. In the society, suicides are relentless sufferings. The incidents

The instances of People sacrificing their lives for the social or political cause are much less. There were many suicides of the Buddhist monks against the illegal occupation of Tibet by the China government. In Africa at Tunisia also suicides took place.

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<sup>187</sup> Unlike in 1969, people of Telengana this time were ready to carry forward their struggle till they attained a separate state. In 1969 TPS which spear headed the movement merged itself with the Congress in 1972 and settled for the six point formula.

After the Second Stage of the Telangana struggle was intensified, the society was charged with tension. The people began their movement for participation in the Telangana struggle and the entire Telangana united with the people's participation in the struggle. The Central and State Governments did not respond despite much struggle and further for other reasons also the people of Telangana were frustrated and plunged into discontentment. The Seemandhra leaders making statements repeatedly against the Telangana struggle and the formation of a Separate Telangana State were the other reasons for the discontentment. The youth after participating in the Telangana struggle took to the path of suicides with the opinion and belief that in future also they will not get Jobs. During the Second Stage of the Telangana struggle, the Telangana youth so as to influence the changing political conditions committed suicides with the opinion that it was a form of protest for attaining Separate Telangana. All the political parties became participants in the Telangana struggle fearing that the suicides may lead to serious consequences. The conditions were created for the political parties to participate in the struggle and to continue the struggle in favour of a separate Telangana.

The politics of the Telangana struggle making the demand for a separate state of Telangana show an interplay of identity politics both at a level of consensus and conflict. At the level of consensus, the Telengana demand was able to achieve to a large extent consensus among various political parties, civil society groups and government. This consensus was more like Rawlsian overlapping consensus where certain amount of discontent and conflict remained. The conflict was clearly evident in the stance adopted by the Seemandhra parties and people towards the demand for a separate state of Telengana. The consensus among the Telengana groups was also rid with certain layers doubt and anxiety among the supporting groups. For some groups came on board to ensure that they do not missout on the opportunity in case the central government agrees to the demand of a separate Telengana. Thus, it is clear that the politics of recognition of the demand of separate Telengana was not based on a complete consensus even among the Telengana people.



## Chapter Five

### People's movement for a separate state of the Telangana

“When the Constitutional Institutions fail to implement or enforce the people's right in Constitution, the people themselves should agitate and struggle for their rights so as to protect themselves,” said the framers of the Indian Constitution. This seems to have come true in the struggle for a separate Telangana where people had come together at various levels to realize their right to a separate state of Telangana. A demand which started in 1948 culminated on 2 June, 2014. This demand has been voiced by various political parties. However, the real strength to the aspirations of various groups comes from the manner in which people have expressed their support to the movement.

In section one of this chapter, one will try to analyse the role played by people, as an expression of the voice of Telangana identity. In section two, an attempt is made to look into the protests done by people of Telangana by performing their cultural activities. In section three the role of Telangana intelligentsia is analysed. And finally, the formation of Telangana and the Andhra Pradesh States Reorganization Act, 2014 are looked into.

#### 1. People's participation in Telangana

The struggle for separate Telangana was going on for more than six decades; the indefinite hunger strike by KCR took place in 2009. The struggle of students, employees, lawyers, people from different groups and the people's organizations demonstrated their unity. As a result of proving their organized power; the Central Government officially announced on 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2009 that the process for the formation of a separate Telangana was being initiated.<sup>188</sup> The entire Telangana plunged into ecstatic celebrations after this announcement was made. When the wish of many years was being realized, the Seemandhra's political leaders without considering the restraints of their respective parties created political and constitutional crisis by submitting together their resignation letters.<sup>189</sup> It was because of the pressure

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<sup>188</sup> Centre announced its decision to create a Telangana State. The Hindu, 10 December, 2009.

<sup>189</sup> Telangana issue put in cold storage. The Hindu, 23 December, 2009

of the ruling Seemandhra political leaders that the Centre made yet another announcement on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2009 stating that the separate Telangana State would be formed after “discussions and only after there is unanimous decision” of all the parties.

These circumstances led to the need to unite the entire Telangana to transform the desire for a separate Telangana into a People’s Agitation, therefore, the Telangana Political Joint Action Committee (JAC) was formed on 24<sup>th</sup> December 2009.<sup>190</sup> The JAC directed the people of Telangana to walk on the path towards the Separate Telangana agitation. The JAC, with the aim to expedite the process of formation of separate Telangana, declared by the Central Government on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009 and to fulfill the longtime aspirations of the people, conducted many forms of agitations with the help of different people's organizations.

The political JAC so as to take the separate Telangana aspiration of the people to the notice of the Centre and to keep alive the spirit of the agitation conducted many programmes such as Non-Cooperation, Million March, Sakala Janula Sammey or All People's Strike, Sagara Haram or formation of the Human Chain at the Hussain Sagar, March to Parliament or Sansad Yatra, and Chalo Assembly. Along with the different agitation programmes, it also took into consideration the Telangana cultural inheritance, the Telangana way of life, the wish of Telangana people and conducted the cultural activities as an Agitation with different forms by peaceful method. They were Vanta Varpu or preparing and eating meals on the-roads, Dhoom dhaam or 'Telangana cultural programmes, formation of the human chains or manava haram, Bathukamma performances and Bonalu processions, protest death processions, candle rallies, burning of effigies and along with these the death processions of the Telangana protesters committing suicides. All these were the different forms of the Agitation.

The different groups of Telangana people such as poets, writers, singers, artists, students, lawyers, journalists, women, employees, doctors, civil societies, different caste people and people of different religions played important roles in the different revolutionary programmes by different agitation forms. All the Telangana people with different identities, from different places and different sentiments came

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<sup>190</sup> Formation of JAC to intensify Telangana Movement. The Hindu, 25 December, 2009

together with a single identity and made their aspiration for a separate Telangana a reality. It is for these reasons that there is uniqueness in the Telangana Movement.

In the next stage of the Telangana Agitation, after the JAC was formed the first programme for agitation was Non Cooperation strike. With the memory of the Non-cooperation Movement conducted by Mahatma Gandhi against the British during the Indian Independence Struggle, the Non Cooperation Movement was conducted by the JAC so as to bring it to the notice of the Central Government the aspirations of the Telangana people. The Non Cooperation Movement meant not providing any assistance to both the Central and State Governments, mainly the Government employees without performing their official duties to bring the Administration to a standstill so as to make the Government totally helpless. The JAC had the opinion that it is possible to attain Separate Telangana just only by peaceful methods and gave a call for Non Cooperation Movement with the demand that the bill for a Separate Telangana should be introduced in the parliament immediately.<sup>191</sup> The employees had the most important role in the Non-cooperation Movement, nevertheless the different political parties, students, lawyers, and other people's Organizations also performed their roles effectively.

The JAC announced on. 12th February 2013 the Schedule for the Non Cooperation Movement was from 13 February, 2011 to 19 February,2011 respectively, Village to Village Announcement- and the determination to strike, Rallies at all centres in each of the constituency, Jail Bharo Programme, Dharnas before the residences of MPs and MLAs of Congress and TDP to force them to take decision on Telangana, Non Cooperation Programme and as a part of this programme, the joint rallies of the employees, Picketing before the Central Government Offices and Rasta Rokos, Prevention of Traffic on National Highway No.9. In the cities "Walk for Telangana"- and in the villages beating of the drums, and Total strike-Bandh or closure.

On 17<sup>th</sup> February 2011, the Government Telangana employees of the Telangana region began the Non-Cooperation Agitation. About three lakh Government Employees from the lowest rank to the highest rank took part in this Non Cooperation Agitation, The Telangana JAC continued the Non-cooperation strike by

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<sup>191</sup> Non-cooperation movement begins in Telangana, Deccan Herald, 17 February, 2011.

different methods and in different forms. They were (1) Employees refraining from their duties. (2) The people not paying taxes to the Government. (3) Travelling in Government buses without paying any bus fares. (4) Conducting rallies and (5) Blockade or Obstruction of the National Highways.

After the employees began their Non Cooperation struggle, the students, lawyers, females, the political parties, the people's organizations joined the struggle and played their respective roles in the Strike. The Telangana MLAs disturbed the Governor's speech on the occasion of the beginning of the State Assembly Budget meetings on 17<sup>th</sup> February 2011. As part of the Non Cooperation struggle the students gave a call for Chalo Assembly or March to Assembly and the Lawyers gave a call for Chalo Raj Bhavan or March to Raj Bhavan to be conducted on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2011. Despite police imposing restrictions and preventing them, both the students and lawyers succeeded in their programmes. On the same day the Telangana region MPs shouted "Jai Telangana" in the Parliament when the President's Speech took place so as to bring forth their demands to the notice of everybody. The intensity of the Telangana Movement was made known to the Central Government.

The JAC gave a call for 48 hours Bandh or Closure from 22<sup>nd</sup> February, The Bandh or Closure was supported by the students unions, employees' unions and other people's organizations. On 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2011, there was complete Bandh in the ten districts for the demand of Separate State. The Transportation came to a standstill as the buses and trains stopped.<sup>192</sup>

The Parliament was rocked with the Separate Telangana demand on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2011. The Lok Sabha echoed with the unanimous slogan shouting by the TRS, Congress, BJP and Telangana Telugu Desam. The Lok Sabha meeting did not take place smoothly and was adjourned thrice. On 25<sup>th</sup> February also the Parliament echoed with the demand for separate Telangana State

On 25<sup>th</sup> February 2013, P Narayan belonging to Ananthapur filed Petition in the High court take disciplinary action against the Government employees indulging in Non Cooperation and Pen Down Strikes. On 26<sup>th</sup> February, the Secretariat premises became a battlefield. The strike and protests took place as the employees and JAC

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<sup>192</sup> Telangana bandh: Hyderabad Police fear violence. The Hindu, 22 February, 2011.

leaders were restrained at the gates of the Secretariat after they were called for discussions. Minister Shankar Rao participated in the sit Down protest along with the striking employees and supported them in the Telangana Struggle.

The entire Telangana simmered after the 1<sup>st</sup> March 2011 call for “village village onto the rail tracks” by the Telangana Political JAC.<sup>193</sup> The effect was much on the trains going to the different parts of the State and also on the trains going to other States. The train movement between the North and South of India were stopped. In the Petition filed at the High Court for taking action against the striking government employees, the High Court on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2011 ordered the filing of counters by the Government and the Employees Associations JAC by suing notices.

On 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011, the JAC Employees Union leaders held prolonged discussions with the Sub Committee of the Ministry and also with the Chief Minister. The Government responded favourably to the demands related to the employees and gave assurance or guarantee in writing and an agreement took place between the Government and the leaders of the JAC of the Employees Unions. On this Agreement document, the JAC leaders and Ministers signed.the Agreement was as follows:<sup>194</sup>

1. Formation of a Committee to look into the implementation of the Presidential orders.
2. The State Government to take the JAC leaders to New Delhi for requesting the Central Government to remove the para of 14(f) clause of the Presidential Orders and the State Government also to facilitate the JAC leaders to meet the Prime Minister.
3. Formation of a Supervisory Committee under the president ship of the Chief Secretary of the State Government with the Committee of the Assembly members and the Sub-Committee of the Ministers for implementing the Presidential Orders.
4. To formulate a policy based on the Presidential orders to provide quota for the Telangana employees of the state level offices, department level employees and the employees belonging to the Telangana district.
5. To give preference only to the Local candidates of Telangana in the appointments by outsourcing. To implement the fair share plan in the appointment of the

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<sup>193</sup> Telangana protests to throw train services off track. The Hindu, 1 March, 2011.

<sup>194</sup> JAC employees Union met Chief Minister. Indian Express, 5 February, 2011.

Officials of the Secretariat, Heads of Departments, State Level Officials-and in the appointments by outsourcing.After this Agreement on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2011, the Employees Associations announced the stopping of the Non Cooperation Movement.

In the history of the Telangana Agitation, the Million March has a unique position. With the memory of the blockade of the agitators at Tehrik Chowk in Egypt which was successful to get their demands met; similarly the Million March for a Separate Telangana took place on the 10<sup>th</sup> March 2011 at Tank Bund, Hyderabad. While the Employees Non-Cooperation Struggle was taking place, the Telangana leader KCR had announced that the Million' March will be held with ten lakhs supporters, on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2011 in .order to put pressure on the Central and the State governments to introduce the Separate Telangana Bill in the Parliament leader KCR also attended on 26<sup>th</sup> February 2011 as a Chief Guest the Hunger Strike Camp under the aegis of the Telangana Intermediate Education JAC at the Directorate of Intermediate Education at Nampally and announced that on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2011 Hyderabad will be sieged on all sides by the Million March protesters. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi was the main political party in the political JAC. The TRS announced the programme for the Million March and all the Organizations and Parties so as to achieve the people's wish for a Separate Telangana announced their support for the Million March. The Intermediate Examinations were taking place on 10<sup>th</sup> March, and because of the respectful representation of the parents of the students writing the examinations, the political JAC announced that the Million March would take place between 1 pm afternoon to 4 pm evening.

The Government deployed thousands of Police to prevent the Million March.<sup>195</sup> Section 144 Cr P.C. was ordered in Hyderabad. Barricades and iron fencings were arranged. The police blocked all ways so as keep the people where they were in the districts and prevented the Telangana supporters from coming to Hyderabad. The Police performed preventive bind overs and arrests. The trains were cancelled. The Million March place at Tank Band was surcharged with tension and rage. Despite the restrictions all around the Tank Bund, the Agitators reached the place by 1 pm.

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<sup>195</sup> Million March turns violent in Hyderabad. The Hindu, 10 march, 2011.

With about a thousand agitators reaching Tank Bund, the police went back in helpless condition. Thousands of agitators reached the spot by 3 pm evening. The Agitators demanded that their arrested leaders should be released. Telangana leaders Madhu Yakshi Goud and K. Keshava Rao came there to extend their support to the Telangana agitation were surrounded and questioned with anger as to why they had not resigned from their posts. There was friction between the police and the agitators. The agitators were subject to rage and intolerance. They destroyed and damaged many statues of the eminent Andhras considering that the statues there represented the Andhra Immigrant Culture. About sixteen statues were damaged or destroyed. The cameras of the media recording videos of these events were pulled and thrown in the Hussain Sagar Lake by the agitators.

The Government responded most severely to the incidents that took place during the Million March by filing cases of attempt to murder and other sections on KCR, Harish Rao, KTR. Kodanda Ram, lawver Kiran, members of the New Democratic Partv and many others. It can De said that the Million March was successful in expressing the wish of the Telangana people for a separate Telangana State.

There is a prominent place for the Sakala Janula Samme (All People's Strike) in the history of the Telangana Agitation. It is not an exaggeration to state that the entire Telangana Society became united only at the time of this strike. The Telangana All People's Strike agitation went on for 42 days most peacefully and with the participation of all the people having political awakening. It can be stated that the Salala Janula Sammey (All People's Strike) is an unique Revolution in the history of the world revolutions.<sup>196</sup>

Before to the present Agitation by the Sakala Janula Sammey in the year 1969-70, the teachers and the employees went on strike with a single demand of a separate Telangana; but the leadership of that time could not turn the agitation towards success. Afterwards in 1974, the colossal 20 days Railway Workers Strike became known as another independence struggle and as a political Strike. The Sakala Janula Sammey (All People's Strike) was begun with the aims of pressurizing the

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<sup>196</sup> 'Sakala Janula Samme' agitation. The Hindu, 14 September , 2011

Centre to introduce the Telangana State Formation Bill in the Parliament and also to spread the Telangana Sentiment among the people of Telangana

In this strike akin to a revolution, the employees, teachers, lecturers, university professors, the non-teaching staff, Municipal, Panchayati Raj, Electricity, Singareni and RTC staff and the people of the entire Telangana society participated and for this reason this strike was considered and called as an All People's Strike or Sakala Janula Sammey.<sup>197</sup> (It was strike by all sections of society including government employees). The facts related to the Sakal Janula Sammey, the way the strike went on and the roles of the different groups in this strike are examined herein. On 15<sup>th</sup> July 2011, the Employees Unions under the aegis of the Telangana Political JAC handed over notice about the Strike to the Chief Minister Kiran Kumar Reddy. In this notice they gave ultimatum stating that if by 1<sup>st</sup> August 2011, an announcement is not made informing that the process for the formation of a Separate Telangana is started, they will go on strike. There was no announcement from the Centre in this regard and the Strike should have started from the 6<sup>th</sup> September 2011: but the strike was postponed to 13<sup>th</sup> September because of the Ganesh Festival On 12<sup>th</sup> September 2011, the Telangana Rastra Samithi Party conducted the “Janagarjana Sabha” or the roar of the people meeting at Karim Nagar. The leaders of the different political parties and employees’ unions were invited by the Telangana Political JAC. People in huge number attended this Janagarjana Meeting. The KCR announced in this meeting that the Sakala Janula Sammey will began on the 13<sup>th</sup> September, 2011.

It began on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2011. The entire Telangana was shaken and rocked by Road Blockades or Rasta Rokos and Rallies in support of the All People's Strike. No Government employee attended duty and the Government offices were kept locked. The School children protested and came out on the roads. The employees absented from their duties. The Singareni was completely paralyzed. In the State Capital Hyderabad and in all the Telangana districts almost all the Government Offices were closed. Lawyers stopped attending Courts. On 16<sup>th</sup> September 2011, it was the fourth day of the Strike, the police arrested TNGO President Swamy Goud. The supporters of the Telangana Agitation expressed much antagonism and disagreement and the Government released Swami Goud. The Government teachers

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<sup>197</sup> 'Sakala Janula Samme' hits production at Singareni mines. The Hindu, 14 September , 2011



and the Managements of the Private Schools joined the Strike, the Government issued Notification informing that ESMA or The Essential Services Maintenance Act would be enforced against the employees of the Stamps and Registration Department. On 19<sup>th</sup> September 2011, about 1.90 lakhs of Telangana supporters belong to the Contract, Outsourcing, NMR, NREGS, and Contract Lecturers participated in the Strike. On the same day the RTC Employees also participated in the Strike increasing the intensity of the Strike. On this day the complete blockade of the National Highways -was done. At Nizam College and the Osmania University campus, there was friction between students and police and these places were rocked with the police resorting to lathi charge and use of teargas on the students. From 21<sup>st</sup> September 2011, the Telangana Medical and Health JAC announced that it was joining the Strike. The Employees “with their families” participated in the Strike and undertook Mahadikshas or Big Protests after taking vows in the entire Telangana. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2011 was the tenth day of the Saka Janula Strike, the “Porugarjana” or the “Roaring Cry for Telangana” in support of the Strike took place under the aegis of the New Democracy Party at Khammam. On 24<sup>th</sup> September 2011, the JAC conducted “Rail Roko” or “Halting of the Trains” with the intention to make the Centre know about the joint rage and fury of the united Telangana on Strike. In this “Rail Roko” or “Train stopping” programme people belonging to different castes participated in many methods.<sup>198</sup> On the same day, the Metro Water Board performing the functions of water supply and drainage in the Greater Hyderabad, formed the Metro Water Board Joint Action Committee. ;

On 25<sup>th</sup> September 2011, an all party Samavesham or all party meeting took place under the aegis of the JAC at New Delhi. On the same day the Group-I Main Examinations were conducted with police security. On 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2011 as the Centre was continuously, delaying the Telangana issue; the Telangana JAC, the other participating parties and organizations took to “Mauna Diksha” or “Silent Protest” after taking vows at Raj Ghat in New Delhi. On 11<sup>th</sup> October 2011 under the aegis of the JAC a “Maha Dharna” or “Big Protest” on the Roads was conducted. In support of the Telangana Agitation, the employees of the Transport. Excise and Forest Departments participated in the Dharna or Road Protest wearing their uniforms.

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<sup>198</sup> Rail Roko hits services in Telagana. The Hindu, 16 October, 2011.

The teachers conducted Huge Dharnas or Huge Road Protests and Meetings (Sabhas) -in each district. The JAC gave a call for Rail Roko or Stoppage of Trains programme for 48 hours on 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> October 2011. Telangana went on the rail tracks. The Telangana Employees Unions announced on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2011 that they Rail Roko programme was postponed considering the problems of the peoples and the workers. On 16<sup>th</sup> October, people from different social groups participated in the Raii Roko programme following their caste traditions. On 17<sup>th</sup> October 2011, the Telangana Employees of High Court boycotted their duties in support of the Saklal Janula Sammey.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2011, the teachers of the Polytechnics stopped participating in the Sakala Janula Sammey and attended to their duties. After discussions between the Government representatives and the Employees Unions and after consulting the JAC, Swamy Goud announced at midnight the calling off of the Sakala Janula Sammey. Swamy Goud announced that the aim of the Sammey or Agitation was to make the Central and Government to wake up to the problem of Separate Telangana. The Sakala Janula Sammey took place for 42 days without incident and successfully.

The JAC gave a call for “Telangana March” to be organized on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012 so as to attain a Separate Telangana State. The Telangana March had only one demand of introduction of the bill for a Separate Telangana by the Central Government as per the procedure given in the Constitution of India. The “Telangana March” name was changed to “Sagara Haram.” The announcement for the Telangana March was made on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2012 by the JAC Chairman, Kodanda Ram stating that they were conducting Chalo Hyderabad with the name of “Telangana March“ on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012 so as to bend the necks of the Central and the State Governments for attaining Separate Telangana State.<sup>199</sup> The JAC also announced that it will awaken the entire Telangana from village to village with the adage, “A person from each home with the Telangana flag to go (Chalo) to Hyderabad.” On this day the Telangana March Publicity Schedule was also announced. On 9<sup>th</sup> July a rally was taken out from Manikeshvara Nagar which place is near and ide of the Osmania University. Many ‘punarankita dikshas’ or rededication protests after taking rows were held on the occasion of nearing the completion of a year of the Sakala Janula Sammey(All

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<sup>199</sup> Telangana March in Hyderabad intensify. The Hindu, 30 September, 2012

People's Strike) at all districts and mandals centres. On 16<sup>th</sup> July a rally was taken out with the name of “Kavatu” or “Parade”. It was also decided to observe on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2012.<sup>200</sup>

On 24<sup>th</sup> September, 2012 the JAC decided to finalize the name the “Telangana March” as “Sagara Haram.” On 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2012 many social activists made representation by Letter to the President of India Pranab Mukherjee for permission to conduct the march peacefully.<sup>201</sup> The Government refused to give permission initially because there was fear of damages to the properties of the Jidhras and also because of the Ganesh Immersion on 29<sup>th</sup> September, 2012 and the United Nations Organization's International Bio-diversity Conference from 1<sup>st</sup> October 2012. After written assurance was given by the Telangana Political JAC that no untoward incident would take place in the Sagara Haram, also with the intervention of the Telangana region leaders and ministers, permission was given by the Government. The place of the protest was also shifted from Tank Bund to Necklace road by the government while it gave permission for the Telangana March. The March was ordered to take place from the Sanjeevaiah Park to Necklace Road. Despite obtaining permission for the March, police placed many hindrances and obstructions.

The Telangana March began from many places in Hyderabad from Gun Park, Indira Park, Khairatabad Flyover, Secunderabad Clock Tower and many other places, processions and rallies started from 11 am in the morning. The Government prevented the Media completely. Despite the Police keeping many barricades and iron fences, the Telangana agitators broke these barriers and came in huge numbers to the spot. Except for the Congress and TDP leaders, the leaders of the other political parties came to the place of Sagara Haram. The Telangana revolutionaries Gaddar and Vimalakka although not part of the JAC came with their supporters and artists to the spot. The members of many People's Organizations, students, lawyers, journalists and women came in a rally to the place Sagara Haram. At Osmania University, the police obstructed while the students were trying to take a rally to the place of Sagara Haram, altercations took place between the police and the students. Untoward incidents such as pelting of stones by the students and the police using tear gas shells against the students took place. The permission for the protest was till 7 pm but after that time the

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<sup>200</sup> The Story of India's 29<sup>th</sup> State- Telangana. The Hindu, 1 June, 2016.

<sup>201</sup> Letter to President for permission to Peaceful March. Indian Express, 25 September, 2012

agitators did not leave the place and announcement was made to continue the protest peacefully and not to leave the place. Police used tear gas on the agitators. The JAC leaders<sup>1</sup> announced at 11.30 pm in the night that the Sagara Haram was being stopped due to incessant rain. The Government used Preventive Detention Act on the organizers of the March and filed 35 cases against the agitators for the different incidents at the spot. In protest against the cases filed, the leaders of the JAC observed silent protest at the Bapu Ghat on Gandhi Jayanti Day.

The JAC with the aim of attaining separate Telangana conducted many programmes and increased pressure on the Centre. The Sansad March was an important programme of the JAC. The Telangana political JAC organized the Sansad March for two days on 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> April 2013 at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi. The JAC announced that it was conducting this Satyagraha Protest programme at New Delhi when the Parliament session was taking place so as to open the eyes of the Congress which was reluctant towards the wishes of the Telangana people.

The South Central Railway allotted a special train to take the agitators to Delhi for Satyagraha. The special train was called the Telangana Express.

On 27<sup>th</sup> April 2013, for the “Sansad Yatra-Delhi Chaloo” or “March to Parliament-go to Delhi,” the special train started at 6 pm from the Secunderabad Railway Station with members of the TRS party members of the political JAC, BJP, New Democracy Party, Telangana Nagara Samithi, TNGO Employees Association, TGO Association, Telangana Employees Association, RTC unions, Singareni, teachers unions, Lecturers, JAC, Students and Advocates Associations; totally about 2000 people went to New Delhi.<sup>202</sup>

On 29<sup>th</sup> April 2013 the Telangana Satyagraha Strike began at Delhi. This Satyagraha was inaugurated by the main stream journalist Sumeet Chakravarthi. The CPI National Secretary Suravaram Sudhakar Reddy, BJP leader Prakash Javadekar and other intellectuals expressed their support for the Satyagraha. Shri Kodanda Ram spoke in this Satyagraha Portest and warned that if the Centre does not respond to the Agitation, they will conduct “Chalo Assembly.”

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<sup>202</sup> Telangana agitation: Sansad Yatra by JAC. Hindustantimes, 28 April, 2013.

On 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2013, the second day of the Hunger Strike, the Telangana agitators went to Sonia Gandhi's residence and tried to obstruct the parliamentary proceedings. They failed to siege the residence of Sonia Gandhi. They protested in front of the Congress Party Office after the police intervened. The employee leaders met OSD at the Sonia Gandhi office and requested that the false cases filed against the agitators should be removed. The student agitators also made attempts to enter the Parliament from the out gate. The police arrested and took them to the Police Station. The BJP leaders Sushma Swaraj, Uma Bharathi and Smriti Irani attended the Satyagraha taking place on the second day and expressed their BJP support. They also announced that they will also help in introducing the Telangana Bill in the Parliament.

At the time of the Sansad Yatra, the Congress MPs did Sit Down Strike in front of the statue of Mahatma Gandhi for 48 hours so as to get the Telangana Bill introduced in the Parliament. Once again the Telangana problem became intense. The aim of the Sansad yatra fulfilled.<sup>203</sup>

There is unique position for the “Chalo Assembly” programme among the programmes inducted by the Telangana JAC as part of the Telangana Agitation. The JAC gave a call for “Chalo Assembly” to be conducted on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2013 with the demand for introducing the Telangana Formation Bill in the Parliament. It gave the call when the Assembly sessions were on, to make sure the Centre and the State governments understand their demand for separate Telangana, as they believed that both the Centre and the State governments went back on their word of giving a separate Telangana to the Telangana people. Students, lawyers and different People's Organizations announced their support to the call for “Chalo Assembly”.

When the JAC members and the TRS members with the mediation of the Telangana ministers went to obtain permission for the “Chalo Assembly” programme from the Chief Minister Kiran Kumar Reddy, he advised them to conduct the programme after the end of the Assembly session. The members of the JAC and the TRS protested by stating that a programme such as “Chalo Assembly” should be

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<sup>203</sup> Sit down strike for 48 hours in front of Mahatma Gandhi statue at parliament. The Hindu, April, 2013

conducted during the time when the Assembly meeting and session is taking place or else the importance attached to the demand for a Separate Telangana State is lost.<sup>204</sup>

Government measures such as arrests, bind over proceedings, threats and foisting false cases measures were enforced at all places in Telangana to prevent Chalo Assembly. The police surrounded the hostels of Osmania, Kakatiya and other universities. The students in the hostels were arrested and subjected to torture. With blockades, suppressions, arrests and false cases, the government of the Seemandhra leaders expressed their antagonism and disagreement towards the Telangana agitation.

Taking into consideration the thousands of Telangana people participating and making the Million March, Sagar Haram, and Sadak Bandh programmes successful and the preparation being made by the Telangana JAC for the “Chalo Assembly” programme, the government of the Seemandhra leaders imposed strict blockades and other measures. They closed all roads leading to the state capital Hyderabad. The Hyderabad city was also filled with officials. Along with these measures the TV programmes were also curtailed. Sending of bulk SMSes were stopped. The cross roads at Indira Park, Ashok Nagar, Khairatabad, AfzalGunj, Kacheguda and other places were closed with fetters.

June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2013 was the Chalo Assembly day. The State Assembly sessions were cancelled, some MLAs of the Telangana regions besieged and surrounded the Assembly premises and they were arrested. Along with these MLAs, the police arrested thousands of students, lawyers, and journalists.

Inspite of the bindover proceedings, arrests and searches that went on in all the possible places in the ten Telangana districts, the Telangana Agitators came to the Assembly crossing over the iron fencings and participated in the “Chalo Assembly” programme. And many of the Telangana supporters who were unable to reach the Assembly started sitting on the roads.

Mahatma Gandhi followed the peaceful protest of agitating by taking to hunger strike so as to obtain Independence from the British. It is a form of agitation. In the Second Stage of the Telangana Agitation, the Hunger strike was taken as the

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main weapon to conduct the agitation in a peaceful manner and to voice the Telangana wish for separation to the State and Central governments.

In the second stage of the Telangana Agitation, as part of the agitation the TRS president K. Chandrashekhara Rao took to indefinite hunger strike as the ultimate weapon with Siddipet as the place for the hunger strike. When he started from Karimnagar and was going to Siddipet, he was arrested at Aljunor village and sent to the Khammam jail. When the TRS president K. Chandrashekhara Rao continued his fast in the jail, he was shifted to the Khammam Hospital and afterwards to the Nizam Institute of Medical Science at Hyderabad. From 29<sup>th</sup> November to 9<sup>th</sup> December KCR continued his indefinite hunger strike and the entire Telangana became affected by Telangana Agitation.<sup>205</sup> The Central Government was forced to announce on 9<sup>th</sup> December midnight that the Centre had taken the decision for the formation of the Telangana State. After the announcement K. Chandrashekhara Rao stopped his Hunger Strike and celebrations took place in the entire Telangana. Before the celebrations ended, the Central Government influenced by the Andhra political leaders made another announcement on 23<sup>rd</sup> December informing that after discussions and unanimous decision only the Telangana State can be formed.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2010, the central government appointed Sri Krishna Committee, a five-member committee headed by Justice Sri Krishna for discussing and obtaining unanimity in resolving the problem of separate state of Telangana, all kinds of protests of the Telangana agitation were temporarily suspended. After about a year the protests were again revived as the report of the Sri Krishna Commission immensely disheartened the Telangana people.<sup>206</sup> On 6<sup>th</sup> January, 2011, with the call given by the Telangana JAC, relay of hunger strikes began in all the places of the Telangana region. The different groups of people made the hunger strike as the main weapon for protesting and became participants in the Telangana Agitation. The Hyderabad MLAs of all parties took part in the hunger strike. On 26<sup>th</sup> January 2011, as part of the Non-cooperation Agitation, the employees of the Intermediate Directorate under the aegis of the JAC went on Hunger Strike. With the call for hunger strike given by the JAC, the students of the Osmania University began hunger

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<sup>205</sup> KCR's fast. The Hindu, 8 February, 2009

<sup>206</sup> "Sri Krishna Committee Report on Telangana: Recommendations at Variance with Analysis". Hanumantha Rao, C.H. Economic & Political Weekly, 2011

strike on 11<sup>th</sup> July 2011; Komatireddy Venkat Reddy, the Minister from Nalgonda district belonging to the Congress went on hunger strike from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> November 2011.<sup>207</sup> At the same time the late Konda Laxman Bapuji with 12 Freedom Fighters of Independence went on hunger strike from 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> November. The Hunger Strikes that took place at the Siddipet, Bhopalpalli, Bhodan, Adilabad and Sultanabad under the aegis of Joint Action Committees are considered as historical Hunger Strikes. The Hunger Strikes that started in 2011 at Siddipet, Adilabad and Bhodan continued till the Telangana State was formed.

Another important programme in the Next or Second stage of the Telangana Agitation was called as the Vant Varpu or to protest by cooking, draining of boiled rice water etc and eating the same food on the roads. This was a peaceful protest and a method of agitation which took place for the first time in the history of agitations springing as an arrow from the case with many forms of protests and was named as Vanta Varpu. As the name suggests, the people as part of the agitation prepared food by joining together on the roads and ate the food cooked there and by doing so they obstructed the movements on the roads paralyzing the transport. They passed the time on the Roads throughout the day with songs, play and Dhoom dhaam or cultural programmes enthusiastically. They strongly planted their protests in the minds and their aim was to make the government to know the novel method of protest taking place for the first time in the history of agitations. “It is a practice to conduct collective cooking and community lunches in open areas in Telangana during the monsoon. We have converted this into a form of protest to express our demand for separate statehood,” Telangana JAC Convener M. Kodandaram told reporters at the Gun Park in front of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly building here.<sup>208</sup>

With the call of the Telangana JAC, the programme of the “Patnam Roadla Pai Poyyi Pettudam” or “Hyderabad Cooks on Roads” took place on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2011. This programme took place between 9 am to 2 pm in the afternoon. The JAC selected 150 main centres for conducting this programme in the Hyderabad city. Instead of the multitudes of vehicles, noises of the horns, and polluting smoke, there were cooking places, food cooking, the smell of the food and slogans resulting in entirely different scenes filling the roads. On that day the Telangana people came on the Highways

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<sup>207</sup> Kotamareddy Venkat Reddy fast for the agitation. The Hindu, 7 November, 2011.

<sup>208</sup> Telangana Supporters’ novel protest, warn to intensify the stir. The Hindu 19<sup>th</sup> June, 2011.



from Karim Nagar to Hyderabad and Hyderabad to Warangal; cooked food, drained cooked food water, sang, played, performed cultural programmes and ate common meals on the roads paralyzing the Transport and expressed their protests. In this programme many political party leaders, people's organizations, and their members participated and made the heat of the Telangana agitation to be felt by the central government. This method of agitation remains in the pages of history for its unique part for the attaining the separate Telangana state.

In the next stage of the Telangana agitation the programme of Rasta Roko or preventing the movement on the roads was a peaceful programme. During the Indian Independence struggle, the national leaders followed this form of agitation mostly against the British all over the Indian nation. Taking this into consideration this pre-independence form of agitation, it was conducted in the next stage of Telangana agitation with different names such as "Rasta Roko" or preventing the movement on the roads, "Rail Roko" or stopping of the trains, "Sadak Bandh" or closing the roads. It is by this programme that the roads and railways were blocked and the transportation was paralyzed and it was possible to strongly bring to the notice of the state and the central government the wish of the Telangana people for a separate state and the agitators succeeded in doing so.

Telangana JAC organizes Rasta Roko across the region. Women in Siddipet resort to rangoli on road. Some people iron clothes while others stage dharna. This programme continued till 2pm.<sup>209</sup> This programme has an historical place in the agitation towards realization of the aim of Telangana state.

On 17<sup>th</sup> January 2011 the "Rahadarula Digbandham" or the "obstructing of the highways" was conducted after a call by the JAC for the immediate introduction of the Telangana Bill in the parliament and was completely successful. The Telangana JAC gave a call for the "Palle Palle Pattala Pai" or "village village on the rail tracks" to be conducted on 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2011. This form of agitation took place only with the intention of bringing to the notice of the central government their aim for separate Telangana by stopping or paralyzing the trains passing through the Telangana region. "Our intention is not to inconvenience the people. This is to send a message across to the Centre that it should form separate Telangana," senior TDP MLA P.

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<sup>209</sup> Telangana JAC organizes Rasta Roko across the region. The Times of India, 17<sup>th</sup> January, 2011.s

Venugopalachary told reporters at the Secunderabad railway station.<sup>210</sup> The JAC gave a call for Sadak Bandh or closing of the roads to be held on 21<sup>st</sup> March 2013. This programme of Sadak Bandh was conducted to bring pressure on the government for separate Telangana as the assembly sessions were taking place at that time. The Sadak Bandh programme or closures of roads programme were conducted from Shamshabad to the Alampur at the borders of the MahbubNagar district which was a distance of about 200kms.<sup>211</sup> The representatives of the teachers union, employees union, TRS, BJP, New democracy party participated in the Sadak Bandh.

Another important form of agitation during the next stage of Telangana agitation was the “Manava Haram” or “Human Chain Formation”. The meaning for “Haram” is a chain. The people came onto roads and formed themselves into a continuous Human Chain of Hundreds of kilometers by joining their hands with each other sideways. On 4<sup>th</sup> February 2010 in six Telangana districts with a call given by the Telangana JAC, a 500 kms human chain was formed creating history as never before in the history of agitations. From Adilabad to Alampur in the Mahbub Nagar district and via Nizamabad, Medak, Ranga Reddy and Hyderabad districts, the human chain was formed with lakhs of people participating and it entered the record books as the biggest Human Chain in the history of the nation. On 5<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> February another Human Chain formation programme was conducted successfully; on the National Highway No.9 between Hyderabad and Kodad.<sup>212</sup> This programme was conducted for strongly informing the Central and the State governments the aim of the Telangana people for a separate state and to spread to the world that till their firm decision of securing a Separate Telangana is not fulfilled they will stay together as leaves of the same Palmyra tree. Everyone was impressed by this programme.

## **2. Protest by performing Telangana cultural activities**

The Telangana Dhoom dhaam is a cultural platform and was used for the creation of separate Telangana State by the agitating artists of Telangana during the second phase of Telangana agitation. The Dhoom dhaam has a unique place in the history of the Telangana agitation with “Play-Songs-Words” as the three main pillars.

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<sup>210</sup> Telangana protests throw train services off track. PTI, The Hindu, March 1, 2011.

<sup>211</sup> Telangana Political JAC's 'Sadak Bandh' on March 21. The Times of India, March 3, 2013.

<sup>212</sup> Human Chain on NH-9. The Hindu, February 6, 2010.

The programme began on 30th September 2012 in Kamareddy and spread to the other ten districts as a form of the Telangana agitation, but became the permanent address for the Telangana Play-Song-Words. It is the bridge connecting the Telangana people, their arts and the Telangana artists. It travelled from place to place in Telangana with Rasamayi Balkishan, Anthadapula Nagaraju, Andeysree, and Warangal Shankar. It also travelled with people's warship Gaddar, Gofati Venkanna, Guda Anajaiah, JayaRaju. Vimallakka with Ma Bhumi Sandhya and hundreds of artists. There is no village in Telangana where Dhoom dhaam or the Telangana cultural activities did not take place during the period of the Telangana agitation.

With the migration of the Seemandhras and Globalization, Telangana was subject to discrimination socially, economically and politically. This theme was made known to the people of each Telangana village by Dhoom dhaam. As a cultural weapon it awakened the entire Telangana. There was no Meeting or Conference that took place as part of the Telangana agitation without Dhoom dhaam.<sup>213</sup> It pointed out to the sons and daughters of Telangana about their unseen enemy and unknown loot in Telangana. The wish and need for a Separate Telangana was confined only to the middle class people, intellectuals and the employees till then; but Dhoom dhaam pointed them out to the villagers and the illiterate in such a way that it was understood by all of them. Dhoom dhaam played a most important part in realizing their longtime dream. It was useful for unifying together all the organizations and political parties by setting ideologies for attaining a separate Telangana. The Telangana Dhoom dhaam while making representations to the political parties also cautioned them. Finally, it also made the enemies of Telangana to lose their deposits in elections.

The other cultural organizations having activities akin to the Dhoom dhaam activities were the Jana Natya Mandali, Arunodaya and Praja Kala Mandali but Dhoom dhaam more effectively reached the people in different ways. It was not just singing of songs but along with the Telangana songs, the activities of the Telangana traditional arts were made part of the, Telangana struggle. It not only brought the different art forms together for the Telangana agitation but it also brought to light thousands of artists in different villages.

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<sup>213</sup> Telangana Dhoom Dham artistes take agitation to every door. The Hindu, 23 December, 2012.

The decade celebrations of Dhoom dhaam took place on 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 2012 after the Dhoom dhaam completed ten years. The celebrations were started at the Indira Priyadarshini auditorium at Hyderabad by the People's Singer Guda Anjaiah, Gaddar, Andhra Jyothi correspondent K. Srinivas. Dappu Ramesh, Andeyshree, Dhoom dhaam secretary Anthaduvula Nagaraju, Pushpa, Mittapally Surender, R. Narayana Murthy, Ex. M.P. K. Keshava Rao, Kodanda Ram, Etela Rajender, Nagam Janardhan Reddy and others.

The word “Renaissance” means cultural revival or cultural renaissance in all spheres of the region's culture. The revolutionary changes in the intellect of the man by arts, literature, scientific knowledge and the folk arts have the common name of Renaissance. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Renaissance took place at Italy, and later on it spread to the entire Europe. Renaissance is needed for every civilization to safeguard their identity and to face the institutions which are against the uniqueness of the civilization. As a part of this sentiment even in India there was Renaissance in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy is called as the Father of the Indian Renaissance.

In the joint State of Andhra Pradesh, the struggle of the Telangana people to have a separate identity in their language, dress, manners, traditions, customs, festivals, magazines, eating habits, arts, and also in politics is called as the Telangana Cultural Renaissance. The Telangana Cultural Renaissance with unique identities which started from the Kakatiya Age was firmly established during the Ages of Bahamani, Qutub Shahi and Asaf Jahis. Nevertheless, it can be said that the main reason for the Renaissance during the Nizam period was the arbitrariness of the Nizam. The writings of Suddala Hanumanth, Bandi Yadagiri, Tirunagari Ramanjeneyulu, Dasaradhi, Kaloji, Somasundram and other poets, the literature of the writers; the activities of the artists including dramas filled the fuel for the struggle against the Nizam. After attaining the Hyderabad State after much efforts and pains; unfortunately-the Hyderabad State because of the Gentlemen's agreement turned to become Andhra Pradesh and came under the control of the Andhra leaders. Telangana was subject to discrimination in all fields including aspects of history and culture during the rule of the Andhra leaders. There was serious attack on the Telangana language, manners and culture. In the media and cinema, there was insult of the Telangana language and culture. Many attempts were made to revive the Telangana

history and culture. The Telangana History Society was formed to investigate the Telangana history, and to, bring to light new facts of history. As a part of these efforts for knowing the Telangana history, a Group Conference took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> June 2006 at Fateh Maiden Club at Hyderabad. In this Conference, professors and research scholars participated, Sangishetti Srinivas, Sunki Reddi, Narayan Reddi, K.Srinivas and others wrote many books to construct the Telangana cultural history. The Telangana Iekya Vedika, Telangana writers Vedika and the Singidi writers Sangham and other Organizations made attempts and efforts to construct and write about Telangana literature and culture. The Telangana celebrations and festivities took place from 23<sup>rd</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> March at Nizam College, Hyderabad. They organized live scenes, artistic performances, Telangana cooking, Telangana cultural activities and Dhoom dham to reflect the live scenes of the villages. Afterwards, these Telangana celebrations are taking place every year.

The “Telangana Jagruti” was formed to protect the Telangana Culture and Tradition. The Telangana Jagruti endeavoured and worked for the acquiring of the ancient texts, translations and preserving of the royal edicts (shasans) to obtain the ancient inscriptions on stone so as to present to the future generations this precious wealth. It is playing a prominent role especially for the spread of the Bathukamma in Telangana.

After Telangana State was formed on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2014, the new Telangana Government took special measures for the revival of Telangana culture.<sup>214</sup> It gave importance to symbols of Telangana. The State tree was Bulrush (Jammi) Tree. The State Flower was Tangedu. The Telangana State bird was Pala Pitta or Blue Jay bird. Telangana State Symbols were the Kakatiya Ithoranam or the Kakatiya architectural religious arch with Charminar in the thoranam.

In every aspect of the Telangana agitation, the different art forms, poetry, songs, Harikathas (stories by singing), Burrakathas (stories by singing with other incidents), Oggukathas (street acts) Yakshaganas (chanting series of events), Pittaladora Veshagallu or the disguise acts and dramas such as Ma Bhumi and many other played a significant part.

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<sup>214</sup> Rise Talangana Culture. The Hindu, 2 June, 2014.

The songs and poetry written by Suddala Hanumanthu “Pailleturi Pillagada” or “Village Boy”; “Bandienuka Bandi Nizam Sarkaroda” or “Cart after Cart Nizam Govt fellow” was by Yadagiri; “O! Nejamu Pishachama” or “O! Truth or Evil,” by Krishnamacharyulu; “Na Telangana “Koti Ratnala Veena” or “My Telangana, crore diamond lute,” and the songs of Ramanjaneyulu and Kaloji influenced the people.

In the present Telangana agitation; Gaddar, Andeyshreer Goretti Venkanna, Mithra, Gude Anjaiah, Jayaraj, Mittapalli Surrender, other poets and singers are strengthening the Telangana agitation. Not only for Bathukamma and Dushera programmes; but for rains, for the benefit of village and at Holi festival also the village people perform dances and songs. Women have protested with Bathukamma.

There is much uniqueness for the Telangana agitation. This agitation appears superficially or outwardly as a struggle taking place for a separate State in the nation; but internally and inherently this agitation has the dimensions of political, economic, cultural and social subjects such as the loot of the immigrant, suppression, and supremacy of the immigrants in all fields of Telangana, honour, self-respect, language, and attack on Telangana culture. It is for this reason -that the agitation became unique and different. The entire Telangana society was rocked and shaken by the nature and elaborateness of the Telangana agitation. “The Telangana agitation was the only agitation which had different identities, different ideologies, different sentiments and different political parties, with unitedness.” In the Next or Second stage of the Telangana agitation the different cultural aspects became the Telangana Identities or Symbols and were useful in the Telangana agitation. They were

1. Bathukamma
2. Bohalu
3. Telangana Amara Veerula (Martyrs) Stupam,
4. The statue of the Telangana Mother (Telangana Talli Vigraham)
5. The ten districts map of Telangana (Padi Zillas chitram) and
6. Boddemma, Dasseraj Katravulu or Forest diety worship of manifestation of God Shiva, Holi or Festival of colours and peer.

These were the symbols of the Telangana culture. Among these, the most important were the Bathukamma, Bonalu, Telangana Martyrs Stupa and Telangana Talli Statue and they are stated below. -

Bathukamma is the symbol for the unique Telangana cultural identity. It is the most important festival reflecting the entire Telangana culture. It is a holy festival of the local inhabitants evidently. It is a most ancient festival of the Telangana region. It is difficult to decide the date of the origin of the Bathukamma festival.<sup>215</sup> It is a festival which is performed and observed by worship with different decorated flowers tied together and such a type of worship with decorated and tied flowers is not found anywhere in the world. All the different types of flowers such as grassflowers, marigold flowers, Jasmine flowers, Lotus flowers, Rosebay flowers and also grass are in a plate or on a bamboo palanquin like contrivance with flowers arranged as a heap in rows with the lump of vermilion placed in the centre at the bottom of the flowers. The people worship the decorated flowers as Gowamma or Goddess Parvati, the wife of the God Shiva, the most powerful God of Hinduism. The festival is observed for nine days and on each of the nine days different name is given to Bathukamma while worshipping. They also worship by offering with nine different types of holy food, each kind of holy food is offered as oblation on each day. It is easy to sing the Bathukamma melodious religious songs and also to weave the flowers together into heaps. The melodious songs of the Bathukamma have the themes of Telangana historical stories and their details. Many Bathukamma songs are sung continuously with many stories revolving around the the birth of Bathukamma, the lives of the Telangana women with their sufferings, the mother-in-laws and the affection between the brothers and sisters. Also the other songs which are voiced during Bathukamma are the Telangana Martyred Heroes stories, folk stories, on Telangana agitation and on Bathukamma festival itself. The songs of Bathukamma resound and echo at all places in Telangana. It is the Bathukamma festival which supports the human relationships and life's tribulations in Telangana. The Telangana Jagruti, Telangana Development Forum and Telangana NRI are taking pains to spread this Bathukamma festival not only in Telangana but also in the entire India and the International field. The Telangana government has declared the Bathukamma festival as the State Festival.

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<sup>215</sup> Telangana's Bathukamma festival. Indian Today, 13 October, 2015.

The Bonalu is also yet another unique cultural festival of Telangana. It is also a symbol of Telangana culture. It is celebrated and observed in Telangana with much grandeur. The word “Bonam” means Meals. Bonalu is the festival which is observed by the worship of the Goddess with food offerings and prayers to protect the people, domestic animals and crops from diseases. The Bonalu Festival takes place in the Hindu calendar month of Ashadam in the Hyderabad and its neighbouring areas. The Festival takes place in the remaining districts of Telangana in the Hindu calendar month of Shravanam. The worships and prayers are to the Women Power (Stree Shakti) manifested and named as Goddesses Pochamma, Durgamma, Maisamma, Poleramma and other Goddesses in the Telangana Mahakali Temples in each village. The unique and special attractions of the Bonalu Festival are the dancing and swinging of the Potharajus, the chariot processions with the holy food. There are Oracles conducted for predicting the future at the Goddesses temples. The most famous Mahakali Goddess Temples of Telangana are the Lashkar Ujjaini Mahakali Temple (Secunderabad), Akkanna Madanna Temple (Hyderabad), Peddamma Temple (Hyderabad) and Balakampet Yellamma Temple (Secunderabad). These temples conduct special programmes and decorate the temples and their surroundings most impressively. The Telangana government has declared Bonalu festival as the State festival along with Bathukamma.

In memory of the Martyrs killed during the 1969 agitation, the Gun Park Martyrs Stupam was built.<sup>216</sup> It is a symbol for Telangana culture and for the Telangana identity. This Stupa was carved by Ekka Yadagiri Rao. The foundation stone for the construction of the Telangana Martyrs Stupa was laid by the then Mayor Lakshmi Narayana on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1970. There is a flower with nine petals carved on the head or top of the Stupa and the Wheel stands for Dharma, Peace and Bravery.

The Telugu Thalli or Telugu Mother and Telugu Language were used to suppress the Telangana agitation. The Telangana region poets, writers and intellectuals took pains and faced the repressive methods used to suppress Telangana agitation and as a part of this endeavor brought out many Telangana details of Telangana language, dress, region, culture and inheritance to symbolize the separate and unique Telangana identity. The Telangana Thalli also symbolizes the Telangana

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<sup>216</sup> Telangana martyrs memorial creator, Times of India. 3 June, 2014.



sentiment.

The features for the Statue of the Telangana Thalli were given by B. Venkataramana Chary (BVR Chary). He gave the features to the Telangana Thalli in such a way that it reflected the rural Telangana way of life and Telangana culture. The Telangana Thalli Statue has a crown on its head, in the left hand is Bathukamma, in the right hand are the corn grains so that the holiness is brought forth and manifested.<sup>217</sup> As part of spreading the Telangana agitation sentiment, the statues of Telangana Thalli were built at many places in the ten districts of Telangana.

The role of the poets, writers, singers and artists in Telangana agitation were just as important as the roles played by the cultures and literatures in the Liberation Struggles that took place all over the world; similarly Telangana culture and Telangana literature played significant parts and roles in the next or second stage of the Telangana agitation. The Telangana culture and literature remained as the main support and flagship for the Telangana agitation with its unique style or separate identity. The fields of culture and literature had the large portion in the Telangana agitation of the second stage. In the hands of the ruling Andhras, the Telangana people became comparatively inferior and are ridiculed. In aspects of language, dress, manners and culture, they were also considered as disrespectful, uncivilized and Telangana language was a villain's language. It is for these reasons that the Telangana poets, writers, singers and artists handed over the "Self Respect Struggle" to the Telangana society and remained as symbols for the Telangana Struggle. To prove their cultural uniqueness and separate identity in the language and dress manners along with their past grandeur memories on the one side, their afflictions in life and rage against the ruling Andhras responsible for distress in everything on the other side; the poets, writers, singers and artists brought out the depiction of Telangana social life in different cultural forms.

In the Telangana agitation, the poets and writers played an important part. Not only the present generation poets and writers, but totally all of them from the beginning of the Peasant Armed Struggle Agitation to the present Second Stage of the Telangana agitation, the Telangana poets and writers were subject to discrimination and faced injustices. They took part in the live agitation and stood in

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<sup>217</sup> Telangana Talli Statue. The Hindu, 19 April, 2015.

the first row by sharpening their pens and stroked the fire to awaken the people to the revolution. They were useful for transforming the Telangana desire of the people into agitation and spreading the key sentiment on Telangana with the different cultural forms such as poetry, stories, novels, essays, and also by writing songs and these were used as bullets against their enemies.

Although the cultural forms came abundantly in the Second stage of the Telangana agitation, it was the Telangana poetry and songs which had immense impact and spread widely in the Telangana society. On the one side they mentioned and protested the discrimination and injustices done to the Telangana region by the Seemandhra immigrant rulers in the integrated State and on the other side as part of the revival of the cultural activities with the Telangana culture, traditions, festivals and the past wonderful memories made the people prepared to the Self Respect Struggle.

The Telangana literature was created not only by the Manjeera Writers Association and by Telangana Rachayithala Vedika or Telangana Writers Forum; but also by many famous poets, writers and with many new voices of the Bahujans (lower castes), Dalits and minorities. They put powerful stamp or impression on the Telangana agitation.in the year 1975.

The construction of the stupa was unique with the lower portion of the stupa having black stone. There are nine small fissures or perforations on each of the four faces or sides of the stupa. These fissures or perforations indicate and are marks of the bullets which pierced the martyrs. The Stupa was” built with red colour stone. The red colour stone of the stupa symbolized the sacrifice and bravery of the Telangana Martyrs. At that place a sculpted thoranamu or religious arch is also there. It resembles the Sanchi Stupa. Flowers were carved on four faces or sides of the stupa and the flowers indicate as signs of offering obsequies and tributes to the Telangana Martyrs. There is a pillar in the middle of the Stupa. If seen from any side, nine lines can be seen on the pillar. The nine lines are as signs for the nine districts of Telangana (in the year 1975). The upper part of the Stupa is carved with Ashoka Dharma Chakra or Ashoka Wheel. The Singadi Telangana writers Association (or Rachayithala Sangham) wrote a book with collection of poetry was brought out. This was released in connection with the destruction of the Statues during the Million

March. Sunkara Ramesh got released five Telangana poetry collections from 2006 to 2010. With the name of “*Jaya Shikaram*” as homage and tribute to Shri JayaShankar, a collection of poetry was released by the publisher MuraliKrishna. Ambati Surendar Raju and Dr. Sunki Reddi Narayana Reddi brought out the “*Mattadi*” collection of poems. The “*Pokkili*” poetic collection was in the year 2002 by Gowrishankar. The 1969-1973 Telangana collection of poems was by Sangishetti Srinivas and Dr. Sunki Reddi Narayana Reddi “*Mundlagarra*” by Jullori Gowrishankar, “*Nadi Puttuvadi, Ikkadi Chetla Gali*” by Dr. Nandini Sidda Reddy, “*Chetunu Dhatu Kundam*” by Jukanti Jangannadham, “*Poddupodavu*” and “*Pokilavali Pulakinthd*” by Annavaram Devender.<sup>218</sup>

Ladai Dr Pasumuri Ravinder, Erra Mattibandi- Thaidala Anjaiah, Pidikili-Bilia Mahinder, Vemula Yellaiah, yellaiani- Dr Udari Narayana, Negadu Chintala Praveen, jung -Dhanakka Udayabhanu, Jaga jagao- published by Skybabu, Quit Telangana collection of poems on Telangana revolt -Skybabu, Rajmiya (Urdu) issue of Telangana Muslim Poets- Sky Babu, Kutubsar sar- Munum. In 2012-poets were Vemuganti MuraliKrishna, Kanchanpalli, Vajjala ShivShankar, Andeysree and Dasaraju Rama Rao, Vallubanda- Annavaram Devender, Mashal (Long poetry) by Vanapatla Subbaiah, Jigar- Dr. K.Lavanya and Annishetty Rajitha, Kavadi Kundalu by Dr.Koy Koteswara Rao.

Not only the above poetry, Yadi Manaadi, Dali, Na Telangana Padavu, Telangana Urumulu Meirupulu, Poddaindi, Ma Matti Kosam, Gayalegalai, Samaikya Shapam, and other poetic anthologies or collections of poems were also published. The poems which were not published as collections of poems were printed in different Telugu magazines. Naleshwaram Shankaram, Vajjala ShivShankar, Siddenki Yadagiri MaThovva), Ponnala Balaiah (Dandeda), Dr. Nalimela Bhaskar, Adepu Lakshman, Jindam Ashok, Maddikunta Lakshman and many other poets by their poetry provided the heat for the agitation. They awakened the people to the agitation.

The essay collections came in series. Among them the most important were Sambhashana-Dr. K.Shrinivas, Ganuma-Dr. SunkiReddi Narayana Reddi, Muderra-

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<sup>218</sup> Songs defined Telangana movement. The Hindu, 2 June, 2014.

Dr. Mudiganti Sujatha Reddi, Pranahita- AllamNarayana and Avartanam-Dr. Nandini Sidda Reddi.<sup>219</sup>

The stories which depicted Telangana are very less. Under the name of the “Telangana Chowk,” a book of stories was published by Karrra Yella Reddy and B. V.N.Swamy.

Dr. P. Yashoda Reddy wrote “Ma Pantulu,” Ashok Kumar wrote, “Yudha Nadham” and “Repu Mapu (a divorce story).” “Kotha Rangulu Addukunna Kala” and “Nitya Gayala nadi” by Bejjarapu Ravinder, “Nalugu Kotla Pidikillu” by Veldandi Shridhar and “Telanganam” by Odela Venkateshwarlu were the other stories.

The novels which had the theme of the Telangana Agitation were also less. Among them were “Salam Hyderabad’ written by Paravasthu Lokeshwar, “Mulla Podalu by Ampasayya Naveen and “Lo Chupu” by B.S. Ramulu.

The main cultural form that took the spirit of Telangana agitation from village to village and from heart to heart so as to spread the revolutionary sentiment were the Telangana songs. The songs influence the common people and strengthen the agitation. A book “Okkokka Patese” with collection of a hundred and one Telangana struggle songs was published by Jayadheer Tirumala Rao. Some hundreds of songs emerged on the Telangana agitation and they were useful in diverting the Telangana people towards the path of agitation. Among these songs, the important were<sup>220</sup>

1. “Amma Telanganama, Podusthuna Poddu Meeda” or Mother is Telangana, is the day light yours- Gaddar.
2. “Ayyo Neva Nuvvu, AvvoNeva” Or “Oh! You or Me. Oh! You.”- Guda Anjaiah.
3. Jaya Jayahe Telangana, Jai Bolo Telangana, Bomma chekkithe Bomma, Mayamai Pothunadamma Manishannavadu. If a statue is cared it is a figure, The person is disappearing – Andeyshree.
4. Nageti Sallalla Na Telangana (or Boring Telangana is My Telangana) - Nandini

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<sup>219</sup> The story of India’s 29<sup>th</sup> State: Telangana. The Hindu, 1 June, 2016.

<sup>220</sup> Songs defined Telangana movement. The Hindu, 2 June, 2014.

SiddaReddi.

5. Palle Kanneeru Peduthondi, Iddaram Vidipothey Bhumi Baddalu Avothunda (The village is shedding tears, if both of us separate the earth will burst) - Gorati Venkanna.
6. Veerulara Vandanam (Salutations to the brave heroes) - Daruvu Yellanna.
7. Rathi Bommallona (In the stone statue) - Mittapalli Surender.
8. “Chinuku Chinuku Kurisina nela Chitramaina Vasana, Adudam Dappulla Daruvu” Yenduku Rali Pothavura – Mitra or When drop and drop of rainfalls there is strange fragrance or recollection of memories; “Lets sing musical song”. Why do you fall stuttering?
9. Jai Kottu Telangana- Pasunuri Ravinder.
10. “Osmania Campus Lo Udayinchina Kiranama” or “a ray has appeared in Osmania campus” - Abhinaya Shrinivas.

There were hundreds of songs as above on Telangana life and the bad conditions because of the rule of the immigrants, mainly with the themes of immigrants to Gulf and Bombay depicting the lives in the Singareni, the loot of water, funds and resources, the crisis in the agricultural sector, the problem of the fluoroide in the Nalgonda of South Telangana, the Mahabub Nagar (Palamuru) farm servants plight, the bad conditions in the industrial areas of Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy were depicted.

As part of their role in the Telangana agitation, the Telangana poets and writers conducted many Sabhas or Meetings, Samaveshams (Conferences) and Kavi Sammelanas (Meetings of poets). Among these was the “Telangana Kavula Gharjana” or “Telangana Poets Roar” was conducted at the Basheerbagh Press Club at Hyderabad at the Suravaram Pratap Reddy Auditorium on 27<sup>th</sup> February. Under the presidentship of J. GowriShankar, the joint meeting of Telangana Writers Forum and Telangana Singidi Writers Sangham for the stated Gharjana took place with poets and writers attending in huge numbers. The resolutions were passed demanding to introduce the Telangana State Bill in the Parliament immediately and there was also

approval of the Non-Cooperation Strike of the Government Employees which was taking place at that time.

The Telangana Writers Forum released the essay collection with the name “*Virugudu*” on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2011 at the Potana statue on the Tank Bund. At the time of the protest by the agitators during the Million March, many statues were destroyed due to their anger and the essay collection was connected to the destroying of the statues. The reason for the destruction of the statues was the Andhra authoritarian sentiment and the essays were related to the history of the Andhras in Telangana. The Manjira Writers Association also completed 25 years in progressive literature and the celebrations took place on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2011 at Siddipet.<sup>221</sup>

“We will welcome the division of the State - We will protect the peace between both the divided states. We will make efforts for the improvement of the common people of all the regions. We will avoid the destructive and selfish political parties or political high terrains,” was stated in the political announcement of the poets and writers. With this announcement a Round Table Samavesham (Conference) was held on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2013 at Somajiguda Press Club, Hyderabad jointly by the Bahujana Keratalu, Kavadikundala Kavula Vedika or Kavadikundala Poets Forum, Mattipulu, Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and Minorities Writers Forum (SC, ST, Minorities Rachayithala Vedika), Hariyali Muslim Writers Vedika, Savithri Phule Adhyayana Vedika and Hyderabad Forum for Citizens.

The birthplace for the different arts is Telangana. There is no village without some kind of art or artist in all the ten districts of Telangana. The sons of Telangana Kapu Rajiah, Thota Vaikuntam, K. Lakshman Goud, Ale Lakshman and others gave to the future generations their pictorial depiction of the Telangana way of life, the pictures of life in many dimensions, the Telangana culture and the Telangana history by the painting and other art forms.

In the field of the cinema, Paide Jaya Raj, Shyam Benegal, B. Narasimha Rao, Kanta Rao, Prabhakar Reddy, Shankar, Roshan Balu, Kandikonda Yadagiri, Shrinadh Chandra Bose and others became famous but it was only Shankar and Rafi making the Telangana struggle into movie after facing the Andhra domination. With the movie

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<sup>221</sup> Siddipet played key role in TS formation. The Hindu, 27 June, 2015.

“Jai Bolo Telangana” they torched the agitation awakening in Telangana.

The Telangana folk art also helped the Telangana Movement because of the efforts of Midde Ramulu (Oggu Katha), Chindu Yellamma (Chindu Yaksha Song chanting of events), Darshnam Mogiliah (twelve steps Kinnera or lute performance) and others. Ekka Yadagiri and Ramana showed wonderful excellence in the sculpture. Ekka Yadagiri sculpted the Telangana Martyrs Stupa. The Telangana Mother (Thalli) Statue was sculpted by B.V.R. Chary.

As stated above, the poets, writers, singers, and other artists totally became part of the Telangana agitation and played significant roles to realize their dreams and aims of decades for separation.

### **3. Role of Telangana Intelligentsia**

In the second stage of the Telangana agitation, the Telangana intellectuals played a crucial role in taking the Telangana sentiment to the people and to make the people form opinion for a Separate Telangana ideology. So as get the consciousness of the Telangana agitation in the minds of people many Conferences (samaveshams) were conducted, books written, discussions were held, analysis of the movement was done in the magazines and the electronic media, group conferences, political training and other programmes were undertaken.

The inequalities that took place in different fields between the Andhra and Telangana regions with precise numbers reflecting the sufferings in the society were found in the writings Jayashankar and proved the necessity for a Separate Telangana. With analysis in his writings Professor Jayashankar put the foundations of intellectuality. Inequalities in progress and the discrimination were brought to the knowledge of the people in the book “Dagapadda Telangana” or “Telangana Decieved” written by the famous writer Innayya. The books published by the Telangana Information Trust under the aegis of Telangana Prabhakar and Professor Harinath put the intellectual foundations for the Telangana agitation. The Telangana Intellectuals conference or samavesham took place at the ICSSR Seminar Hall at Osmania University on 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> August 1997 to discuss the injustices that took in Telangana. The speeches of this meeting were brought out as book with the title “Thalladellithunna Telangana” or “Telangana in Turmoil” by Professor

Vishweshwara Rao and Simhadri. “The Osmania University Forum or Telangana” was started by Professor Lakshman. This Forum conducted group meetings in the entire Telangana region so as to increase the awakening in the Telangana people. The Telangana Vidyavantula (Educated persons) Vedita was formed in March 2004. Its members travelled the entire Telangana to awaken sentiment and books were written on the backwardness and other problems of Telangana. They played an important part for awakening the Telangana people for Separate Telangana.

Not only in laying the foundations for the Telangana agitation but also to take the agitation forward by writing of books, by discussions and by analysis. The intellectual’s role is an unforgettable chapter in the history of Telangana.

The Role of Students: “In the politics of Andhra Pradesh, regionalism had played an important part. Always this fire of regionalism was ready to get ignited or burnt; when it took place, it was not by the politician but by the Students which is regrettable,” was stated by the Western sociologist and investigator Huang Grey in the book title, Andhra Pradesh Political Institution-Telangana politics. This statement is relevant to the unique Telangana agitation and the unity of the students. The role played by the youth in the progress of the human civilization is significant; similarly in the Telangana agitation, the students and youth played a significant role which is examined below.

Students not only played a key role by actively participating but also many students were martyred, in the 1952 Mulki agitation and the 1969 Telangana agitation. Afterwards the Next or Second stage of the Telangana agitation began in 1996. The wish and awakening of the Telangana people took place in this stage because of the efforts and pains of the Telangana intellectuals and the People’s Organizations. Under these circumstances, the students organized themselves into different Students Organizations for attaining Separate Telangana State. Telangana Students Front, Telangana Students Organization and many other Student Organizations were formed. The year 2009 has a unique and special place in the Next or Second Stage of the Telangana agitation, the students played the most prominent part from 2009 to 2014, that is, up to the Formation of a Separate Telangana State.



The Supreme Court decision on the issue of Hyderabad as a Free Zone was given on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2009. It was mentioned in the court decision that although Hyderabad was in the Sixth Zone it was to be considered as Free Zone by Rule 14(F) of the Presidential Orders for the appointment of the police officials. Protests took place in the Osmania, Kakatiya and the Central Universities against Hyderabad as a Free Zone. A huge rally was taken out as Telangana Betrayal Day on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2009. At Siddipet on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2009, the “Telangana Gharjana” or the “Roar for Telangana” of the Telangana Employees took place. The students came in huge numbers to this meeting which was to protest the issue of Hyderabad as a Free Zone. In this Public Meeting, KCR announced his decision to go on indefinite hunger strike for separate Telangana and got ready at Siddipet for the hunger strike. On 29<sup>th</sup> November 2009 after KCR began his indefinite hunger strike and started from Karim Nagar, he was arrested at Alganoru and taken to Khammam Hospital.<sup>222</sup> After the news spread about the arrest of KCR, the Student Organizations took to agitation. The suicide of Shrikant Chary at LB Nagar, Hyderabad by pouring kerosene on himself caused bewilderment in the entire Telangana.

The Telangana agitation went into the hands of the students after the indefinite hunger strike by KCR because of the prevailing conditions. The Osmania University became a Centre for students struggle for separate Telangana. The students gave a call for conducting Chalo Assembly on 10<sup>th</sup> December 2010. When the Student community was preparing for making the Chalo Assembly programme successful, at midnight on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009 itself, the Central Home Minister made announcement that the process for the creation of a separate Telangana State was started by the Centre. The students cancelled the Chalo Assembly programme. The wish of six decades of the Telangana people for a separate state was becoming true. While they were immersed in celebrations; Central Home Minister made another announcement on the 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2009 that “as the different political parties had different opinions on the Telangana separation, discussions should be held and for this a separate committee was been set up.” The entire Telangana was subject to confusion and became chaotic. The students formed the United Action Committee. The government took hostile measures.

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<sup>222</sup> KCR's fast enters 10<sup>th</sup> day, TRS stalls Andhra Assembly. The Hindu, 8 December, 2009.

Afterwards, the students Joint Action Committee gave call for “Students Gharjana” or “Roar of the Students” and made efforts to conduct the Gharjana Public Meeting on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2010.<sup>223</sup> The Police refused permission for the Public Meeting. The Students Joint Action Committee filed case in the High Court, obtained permission with conditions and conducted the public meeting. People in huge numbers came to the Public Meeting. Consequently, the Telangana agitation at one stage went into the hands of the students. Afterwards on 8<sup>th</sup> January 2010, the meeting for homage to the Telangana martyrs took place at the Telugu University. The police lathi charged the students in the funeral procession of Venugopala Reddy that took place on 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2010. In the Vidyarthi Ranabheri or Students Public Meeting on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2010 was conducted by the BJP and Smt. Sushma Swaraj attended.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2010, the Sri Krishna Committee was set up by the Central Government. The students became infuriated as the Committee did not have separate Telangana as the main issue to be examined by the Committee and included a single issue “for the examination of the possibility for formation of a Separate Telangana.” With this the Osmania University again became a battlefield. To awaken the Telangana people, the students of the Osmania University conducted Pada Yatra or Protest March. The Pada Yatra ended at Warangal and connected with the Pada Yatra, students of Kakatiya University gave a call for Poliekeka (Battle Cry) public meeting on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2010. The public meeting was attended in huge numbers by the students and supporters of Telangana. Afterwards as the ministers did not resign for Separate Telangana, it became inevitable for the students to give a call for Chalo Assembly to take place on 20<sup>th</sup> Feb 2010.<sup>224</sup>

The incidents that took place on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> March 2010 at Osmania University led to friction and altercations between students and police. The students praised and lauded some of the MLAs as they had resigned protesting against the aims and policies of the Sri Krishna Committee. The students started in a procession from Osmania University to Tamaka demanding the resignation of the other MLAs. An altercation took place between the police and the students in the procession. The police lathi charged and used tear gas shells and rubber bullets to disperse the students indulging in stone throwing. The tension also spread to the nearby Manikeshvara

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<sup>223</sup> Pro-Telangana forces to use pressure tactics. The Tribune, 27 December, 2009.

<sup>224</sup> How student leaders were the driving force behind Telanagana. Firstpost, 30 July, 2013.

Nagar (Vaddera Basthi). The police also acted without clear-sightedness against the Manikeshvara Nagar residents and raided their houses. The media persons were also lathi charged by the police while they were recording the incidents.

The Telangana Political JAC met the Humans Rights Commission Chairman Justice Subhashan Reddy to complain about these altercations. A committee with nine members was constituted to probe into the conditions leading to the incidents and the truth about these incidents. The students gave a call for siege of the Assembly on 20<sup>th</sup> February 2010. While the Students were coming in a procession from the Arts College, the police obstructed stopped them by using barricades and iron fencings at NCC, Vidya Nagar. At the spot Siripuram Yadaiah ran poured kerosene and burnt himself shouting Telangana slogans while all were witnessing which shocked them and later he succumbed to burn injuries at the hospital. When Jagan was coming to Manukota as part of the YSR Odarpu Yatra, he was stopped by the students. The BSF leader Bondakola Palraj and Bhuma Mudhakar were seriously injured in incidents that took place there. Another eleven persons received bullet injuries. A student named Ishan Reddy committed suicide on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2010, the day when the Bye-Elections were declared.

The students gave a call for “Chalo Osmania University” programme on 11<sup>th</sup> January 2011. The students protested in different ways demanding the removal of the paramilitary forces from the campus. The Osmania University again became a battlefield on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2011 when the “Chalo Assiembly” programme was conducted. The police made arrests, lathi charged used rubber bullets and also imposed indefinite curfew. In spite of many restrictions of the Police some students reached the Assembly and shouted slogans for separate Telangana. Afterwards from 11<sup>th</sup> July 2011, the students began joint hunger strikes for Separate Telangana. These hunger strikes awakened the people to the flames of agitation. The students on hunger strikes for the last four days, ended their fasting on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2011.

In response to the call by the Telangana JAC for the Sakala Janula Sammey (All People’s Strike) which began on the 13<sup>th</sup> September 2011; the students played an important part. The students were in the front in programmes such as Blockades of the National Highways and Rail Roko. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2012, an MBA student named Lonawath Bhojnyak committed suicide at Hanumakonda and sacrificed his life for

Separate Telangana. His funeral procession took place with friction and altercations. The students took to protests against the dual policy of the political leaders. The students protested against the YSRCP leader Smt. Vijayalakshmi attending the strike of the Handloom workers at Sircilla. On 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012, when the students started to go to the programme of Sagara Haram, they were lathi charged and tear gas was also used. The students went and made the Sagara Haram programme successful against all odds.

A Public Meeting was conducted under the aegis of the students JAC of the Kakatiya University on 24<sup>th</sup> January 2013 at Warangal demanding announcement for starting the process for a Separate Telangana.<sup>225</sup> On 28<sup>th</sup> January 2013, the Telangana Students Action Committee conducted the “Telangana Students Protests.” On 14<sup>th</sup> June 2013, the students participating in the Chalo Assembly programme reached the Assembly despite many restrictions of the Police. On 7<sup>th</sup> September 2013, the Police seriously injured a student Balraj and other students of the Nizam College for raising slogans in the meeting conducted by the APNGOs.

The students involved themselves in every agitation that took place in Telangana. It can be stated that there was no agitation without students. In every struggle of the Telangana agitation, the students remained as support. Shrikant Chary and other students sacrificed their lives for separate Telangana in the Second Stage of the Telangana agitation. The Telangana State was found on the foundations by sacrifices of the Telangana students and the dream of Telangana people which was decades old was realized.

The role of the Telangana employees in the attainment of the Telangana State is important. Employees, workers, teachers, non-gazetted employees and others formed the Employees JAC and participated in many agitations, strikes, protests and proved their ability and power. From the Non-Cooperation Strike, the Chalo (March to) Assembly, Chalo Raj Bhavan, Vanta Varup (Cooking on the Road Protest) Cancellation of the 14 (F) rule, Sakala Janular Sammey (All People’s Strike), and to the Million March, the struggle went on continuously for a Separate Telangana and employees played their roles perfectly.

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<sup>225</sup> Students who fought for Telangana Statehood. Times of India, 11 March, 2015.

As part of the Second Stage of Telangana agitation going on from 1996, protesting the decision of the Supreme Court of Hyderabad as a Free Zone, from TNGO Bhavan, the Chalo Assembly programme began but was blocked and prevented by the Police and therefore a Dharna was conducted at Gun Park. The Meeting at Siddipet, Medak District on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2009 called the Employees Gharjana (Roar) Sabha was a success as it was attended in huge numbers by the employees and the teachers. In this Public Meeting, KCR announced his decision to go on indefinite hunger strike. The hunger strike of KCR began on 29<sup>th</sup> November and on 30<sup>th</sup> November the Telangana Employees went on Pen Down Strike.

From 17<sup>th</sup> February 2011 to 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2011, the Employees of the entire Telangana participated in the Non-Cooperation Strike.<sup>226</sup> The entire Telangana was rocked by the Dharnas and Rallies conducted by them. About three lakhs Telangana Employees of all levels participated. In this Strike they participated in the Non Cooperation Strike by using different methods and forms of strike. The Employees boycotted their duties, travelled in the government buses without tickets, conducted rallies, and blockaded the National Highways. They made the Non Cooperation Strike programme a success by participating in the Non Cooperation Strike for fifteen days continuously.

The Employees JAC participated in the Hyderabad Vanta Varpu (Cooks on Roads) programme conducted on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2011 and made it a success. The employees and the teachers of Telangana participated in the Sakala Janula Sammey (All people's Strike) so as to get pressure on the Central and State Governments for a Separate Telangana. In the Liberation Struggles that took place in the society there is no other struggle except the struggle of all the people of Telangana for such a long time. The Sakala Janula Sammey (All People's Strike) that began on 13<sup>th</sup> continued for 42 days and ended on the 24<sup>th</sup> October 2011. In this Strike, employees, teachers, lecturers, university professors, non-teaching staff, Municipal, Panchayat Raj, electricity, Singareni, RTC employees and many vocation groups caste associations participated and made the All People's Strike successful. On 11<sup>th</sup> October 2011 as part of the Sakala Janula Sammey (All People's Strike) Telangana employees came to

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<sup>226</sup> Government employees from Telangana to joined 'non-cooperation movement'. Times of India, 19 feb, 2011

Hyderabad in huge numbers and proved their agitating abilities. The Teachers Maha Garjana was conducted on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2011 at Karim Nagar and teachers in huge numbers came and participated in this meeting and strongly declared their demand.

The Million March which took place at Tank Bund on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2011 and employees and the teachers came in huge numbers and played a key role in making the March successful. With the main agenda of “Water, Funds and Appointments,” the Telangana struggle continued for justifiable quota in appointments protesting the authority of Non-locals, and the Telangana employees took the Telangana agitation forward.<sup>227</sup>

The Telangana agitation not only united the ordinary people but also united the professional groups. The agitation also united the journalists functioning with iron handcuffs and restrictions. The journalists have sentiments, beliefs, opinions, political affiliations and ideologies. The journalists make efforts and take pains to express themselves. The journalists played an important role to unite all parties and all organizations involved in the agitation on a single platform. The journalists played a significant role to take forward the Telangana agitation by beating the drums, taking part in dharnas and participating in processions.

On 31<sup>st</sup> May 2001, the Telangana Journalists Forum (TSF) was formed. From this stage onwards, they played a key role in exposing the loot of the immigrants in Telangana and in questioning the suppression. In the Second Stage of the agitation, they informed to the Telangana people every incident of the Telangana agitation going on and awakened them socially and politically for a Separate Telangana. The journalists went on dharna protesting the attack on the journalists recording the beating of the students by the police that took place on 15<sup>th</sup> Feb 2010 at Osmania University. On 28<sup>th</sup> April 2010 with the slogan of “Telangana Journalists for Separate Telangana,” relay hunger strikes were conducted all over the Telangana under the aegis of the Telangana Journalists Forum. The forum also conducted a media march on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2010.

On 5<sup>th</sup> December 2010 at the venue of RTC Kala Bhavan in Hyderabad, the Telangana Journalists Forum conducted the Telangana Journalists Meeting or

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<sup>227</sup> Million March to Hyderabad. Indian Today, 10 March, 2011.

Patrikeyula Maha Sabha Meeting demanding the introduction of the Separate Telangana State Bill in the Parliament. Many hundreds of Journalists took part in the rally from the Martyrs Stupa, Gun Park to the place of the Meeting. Lok Dal leader Ajit Singh attended the meeting. KCR announced the contribution of Rupees Ten Lakhs for the forming and establishment of the Separate Telangana Journalists Association.

On 19<sup>th</sup> May 2011 at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi, a Dharna took place under the aegis of the Telangana Journalist Forum in which hundreds of Journalists participated. The president of the Telangana Journalist Forum Allam Narayana presided over the programme that took place. The slogan in the programme was “With pen in one hand- agitation with the other hand.” The programme was attended by the political leaders, journalists and leaders of many Organizations.

On 16<sup>th</sup> October 2012 in the ten districts of Telangana, Dharnas, Rasta Roko and other agitations were conducted protesting the Seemandhra Government’s discrimination towards ape TV media organizations such as HMTV, T News and Namaste Telangana. On 30<sup>th</sup> October 2012, a self-respect rally of the Telangana journalists took place under the aegis of the Telangana journalist Forum from Sundarayya Parkto Indira Park condemning the bias and discrimination towards the Telangana media by the Seemandhra leaders. The president of the TJF and hundreds of journalists participated in the rally.<sup>228</sup>

The Sri Krishna Committee categorically mentioned in chapter eight of its Report about the management of the media. It was stated that in Andhra Pradesh, thirteen electronic channels and five magazines play key role in influencing and changing the public opinion. Among them except for two channels the other stated media supported the Seemandhra; but the journalists having responsibility of local representation reported the local incidents and the sentiments of the Telangana people. Particularly, the journalists reporting the Telangana agitation and supporting the cause for Separate Telangana were more. The recitals in the report about the journalists should be considered and noted.

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<sup>228</sup> The Story of India’s 29<sup>th</sup> State: Telangana. The Hindu, 1 June, 2016.

The role of the journalists in the Second Stage of the Telangana agitation for uniting the people's sentiment is unforgettable. The media informed from time to time fearlessly the attacks on the Telangana students and other Telangana supporters and the suppressions taking place to the public. They were responsible for the spread of the Telangana sentiment and the Telangana agitation to the four corners of the Telangana by their fearless reporting. Despite injuries to them because of the beating by lathis, they succeeded in their aim to attain statehood.

It is seen that after the Indian Independence Struggle there was no role of the lawyers in any other political agitation or in any other identical agitation. The Telangana lawyers showed such exemplary consciousness as to consider any attack on Telangana as an attack on them. The lawyers as persons knowing the laws protected the Telangana agitation and the Telangana agitators from the law enforcement officials. They became the protecting shield for the agitating organizations particularly the student organizations and argued hundreds of cases free of cost. Whenever arrests were made, cases were filed and blockades took place, the Telangana lawyers always stood in support of the Telangana side. The lawyers having so much sentiment for Telangana and the way in which they continued the struggle is given below

It can be said that in the six decades history of the Telangana Struggle, only in the second stage of the Telangana Agitation that the Telangana lawyers played an important role. In the 1952 Mulki Agitation and the 1969 Telangana agitation they agitated for a separate Telangana. It can be stated that in the second stage of the Telangana agitation mainly from 2009 they came into the Telangana agitation. In the Judiciary there was the domination of the Seemandhras, there was discrimination in the appointment of the Judges, there was also bias: the Telangana lawyers continued their struggle to solve their problems and in the process became a part of struggle of the Telangana. When the KCR went on indefinite hunger strike, the lawyers conducted a conference on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2009 at RTC Kalyana Mandapam, Hyderabad for the future action on Telangana, On 8<sup>th</sup> December 2009 another conference took place at Sundarayy Bhavan, Hyderabad. In this Meeting, the Telangana lawyers Joint Action Committee (JAC) was formed. Rajendar Reddy was elected as the Convenor of the Telangana lawyers JAC. When the government did not



give permission for the Telangana students Gharajana to be held on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2010, the lawyers got permission for the Gharjana by filing case and arguing in the High Court. On 14<sup>th</sup> February 2010, the police lathi charged, used tear gas and rubber bullets on the students at Osmania University Campus. Students were injured in the blockade and suppression by the police. The lawyers instilled confidence in the students and they also filed complaints on behalf of the students in the Human Rights Commission. The Telangana lawyers played a key role in getting the police removed from the Osmania University Campus. Afterwards, on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2010 the lawyers participated in Dharna at New Delhi. About two thousand lawyers participated in the peaceful Dharna at Jantar Mantar demanding the introduction of the Telangana Bill in the Parliament. At India Gate, the Telangana lawyers paid homage to the Telangana martyrs with candlelights. This Dharna was attended by JAC Chairman Kodanda Ram, and the BJP official representative Prakash Javdekar Central Minister Jaipal Reddy was restrained or gheroad.

On 28<sup>th</sup> May 2010, when Y.S. Jagan Mohan Reddy was coming to Manukota in Warangal district in connection with the YSR Odarpu Yatra, the lawyers protested from Secunderabad Railway Station to Manukota. They also conducted a huge rally at Manukota. On 17<sup>th</sup> February 2011 as part of the Non Cooperation Strike, the lawyers boycotted courts. On 20<sup>th</sup> February 2011, the lawyers gave a call for Chalo Raj Bhavan or March to Raj Bhavan. The government and the police made attempts to prevent this programme, lathi charge took place. All around the Raj Bhavan, the iron fencing and barricades were placed. After discussions this programme was stopped. In the Million March that took place on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2011, the lawyers played an important part in making the March successful despite many blockades and restraints by the police. Afterwards the call for Vanta Varpu was given by the Political JAC and the lawyers also participated in the programme on 19<sup>th</sup> July 2011. The lawyers conducted the Vanta Varpu or Cooks on Road at the Ranga Reddy Courts, LB Nagar, and Hyderabad. In this programme, Nagam Janardhan Reddy and Gaddar participated.

In support of the JAC's call for 48 Hours Bandh or Closure the lawyers boycotted the Courts. On the same day the Human Rights Commission gave its order

to the petition filed by the Telangana JAC requesting for removal of police from the Osmania-University Campus.

On 13<sup>th</sup> September 2011 the Sakala Janula Sammey began and the lawyers played a prominent role. Despite instructions and directives of the Courts not to prevent and obstruct the functioning of the Court, the lawyers resorted to Strike and did not follow the Court directives. They boycotted the Courts. They raised slogans in the High Court premises. The lawyers also participated in the Rail Roko held on 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> October 2011, the Sagara Haram on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012 and the Sansad Yatra that took place on 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> April 2013.

On 29<sup>th</sup> June 2013, the Lawyers JAC conducted Praja Court or People's Court condemning the action of the police at the Chalo Assembly March.<sup>229</sup> On 14<sup>th</sup> June 2013, the JAC conducted the Chalo Assembly Programme but the Government and the police suppressed it. Protesting the action of the Government and the police the Lawyers conducted the Praja Court or People's Court at Veterinary Bhavan, Masab Tank, Hyderabad on 29<sup>th</sup> June, 2013. In this People's Court, Justice Ismail, NALSAR University Professor Madabushi Shridhar, and the Tankashala Ashok were the Panel Committee Members. The Convenor of the Lawyers JAC Rajendar Reddy was a functionary and JAC coordinator Ravinder was there for reconciliation.

In every programme of the Telangana agitation, the lawyers played an important role and helped in attaining Separate Telangana.

In the Telangana social struggles since ancient times, the women were no less inferior to men and were forward to walk the path of agitation. Despite the domestic difficulties, they played their part by performing duties for the society. In the Second Stage of Telangana agitation, the women as poetesses, writers, intellectuals, artists, as agitators, mothers and students became part of the agitation standing in the fore front for attaining of the Telangana State.

In the 1969 Telangana agitation T.N.Sadalakshmi, Eshwari Bai and Sangam Lakshmi Bai played an active role. Student Renuka became a martyr to the Police firing and became a symbol for women's sacrifices in the agitation.

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<sup>229</sup> Telangana lawyers stood in support of separate Telangana. Indian Express, 30 June, 2013.

In the Second Stage of the Telangana agitation, the women proved their power again. Belli Lalitha, Vimalakka, Sandhya, Jagruthi Kavita, Surepalli Sujatha, Allam Padma, Jyothi Kiran, Vijaya Shanti, Padma Devender Reddy, Vanam Jhansi and Ratnamala played an active role in the agitation for Separate State.

The Telangana Mahila Ikya Karyacharana Committee or the Telangana Women's Joint Action Committee (TWJAC) played a key role in the mobilization, and uniting of women. On 31<sup>st</sup> January 2010, the State level Mahila Sadassu or Group Meeting took place which was attended by thousands of women.<sup>230</sup> The Mahila JAC played an important role in the mobilizing women for this Sadassu. In the Sadassu it was decided that the Women JACs should jointly agitate along with the other JACs for the attaining of Separate Telangana State. The Women JAC also conducted protest against the travel of the members of the Sri Krishna Committee in Telangana and shouted the slogans "Sri Krishna Go Back." The women played an active role in Non-Cooperation Movement, Million March, Sakala Janula Sammey, Sagara Haram, Vanta Varpu which were conducted as programmes of the Telangana agitation. In the programme of blockade of Assembly on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2011 with the police prepared for battle at each place, the women students of different educational institutions hoodwinked the police and made the siege of Assembly programme successful. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2013 at Dharna Chowk (Chindu Yellamma Vedika), the Mahila JAC conducted the Dhoom dhaam programme. This programme was jointly conducted by the Arunodaya Sanskrit Samakya, POW, Stree Vimukthi and the Telangana Mahila JAC.

In the Telangana agitation, the Telangana women became symbols of the Telangana Culture and utilized the "Bonalu, Bathukamma" excessively and became participants in the Telangana agitation. With Bonalu and Bathkamma as signs of Telangana, the illiterate Telangana women became part of agitation.

In the second stage of the agitation, the women proved their capacity to struggle and participated at many levels in the Telangana agitation. The extraordinary role of the women in the struggle for Separate Telangana is found and remains forever in the history of Telangana.

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<sup>230</sup> Role of women in Telangana Movement. Times of India. 22 February, 2014.

The role of the Diaspora: Despite going far away from their own native nation, they were always shaken by the naval and umbilical cord relationship of their origins, and this statement explains the relationship of the NRIs with the Telangana agitation. The Telangana people going to other nations continued their relationship with the Telangana region with the sentiment of “My history, My culture and My roots (origins).” As a part of the Telangana sentiment, the NRIs from Telangana became part of the Telangana agitation. The Telangana NRIs safeguarded their Telangana identity, preserved their Telangana culture, and came to an understanding on the Telangana subject of Separation, made publicity about the possibility of the formation of the Telangana State, participated in the Telangana development, acquired funds for improvement of Telangana,’ and social service programmes; thereby they participated in the progress of Telangana besides their role in the agitation. Their activities also included the formation of different organizations. Among them the most important organizations of the Telangana NRIs were the Telangana Development Forum, Telangana NRI Association, Dubai Telangana Association and Telangana NRI Joint Action Committee.<sup>231</sup>

These Organizations were first formed in 1999 with the aim to provide their part of the support for formation of the Separate Telangana State. An Organization was formed firstly by Madhu K. Reddy in America. They discussed the problems faced by the people in Telangana they also got published books, performed different programmes on Telangana Culture, conducted Seminars, celebrated Telangana festivals, - and also in this way they provided support and assistance in the spread of the Telangana sentiment. They also started a website “telangana.org” to awaken the Telangana people and to improve the Telangana Region. The Fourth Telangana NRIs Divas Programme was conducted on 18<sup>th</sup> December 2011 at Karim Nagar Revenue Gardens under the aegis of the Telangana Development Forum of India. It conducted Conferences on the Telangana issues with the name of “Telangana Banquet Night” in America. Professor Madhusudhan Reddy, R. Vidya Sagar Rao, Professor Harinath and V. Prakash were invited to speak at the meetings.

To make the voices heard of the Telangana Non Residents in America and the other parts of the world and to provide them with a platform, the Telangana NRI

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<sup>231</sup> NRI's eager to participate in Telanagana Movement. The Hindu, 3 September, 2013.

Association was formed. The Chairman was Narayanaswamy Venkatayogi Chairman, the president was Venkat Maroju and the Vice President was Amar karmilla. Many poets, artists, literary figures, cultural artists, the persons investigating in the social fields and people serving the Telangana were awarded for excellence with as many as five awards by this Association. The awards were:

1. In the Telangana Literature field- The Kaloji Award.
2. The most important literature book in the field of Telangana Art and Culture- Chindu
3. Yellamma Award.
4. The most important investigation research of Telangana- .Professor Jaya Shankar Award.
5. The most important changes brought about in the Telangana Social sphere- Komaram
6. Bheem award.
7. Encouragement to new writings and help for publishing- Suravaram Pratapa Reddy Award.

The Telangana NRIs conducted the Chalo DC or March to Washington and also in support if the Sakala Janula Sammey (AU People's Strike) conducted a huge show in the name of Telangana Kavatu or Telangana Parade on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2011 at Washington, the capital of America. The show brought to the notice of the Central Government and the International media again about the problems of the Telangana. As stated the NRIs played important roles in the agitation and in the rebuilding of the new State of Telangana.

The second stage of the Telangana agitation united the entire Telangana. The people set aside their personal turmoil giving importance to their wish Separate Telangana State and people started agitating for fulfilling their wish for a Separate State. In this Struggle were Telangana people belonging to different groups, castes, and religions. Among these people, the most important were the medical doctors. The

Telangana region was subjected to negligence due to discrimination and bias of the Seemandhra in the six decades of the existence of Andhra Pradesh. Telangana region was subject to discrimination in medical facilities in the Telangana villages, in the establishment of hospitals, in the appointments of doctors, and also in the establishment of medical colleges. These problems were understood by the doctors and they formed different doctors associations and Joint Action Committee. On the one side while they agitated for solving the problems in the medical field in the Telangana region, and these doctors associations also participated in all the programmes of the Political JAC and nil part in the agitation. Along with the doctors, the-paramedical staff and the other medic staff became part of the Telangana agitation by taking part in it. As part of the Telangana agitation, the doctors formed into different associations. While “Telangana Doctors Forum” and under presidentship of Dr. A. Gopal Kishan, “Telangana Government Doctors Associating” under the leadership of Dr. Ramesh functioned, the “Doctors of Telangana State” under the aegis of Doctor Bura Narsaiah Goud was formed and all these were the associations formed for Doctors.

The doctors conducted many programmes as their part in the Telangana Agitation. A programme was the “Telangana Vaidya Gharjana” or Telangana Medical Roar demanding the introduction of the Telangana Bill in the Parliament on the 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2010 at Osmania Medical College. They boycotted their duties by participating in the Non-Cooperation Strike for which call was given by the Political JAC. All the duties except the emergency duties were boycotted. In the programme of “Palle Palle Pattala Pai” or “Village Village on the Railway tracks took place on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2011, under the name of “Polyclinic on the tracks”, they provided medical service to the Telangana Agitators. In the Million March conducted on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2011 by the Telangana Political JAC, the doctors participated by wearing white clothes. In response to the call of the Political JAC, the doctors JAC participated in the Vanta Varpu programme or Cooking on the Roads programme by cooking food at Secunderabad Clock Tower under the aegis of Dr. Bura Narsaiah Goud. It can be stated that the role of doctors in days Sakala Janula Sammey was significant. The doctors conducted free medical aid camps and blood donation programmes. The students and doctors of the Osmania, Kakatiya and Gandhi Medical Colleges took to hunger strike demanding the introduction of the Telangana State Bill in the

Parliament. They played their parts significantly in the programmes such as Telangana March, Chalo Assembly, Manava Haram, Vanta Varpuand Rasta Roko. The Telangana Medical doctors JAC conducted the “Vaidyula Shankaravam” or “Call of the Doctors” at Vikarabad in Ranga Reddy District on the 15<sup>th</sup> May 2013. It can be stated that just as the other groups the doctors played an important role in the Telangana agitation.

In the Second Stage of the Telangana agitation, the role of the workers is great. On the one side was the authority of the Seemandhra immigrants for about six decades and on the other side were the international influences on the organized and unorganized sectors of workers of Telangana which made the lives of the workers most miserable. While workers struggled to solve their problems they also participated in all the activities for which all was given by the Telangana society and the JAC with the sentiment that their future and the lives of their children would improve if a separate Telangana State is created. They were helpful in making the strike programmes for separate Telangana successful. The Singareni, the road transport establishment, the cement company, the municipal workers, the workers in different government organizations; all these workers of the different organized unions had solidarity and played a prominent role in the Telangana agitation. Among them, mainly the agitating workers were in the Singareni and RTC. The workers of these two organizations boycotted their duties in response to the call given by the JAC for the Non cooperation against state government which began from 17<sup>th</sup> February 2011. The workers of both these organizations also took part in the Million March on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2011. The entire Telangana became a part of the Sakala Janula Sammey (All People’s Strike) which took place from 13<sup>th</sup> September 2011 for which call was given by the Political JAC. The workers of the Singareni, RTC and the Electricity Board showed exemplary courage and filled the entire Telangana with the sentiment of agitation for Separate Telangana.

The workers of the Singareni having experience in the long duration strikes boycotted their duties paralyzing production for 35 days and made it evident to the entire society about their power. At one stage, the workers unions of the Singareni and the RTC rocked and shook the Central and the State Governments. The Singareni workers after participating in the Sakala Janula Sammey strike by boycotting their

duties from 13<sup>th</sup> September 2011 to 17<sup>th</sup> October 2011 for 35 days, they terminated the boycott from 18<sup>th</sup> October 2011, similarly, the RTC workers unions continued their boycott of duties from 18<sup>th</sup> September to 16<sup>th</sup> October 2011 and created history.<sup>232</sup>

The Second Stage of the Telangana agitation influenced all fields and all individuals in Telangana. In the Cultural Revolution which was brought about by the Dhoom dhaam programme, the “Pata-Ata-Mata” or the Song-Play-Words which was part of the Dhoom dhaam made the sufferings and the Telangana way of life understood to the common people of Telangana. The extinction of the caste vocations because of the international influences, the decay of the village life along with the loot of the immigrant authority were made understood to the Telangana people by the different art forms, and because of the songs the Telangana sons in the unorganized also joined the Telangana agitation. In the unorganized sector were the construction labour, hotel workers and auto rickshaw drivers, beedi workers, paper boys and people of other unorganized fields and they joined in the Telangana agitation. Their part - was also great in the different programmes of the JAC such as Million March, Non-Cooperation strike, Sagara Haram, mainly the Sakala Janula Sammey (All People’s Strike). It can be said that the part of the unorganized sector of Telangana was important in the strikes that took place with Hyderabad as the centre. A Sadassu or Conference Meeting for a Separate State took place at Sundarayya Vignan Kendra on 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2010 under the aegis of the Private Sector Employees Association. Afterwards on 19<sup>th</sup> July 2010, they participated in the Bhumiputra Pada Yatra or Sons of the Soil Journey by Walk for a Separate Telangana. It can be stated that as stated above the Telangana Workers played important role for attaining Separate Telangana.

There is a place for Civil Organizations or People’s Organizations. The Telangana became always paralysed politically because of Telangana Movement and in each instance the People Organizations played important part. The People’s Organizations continuously awakened people spread the Telangana sentiment and put them on the path of struggle for separation. It was by continuous people’s agitations and strikes that they bought all the political parties to, the stage of “Separate Telangana.”

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<sup>232</sup> ‘Sakala Janula Sammey’ hits production at Singareni mines. The Hindu, 14 September, 2011.



A meeting took place on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1996 under the aegis of Bhupati Krishnamurthy and Jaya Shankar protesting the Formation of the Andhra Pradesh State. In this meeting the different discriminations taking place in Telangana were discussed. The Sabha or Meeting which was conducted in a limited way strongly voiced the people's wishes. On 20<sup>th</sup> November 1996, a meeting or Sabha was conducted by the Manjira Rachayitala Sangham or Manjira Writers Association at Siddipet to inform about the highest level role of the Telangana poets and other artists in the Telangana agitation. In this way there was a stir among the thinkers of the Telangana region. Meetings and discussions were held in all the districts of Telangana. On 1<sup>st</sup> November 1997 a meeting was held with the name -Forum for Freedom Expression" at Mojamjahi Market, Ashok Talkies. The poets and other artists condemned the encounter killing of Ghulam Rasool and also discussed the injustices taking place in Telangana. In this Sabha, Gaddar sang for the first time "Amma Telanganama- Akali Kekala Ganama" or "If you are of Telangana-it is shrieking of hunger."

The difficulties and harsh stories of Telangana people were made known to the world by "Bhuvanagiri , Meeting or Sabha. This meeting was conducted on the 8th and 9th March 1997. They were discussions held on the language, literature, economic and political subjects. Telangana poets, artists, teachers and journalists united forming the "Sahiti Mithra Mandali and conducted this Meeting. The Sabha or Meeting was conducted with the name of Dagapadda Telangana or "Telangana Deceived" and had extraordinary influence on the people of Telangana. To rejuvenate the paralyzed and blocked aim for Telangana, the "Telangana Rights Union became a platform. The "Telangana Maha Sabha" at Suryapet in April 1997 raised and brought new questions into the Telangana Agitation. They explained as to the way which the Telangana Agitation is to be understood in the ladder steps caste ridden Telangana Society. The Telangana Maha Sabha" believed and trusted that the leadership of the lower caste would struggle and agitate for the Telangana State sincerely and truthfully. The person, coming to light from this Sabha and the person conducting the Sabha or Meeting was Comrade Maroju Veeranna.

In the same year, that is in August 1997 the writers and employees unitedly conducted a Sadassu or Group Meeting. In this meeting the song written by Nandine

Sidha Reddy “Nageti Salalla Na Telangana” or “Boring Telangana is my Telangana” was sung for the first time.

Many meetings were held in the year 1997 in important cities of the Telangana to spread the sentiment of Telangana. The biggest meeting or Sabha was the “Warangal Declaration Sabha. Many Public Organizations because of the endeavour and under the aegis of the “All India Prathigatana Vedika (AIPRF) participated in the state Sabha or Meeting that took place on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1997 at Warangal. In this Meeting poet Kaloji, the other poets, and many organizations released the “Warangal Declaration” in which the long duration Agreement for attaining Separate Telangana was more clear than the demand made for Telangana in the 1960s and the 1980s. The Declaration stated that, “The loot of the poor of the Telangana region by the vested forces, and having lordship after troubling the people should be understood. It is by agitating against such forces and by formulating alternative policies that the people of the Telangana region should transform their society and their lives,” and the declaration suggested alternative political policies to the people of Telangana.

Many People’s Organizations were started due to the influence of these. About twenty eight organizations and associations which were functioning separately formed the “Telangana Iekya Vedika”. This Forum announced that it united the organizations and forums involved in agitating for a separate State by entirely different form of struggle without the traditional politics and the parliamentary politics and announced to conduct the people’s struggle. This Forum was formed on 28<sup>th</sup> September, 1997 under the aegis of Professor Jaya Shankar and Professor Keshav Rao Jadhav. This Forum played its significant role in the spreading of the Telangana sentiment.

In the light of the Warangal Declaration a Sadassu or group Meeting took place on 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> February 1998 at Siddipet city under the aegis of the “Chaitanya Vedika” or “Chaitanya Form.”<sup>233</sup> A detailed discussion took place on the present position in Telangana and the future action that should be taken. The Praja Kala Mandali released for the first time a songs book on Telangana in this Sadassu. Many Sadassus or Group Meetings took place in Telangana districts on behalf of the Chaitanya Vedika. In the same year in July the “Telangana Jana Sabha” and in October “Telangana Students Front (TSF) was formed. In the two days Jana Sabha

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<sup>233</sup> Lessons from the Telangana Movement. Mainstream Weekly, 27 March, 2010.

Sadassu, it was decided to struggle against the Telangana economic, political and cultural backwardness, and against the ruling coastal Andhra organizations, against the self aggrandizement economic policies, fight for fundamental rights, to fight for the protection of the local poor and the improvement of the democratic separate Telangana as the main aims.

The Telangana Vidyavantula Vedika or the Telangana Educated Persons Forum was formed in March 2004 and made extraordinary efforts for the spreading of the Telangana Sentiment. In the repression stage, the individuals unable to function in the Jana Sabha and TSF joined the Telangana Vidyavantula Vedika to struggle for a separate State. The Educated Persons Forum made many efforts with determination. As the Telangana Vidyavantula Vedika had freedom and flexibility, its members travelled the entire Telangana and brought to light many problems. At the same time about fifty people's organizations united and formed into "Telangana Ikya Karyacharana (Joint Action) Committee." This organization made special efforts to keep the Telangana sentiment alive among the people in the year 2007-2008.

Another Organization which can be stated of importance was the Telangana Journalists Forum (TJF). The role of TJF cannot be forgotten because while functioning with the Coastal Andhra magazines it called the Telangana political leaders and agitators onto a common platform gave joint Programmes and it also endeavoured to discuss about them.. The service of this organization was unflinching in spreading and informing to the world about the attack on the Telangana agitators whenever the attacks took place. Organizations such as the "Osmania University Forum for Telangana" also played their part.

In 2009 during the Third Stage of Telangana agitation, the movement took place in different stages. On 9<sup>th</sup> October 2010 many people's organizations united to form the Telangana People's Front. They functioned as alternatives to the Parliamentary politics for attaining separate State. It stressed that it was not by elections and lobbying but by struggle that Telangana can be formed and in this way this organization went into the Telangana regions.

In these conditions with the aim of formation of Telangana State about 200 Agitating organizations were formed in the entire Telangana.<sup>234</sup> Mainly, these Organizations conducted separate struggle programmes in their areas from 1994 to 2001. There is no hesitation and doubt in stating that it was the struggle of these Organizations which was the harbinger for the formation of political party called Telangana Rashtra Samiti in the year 2001 by KCR.

The TNGO Sangham under the aegis of Amos, Telangana Study Circle under the aegis of Gade Innayya, Telangana Ikya Vedika under the aegis of Akula Bhumaiah were formed. Narendra formed Telangana Sadhana Samithi, Bellaiah Naik formed the Telangana Sangharshana Samithi, The Telangana Students Federation was formed under the leadership of Brahmam, Telangana United Front under the leadership of Keshav Rao Jadhav and Vimalakka Telangana Vimochana Samithi under the aegis of Dilip Kumar were formed. Besides these Organizations, the Telangana Development Forum, Telangana United Forum, Forum for Telangana, Telangana Rachayitala (Writers) Vedika (Forum), Telangana Repose Centre, Ammala Sangham and many other Organizations took to struggle and agitation for Separate Telangana in their respective manner.

As stated, from 1996 till the Separate Telangana State was formed the People's Organizations made efforts as alternatives to the Parliamentary politics in the Telangana agitation and kept the spirit of the agitation alive. They united all the people of Telangana and continued their struggle for separate Telangana.<sup>235</sup>

The spreading of the Second Stage of Telangana agitation was to much extent in the Telangana society. In the social revolutions of the world or India some groups or some castes take part. It can be stated that after the Indian Independence, there was no other agitations with so much social impact except the Telangana agitation with the inclusion of the Sakala Januala Strike or All People's Strike. All the related castes and groups united in the Telangana Agitation. The Backward Dalit groups, Girijans, the minorities groups along with the entire people of the Telangana region united. The decades old inequality and the rule by discrimination destroyed the Telangana villages and caused the decay of caste vocations. The international influences along with these

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<sup>234</sup> The story of India's 29<sup>th</sup> state: Telanagana. The Hindu 1 June, 2016.

<sup>235</sup> People power driving Telangana agitation. Indian Toaday, 30 September, 2011.

reasons made the Telangana village people to lose their lives and made them to go to different places such as Mumbai, Dubai and the Gulf Nations. Under these - conditions, the Sabhas or Meetings of the different People's Organizations, Samaveshams and writings created the Telangana Agitation sentiment in the Telangana people. The rural Telangana, Dalits and Weaker sections and the illiterate people of Telangana were attracted towards the Agitation by the Dhoom dham programme. The people were made to understand the political, economic, social and cultural deceptions that took place by the Pata-Ata-Mata or Song Play-Words and in this way Dhoom dhaam ignited the wish for Telangana struggle in their minds. The people of the different sections and castes understood by their awakening to the Telangana struggle that the only answer for solving their problems so as to change their lives was by the formation of a Separate Telangana and participated in the Telangana agitation. Therefore, they participated in the programmes for which calls were given by the Political JAC for Sakala Janula Sammey (All People's Strike), Million March, Chalo Assembly, Sagara Haram, besides they expressed their wishes by a participating also in the different forms of strikes as Rasta Roko or Blockade of Roads, Manava Haram or siege by Human Chain and hunger strikes.

The people belonging to the different castes such as Madiga, Mala, workers in the Toddy business, the gorrela or sheep rearing caste, weavers, fishermen, barbers, Munuru Kapus, Rajakulu (Washermen) and others belonging to the others castes of Telangana participated enthusiastically in the Telangana Agitation.<sup>236</sup> Along with these castes, the different caste organizations of the Adivasis and the Dalits such as Thudum Debba, Lambada Nagara Bheri, Erukula Kurru, Madiga Dandora, Golla Kurumala, Dolu Debba and Moku Debba under the aegis of the different important organizations participated and made efforts for Separate State. The Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi, Telangana Mala Mahanadu, All mala Vidyarthi Sanghams (All mala Students organizations), the different Dalit and Bahujan student organizations in the different universities in Telangana also made efforts for separate Telangana.

The people belonging to the different castes came out on the streets with their cultural signs and symbols and struggled for a separate Telangana.<sup>237</sup> The Dalits and Bahujans with their signs of Tudum and Tabalalu(or Drums), the other backward

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<sup>236</sup> From 1948 to 2013: A brief history of the Telangana movement. Firstpost, 30 July, 2013.

<sup>237</sup> Kula Sanghala Telanganam. Andhra Jyothi, 14 March, 2010.

classes with their signs of Nagali (plough) and cow cart, the sheep rearers with the group of sheep, the Toddy workers with their ropes and muttadas, the wadderas with their digging implements became a part of the Telangana agitation.

It is the efforts made by the people and the peoples movement that really set the tone of formation of the state of Telangana. The purpose of discussing the peoples movement at length in this chapter was to establish that people of Telangana essentially carried forward their protest movements around their identity and culture. Interestingly once the people started mobilizing around their cultural identity the political mobilization of the movement started assuming a greater significance. This in itself strengthens the case of Telangana struggle based on the claims of a separate cultural identity.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Telangana: The 29<sup>th</sup> State of India**

On 2 June, 2014, the 29<sup>th</sup> state of India, Telangana, became a reality. It marks the culmination of a long drawnout struggle of nearly 60years. Here in this chapter we will discuss the political deliberations that led to the carving out of the state of Telangana in section one. The section two will look at the Andhra Pradesh States Reorganisation Act,2014. And section three will make an attempt to understand the relevance of this in a multicultural federal democracy.

#### **1. Political deliberations and creation of Telangana**

Congress senior leader K. KeshavaRao along with two other congress MPs left congress and joined TRS. On June 3, 2013, BJP organised a large scale public meeting in Hyderabad, which was attended by Rajnath Singh. The situation was inviting a lot of political changes. The altered congress party included the issue of Telangana as the main agenda in the Congress committee meeting of July 11, 2013. Sonia Gandhi, prime Minister Manmohan Singh, GulamNabi Azad, Susheel Kumar Shinde and Digvijay Singh attended the meeting. The congress core committee announced that it was going to take decision on Telangana very soon<sup>238</sup>.

Delhi summoned the chief minister KiranKumar Reddy, deputy chief minister DamodarRajnarsimha, Pradesh congress President BotsaSatyanaryana on July 26, 2013. Kirankumar Reddy, BotsaSatyanaryana expressed anti Telangana view and DamodarRajnarasimha favoured Telangana as expected.

A.P. state congress affairs incharge on July 26, 2013 announced the conclusion of consultations on Telangana. On July 30, 2013 the Congress Working Committee in its meeting unanimously accepted the resolution on the formation of Telangana and declared that the new state shall be formed with 10 districts including Hyderabad. The meeting desired for constitutional proceedings for the formation of Telangana with the distribution of resources to all the regions of Andhra Pradesh. It also viewed that the Hyderabad shall be common capital for both the states for a

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<sup>238</sup> Congress on Telangana Demand, The new Indian Express,12 June,2013

period of 10 years and proper safety procedures should be taken up during the process of separation. The UPA co-ordinating committee also accepted the declaration.

Anthony Committee: Congress working committee's statement on the formation of Telangana of 10 districts including Hyderabad delighted Telangana. On August 5, 2013, Finance minister Chidambaram announced in the parliament that the process of Telangana started. In this backdrop, congress president constituted separation committee under the chairmanship of A.K. Antony on August 6, 2013. The members of this committee were Ahmed Patel, Veerappa Moily and Digvijay Singh. Announcing the purpose of this committee on August 7, 2013, Digvijay Singh stated that the committee was formed to implement the separation of state.

According to news sources on November 8, 2013 in the meeting of the congress co-ordinating committee the state congress affairs in-charge Digvijay Singh handed over the Antony committee recommendations papers to Kiran Kumar Reddy, Damodar Rajnarsimha, Botsa Satyanaryana and Chiranjeevi. In the list of problems to be resolved the following issues were included

1. Hyderabad common capital
2. Sharing of water and mineral resources
3. Distribution of Andhra Pradesh state cadre officers and non-gazetted officers.
4. Distribution of revenues, assets and liabilities.
5. Division of basic infrastructure (health care, education, transport)
6. Security of Seemandhra people in Hyderabad, their livelihood, land and properties.

For the boundaries of the capital Antony committee considered three options

1. Hyderabad revenue district
2. Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (626 sq. kms)
3. Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority (7,073 sq.kms)



If HMDA was declared as the capital, the area includes five districts and the Telangana leaders won't accept. So the Antony committee recommended GHMC as the common capital. As the Seemandhra people were in great concern and nervousness, provisions should be made in the draft bill to introduce rules and regulations to boost up confidence in them. In all educational institutions equal opportunities were to be given to Seemandhra candidates as recommended. Including this in its report the Antony committee submitted it to the group of ministers, the media reported.

Group of Ministers: As resolved by the congress working committee, the union cabinet approved the formation of Telangana state with 10 districts including Hyderabad, on October 3, 2013. In this context, to resolve the problems that may arise on the division of Andhra Pradesh into two states, the central government constituted a group of ministers with defence minister A.K. Antony as the chairman, within a time period of 6 weeks.

In this group of ministers, home minister, Susheela Kumar Shinde, finance minister Chidambaram, health and welfare minister Gulam Nabi Azad, petroleum minister Veerappa Moily, rural development minister Jairam Ramesh were the members. V. Narayana Swamy (state minister, prime minister office) was the special invitee.

#### Group of Ministers- Terms of References

1. Providing territories of the newly formed Telangana state and the A.P. Residuary state regarding the constituencies, Judicature and other legalized institutions and administrative departments.
2. To provide legal and administrative measures for the fulfilment of the duties of the two states for 10 years with Hyderabad as the common capital.
3. To consider the procedures essential for taking legal, economic and administrative steps for the residual Andhra Pradesh in the formation of new capital city.
4. To keep special attention on the needs of backward areas and districts in both the states and recommend the necessary measures.

5. To focus on law and order safety and security of all. To see that peace and order prevails in the new Telangana state and residual state areas and make suitable recommendations for solving the problems of internal security that may arise in longrun between the two states.
6. To provide National Project status to Polavaram and keep an eye on the sharing of river and irrigation water between the two states and other states and the sharing of natural resources (especially coal, water, oil, natural gas)
7. Make recommendations on the issues of electricity production, supply and distribution.
8. To look into the problems of dividing the government corporations in relation to the assets, liabilities and funds.
9. To provide guidelines for all the allotment of all India services employees, state government employees between the two states.
10. To study the problems that may arise after the division of the state in implementing the presidential order by article 371-D of the constitution.
11. To examine all the problems that may arise due to the division and provide necessary recommendations.

In order to examine that may likely to arise, the group of ministers met the representatives of various parties, ministers, secretaries of ministries, persons and organizations and conducted lengthy discussions. The committee invited views of all parties on November 12 and 13. The five political parties which met the group of ministers reiterated their old stand and presented the following arguments.<sup>239</sup>

AIMIM viewed that the central administration on Hyderabad was not acceptable constitutionally and the party opposes restrictions on Hyderabad. If the state is divided Muslims and Dalits in Telangana will suffer but not the Seemandhras. Therefore, along with the bill of separate state anti-communal violence bill should also be introduced.

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<sup>239</sup> There was a sense urgency with which the government was moving ahead with the demand for a separate state of Telangana and that raised lot of political doubts over Congress's role in this process.

CPM argued that continuing the linguistic based states and keeping the state united is its policy and irrespective of division or separation, measures should be taken to remove the disparities between various regions, districts and social classes.YSRCP supported the united Andhra Pradesh.CPI expressed that a special machinery should be constituted for the maintenance of law and order in the common capital Hyderabad and a special board should be formed for solving the water problems with legal authority and the article 371-D should be continued in both the states.BJP viewed that an all party meeting should be organized with the national parties as the bill was to be approved in the parliament.The congress leaders of the two regions expressed different views. One favoured the Telangana state of 10 districts including Hyderabad. The other expressed that the state should be united only keeping in view the problems after the division, if the separation is imminent, they asked for a union territory of HMDA and the distribution of the revenue of Hyderabad between the two regions on the ratio of the population.

TRS argued for no administrative restrictions on Telangana, reduction of common capital city period to five years and keeping Bhadrachalam as an integral part of Telangana. The party stated that it won't accept the water allotments to the projects constructed without permission in Seemandhra.

TDP abstained from attending the meeting. Chandrababu in his letter to president wrote that congress was acting unilaterally and anticonstitutionally. Division should be made only after doing equal justice. Congress, BJP, TRS, CPI, AIMIM parties submitted the reports of their party's views (TDP, CPM, YSRCP did not submit reports.)

The central ministers belonging to Telangana submitted a report to the group of ministers with the caption "why Telangana state should be formed". They requested for keeping Bhadrachalam in Telangana. Similarly, the central ministers of seemandhra, pleaded for making Hyderabad a union territory for safety of Seemandhras and in case it is declared as common capital, Hyderabad HMDA area should be taken into account and Bhadrachalam should be included in East Godavari district. Kiran Kumar Reddy speaking to GOM stated the problems will multiply if the state is divided. He asked the GOM not to invite a greater problem while solving an existing problem. Instead, he asked the GOM to accord an economic package of

one lakh crores to Telangana region and concentrate more on education, employment and political positions in the state. The division will result in Naxalism, terrorism, communal problems and the problems related to waters, he stated.

The group of ministers discussed the various issues at length before the exercise on the problem of division reached the last stage. The secretaries of the 8 ministerials (police task force, finance department, Indian Railway, Law, Legislative affairs, civil aviation, national highways, navy, personnel affairs training) participated in the meeting.

The group of ministers which was constituted on October 8, 2013 had to face pressures on Rayala Telangana, Hyderabad, Polavaram submerge villages before arriving at a decision. The group of ministers after collecting opinions on 11 procedural plans met finally on December 4, 2013 and formulated the separation bill, report with recommendations on separation of the state and forwarded it to the cabinet on December 5, 2013. On the same day in the cabinet meeting held at the prime minister's residence at 5'O clock in the evening the union cabinet after intense discussions accepted the formation of Telangana state with 10 districts. Then the bill was forwarded to the president and from there to the assembly.

On December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013, the bill approved by the union cabinet reached the office of the President from the Home Department. After counselling with legal experts, the President consented the draft bill and directed it to be sent to the state assembly for its views within stipulated period of 6 weeks (45 days), that was by January 23, 2014. On December 16,2013, the bill was introduced the bill at 10'O clock in the morning announcing that he was introducing the bill in the house as directed by the president. The house was adjourned to the next day as there was uncontrollable commotion in the house.

The same situation continued for two more days and the house was adjourned to meet on January 3<sup>rd</sup>,2014. Meanwhile, Sridharbabu Legislative Affairs minister was replaced by Shailjanth. Sridharbabu resigned his post on January 2. On January 3,2014 also as the house was in disorder, the assembly was poastponed till 6<sup>th</sup> January. On 6<sup>th</sup> January also the house was adjourned without any discussion. In the advisory committee meeting conducted by the speaker, the speaker announced that if

any members of the assembly suggest amendments to the bill may express their objections before 10<sup>th</sup> January. On January 7<sup>th</sup> the representatives of Telangana and Seemandhra expressed their views. In these circumstances, the JAC on 7<sup>th</sup> January organized 'Sampoorna Telangana SadhanaDeeksha' in Indira park. On January 8, 2014 minister, VattiVasanth Kumar addressed initiating discussion on the states separation bill for the first time.

On January 18, 2014 Loksatta leader Jaiprakash Narayan spoke on the necessity of the formation of Telangana and on January 19,2014 Shailajanath explained the need for united Andhra Pradesh. On January 20, 2014 the clause wise views of the assembly members and amendments, opinions and suggestions.

Speaking on 22 & 23 January, 2014, the chief minister, Kiran Kumar Reddy stated that he was completely against the bill and it was most unfortunate for him to be the Chief Minister at that time. He also insisted that instead of the draft bill, the original bill was needed to be sent to the house. As the stipulated period was about to end by January 23<sup>rd</sup>, the state government wrote to the president for some more time to discuss the bill. The president issued orders extending the time for a week days i.e., till 30<sup>th</sup> January.

On January 25<sup>th</sup> Kiran Kumar Reddy "gave notice to the speaker under rule 77 for moving a resolution in the assembly to reject the bill..... to request the president not to recommend the bill for introducing in the parliament". Speaking in this context, Chandrababu Naidu said that the assembly had the power to send the bill back and questioned why the bill was not sent back. The Kiran government wrote another letter to the president for three weeks more time to discuss. The Telangana people representatives began struggle as they understood that the government was trying to obstruct the bill.

The same situation continued to exist on 29<sup>th</sup> January also. January 30<sup>th</sup> was a special day. This was the last day for the discussion. The speaker announced that 87 members spoke in the house. The rest of the members submitted written opinions and with this the opinion of all the members in the house was recorded. The discussion on the bill concluded. The speaker informed that proposals for 9072 amendments were received. Then the speaker announced the taking up of resolution moved by the chief

minister under rule 77 for discussion in the house. This evoked a lot of commotion and disturbance in the house.

Under these considerations the bill was put for voting and the speaker announced the approval of the resolution by voice vote. As per the rules of the house, the chief minister should introduce the resolution. The discussion on the resolution and voting should follow then. But, overlooking the rules, the speaker himself introduced the resolutions.

The report of the discussions of Assembly on Telangana bill was sent to the chief secretary on February 1, 2014 from the assembly secretary. The chief secretary forwarded it to Delhi. The report reached Delhi on 3<sup>rd</sup> February and was transported to the office of the home ministry. The group of ministers discussed the 9072 amendments, opinions of 87 members, 1157 amendments from the council and the opinions of 54 members, the single resolutions and 18000 E-members, the single resolution of Kiran Kumar, 10 unofficial resolutions and 18000 E-mails and sent them to the cabinet.

Though the Andhra Pradesh legislature rejected the bill, the home department revealed that the parliament may not have to abide by that. The bill reached the president on February 9<sup>th</sup>. On 12<sup>th</sup> February, the law ministry informed that there was no need for constitutional amendment for the Telangana bill. On the same day the union cabinet reduced the Polavaram submerge villages to 134. On February 13<sup>th</sup>, at 12 O'clock in the afternoon Susheel Kumar Shinde (union Home Minister) introduced the Andhra Pradesh Re-Organisation Bill-2013 in the parliament. On 18<sup>th</sup>, discussions on Telangana bill started in Lok Sabha. In between 3 and 4.20 pm in the afternoon the Lok Sabha passed the bill with voice vote the speaker announced the approval of Telangana bill. The Rajyasabha general secretary announced that the Telangana bill approved in the Lok Sabha reached Rajya Sabha on 19<sup>th</sup> February. Discussion on the bill started on 20<sup>th</sup> February in Rajyasabha. Seemandhra MPs protested. The house was adjourned 12 times. As the Deputy speaker P.J. Kurein invited opinions on the bill, BJP leader Arun Jaitley announced the support of BJP to the bill. CPM leader Seetharam Echuri stated that they support the Vishalandhra and oppose the bill. Venkaiahnaidu proposed 38 amendments to the bill in his lengthy speech.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh who participated in the discussion on the bill in Rajya Sabha gave 6 six assurances to Andhra Pradesh They are:

1. To provide central assistance to the Andhra Pradesh comprising of 13 districts. The centre will give special status to it. This status is provided to four Rayalseema districts and three north coastal districts put together for a period of five years.
2. Incentives for industrialization and economic growth in the two states will be provided.
3. Special development package will be given to Rayalseema and north coastal Andhra on the lines of the packages given to Korapul- Bolangir –Kalahandi in Orissa and bundelkhand in Madhya Pradesh.
4. The central government will execute the Polavaram project. The centre will take the responsibility of rehabilitation and re-construction.
5. Measures will be taken regarding the staff, finance, assets distribution and the responsibility of liabilities. Appointed date (date of separation) will be fixed basing on the notified date.
6. The deficit of resources that occurs in the first year in Andhra Pradesh will be reconciled in the 2014-15 central budget.

CPM insisted division on the bill, the deputy chairman preferred voice vote. The bill was approved by voice vote. The deputy chairman declared “the bill is passed”.

In this context, the relay hunger strike conducted in Bodhan was withdrawn on 1519<sup>th</sup> day (i.e., on February 23, 2014)

After the approval in Rajya Sabha the bill moved to Law Ministry from there to Home Ministry and finally reached the President. The Andhra Pradesh Re-organization bill was signed by the president. On March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 with assent of the president the Andhra Pradesh re-organization bill-2013 became the Andhra Pradesh Re-organization Act-2014. Before the implementation of the act, on 2<sup>nd</sup> march the cabinet hurriedly added seven mandals of Bhadrachalam division in Andhra.

After the consent of the bill, the ministry of law and justice published it in the gazette of India in the name “the Andhra Pradesh Re-organization Act-2014” and legalized its status. The gazette mentioned that the bill was approved by the president on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014. The 71 pages act was inserted in the gazette with regd. No. D.L. – (S) 04/007/2013-2014. It is clarified that the appointed day of the state will be included in the official gazette by a notification of the union government. On March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the Home Ministry decided the appointed day as 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2014 and declared it in the Indian gazette. On June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 the Telangana state was officially formed.

## **2. Andhra Pradesh Re-organization Act- 2014 and its salient features<sup>240</sup>**

There are totally 12 parts 108 sections and 13 schedules in the Andhra Pradesh Re-organization Act.

### **The 12 parts of this Act are**

1. Preliminary
2. Re-organization of Andhra Pradesh
3. Representation in the legislature
4. High court
5. Authorization of expenditure distribution of revenue
6. Distribution of assets and liabilities
7. Provisions related to certain corporations
8. Provisions related to All India Services
9. Maintenance and development of water resources.
10. Infrastructure and special Economic measures
11. Higher education opportunities
12. Legal provisions.

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<sup>240</sup> Andhra Pradesh States Reorganization Act, 2014



## **Part- 1**

### **Preliminary**

1. Title : in preliminary it is mentioned that the Andhra Pradesh Re-organization act (2014) may also be called as Andhra Pradesh separation act- 2014
2. Definitions: Some words are provided with definitions. a) appointed day b) articles c) assembly d) Election commission e) existing state f) law g) notified order h) population ratio i) sitting member j) successor state k) transferred territory l) treasury m) district, mandal, tahasil, taluk or other territorial area in Andhra Pradesh state.

## **Part-2**

### **Andhra Pradesh state Re-organization**

3. **Formation of Telangana state:** Amending the Andhra Pradesh state Re-organization Act (march 11, 2014) by an ordinance in June 2014, 7 mandals of Khammam district (5 mandals completely +some areas of Bhadrachalam mandal + some areas of Boorgampad), 136 villages, 211 hamlets from Telangana were merged in Andhra Pradesh. The state of Telangana was formed with Adilabad, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Medak, Warangal, Nalgonda, Ranga Reddy, Mahabubnagar and Khammam and Hyderabad districts of the existing state of Andhra Pradesh.
4. **Territorial divisions of Andhra Pradesh:** The state of Andhra Pradesh shall be formed with the remaining districts which are mentioned in section 3.
5. **Hyderabad is the common capital for two states:** In accordance with the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation Act-1955 the greater Hyderabad shall be common capital for the two states (Telangana and Andhra Pradesh)
6. **Expert committee for the new capital:** An expert committee shall be constituted for the new capital of Andhra Pradesh.
7. **Common governor:** On and from the appointed day the governor of united state shall be governor of both the states for the period determined by the president.

8. **Governors responsibility to protect the residents of common capital:** The governor shall have special responsibility for the security of life, liberty and property of all those who reside in the common capital. The governor shall be assisted by two appointed advisors for discharging his responsibilities
9. **Assistance of police forces to both the states:** The central government shall cooperate both the states to gather additional police forces.
10. **Amendment to the first schedule of constitution:** To amend the heading of the states and include the territories as mentioned in section 3 of AP reorganisation act.
11. After the appointed day (formation day) both states i.e, AP and Telangana had powers to change the boundaries of districts and places.

### **Rajya Sabha**

12. **Amendment of the Fourth schedule of the constitution:** From the appointed day the fourth schedule of the constitution shall be altered. The fourth schedule in the constitution provides the allotment of Rajya Sabha seats.

In this schedule the 18 seats allotted to Andhra Pradesh shall be substituted by 11

After entering this for Andhra Pradesh the Telangana state shall be allotted 7 seats.

13. **Allotment of present members**

The members representing the united Andhra Pradesh shall be considered as the representatives of the seats allotted to Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. However, there shall be no change in the term of office of such members.

### **Lok Sabha**

14. **Representative in Lok Sabha:** From the appointed day out of 42 seats in the united Andhra Pradesh state 17 seats are allotted to Telangana.
15. **Delimitation of parliament and assembly seats:** As mentioned in the Act, on and from the appointed day the delimitation order- 2008 shall be amended.

Accordingly as per the delimitation order-2008, the election commission may conduct the elections to the Lok Sabha and Assembly seats in the newly formed Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states.

- 16. Provisions for the sitting members:** The members representing the united state of Andhra Pradesh in Lok Sabha and Assembly shall be deemed as the representatives of the seats allotted to the Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Their membership term will remain the same.

### **Assembly**

- 17. Provision for legislative assembly**

From the appointment day onwards Andhra Pradesh shall have 175 assembly seats and Telangana shall have 119 assembly seats. The serial no. 25 to 28 in the representation of the people act shall be substituted as 26 to 29. Telangana state is added in Sl. No. 25

- 18. Representation of Anglo- Indians**

In accordance with the article 333 for providing representation to Anglo- Indians the governor may nominate one member from each state i.e., from Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

- 19. Allocation of sitting members**

Each sitting member of assembly in the united Andhra Pradesh as per section 17 shall not be the assembly member of united Andhra Pradesh but deemed to be elected assembly members in the seats allotted to Telangana state. Similarly, all the other assembly members will continue as the members of the newly formed Andhra Pradesh state from the appointed day.

- 20. Duration of Legislative Assembly**

The five years duration provided by article 172 (1) of the constitution shall be calculated from the date of the assembly formed in the existing Andhra Pradesh in case of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana assemblies.

## **21. Speaker, Deputy speaker**

The person who was the speaker before appointed day of the existing Andhra Pradesh shall continue as the speaker of Andhra Pradesh. The members of that assembly will elect the deputy speaker from among the members. The deputy speaker of the existing Andhra Pradesh shall become the deputy speaker of Telangana state and continue to act as the speaker till the new speaker for Telangana is elected.

Under article 208 (1) till the rules of procedure for Telangana assembly are formulated, the rules of procedure followed in the existing Andhra Pradesh continue to be followed in the Telangana assembly.

## **22. Legislative councils for the new state**

In accordance with article 169, the legislative councils shall be constituted to both the states. There shall be not more than 50 members for the Andhra Pradesh state and there shall not be more than 40 members for the Telangana councils. The members of the existing legislative council of Andhra Pradesh shall be allotted to the councils of both the states.

## **23. Provision to legislative councils**

For implementing the Andhra Pradesh re-organization act, the people representatives act and the third schedule need to be amended.

In the fourth schedule under the title instead of 'Tamil Nadu' in the 25<sup>th</sup> place 'Telangana' is added (as per alphabetical order the place of Andhra Pradesh does not change). The following are mentioned under 'Telangana'

1. Municipal corporations
2. Municipalities
3. Nagar panchayats
4. Cantonment boards
5. Zilla Praja Parishads

6. Mandal Praja Parishads.

**24. Delimitation of council constituencies**

As specified in the part I of the third schedule of this act, delimitation of council constitute (Andhra Pradesh) order-2006 shall be amended from the appointed day.

As specified in part II of the act delimitation of council constitute (Telangana) order-2014 shall apply to Telangana state from the appointed day.

The central government after consulting the Andhra Pradesh, Telangana states may amend the third schedule of this act by publishing notification in the official gazette.

**25. Chairman, deputy chairman of the council-rules and provisions**

The person who was the chairman of the united Andhra Pradesh a day before the appointed day shall continue to be the chairman of Andhra Pradesh council. The Andhra Pradesh council members elect deputy chairman from among the members.

The deputy chairman of the united Andhra Pradesh shall become the deputy chairman of Telangana state legislative council and as the chairman of the council till the Telangana state legislature council elects a new chairman.

Under article 208 (1) till the rules of procedure for Telangana assembly are formulated, the rules of procedure followed in the existing Andhra Pradesh continue to be followed in the Telangana council.

**Delimitation of constituencies**

26. As provided in the article 170 of the constitution and the section 15 of this act the number of seats in the legislative assembly of the state of Andhra Pradesh shall be increased from 175 to 225 and Telangana from 119 to 158.

27. The Election Commission is empowered to up to date the delimitation order.

### **Scheduled castes, scheduled tribes**

28. Scheduled castes order-1950 shall be amended as directed in the fifth schedule of the act.

29. Scheduled tribes order-1950 shall be amended as directed in the sixth schedule of the act.

### **Part-4**

#### **High Court**

30. Hyderabad High Court shall be the common High Court for both the states till the Andhra Pradesh High Court is constituted.

The expenditure of salaries and allowances of the judges of the common High Court shall be shared by both the states on the basis of population ratio.

#### **31. Andhra Pradesh High Court**

A separate High Court shall be constituted for Andhra Pradesh. This court will be called "High Court of Andhra Pradesh". The present court in Telangana shall become the High court for the state of Telangana. This will be called high court of Telangana. The president may notify the place of the high court of Andhra Pradesh.

#### **32. Judges of Andhra Pradesh High Court**

The president may determine the number of judges to be appointed to the Hyderabad High Court and Andhra Pradesh High Court.

#### **33. Jurisdiction of Andhra Pradesh High Court**

The High Court of Andhra Pradesh shall have jurisdiction on any part of the territories included in the state of Andhra Pradesh before the date referred in section 3(1) under the law in force on the said territories. The Hyderabad High Court exercise the power of jurisdiction and authority.

**34. Bar council, rules for Advocates :**

Any person who is an advocate on the roll of the bar council and practicing as an advocate in the high court Hyderabad may give his option to transfer his name to the bar council of Telangana within one year.

35. Practice provisions in the Andhra Pradesh High Court.

36. Custody of seal of Andhra Pradesh High Court.

37. Writ forms and other processes.

38. Powers of judges.

39. Powers of appeal to Supreme Court.

40. Transfer of cases from Hyderabad High Court to Andhra Pradesh high court.

**41. Right to appear in the cases transferred to Andhra Pradesh high court:** Any person who before the date referred to in section 30 is entitled to practice in the Hyderabad high court or any person having the right to practice is authorized to appear in any case transferred from the Hyderabad high court to the high court of Andhra Pradesh under section 40 shall have the right to appear in the high court of Andhra Pradesh in relation to the transferred cases.

**Part-5**

**Authorization of Expenditure and Distribution of Revenues**

**44. Authorization of expenditure to Telangana**

The Governor of existing state of Andhra Pradesh may authorize reasonable expenditure to Telangana government from the consolidated fund before the appointed day within a period of six months. Later the Governor may also authorize Telangana government's expenditure for some more time but not more than six months from the consolidated fund till the sanction of such expenditure by the legislative assembly of the state of Telangana.

#### **45. Reports of the accounts of Andhra Pradesh state**

For any period before the appointed day the reports of accounts of existing Andhra Pradesh state shall be submitted by the Comptroller and Auditor General to the governors of the new states. The reports shall be laid in the concerned assemblies by the governor.

#### **46. Distribution of Revenue**

The allotted award to the existing Andhra Pradesh state by the 13<sup>th</sup> finance commission shall be between the two states by the union government on the basis of population ratio and other parameters. The government may grants for the development of backward areas in the two states taking into consideration the available resources. While providing special package for the state of Andhra Pradesh the union should consider the needs of Rayalseema and north Coastal areas.

### **Part-6**

#### **Allotment of assets and liabilities**

**47.** On the benefits of the decisions taken by the existing Andhra Pradesh, both states have a right. In the same way both the states shall bear the financial liabilities which resulted from the decisions taken by the existing Andhra Pradesh. In case of disputes the central government shall settle the matter by an order after counselling the CAG.

#### **48. Land, goods**

All the land, stores, goods and other articles are

1. If within the transferred territory, they belong to Telangana state.
2. In other contexts remain the property of Andhra Pradesh.

If the properties exist outside the existing state of Andhra Pradesh they shall be allotted between the two states on the basis of population ratio. But if the



central government is in the opinion of distributing the properties otherwise, it may transfer the properties by issuing such direction.

Stores kept for specific purposes for utilization in particular institutions, work shops or under takings the storage of certain equipment for works under construction belong to the state in which the institutions, workshops, undertakings or works are located, stores of the secretariat and the offices of heads of departments shall be divided between the two states on the basis of population ratio.

**49.** The cash balances in the treasury and credit balances of the banks of existing Andhra Pradesh shall be divided between the two states on the basis of population ratio. For this purpose there shall be no transfer of cash balances from one treasury. Instead, the adjustment of cash balances in the account of two states may be done in the account books of Reserve Bank of India on the appointed day.

**50. Arrears of taxes**

The right to recover the taxes on the land and other sources belong to the state in which the property is situated. The tax shall belong to the state in the territory of which the assessment of the tax or duty is included on the appointed day.

**51. Right to recover loans and advances**

Any person or any society outside the territory of the existing Andhra Pradesh takes loans before the appointed day, the state of Andhra Pradesh has the right to collect such loan. But the amount collected so, should be divided between the two states on the ratio of population.

**52. Investments and credits**

The securities on investments from the cash balances of the existing Andhra Pradesh shall be divided between the two states on the ratio of population.

**53. Assets and liabilities of state undertakings**

The assets and liabilities of commercial and industrial undertakings of the existing state of Andhra Pradesh shall belong to location of such undertakings and the state

in which they are located on the appointed day irrespective of the location of their head quarters.

**54. Public debt**

All liabilities on public debt of the existing state of Andhra Pradesh before the appointed day shall be divided on the basis of population ratio of the two states unless a different method of division is provided under the provisions of this act.

**55. Short term debts**

**56. Refund of excess in collected taxes**

**57. Deposit**

Regarding the civil deposit or local fund deposit, the state in which the deposits are made shall be responsible.

**58. Provident fund**

The liability of the provident fund account of a government employee who is in service on the appointed day, shall be liability of that state to which the government employee is permanently allotted from the appointed day.

**59. Pension**

The liability of the existing state of Andhra Pradesh shall be divided between the two state according to the provisions of the eighth schedule of this act.

**60.** Before the appointed day if the existing state of Andhra Pradesh had made any contracts using its executive powers, from the appointed day the state to which the contract benefits (Andhra Pradesh or Telangana ) shall be deemed to have made the contracts using its executive powers.

**61. Responsibility of wrongs**

Before the appointed day if the existing state of Andhra Pradesh has any liability in respect of any case, the territory of such case either state (Andhra/Telangana) is

liable. Otherwise it shall be divided on the ratio of population or the agreement of the two states.

## **62. Guarantors responsibility**

If the existing state of Andhra Pradesh is liable as guarantor in respect of a registered co-operative society or other person before the appointed day, that liability shall be liability of the state in which the co-operative society or other person operates. In any other case, the liability shall be divided between the two states on the basis of population ratio in any other manner as agreed by the two states.

## **63. Items in suspense**

## **64. Residuary provisions**

## **65. Liabilities by agreement**

## **66. Power of central government for allocation and adjustment.**

## **67. Expenditure on consolidated fund**

## **Part-7**

### **Provisions related to certain corporations**

#### **68. Provisions related to corporations**

The companies and corporations constituted for the existing state of Andhra Pradesh shall continue to function in the same area. Assets, rights and liabilities shall be divided between the two states.

#### **69. Provisions for continuing electric power generation and distribution**

Regarding the projects for the generation of power or distribution or supply of water if any disadvantage occurs as they are outside the territory of the state the centre shall give the directions after consultations the two concerned state governments.

## **70. Andhra Pradesh state finance corporation**

As functioning presently the state finance corporation shall function according to the directions of the central government for considering the dissolution of the corporation, transfer of assets, liabilities, and rights and if such scheme is approved by the majority of share holders and it should be reported to the central government. If the central government approves the scheme, it is binding on the share holders and creditors. If it disapproved, the central government refers it to the Andhra Pradesh high court chief justice or the chief justice of Telangana high court. The corporation shall have to implement the decision of the judge. However, the above mention will not obstruct either the state of Andhra Pradesh or the Telangana state to constitute special financial corporation's under the state financial corporation act (1951).

## **71. Certain provisions for companies**

## **72. Temporary provisions to continue road transport permits**

A permit granted by the state transport authority or any regional transport authority is effective in the transferred area before the appointment day under the provisions of the act in that area. The permit is considered to be effective till its period of validity after the appointment day also. If any vehicle is exempted from toll tax, entry fee or any other charges before the appointed day the exemption is applicable even after the appointment day. However, the central government, after consultation with the state governments may empower them to impose toll, entry fee and other charges.

## **73. Special provisions related to compensation**

## **74. Special provision to income tax**

## **75. Continuance of facilities to certain state institutions**

The central government shall decide the continuance of services to the institutions specified in the tenth schedule of this act located in the state of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana state. The services to the people residing in the two states shall be continued.

## **Part-8**

### **Provisions related to All India Services**

**76.** The cadres of Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service of the existing Andhra Pradesh shall be called from the day of appointed day as two separate cadres one for the state of Andhra Pradesh and another for Telangana state. The central government determines the cadre strength for both the states. The central government employees who are in the Telangana state before the appointed day will continue with the special orders issued by the central government. However, on the basis of their option the employees are allotted to one of the two states, the centre will take necessary steps in respect of the scarcity of employees.

**77.** Provisions related to other services

### **78. Service rules**

The central government shall appoint advisory committee within 30 days after the appointed day to investigate and make suitable recommendations in service matters, requisitions and disputes.

**79.** Provisions for continuing the officers in the same post.

**80.** Advisory committee

**81.** Powers of central government

**82.** Division of the employees of public undertakings

**83.** Public service commission

The present existing public service commission for Andhra Pradesh. The UPSC shall discharge duties in Telangana with the permission of the president till a separate public service commission for Telangana is constituted.

## **Part-9**

### **Water resources – development, management**

#### **84. Water resources**

The central government shall constitute within 60 days from the appointed day Godavari river Management Board and Krishna river management board to resolve the problems, that may arise in sharing the river water.

Godavari board shall be in Telangana and Krishna board in Andhra Pradesh. To supervise the function of these two boards the central government shall appoint an apex council under the chairmanship of central water resources minister. The chief minister of Andhra Pradesh and the chief minister of the state of Telangana shall be the members of this council.

#### **85. Functions of water board**

#### **86. Staff of water board**

#### **87. Jurisdiction of the board**

#### **88. Regulatory powers of the board**

#### **89. Allocations of water resources**

The project wise awards decided by the tribunal before the appointed day shall be binding on the two states.

#### **90. Polavaram project**

The Polavaram project is declared as national project. The union takes the responsibility of the construction of Polavaram. It is deemed that the state of Telangana accepted the Polavaram irrigation project.

#### **91. Tungabhadra board**

The place of existing Andhra Pradesh shall be replaced by two states i.e., Andhra Pradesh and Telangana on the Tungabhadra board.

## **Part-10**

### **Basic infrastructure and special economic measures**

**92.** The new states should implement the directions and guidelines of the central government.

The two states shall implement the principles, guidelines, directions and orders issued by the central government on matters related to coal, oil, natural gas, power generation, transmission and distribution mentioned in the tenth schedule from the appointed day.

**93.** For the progress and development of the two states the central government as mentioned in the thirteenth schedule shall take all the necessary within a period of 10 years from the appointed day.

### **94. Tax exemptions- measures for financial development**

- The central government shall take suitable measures for the industrial development in both the states by providing tax exemptions
- The central government shall support the two states for developing the backward areas in the states.
- The central government shall give financial support for the construction of new capital for the state of Andhra Pradesh including the Rajbhavan, high court government secretariat, council and other essential infrastructure.
- For the construction of new capital of the state of Andhra Pradesh if necessary the central government shall denotify the forest land.

## **Part-11**

### **Higher education opportunity**

**95.** For providing equal opportunities to the students of two states under article 371 in the admission quota in all government, private, aided, higher education, technical

education and medical education, the present system of higher education shall be continued for a period of 10 years.

## **Part-12**

### **Legal provisions**

#### **96. Amendment to article 168**

In article 168 (1)(a) for the word ‘Tamil Nadu’ ‘Telangana’ shall be substituted.

#### **97. The amendment of article 168**

##### **For article 371 D from the appointed day**

a) For the words ‘Andhra Pradesh state’ the words ‘the state of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana’ shall be substituted.

##### **b) In the article 371 D for clause 1, the following clauses shall be added**

Keeping in view the needs of the two states for the people of various regions, in respect of government services and educational matter- equal opportunities and facilities shall be created in the state of Andhra Pradesh and the state of Telangana by the orders issued by the president.

For providing employment and education to the people of different regions of the two states may formulate separate regulations.

c) In the (3) clause of 371 D the word ‘the state of Andhra Pradesh’ the words ‘for the state of Andhra Pradesh ’ shall be substituted by ‘for the state of Telangana’.

#### **98. Amendment to section 15 of People Representative Act (1951)**

In section 15 (a) of the People Representative Act (1951) after the words ‘under 2010, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council Act’ the words ‘under 2014, Andhra Pradesh Re-organization Act the Legislative Council of the state of Telangana’ shall be inserted.



- 99. Amendment to section 15 of the states Re-organization Act (1956):** From the appointed day in the section (b) of the states re-organization Act for the words ‘ Andhra Pradesh’, the words “Andhra Pradesh”, “Telangana” shall be inserted.
- 100. Laws for the extension of Acts, Territories:** The provisions of part II of Andhra Pradesh Land Reforms Act (1973) or any other act in force effective in the regions before the appointed day shall not be deemed to have affected any change.
- 101. Implementation of the previous laws:** In Andhrapradesh/Telangana want to implement any law made before the appointed day, the respective state by an order make essential changes, additions to such law before expiration of two years.
- 102. Power to apply laws:** For implementing the laws before appointed day, though they were not made under section 101, the court/tribunal/authority may apply them to the disputes in trial and construe the law without affecting the substance, in respect of the state of Andhra Pradesh and the state of Telangana.
- 103. Powers to authorities:** The power of the transferred territories to Telangana state shall be excercised by the authorities of that territory as mentioned in the gazette released by the state of Telangana.
- 104. Legal proceedings:** In the legal proceedings of dividing the assets and liabilities, the name of existing Andhra Pradesh should be changed as the state of Andhra Pradesh and state of Telangana.
- 105. Transfer of pending proceedings:** Every proceeding which is in pending before the appointed day in a court (other than high court )/tribunal/authority/officer and if it is related to the territory of the state of Telangana shall be transferred to the corresponding court/tribunal/authority of the state of Telangana.
- 106. Right of advocates to practice in certain cases:** Any advocate enrolled as an advocate in the existing Andhra Pradesh in any subordinate court/courts before the appointed day may practice in those courts for a period of one year from the

appointed day, even if the territory of the jurisdiction of that court has been transferred to the state of Telangana.

**107.** If the provisions of this act are in contrary with the provisions of other acts, the provisions of this act shall have effect.

**108. Powers to settle difficulties:** In the process of implementing this act if difficulties arises, the president shall pass orders to overcome such difficulties.

### **Schedule -I**

#### **(Section -13)**

The method of allotting 7 out of 18 Rajyasabha members to Telangana of the existing Andhra Pradesh Rajyasabha is explained

### **Schedule II**

#### **(Section -15)**

#### **Parliament, assembly constituencies order (2008) amendments**

- Out of 25 Loksabha seats in the state of Andhra Pradesh 4 seats for SCs and 2 seats for STs are reserved.
- In serial order of numbers Tamil Nadu shall be in 24.
- After Tamil Nadu, Telangana is inserted in 25.
- Out of 17 Loksabha seats allotted to Telangana state SC-3, ST-2 are reserved.
- In the state of Andhra Pradesh out of 175 assembly seats SC-29, ST-7 are reserved.
- In the Telangana state out of 119 assembly seats SC-19, ST-12 are reserved.

### **Schedule III**

#### **(Section-24)**

- All the assembly, parliamentary constituencies in the state of Andhra Pradesh are listed.
- All the assembly, parliamentary constituencies in Telangana are listed.
- Legislative council constituencies of Telangana state are listed.

### **Schedule- IV**

#### **(Section-22 (2))**

The legislative council members of the state of Andhra Pradesh, the legislative council members of the Telangana are mentioned.

### **Schedule- V**

#### **(Section-28)**

Schedule castes in Telangana state are listed.

### **Schedule-VI**

#### **(Section-29)**

Schedule tribes in Telangana state are listed

### **Schedule-VII**

#### **(Section-52)**

- a) Provident funds, pension funds, insurance funds are listed.
- b) Sinking fund, guarantee resumption fund, reserve fund are listed.
- c) Other funds are listed.

## **Schedule - VIII**

### **(Section -59)**

Details of the pension payment liabilities

## **Schedule- IX**

### **(Section- 68,71)**

Government companies and corporations are listed.

## **Schedule- X**

### **(Section- 75)**

- Gives information about the continuation of facilities in certain state institutions
- Institutions list is given.

## **Schedule- XI**

### **(Section-85 (7))**

#### **Principles governing the functioning of River Management Board are detailed**

The projects Handri Niva, Telugu Ganga, Galeru Nagari, Veligonda, Kalwakurthy, Nettempadu which are presently under construction shall be completed as planned in the existing state of Andhra Pradesh and the water sharing shall also be continued as per the allotments made.

## **Schedule- XII**

### **(Section- 92)**

Details about coal, oil, natural gas and power are given.

## **Schedule- XIII**

### **Section-93**

#### **Education**

1. The central government will take measures to establish educational institutions of national importance in the state of Andhra Pradesh. They are- IIT, NIT, IIM, IISER, Central University, Petroleum University, Agriculture University and IIT.
2. All India Institute of Medical science- type super specially hospital.
3. Establishes a Tribal University each in the state of Andhra Pradesh and in the Telangana state.
4. Establishes a Horticulture University in the state of Telangana.

#### **Provision of basic amenities**

1. Constructs a large seaport in Duggiraja Patnam.
2. Takes action for establishing an integrated steel factory in Khammam district in Telangana state.
3. Takes steps for establishing integrated steel factory in YSR Kadapa district in the state of Andhra Pradesh.
4. Takes steps for establishing green field oil refinery, petro chemical complex construction, Indian oil corporation and Hindustan Petroleum Company.
5. Takes steps for the formation of Vishakhapatnam, Chennai Industrial corridors in the state of Andhra Pradesh similar to Delhi, Mumbai Industrial corridors.
6. Steps will be taken to extend the Vishakapatnam Vijayawada, Tirupathi airports into international standard airports.
7. National thermal power corporation establishes 4000 mega Watt power plant in Telangana state.
8. Provides a new railway zone to the state of Andhra Pradesh.

9. National Highways Authority of India takes steps to construct highways connecting the backward areas of Telangana state.
10. Steps shall be taken for improving the railways and for constructing a coach factory in Telangana state.
11. Takes steps to arrange rail and road ways from the capital of the state of Andhra Pradesh to all the important cities of Telangana state.
12. Takes steps for providing the Metro train facility in Vishakhapatnam, Vijayawada and Guntur.

On one side everything was set for the formation of Telangana state. Yet the opposition tried to create barriers misinterpreting the article 3. However, either we or they cannot alter the Supreme Court verdicts on article 3 and the constitution. This is a well known fact. As the pressures for the formation of Telangana increased the central government arranged all party meetings, several times to know the opinions of different parties. All parties put forth their arguments in such meetings. Anticipating the changes in politics, the congress party ventured to declare the formation of Telangana state with 10 districts. To materialize this, the congress head acted tactfully. Her gesture in this regard is highly appreciable. Without opposing, the BJP supporting the decision of congress in parliament is a unique incident. Here, in the state, TDP also didn't oppose much. Thus, the formation of Telangana state became a matter of fact. In this context, it seems that the centre in the Andhra Pradesh Re-organization Act tried to perhaps, balance both the states. That is something of course, history will tell.

### **3. Relevance to Multicultural Federal Democracy**

Telangana being carved out as the 29<sup>th</sup> state has significant implications for Indian multicultural federal democracy. A context-sensitive conception of federalism is emerging here that encourages accommodation not the giving up of one value for the sake of another but rather their reconciliation and possible harmonization. This accommodation may be accomplished in at least two ways, one, by placing values at different levels and the other, by seeing them, not as belonging to water-tight compartments but as sufficiently separate so that an attempt can be made to recognize

a value within its own sphere, without frontally conflicting with another value operating in a different sphere.<sup>241</sup> This way of thinking, which is at once ethical and contextual, is at the heart of the development of the idea of federalism anywhere. But, nowhere else is it as clearly manifest as in India. It was certainly at the heart of deliberations of the constituent assembly that resulted in a constitution that appeared both federal and unitary. It was this fruitful ambiguity that paved the way for the deepening of Indian democracy via linguistic federalism.

The linguistic reorganization of states, however, could only work if the polity followed certain rules. The most important rule was that regional demands of autonomy were to be sympathetically treated, as long as they were not violent. A non-manipulative negotiation and deliberation was believed to be the most appropriate response to the legitimate demands of regions with a distinct culture and language. With this model of contextual moral reasoning, the politicians sought to accommodate the needs of one region, the aspirations of neighboring regions, and the good of the whole country. Linguistic federalism succeeded as long as the principle was followed. Problems occurred as soon as an insecure government at the centre began to deal with regional aspirations in a ham-fisted, manipulative, and self-seeking manner.

I have also argued that, over time and despite all its problems, India has developed a distinctive form of federalism which should be compared to other federalism, not with the aim of finding out where it is falling short of a western standard, but rather to identify those features that broaden our very conception of federalism. Indian federalism today is not just of the 'holding together' variety but rather has come to possess features of the 'coming together' form of federalism. This shows that regional parties are becoming stronger not only in the regions but also at the centre. A stable centre has begun to emerge, not by force but by the consent and participation of regional groups that, at another level, are also self-governing. Indian federalism has also attempted to remove its own rigidities by incorporating asymmetries in the distribution of power between the centre and different states.

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<sup>241</sup> Austin, *The Indian Constitution*, pp. 308-25.

## Conclusion

Every country over time develops its own distinct form of federal structure in response to its various demands and needs. India likewise, has a unique case of federal polity. It has shown a remarkable degree of flexibility and pragmatic reasoning in responding to various forms of assertions of identity making demands for a separate state.

The boundaries for instance, have not been shaped and re-shaped based on the questions of language alone. In addition to language the federal polity in India has also responded to other cultural demands. The foundation of a separate state of Telangana should not in any way be considered as the only possible way to address the demands of cultural identity for reorganisation. This thesis is not making any such recommendation. In fact, in understanding this research, I was making attempt to argue for a federal consensus that can be reached within or without a state. The specific context may differ. As in the case of Telangana prior to 2014 and after 2 June, 2014. A liberal federal polity has the space to respond to these demands depending upon the context. In 1956 and 1973 a federal consensus was achieved. One may say that the lack of proper implementation of the same has lead to resurgence of the demand. However, another can say that it was not a problem that could have been resolved by mere implementation of a federal formula of allocation, for at a deeper level it was more a problem of assertion of a cultural identity.

India adopted a federal polity on the liberal democratic guidelines and this meant that both in theory and practice the state was going to recognise, the individual good and the collective good, which in turn meant the recognition of the individual rights and group rights. However, this did not in any way rule out a conflict between the two. And in the event of a conflict as per the constitutional Law the rights of an individual are guaranteed by the state. This is in keeping with the Liberal democratic traditions of political theory. Similarly, a federal foundation can be seen only when the pluralities of groups and their values are allowed, at the very least, to exist. Indian polity is a unique combination of Liberal and Federal principles where the individual space and the group space are both recognised as important and a balance between both is sought, so that neither threatens the existence of the other completely.



Basing this as my central argument in the study I have tried to show that the struggle of the cultural identities for recognition and accommodation can, in fact, be addressed better in such a state. For a state which recognises the value of a cultural group and does not discriminate among such values, is responsive to the value of these cultures. Therefore, Indian state is definitely not a 'culture or difference blind' state. This implies that Indian state is not culture neutral. The state which is not neutral to cultural differences would address itself to both the recognition and accommodation of the same differences from within and without. Hence, the struggle of cultural identities for cultural recognition and accommodation are not necessarily anti-thetical to the liberal democratic norms of a federal polity.

India, therefore, provides a case for a multicultural federal democracy. This had been the second theme underlying the analysis. What is a multicultural federal democracy? It is a democracy where the principle of cultural diversity and differences are accepted as a part of life. This entails a certain level of a minimum consensus and toleration among the various cultural differences. The spirit of toleration can be a very positive beginning among two or more cultural differences which are in a sharp conflict with each other. However, mere toleration is not enough. After a certain point each difference wants to be recognised for its intrinsic worth and good. A multicultural society is one such society where the state recognises that it is significant both to recognise that value of a cultural group as well as the rights of individuals in a cultural community. When cultural pluralism is placed in a normative ground of each group or groups is recognised and realised with time and context, then such a society is multicultural. The difference to note here is that cultural pluralism in itself does not make a multicultural society, it is the recognition of the value of each collective good (of a culture) for its own worth makes a Multicultural society.

India is not only a Multicultural but is also a Multicultural federal democracy. This is so because it is founded with Liberal democratic principles working at a federal level and that makes it possible for the case of a Multicultural federal democracy.

And a Multicultural federal democracy would have to recognise the rights of a cultural community to their cultural recognition and accommodation as an essential condition required for the existence of those cultural-values. This is the third (and

final) theme which runs along with the other two themes in this study. With the case of Telanagana experience I have tried to show how a Liberal-Federal democracy finds it difficult to come out of the dominance of certain traditions like the emphasis is more on the 'unity', in the principle of unity in diversity and 'uniformity' than the principle of 'equality'. Unity is required but not at the cost of losing my good which may not necessarily be in correlation with other goods. Similarly, the emphasis should be on the treatment of differences with the equal respect and not uniformity. This means that the state may sometimes have to treat certain cultural groups unequally to actually implement the principle of equality of recognition, respect and accommodation. Therefore there is a necessity that Indian state recognise the true essential principles upon which it is founded and interpret them relevantly with context and time in doing justice to the good of individual and that of the cultural group.

The three central themes are, firstly, cultural identities and their quest for recognition and accommodation are not anti-thetical Liberal-Federal democracies, in general and India, in particular. Secondly, India is essentially a multicultural federal democracy. Thirdly, the liberal-federal democracies have a normative basis to openly address the rights of a cultural community to their existence and self-realisation.

The three themes when applied to the particular case of Telangana proved to be possible. Firstly, the state recognised that Telangana region and its people have a cultural identity and that needs to be recognised for itself as well true as for its intrinsic worth. Thus Indian state shows us that it is responsive to the needs of cultural groups and that it is not 'cultural or difference-blind' in its approach to cultural diversity. Secondly, the State gave cultural recognition and accommodation to the Telangana identity by providing it various safeguards and finally by recognizing the Telangana demand and granting of a separate state for Telangana in 2014 . Thus it is upholding the multicultural federal democratic principles, of recognizing diversity for its good and trying to protect the same from inequality and discrimination. Thirdly, by the virtue of the above two conditions, it recognised the rights of the cultural community of Telangana to its existence and self-realisation. But the State tried to determine the essential conditions necessary for the existence of Telangana cultural communities. This led to a lack of responsive and reflexive articulation of the

demands made by Telangana identity for a period of sixty years. Thus, the resurgence of the same demand.

The state after recognizing all the necessary conditions, if in the last minute, it backed out in articulating the demands in the best possible manner, then the state is certainly (we assume) held back by some traditions from which it is not able to break free. But not all traditions need to be broken free, some of them are valuable and good, and they ought to be retained. And one such value is to treat each life equally and allow it to rights of recognition, respect and accommodation. Similarly, each cultural community has value and its right to that value should not be determined externally, or only internally, but through mutual interaction. The Indian state, therefore, needs to leave some of its traditional shyness and interact more democratically in articulating the cultural differences in the state within a context and time. And to do so it need not look far away, it needs only a self-interpretation of its essential principles upon which it was founded within the changing circumstances.

India being a cultural plurality adhering federal principles of governance this principle of cultural recognition and accommodation is relevant to this context. Indian federal democracy is a government adhering 'unity in diversity' principle. The principle of unity in India is based on its capacity to coalesce its much diversity in a pattern of autonomy and harmony to the peace and progress of his continental polity. Ethno-cultural diversity in India meant that there may be conflicts. To resolve these conflicts the principle of cultural accommodation being about mutual co-existence and consensus in the State.

Indian federal democracy has exhibited a strong propensity for centralization of power and decision-making. There were strong political and economic compulsions necessitating such a development. The need for stability of the system, territorial security, political integration and requirements of integrated market. System for further growth were some factor that promoted this trend of centralization.

In the particular case of Telangana the absence of the application of this principle of cultural recognition and accommodation saw Telangana voice the same demands on numerous occasions before it was realised in 2014 with the formation of a separate state of Telangana.. Cultural recognition entails that the good of the culture

is recognised and allowed ways to exist and express itself. Similarly, for sustaining the cultural plural mosaic of the country it is essential that the state moves away from its centralist recognition and accommodation.

Underlying this regional economic imbalance is the tension of the unaddressed demand for cultural recognition of the Telangana identity. Whether this present carving out of Telangan as 29<sup>th</sup> state as a separate state in itself would solve this problem of Telangana is questionable. Perhaps, to some extent, the problem would get addressed at the territorial autonomy level or perhaps the certain problems will continue strive long before they are addressed.. The answer to this question would be uncertain because addressing the recognition and accommodation of the cultural identities in any state is a sensitive matter. For there are many complexities involved in addressing such demands. Firstly, does this demand have internal contradiction other than the external contradictions. Secondly, Is separation the only answer? And thirdly, whether a separate Telangana is really the answer till their demands for cultural recognition are addressed.

Firstly, yes, there are internal contradictions within Telangana cultural identities. But that does not indicate the complete absence of the Telangana identity.

Secondly, separate state for Telangana is one of the options according to the people of Telangana but not the only answer for realizing cultural recognition. For we had discussed earlier that Cultural recognition could be achieved in a united Andhra Pradesh. However, there are existing fears that this may not happen within the united Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, the demand for a separate Telangana. Now, that this has been realised one must see how far the state of Telangana address the aspirations of its people.

And thirdly, a separate Telangana may not solve all its problems but as long as they feel that they have made a beginning in the right direction, then the foundation for the better more developed Telangana could be automatically achieved. However, it is important to note here that this study is not advocating that merely the formation of a separate state would lead recognition and respect of the assertions of identity for statehood in India like the formation of a separate Telangana. We have merely tried to interpret the problem from an angle which had been not addressed to earlier and that

is the problem of cultural identities in Telangana and their recognition and accommodation into the India's federal democracy.

The federal structure of any polity may have lessons to learn from other federations but it must ultimately be evaluated by standards which are partly shaped by the tradition and experience of that polity. Federalism is part of a larger democratic process. Sometimes to grant political recognition to a distinct people who, are culturally similar and to some extent wish to govern themselves multicultural federal democracies have in built mechanisms. Inter-group equality and self governance are the two values underlying federalism. Therefore, multicultural federal democracy must be seen as a constitutional and democratic practice with which to check any form of cultural or ethnic domination. Federalism will not survive in a polity where one community is bent upon dominating others. Conversely, when they work well, federal institutions check the majoritarian and hegemonizing potential of any one community within the polity.

However a federal structure is not just an aggregation of federated political units. The whole is more than the sum of its parts. There is an irreducible federal level and therefore, an urgent need to workout an appropriate working relationship between the federal centre and the states. The Indian experience shows that whenever the center has been non-manipulative has treated politicians and people of regional states with respect-indeed, whenever regions identify with the centre and genuinely participate in governance at the federal level- the entire polity works smoothly and peacefully. On the other hand, whenever norms of democratic functioning are abandoned and regions are treated with disrespect, than powerful, even violent forces have been unleashed leading to grave instability and causing even greater harm to the general well-being of the Indian society. In short, the second lesson to be drawn is that democratic functioning and an accommodating spirit towards multiple communities and their multiple values, is the only way to make a federal system successful.

Finally, it must be recognised that, even within the same polity, different communities have different, sometimes distinct, needs. If so, the federal government cannot blindly treat them in the same manner. If the values of equality is at the heart of federalism and if treating each region as an equal is at the heart of federal equality,

than in some context, different regions may have to be treated differently. In a diverse society with different levels of economic development and variable historical traditions, asymmetrical treatment is the only way of realizing an appropriately interrupted equality. Therefore, the real defence of the cultural recognition is possible. And this is possible firstly in a culturally plural or multicultural society where the plural notion good are recognised for their intrinsic value, and secondly, in countries like, India where the federal democratic principles are based in this very principle of cultural recognition and accommodation.

## **APPENDIX (i)\***

### **MULKI RULES, 1949**

**Government of Hyderabad**

**(Extracts from Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations)**

**VII Edition (1950)**

#### *Preface*

**These Regulations promulgated in obedience to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Firman dated 25<sup>th</sup> Ramzan 1337 H (corresponding to 18<sup>th</sup> Amardad 1328 Fasli), were for the first time published in 1328 Fasli.**

These are now printed and published for the seventh time including corrections and additions, upto the end of Azur, 1359 Fasli (October 1949)

ZAHEERUDDIN AHMED

Dated 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1949

Controller-General

Accounts and Audit

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **GENERAL RULES FOR REGULATING ALLOWENCES**

##### **Conditions of Age, Health and Domicile**

39, No person will be appointed in any Superior or Inferior Service without the specific sanction of His Exalted Highness if he is not a Mulki in terms of the rules laid down in Appendix 'N'. Any person, whose domicile is cancelled under para 9 of the Mulki Rules, will be considered to have been dismissed from his post from the date of such cancellation.

#### **APPENDIX 'N'**

*(Referred to in Article 39)*

1. A person shall be called a Mulki if:
  - (a) by birth he is a subject of the Hyderabad State ; or
  - (b) by residence in Hyderabad State he has been entitled to be Mulki; or
  - (c) his father having completed 15 years of service was in the Government Service at the time of his birth;
  - (d) she is a wife of a person who is a Mulki

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\* Ram Reddy G. and Sharma B.A.V., Regionalism in India, (New Delhi, Concept, 1979), P. Appendix (i)

2. A person shall be called a subject of the Hyderabad State by birth at the time of whose birth his father was a Mulki.
3. A person shall be called a Mulki who has a permanent residence in the Hyderabad State for at least 15 years and has abandoned the idea of returning to the place of his previous residence and has obtained to the place of his previous residence and has obtained an affidavit to that effect on a prescribed form attested by a Magistrate.
4. Where a Mulki woman marries a non-Mulki but does not give up her residence in the Hyderabad State her rights which she enjoys by virtue of being a Mulki shall not be affected in any way.
5. Where a woman is a Mulki, marries a non-Mulki and resides outside the Hyderabad State along with her husband and returns to reside permanently in the Hyderabad State after the death of her husband or after obtaining a judicial separation shall again be called a Mulki, but her children shall be called non-Mulkis, unless they are entitled to be Mulkis under these rules.
6. Subject to the above provisions the Taluqdar, Hyderabad District for Hyderabad City and Hyderabad District and the Taluqdar of the District in the Districts shall be competent to grant Mulki Certificate on the prescribed form provided that the father of the applicant prior to his residence in the Hyderabad State or appointment in the Hyderabad Government service or the applicant himself prior to his residence in the Hyderabad State:
  - (a) Was not a British subject; or
  - (b) Was a subject of any state other than a British protectorate;
  - (c) If he has not obtained a certificate under the Indian Naturalization Act of 1926, the application for the grant of Mulki Certificate shall be submitted in the office of the Secretary Judicial Department for action.

**Exception:** In the case of inferior servant whose initial pay does not exceed Rs. 25/- a month a Mulki Certificate granted by an Officer of the Department concerned who is competent to make his appointment on the post will be sufficient. But the said servant shall not be promoted to Superior service unless he obtains a Mulki Certificate from an officer authorized ordinarily to grant certificate under these Rules.

**Explanation 1:** A Berari shall in case of his appointment in any district obtain Mulki Certificate from the Taluqdar of the district and from the Taluqdar of the Hyderabad District in case of appointment in Hyderabad City and Hyderabad district and he shall along with his application submit a certificate in accordance with the provisions in force in Berar of his being a Berari.

**Explanation 2:** A Government servant in superior service in case of his appointment in a district shall obtain Mulki Certificate from the Taluqdar of the district or from the Taluqdar of the district where he resides and from the Taluqdar, Hyderabad district in case of Hyderabad City and Hyderabad district.



**Explanation 3:** A resident of Secunderabad or other assigned areas shall obtain a Mulki Certificate from the Taluqdar, Hyderabad District and a Resident of Aurangabad Cantonment from the Taluqdar of Aurangabad District.

7. In the application for the grant of a Mulki Certificate in addition to all facts which support the application the following matters shall be mentioned and in the end it shall be certified by a declaration on oath that the facts stated in the application are correct, and that he is aware that in case of wrong entry, action may be taken against him in accordance with the powers of the court and Rule No. 9:
  - (a) Where was the applicant born?
  - (b) Date and place of birth
  - (c) Places where he was educated
  - (d) Where was he residing prior to his residing in the Hyderabad State?
  - (e) Place of birth and nationality of his father and grandfather
  - (f) Place of education of the applicant's father
  - (g) Where was he residing at the time of the applicant's birth and after completing 21<sup>st</sup> year of his age?
  - (h) From what period the applicant is permanently residing in the Hyderabad State and whether he has abandoned the idea of returning to his native land?
  - (i) Has the applicant's father or he himself created, or intends to acquire any immovable property within the Hyderabad State?
  - (j) As the applicant's father or he himself acquired such connections within the Hyderabad State which lead to believe that they have made Hyderabad State their native land?
  - (k) Was an application made previously for a Mulki Certificate and if so, to whom and what orders were passed thereon?
8. In case the application for the grant of a Mulki Certificate is rejected, an appeal may lie to Subedar concerned against the order within a month from the date of the rejection and the order of the Subedar shall be final.
9. Government in the Police Department may cancel any Mulki Certificate if the Government finds that any of the entries made in the application for the Mulki Certificate under Rule 7 is not correct or that it was obtained by false personation or false statements and it may cancel certificates of persons mentioned in clauses (b),(c),(d) of Rule 1 if the holder of the Mulki Certificate is disloyal to H.E.H. or the Hyderabad government in his conduct or behavior or is directly or indirectly connected with such political activities which are detrimental or contrary to the interest of the Hyderabad Government.

## Appendix (ii)

### SRC Recommendations

(Any attempt to examine and understand Telangana problem in depth and detail requires the knowledge of the events that led to the 1956 A.P. formation. Much before the formation of A.P. State Reorganisation Commission, constituted by the Central Government and consisting of Hon. Fazal Ali, K.M. Pannikar, and H.N. Kunzru. The report submitted by the Committee in 1955 known as SRC Report went in to the problems of Telangana- Andhra regions, and the argument for and against the two regions.

The questions, arguments and the relevant information in this regard have been cogently incorporated in this document. The SRC report is revealing in the sense that it gives us glimpse into the apprehension of a future domination by Andhra region and consequent problems Telangana might have to face. As the recommendations of the SRC against such problems were not heeded by the vested interests, we give below the text of the part of SRC report that deals with Telangana and Andhra regions).

#### Case for Vishalandhra

369. The next question which we have to consider is the future of the Telugu speaking areas of the existing State of Hyderabad, with particular reference to the demand for the creation of Vishalandhra.

370. It is unnecessary for us to trace the history of the Andhra struggle in any great detail, because the Andhra State is now in existence, having been established on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1953. In point of fact, however the arrangements which were made in 1953 have not been regarded by the Andhras in the new State, especially in the Circars, as final and the case for the creation of Vishalandhra has remained substantially un-examined.

371. The advantage of larger Andhra state including Telangana are that it will bring into existence a state of about 32 millions with a considerable hinterland, with large water and power resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This will also solve the difficult and vexing problem of finding a permanent capital for Andhra, the twin cities of Hyderabad and secunderabad are very well suited to be the capital of Vishalandhra.

372. Another advantage of the formation of Vishalandhra will be that the development of the Krishna and Godavari rivers will thereby be brought under unified control. The Krishna and the Godavari projects rank amongst the most ambitious in India. They have been formulated after prolonged period of inactivity, during which, for various technical and administrative, reasons only anicuts in the delta area have been built. Complete unification of either Krishna or the Godavari valley is not, of course, possible. But if one independent political jurisdiction, namely, that of Telangana, can be eliminated, the formulation and implementation of plans in the eastern areas in these two great river basins will be greatly expedited. Since telangana, as part of Vishalandhra, will benefit both directly and indirectly from this

development, there is a great deal to be said for its amalgamation with the Andhra state.

373. The economic affiliation of Telangana with the existing Andhra state are also not unimportant. Telangana has in years of scarcity a sizable deficit in food supplies. The existing Andhra state, however, has normally a surplus which telangana may be able to use. The existing state of Andhra has likewise no coal, but will be able to get its supplies from Singareni. Telangana will also be able to save a great deal of expenditure on general administration in case if it is not established as a separate unit.

374. The creation of Vishalandhra is an ideal to which numerous individuals and public bodies, both in Andhra and Telangana, have been passionately attached over a long period of times, and unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, this sentiment is entitled to consideration.

### **The case for Telangana**

375. The case of Vishalandhra thus rests on arguments which are impressive. The considerations which have argued in favour of a Telangana state are, however, not such as much as may be lightly brushed aside.

376. The existing Andhra state has faced a financial problem of some magnitude ever since it was created and in comparison with Telangana, the existing Andhra State has a low per capita revenue. Telangana, on the other hand, is much less likely to be faced with financial embarrassment. The much higher incidence of land revenue in telangana and an excise revenue of the order of Rs.5 crores per annum principally explain this difference. Whatever the explanation may be, some telangana leaders seem to fear that the result of unification will be to exchange some settled sources of revenue, out of which development schemes may be financed, for financial uncertainty similar to that which Andhra is now faced. Telangana claims to be progressive and from an administrative point of view, unification it is contended is not likely to confer any benefits on this area.

377. When plans for future development are taken into account, Telangana fears that the claims of this area may not receive adequate consideration in Vishalandhra. The Nandikonda and Kushtapuram (Godavari) projects are, for example, among the most important which Telangana or the country as a whole has undertaken. Irrigation in the coastal deltas of these two great rivers is however, also being planned. Telangana, therefore, does not wish to lose its present independent rights in relation to the utilization of the waters of Krishna and Godavari.

378. One of the principal causes of opposition of Vishalandhra also seems to be the apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the coastal areas. In the Telangana districts outside the city of Hyderabad, education is woefully backward. The result is that a lower qualification than in Andhra is accepted for public services. The real fear of the people of Telangana is that they enjoy Andhra they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in this partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telangana, itself may be converted into the colony by the enterprising coastal Andhra.

379. 'The Telangana' it has further been argued, can be stable and viable unit considered by itself. The revenue receipts of this area on current account have been estimated at about Rs. 17 crores, and although the financing of the Krishna and Godavari projects will impose a recurring burden on the new state by way of interest charges, the probable deficit, if any is unlikely to be large. In favourable conditions the revenue budget may even be balanced or indicate a marginal surplus. This fairly optimistic forecast can be explained or justified by a variety of reasons.

380. One important reason is, of course, that the existing Hyderabad state and Telangana as a part of Hyderabad have benefited considerably from the implementation from April 1952, of the Finance Commissions' recommendations. The increase in central payments from out of the divisible pools of income-tax and Central excise which has been possible under the present arrangements and the reduction of police expenditure for which credit can be taken., as the situation in Telangana improve, more or less offset the loss on account of abolition of internal customs duties, and if the scope which exists of raising the yielding of certain state heads of the revenue is fully explored, the financial position of telangana need not cause anxiety.

### **The State of Hyderabad**

381. The advantages of the formation of Vishalandhra are obvious. The desirability of bringing between Telangana and Andhra and the suitability of Hyderabad as the capital for the entire region are in brief the arguments in favor of the bigger unit.

382. It seems to us, therefore, that there is much to be said for the formation of the larger state and the nothing should be done to impede the realization of this goal. At the same time, we have to take note of the important fact that, while opinion in Andhra is overwhelmingly in favour of the larger unit, public opinion in Andhra themselves seem to appreciate that the unification of Telangana with Andhra, though desirable, should be based on a voluntary and willing association of the people and that it is primarily for the people of Telangana to take a decision about their future.

383. We understand that the leader of the existing Andhra state may be prepared to provide adequate safeguards to protect the interest of telangana in the events of integration in Vishalandhra. These safeguards may take the form of guarantee (presumably on the lines of Sri Baug Pact between Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra) of opportunities for employment for Telangana in public services of the new state at least to the extent of one-third, that is to say, roughly in the proportion, and assurance that particular attention will be paid to the development plans of this area.

384. We have carefully gone into the details of arrangements which may be made on these lines. It seems to us, however, that neither guarantees on the lines. It seems to us, however, that neither guarantees on the lines of the Sri Baug Pact nor constitutionally devices, such as "Scottish devolution" in the United Kingdom, will provide workable or meet the requirements of Telangana during the period of transition. Anything short of supervision by the central government over the measures intended to meet the special needs of Telangana will be found ineffective, and we are not disposed to suggest any such arrangement in regard to Telangana.

385. After taking all these factors into consideration we have to come to the conclusions that it will be in the interests of Andhra as well as Telangana area is constitute into separate state, which may be known as the Hyderabad state, with provision for its unification with Andhra after general elections likely to be held in or about 1961 if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residency Hyderabad state express itself in favour of such unification.

387. The advantage of this arrangement will be that while the objective of the unification of the Andhras will neither be blurred nor impeded during a period of five or six years, the two governments may have stabilized their administrative machinery and, if possible, also reviewed their land revenue systems etc., the object in view being the attainment of uniformity. The intervening period may incidentally provide an opportunity for allaying apprehensions and achieving the consensus of opinion necessary for a real union between the two states.

388. Andhra and Telangana have common interests and we hope these interests will tend to bring the people closer to each other. If, however, our hopes for the development of the environment and conditions congenial to the unification of two areas do not materializes itself against the unification of the two states, Telangana will have to continue as a separate unit.

389. The state of Hyderabad(as we would prefer to all this unit), to be constituted for the time being, should consist of the following districts, namely, Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal including Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak and Bidar and Munagaala enclave in Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna district of the existing Andhra state.

## Appendix (iii)

### Gentlemen's Agreement 1956

Regional standing committee-

1. There will be one language for whole of the Andhra Pradesh state which will be the sole making body for the entire state and there will be one governor for the state aided and advised by Council of Ministers responsible to the state Assembly for the entire field of administration.
2. For the more convenient transaction of the business of government with regard to some specified matters the Telangana area will be treated as one region.
3. For the Telangana region there will be a regional standing committee of the state assembly belonging to that region including the ministers from that region but not including the chief minister.
4. Legislation relating to specified matters would be referred to the regional committee...
5. The advice tendered by the regional committee would normally be accepted by the government and the state legislature. In case of difference of opinion, reference would be made to the governor whose decision would be binding.
6. The regional committee would deal with following matters:
  - i) Development and Economic planning within the framework of the general development plans formulated by the state legislature.
  - ii) Local self- government, that is to say, the constitutional powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, districts boards and district authorities for the purpose of self-government or village administration.
  - iii) Public health and sanitation, local hospitals and dispensaries.
  - iv) Primary and secondary education.
  - v) Regulation to admission to the educational institutions in the telangana region.
  - vi) Prohibition.
  - vii) Sale of agricultural lands.
  - viii) Cottage and small scale industries, and
  - ix) Agricultural, cooperatives societies, markets and fairs. Unless revised by agreement earlier this arrangement would be reviewed after ten years.
7. Domiciles rules: a temporary provision be made to ensure that a period of five years, Telangana was regarded as a unit as far as recruitment to subordinate

services was concerned; posts borne on the cadre of these services could be reserved for the persons who satisfy the domicile conditions as prescribed under the existing Hyderabad Mulki rules. (12 years stay in Telangana area.)

8. Distribution of expenditures between Telangana and Andhra region.....'it has been agreed to the representatives of Andhra and Telangana that the expenditure of the new state on central and general administration should be borne proportionately by the two regions and balance of the income should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area, it is open to the state government to act in accordance with the terms of agreement in making budgetary allocations..... would be implemented.
9. The existing educational facilities including technical education in Telangana should be secured to the students of Telangana and further improved.
10. The cabinet would consist of members in proportion to 60:40 percent for Andhra and Telangana respectively, out of 40% of Telangana ministers; one would be a Muslim from Telangana. If the CM was from one region the other region should be given by chief ministership.

#### Signatories

##### Andhra

1. Bejawada Gopal Reddy
2. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy
3. Gouthu Lachanna
4. Allure Satyanarayana Raju

##### Telangana

1. Burugula Rama Krishna Rao
2. K.V. Ranga Reddy
3. Marri Channa Reddy
4. J.V. Narsing Rao

## **Appendix (iv)**

### **Six-point formula**

Statement issued by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1973.

We have had several discussions with central leaders as well as amongst ourselves on the problem facing the people of Andhra Pradesh. We are satisfied that the present misgivings about the future of the state can be completely removed on action being taken in accordance with the following principles:

- 1) Accelerated development of the backward areas of the state and planned development of the state capital with specific resources earmarked for these purposes and appropriate association of representatives of such Backward areas in the legislature along with other experts in the formulation and monitoring of development schemes for such areas should form the essential part of the developmental strategy of the state. Constitution at the state level of a planning board as well as sub-committees for different backward areas should be the appropriate instrument for achieving this objective.
- 2) Institution of uniform arrangements throughout the state enabling adequate preference being given to local candidates in the matter of admission to educational institutions and establishment of a new central university at Hyderabad to augment the existing educational facilities, should be the basis of the educational policy of the state.
- 3) Subject to the requirements of the state as a whole, local candidates should be given preference to specified extent in the matter of direct recruitment to i) non-gazetted posts (other than in secretariat, offices of heads of department, other state level offices and institutions and the Hyderabad city police) ii) Corresponding posts under the local bodies and (iii) the posts of Tahsildar, junior Engineers and Civil Assistant Surgeons. In order to improve their promotion prospects, service cadres should be organised to the extent possible on appropriate local basis up to specified gazetted level, first or second, as many administratively convenient.
- 4) A high power administrative tribunal should be constituted to deal with the grievances of services regarding appointments, seniority, promotion and other allied matters. The decisions of the Tribunal should ordinarily be binding on the State Government. The constitution of such a tribunal would justify limits on recourse to judiciary in such matters.
- 5) In order that implementation of measures based on the above principle does not give rise to litigation and consequent uncertainty, the Constitution should be suitably amended to the extent necessary, conferring on the President enabling power in this behalf.
- 6) The above approach would render the continuance of Mulki Rules and regional Committee unnecessary.



We are convinced that accelerated development of the backward areas and planned development of the State capital are the major factors which will help in successfully implementing the above principles. We would therefore, urge upon the Central Government to take a generous view in the matter of financial assistance to the State for the development of these areas.

## Appendix (v)\*

### SRI KRISHNA REPORT

#### **9.3.01 (V) Bifurcation of the state into Telangana and Seemandhra as per existing boundaries with Hyderabad as the capital of Telangana and Seemandhra to have a new capital.**

a) In this option there would be clear division of Andhra Pradesh into two states- Telangana and Seemandhra and in the interim Hyderabad will continue to house both the capitals till a new capital for Seemandhra is created. For creation of a new capital, a large investment would be required, provision for which will have to be made both by the union and the state governments. This option implies accepting the full demands of a large majority of Telangana people for a separate state that will assuage their emotional feelings and sentiments as well as the perceived sense of discrimination and neglect. The committee's impression, gained during its extensive tours of Telangana region indicated that a very large number of people from Telangana were highly supportive of the demand for a separate.

Telangana; an appreciable segment was found to be neutral; while some sections were not in favour of it. The committee observed:-

- Strong pro-Telangana elements in Warangal, west Khammam, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Southern Adilabad, Siddipet area of Medak, parts of Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar and some areas of Ranga Reddy. The most vociferous and agitating sections are the students (particular in Osmania and Kakatiya Universities), the unemployed youth, the lawyers and the non-gazetted government employees;
- The neutral elements include the original population of Hyderabad, including large segments of AIMIM, the villages/mandals bordering Maharashtra, Chhatisgarh, coastal Andhra, Rayalseema and Karnataka; the settler villages/mandals in the Telangana heartland (Khammam, Nizamabad, Karimnagar etc.) and the migrant population in HMDA from Seemandhra and other parts of the country;
- The aspirations of a large section of tribals on the northern side of Telangana, particular the hill tribals, are for a separate state of Manayaseema and of the tribal belt which cuts across Orissa, Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, to be under a single administrative system;
- The SCs/BCs and the minorities have their own aspirations for appropriate political space, economic development and reservation benefits.

b) The implications of this option are that i) if earlier struggles are anything to go by, this decision will give rise to serious and violent struggles in the coastal Andhra and Rayalseema regions, where the backlash will be immediate; the key issues being Hyderabad and sharing of water and irrigation resources; ii) there will be every likelihood of pressure being put by the general public on the leaders of the political

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\* The main recommendation based on which the Telangana state has been carved out.

parties of Seemandhra region (MLAs/MLCs/MPs) to resign and fight for united Andhra Pradesh; iii) the struggle for separation of Rayalseema from coastal Andhra may also start taking shape sooner than expected; iv) even though water and irrigation issues can be handled by creating autonomous/semi-autonomous structures, the apprehensions of the people of coastal Andhra and Rayalseema will continue to be voiced; and v) the impact on internal security situation with the anticipated growth of Naxalism and religious fundamentalism.

c) The division of the state will also have serious implications outside Andhra Pradesh. It would not only give fillip to other similar demands but it will be for the first time, after the re-organization of states, that a political demand for dividing a linguistically constituted state would have been conceded by the union government with the creation of two Telugu speaking states. The issue requires a most calm and dispassionate consideration of the consequences. The matter should also be seen in larger context of whether a region be allowed for itself what its political status should be, as that would only create demand for a great number of small states resulting in problems of coordination and management.

d) As noted in the chapter on economic and equity analysis, the economic dimension is also not to be lost sight of. The world over, there is a trend towards economic integration with economic blocs consisting of many smaller nations being formed in the interest of enhancing economic opportunities, markets and employment. It is naturally believed that formation of smaller states contributes to pre-existing barriers to inter-state and intra-state trade and movement of goods and services. For example, a variety of local entry taxes and cess may impede free trade and enhance cost of business and increase prices of goods and services. There can also be local laws restraining physical movement of goods and services between neighbouring regions and between states. Such fears are very strong in coastal Andhra and Rayalseema and there is apprehension that Hyderabad city as a market destination and also a source of supply will be out of bounds on the creation of Telangana with Hyderabad as a separate state. Coastal Andhra would also lose a major market inherent in the huge population, business, and market concentration of the city of Hyderabad. On this count, division of Andhra Pradesh can only be a negative factor which would inhibit the economic growth of the newly formed states. Economically, the land locked region of Telangana may also lose out on access and opportunities to the eastern coastline which has a major port in Vishakhapatnam and many other sea ports. With vast discoveries of oil and gas on the anvil and the resultant likely spurt in economic growth and employment in the coastal region, an integrated economy is likely to benefit the people of both regions optimally rather than through separation by formation of Telangana state. However, the overall economic viability of Telangana with Hyderabad is projected to be stable and as a matter of fact the GDP of this state will be much larger than many other states in the country.

e) The committee is of the view that given the long history of the demand for a separate Telangana, the highly charged emotions at present and the likelihood of the struggle continuing in case the demand is not met (unless handled deftly, tactfully and firmly as discussed under option six), consideration has to be given to this option. The grievances of the people of Telangana, such as non-implementation of some of the key decisions included in the Gentleman's agreement (1956), certain amount of neglect in implementation of water and irrigation schemes, inadequate provision for education infrastructure (excluding Hyderabad), and the undue delay in the implementation of the

presidential order on public employment etc., have contributed to the felt psyche of discrimination and domination, with the issue attaining an emotional pitch. The continuing demand, therefore, for a separate Telangana, the committee felt, has some merit and is not entirely unjustified. In case this option is exercised, the apprehensions of the coastal Andhra and Rayalseema people and others who have settled in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana with regard to their investments, properties, livelihood and employment, would need to be adequately addressed and confidence instilled that their safety and security would get the highest priority from the new dispensation. Considering all aspects, the committee felt that while creation of a separate Telangana would satisfy a large majority of people from the region, it would also throw up several other serious problems as indicated above. The implications for the other two regions also cannot be ignored. Therefore, after taking into account all the pros and cons, the committee did not think it to be the most preferred, but the second best option. Separation is recommended only in case it is unavoidable and if this decision can be reached amicably amongst all the three regions.

## Appendix (vi)

### The Questionnaire: (Employed during the field study)

Q1. what is the Telangana struggle all about? Some indicators like- Political aspirations of the political elite. / A struggle for development. / Or an expression of Telangana Identity. (Indicators provided only where necessary.)

Q2. Is there a Telangana Identity as opposed to Vishalandhra Identity? What according to you defines this identity? If so, is this identity being subsumed within the dominant culture? (Language/ festivals/ food/ ways of life)

Q3. Has Telangana as a region developed in the last fifty-sixty years? What according to you are the indicators of development? If not, why not?

Q4. If Telangana continues to be backward what are the reasons for the same?

Q5. Has Telangana got proper political representation in the state politics?

Q6. Do you know any people belonging to Andhra or Rayalaseema? How do you get along with them? What do you think their predisposition is towards Telangana people and culture?

Q7. Do you believe a separate Telangana would solve the problems of Telangana? If so, how it may be achieved? If not, why not?

Q8. What is the plight of Telangana farmer in united Andhra Pradesh? Will his plight stand to be improved in a separate Telangana?

Q9. What is the law and order situation in united Andhra Pradesh? Does it stand to improve within a separate state of Telangana? (Some indicators-Naxal Violence/ Communal Violence/ Human rights situation.)

Q10. What are the educational and employment opportunities available to people of Telangana in united Andhra Pradesh? Is it good as it is, or does it stand to be improved for the people of Telangana in particular, in a separate state of Telangana?

Q11. What do you know about water resource sharing in the united Andhra Pradesh? Do you believe the water sharing problem will improve in a separate Telangana state?

Q.12. Should Hyderabad be made a joint capital, if a separate state of Telangana is formed? If so, why? If not, why not?

## Tables and Maps

### Tables

Table 1: Water Distribution between Telangana and Coastal Andhra

	Telangana	Coastal Andhra
Krishna's catchment area	69%	13%
Share of Krishna river waters	27	56
Godavari's catchment area	79	21
Share of Godavari river waters(out of 1495 tmc ft)	185 tmc ft.	270 tmc ft.

Table 2: a) Irrigated Areas of Andhra Pradesh (ha)

Period	Tank	Canal	Well	Total (ha)
1956-57	11,79,987	12,74,305	3,70,759	28,25,051
1970-72	9,56,700	15,16,901	5,70,900	30,44,501
1980-82	9,43,251	17,27,843	8,00,600	34,71,694
1990-92	9,33,019	18,30,076	13,72,600	41,35,695
2001-05	4,89,974	15,84,697	18,85,966	39,60,637
2005-09	6,21,657	16,18,470	21,59,848	43,99,975
2011-13	7,14,000	26,66,000	22,80,000	56,60,000

Source: Gautam Pingle. 2011. "Irrigation in Telangana: The Rise and Fall of Tanks", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16 (26 and 27), p 124; and Agricultural Statistics At A Glance, *Directorate of Economics and Statistics*, AP 2012-13.

Table 2: b) Irrigated Areas in Telangana (ha)

Period	Tank	Canal	Well	Total
1956-57	5,30,565	1,16,619	1,29,869	8,01,586
1970-72	3,30,920	1,98,701	2,14,500	8,50,055
1980-82	3,86,351	2,81,843	3,41,400	10,34,487
1990-92	3,80,319	3,38,276	7,04,400	14,85,795
2001-05	1,65,303	1,62,315	9,74,470	13,44,604
2005-09	2,18,124	2,59,629	12,17,642	16,95,395
2011-13	3,39,000	4,17,000	29,09,000	36,65,000

Source: *Ibid.*

Table 3: Overexploited Assessment of Units (Dark Blocks including Critical and semi-critical assessment of Units) (2015)

Region	Total no. of Assessed units	Overexploited		Critical		Semi-critical	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Telangana	448	42	9	8	2	55	12
Andhra Pradesh	662	41	6	7	1	42	6

Source: Ministry of water resources, rural development and ganga rejuvenation, fifth report.

Table 4: Gross Cropped Area across Regions of Andhra Pradesh (Million Hectares)

Region	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001-2005	2006-2009
Telangana	4.8	4.8	5.0	5.3	5.0	5.1	4.8	4.7	4.8	4.7	5.0
Rayalaseema	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	3.0	3.0	2.9	3.0
Coastal Andhra	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.3	5.3	5.0	5.3

Source: Directorate of Economic and statistics, GoAP

Table 5: District Wise Number and Area of Operational Holdings in Different Size Groups (All Social Groups) (2010-11)

Region	Number	Area
Telangana	55,53,982	61,96,825.58
Coastal Andhra	51,51,777	45,99,640.27
Rayalaseema	24,69,341	34,96,800.27
Andhra Pradesh	1,31,57,100	1,42,93,266.12

Source: Directorate of Economic and Statistics. 2013. 'Agricultural Statistics at a Glance- Andhra Pradesh 2012-13', p 242.

Table 6: Region wise Sectoral Contribution to Gross District Domestic Product at Constant (1999-2000) Prices in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Region	Agriculture and allied	Industry	Services
1993-96	Telangana	27	30	43
	Hyderabad	4	31	65
	Rayalaseema	39	20	42
	Coastal Andhra	38	18	43
2005-08	Telangana	24	30	46
	Hyderabad	1	18	82
	Rayalaseema	27	26	46
	Coastal Andhra	29	23	47

Sources: Sri Krishna Report, p 199.

Table 7: HDI and its Ranking Among Major States in India

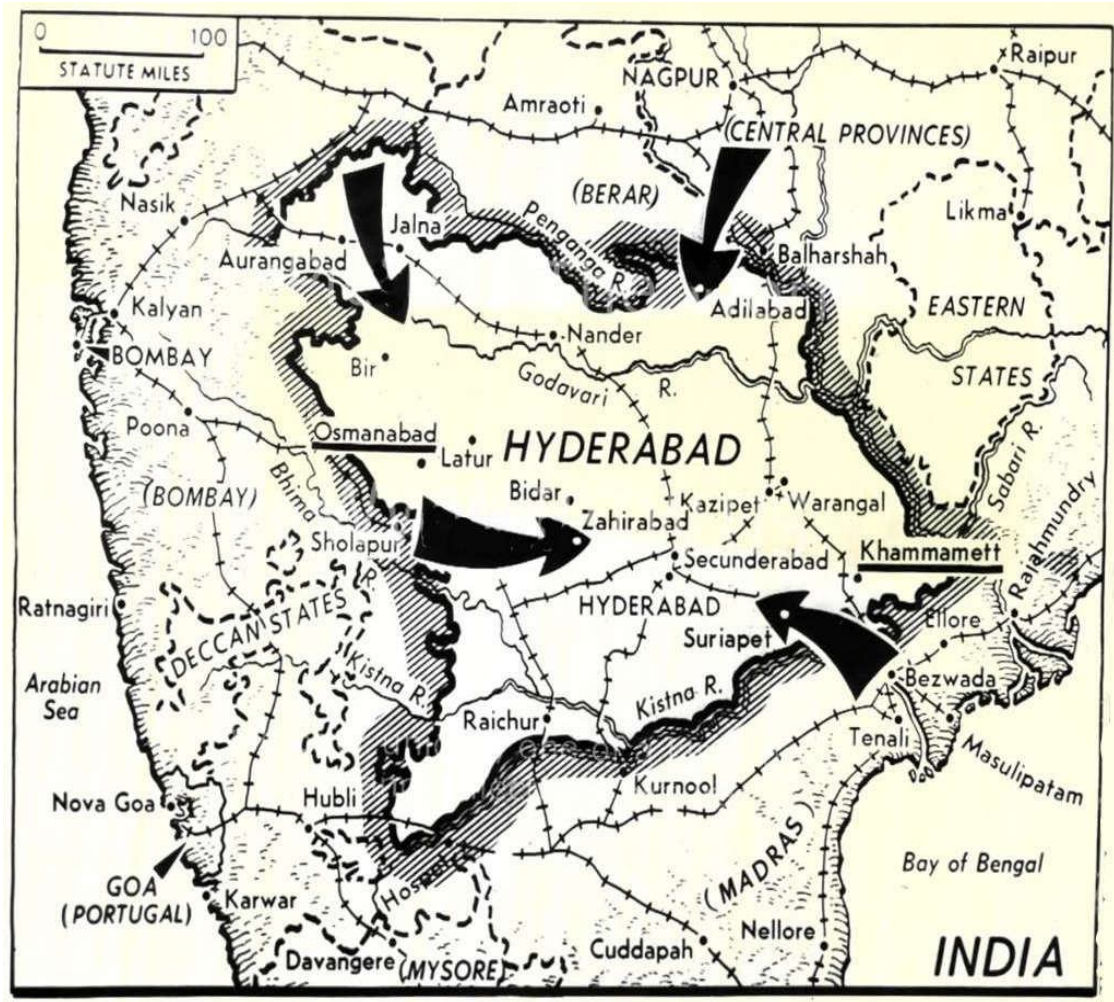
States	HDI		Rank	
	2004-05	2011-12	2004-05	2011-12
Telangana	0.343	0.513	13	10
Andhra Pradesh	0.378	0.513	12	9

Sources: GoT.2014. 'Reinventing Telangana: Socio Economic Outlook 2014', Planning Department, p.26.



## Maps

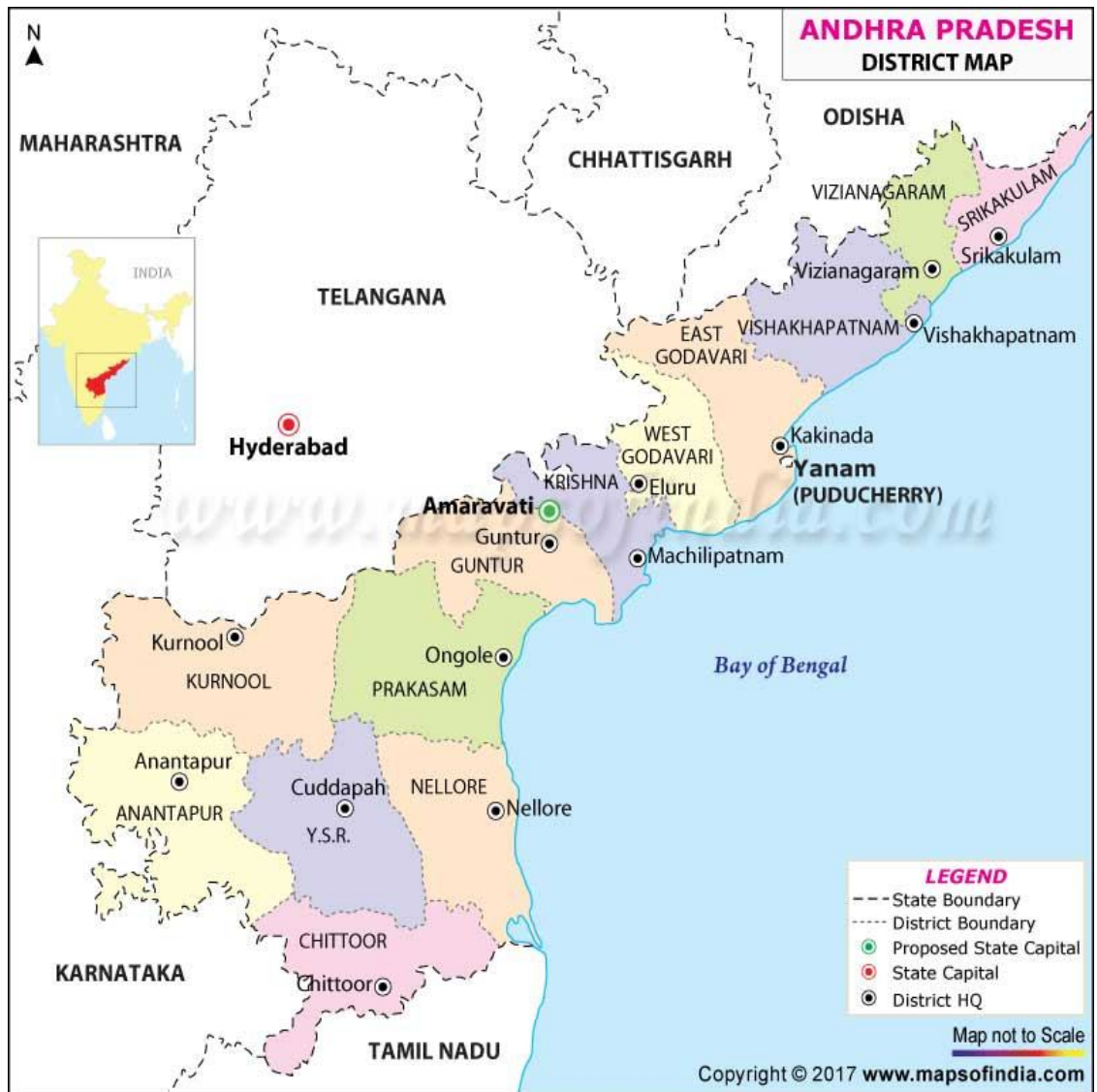
Map 1: Hyderabad in 1948



Map 2: Andhra in 1953



Map 3: Andhra Pradesh in 1956



Map 4: Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in 2014



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