

**CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN INDIA'S FEDERAL DEMOCRACY:  
THE TELANGANA EXPERIENCE (1973-1998)**

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## **CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation entitled '**Cultural Identities In India's Federal Democracy : The Telangana Experience (1973-1998)**', submitted by **Kusuma Krishna Subha** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master Of Philosophy** of this university has not been previously submitted for any Degree of this or any other university and is her own work.

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

  
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**TO MY PARENTS**

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study is mainly intended to address three issues. First and foremost, this research aims to sensitise the reader to the problems of cultural recognition, in general and Telangana, in particular. Secondly, this work tries to understand the problem of cultural identities in relation to the Liberal-Federal democracy. And thirdly, this work should not be read as a solution to the problem. Solutions to any problem, I think, are best left to time. What I have tried to do is analyse the problem in the context which needs to be reflected upon, in order to understand the struggle for cultural recognition at various levels better.

I am indebted to many people for helping me in completing this dissertation. Firstly, I would like to thank all the teachers who have in one way or the other helped me with their support and encouragement. In particular, I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Balveer Arora, for his immense patience with me and my work. It was a personal pleasure to complete this work under his guidance. For the idea of this work originally took shape under him during the M.A. course work.

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K.K. Subba

## INTRODUCTION

The main objective of the study is to understand the problem of cultural identities in India's Federal democracy, in general and Telangana experience, in particular.

India, a liberal democracy, adopted a quasi-Federal governance in order to accommodate the need and rights of various diversities. The principle of accommodation in a quasi-Federal democracy meant that unity of the country must be retained in accommodation of various diversities. The spirit behind this principle can be understood and appreciated mainly in a country like ours, where the diversities are so varied. The differences have persisted both since and prior to Independence. The toughest difference that Indian democracy had to come to terms with was the religious difference, after the colonial difference. The country was, infact, carved out on the basis of the religious difference. Therefore, when India gave to itself the Constitution, it put forward certain fundamental objectives which envisaged to establish a Liberal democracy where the diversities and differences both at the individual and group level could be accommodated with a minimum consensus.

The Indian Constitution laid down that the main objectives of Indian Republic are Sovereignty, Secularism, Democracy, Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity to all its individuals. And underlying all these were the Liberal principles of the spirit of tolerance and accommodation which governed these objectives. Due to the insecurity following the colonial experience and partition of the country one of the first and foremost works at hand was to uphold the country's sovereignty and maintain its unity. For this the Government went ahead with linguistic states reorganisation of the country

both for the administrative purpose and also to uphold the principle of (accommodation and) Unity in Diversity.

The principle of accommodation was, however, not without its own set of unaddressed problems and questions. One of these problems was the cultural and ethnic identity problem in the reorganisation of the states, which was indeed highlighted by the States Reorganisation Commission. The problem of cultural identity of Telangana was one such problem left unaddressed even though heard. The sounds of this problem continues to reverberate even today. The present study is an attempt to understand the various dimensions of the problem of cultural identity in Telangana, in particular. The study also tries to examine the cultural identities and group rights in Liberal democracy, in general and India's Federal democracy, in particular. This study assumes significance, I think, in the present context not only in India but most parts of the world where the voices for the recognition of the cultural groups and their rights is increasing by the hour at various levels.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The main objective of the study is to understand the demands of cultural recognition and respect. The same demands are articulated by different states in different ways. But how does a Liberal State, which is also a federal polity, respond to these cultural needs and rights? Are these demands in opposition to the Liberal democratic principles of a federal polity? If so, in what way? If not, then the Liberal State should move out of its shyness in addressing Rights of a Cultural Community more openly.

The attempt is also made to understand the theoretical issues involved in understanding the needs and rights of cultural identities in the particular case of India's Federal democracy in Telangana. In general behind the veil of a political identity, the

cultural differences and identities are given a uniform treatment, that is, the universal mode of incorporating all the diversities as uniform by a procedural republic. There is a need for such a state, whether liberal or otherwise to come out of this principle of neutrality. The needs of cultural communities are sensitive and their main demand is for recognition of their common shared norms of life. The state needs therefore, to address sensitive needs sensitively, by beginning to acknowledge that there is a need to recognise cultural identities some times from discrimination and at other times from annihilation. This recognition entails that the state come out of its cocoon of neutrality. The research tries to show that although in theory any state may have claims to the principle of neutrality it is not in practice, more so in the case of Indian Liberal-Federal democracy.

### **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 of Telangana. The research has been conducted mainly with the help of the secondary sources. The primary sources were also made use of depending upon the availability of the data and relevance.

The research methodology of interview technique was adopted particularly to draw the conclusions in chapters five and six. The mode of interviews conducted was based on the principle of the interviewer taking a participant observer role. The questionnaire consisted of an open-ended but broadly pre-coded set of question in order to maintain the objectivity of the study as far as possible

### **Schematic Outline of the Study**

The study has been divided into four main parts with a separate general introduction and conclusion. And each part inturn has two chapters. Part one deals with

the theoretical and conceptual issues. The main theme revolves around the question of recognition and accommodation of cultural differences and identities in Liberal-Federal democracies, in general, and India in particular. In this part we examine how a Liberal-Federal democracy is not necessarily antithetical to the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation of cultural identities and differences.

Part two makes an attempt to understand the cultural identities in the particular context of Telangana. It is mainly looking at the historical background and development of Telangana identity. The problem of the 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 of the people of Telangana. This economic aspect was no doubt important but at the same time it also led to the neglect 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 Andhras who belonged to coastal Andhra and Rayalseema. 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 during 1948 to 1973 has been analysed in this part. It takes up the demands made by the people of Telangana during 1955-56 and 1969-73 in chapters three and four respectively. This part also looks into how the demands of the Telangana went unaddressed from within as well as without.

Part three examines the resurgence of the demand for Separate State of Telangana once again in the 90's. 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 agitation. 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.

And part four, the concluding part, draws out the theoretical implications of the problem of Cultural Recognition and Accommodation in a Multicultural Federal democracy called India. The implications are made with the help of the inference drawn out from part one, two and three. 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. And the 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.

*Part – I*

Theoretical and Conceptual Issue



## CHAPTER 1

### CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND GROUP RIGHTS

The modern societies are characterised by a range of differences. A range of differences implies the presence of different notions of good. Each notion of good has its own intrinsic value that ought to be recognised and protected by the Society, in general and the State, in particular. And to accord all the differences a uniform treatment is to undermine the worth of each difference. Therefore, for the survival of the good of each difference, they ought to be given recognition and respect. This recognition and respect should be followed by accommodation of these values by giving each value its right to survive and evolve.

In this chapter we will examine the principle of difference in the context of cultural differences and identities. This chapter is divided into four sections. Section one attempts to understand the meaning of cultural identity and difference. Section two will deal with the analysis of the need for recognition of the cultural difference in a Liberal democracy. Section three looks into the debate over the rights of a cultural community to its culture between Liberals and Communitarians. And Section four analyses the relevance of Group Rights in a Liberal-Federal democracy.

#### **Cultural Identity and Difference**

Identity of cultural community is shaped on the broad assumption, 'that persons in similar social, categories and similar life experiences will act on the

grounds of common attributes, that is, I act because of who I am, not just because of a rational interest or set of learned values'.<sup>1</sup> People within the same cultural community share a culture, a language and history which defines their cultural membership.<sup>2</sup> According to Taylor, 'Human beings understand and define their identity within strongly qualified horizons. These horizons in turn define the basic framework for their questions, answers and meanings to things in life that are valuable, good and worth doing or not'.<sup>3</sup> Identity of a cultural community, therefore, can be broadly understood as shared common history and norms of a group of individuals, in a given context.

On the other hand, understanding cultural difference is also crucial. This is because cultural identity and cultural difference are not two mutually exclusive terms. They in fact derive their meaning and form from each other, however, which one of these two takes more relevance depends on the context and time. 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 difference

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<sup>1</sup> Calhoun. Craig, *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, (USA : Black well, 1994), p.53.

<sup>2</sup> Kymlicka. Will, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1989), p.135.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor Charles, *Sources of Self* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 27-29.

becomes 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-fulfilment.

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.

In understanding cultural identity of community it must not be assumed that this community is 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 a group does not mean that its goals and ambitions of self-fulfilment 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 i.e. the group may or may not be homogenous. Cultural identity of a group is

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<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.

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

not static and does not remain same for all times to come i.e. the group continues to define itself with the changing context.

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 state'<sup>6</sup>. The cultural identity this study is looking at is one of a people within the same cultural community who share a culture, a language, a history and certain sociological conditions which define their cultural membership and identity.<sup>7</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 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'<sup>8</sup> to both the external and internal conditions of the context. It is this dialogical character which gives a richer understanding of the self and better definition of an identity, and therefore a realisation of a conditions which are crucial for human self-fulfilment.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Vanaik. Achin, *The Painful Transition* (London : Verso, 1990), p.118.

<sup>7</sup> Kymlicka. Will, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.135.

<sup>8</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>9</sup> Ibid, p.4.

Taylor argues that the significant feature of human life is its basic dialogical character. As he puts it, "we become 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' of art, of gesture, of above and the like. But we are inducted into these in exchange with others. We are introduced to them through exchanges 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>10</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 a thesis for this (in his Sources of Self) and it is that, '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

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp.4-5.

orientation to it'.<sup>11</sup> This relation to good inturn 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 brings 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 and the spiritual.<sup>12</sup> These two domains, the material and the spiritual, explain social institutions and practices. The material is the domain of the 'outside', of the economy and of state craft, of science and technology, and the spiritual, on the other hand, is an 'inner' domain bearing the 'essential' marks of cultural identity.<sup>13</sup> Chatterjee states that the colonial state is kept out of the 'inner' domain of national culture and if the nation is imagined then it is an imagined community in this 'domain'.<sup>14</sup> 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.

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<sup>11</sup> Taylor. Charles, *Sources of Self*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.51-52.

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

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.6.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.6.

In understanding and explaining a cultural identity we could broadly apply the two domains the material and the spiritual. 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 the spiritual domains. 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 its Teleos and ontology. The Teleos of a cultural identity lies in its actions and goals which define the core value of the cultural group. But why should the Teleos of a 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 right. 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 (atleast it should be) prior to right. I believe that in the first instance the former may decide the group character but in the final instance it is the later which will decide the group character. Good should define right because only then the recognition of different notions of values is possible. Taylor, in his criticism of Rawls's notion of priority of Right over good, says that Rawls's claim can be accepted in so far as good is merely used as principle of maximization of the good as per the utilitarians claim 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>15</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>16</sup> within them. Value-Pluralism literally means presence of plural values. <sup>17</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.

We understand that each individual defines his/her value both in relation to his/her ownself 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 values, 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

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<sup>15</sup> Taylor. Charles, *Sources of Self* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.89.

<sup>16</sup> Raz. Joseph, *Multiculturalism : A Liberal Perspective in Ethics in the Public domain*, p.163-165.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.165.



other. Likewise, the different cultural groups have different values which defines their particular cultural identities in a given time and space.

The differences 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 values and the good of the cultural identity as compared to the visible external differences in the material domain. Both are significant to define the difference and identity but what is vital to 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 realised 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 a 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. This argument will be taken up in the following sections where we will try to understand the need for recognition of the cultural difference in a liberal democracy.

### **Recognition of the difference in a Liberal democracy**

‘In order to understand the close connection between identity and recognition we have to take into account a crucial feature of human life which is its

fundamentally dialogical character'<sup>18</sup>. An individual or group identity can not be either defined or understood independently. It can be negotiated through dialogue partly overt, partly internalized.<sup>19</sup> An identity, therefore depends on its dialogical relation with self and others, and that in turn gives it the importance for its recognition<sup>20</sup>. Recognition therefore, depends on our definition of what is good and valuable and what is not. This further shape 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 fulfilment', 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 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

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<sup>18</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>19</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.6.

good is also prior to the right in the liberal theory of rights.<sup>21</sup> But the point is not only of what is good and right in relation to recognition (although good and right are 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 recognize 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 recognising and giving an opportunity of self-realisation to a cultural group or for that matter group rights, in general.

Among other things, our various claims and resistances 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 judgement.<sup>22</sup> To try to grant a priori equal recognition to all identity claim amounts to taking none seriously. Those making identity claims often present them within an implication that every one is equally endowed with identity, equally entitled to their own identity, and equally entitled to respect for it.<sup>23</sup> But this Liberal conception can at best provide a ground for tolerance, not for mutual respect or acceptance, and not for understanding the phenomenon of identity formation itself.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>22</sup> Calhoun. Craig, *Social Theory and The Politics of Identity* (USA : Blackwell, 1995), p.24.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.24-25.

The conception of the relationship between Self and Community and their rights in the Liberal doctrine as well as the 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 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 the 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.

### **The Rights of a 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. We will try to locate this debate of rights 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 a communitarian depending

upon the question involved. We will restrict ourselves here to the debate on group rights, in general and rights of a Cultural Community, in particular.

The Rights of a Cultural Community can be understood better if we have a clear notion of individual, or self, and community. The conception of individual is expounded best by Rawls in the liberal traditions of political theory. According to Rawls, people in the 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 benefits of the least advantaged, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity'.<sup>24</sup> The first principle is the principle of basic liberties and the second one is the principle of fair equality of opportunity. And when there is a conflict between the 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 an individual or self underlying the liberal theory has been under criticism from the communitarian thought. 'The communitarian claim is

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<sup>24</sup> Rawls. John, *Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1971), p.302.

that liberal political theory takes people to be distinct from their ends (or values or conceptions of the good) is 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 some one 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 conception themselves'<sup>25</sup> Michael Sandel criticising Rawlsian conception of self says that it excludes the possibility that we can know a good in common that we cannot know alone.<sup>26</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, like Sandel, criticise 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>27</sup>

Let us now 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-interpretating animals, and the languages needed for such self interpretation are essentially social phenomena, then community is a structural precondition of human and moral agency."<sup>28</sup> Taylor further explain that someone's identity is defined not just by Self but by a reference to the community as well.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Mullhall. Stephen and Swift. Adam, *Liberals and Communitarians* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), p.10.

<sup>26</sup> Sandel. Michael, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.183.

<sup>27</sup> MacIntyre A. *After Virtue* (London : Duckworth, 1988), pp. 232-233

<sup>28</sup> Taylor. Charles, *Sources of Self*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.36.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p.36.

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 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 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.'<sup>30</sup> This leads us to the conclusions that liberal principles seem to be endorsing a 'difference-blind' 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.<sup>31</sup> 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 recognising the rights of groups (and hence

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<sup>30</sup> Kymlicka. Will, *Liberalism, Community and Culture*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1989), p.140.


<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p.59.

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. An individual is a self-interpreting being. And the individual can define his good only in relation to the common good of the community or group. Within which individuals identify 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>32</sup> And the Cultural Community does not impose choices on an individual, infact, 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 considerations of common good is actually in a way a consideration of the individual good as well.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, pp.164-165.

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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 creatures and we make and inhabit meaningful worlds.'<sup>33</sup> We should treat people equal because they make and inhabit meaningful world, even if it is different from ours.<sup>34</sup> 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 understandings 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'<sup>35</sup>

Walzer distinguished two broad forms or models for accommodating ethno cultural diversity. One model rests on the non-discrimination principle 'cultural identity should neither be supported or penalized by public policy. Rather, the expression and perpetuation of cultural identities should be left to the private

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<sup>33</sup> Walzer. Michael, *Spheres of Justice*, (New York : Basic Books, 1983), p.314.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p.312.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p.314.

sphere.’<sup>36</sup> This model is an extension 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>37</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.<sup>38</sup> 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 recognising 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>39</sup>. Glazer is of the view that the non-discrimination model (or the Group-Rights model) is appropriate whenever the

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<sup>36</sup> Walzer. Michael, *Pluralism : A Political Perspective in Kymlicka*. Will (ed.) *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1995.), pp.152-153.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, p.149.

<sup>38</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>39</sup> *Ibid*, p.137.

government aims at integrating disparate groups into a single national culture, based on a common language, shared history, and political institutions. And on the 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.'<sup>40</sup> 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>41</sup> He recognises the possibility that this might lead to injustice. However, he thinks that the right to exit 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

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.137.

<sup>41</sup> Kukathas. C, Are there any Cultural Rights, in (ed.) Kymlicka Will, *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1995), p.251-252.

traditional norms and practices of the group i.e., within a minority culture sub-groups should not be discriminated against.<sup>42</sup>

To sum up it may be said that the rights of a 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, they have not been able to prove that the State indeed is culture-neutral. Infact, 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 he finds meanings to his good in his dialogical relationship with others in common. And if the state recognises such an individual good and allows him to choose and revise the ends and goals of his life, then the state inturn is not neutral to a value which is formed in common. Therefore 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 be the manner of the 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 the rights of a group to cultural recognition, respect and accommodation.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.252.

## **The Relevance of Group Right in a Federal democracy**

The post Cold War world is concerned with the questions of how best to organise the national, ethno-regional and cultural diversities so as they can live with difference. This is why the idea and practice of federal democracies has been propelled into occupying a central place. For, "Federal dispensation is the mood of the present and the wave of the future, in humanity's quest for a an egalitarian, just and equiposed pattern of collective existence. It seeks to reconcile two basic imperatives of liberty and order in a world of variety and diversity."<sup>43</sup>

All federal polities have emerged in countries marked by three characteristics : largeness of territory, socio-cultural diversities of the people and density of population.<sup>44</sup> In general, almost all of them also share a political history of a colonial-past as well as a democratic present and future.

But, what is a Federal polity? " The Federal polity is generally conceived as a comprise, conveyed by the image of checks and balances between unity and diversity, autonomy and sovereignty, the national and regional.<sup>45</sup> A liberal democracy, on the other hand, is based on the fundamental principles of liberal

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<sup>43</sup> Khan Rasheeduddin, *Federal India - A Design for Change*, (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1992), p.4.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>45</sup> Smith. Graham, Mapping the Federal Condition Ideology, Political Practice and Social Justice in Smith Graham (ed.) *Federalism : The Multiethnic Challenge* (London: Longman, 1995), p.5.

tradition which confer upon persons rights or claims in justice.<sup>46</sup> What follows when we combine both these political traditions is a Federal democracy.

A Federal democracy as a theory is faced with the problem of reconciling the individual and group rights (of a culture) within it. Federal democracies, thus, adopts different strategies to manage conflict to secure greater decentralisation and also retain the principles of unity in diversity. Consociationalism is more widely practised form of managing conflict in deeply divided societies. This model is based on four central features "Firstly, grand coalition government that include representatives of all major linguistic and religious groups; secondly, cultural autonomy for these groups; thirdly proportionality in political representation and civil service appointments; and fourthly a minority veto with regard to vital minority rights and autonomy."<sup>47</sup>

This model if looked from an integrationist perspective, claims that ethnic depoliticisation can be achieved through the actions of their incorporated elites, despite possible dissention at mass level. It also meets conditions for consociationalism where a fragmented society combined with a decentralised federal arrangement ensures the autonomy of the various segments.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Gray. John, *Cultural Diversity and Liberalism*, (Delhi : World View Publication, 1998), p.70.

<sup>47</sup> Lijphart Arend, The Puzzle of Indian Democracy : A consociational Interpretation, vol, 90, no.2, *American Political Science Review*, June 1996, p.258.

<sup>48</sup> Smith. Graham, Mapping the Federal condition in Smith Graham (ed.), *Federalism : The Multi-ethnic Challenge* (London : Longman, 1995), p.15.

However it is doubtful whether a federal democracy that has adopted a consociational model can keep its liberal democratic credentials intact. For, 'under consociational modes of incorporation the nature of people's rights, and the opportunities of exercising them tend to vary with the particular cultural community into which they are incorporated'<sup>49</sup>. The doubts also are based on the fact that, 'though this model may have advantages as a pure federation in that it allows for less protracted decision-making; but the lack of popular participation implicit in the model and the secrecy invariably surrounding consociational practices may question less its effectiveness to manage ethnic differences than its claim to be commensurate with the process of democracy.'<sup>50</sup> But the basis of federalism is also to protect the cultural diversity and give recognition to multiple cultures existing within it. Therefore a federal democracy need not necessarily be neutral to the claims of the cultural recognition and Group Rights of a culture. Infact a society with strong collective goals is also liberal. For in recognising and respecting liberty and equality of each individual, it is also (in a way) respecting difference and diversity, of groups, in general. However a federal democracy has to contend with the twin concerns of protecting and recognising both the Individual and Group Rights. As a federation it has to respect politics of difference. Politics of difference means respecting and recognising cultural differences and diversities. Taylor in his analysis says that liberal

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<sup>49</sup> Kymlick. Will, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.138.

<sup>50</sup> Smith. Graham, Mapping the federal condition in Smith Graham (ed.) *Federalism : The Multi-ethnic challenge* (London : Language, 1995), p.16.

democratic societies may have strong collective goals and these collective goals can be reconciled with the fundamental rights of individuals outside a Procedural Liberal State.<sup>51</sup> This is to say that in a Procedural Liberalism the State is shaped by a particular notion of good. However this is not true for the notion of what constitutes a good life is governed by the principle of dialogical relationship. Therefore, judgements about what makes a good life is situated in the integrity of the values that interact in a given whole. Therefore Liberalism can not and should not claim complete Cultural neutrality.<sup>52</sup>

Liberal Federal democracies, however, may not be faced with the question of cultural-neutrality because the very basis of federalism is to recognise, respect and accommodate difference. Now we have a case where no Liberal-Federal democracy can, indeed, be called culturally-neutral. In fact the state, a liberal, or a federal, or a Liberal-Federal state, should not be neutral to the plural values present in it. The significance of a State's value cannot also be said to be more than the value that are present in it. And also, uniform treatment of cultures and the values is against the spirit of federal democracies whose very essence is to recognise and respect the importance and good of all the cultures surviving within it.

We now have a case where the importance of the principle of cultural difference and the collective rights of various cultural identities is recognised by

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<sup>51</sup> Taylor. Charles, The politics of Recognition in Guttmann. A and Taylor Charles (ed.) *Multiculturalism and 'politics of Recognition : An essay by Charles Taylor* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 18-19.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.19.



federal democracies, in general. And this recognition entails that the federal democracies, in their ways of articulating the demands made on it by various groups, do not allow one particular culture to gain sense of superiority over others. Therein lies the test of the Federal democracies, firstly, they have to acknowledge differences in the cultural groups and secondly, but most importantly, they have to recognise equally the good of one group to another. And therein lies the relevance of group rights in a federal democracy.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE NATURE OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN INDIA**

Indian federal polity is marked by a number of diversities. It is evident practically in every major aspect of its collective life, be it social systems, economic formations, or religious communities, caste loyalties, language-dialect groupings; or cultural patterns or ethno-cultural identities or in regional and sub regional attachments. These multifaceted amalgam of diversities, from time immemorial have contributed to the existence and survival of the federal democracy in India. In this present study we will examine the nature of cultural diversity, in general and cultural identities, in particular, to understand the underlying linkages of Indian polity.

This chapter is broadly divided into four sections. Section one deals with understanding the forms of cultural diversity and identity. Section two will look into the various main approaches to the study of the same in India. Section three will see the changing nature of cultural identity and political identity in India in a changing context. And section four will try to understand the nature of cultural identity in the particular context of Telangana.

#### **Understanding the forms of cultural identity and diversity in India**

Cultural identity, as we have already understood, means a shared way of life and values. In India there is a presence of different and sometimes incompatible ways of life that seek in their own way to preserve their culture or 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 maintain unity in diversity.

The assertions of cultural identities in the modern state, in general and India, in particular have taken various forms and nature. 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>1</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>2</sup> The secessionist movement in Jammu and Kashmir and the Khalistan agitation can be broadly classified in under this kind of cultural assertion. The Muslims unlike the Sikhs remained a fragmented community, fragmented regionally, linguistically and culturally.<sup>3</sup> The sikhs were politically more conscious about the need, desirability and possibility of continuing

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<sup>1</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, *Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy* in Beetham. David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (London : Sage, ), p.199.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.200.

<sup>3</sup> Majumdar A.K. and Singh B. (ed.) *Regionalism in Indian Politics* (New Delhi:Radha Publication, 1997), p.271.

as a separate and autonomous religious group.<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, there are territorially dispersed but culturally distinct groups who wish to preserve their ways of life.<sup>5</sup>

They include such groups as immigrants, indigenous ethnic minorities and religious communities. They, unlike the first two groups, seek the cultural space to lead and transmit their ways of life and an opportunity to make their distinct contribution to the collective life.<sup>6</sup>

Fourthly, Parekh identifies that the demand for the recognition of cultural diversity also comes from 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<sup>7</sup>. And this group firmly committed to the individualist liberalism in its uses of freedom and opportunities<sup>8</sup> 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 different, they require rights and power as opposed to the majority group or groups,

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.271.

<sup>5</sup> Parekh Bhikhu, *Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy* in Beetham, David (ed.), *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (London: Sage Publication), p.200.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.200.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.200.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.200.

and 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.<sup>9</sup> In India such demands have been made, more often than not such as Bodoland in Assam, Uttarakhand in Uttarpradesh, Jharkhand in Bihar, Gorkhaland in Darjeeling, and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. And as the case of Telangana is the focus of our study, we will deal with it in detail, in section four of this chapter. The latter form of assertion of cultural identities in India had been further classified into three types of regionalism by Iqbal Narain. Narain says that though regionalism is not always coterminous with present-day state boundaries, 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>10</sup> which refers to that manifestation of regionalism which cuts 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 coterminous 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 Maharastra-Karnataka border dispute in particular can be

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 201.

<sup>10</sup> Narain, Iqbal, A Conceptual Analysis in the Indian Context in Akhtar. Majeed (ed.) *Regionalism Developmental Tensions in India* (New Delhi : Cosmo, 1984), p.32.

cited as example".<sup>11</sup> Thirdly, there is the 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>12</sup> This type of regionalism is most rampant, typified by a Vidharbha in Maharashtra a Saurashtra in Gujarat, an East UP in Uttar Pradesh and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh.

We have so far, broadly understood the forms of assertions of cultural diversity, vis-a-vis cultural identities, can take in a modern state, in general, and India, in Particular. The theme central to them is the principle of recognition and respect of differences. (that we had discussed earlier in Chapter one). the argument is that, differences in shared norms and ways of life means the presence of different values and each value can not 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 in 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. These cultural identities which see the threat

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.32.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.33.

may be in minority. Let us identify three different factors at work. Firstly, the oppression or discrimination at the hands of the majority population.<sup>13</sup> This often express itself in a superiority and hostility towards the minorities within the state. Secondly, that brings cultural identities to rebel is the existence of strongly centralizing and assimilationist policies on the part of the state.<sup>14</sup> And thirdly are the forces of the world economy itself.<sup>15</sup> 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 inturn 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 a 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 constitutions says "India shall be a union of States". The unity of India is predicated on its capacity to coalesce its many diversities in a pattern of autonomy and harmony for the peace and progress of this continental polity. More over 'in

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<sup>13</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>14</sup> Ibid, p.218.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.218.

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 in mutual confrontation they might themselves destroy each other, while in reciprocal co-operation they can thrive jointly and severally'.<sup>16</sup>

Indian Federal democracy also faces two dichotomies, the social-horizontal dichotomy and the economic-vertical dichotomy<sup>17</sup>. The social dichotomy constitutes multi-regional identities, religious and linguistic or language communities and cultural identities. 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 to all its 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'<sup>18</sup> the assertion of cultural identities for recognition becomes almost in suitable in a deeply divided society like India. 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.<sup>19</sup> So how

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<sup>16</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin Khan, *Federal India : A Design for Change*, (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1992), p.18.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.18-19.

<sup>18</sup> Khan Rasheeduddin, *Bewildered India*, (New Delhi : Harnanda, 1994), pp.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp.



does a liberal-Federal democracy like India, in particular, respond to these voices. We 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>20</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 persons. Since human beings are culturally embedded, respect for them entails respect for their ways of life.<sup>21</sup> Moreover they equate equality with uniformity, and fail to appreciate that individuals sometimes 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>22</sup> On the basis of this argument the liberals can consistently protect the liberal way of life and conduct an assimilationist campaign 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

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<sup>20</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy in Beetham David (ed.) Defining and measuring Democracy. (London : Sage Publications, 1994), p.202.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. P.202.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.203.

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>23</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 immigrants 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 exhibiting diverse flowers each with its own individuality, yet tied together as a single whole.<sup>24</sup> Indeed a Federal Nation is a 'bouquet'. It is not a 'melting pot'. And its significant to note that this distinction is basic.<sup>25</sup> Therefore Indian Liberal- Federal democracy rejects the assimilationist approach at the level of cultural diversity. (We will examine how far this is true in chapter seven).

Secondly, we have the 'cultural laissez faire' method of responding to the demands of cultural identities. This entails extending the Liberals principles of choice and competition to the realm of culture, however, the state should observe strict

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.203.

<sup>24</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin, *Federal India : A Design for Change* (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1992), p.30.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.30.

neutrality and not throw its weight behind the liberal way of life.<sup>26</sup> It should be purely formal, and procedural institution requiring nothing more of its members than 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 rival and perhaps incommensurable forms of human flourishing, but not to attempt to institutionalise traditions on ways of life in state subsidised.<sup>27</sup> The implication of this perspective is that the modern government must be limited government.<sup>28</sup> The role of the government is first and last that of preserving liberty in civil association under the rule of law.

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 who 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.

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<sup>26</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, Cultural diversity and Liberal democracy in (ed.) *Beetham. David, Defining and measuring Democracy* (London : Sage Publication, 1994), p.205.

<sup>27</sup> Gray. John, The Politics of Cultural Diversity, *The Salisbury Review*, September, 1988, p.42.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p.42.

This is so because firstly, one cannot to presuppose that the society is an individualist moral cultural.<sup>29</sup> Secondly, the state cannot remain neutral to an individualist moral culture. For a government has a vital role in 'preserving' or repairing, the framework of practices on which the individual depends.<sup>30</sup> Therefore the government or state has a considerable educational and cultural role. And finally, 'The idea of a morally, neutral state is logically incoherent and impossible'<sup>31</sup> For instance, the state has a specific structure of authority or constitution and it makes laws and policies, and either of them cannot be morally neutral. Then 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 remain 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 fair 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. Cultural 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

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<sup>29</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, Cultural diversity and Liberal democracy in Bertham David (ed.) *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (London : Sage, Publication, 1994), p.206.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.206.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp.206-207.

natural and social experiences and giving meaning to their lives.<sup>32</sup> 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>33</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, recognise the 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>34</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>35</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.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p.207.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor. Charles, *The Politics of Recognition*, in Guttmann A. and Taylor C. (ed.) *Multiculturalism and the politics of Recognition- An essay by Charles Taylor* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1992), p.30

<sup>34</sup> Tyler. Colin, *The Implications of Parekh's Cultural Pluralism*, *Politics* (1996), 16(3), pp. 151-152.

<sup>35</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, *Cultural diversity and Liberal democracy* in Beetham David (ed.) *Defining and measuring Democracy* (London, Sage Publication, 1994), p.208.

## **Cultural Recognition and the National Question**

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 this 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, was the 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.

In the Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the formation of centralized states, accelerated by the exigencies of self-defence (against the invasions of the Turks, Mongols and others), took place prior to the break up 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 multi-national bourgeois states... such as Austria, Hungary and Russia'.<sup>36</sup> A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested is a community of culture.<sup>37</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 that came into being with independence is a multi-national sovereign state'<sup>38</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

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<sup>36</sup> Stalin. J.V. Marxism and the National and Colonial Question (Moscow : Progress Publishers, 1971), p.8.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.7.

<sup>38</sup> Alam. Javeed, class, Political and National Dimensions of the state Autonomy movements in Majeed. Akhtar (ed.) Regionalism Developmental Tensions in India (New Delhi : Cosmo Publications, 1984), p.59.

with the urge to unite with other nationalities and the rest of India in a broad national movement for Indian Independence.<sup>39</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 centralized national states, 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 development, the problem of nationalities and national minorities did arise in the course of historical development.<sup>40</sup> The problem emerged only when the dominant classes among the awakened nationalities utilized the aroused mass consciousness to consolidate their own position with regard to the dominant class 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 the nationalities, problem will remain alive. A retarded and crisis-ridden capitalism is always

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<sup>39</sup> Desai. A.R. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay : Popular Prakashan, 19766), p.389.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.382.



politically a divisive force, especially so in multi-national and socially diverse context,<sup>41</sup> also agrees Alam.

But India is not a multi-national 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 movements 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 a 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>42</sup> This principle was subordinated to the more important principle of defending and promoting the interests of proletarian unity and

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<sup>41</sup> Alam Javeed, class, Political and National Dimensions of the State Autonomy movements in India in Majeed. Akhtar (ed.) Regionalism Developmental tensions in India (New Delhi : Cosmo Publications, 1984), p.62.

<sup>42</sup> Vanaik, Achin, *The Painful Transition*, (London : Verso, 1990), p.133.

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 can be conceived of as a cultural entity or as political fact. The state, ofcourse, 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. One can exist without or before the other. But when the nation becomes a political fact it expresses itself in just such a symbiosis-the nation-state'.<sup>43</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>44</sup> Nationalism as a cultural process precedes and induces the formation of a nation as a Political. 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. Infact, Gellener, in his analysis based the models of modern society on a combination of two crucial factors, power and access

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, pp. 115-116.

<sup>44</sup> Gellener. E., *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1983), p.55.

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>45</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>46</sup> Benedict Anderson 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.<sup>47</sup> Vanaik says that Benedict Anderson has provided an impressive case for choosing common consciousness or identity as one's starting point. Which is applicable to India's context. "In the Indian case nationalist consciousness was initially an intellectual import, thought 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.'<sup>48</sup> This is in conjunction to Kohn's

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, pp. 90-91.

<sup>46</sup> Anderson. Benedict *Imagined communities : Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism* (London : Verso, 1983), pp. 14-15.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Vanaik. Achin, *The Painful Transition*, (London : Verso, 1990), pp. 116-117.

idea of nationality. 'Nationality is formed by the decision to form a nationality.'<sup>49</sup> Usually factors such as territory, language, tradition, religion and state play a part in the genesis and consolidation of such a consciousness. However, they need not work in an immutable combination and infact, individually none of these factors is indispensable.<sup>50</sup> 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>51</sup>

The above analysis shows that is 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>52</sup> This nation-in-the-making seeks a stronger cultural-emotional foundation for a Pan-Indian Identity which obviously can not be based simply on regional or linguistic characteristics, but is no less real for that.<sup>53</sup> Therefore the sub-national identities or movements should not be perceived as nations-in-embryo or immature nationalities existing in some early stage of national identity formation. In Indian case

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<sup>49</sup> Kohn. Hans, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York : MacMillan, 1944), p.15.

<sup>50</sup> Vanaik, Achin, *The Painful Transition*, (London : Versom 1990), p.117.

<sup>51</sup> Kohn. Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York : MacMillan, 1944), p.19.

<sup>52</sup> Vanaik. Achin, *The Painful Transition* (London : Verso, 1990), p.117.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p.117.

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.<sup>54</sup>

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."<sup>55</sup> According to him, 'India is a multi-regional federation. In India the most inclusive segment is 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 make up and behaviour pattern of its people.<sup>56</sup> This kind of description of a 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 characterized 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

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<sup>54</sup> Vanaik. Achin, *The Painful Transition* (London : Verson 1990), p.119.

<sup>55</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin, *Federal India : A Design for Change* (New Delhi : Vikas, 1992), p.30.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p.30

compete with one another, not only for the dominance of the entire system but only for the dominance in their respective regions.<sup>57</sup> Despite of this characterization he further argues that India is a multi-national 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 promote unity in India as a country.<sup>58</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.<sup>59</sup> It is also interesting to note that demands for regional identities or regionalism in India seems 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.<sup>60</sup> 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 of management

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<sup>57</sup> Brass. Paul, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (London : Cambridge University Press), p.14.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid pp.14-15.

<sup>59</sup> Narain. Iqbal, A conceptual analysis in the Indian context, in Majeed Akhtar (ed.) *Regionalism, Developmental Tensions* (New Delhi : Cosmo Publication, 1984), p.33.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p.33.

of regionalism in India, to the resolution of which the political elite little administrators and educationist have to join hands and work.<sup>61</sup>

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 cast segments of Indian society is carried through the "traditional" language, which can be described as "the language of a host of tiny world",<sup>62</sup> according to Morris Jones.

Another powerful (liberal) exposition of the Indian politics is given by Rajini Kothari. According to Kothari the present trend of demands for fragmentation within the state are a result of the decline of the overarching centralising tendencies of the state. He says that two seemingly 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. And the mainreason for the decline in authority and cohesion according to Kothari hand been the erosion of intermediate institutions between 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>63</sup> He further states that undermining the old structure and failure to provide a new

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p.33.

<sup>62</sup> Morris Jones W.H., *The Government and Politics in India* (New York : Houghton Mifflin company), pp. 40-50.

<sup>63</sup> Kothari. Rajini, "A Fragmented Nation", Seminar, Annual No: 281, January, 1983, pp. 24-29.

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.<sup>64</sup>

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',<sup>65</sup> and its plural-federal character is evident in every major aspect of its collective life, be it social system, economic formation 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, infact, 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 efforts to rectify regional economic imbalances, to deepen political democracy and make its application more consistent. Marxist 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 language and cultures in the multicultural society of India

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>65</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin, *Federal India - Design for Change* (New : Vikas, 1992), p.8.



## **Cultural Identity and Political Identity in India**

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 groups of members who share history, geography and norms of a political community to which they belong. Cultural Identity means a group of individuals of a cultural community having common shared history and norms. And cultural identities in a given political identity may or may not differ but the political identity within a culture or among different cultures can remain same.

In India we have more or less a clearly evolved political identity for the state, in general and to its citizens, in particular. 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 state is neutral. However there is a contradiction existing within this understanding. The contradiction is that the nature of political identity 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 frame work.

The institution of State should be seen as an instrument for the defence of 'life, liberty and estate' of its citizens in a liberal democracy.<sup>66</sup> This state of liberty given to man is not however, a state of licence. He or she enjoys natural rights and an obligation to respect the rights of others.<sup>67</sup> And the only freedom that deserves a place in Liberal democracies is that, of pursuing 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>68</sup> However, 'infringement on the liberty of citizens could be expected as the state expands to cope with the pressures of the modern age.'<sup>69</sup> 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 the 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 one hand, 'the demands of national,-unity require that one national identity evolve through the nation-building

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<sup>66</sup> Locke. John, *Two Treaties of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 309-311.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p.395.

<sup>68</sup> Mill. J.S., *On Liberty* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p.72.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, see Chapters 4&5.

process.<sup>70</sup> 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 political identity shaped by the colonial rule. Indians fighting the British rule were not a homogenous whole. They were constitutive of many cultural diversities. 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 state grew stronger and more centralised, the equations of the cultural identities changed. The demands for recognition of the various areas and people, discriminated and neglected 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 the cultural and group assertions at

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<sup>70</sup> Benerjee. Ashis. *The Ideology and Politics of India's National Identity*, in Hassan. Zoya, Jha. S.N., Khan Rasheeduddin (ed.), *The State, Political Processes and Identity Reflections on Modern India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1984), p.283.

government at the centre and the state levels the cultural and group assertions at various levels grew stronger. Clifford Greetze analysed that the process of modernization and westernization accelerate the reversion to primordial ties rather than attenuating them. The primordial sentiments become politically significant where colonial rule was replaced by an independent, domestically anchored purposeful unitary state.<sup>71</sup> The problem becomes alarming because with the impact of modernization an individual does not remain isolated from the over all polity and simultaneously he is reluctant to set aside the parochial attachments in favour of a commitment to broader civil state.<sup>72</sup> The integrative process has to be one, says Greetz, that will reconcile primordial alliances and oppositions with the unfolding civil order.

This problem is also identified as the 'Crisis of Integration within the transitional politics where the pressure on the system is much more than the capacity of the system to bear, says Myron Weiner.<sup>73</sup> The process of political development 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, tribal or claim for recognition within the cultural space. This was so mainly because the political

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<sup>71</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>72</sup> *Ibid*, p.109.

<sup>73</sup> Weiner. Myron, *Political Integration and Political Development*, *The Annals of American Academy of political and Social sciences*, 356, March 1965, p.55.

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, especial in Indian case, or for that matter any culturally diverse Federal polity.

Kothari maintains that these demands are a result of the sharp and systematic increase of the over centralising tendencies of the State,<sup>74</sup> 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, infact, it did recognise diversity. But the underlying principle of unity in Diversity was to be the basis of our Federal democracy. Soon the emphasis on unity increased to such an extent that it was suffocating the cultural area within which the political identity has its roots. Thus, started the demands for separate states within the Indian State for recognition and respect of their culture and ways of life. The state went ahead to reorganise on the linguistic basis inorder to appease the 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 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

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<sup>74</sup> Kothari. Rajini, *State Against Democracy* (New Delhi:Ajanta), p.

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 conflict; 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 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 infact, two separate entities shaped by each other. The need is to recognise both identities,

understand their influences upon each other, and to address the needs each makes on the other in a much more receptive federal democracy.

### **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. 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 Telanagana 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 relationships are culturally determined. The group may flourish if 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 a recognition of their difference and rejected the

assimilationist policy of the state in the cultural space. These demands were voiced by groups who were members of a cultural 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. 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 disputes are named as intra-state disputes<sup>75</sup>. 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 agitation being a sub-regional movement has similarities in various other demands for separate states made by Vidharbha in Maharashtra, Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand in Bihar, and in Assam. They are all parts of the states carved out mostly 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.

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<sup>75</sup> Narain. Iqbal.



And they are also the parts 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 sets of Cultural conditions. Telangana was ruled by the Muslim rulers and the Andhra by the British colonial rules.

Secondly, despite of the Muslim influence certain similarities of the past remained with the Andhras 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 of 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. Thus 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 Telangana had started the agitation for a separate state yet again in 90's.

The nature of the Telangana identity can therefore be drawn out firstly, from its socio-cultural historical background and secondly from the three main demands for a separate State.

## *Part – II*

### Historical Genesis and Development of Telangna Identity

## CHAPTER 3

### HISTORICAL ROOTS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM (1948-56)

History and norms shared in a context gives a group of individuals the meaning of their individual identity, in general and cultural identity, in particular. In Chapter three we will examine the historical formation and development of the Telangana identity. The chapter can be broadly divided into four sections. Section one makes an attempt to understand the historical formation of the Telangana identity. Section two discusses the factors that shaped the Telangana identity as a separate identity from Andhra identity. Section three makes an attempt to understand the demand for a Separate Telangana and as to why this demand was made. And section four examines how the state addressed this demand.

#### **The Historical Formation of the Telangana Identity**

Telangana Identity has been formed mainly with the formation of Telangana Region.<sup>1</sup> Which was a part of the Hyderabad state under Nizam's Rule. In order to

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<sup>1</sup> Telangana region historically includes nine districts namely Adilabad, Hyderabad, Mahaboobnagar, Karimnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Warangal and Khammam. Later in 1978, Hyderabad was divided into two districts of Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy. Therefore Telangana is presently comprising of 10 districts.

Whereas the Andhra region comprises of both the coastal Andhra and Rayalseema regions. There are nine districts in the coastal Andhra. They are Vizayanagaram, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore. And the four districts in Rayalseema are Kurnool, Anaparthi, Cuddapah and Chittoor.

understand the identity formation of Telangana let us first understand the history of the formation of Telangana region wherein lies the historical roots of the Telangana identity. The Andhra history reveals that both Andhra and Telangana region shared a common historical context since the Mauryans and till the Kakatiya empire. Both the regions started to develop separately with the fall of the Kakatiya empire, in general. However, in particular, it was with the formation of the state of Hyderabad that both the regions continued to define and develop separately as two different socio-economic, cultural and political entities. The development of both their cultural identities lay in these historical roots.

Telangana Region was a part of Hyderabad state since the beginning of the 18th Century. Hyderabad State was under the direct control of Nizam and the seventh Nizam was in turn under the indirect control of British rule. Therefore along with the Nizam's influence the people of Hyderabad had also experienced some considerable influence of the British colonial rule. "Colonialism is a psychological state rooted in earlier forms of social consciousness in both the colonizers and the colonized. It also represents a certain cultural continuity and carries a certain cultural baggage".<sup>2</sup> From this we may assume that some continuities from the past will be evident in the cultural definition of the people of a region or a State. Similarly, in the case of Telangana the influence of the Nizam and Feudal order proved to be more significant than the colonial influence. It was so because the people of Telangana

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<sup>2</sup> Nandy. Ashis, *The Intimate Enemy* (Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1983), p.2.8

were not under the direct control of the colonial rule like the Andhra region was under Madras presidency.

The origin of Andhras<sup>3</sup> is generally traced to the 'Aitereya Brahmana' of 1000B.C.<sup>4</sup> The historic period in Andhra Desa begins with the Mauryas.<sup>5</sup> Andhra formed part of the Mauryan Empire and one of the Asoka's rock edicts in Anantapur district is a testimony to this fact. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in the court of Chandra Gupta Maurya made a number of references about the Andhras in his book 'Indica'. After the decline of the Mauryas, Andhras declared their independence under Satavahanas (approximately 221 B.C. to 218 A.D.)

The original home of Andhras is matter of controversy. Some historians believe that the original home of the Andhras is mainly the coastal region between the Krishna and Godavari river. This view is contested strongly as unacceptable as the Andhra Satavahana rule was first established over the Marathwada region of Maharashtra.<sup>6</sup> They extended eastward through the valleys of Godavari and Krishna and also shifted their capital to the present Andhra region only after their power decayed in the west.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> 'Andhras' in this present context, should be read as the people of Andhra region and Telangana region. Andhra and Telangana regions got their separate names after the fall of Kakatiyas. Therefore till the fall of Kakatiya empire Andhras should be read as both Andhra and Telangana people.

<sup>4</sup> Rao.P.R., *History of Modern Andhra* (New Delhi : Sterling, 1993), p.2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.2.

The above historical context leads us to the fact that the Andhra and Telangana Regions were ruled as a Combined region for a long period under the rule of Mauryans and the Satavahanas (221 B.C. to 218AD) and later also under the rule of the Kakatiyas of Warangal. (1000 AD to 1320 AD). The historical development of Andhra and Telangana as separate regions under separate rulers and dynasties started with the fall the Kakatiyas of Warangal. This is a significant fact as this marks a change in their nature and development as two different cultural communities in their changing contexts. And this separation continued till 1956 when Andhra and Telangana regions were merged together to form a single region, namely, the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Let us now examine the cultural contexts of both regions broadly from Mauryans till the time of Independence of India. Both the regions were (to a large extent) combined under the Mauryans, especially under the great Ashoka. Mauryan kings were benevolent and practised participatory forms of welfare rule. Although the caste differences and religious differences were part of the context, yet there was communal harmony in the state. Mauryans were also great patrons of Jainism and Buddhism.

The Satvahana rule extending over five centuries from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D., constitutes one of the glorious epochs of ancient Indian history. The history of India before the advent of the Satvahanas was mainly the history of North India. The Satvahanas who controlled the land between the Narmada in the north and Tungabhadra in the South and the Bay of Bengal in the

East and the Arabian Sea in the west gave Deccan a political individuality and blessed the area with peace and prosperity. The Satvahana period for its overall contribution is also known as the golden era of the Andhra history. After Mauryans, Satvahanas took the political control in that region. The Satavahana rulers had strong faith in vedic rituals and Varnashramadharma. They were mainly Hindu kings but they also patronised Buddhism. Under their rule the region developed and progressed very much in various fields of literature, art and architecture.

After the fall of the Satvahana dynasty in the 3rd century A.D., Andhra was ruled nearly for 700 years by many minor dynasties like Ikshwakus, Eastern Chalukyas and so on. It was, however, with the establishment of Kakatiya power at warangal in the 11th century A.D., that Andhra got one of its major dynasties to shape its historical and cultural development. Kakatiyas were able to bring the whole Telugu-speaking area under one paramount power.<sup>8</sup> It was under them that Telugu literature, in particular, began to develop. With the advent of Kakatiyas, Jainism almost completely disappeared from Andhra and Saivism became the dominant religion.<sup>9</sup> The Kakatiya period also witnessed great developments in agriculture and irrigational works but they were, mainly, done around the Rayalseema region. The contribution of the Kaktiyas to the culture of Andhra was immense. During their rule which extended over three centuries, they shaped the Andhra history and culture by defending the Deccan from the repeated conquests of Islam. The Kakatiya period also

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.11.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p.12.



produced some of the greatest artists as well as some great works of architecture in Andhra. The four majestic gateways in the fort of Warangal testify the genius of the Andhra artists of Warangal. Warangal, the Kakatiya capital, was known as the Andhra Mahanagara. No other city in Andhra had such a distinction. To sum up the contribution of Kakatiya dynasty to the development of Andhra culture it can be said that Kakatiyas gave Andhra Desa and the Telugu language an individuality of their own.

The Kakatiya empire fell in 1320 A.D. to the rulers of Delhi Sultanate. The fall of Kakatiyas of Warangal also meant that henceforth the Andhra region and Telangana region would develop in two different changing contexts. So while the Andhra region came under the Vijayanagar empire (1336 A.D. - 1678 A.D.), the Telangana region went into the hands of the Muslim rulers of the Delhi Sultanate and thus, came under the direct influence of the Islamic culture.

The Vijayanagar empire was ruled by Telugu-speaking Andhra kings. Sri Krishnadevaraya was the most famous and successful king of this empire. Telugu literature reached its zenith under his rule. The people of the Vijayanagar empire, in general, were not only prosperous but were also peace loving. The socio-economic conflicts in this region under the rule of Vijayanagar empire were minimum. Telangana region after Kakatiyas passed into the hands of the Muslim rulers and in 1320 A.D. Delhi Sultanate took over this region. "The Muslim rule proved to be

very cruel and oppressive"<sup>10</sup> mainly due to the Hindu-Muslim conflicts. Telangana, after Sultanate rulers was ruled by Bahamani rulers and then by the Mughals.

Historically Telangana had been a part of Deccan region where participation to people in the affairs of the state had been denied.<sup>11</sup> However, there were exceptions under some Tribal Kingdoms and the Kakatiyas empire, where the people were given (to the extent possible then) the right to participate in the affairs of the state. The state under these Kingdoms also functioned as a welfare state. The attack on the participatory system came during Bahmani rule which was basically a military and imperial system.<sup>12</sup> This proved to be crucial because the socio economic cultural and political equations of their Life chances<sup>13</sup> changed.

Further people also had to contend with problems of communalism and casteism mainly due to the strong Hindu -Muslim divide and an oppressive feudal order. These problems remained unresolved due to the fact that socio-religious movements could not make a dent into the Telangana region. This was due to the nature of feudalism in the region, in particular. And to a large extent, the socio-

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p.11.

<sup>11</sup> Jadhav. Keshav Rao, Towards a history of the Telangana Movement in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwara Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana Dimension of underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.5.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>13</sup> Max Weber defined Life Chances as, "The chances an individual has of sharing in the economic and cultural goods of a society".

religious reform movements could not penetrate into most of the rural region as these movements were largely urban in their nature in practice, if not in theory.<sup>14</sup>

Bahmani rule (1347A.D.-1526A.D.) did not aim at the welfare of the people but at a luxurious style of life for the foreign ruling class. Locals, both Muslims and Hindus, revolted against this. The valiant Yadava Queen of Golconda fought against the Bahamanis and died a martyr and this Golconda battle can be described as the first stirring for self-rule in the Deccan.<sup>15</sup>

Eventually Bahamani Kingdom broke into Berar, Ahmad nagar, Bijapur, Bidar and Golconda. Consequently, in 1512 A.D., the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda was founded. This marked a significant change as the use of Telugu language was introduced as a vehicle both in cultural and administrative matters and that brought about a sense of participation in the local population as well as in Berar. In 1526 Mughals, under Akbar, conquered Ahmadnagar and Berar, and eventually by 1636 Shahjahan was able to establish the suzerainty of Mughals, over Bijapur and Golconda. The complete conquest of Deccan was made by Mughals, under Aurangzeb by 1682, when the Shia Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda were sieged. The entrance of Aurangzeb in the region reversed the process of the Participatory system

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<sup>14</sup> Jadhav. Keshav Rao, Towards a history of the Telangana Movement in simhadri. S. and Vishweshwara Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana-Dimension of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.5.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.6.

of welfare and communal harmony in the region as the system relapsed into imperialism and the militant mentality, while the people fell into sullen silence.<sup>16</sup>

We have so far examined Telangana under Bahamanis and Mughals, now we will move to the period after the Mughals.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the Deccan area disintegrated into independent states. Meanwhile with the fall of the Vijayanagar empire, the Andhra region passed into the hands of the European traders, especially, the British East India company in the beginning of the 18th century. On the other hand, one of the independent states of Deccan was the Hyderabad state formed in 1724 under the subedar Mir Quamaruddin Khan Chin Qilich Khan who was popularly known by his title 'Nizam-ul-Mulk'.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the State of Hyderabad under the rule of the Nizam was found. And Telangana formed a part of this region.

From this period till the time of Indian Independence in 1947 both the Telangana and Andhra regions were under the rule of Nizam and British respectively. Telangana was a part of the Hyderabad State under Nizam's rule, while Andhra was a part of Madras presidency under the British. Hyderabad state declared itself as an independent sovereign refusing to join either of the two dominions of India or Pakistan. It wanted to be recognised as a third dominion by the British. While Andhra, being part of the Madras presidency, automatically became a part of the union of India on the date of accession, 15 August, 1947. Andhra region formed a

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p.6.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.31.

part of the Madras state in the Independent India. Hyderabad state was, however, envisaged to be a part of either dominions of India or Pakistan by the India independence Bill in the British parliament. Nizam felt betrayed by this, however, the Hindus which formed the majority of Hyderabad State welcomed the merger of Hyderabad State with India. Hyderabad state Congress leaders Burgula Ramakrishna Rao and Swami Ramananda Tirtha started the "Join India" movement. And 7 August, 1947 was observed as the "Join India" Day.<sup>18</sup>

The Join India movement within a short period became a mass movement against the autocracy of the Nizam. To face this challenge the Nizam encouraged the Razakars to terrorise the Hindus, and also to change the Communal Complexion of the State by forcibly converting Hindus to Islam. Nizam's move to bring north-Indian Muslims (especially from Lucknow) to run the administration of his state was challenged by the local-Muslims. The movement led by them was successful and Nizam acceded to their demands by Creating Mulki rules to protect local interests. The history of Mulki Rules dates back to 1328 Fasli when Nizam the VII, for the first time, Promulgated Hyderabad civil service Regulations to ensure fair and adequate opportunities for the local people in Government Service 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'.<sup>19</sup> There was discrimination

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp.144-145.

<sup>19</sup> Ram Reddy G. and Sharma B.A.V., *Regionalism in India- A Study of Telangna* (New Delhi : Concept, 79), p. .

against local candidates in the recruitment to higher services from 1328 to 1354 Fasli and as a consequence of the persistent representations and pressure from different quarters the Nizams had promulgated 'the Mulki Rule's on 9th Khurdad 1354 Fasli as an Appendix 'N' to the Hyderabad Civil Services Regulations of 1919. (See Appendix 'i')

Language became another major source of trauma and pain for the people of Hyderabad. Locals, both Muslims and Hindus, were ridiculed for not knowing proper urdu i.e. urdu of Lucknow and Delhi, and not the Dakhani language. The Dakhani language was a beautiful product of interaction between the Iranians and the Deccan people speaking Telugu, Marathi and Kannada were totally ignored.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile Kasim Razvi, the then president of Ittihadul Muslimeen, opposed the Join India movement. After much deliberations Nizam finally agreed to sign a stand still agreement with the Indian government on 20 November, 1947. The terms of Agreement included that Defence and External Affairs came under the control of the Indian government. Nizam entered this agreement to gain some time 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's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan. Indian Government, quickly realising and understanding the gravity of this situation, launched police action on Hyderabad State on 13 September, 1948. And on 23 September, 1948 Hyderabad State had to accede

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<sup>20</sup> Jadhav. Keshav Rao, Towards a hisotry of the Telangana Movement in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L.(ed.), *Telangana Dimension of underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telanga Studies, 1997).

to become an integral part of the union of India. Finally the police action of 1948 put an end to the feudal and autocratic rule of the Nizam (as well as Razakar's atrocities) and a popular government was established after the first general election 1952, with Burugula Ramakrishna Rao as Chief Minister. The period following 1952 till 1956 can be described as the happiest period for the people of Telangana for a long time.<sup>21</sup> This period was marked with peace and contentment because the people of Telangana were recognised as a separate entity with the formation of Hyderabad state which replaced the autocratic rule of the Nizam with the democratic rule under the Indian democracy. In this part we have examined the historical genesis of the Telangana identity and its historical development as a separate identity from the Andhra identity. In the following part we will look into the factors that helped the shaping of Telangana identity.

### **The Factors that Shaped Telangana Identity**

Understanding the factors that shaped Telangana identity is crucial to explain their demands for recognition as a separate entity. History and norms played an important part in shaping the Telangana Identity as a separate entity from the Andhra Identity. To begin with Telangana and Andhra formed one combined unit of Andhras. After the Kakatiyas the region was broadly divided into two parts, one was Andhra and the other became Telangana. Telangana asserted its fullness in 1724 with the formation of Hyderabad State under the Nizam's rule. Prior to the formation of state

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.7.

of Hyderabad, Telangana was under the rule of varied rulers and dynasties. The political reasons for the frequent changes in rule were due to the conflicts between various Kingdoms to establish their supremacy and domination over others. The most significant of these political reasons was, however, the quest among various ruler to establish either a strong Islamic state or the Hindu State. Neither was able to do so over the entire India but they were only able to exercise their domination for some time over parts of India. Telangana Region was under considerable influence of the Muslim rule as opposed to the Andhra Region which was dominated mainly by Hindu rule till the end of the 17th century. In the beginning of the 18th century the region was taken over by the British East India company.

The political reasons were however, not without socio-cultural influences upon the society and its people. It will enable us to grasp the cultural transformation that took place. As contexts changed so did slowly, but definitely, their meanings of how they perceive themselves. The meanings that they attributed to their changing contexts and influences defined and continue to define their notion of their Identity.

Religion played a most important role in shaping not only the political context but also the socio-cultural and economic context of Telangana and Telangana Identity. The coming of Islam to the region brought about many changes in their ways of life - social norms and conventions. The area was, however, not entirely free from the Hindu influence. Therefore, it can be said, that the Telangana people, since Kakatiya rule, had lived in conditions where there were both positive and negative interactions



of religion. The positive side of these interactions between Muslims and Hindus made them more accommodative of the cultural differences and interactions.

On the other hand, the negative side, made them more suspicious of their counterparts and this developed a sense of deep rooted insecurity and threat from the muslims. This insecurity led overtime to the development of sharp conflicts between both.

Language was another significant factor. In Andhra the Sanskritised-Telugu developed where as in the Telangana region urduised-Telugu was predominant.<sup>22</sup> Telugu-dialect of Telangana was also enriched by incorporating lot of Persian, Marathi and Kannada along with urdu words and accent.<sup>23</sup>

There is another school of thought which says that Telugu was not the language of the Andhra region. Andhra region had its own language and it was etymologically rooted in Sanskrit. This Andhra language evolved among the coastal Andhra sanskritic Brahmin elite. Therefore linguistic construction of Andhra language never included the present Telangana Telugu-speaking people in itself.<sup>24</sup> Telugu evolved from pali and tribal languages (Gondvana and Koya basa etc.) among the productive masses who were spread over Andhra, Telangana and Rayalseema.

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<sup>22</sup> Thirumali. I, Language, Communist and Vishalandhra in Simhadri, S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana-Dimension of Under development* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.18.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.18.

<sup>24</sup> Ilaiah. Kancha, Vishalndhra : A Brahminical (Communist) conspiracy in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana-Dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.24.

Telugu soon acquired a script of its own. Andhra language as it survives in texts today, borrowed the script from Telugu, where as its cultural content is Sanskrit. The word Telangana has two words. 'Telugu + Gana'<sup>25</sup> The term Telugu means language and Gana refers to Statehood<sup>26</sup>. The Telugu of Telanganites was unrelated to Sanskrit language and culture. After the region came under Muslim rule, Telugu got intermixed with Urdu. And since Muslims were both rulers and masses the influence of 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.

The socio-economic conditions of Telangana started shaping differently from Andhra especially after the Kakatiya rule. The Andhra region under the British colonial rule witnessed noticeable agrarian transformation, especially after the construction of Godavari-Krishna anicuts. Thus it became agriculturally dynamic

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

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p.24.

terms of a better irrigation system and expanding commercial farming. Telangana region, on the other hand, was endowed with abundant natural resources but it did not provide opportunities for the local peasantry to undertake intensive agriculture mainly due to the autocratic rule of Nizam and his feudal lords.<sup>27</sup> This in turn mainly led to the development of a capitalist economy in Andhra and the development of agrarian economy in Telangana. In social life the dominance of dominant caste played a crucial role in defining their class and caste relations in both regions. The dominant caste in Telangana was velamas and to some extent Reddys. The dominant castes in Andhra were Kammas, Reddys but initially there was Brahmin domination in the area.

The British rule exercised considerable influence on Andhra region in terms of the mobility that was available in various sections of people particularly with regard to education. The same mobility, however, was not strong in Telangana under as Nizam's rule. Infact it had a negative influence of checking any social mobility which might threaten the muslim rule in the region. This however, should not be interpreted as Nizam's rule being negative and British rule being positive. The fact is that both had their share of positive and negative influences. The analysis of both rulers, in a particular field, may have been more positive than the other depending upon the time and context in which they were interacting.

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<sup>27</sup> Satyanarayana A., A note on Land, Caste and the 'Settlen' in Telangana in Simhadri S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana-Dimension of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.31.

Lastly, but not in the least, the lack of participatory modes of involvement of people in state activities forms another major factor which shaped the Telangana identity.<sup>28</sup> Nizams rule in Telangana had to constantly face the problems of conflict between locals and non-locals. In the later years this became evident in the Mulki-Rules agitation that fought for the rights of locals in the employment sector.

The understanding of various factors that shaped the formation of Telangana identity lead us to one main point that is the deep-seated insecurity of 'the other' in the minds of Telangana people. More so because the other exercised full domination over them (and sometimes even coercion and force). The other factor can be explained both at an individual level as well as at an collective level. "No individual has a mind which operates simply in itself in isolation from the social life-process in which it has arisen out of which it has emerged, and in which the pattern of organized social behaviour has consequently been basically impressed upon it".<sup>29</sup> Similarly at a group level, group would operate in its interaction with the social life-process in which it exists and lives, in order to define and redefine itself. "The fully mature individual, according to Mead, does not merely take into account the attitudes of other individuals, of 'significant others', towards himself and towards one another, he must also take their attitudes towards the various phases or aspects of the

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<sup>28</sup> Jadhav. Keshav Rao, Towards a History of the Telangana Movement in Simhadri S. and Vishweshwer Rao P.L. (ed.) *Telangana-dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.4.

<sup>29</sup> Mead G. H., *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago : Chicago University Press, 1934), p.222.

common social, activity... in which, as members of an organized society or social group, they are all engaged".<sup>30</sup> The essence of the self according to Mead, is its reflexivity. The individual self is individual only because of its relation to other. With the individual's ability to take in his imagination the attitudes of others, his self becomes an object imagination of his own reflection. The self as both subject and object is the essence of being social. Hence individuality is rooted in sociality person makes an individual contribution to the social process.

A group, at larger level, acts like self at once both subject and object which forms the essence of being social. Similarly a group also takes into account attitudes of "the significant others", towards itself and towards one another.

This analysis when applied to the context which shaped the Telangana Identity brings to light the fact that 'the significant other' in relation to Telangana developed the Telangana identity at conscious and un-conscious levels. At the conscious level the interaction with 'the significant other' had made Telangana identity as a mixture of best of both worlds of North-South India as well as Hindu-Muslim worlds. And at an unconscious level it also developed within Telangana identity a sense of insecurity and doubt towards 'the other', in general and 'the significant other' in Particular.

If 'the other' in case of Telangana people was the general changing context of being under varied rulers and Kingdoms. 'The significant other' in case of

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.155.

Telangna people were mainly, influence of Islam, Muslim rule, influence of Urdu language, oppressive and exploitative economic relations under the feudal order, and lack of state governance that safeguards and protects the rights of individuals and groups.

This 'significant other', thus, necessitate a redefinition of identity, in general and Telangana identity, in particular. The redefinition of Telangna identity led it move beyond-the material reality into the ideological system of the context in order to assert its independence and recognition as a separate identity. Infact the answer to the sense of insecurity imposed on the Telangana, people form the significant other would have been to assert their independence and not get into a conditions of similar patterns of domination.

Therefore, inorder to combat the sense of insecurity imposed on the Telangana people from the significant other, they asserted their identity to form a separate state for Telangana. In the next section we will examine the demand for a separate Telangna and the formation of State of Andhra Pradesh.

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

Telangana identity came into clear and overt existence and manifested itself from its latency with the creation of the state of Hyderabad in 1948, following the

police action<sup>31</sup> against the state of Hyderabad. The end of Nizam's rule over the state of Hyderabad meant its accession to the union of India. The then state of Hyderabad was virtually the present Telangana.<sup>32</sup> After 1947, the Andhra region was included into the Madras State. The Telugu-speaking majority in the Madras state (a multi-lingual state) wanted a separate state for Andhra. In 1953 Sri Poti Sriramulu fasted unto death for the same demand. After the death of Potisriramulu, Madras State was a multi-lingual state and the Telugu speaking majority wanted a separate state, thus, created a territorial autonomy in order to recognise their culture as a separate unity from the Tamil speaking people in the Madras state. In 1953 the death of Sri Poti Sriramulu, the Andhra State, first linguistic state, had been created. With the formation of Andhra state (which was earlier a part of the Madras presidency, on the basis of language) the demand for the creation of other linguistic states started.

On 22 December, 1953 Nehru announced the decision to set up a States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) to examine 'objectively and dispassionately' the whole question of the re-organisation of the state of the Indian union. SRC was formed with Justice Fazal Ali, as chairman, R.M. Pannikar and H.N. Kunzru, as members to recommend the reorganisation of the states, with the guideline of linguistic approach. This appointment was applauded by the Andhra for they had

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<sup>31</sup> Sundarraya P. *Telangana People's Struggle and its lessons* (Calcutta 1972), pp.12-13.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p.16.

hoped that their dream of Vishalandhra would be realised. Vishalandhra was a concept of a Telugu-speaking people's state and this would include merger of the state of Hyderabad (or in other words the Telangana Region) with the Andhra state to form the Vishalandhra. However there was a 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.<sup>33</sup> The domination of the Hyderabad was like Madras presidency, a multi-lingual 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".<sup>34</sup>

The Fazal Ali Commission or the State Recognition Commission on examining the demands of both groups, one for vishalandhra, another for separate Telangana, decided indeed to form two Telugu linguistic states i.e. Andhra and Telangana. Infact, Nehru and Lohia also advocated a separate Telangana State. This

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<sup>33</sup> Telangana Development forum's Memorandum submitted by Telangana M.Ps to PM (Hyderabad : 8 August, 92), p.4.

<sup>34</sup> Subrahmanyam. M, Intra-Regionalism in Andhra Pradesh in Akhtar. Majeed (ed.) *Regionalism Developmental Tensions in India* (New Delhi :Cosmo, 1984), p.121.



opinion helped certain section 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 States Reorganisation summarised in the para 378 of their report as to why Telangana be retained as separate state. It said that, "one of the principal causes of the opposition of the Vishalandhra also seen to be the apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana was that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the 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 Telangana itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising Coastal Andhra".<sup>35</sup> Finally Fazal Ali Commission (or states Reorganisation commission) opined that "it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise states on the basis of the single test of either language or cultures but that a balanced approach to the whole problem is necessary in the interests of our national unity."<sup>36</sup>

The Commission infact 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 the Hyderabad State, with the provision that its unification with Andhra after the General elections likely to be held in or about in

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<sup>35</sup> SRC Report, 1955, para 378.

<sup>36</sup> Venkataragavaiah, *History of Andhra Movement 1982*, vol. II, p.105.

1961, by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad state express itself in favour of unification. The state of Hyderabad (as we should prefer to call this unit) to be constituted for the time should consist of the following districts, namely, Mahaboobnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak and Bider and the Mernagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna districts of the existing Andhra State".<sup>37</sup>

The Commission, 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 the disintegration of the state". 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 that this culture is a major contribution to the unity of India. The common culture of Hyderabad, like the unity of this state, is something that has been imposed from above.<sup>38</sup> Subsequently, the state of Hyderabad was trifurcated into Karnataka, Marathwada and Telangana regions and the areas of Karnataka and Marathawada were merged with Mysore and Maharashtra states in accordance with recommendation of the States Recognition Commission, 1955.<sup>39</sup>

This proved to be a major set back to those fighting for Vishalandhra. As far as the Congress leadership was concerned it looked from the angle of ministerial

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.105.

<sup>38</sup> SRC Report, 1955, Para 364.

<sup>39</sup> Rao P.R., History of Modern Andhra, (New Delhi : Sterling, 1993), p. 164-165.

position and caste considerations. The Telangana leadership feared that the Andhra leadership, i.e. Kammas, would dominate the state.

The dominant castes which dominate in the regions of Andhra Pradesh are Reddys in Rayalseema, 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 Congress men (both in Telangana and 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 supremacy over the Brahmin and communist domination within the state. Leaders of Andhra Mahashabah in Telangana Burugula Raman Krishna Rao, M. Hanumantha Rao, J.V. Narsinga Rao, supported the merger of the Andhra State and Telangana region that famed a part of the state of Hyderabad. From the Andhra region Bejawada Gopal 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 Telangana leaders K.V. Ranga Reddy and Marri Chenna 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 creation 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 the SRC. But a majority of the Congress legislators from Telangana and seven out of ten district Congress committees supported vishalandhra.

In the Hyderabad legislative Assembly the issue was raised. In the 174 member house, 147 members expressed their views. Of this 103 supported vishalandhra and only 29 wanted Telangana and 15 remained neutral.<sup>40</sup>

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 taken aback. Consequently, it disowned the idea of the bi-lingual and multi-lingual state as quickly as it had accepted it'.<sup>41</sup>

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 hard core of Telangana protagonists like K.V. Ranga Reddy and M.Chenna Reddy stuck to their demand for separate Telangana. In order to prevent misunderstanding between the two regions of Andhra of Telangana, the Congress High Command arranged a meeting of the leaders of both regions at Delhi on 20 February, 1956.

Andhra region was represented by B. Gopala Reddy (the Chief Minister of Andhra State), N. Sanjiva Reddy, G. Latchanna (Minister of Andhra) and A. Satyanarayana Raju, President of A.P.C.C. Telangana was represented by B. Rama Krishna Rao (Chief Minister of Hyderabad State), K.V. Ranaga Reddy, and M.Chenna Reddy (Minister of Hyderabad State) and J.V. Narasinga Rao, President

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.167.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p.168.

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 finalised on the basis of a 14 point Agreement on 20 February, 1956 which is known as Gentleman's Agreement (See Appendix. c). 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.

Infact the commission had even considered that there could be some advantage of Vishalandhra, "The advantage of a large Andhra State including Telangana are that it will bring into existence a state of about 32 million 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, for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundarabad are very well suited to be the capital of Vishalandhra."<sup>42</sup> 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.... since Telangana as part of Vishalandhra will benefit to be said for its amalgamation with the Andhra State.<sup>43</sup>

It would not be inapt to conclude that probably neither the leadership at the state level nor the one at Central level really took cognizance of the question of a political identity which was inturn very closely linked with cultural identity problem

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<sup>42</sup> SRC Report, p.104, para 371.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p.104, Para 372.

underlying the Telangana movement. This in turn helps us understand as to why there was a demand for a separate state of Telangana. For the State viewed it as a law and order problem i.e., to say a 'merely' administrative arrangement and corrective. On the other hand, the centre looked upon it as an economic problem while in reality these were two important aspects of the problem which had its subtle but strong roots within their demand for self expression, of their cultural identity which could have been attained as a separate political identity in the form of a separate Telangana State. The subtle difference in their identity as separate from the Andhra identity could also be understood mainly as a historical experience.<sup>44</sup> That resulted in a different cultural impact which defined Telangana identity as a separate entity in its relation to the Andhras. Infact, Andhrans and Telanganites speak the same language but not the same Telugu.<sup>45</sup> Apart from differences in into nations, Telangana Telugu has drawn many words from urdu [Like *derwasamu* (door) or *qualamu* (pen)]. Andhra Telugu has borrowed words from Tamil and English. However, both regions claim to speak 'pure' Telugu. More important than the difference in the spoken Telugu is the fact that the elites of the two regions do not share the same literature. Telangana has hardly produced Telugu writers but it had produced urdu poets. Infact till about 1952, urdu was the medium of instruction in

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<sup>44</sup> Bernstroof. *Dagamar, Region and Nation : The Telangana movement dual identity*, in, David Taylor and Malcom Yapp (ed.), *Political Identity in South Asia*, (London : Curzon Press, 1979), p.142.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p.141.

Osmania University"<sup>46</sup> Apart from the subtle marked differences visible in their language they are not similar in their material cultures i.e. especially in their food and dress.<sup>47</sup> It would also be interesting to note some of the distinct characteristic features which both groups attributed to themselves and the other.

The Telangana identity according to the protagonists for a separate state is based on 'refinement' 'cultural synthesis' and 'cosmopolitanism'<sup>48</sup> And while Telanganites, were proud of their cultural synthesis between north and South India, and between Hindu and Muslim culture, Andhra was historically brought under British influence and its also said that Madras was the city they looked upto. On the other hand, a major criticism of the Andhrans is that they are nouveaux rich people who throw their money about,, while the Hyderabad is or Telanganites don't even speak of money.<sup>49</sup> The Andhrans also share a common group feeling which perceive the Telanganites as a different entity from themselves. In their eyes, the people of Telangana are lazy, pleasure loving and 'feudal' while they consider themselves as a more active, modern and progressive. Andhrans also have a superiority complex towards Telangana, which they do not hesitate to show.<sup>50</sup> These characteristic

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.141.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p.141.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p.140.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.140.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p.140.

feature attributed by each to themselves and other, infact, suffer from exaggerated inconsistencies on the both sides.

However, it brings to light a significant fact that is that both these groups and identities are products of different historical, social and political experience due to which they have different cultural identities and thus the fear of Telangana identity being subsumed within the Vishalandhra was not really misplaced especially in their relationship to the more economically advanced region of Andhra. This was further not helped by the superior attitude exercised by the Andhra people towards the Telangana people.

### **The Response of the State**

In our analysis of cultural identity formation of the Telangana we have understood that context plays a crucial role in determining meaning of both the history and norms. History should not be interpreted merely as the factual developments but also as the values that each group attributes to itself and the other in a particular context. The social world views and social conventions form a part of this value system which the group given to itself both in relations to itself and the significant other. As Levi Strauss puts its, meaning, therefore, is reduced to an arrangement, as in the Kaleidoscope, which 'can be expressed in terms of strict relations between its parts'<sup>51</sup>. Thus both the history and norms are almost

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<sup>51</sup> Levi Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, (Chicago : Chicago Univesity Press, 1966), pp.18-20.



inseparable when placed in the position of defining a cultural community in a given context. Thus a sense of identity might differ in degrees even within a given group. It might be stronger in one section than depending on the normative conditions.

However, the identity and its sense of good is not completely lost even when totally placed in a different context. The evidence of this is visible in both the historical formation and development of Telangana identity and the struggle for its recognition. The socio-economic conditions that the Telangana people had to contend with were— communal tension (i.e., the Hindu-Muslim conflicts), oppressive economic standards (due to the feudal order), linguistic divide, caste divide, lack of employment opportunity to local youth and above all there was almost a complete absence of liberal principles of democracy- liberty, equality and Fraternity - coupled with lack of political participation of the locals in the affairs and policies of the state. This above mentioned factors indeed shaped their identity but perhaps what shaped their identity even more strongly was the fact that these conditions were imposed on their psyche from above. This leads to a better understanding of their consciousness which was constantly suppressed and lacked freedom to express itself and thus, be recognised. People of Telangana, therefore, wanted to avoid a similar situation of oppression under the Andhras. The kind of domination which they had already faced under the Nizam's rule. Therefore, there was a strong demand among the people of Telangana to form a separate Telangana in 1955-56 not only to assert their rights of expression and recognition but also because they wanted to be recognised for their differences as well.

The state played a significant role in addressing to their need to recognise this difference especially, in theory, when the SRC report recognised this difference. This view also found its advocates both in Nehru and Lohia. However, the state gave into political pressure and decided to go ahead with the merger to form Vishalandra by granting some safeguards to Telangana. Although the state played a significant role in trying to resolve the conflict indirectly however, also deconstructed the promised agenda for Telangana, when the demand for a separate state for Telangana was surrendered both by the state and a certain section of its leadership.

The state by realising a consensus between both sides to the fourteen-point Gentleman's Agreement, was to able to resolve the conflict. However the state by actually not recognising, the demand for Telangana (which it recognised both in S.R.C. recommendations as well as by the then Prime Minister) it not only deconstructed the issue but it also redefined it. The definition which the demand for Telangna got was primarily a demand based on the regional economic imbalance. This clearly ignored the principle of cultural difference that it had recognised in the beginning. And this deconstruction of the original demand was complete when the leadership agreed to give up the same for vishalandhra.

The agreement was reached at the cost of no separate state for Telangana. Despite of the many doubts expressed by the Telangana people and leaders, the state convinced that both the political and administrative institutions would never allow the neglect of the region. And therefore, a regional committee to look into Telangana development on the guidelines of the agreement was established. The assurances

given by the state had a positive impact on the people of Telangana although grudgingly they agreed to merge and try the new experiment within a new state of Andhra Pradesh.

The process of change from colonial rule to Democratic rule in Independent India had certain compulsions of maintaining unity and integrity of the nation. India, however, realising the number of differences and diversities that it would have to accommodate adopted a quasi-federal democracy. The underlying principle was unity in diversity however with a greater stress on unity. Perhaps, this was one of the chief reasons why the separatist demand for Telangana was dropped because the recognition of such a demand would mean acknowledging many more differences and separatist movements. The other reasons being the dominant caste group within the Congress leadership both in Andhra and Telangana applied immense pressure on the central leadership to give into Vishalandhra.<sup>52</sup> And this merger in an economic sense was merger of feudal and capitalist spaces.<sup>53</sup> The idea was also to form a strong economic space for mutual exchange and interaction within the state.

However, whatever may have been the advantages of such a state, the fears of neglect and discontent, among a group weighed ultimately heavier in reality. For the root of the problem lay elsewhere not just in politics, socio-economic conditions but in a culture-which included all the above mentioned conditions and the norms

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<sup>52</sup> Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana-Dimensions of underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), pp.2-3.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p.3.

that shaped those conditions. Therefore history was bound to repeat itself. When history leaves a problem whose answer after having been found is left unarticulated. Hence the demand for a separate state for Telangana was only silenced but it was not completely uprooted. We will understand in the next chapter how the consciousness for separation resurged again because of their unfulfilled aspirations of recognition and accommodation.

## CHAPTER 4

### NEW STATE, NEW EXPERIMENT AND RENEWED DEMAND FOR TELANGANA (1956-73)

The old states of Hyderabad and Andhra merged together to form a new state of Andhra Pradesh on 1 November, 1956. Telangana which formed a part of Hyderabad wanted to remain separate, however, with its merger with Andhra State not only a new state was formed but a new experiment started. The basis of this new experiment was the fourteen-point Gentleman's Agreement which tried to reconcile the many differences of both the regions-Telangana and Andhra. The new experiment was also not based on absolute consensus. And the differences that were present before the formation of Andhra Pradesh remained even after its formation. The Challenge of this new experiment was not to dissolve the differences completely but to maintain a balance and consensus as far as possible. However, there were also certain doubts and apprehensions about this new state and experiment, especially in Telangana. And their doubts were not compounded which led to the renewed consciousness for the demand for Telangana 1969-73.

This chapter will examine the demand for a separate state for Telangana which renewed back to consciousness in 1969-73. The formation of the Andhra Pradesh meant that the demand for Telangana state in 1955-56 remained unrealised. Having reconciled to that fact, the people of Telangana were looking forward to the safeguards promised by the State. However, the utter and blatant violation of those

safeguards (within a decade) led to the renewed struggle of the demand for a separate state for Telangana in 1969-73.

The chapter four is broadly divided into four sections. Section one deals with the new state and new experiment with regard to the implementation of the safeguards in the fourteen-point Gentlemen's Agreement. Section two will look into the rise of the consciousness for a separate Telangana state (1969-73). Section three will look into the formation of Telangana Praja Samithi and its role in the demand for a separate Telangana. And Section four will understand how the renewed demand was reconciled once again.

#### **New State and New experiment-Implementation of Gentleman's Agreement**

The formation of the new state of Andhra Pradesh set the new experiment in motion. This was based on the Gentleman's safeguards in favour of Telangana. The success of this new experiment was dependent on the proper implementation of the Gentleman's Agreement. The success of this new experiment also meant a success of the state, in general and the people, in particular. And but for the implementation of this accord the story of the Telangana struggle could, perhaps, have been written off. In our analysis of the implementation of the safeguards we will look into a number of factors, political power-sharing, employment facilities educational opportunities and the socio-economic reasons.

The political power-sharing<sup>1</sup> was an important factor because this was to show both theoretically and practically the significance of the state accords to the cause of Telangana and to check its neglect. A leader from Telangana being accommodated at the highest ranks of power also meant giving them a condition of power from where they could voice their demands and interests and work for their articulation by checking any legislations which is unjust and neglects their socio-economic justice.

Therefore, the Gentleman's Agreement provided that the position of the Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister were to be held by Andhra and Telangana alternatively in the enlarged state of Andhra Pradesh. However, the first Chief Minister, Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, dispensed with the Deputy Chief Minister and compared it to the sixth finger of a hand.<sup>2</sup> Telangana leader, K.V. Ranga Reddy, however, held the second rank in the cabinet. The next Chief Minister, Sanjeevayya, created the Deputy Chief Ministership and assigned it to K.V. Ranga Reddy<sup>3</sup>. The successor of Sanjeevayya, however, reverted to the earlier pattern in which though there was no post of Deputy Chief Minister in the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet, the second position was given to a Telangana Politician. Further, the composition of the

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<sup>1</sup> Political power-sharing was considered to help for the economic resource-sharing in this region by the state. Kothari. Rajini, argues in his state against democracy for equal play of political actors in a democracy for the democracy to survive and continue.

<sup>2</sup> Ram Reddy. G. and Sharma B.A.V., *Regionalism in India-A Study of Telangana* (New Delhi : Concept Publishing House, 1979), p.11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p.11.

State cabinet indicated that majority of the Telangana districts were unrepresented until 1964 while Hyderabad district always had a higher weightage. The Pradesh Congress Committee presidentship too was held by Andhra leaders successively since 1957. In a sense no proper atmosphere seems to have been created to develop political leadership Telangana. A general feeling was developed that the leaders of the Telangana were not given due share in political Power in the United Andhra Pradesh State administration.<sup>4</sup> The Andhra dominance in the political power-sharing continued. And thus in the absence of implementation of one of the first guidelines of the safeguards, the people in Telangana started questioning how safe indeed are their power-sharing rights and interests in this new state.

The violation of Public Employment Act of 1957 and the recruitment of non-Mulkis to the posts reserved for the Mulkis in Telangana area, was another source of dissatisfaction among the people of Telangana. The separatist leaders argued that the State Government violated the aforesaid rules in matter of appointment and favoured resource from Andhra region. The Telangana NGOs union represented that in several hundred cases exemptions were granted by the Andhra Pradesh government and non-Mulkis were appointed to posts reserved for domiciles. The employees from Telangana developed a feeling that the Andhra employees were exercising hegemony over them, and they were also discriminated by the officers of Andhra.<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.12.

<sup>5</sup> Subrahmanyam. M., Intra-Regionalism in Andhra Pradesh in Majeed. Akhtar (ed.), Regionalism Developmental Tensions in India (New Delhi : Cosmo, 1984), p.122.



Gentleman's Agreement was not followed in its true spirit. There was a lapse evident in the implementation of the Mulki Rules. This was evident in the vacant posts from Telangana quota, thought to be reserved for the Telangana people, with a plea that suitable candidates were not available, were actually being filled by Andhras.<sup>6</sup> Thus slowly the Telangana Regional Council was becoming redundant and continued to remain only as a nominal body.

Since 1 November, 1956, the common gradation lists have not been finalised in certain departments.<sup>7</sup> This had been reported by the Telangana region committee in its white paper dealing on services. The Regional Committee in its report of 1961 also pointed out that, "the Chief secretary was very emphatic that no injustice was done to any employee and that no injustice was done to any employee and that if anything had happened inadvertently it was for the individual to seek redress from the statutory committees"<sup>8</sup>. The state government took rigid posture in regard to integration of services. This further escalated the discontent among the people of Telangana.

The educational opportunities to Telangana people was another area that had been neglected. It was said that the Osmania University, the only university of the region, was discriminated against and starved of adequate finances in view of the

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp.122-123.

<sup>7</sup> Ram Reddy G. and Sharma. B.A.V., Regionalism in India, A Study of Telangna (New Delhi: Concept, 1979), p.15.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.15.

university's claim for greater autonomy from the state government.<sup>9</sup> And also with regard to admissions locals should have been given preference over the non-locals. However this was not the case in practice.

Irrigation facilities, one of the basic inputs, for agricultural development of an economy were in neglected state is the region. the Telangana Regional Committee recommended the expenditure of 2:1 on the left canal of Nagarjuna Sagar, but it was not accepted. The state government allocated the funds in the ratio of 3:2 between Andhra and Telangana regions for the development of the Dams in those region.

Also regards the rural electrification, which was essential for the agricultural development, had met with a raw deal. As per the government's scheme the ratio of villages to be electrified both in Telanagana and Andhra Pradesh were in 3:2 ratio. However, even 1:2 ratio was not implemented by the State Government. Prof. Ram Reddy in his analysis pointed that the successive state governments in Andhra Pradesh have been more favourable to Andhra, resulting in injustice to Telangana in the mater of apportionment of plan and non-plan expenditure for development activities. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan also observes that "sub-regional rivalries generated by economic imbalances and genuine accumulated grievances can succeed in fragmenting political loyalties (not with standing the allegiance to some political

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.17.

party). Thus there was rebellion from one section of the congress leadership against the ruling congress administration.<sup>10</sup>

The Gentleman's agreement and the violation of its clauses in the political, economic, educational, employment and irrigation aspects led to the rise of the demand for a separate state for Telangana. And underlying all these factors was the factor of Telangana Identity. Which also remained unaddressed. The formation of Andhra Pradesh state might have subsided the Telangana Identity issue into the background and latency. However, with the violation of the Gentleman's agreement Telangana people realised that their rights and interests are not secure under the Andhra rule and domination. The failure of Vishalandhra in its true spirit of formation was visible with the renewed demand for a separate Telangana. In the next section we will look into these demand and the underlying factor for its rise.

### **The Renewed Demand For a Separate Telangana (1969-73)**

The demand for separate Telangana in the year 1969 initially started as an agitation for the continuance of 'Telangana safeguards' and the 'Mulki Rules' provided at the time of formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. However soon the agitation took an extreme posture for separation of the region from the state of Andhra Pradesh. This was indeed a serious move to change the federal political map

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<sup>10</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin, "Andhra Pradesh : Changed Equations", (Link XII:2, August, 1969), p.20.

of India structured on the linguistic principle and reshape it on different lines<sup>11</sup>. This agitation also established the fact that language alone cannot be a binding factor for political unity among people of different regions. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan observed, "The Telangana agitation for a separate state has at least demonstrated for purpose of theorising the inadequacy of language factor as the primary point of political cohesion and has brought into sharper relief the necessity of taking into account for purposes of political stability and national growth such critical factors like varied patterns of economy, demographic and sociological differentiation, political traditions and sub-cultural divergencies, which cannot be taken for granted if a viable identity has to be maintained".<sup>12</sup> Therefore Telangana identity wanted to assert itself as a separate entity from Andhra identity. For the differences became sharper and more marked both in the nature of governance and sharing of resources, the people of Telanagana went ahead with the demand for the option to form a separate state of Telangana.

The renewed Telangana agitation may be said to have started in the first week of January 1969 in Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh. It was started by a section of student leaders for the alleged failure of the state Government to implement the Safeguards in the Gentleman's agreement. It spread to other district of Telangana under the leadership of Mallikarjuna, the then General Secretary of Osmania

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<sup>11</sup> Ram Reddy G. and Sharma B.A.V. *Regionalism in India- A Study of Telangna* (New Delhi : Concept, 1979), p.24.

<sup>12</sup> Khan Rasheeduddin, "National Integration", Seminar, April 1970, pp.24-25.

University students union, and resulted in a strike<sup>13</sup>. The slogan for separate Telangana (for the second time after 1955-56) originated, however, in August 1968 at an all-party meeting convened at warangal by local non-gazetted employees association.<sup>14</sup>

Subsequently, at another all -party meeting convened at warangal and presided over by the District Congress Committee (D.C.C.) president, the demand for a separate Telangana was reiterated. The Chief Minister, Brahmananday Reddy Convened an 'all-party Convention' of his members of the State Assembly and the council representing CPI, CPI(M), Jan Sangh, Swatantra and Congress members in January 1969. This was one in order to thwart the rising demand for a separate Telangana. The decisions taken at this meeting are known as an All Party Accord of January 1969.<sup>15</sup>

The Accord is significant insofar as it conceded certain lapses on the part of the state Government during the past 12 years of integrated existence under Andhra Pradesh. It, however, condemned the move of bi-furcation of the state and promised to implement the safeguards sincerely in future.

The main features of the accord are<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ram Reddy G. and Sharma B.A.V., *Regionalism in India- A Study of Telangana* (New Delhi : Concept, 1979), pp. 25-26.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.26.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix (IV)

<sup>16</sup> Ram Reddy. G. And Sharma B.A.V. *Regionalism in India- A Study of Telangana* (New Delhi : concept, 1979), p.26.

- (a) All Andhras appointed to posts reserved for Telangana personnel would be immediately transferred to Andhra regions of the State;
- (b) Their posts would be filled in by qualified candidates from Telangana or left vacant until such candidates become available ;
- (c) Revenue surplus from Telangana would be fully utilised fro the development of the region; and
- (d) The educational opportunities in the region would be improved.

The Chief Minister, as a consequent measure of All-Party accord of 19th January, 1970, arranged for the accounting of Telangana surplus funds, through the comptroller and Auditor-General of India.<sup>17</sup> Kumar Lalith, Deputy Comptroller and Auditor General, assessed the Telangana surplus funds at Rs. 34.10 crores. the Telangana Regional committee argued that surplus funds amounted to Rs. 107.13 crores. This difference of assessment over the surplus found to Telangana led to much Controversy.

Meanwhile the terms of the All-Party accord were fair enough to satisfy the moderates in Telangana and prevent the agitation from assuming the proportion of a mass movement. The State Government immediately transferred non-domicile public employees from Telangana. The attempt by the State Government appeared to be a since one. Atleast temporarily peace was resorted in the region. This, however, did not solve the problems of stability and order within the system as a

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.13.

counter movement was started the Andhras known as 'the Jai Andhra Movement'<sup>18</sup>. The counter agitation was sparked off in Andhra by students and civil-servants, as result of the arrival transferred Andhra employees from Telangana. These people inturm supported that Andhra for Andhras as they believed that some of the Andhras were also mis-treated in the hands of the people of Telangana. Telangana people did not keep quiet to these accusations and this led to the revival of the movement for a separate state.

Initially the movement was sporadic and was almost leaderless. It was led by student leader and a junior lawyer known as Madan Mohan. All these supporters of the demand fora separate state formed a forum known as the Telangana people's Forum.<sup>19</sup> All the minister of Brahmananda Reddy Cabinet issued Statement condemning the renewed demand for a separate state except Konda Lakshmana Bapuji issued a joint condemning the agitation and the separatist slogan Konda Lakshmana contended that the Gentleman's Agreement 1956, Public Employment Act of 1957, All-Party record of 1969 and the Telangana Regional Committee etc., had proved in effective and therefore, suggested their abolition.

The movement took a violent turn when the Supreme Court verdict on Public Employment Act was announced. It had quashed the State Government order of January 21, 1969. It enabled back the transferring Andhra employees holding posts reserved for Telengana and allowed the writ petition filed by the Andhra personnel

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.27.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.27.

who were affected by the order of the State Government.<sup>20</sup> The movement now gained strong support under the leadership extended to it by K.V. Ranga Reddy and Dr. M.Chenna Reddy. Some members of the Congress Party risked being arrested for this cause.

The Central Government was alive to the problem and the Prime Minister announced the 'Eight-point formula' (see Appendix (v)) to ensure accelerated development and expansion of employment opportunities in Telangana. And as a consequent action, the Prime Minister appointed two committees. Justice Wanchoo committee and Justice Bhargava Committee. Wanchoo Committee was set up to decide steps for ensuring safeguards with regard to employment opportunities and Bhargava Committee was to consider the revenue surpluses of Telangana.<sup>21</sup> The committee headed by Justice Bhargava reported that the accumulated surplus amounts were of the order of Rs. 2,834.31 lakhs. The centre also advised the State Government to accept the recommendations of the Bhargava Committee - the basis adopted by it for computing the unspent surplus in future and to assure that the unspent surplus pertaining to any year should be utilised in the following year in addition to its normal share in development expenditure in that year.<sup>22</sup> These measures however, did not satisfy the leaders of the Telangana agitation.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.28.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.29.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.30.



The separatist agitation in Telangana and consequently, the State Government resorted to Preventive Retention Act and arrested top Praja Samithi leaders. Meanwhile notable Congress leader like Dr. M.Chenna Reddy, K.V.Ramma Reddy and Mr.Achutha Reddy from the Primary membership of the Congress party in view of their active participation in Praja Samithi programmes as well as for leading the Separatist movement for a separate state.

The non-gazetted officer decided on observing 'work to rule' on June 1, 1969 in support of the demand for a separate state. The Telangana NGOs decided to strike from June 10, 1969. On the breakdown of law and order and the deteriorating situation, a leading leftist daily observed, "If what has been happening in Hyderabad in the last few days, were to occur in a non-Congress ruled state, even Congressmen and naturally all the reactionary parties would have insisted on the dismissal of the government and task over by the Centre". The State government described NGO strike as a failure where as the Central government claimed that was a total success in all the districts except Khammam.<sup>23</sup> The agitation reached its climax by June 24, when Telangana Praja Samithi leaders claimed participation of 50,000 people in civil disobedience movement at 236 places. The official sources announced the arrest of 3,221 persons, half of whom were children below the age of 13 and other were left free as the prisons were full.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.32.

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This led to the appeal to the State Government from a delegation of the leading citizens including former Chief Justice of Hyderabad State, the University professors, retired Civil servants and businessmen protesting against the repressive measures of the State Government to crush the Telangana Movement and emphasised that, 'neither separation nor united Andhra be imposed on an unwilling people'.

Meanwhile on June 27 1969 Chief Minister, Brahmananda Reddy resigned (feeling that he was the main target of attack). However the Congress Parliamentary board decided that Brahmananda Reddy's Services to state as a leader and Chief Minister were necessary. The board expressed the view that his (Brahmananda Reddy's) services should be available to the state as its leader and Chief Minister in order to restore normalcy in Telangana and for eventually Paving way for a smooth change over of leadership preferably in favour of a person from Andhra".<sup>25</sup>

At this point in our analysis it would be significant to understand the nature of the renewed demand for a separate state. This can be observed mainly with the help of three factors : Firstly, the nature of the leadership of the movement; secondly, the causes for the renewed of the demand for a separate state; and thirdly, the reaction of the State to the demand during the course of its resurgence.

The nature of leadership of the movement is a first important factor in our attempt to understand the nature of the renewed demand. In 1955-56 the demand for separation was started, mainly, by the separatists in Telangana. Although the people of Telangana were involved in the separatist movement, it was the leadership which

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.33.

set of offends for the movement in 1955-56. Whereas the movement in 1969 began at a sub-altern level, as a mass movement almost leaderless. And soon the movement caught up and got leadership and direction mainly under the praja Samithi leaders of the Congress party. Note here that Telangana Praja Samithi spearheaded the movement as a political party in 1971-72. And we will take up the role played by it in the next section. Presently we will restrict our analysis to examine the nature of the renewed demand for a separate Telangana and the relation of the Telangana identity, if any, to it.

In 1955-56 and 1969-73, when the demands for separate Telangana were made, there were two different groups present within the Telangana. One were Separatists who were clear that separate state was the only answer to the Telangana grievances and its cultural recognition and respect. And the other group constituted of Integrationists who believed that their cultural difference could be well accommodated within the State of Andhra Pradesh and also that the welfare of the region and people lied in integration and not in separation.

The demand for separate Telangana came from the separatist group. The leadership who took led this movement also formed a part of the separatist group. This group wanted separation not just for Socio-economic and Political development but also because they wanted to protect their culture from misrecognition and unnecessary discrimination. The notion of the identity then can be said to be clearly defined in this group. However it would be entirely wrong to presume that the integrations have no notion of this Identity and no concern for its recognition,

Protection and accommodation. This notion of Identity was not entirely different from the notion of identity among the separationists. The only difference lies in the degrees and not in kind. Meaning that each group within the larger group of Telangana wanted to realise their identity in the way they thought was best. Both inter-cultural differences among different groups and differences within the group is one of the significant questions that a federal democracy as diverse as our needs to address in the contemporary context.

It is important to understand again the relevance of the cultural meaning a group gives to itself is never independent of its context. A context in turn constitutes both the material and normative conditions. Therefore when we talk of cultural Identity in Telangana we imply an Identity which defines itself in the given contest and time.

In the context of leadership, the Muslims within the Telangna maintained neutral position vis-a-vis the renewed demand for separate state in 1969.<sup>26</sup> The leadership of the Majlis clearly stated that they were going to remain neutral in the Telangana issue. This was due to the fact, said Sultan Salhuddin Owaisi's that the Muslims in Telangana have been neglected not for the twelve, but for the last twenty years (since the collapse of the Nizam's rule)<sup>27</sup>. He also said that Telangana Hindus were 'worse'(i.e. more anti-Muslim) than the Andhra Hindus. However a certain

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<sup>26</sup> Bernstorff. Dagmar, Region and Nation : The Telangana Movement's Dual Identity in Taylor. David and Yapp. Malcolm (ed.), *Political Identity in south Asia* (London: Curzon Press, 1979), p.146

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 146.

section of the Muslims supported the renewed demand in 1969. The reformist organization Tameer-i-Millat supported the Telangana Movement in 1969.

The struggle for power among various leaders of Andhra Pradesh to dominate the leadership of the state was also another significant factor that needs to be considered. The factional conflict between the leaders of Andhra and Telangana for power-sharing and dominance also characterised this movement. It was believed that the direct factional conflict between M. Chenna Reddy of Telangna and Brahmananda Reddy of Andhra region was responsible for this renewed demand. Although there is some strength in this statement but it does not explain the complete truth. The conflict was between two regions who wanted to assert their Identities and as both cannot do so at the same time one has to take a back seat. The latter in this case was Telangana which after having waited for its turn, decided to relaunch the demand.

We can understand the relevance of context and time in shaping an Identity when we examine the second factor, the causes for the renewed demand for a separate state in (1969-73) as opposed the same demand made in 1955-56 for Telangana. The demand for separation in 1955-56 was based on the fact of the 'significant other' (that we have discussed in section two of Chapter 3). When a group defines itself some of the meaning is given and the remaining is based upon interpretation. Interpretation of the meaning of a group is essentially related to the significant other. This relationship helps us interpret the meanings in the past, present and future. Interpretation of our meanings are not always similar but they may

remain same under some circumstances. Therefore in a changing context, the meaning changes, in general.

In this particular context the demands for separate state remained same nonetheless, the modes of expression of the demands changed. In 1955-56 the demand of separation was based on the fact that historically both the regions had been separate for a long period which has given them different cultural patterns of Life and Social world. Therefore Telangana, in particular, did not want to join with Andhra even though they also had some similarities like language religion and perhaps, at a certain point of time in history, even the cultural conditions to an extent. But Telangana people expressed their demands for separation mainly because differences became more marked with time.

In 1956 the formation of Andhra Pradesh (on the basis of Gentleman's safeguards) meant that both regions decided to give the other a chance by trying out a unique relationship of recreating history together. It was an agreement founded upon trust. The violation of agreement meant violation of trust. Whether the violation took one day or ten years is really inconsequential. To recreate faith in a betrayed trust is almost next to impossible, more so, in this case. Why ? To begin with, this case was based upon the fact that Telangana people had a deep-rooted sense of insecurity in their relationship with the people of Andhra. Their fears were not confounded with the slow and steady violation of the fourteen-point Gentleman's Agreement. Therefore the renewed demand for the separate state of Telangana demand in 1969.

The demand in 1969 remains same in comparison to the one made in 1955-56. However difference lies in the fact that now the Telangana people had actually witnessed their fears come true and therefore the renewed demand. This demand did not come from all parts of Telangana. And this might be interpreted as lack of homogeneous and united demand. Lack of homogeneity in the demand does not necessarily mean absence of Telangana identity and its culture. And in any case it would not be correct to say that Telangana identity is a homogenous identity. There could be differences within a group in some respects and the group may also have strong sense of its identity, in general and cultural identity, in particular. (The problem of differences within a group in defining its identity had been discussed in Chapter 1)

The difference in the expression of their Telangana Identity in 1955-56 and in 1969, lies in the location of the demand. The second demand assumed greater proportion as a mass movement. The consciousness was present both at the sub-altern level and in the dominant power elite in the Telangana. On the other hand in the case of the first demand for a separate Telangana in 1955-56, the demand was not made from below. The demand was made and articulated by the dominant elite of Telangana. However it had the public support. The demand in 1969 was largely a demand of the people. However what is interesting in both cases is that the dominant power elite took over the movement in order to safeguard their interests in relation to the power-equations with the Andhra elite. This fact is overtly visible in the way

certain section of the Telangana leadership negotiated their demands by surrendering their agenda at the negotiation table both the times.

Lastly, but not in the least, there is a third factor which is equally significant in order to understand the nature of the resurgence of a demand for the separate state in 1969. The reaction of the state to the demand. The first demand was given up by the state despite of recognizing the character of the demand in order to seek political order and stability. The second time in 1969, the state realised that the Andhra Pradesh Government has not been sincere in implementing the Gentleman's agreement. However the state viewed it as regional economic imbalance problem. Therefore, the state announced more safeguards to appease the people of Telangana. The response of the state shows that there is a need to move out of the old pattern of the articulation of the demands for cultural recognition and try to evolve new viable alternatives to the context in question. Indian state, due to the insecurity seeds sown at the time of independence in the form of partition of the country and our colonial experience, has not been able to break free of some of the continuities of the past. There is in fact, room for healthy expression of demands of this nature without posing any threat to national integrity. The need is not for a complete break away from the past but to bring some change in the continuities of the past which need to be questioned with changing history and context.

To sum up the nature of the renewed demand for separate state of Telangana has been described in various ways. According to the central leadership of the ruling party, Congress, it was a factional conflict between the Andhra and Telangana



Congressmen over the issue of political power-sharing. The communists term it to be a fendal movement.<sup>28</sup> The State leadership, especially, the Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy described it as a law and order problem. The State perceived that the demand was primarily due to regional economic imbalance. Unlike in 1956, the State did not recognise that it was a demand for cultural recognition, in 1969. Lastly but not in the least some Muslims remained neutral to the movement and others supported the movement after the Telangana Praja Samithi promised them to grant urdu the status of second language in the state of Telangna.<sup>29</sup>

In some ways each of these descriptions of the nature of the renewed demand is partly true. The nature of the renewed demand was, infact, above all this was a demand for separation as the promises of the new state and new experiment had failed and their real demands of cultural recognition were still left unaddressed. The failure of the new state of 1956 to fill in the void led to the renewed of the demand.

The void was indeed created by the socio-economic and political neglect but underneath all these was the cultural void that they wanted to fill. Therein lies the nature of the Renewed Demand for a separate state for Telangna.

### **Telangana Praja Samithi and the Renewed Demand**

In continuing our analysis on the demand for separate Telangana, we will now move on to discuss how Telangana Praja Samithi(TPS) articulated the demand for

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, pp. 145-146.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p.147.

separate Telangana. Its crucial because after the TPS took over the movement, got further strengthened. Under TPS the movement got leadership and clearly defined agenda.

Telangana Praja Samithi's precursor was the Telangana people's convention formed in February, 1969 at a meeting attended by lawyers, doctors, journalists, peasants, businessman and others to press for granting statehood to Telangana.<sup>30</sup> The convention felt the need of forming the organization, as all the Political Parties disowned the people of Telangana by joining hands with the Ruling Congress Party in hood-winking the Telangana people and suppressing the spontaneous and genuine upsurge of the Telangana people."<sup>31</sup> The Convention under A. Madan Mohan was mainly responsible for spreading the agitation in the initial stages. He extended full support to the student's conference held on March 8 and 9 of 1969.

He also gave a call for 'Telangana Bandh' on 3 March 1969. The success of 'Telangana Bandh' of 3 March and the student's meeting of March 8 and 9 gave sufficient courage and strength to the student leaders and the key personal of the Telangana people's convention to reshape and integrate their several week organizations into an effective and broad-based organisation called the Telangana Praja Samithi, TPS.

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<sup>30</sup> Ram Reddy G. and Sharma, B.A.V., *Regionalism in India- A Study of Telangana* (New Delhi : Concept, 79), p.57.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, pp.51-58.

Telangana Praja Samithi soon became a political party when the TPS General Secretary Won a bye-election to the State Legislative Council the same year. This victory bolstered the confidence of TPS and leaders like Dr. Chenna Reddy openly came out in support of TPS and was elected as its Chairman. Under his leadership TPS successfully organised a number of hunger-strikes, fasts, bandhs throughout Telangana. In two more bye-election in Hyderabad and Siddipet TPS candidates emerged victorious, this made many Congress man shift their loyalties from Congress to TPS.<sup>32</sup>

In the following mid-term Lok Sabha Polls TPS was tried to be stopped from contesting elections. Special talks were held and PM made some more promises to TPS but they all fell short of their demand for separate Telangana State. Immediately an 8 point formula was announced by the centre as a measure of redressal, however, the glaring omission of Mulki rules in the 8-point formula had further aggravated the agitation and the people of Telangana under the banner of Telangana Praja Samithi for separate state.

And this was evident in the bye-elections as well as in Lok-Sabha election of 1971 which the Telangana Praja Samithi decided to contest and won 10 out of 14 seats, in Telangana with 47% of the votes.<sup>33</sup> This success was even more remarkable, as the Congress won a land slide victory nearly every where else in

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p56.

<sup>33</sup> Bernstroff. Dagmar, *Region and Nation : The Telangana Movement's Dual Identity* in Taylor. David and Yapp. Malcolm (ed.), *Political Identity in South Asia* (London : Curzon Press, 79), p.147.

India, having mobilised the support of Harijans, Muslims and Women with the 'Garibi Hatao' Slogan.<sup>34</sup>

The Congress party was very disturbed with the increasing tension within the state especially after the TPS victory. The Ruling Party decided to go in for a change in the leadership of the state as the Lok Sabha election in 1971 indicated that the Chief Minister did not command the Confidence of the Telangana people. Secondly, Telangna Praja Samithi continued to operate as a separate bloc within the state as an opposition and threat to the government. More over the Telangna agitation began to appear like a faction feud between th Brahmananda Reddy and Chenna Reddy.<sup>35</sup> Further the party wanted to change the Pradesh Congress Committee leader in the wake of assembly election in 1972. And the party also wanted to replace the state leadership which came from the dominant economic class, especially, because in 1971 election the party had clearly adopted socialist goals and policies.<sup>36</sup> Therefore inorder to do justice the party's agenda as well as for the other above mentioned reasons the Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy was asked to resign.

The Central, leadership sought an alternative leader from Telangana who was politically weak, committed to progressive programmes and amenable to the Central

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p.147.

<sup>35</sup> Acharya K.R., Telangana and Andhra Agitations in Ram Reddy G. and Sharma B.A.V. (ed), *State Government and Politics : Andhra Pradesh* (New Delhi : Sterling, 87), p.518

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.518.

Control and directives.<sup>37</sup> P.V. Narshimha Rao was, thus, made the new Chief Minister. He initially secured the support of the dominant group led by Brahmananda Reddy and the group that belonged to the Telangana Praja Samithi. Contrary to the expectations Narsimha Rao antagonised Brahmana Reddy's group in the state politics. Further his ascendancy marked the beginning of the end of the Reddy leadership in the state politics. This factor seemed to have influenced the dominant Reddy faction of Andhra Congressmen to demand for separation as an extreme step assuming that in event of a bargain they could accept the president's rule for a short duration in order to eliminate Narshimha Rao from the Leadership of the state<sup>38</sup>. As per the demands of the Andhra leaders the President's rule was imposed in the state and Narshimha Rao had to step down as the Chief Minister of the state. Meanwhile Vengala Rao became the consensus leader who replaced Narshimha Rao. The factional politics within the ruling party in the state further proves how the assertion of Telangna leaders in the political power equation was unacceptable to the Andhra leaders.

Meanwhile the Supreme Court's decision of October 3, 1972 on the Mulki rules was given. It had reversed the earlier High Court ruling and found that Mulki Rules were "Laws in force" which had remained valid and operative even after the formation of Andhra Pradesh as it was a valid law ever since the commencement of

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.518.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.519.

the constitution under Article 35(b)<sup>39</sup> The ruling of the Supreme Court was disadvantageous to the Andhra Personnel with regard to employment opportunities and educational facilities in the Telangana region which included the capital of the State, Hyderabad. In Andhra, the students reacted to the Supreme Court Judgement by organising strikes and urging that the Mulki Rules be scrapped to preserve the integrity of the state. This verdict of the Supreme Court seemed to have made the Andhras feel that they were treated as second class citizens in their home state,<sup>40</sup> and thus started the Andhra agitation.

And when the agitation picked up and spread to several coastal districts of Andhra, the Prime Minister announced her five point formula<sup>41</sup> on 27 November 1972 to solve the problem of Andhra. Though the Prime Minister's formula was approved by the State Cabinet and the Congress Legislature Party, it was rejected by the NGOs, the students and other voluntary groups, extremist elements from Andhra and TPS and other separatist force of the Telangna region.

TPS leadership was now faced with the Problem of continuing the struggle or to agree to negotiations that were being offered by the Central government especially in the wake of the Andhra agitation. A certain section of TPS leadership wanted to continue and remain committed for Separate Telangana, however, the leader of TPS Dr. M. Chenna Reddy appeared more or less in favour of another

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.519.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp. 519.

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix (vi).

negotiation and comprise. And Chenna Reddy Chose the latter alternative and agreed to a six-point formula with Mrs. Gandhi and this formula was intended to remedy the economic, legal and political grievances of Telangna. It was the five-point formula of 1972 that provided a basis for further negotiations and paved the way for the six-point formula of 20 september, 1973.<sup>42</sup>

Dr. Cheena Reddy was much criticised for this decision as he almost single handedly gave up the cause of the whole region of Telangna and her people. The criticism was also based on the fact that no written assurances were given by the centre, in particular. And differences arose late as to the interpretation of the six-point formula. And it was at the same time that the crisis in East Pakistan had built up and India was involved in it as well. Therefore the reason given by Dr. Chenna Reddy for having chosen to enter into a compromise was that internationally we cannot give the impression that the country does not stand united behind the Prime Minister.<sup>43</sup>

Telangna Praja Samithi soon after the 1973 agreement ceased to be a political party according to one of its founding members, M. Satyanarayanan Rao,<sup>44</sup> as it joined with the then ruling Congress Party. He also said that after that it continued to exist merely as a forum and not as political party. In its short span TPS

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<sup>42</sup> See Appendix (vii).

<sup>43</sup> Bernstroof. Dagamar, Region and Nation : the Telangana Movement's Dual Identity in Taylor, David and Yapp. Malcom, (ed.) *Political Identity in South Asia*, p.148.

<sup>44</sup> M. Satyanarayana Rao in his interview expressed this fact, This interview was conducted on 21 June, 1998 at his residence in Hyderabad.

led one of the important regional movements of its time, in Indian history. However, it was not successful in fulfilling the aspiration of a separate state for Telangana.

Nonetheless the significant role played by TPS in the renewed demand for Telangana Struggle cannot be under estimated. It acted as a platform for the public opinion in favour of Telangana state. The relevance of TPS also lies in the fact that it was able to bring the public opinion favouring Telangana state under one banner. And as a political party it acted as a forceful assertion of the democratic norms of expressing the demand for a separate state for Telangana. When the public opinion in support of Telangana was as strong as it was, some leaders of TPS went ahead with the compromise alternative of the six-point formula. Therein lies the irony of the TPS.

The reasons could be traced to the fact that TPS was formed out of its parent party, Congress mainly because of the differences between the Andhra and Telangana leaders over the issue of political power-sharing. The factional politics gave them the right time to leave Congress when the movement for Separate Telangana had almost reached its peak and about 350 students had died in the police firing during the agitation. The leaders by uniting under one party TPS, were not only able to get the public support but also at the same time challenge the Andhra dominance within the Congress. TPS as a political party had more than one goal i.e., liberating Telangana. Therefore when Congress Central leadership offered an appeasement package as well as promised the due political positions in the power-system of the state, the leaders of TPS agreed. Thus TPS joined back with Congress



and what remained of the TPS was just a forum. What followed was the betrayal of the sentiments and just reposed by the Telanganan people in TPS. Thus, the cause of the Telangna was not only betrayed from without by the Andhras but also from within by the Telanganities. Therefore, Telangana Praja Samithi that began as a party with no ideological leading or commitment, except the ardent desire of Telangana People for creating a separate state, reached its conclusion almost as soon as the leadership agree to the Six-point formula. With it the demand for separate state for Telangna entered into the similar pattern of betrayal as in 1956 when the 14-point Gentleman's Agreement was signed. The loss of the cause, however, cannot be attributed entirely to TPS alone.

In the next section we will look into how the renewed demand for a separate state of Telangana was understood by the state and the theoretical implications of the same will be drawn.

### **The State and the Renewed Demand**

Having understood the renewed demand as the problem of sharing political power and resources, the state went ahead with granting the same in the six-point formula. Power sharing is necessary (although not a sufficient) condition for democracy in deeply divided countries. maintains the consociational theory.<sup>45</sup> It might be true in Indian case for the society is indeed deeply divided on the basis

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<sup>45</sup> Lijphart. Arend, *The Puzzle of Indian Democracy : A Constitutional Interpretation*, *American political science Review*, vol.90, no.2, June 1996, p.258.

of language, Religion etc, and also where the quest for autonomy among various cultural and ethnic groups is evident in the working of the democratic institutions.

The state has broad goals where the demands for cultural recognition and accommodation are handled as per the given contexts. At one level the state is bound to recognise them, and at another level what kind of recognition the state gives to such demands is left to the interpretation of the state. The state decided to recognise the renewed demand for a separate Telangana in 1969, however, that recognition did not imply granting a separate state for Telangana. It would only mean that certain measures will be provided that will safeguard their economic and political rights in the State of Andhra Pradesh. The demands made for the protection of their cultural rights and difference still remained unaddressed. This almost marks a complete similarity with the manner in which the demand was addressed in 1956. The only visible difference was that back in 1955-56 the state atleast recognised the cultural identity of Telangna as separate from Andhra identity. However, the demands on both occasions were articulated giving safeguards.

The renewed demand for separate Telangana in 1969-73 was understood as not only a power-sharing aspiration but also as a resource-sharing aspiration by the State. Therefore the perception of the State regarding the demand had shifted in 1973. The change was evident in the fact that this demand was described as the regional-economic imbalance problem which had been given fuel by the Congress-factional politics within the state.

Therefore at one level this demand was reduced to a mere party conflict and resolving of that conflict in the form of Six-point formula.

The evidence clearly shows that the state in India had evolved a power-sharing system of democracy to solve intergroup tensions and differences.<sup>46</sup> And although power-sharing system may be conducive to solve inter-group differences, to begin with, it is not enough when the questions go deeper than merely political power-sharing. The state in a democracy must evolve ways to solve inter-group cultural differences, other than the ways of existing Power-sharing methods. This is applicable to the case of Telangna. The state takes cognizance of the cultural difference but adopts a method of power-sharing in order to resolve the tensions and differences in the region. This method works only up to a point while the real problem lies else where. Therefore, the Indian State a quasi-federal democracy, needs to be more alert and responsive to the demands of cultural recognition at that level and in that context.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.259.

*Part – III*

Telangana's Quest for Recognition

## CHAPTER 5

### FROM NON-RECOGNITION TO MISRECOGNITION AND BETRAYAL(1973-84)

The demand for Recognition is linked to a person's understanding of who they are. An understanding of who they are shapes their identity and a quest for recognition of this identity is an expression of that identity itself. A cultural community having defined itself grasps its identity. And the struggle for the assertion and expression of an identity is a struggle for its recognition. Recognition and accommodation are two fundamental conditions of life. In the absence of which a basic character of our being is lost. Similar is the case of non or misrecognition of a Group's identity, "Non-or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning some one in a false, distortive and reduced mode of being".<sup>1</sup>

The signing of the six-point formula in 1973 and the subsequent period showed that the demand for Telangana from a stage of Non-recognition had reached to a stage of Misrecognition and Betrayal. The proposal of six-point formula made by the State implied the non-recognition of the demand. Whereas Telangana leadership by actually signing the six-point agreement consciously allowed the Misrecognition of the demand for Telangana as well as Misrecognised it. And the manner in which the agreement was implemented (or is still being implemented) is a clear indication of the betrayal of the people of Telangana and their demands.

The chapter will broadly examine how the demand of Telangana had reached from Non-recognition to Misrecognition and Betrayal.

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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.1.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section one examines the government account of the recognition of the demand and its articulation. Section two, will draw out an analysis of the implementation of the same six point formula according to the versions of people of both Telangana and Andhra regions. Section three, will look into the socio-economic consequences, with special reference to the increasing naxal problem in the region. And section four, tries to understand the silenced voice of the Telangana people.

### **‘Non to Misrecognition’ of the Demand- Government’s Version**

The government not only non-recognised the demand of Telangana but also misrecognised the same. The non-and misrecognition actually followed the recognition of the same in its totality. This contradiction which the government, or the State, demonstrated in handling the problem of Telangana added a new definition and meaning to the problem. The contradiction was evident in 1955-56 when the demand for a separate Telangana was made. The government recognised that the demand was a viable demand. It justified the demand from socio economic, political angles but more so from the cultural angle. It was a demand primarily rooted in cultural difference. The emphasis on the cultural difference was again evident in the States Reorganisation Commission report. However, for reasons, political and otherwise, the State decided against Telangana demand. And subsequently, giving it a name of an intra-state regional imbalance, the State reached an agreement on consensus between the Andhra and Telangana leadership to a 14 point Gentleman’s

agreement. This was the first blatant Non-recognition and Misrecognition of the quest of Telangana people for a Separate State. Here in lies also the first condition where the State recognises Telangana Identity in theory but not in Practice.

The improper implementation of the 14-point Gentleman's agreement as well as the unaddressed demand for recognising Telangana as a separate State led to the renewed struggle for Telangana in 1969-73. This was the second demand for Telangana and the seriousness of the issue was clearly evident in the large scale participation of masses, intelligentsia and the dominant elite of the region. With the Telangana Praja Samithi emerging victorious in ten out of fourteen Lok Sabha seats within Telangana, the government understood that the problem was going out of hand. Therefore the State immediately announced the six-point formula, and with it the State was able to convince the leadership of the movement in 1973 as it did in 1956. The irony of Telangana betrayal is evident in both the demands where leadership more or less gave into the promises of the State agenda. Like the 14-point Gentleman's Agreement, the six-point formula also understood the Telangana demand as only a regional economic-imbalance problem. To a large extent it is true but the demand was a plea for recognition of the underlying cultural difference of this regional imbalance problem.

The government in order to strengthen the agreement and their commitment to the six-point programme, it immediately brought into effect a Constitutional

Amendment of Article 371 and (D) and (E)<sup>2</sup> Clauses were added which further provided a constitutional cover to the safeguards given to the Telangana people.

This is also known as the Constitution (thirty-Second Amendment) Act, 1973. Under this amendment the constitution provided, in Article 37(D), special provisions with respect to the State of Andhra Pradesh. It states that, "the president may by order made with respect to the State of Andhra Pradesh provide, for equitable opportunities and facilities... in the matter of public employment and in the matter of education. provide for the constitution of an Administrative Tribunal for the State of the Andhra Pradesh... with respect to matters of appointment, allotment on promotion with regard to the employment and civil service of the State"<sup>3</sup> And Article 371(E) calls for the establishment of central University in Andhra Pradesh. The Article 371(E) states that, "the Parliament may by law provide for the establishment of a university in the State of Andhra Pradesh".<sup>4</sup> This Constitutional amendment act is very significant because it takes care of the points, 2,3,4, and 5 of the six-point formula [See Appendix (vii)]. Point 6 is automatically taken care of by taking care of the above the remaining five points.

The Government of India as a part of the six-point formula programme (i.e. as per point 1) provided an assistance of Rs.90/-crores for the accelerated

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<sup>2</sup> Backward area in A.P. Identification and development, *A government statement* (Hyderabad : government of India, 93), p.28.

<sup>3</sup> The constitution of India, (New Delhi : Universal Book Traders, 1994), pp. 233-234.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.235.



development of the backward area in the State during the Fifth Plan period.<sup>5</sup> The Government indicated that "an amount of Rs 18 crores will be available every year and this was in addition to an assistance of Rs 10 crores for the development of the State capital."<sup>6</sup> The Government of India also said that the special allocation made for the development of backward areas should be distributed in the regions of Telangana, Rayalseema and Coastal Andhra in the ratio of 5:3:2 respectively.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly planning and Development committees were constituted on 1-1-1974 by the State Government for each of the three regions consisting of a chairman and 20 members drawn from the legislature.<sup>8</sup> The six-point formula also envisaged the constitution of a State planning board. The State planning Board decided in 1974 that the identification of backward areas should be done in each region in accordance with the recommendations of each planning and development committee concerned. On the basis of the above decision, 162 taluks in the State i.e., 52 in coastal Andhra, 42 in Rayalseema and 68 in Telangana were declared to be backward taluks and the

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<sup>5</sup> Backward Area in A.P. Identification and development, A Government of Andhra Pradesh statement (Hyderabad : finance and planning department, 1993), pp. 30-32.

<sup>6</sup> Accelerated Development of Backward area in A.P. (1974-1979) Government of Andhra Pradesh, (Hyderabad : Government General Press, 1978), p.1.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.1.

population of these 162 taluks constitutes 72.6 percent of the total population of the State according to the 1971 census.<sup>9</sup>

Prior to these State planning board and planning development committees, some of the boards and committees functioned both within the Telangana region and the State of Andhra Pradesh. At the instance of Famine code Revision committee, the Ceded District Economic Development Board was constituted in the erstwhile Madras State as far back as in 1941, and it was in existence till July 1949. It was followed by the establishment of a Rayalseema Development Board from 1949 to November, 1954. And after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, a planning and Development Board for Telangana and Rayalseema region were constituted in April 1969 and October 1969, respectively. These were the regional committees that were working in the State before the formation of the State Planning Board and Planning and development (regional) committees in 1974.

The main functions of the Telangana Development Committee were to identify within an overall framework of the Five Year Plans, the programmes and schemes relatable to the Telangana region with reference to the physical as well as financial targets to be achieved, to review from time to time the actual implementation and working of these programmes and schemes and to advise the State Government on appropriate decisions that may be considered necessary for the rapid development

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<sup>9</sup> Six-point formula programme for the development of Backward Area, (Hyderabad : Finance and planning department, Government of India, 1974), p.3.

to the region.<sup>10</sup> For this, the elected bodies of Panchayat Raj Institutions were also associated with the planning process and implementation of developmental programmes.<sup>11</sup> This should have enabled, 'a growth of development and Participatory democracy on the basis of their political-cultural traditions'.<sup>12</sup> This led to the rise and strengthening of the development planning in the region. Therefore the state thought that through proper devolution of the resources in the following plan periods the Regional-Imbalance in the region could be balanced.

The resources were allotted for the development of various sectors and some of the important sectors were, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Industry, Irrigation, Power, Cooperative and Commercial Banking Institutions (Credit), Health, Education, and Transport and Communications. And the allocated funds were to be spent as per the guidelines of the planning and development Committee of Telangana for that region. Meanwhile the of Rs. 90/- crores that was allotted during the Fifth Plan Period for the accelerated development of backward areas was utilised by 31-03-1979 and more funds were unavailable.<sup>13</sup> In the absence of specific funds the three regional committees had no function to perform, therefore, under those circumstances

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<sup>10</sup> Regional/District Development Board in Andhra Pradesh, (Hyderabad : Finance and Planning department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1995), p.2.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>12</sup> Seth D.L. and Nandy-Ashis (ed.) *The Multiverse of Democracy* (New Delhi : Sage, 1996), p.14.

<sup>13</sup> Regional/District Development Boards in Andhra Pradesh, (Hyderabad : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1995), p.5.

the Government of Andhra Pradesh had abolished the existing regional boards on 4-7-1983.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, On the political front the Government, or rather the Congress party, which was in power both at centre and State started a number of welfare schemes in order to fulfil the 'Garibi-Hatao' propaganda made during the elections.

The Socialist Front of the Congress Party both at Central and State levels was chiefly to gain more political will in support of the party. It was also meant to genuinely thwart the huge economic-imbalances existing in various regions, especially, in Telangana. Marx advocated that poverty is a result of a defective system of distribution of means of consumption i.e, incomes. Therefore in order to establish an egalitarian society it was essential to eliminate the concentration of wealth and poverty. To achieve this Land reforms policy in Telangana was speeded up by the Government In the grass-root level, the Government of India launched populist measure to assert mass poverty, eliminate unemployment, correct regional imbalances and to attain Social Justice. With these objectives, the Government of<sup>15</sup> India introduced after programmes like Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP), Minimum Needs Programme (MNP), Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Hill Area Development Programme (HADP), Food For Work Programme (FFWP), Peasant Development Programme

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>15</sup> Ravinder. D. Rural Development Imbalances: A study of IRDP in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed) *Telangana-Dimensions of under development* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997)

(PDP), Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) these programmes adopted a three-pronged approach, firstly asset building scheme for small and marginal Farmers, Secondly, employment generation for agricultural labours and landless poor, and finally to reduce the regional and spatial imbalance all over the country.<sup>16</sup> These programmes created a ray of hope among the rural masses since the inception of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The Government had also asked the planning commission to come up with a perspective planning for the Telangana region especially to understand the backwardness of the Region and do something that would solve the problem permanently. The perspective planning after defining Telangana's physiography and its natural setting. It stressed on, the need to develop balance in the region. And it should be achieved in substantial terms if not in absolute terms and this only possible provided the immense natural resources as well as human resources are put to use<sup>17</sup>. The report also said about the industries that, 'it appears that though some progress in the development of industries is evident, the pattern of development was such that the progress could not sustain itself largely due to lack of an integrated approach... the growth of industries in the region was not only haphazard but was in

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p.174.

<sup>17</sup> Perspective planning vol.I, (Hyderabad : Planning Govt. co-operation Department, A.P 1972) pp 220-22.

terms of a single unit pattern and the development was confined and concentrated in and around Hyderabad the city of Warangal was also an exceptional case.<sup>18</sup>

This analysis shows us that according to the Government the implementation of the Six-Point formula was done. However, the fact that region continues to remain underdeveloped makes us wonder where might have the resources allocated for the development of Telangana region gone. The State believes that it addressed all the needs in a manner as best as it could do. This claim is also justified in so far as the Telangana region was represented at the political level as well for a long time. First we had P.V. Narshimha Rao as Chief Minister for a short period and then we had J. Vengala Rao who emerged as a compromised candidate after P.V. Narshimha Rao. Later M. Chenna Reddy also became the Chief Minister of the State twice. The operation of the Six-point formula could have been much more effective under Telangana leadership but this was not to be so. Let us now examine the implementation of the six-point formula according to the people of Telangana and Andhra in order to get the complete picture of the implementation of the Six-Point formula in the Telangana Region.

### **Implementation of Six-Point Formula-People's Version**

In this section we will examine the people's version of the non-and misrecognition of the demand for Telangana. People include the People of Telangana and Andhra regions. This is to understand what happened to Telangana and its

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid,p.216.

people after 1973. In this analysis, I have relied mainly on the secondary sources (it will include the vernacular literature) and Interviews conducted of some experienced men of both regions.

According to Telangana people their unfulfilled demands are not directed at the Andhras only. They believed that there are various factors within the Telangana Region,, as well.

The unfulfilled demand of Telangana according to Telanganaties is attributed mainly to two factors. Firstly, the non-recognition of their demands by the State and secondly, due to the betrayal of the cause of Telangana by Telangana leadership, in particular.<sup>19</sup> Among other reasons most significant one was a hierarchy and domination perpetuated by the high caste and powerful class groups in the form of semi-feudalism in Telangana.<sup>20</sup> According to their version lack of democratic norms and principles in the region is another factor for their continued backwardness.<sup>21</sup> Lack of freedom to express their opinion freely in the interactions with political leaders and parties, even if they did, their State coercive machinery would always be

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<sup>19</sup> M. Satyanaryana Rao in his interview on 21 June, 1998. He participated in the Telangana movement in 1969 and was a founding member of TPS. He was also elected to Parliament under TPS banner in 1971. He was present during the negotiations which concluded in Six-Point Formula in 1973. He completely agreed that leadership of TPS betrayed Telangana. One of the reasons why TPS was winded up.

<sup>20</sup> Translation Supplied to New Democracy Vikari, *Separate States-Telangana*, (Hyderabad:Nara Prints, 1997), p.41.

<sup>21</sup> Vishweshwar Rao P.L, Realities of today's Telangana, in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. (ed), *Telangana Development of Regional Imbalances Regional Imbalances* (Hyderabad: Centre for Telangana Studies, 1998), pp. 23.24. [Translation supplied].

at hand to curb their demands or voice. More over the demands of the Telangana region and its people are hijacked by political parties and political leaders for their personal political gains.<sup>22</sup>

The process of non-or misrecongition of Telangana began according to some because of the internal colonisation of Telangana within the Andhra Pradesh.<sup>23</sup> The pattern of internal-colonialism was more evident in the sectors of Land and Water. The Land colonization was buying land cheaply in potentially irrigated areas of Telangana by Andhras.<sup>24</sup> Lack of irrigation facilities, traditional or modern has brought down Telangana's productivity very sharply.<sup>25</sup> Prof. Hargopal states that the nexus between power, production and culture is actually governing the development of the region. According to him the powerful group of political leader and decision makers continue to exercise tremendous control over the production forces. The direction an economy takes will speak volumes about the present and future of the society. The strength they gain from production will inturn decide their power relations. Culture inturn is influenced by the equations of power and production. The

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.41.

<sup>23</sup> *Perspectives on Telangna-1*, (Hyderabad : Telangana Information Trust, 1997), p.30.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.30.

<sup>25</sup> According to Prof. G. Hargopal. He hails from Telangana region. He teaches political science in Central University of Hyderabad. He is a human rights activist and is a prominent figure who is actively leading the civil liberties movement in Andhra Pradesh. He locates the problem of underdevelopment in Telangana to a nexus of these forces within the state. They are "power, production and culture". Interview of Prof. G. Hargopool was conducted on 23 June, 1998 at his residence in Hyderabad.



Telangana identity has to be, according to him, located in relation to these three factors. Other reasons why the water conflict is sharp between the two regions was because the State had actually identified the required projects for Telangana region but funds were rediverted to Andhra region claim source.<sup>26</sup> The potential of the region to become a leading source of water in the State was present. However, due to the non-implementation of the safeguards, the region has almost become a desert.<sup>27</sup>

On the question of non-implementation of the Six-Point formula almost all the Telangana leaders are announced that there has been blatant violation of the accord. The net result of the six-point formula was believed to be over all backwardness and continuing backwardness.<sup>28</sup> The increasing discrimination of the Telanganatias by the Andhras led to the increasing disaffection in the State. The Telanagana MPs in 1992 submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister which tells the implementation of the Six-point formula by point by point account.

#### Violation of the Six-Point Formula<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Translation Supplied to, Jaya Shankar K., *Whats happening in Telangana* (Hyderabad Navodaya Book House, 1997), p.21.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p.22.

<sup>28</sup> Amos. K.R, *Telangana Employees and Job opportunities : Dimensions of Discrimination* in Simhadri.S. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. (ed.), *Telangana-Dimensions for underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.145.

<sup>29</sup> *TDF's Memorandum* Submitted by Telangana M.P's to PM (Hyderabad:8 August, 1992), pp. 10-14.

### **POINT-ONE**

- i) Abolition of Regional Boards since 1983, even though they were conceived as appropriate instruments for achieving accelerated development. No action was taken to associate Legislators and experts of Telangana.
- ii) No specific resources were earmarked for the development of capital of the State and other schemes meant for Telangana Region.
- iii) No action was taken to identify the backward areas in consultation with planning commission and no capital development authority was constituted.

### **POINT-TWO**

- i) Failure to institute uniform arrangements through out the State in the matter of admissions to educational institutions.
- ii) Irregular clubbing of city zones with other zones in Telangana to enable non-locals to get more seats and jobs.
- iii) Drastic and unwanted reduction of residential requirements to 4 years to qualify as a local candidate for admission into educational institutions.
- iv) Issue of false certificates to non-local solely for the purpose of irregular admission. The object of stablishment of Central University in Hyderabad was defeated as persons from Telangana region have not secured any jobs in teaching and non-teaching posts.

### **POINT-THREE**

- i) A large number of posts that were non-gazetted until 1974 were declared and upgraded as Gazetted and excluded from the category of local posts.
- ii) Many Andhras were appointed in posts in Telangana but not vice versa.
- iii) Irregular clubbing of Hyderabad city zone VII with zone VI for the purpose of recruitment of posts which are not existing in city zones. This was done to help non-locals.
- iv) Local candidates Nativity certificates were issued to non-locals. A number of Telanganaties and Andhras also agree with this as some corrupt officials enable the acquirement of nativity certificate and they escape punitive action.
- v) The Government had not sent promotion panels to public service commission in certain Departments like Commercial Tax during last 30 years with a view to make ad hoc promotion.
- vi) While the six-point formula envisages strengthening of public service Commission as an agency of recruitment and to continue the posts already entrusted to the PSC but this directive was ignored by the Government of A.P.

### **POINT-FOUR**

- i) Most of the decisions given by the administrative Tribunal in favour of Telangana employees were not implemented. Finally the Tribunal itself was abolished.

#### **POINT - FIVE**

- i) No action taken to amend the constitution to provide protection to the Telangana people in the matter of public employment.
- ii) The actual percentage of population as per concession Telangana Region was not taken into consideration in the matter of appointments as well as allocation of seats in educational institutions.
- iii) Appointment in Government undertakings, Boards and Federations are excluded from the application of six-point formula to benefit people of Andhra Pradesh Region and as result appointment has become one sided.
- iv) The existing Government undertakings like Alliin and State Road Transport Corporation which are the legacy of old Hyderabad State, are the classic examples of exploitation, nepotism and regional bias in the matter of appointment of officers and higher grade in personal. The ratio of officers in the said bodies is as high as above 85% for other region.
- v) There is no administrative arrangement to check and verify the correctness of the candidates appointed on zonal basis.
- vi) Selection of candidates for Group - I posts would reveal the one sided character of appointments in Gazetted posts. This is the outcome of abolition of Mulki Rules in 1959.

#### **POINT - SIX**

- i) The abolition of Mulki Rules and Regional Committees is considered to be the great injustice done to the people of Telangana. However, it is important

to note here that Mulki Rules and Regional Committees have been abolished only after they had been properly compensated with other provisions as stated in the first five points of the formula.

Now moving on to the version of people of Andhra. They believe that the real cause of discontent in Telangana is not the presence of Andhrans in the region but the presence of a feudal system at the grass-roots. To overcome this system despite of the democratic institutions has become very tough for the people of Telangana. According to N. Bhaskar Rao, this is because of the great divide between the rich and poor of Telangana.<sup>30</sup> The funds the political positions in the State all went to the people of Telangana. However the acute class divisions in Telangana polarised the rich and poor. The rich and dominant classes wants to retain their supremacy in order to enjoy the benefits in the region at the cost of development.<sup>31</sup> This view had been endorsed by T. Munivenkatappa who worked most of his working years in service in Telangana region.<sup>32</sup> Infact he said that the devolution of resources for the

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<sup>30</sup> Shri N. Bhaskar Rao belongs to the Andhra region and has served the State of Andhra Pradesh as a Chief Minister for a short span in 1983. He is presently an M.P. from the Telangana Region. His interview was conducted in Delhi on 17 June, 1998 at A.P. Bhawan. He participated in all the three movements of Separation in 1955-56, the renewed movement in 1969-73, and also in the Jai Andhra movement. And as a person who has experienced these three movements, he says that of the people of Telangana were betrayed, then they are betrayed by the local dominant elite in the Telangana region itself more than anything else.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Shri. T. Munivenkatappa, a retired IAS officer, and is presently a member of the Administrative Tribunal of Andhra Pradesh. He belongs to Andhra Region but lived most of his life in parts of Telangana and in Hyderabad. He says that Telangna continues to be backward but that is mainly due to the lack of

development of backward areas in Telangana had been done by the State, in general. However he does not agree that there is a lack of trickle down of these resources to the people at the grass-roots level. He says that resources have been devolved but because of the continuing gap between the rich and poor, the real goods of development are taking to reach them. Meanwhile there is discontentment both from within and without to Telanganites.

Andhrans, in general, do not believe that there has been any lack of resources for development to Telanagana not just since the six-point formula but since the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh said S. Jaipal Reddy. Infact it is just due to differences in perceptions according to him. He says that the reality is that people in Telangana continue to be backward and underdeveloped because of two reasons, in particular. They are, firstly, the semi-feudal system in the region and secondly, indeed there has been a gap in theory and reality of the implementation of the six-point formula.<sup>33</sup> Infact he says that the North Telangana is more backward than the

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empowerment and curbing of the democratic voices of the poor in the region by the dominant caste or class group. For this presents their participation at the grass root levels. His interview was conducted on 22 June, 1998 at his residence in Hyderabad.

<sup>33</sup> Shri, S. Jaipal Reddy is presently Member of Parliament from Mahaboob Nagar, Telangana. He has represented the region at various political capacities both in the state and the centre. This interview was conducted on 17 June, 1998 at his residence in New Delhi. In his experience with the people of the region at the grass-root level he found that the people of Telangana do feel a sense of having been let down by the political leaders before the 1973 agreement and even after. And he agrees that this is partly true.

South.<sup>34</sup> However the main problem of the region he says is the class divide which is very sharp between the rich and poor of Telangana.

Therefore to sum up the popular version of the devolution of the resources and implementation of the six -point formula we have found that although there is some devolution of resource for the development of the region. There have been gaps between the theory and reality of implementation of the six-point formula. The factors, however, lay within the Telangana region than without. And most important one, to be won is the polarised rich and poor of the region and to thwart the frozen poverty of the poor of the region. There is also a need for more sincere attempt to be made on the part of the political leaders to enable the real principles of democracy and liberty to reach the people of the Telangana region.

In the next section we will examine the socio-economic consequences especially in the light of the implementation of the safeguards and with specific reference to the problem of Naxalism in the region.

### **Socio-economic Consequences**

The Socio-economic consequences shall be examined with specific reference to two main issues the implementation of the Land reforms in the region, and the problem of Naxalism in the region. This will help us understand better the story of non or misrecognition and Betrayal of the people of Telangana.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

In Telangana, despite the reduction in concentration of land-ownership in the wake of Telangana movement and the early land legislation, such as that in 1971, large holdings were dominant and accounted for a substantial part of the area. The concentration was much higher there than in the Andhra region.<sup>35</sup> Usury, an aspect of the feudal land system, was strengthened in the context of inadequacies in the availability of institutional credit.<sup>36</sup> Given the composition of cooperative organization which are by and large in the hands of big land lords, small farmers had little access to them. According to Prof. G. Partha Sarthy, "Land distribution, around which every other activity is dependent in rural areas also governs access to other inputs. Further the nexus between land power, on the one hand, and bureaucratic and police power, on the other, can not be ruled out. The nexus is stronger in areas at lower levels of literacy. In these the control of land lords over village Panchayats, Cooperatives, and other institutions aggravates exploitation. Such exploitation is more poignant when the bulk of the land less and marginal farmers belong to Backward and Scheduled Castes, and the land lords to higher castes. Instead of modernizing the villages, the instruments of modernization have 'medievalized", with land lords in control of rural power".<sup>37</sup> There have been many peasant movements in Telangana on the land question like the case studies of Sircilla vemulavada incident, Kasapur

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<sup>35</sup> Parthasarathy. G, Land Reforms in Hanumantha Rao. V, Acharya N.K. and Swaminathan, M.C. (ed.) *Andhra Pradesh at 50 a data based analysis* (Hyderabad : Data News features, 1998), p.210.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.210.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.210.



incident in Karim Nagar and Medak; the Madunur Struggle of Karimnagar district the Chinametpalli and the Indervalli Struggle in Adilabad districts. And they pose two questions in Telangana which need to be answered. "First, the possibility of implementing land reforms through bureaucracy without involvement of peasant organization at the grass-root level; Second, the prospects of technological change in resolving questions of agricultural growth and equity, especially in areas where Semi-feudalism and extra economic coercion by the land lord class is rampant."<sup>38</sup>

There are, however, more basic issues of rural development which need to be addressed. Sustained growth in rural sector depends upon the technological change and improved land use, rooted in equitable distribution of the land. The possibility of capitalist agriculture replacing the agrarian economy and the absorption of rural labour is the Urban (industrial) Sector are doubtful to a large extent, in the near future. This however, may be possible over sustained and long period of growth and development. In such a case the effective absorption of technological change and productive land use become necessary.

Now under such circumstances what should be the agenda for land reforms, in general and land reform in Telangana in particular. Firstly absentee land lordism needs to be curbed both on the grounds of efficiency and equity. Secondly, an appropriate and meaningful definition of personal cultivation is necessary. Thirdly, the record of rights of tenants needs to be established and non-owing and small

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.211.

tenants should be assisted in acquiring ownership of land, and stricter implementation of anti-alienation laws in the tribal areas needs to be pursued.

Fourthly, there should be a wet land ceiling wherever land is brought under public irrigation projects, as per the existing land reforms provisions.<sup>39</sup> For all this question and problem of Semi-feudalism caste and class dominance over the weaker peasants and exploitation of the same poor peasants must be curbed by the State. This is only possible when there is an effective implementation of the rights to life and liberty of the masses which are under considerable threat in such a system of social-relations where the powerful group is very powerful and weaker group is very weak. This is more so in Telangna than any-other place in atleast most of the India.

Linked closely with the question land is the problem of Naxalism in Telangana. Almost the two are inseparable. Telangana with a militant history dating back to the Telangana Armed Struggle, with all its failures and successes continues to be a source of inspiration for the Marxist-Leninist parties. Gunnar Myrdal Calls India a 'soft state' owing to the failure of the Indian State to vigorously carry out effective land reforms and other pressing socio-economic changes in the society with a view to establishing an egalitarian and less repressive society.<sup>40</sup> This led to the increasing problem of backwardness and poverty. Since these two factors are

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.211.

<sup>40</sup> Gunnar Myrdal in his work *The Asian Drama* terms Indian State a 'Soft State' owing to its nature of functioning in theory and reality.

evidently a fact of life in Telangana the Naxal movement started and grew stronger in this region.

Their ideology is based on the fact that socio-economic justice at any cost, even violence. Their ideology and working on the one hand have been able to make doubts into the unquestioned dominance of the feudal lords of the area and on the other hand they are also a law and order menace to the State. However, in early 70's this movement picked up ground in Telangana in order to speedy the process of socio-economic Justice. In lots of ways their increasing hold on the area is largely due to the failure in non-recognition of the demand for separate Telangana and non-implementation of the six-point formula. For the latter led to a State of increasing polarisation of the poverty, on the one hand and the feudal dominance kept increasing on the other hand. Therefore what the Naxals did was act as a safety conduit which raised the consciousness of the oppressed classes and also to de-feudalise as much as possible.<sup>41</sup>

If Naxalism, however, was successful in its agenda then by now the situation in Telangana should have improved. However, some newer elements have entered into this movement who had joined because of poverty and Joblessness (among the youth, in general). The Dalams of Naxal groups which are created, sometimes come into existence for easy money and go out of existence after their short term goals are

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<sup>41</sup> Stevenson. K. Naxal, Conflict and Press : A Left Perspective in Simhadri and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. *Telangana Dimensions of under development*, (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), pp. 217-219.

fulfilled. Their CPI(ML) wing peoples war group has also become a major law and order problem due to its increased indulgence with militant and violent activities.

• To sum up our analysis of this section we could conclude that the Socio-economic factors are strong agents that shaped the Telangana identity in the region both prior to its joining Andhra State and even after its merger. And with the non-recognition of the demands of Telangana as well as improper implementation of the recognised demands of the people of Telangana have led to serious socio-economic fall out. The linkages of dominant caste, powerful economic class and land have led to a production structure where the poor and the weak are gripped in their frozen poverty which is largely due to a semi feudal system operative in the region. In a Liberal democracy the absence of democratic norms and principles at the grass-root level is a dangerous sign which is generally exploited by militant groups. Therefore the absence of rights life, liberty, equality and freedom of expression for a section of people in practice, if not in theory, in Telangana have led to condition where the people are caught between three groups namely, the dominant feudal lords, the Naxal groups and the State. The dominant feudal lords have both the political and economic power in their hands therefore they exploit the weak masses. Then we have Naxal groups which are small splinter groups at their positive heights they rise the consciousness of the people and on the negative side they become a law and order problem and groups who come into existence for easy money. And then we have the State, the most important of these three actors. The State has so far with its improper, or some claim, non-implementation of the safeguards promised in 1956 as well as in

1973 have alienate the people of Telangana. The people of Telangana in their betrayal from have reached a phase of a silence since 1973 till almost the beginnings of 1990's. In the following section we will examine the nature of this silent voice of Telangana and the Psychological consequences which has effected their consciousness and demand for Telangana.

### **The Silenced Voice of the people of Telangana**

Silence is a State one reaches when there is an impasse. This impasse can be characterised by various factors. They on the positive side could be contemplation, giving self and the other time, and waiting patiently. On the negative side, they could be dissatisfaction, anger and shock located in a sense of betrayal.

But what does it mean to be silenced ? silenced, in general, would indicate a situation where one of the actors has dictated terms over the other, and for some reasons in this relationship the latter, is not always as powerful as the former. Silenced could also mean you are simply taken by surprise or shock with someone or some situation. The two meanings of silenced plus the meanings of silence mentioned above could be applied to Telangana's sense of betrayal and mis-recognition of their demand for a separate State. Telangana is not only silent because it has reached a situation of impasse but also because it has been silenced. We will try to make an attempt to understand each case separately and then combined by in the following parts of this section.

The people of Telangana with the signing of six-point formula had reached another case of impasse as they did in 1956. This deadlock meant that they will have to remain as a part of the State of Andhra Pradesh, which they did not want. And this deadlock was helped to be reached by the leaders of the Telangana themselves who were not only leading the movement but they also had the trust of the people reposed in them. Unlike in 1955-56, in 1969-73 the people thought that their demands for a separate State would be realised. However, they were in for a rude shock when the six-point agreement was accepted by the Telangana leadership. This sense of betrayal, shock, anger and disaffection had made the people of Telangana silent.

The people of Telangana were also silenced by the fact that two actors which were powerful had imposed this decision on them. One was the State and the other the leadership of Telangana. They were silenced by the situation because of the manner in which the leadership without any consultation at the grass-root level decided to accept the decision which was contrary to the demands that they were meant to achieve. The State being a powerful actor was able to impose its decision of non and mis-recognition the Telangana demand on Telangana. Therefore we understand that Telangana had become silent and also was silenced for similar reasons and causes, after 1973. This silence was rooted also in the sense of insecurity that developed as a consequence of the fact that "the other" they were fighting earlier was the Andhra region located outside their region but now they had to fight "the other" located within themselves inside Telangana . This led to a simmering

discontentment among the people of Telangana that had silenced the voice of the people of Telangana.

This kind of silence in any condition is unhealthy, particularly, more so in a democracy. It is an unhealthy sign as decay starts to set into the system in the absence of a dialogue which forms the basis of a dialogical relationship. Dialogue in a democracy is most essential because State cannot exist in isolation. State exists in its dialogical relationship with its people. There is a necessity that whether demands are recognised or not the process of dialogue keeps the movement of the context in a progressive perspective. To be silent for contemplation, and for understanding the context better is a healthy silence because it is a temporary phase which will soon begin the process of dialogue. However, silence rooted in shock and betrayal is unhealthy because it might completely stop the process of dialogue. Dialogue is the essential condition of progress and movement of human life,<sup>42</sup> in general and democracy in particular. In a context we may not get success in all the demands that we make but to deprive the space for dialogue in a State to any actor by any manner is a case of concern. And Liberal democracies in a feudal system have a special duty to keep this space of dialogue alive, for the basis of a federal democracy lies not in granting all the demands on it but reconciling the conflicting demands made on it through dialogue, in general and consensus in particular.

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<sup>42</sup> Taylor. Charles, The Politics of recognition in Guttman. A. and Taylor. Charles (ed.), *Multiculturalism and 'Politics of Recognition' : And Essay by Charles Taylor* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1992). p.9.

There in lies the true recognition that a State can grant to its components and people. Telangana's non-or mis-recognition largely a result of either a lack of dialogical relationship between the State and Telangana, or a failure to move this dialogical relationship in its context.



## CHAPTER 6

### THE RESURGENCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR A SEPARATE STATE (1984-98)

Civilized life cannot flourish under conditions of insecurity and oppression. The changing political equations led to the rise of a new set of indicators of socio-economic formation and development. But an unequal political relationship, along with the economic exploitation and lack of recognition of the differences results in a situation where history of that region or group of people is caught in the 'impact-response' syndrome.<sup>1</sup> This is what happened in Telangana. It was caught in the 'impact-response' syndrome. This indicates that the consequent responses of history would always be a result of impact of factor at some level within or without. Telangana following its mis-recognition since 1956 and 1973 initially muted the people and their voice in shocked silence for quite a long period. Time, however, gives one resilience to come back more stronger with whatever one believes in firmly. That's exactly what happened in the case of Telangana.

Telangana's mis-recognition in 1973, especially, and the period, after 1973, saw blatant violations of the six-point formula. This further betrayed the people of Telangana. They remained as mere observers in the ensuing period. But after nearly twenty years the region is witnessing a resurgence of the same demand for a separate Telangana State.

This chapter will analyse the resurgence of this demand for a separate Telangana being made in the 90's, in particular. The chapter is broadly divided into four sections. Section one analyses the changing political equations in the region as well as the state with the rise of TDP (Telugu Desam Party), as opposed to the decline of the Congress Party. Section two deals with the socio-economic development in a comparative analysis

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<sup>1</sup> Pannikar. K.N., *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony* (New Delhi : Tulika, 1995), p.60.

between 90's and 50's. Section three tries to understand the resurgence of Telangana demand and as to how this present movement is gaining movement. And section four draws out whether the notion of Telangana identity is still as strong as it was during both 1955-56 and 1969-73 demands.

### **The Rise of Telugu Desam Party**

The Rise of Telugu Desam Party or TDP marked a shift in the politics of Andhra Pradesh, in general and Telangana, in particular. But before we begin with this analysis, let us first trace out the which party or Parties had been dominant in the region prior to the rise of TDP.

The construction of a mint in the late nineteenth century expanded the production processes involving demand for labour. Thus there was continuous concentrations of the landless agricultural labourers. In the early part of the twentieth century there, however, was a change in the mode of wage payment from kind to Cash. This increased the scope for rich peasants. The labour did not have much of bargain power as there was surplus labour. It was in this context that the Communist Party rose to prominence and it started organising the labour force.<sup>2</sup> And the leadership of the Communist party came from the dominant and the newly rising elite who were opposed to Brahmanical feudal hegemony and the Congress Party dominated by the elite drawn from these classes.<sup>3</sup> However the Congress Party did not have much hold on the Telangana region. The armed struggle in

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<sup>2</sup> Thirumali.I, Language Communists and Vishalandhra in Simhadri.S. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana Dimension of underdevelopment*, (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.21.

<sup>3</sup> Haragopla. G., State and the People, in Hanumantha Rao, V. Acharya N.K., Swaminathan M.C. (ed.), *Andhra Pradesh at 50 a Data Based Analysis* (Hyderabad : Data News Features,1998), p.450

the region which was anti-fendal and anti-colonial was led by the Communist Party.<sup>4</sup> The cause of Vishalandhra found its proponents mainly in the Communist Party. This was due to the fact that the Communist Party got most of its leadership from the coastal Andhra Brahmin groups as well as the dominant elite of the Andhra region.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, formation of the Vishalandhra was a result of a Brahmanical-communist conspiracy says one school of thought.<sup>6</sup> It was also believed that with the support that the Communist Party enjoyed in the state, in both the Andhra and Telangana regions, it would automatically come to power. And contrary to this belief the Communist Party, which did well in the first general elections, lost its old strength in the following election.<sup>7</sup> This marked the decline of the Communist Party and the rise of Congress Party in the region.

The rise of the Congress Party and its uncharacteristic dominance led to the uni-party dominance not only in the region and the state<sup>8</sup> but it was true of the whole country. 'While to the outside world Congress was a single powerful force, within the Congress there was endemic infighting on factional, regional, Caste and class lines. And since there was no opposition from outside, all the conflicts-Caste, region, Class and contending interests agrarian-industrial were contained within the Party.<sup>9</sup> And this was true from 1956 till 1966 of the politics in the state in general.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.450.

<sup>5</sup> Thirumali.I., Language, Communist and Vishalandhra in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao., P.L. (ed.) *Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad:Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.20.

<sup>6</sup> Ilaiah. Kancha, *Vishalandhra : A Brahmanical (Communist) Conspiracy*, pp.24-27.

<sup>7</sup> Haragopal. G., State and the People, in Hanumantha Rao. V., Acharya N.K., Swaminathan M.C. (ed.) *Andhra Pradesh at 50 a Data Based Analysis* (Hyderabad : Data News Features, 1998), p. 450-451.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.451.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.451.

The year 1966-67 marks the beginning of a major shift in Indian politics, in general and Andhra politics, in particular. On the all-India level Congress Party went in for a split, and at the state level the factions between the Andhra and Telangana regions took prominence in the wake of the 1969 agitation for the separate state of Telangana. The Telangana faction of Congress later joined Telangana Praja Samithi which spearheaded the separate State agitation and also won ten out of fourteen seats in the Telangana region during Lok Sabha elections. The 1969 agitation sought strict adherence to 'safeguards' enshrined in the gentle man's agreement to protect the interests of the people of Telangana. Many students also joined the agitation, leading to their arrest and imprisonment.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, Indira Gandhi, the leader of the Congress Party, was successfully able to solve all the contradictions existing within the party. This was evident in the manner in which she was able to convince a faction of her own Party in the name of a six-point agreement. She was able to make inroads into the rural-agrarian areas by weakening the Patron-Client relationship in the rural areas. She achieved this with her socialist package of politics of Garibi Hatao. This is one of the reasons why, despite of emergency, she was able to comeback to power within the state, atleast. The poor never forgot the Chyes ushered in under her i.e. the various social projects that she undertook for the development of state.<sup>11</sup> However the crisis was evident in the manner in which the party was thrown out of power in the rest of the country. The was a result of the manner in

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<sup>10</sup> George Karimalli, "One State, One People, One Government" in Andhra Pradesh Times, Hyderabad, 23 March, 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Hara Gopal. G., State and the People in Hanumantha Rao. V., Acharya N.K., Swaminathan M.C.(ed.), *Andhra Pradesh at 50 a Data Base Analysis* (Hyderabad : Data News Features, 1998), p.451.

which the political institutions were mishandled and democratic norms were eroded after the imposition of the emergency.<sup>12</sup>

In Andhra Pradesh, in general, the Congress Party received continued support under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. However, after her the factionalism at the regional level again sharpened. This led to the reorganisation of the feudal, the agrarian rich, the lumpens, the emerging regional industrial bourgeoisie to force a realignment of political forces that led to the rise of a regional party under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao.<sup>13</sup> Rise of TDP or NTR can be traced to another political factor and that is after the defeat of Congress Party in 1977 elections., the party made a compromise with the powerful classes and underplayed the socialist agenda of poverty alleviation.<sup>14</sup> This created a source of uncertainty among the backward and depressed class and they wanted an alternative which would fill the gap created by the Congress Party and leadership. N.T. Rama Rao entered politics with the same anti-poverty rhetoric and occupied the space that the Congress Party had vacated. But above all his popularity with masses was also because he was cinema actor. Let us examine how his entry into Andhra politics affected the development within the Telangana region.

N.T. Rama Rao assured to restore the balance between the regions of Telangana, coastal Andhra and Rayalseema. He promised to accelerate the process of development within the State in general. He even went to the extent of describing Naxalites as patriots and dedicated individuals.<sup>15</sup> But after elections the repression continued at various levels. Even the civil liberties activists were harrassed and sometimes killed. He started

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.451.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.452.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.452.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.452.

policies and welfare measures like Rs. 2 Kg rice scheme on one hand bindered the state with subsidy of about Rs. 200 crores but on the other hand state collected revenue of Rs. 600 crores from arrack.

The welfare measures adopted, however, did not indicate the overall development of the State. Meanwhile no projects promised for the development of the Telangana regions during his regime were operationalised. For instance, the Sriram Sagar Left Canal Project was allocated funds but they were misdirected to the Telugu Ganga irrigation project. Some of the Congressmen even claim that all the developmental measures undertaken by the Congress were undone by the TDP regime. And the people of Telangana who had hoped of moving towards a more balanced economic development as well as a guarantee of the fundamental rights, instead moved backwards to economic underdevelopment and repression along with the increasing violence due to Naxals in the region. Infact some parts of Telangana were under constant threat of violence and repression from the Naxals who were banned during the mid and late 80's. This increasing situations of repressive law and order in the region saw, in the next elections, coming back to power of the Congress in the State Assembly elections of 1989.

The coming back of Congress to power did not bring about much change in the socio-economic conditions of the State. The violation of the Six-Point formula continued especially at the level of employment and ear-marking of funds to the area for its development. The repeated and continuous violation at the political level where the leadership from Telangana within any party was not allowed to develop and these conditions of economic underdevelopment, social discrimination, political denial and cultural neglect sowed the seeds of the resurgence of the demand for the separate State of Telangana.

## **The Socio-Economic Development of Telangana**

The socio-economic development of Telangana is crucial to understand the discrimination and discontentment being faced by the Telangana people as a cultural group.

To conceptualise and measure development of the Telangana region we will take the help of socio-economic indicators such as Agriculture, Industry, Irrigation and Power, Health, Education, and Employment. The analysis would be done with the help of firstly, the review of regional variation in Andhra Pradesh', which is the State government's version, and secondly, according to the people of Telangana themselves. (Refer to the data-Tables in Appendix (viii) for each variable).

### **Agriculture**

During the period 1956-1995, there has been a sizeable increase in the overall agricultural production in the State. (see Table No. 1 in Appendix viii). It could be seen from the data that among the three region the increase in the value of agricultural production both at constant and current prices is the highest in Telangana Region followed by coastal Andhra and Rayalseema.<sup>16</sup> Among the regions, the increase in total food grain production and production of rice also have been really high in Telangana where it is 183.38% and 314.75% respectively.<sup>17</sup>

According to another version, in the tank irrigated areas of Telangana rice yields have become increasingly uncertain in comparison to the canal irrigated Andhra region. Moreover the fruits of the Green Revolution did not actually reach Telangana. But they

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<sup>16</sup> Statement on, Regional Variations in Andhra Pradesh : A Review (Hyderabad : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1997), p.2.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p.2.

reached and developed the Andhra region. The traditional occupation of the vast majority of people do not form part of the development plan.<sup>18</sup> No attention had been paid in retaining common property resources. The Banjar lands and grazing lands are slowly disappearing from the map of the village. Sheep and cattle rearing that are the inherent occupation of Semi-arid region of Telangana is also not a priority for the planners. The development model whose focus was to develop the capital-based agriculture and industry had, infact, been more conducive for the development of the dominant elite of the region,<sup>19</sup> who in term perpetuated the old-feudal order of relations. Thus, despite of increase and improvement on paper, the region continues to be underdeveloped in reality.

### Industry

Telangana and the coastal region contributed almost equally to the state's industrial income in 1955-56.<sup>20</sup> Although the contribution of Telangana region has not decreased in 90's but most of it comes from the Hyderabad region which is a part of Telangana. During the period of 1956-57 to 1992-93, the number of registered factories increased by 379.24% in the state as a whole. The increase was more pronounced in the Telangana Region with a percentage increase of 842.45<sup>21</sup> (See Table no.2. in Appendix (viii)).

However, the gaps are also evident in the process of Industrialisation in the region. The industrial concentration in and around Hyderabad is indisputable. In 1991

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<sup>18</sup> Simhadri.s. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana dimensions of under development* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.4.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>20</sup> *Techno-economic Survey of Andhra Pradesh* (New Delhi : National Council for Applied Economic Research, 1962), p.103.

<sup>21</sup> Statement on *Regional Variations in Andhra Pradesh : A Review* (Hyderabad : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1997), p.3.



from 449 industrial units, 335 units at an investment of Rs. 1187 crores are in this region alone.<sup>22</sup> An examination of the industrial development of the country shows wide spread disparities across the length and breadth of the country. Telangana is a fine example of how the underdeveloped region continues to be underdeveloped despite of many safeguards and investment. The factor responsible for this can be traced to after independence, when Telangana had to confront with the secondary status accorded to it in term of investment and growth, and the marginalisation of its population continues to exist.<sup>23</sup>

### Irrigation

Irrigation is a very important input for the development of agriculture, particularly for intensive agriculture. Two parameters can be selected to see whether there is any substantial development in the sector or not. They are (i) Gross area irrigated and (2) Gross area irrigated as percentage of gross area c cultivated. The gross irrigated area in Telangana is 16.49 lakhs hectares as compared to coastal Andhra where it is 18.78 lakhs in 1994-95.<sup>24</sup> [see Table no.3 in Appendix (viii)] In terms of the percentage increase, the highest is in the Telangana Region.

Telangana is richly endowed with two perennial rivers : Godavari and Krishna. And if one were to examine the river catchments of Andhra Pradesh it would be clear that Telangana constitutes 69% of Krishna against 18% of Rayalaseema and 13% of coastal

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<sup>22</sup> Vasundevachary A.K. Regional Imbalance in Industrialisation : A Study of Telangana in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L.(ed.), *Telangana Dimensions of Under Development* (Hyderabad: Centre for Telangana Study, 1997), p.139.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, pp. 138-139.

<sup>24</sup> Statement on *Regional Variations in Andhra Pradesh : A Review* (Finance and Planning department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1997), p.4.

Andhra. Similarly in the Godavari catchments Telangana encompasses 79% and Coastal Andhra 21%. However only 27% of irrigable Krishna water is made available to Telangana, as against 17 percent to Rayalseema and 56 percent to coastal Andhra'.<sup>25</sup> The possible river water centered dispute had been envisaged as early as 1937 when the Sri Bagh Pact was concluded.<sup>26</sup> The major thrust of this agreement was the development of the river water to subsist the irrigational needs of drought prone territories of Rayalseema. And even during the formation of Andhra Pradesh the Telangana leadership did not take up the issue of Krishna and Godavari water seriously which was also discussed by the States Reorganisation Report.

Irrigation development in Telangana was practically at stand still for seven years from 1956 to 1963. After served representation by the people and some of the leaders of Telangana, Government of India issued an order permitted utilisation of just 67 tmc of water at Pochampad by construction of low dam in 1963; but the budget allocation was almost negligible. This went on for 6 years and it was only in 1969 when the movement for a separate Telangana state took a serious turn,<sup>27</sup> the A.P. Government enhanced the allotment to the project. The total distribution of water of the existing projects is 360.00 tmc in Telangana as opposed to 680.00 tmc in Andhra.<sup>28</sup> The projects of irrigation in Telangana are either in pending or are being postponed. Jurala Project was

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<sup>25</sup> Prabhakar. S. Telangana : Irrigational Disparities in Andhra Pradesh in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), pp. 84-85.

<sup>26</sup> Simhadri S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.2.

<sup>27</sup> Prabhakar. S. Telangana : Irrigational Disparities in Andhra Pradesh in Simhadri S. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. (ed.) *Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.82.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p.83.

taken up in 1980-81 and meant to be completed in 1986. However, it had been postponed thrice to 1992, 1997 and now to 2000 with only 1/10th of its 250 crores spent<sup>29</sup> Bhima Project meant to irrigate 4 lack acres has been shelved and turned in to a lift irrigation project. No amount has been specifically ear-marked for it after 1997, which was supposed to be its year of completion.<sup>30</sup> Srisaïlam Left Bank canal was started in early 80's. So far only 76 crores out of an outlay of 1060 crores have been spent, mainly on establishment and compensation for land acquired. And there is no indication of any water being supplied in the near future. Pocham Pad (Sriram Sagar Project) started in 1985-90 was targeted to be completed by 1990. However the funds meant for this project were directed to Telugu Ganga Project. This was originally contemplated by Hyderabad State in 1948 as Telangana Project. And it was taken up by Andhra Pradesh Government only in 1963. Therefore in total this project is incomplete even after 33 years.<sup>31</sup> And finally we have Nandi Konda (Nagarjuna Sagar) and Ichampally lift irrigation projects which are also in their stages of construction.

The analysis of irrigation development in the Telangana region points to 'illegal diversion of Telangana waters, preference to Andhra Projects by the state government as compared to the near neglect of Telangana projects through fund starvation. It has resulted in basic underdevelopment of Telangana agriculture'.<sup>32</sup>

#### Power

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<sup>29</sup> Perspectives on Telangana-1 (Hyderabad : Telangana Information Trust, 1997) p.38.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.38.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p.37.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p.39.

Along with irrigation, availability of power also plays an important role in the development of economy, in general and agriculture, in particular. The main sources of irrigation are Canals, tanks and wells in the State. As per the data available for 1994-95, 40.57 percent of the net area irrigated is by canals, 17.48 percent by tanks and 37.35 percent by wells.<sup>33</sup> There has been a phenomenal growth in the number of Pumpsets energised over the 40 years period in the state. And since Telangana and Rayalseema region are mostly dependent on well irrigation, naturally the energisation of pumpset has been high in these two regions.<sup>34</sup>

And in the percapita power consumption Telangana Region occupies first place followed by Rayalseema and Andhra regions. [see tables no. 4(a) and 4(b) in Appendix (viii)].

The protagonists of separate state for Telangana argue that Telangana was a power surplus region before 1956. 'It has now been converted into a totally power deficit area. In 1959, the installed capacity of the state was 213MW, with Telangana's contribution being 15 Percent.<sup>35</sup> During the early years Telangana's surplus power was supplied to Andhra region. In later years Thermal power stations at Hyderabad and Ramagundam 'A' were closed down and two super power thermal station far away at Vijayawada and Muddanur were taken up. This has inturn led to acute power shortages in Telangana region causing much loss to the Telangana farmers. Infact this has made Telangana farmers realise the need to look at ways of reducing energy consumption for pumping

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<sup>33</sup> Statement on *Regional Variations in Andhra Pradesh : A review*, (Hyderabad : Finance and Planning Department, A.P. Government 1997), p.5.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>35</sup> Telangana into, p.39.

water.<sup>36</sup> One of the methods is shifting from paddy to other crops that need less water.<sup>37</sup> It is ironical because Telangana's natural resources include abundant water and coal. It is these kinds of discrimination which has led some to characterize the regional economic imbalance as internal colonization process where the Telangana region is a colony of the colonizer Andhra.

## Health

Under Social services sector, Provisions of Medical and Health facilities is one of the most important functions of the welfare state. The state has achieved a very rapid growth in this sector since its formation. From a mere 396 Government hospitals and dispensaries in 1956-57, the number has risen to 2056 allopathic, 715 Ayurvedic, 160 unani and 245 Homeopathy institutions in the state by 1993-94.<sup>38</sup> There has been high percentage of increase in the number of institutions as well as number of beds in Rayalseema Region compared to the Telangana or the Andhra region. However, the availability of beds per lakh population is high in Telangana (58) compared to Andhra (45) or Rayalseema (49) region.<sup>39</sup> [See Table no. 5 in Appendix (viii)].

However, some Telanganites believe that, this is another institution where administration is carried on regional bias and prejudice towards Telangana personnel. In 1986-87. when the Department of Health and Medical Services were bifurcated Andhras got undue opportunities as compared to the Telanganites to hold the key posts in all the

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<sup>36</sup> Chalapathi. B.V., Power Consumption Pattern needs a relook, The Economic Times, Hyderabad, 17 April, 1997, p.5.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>38</sup> Statement on Regional Variations in Development in Andhra Pradesh-A Review (Hyderabad : Finance and Planning Department, 1997), p.6.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.6.

three Directorates of Health, Medical Education and Vaidya Vidhan Parishad.<sup>40</sup> Indian population project-I further illustrates the disparity existing between the two regions. The A.P. Government was given by the World Bank more than Rs.60 crores towards the implementation of this project. Population growth is and was maximum in Telangana and despite of being aware of this fact the Government allocated the funds to the three districts in Andhra and not a single penny was allocated to Telangana. Ironically enough even this move was not successful.<sup>41</sup> Therefore even the health sector is not free from Andhra dominance and prejudice.

### Education

Literacy is considered to be the Primary indicator of development, particularly where human resource development is considered to be the primary objective of the state. If literacy has to be improved the development of educational institutions and infrastructure is a prerequisite. It is therefore necessary to analyse the literacy rates as well as the availability of educational institutions at different levels upto Junior colleges and their enrolment. Telangana regions literacy rate is 41.29 percent as, it is less than the state average as well as of other two regions.<sup>42</sup> [See Table no :6 in Appendix (Viii)]

At the primary school level the enrolment in the Telangana region is high with a percentage increase of 232.2 percent.<sup>43</sup> At the upper-primary level Telangana is found to be lagging behind both in the number of schools established and in the enrolment

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<sup>40</sup> TDF Memorandum Submitted by Telangana MPs to PM (Hyderabad 8 August 1992), p.39.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p.42.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.7.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p.8.

growth. This could probably, be due to dropping out of children at the end of primary schooling. At the high and higher secondary levels, the growth in the number of schools as well as in enrolment is the highest in Telangana region, 3324.76% and 1890.98% respectively, in comparison to Rayalseema and coastal Andhra regions.<sup>44</sup> And as the junior-college level as well the region had the highest percentage increase in term of both enrolment and the number of colleges in the region.

It is believed by some that these figures given by the state do not commensurate with the size of the population of Telangana region and its backwardness. And that at least 40 percent of the students enrolled at different levels of education should be from the Telangana region, but they never constituted more than 30 to 32 percent of the total enrolment.<sup>45</sup> This state of affairs is bound to further aggravate the problem of disparities in the years to come. Educational development affects, and inturn, gets affected by the pace of economic development. There is a bi-directional linkage, and in this process low rates of literacy and economic backwardness sustain each other. This precisely is the problem of Telangana regional disparities in the field of education.

Allocation of seats to Telangana candidates in professional as well as State educational institutions is still being done at 36% ratio under 6-point formula of 1973, even though the 1981 census asks for a 2% increase and a 3% increase according to 1991 census in the ratio.<sup>46</sup> A meeting was held on 1 May, 1998 whose vice-chairman was the

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.9.

<sup>45</sup> JayaShankar. K., *Regional Disparities in the Realm of Education : the A.P. Scenario in Simhadri. S. and Vishweshwer Rao. P.L. (ed.) Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment (Hyderabad : Centre for Telangana Studies, 1997), p.153.*

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.45.

eminent economist Mr. B.R. Vithal.<sup>47</sup> He submitted a report on the educational institutions in Telengana. In this report he States that while Andhra and Rayalseema have 80% (each) of the number of educational institutions Telangana has only 42% of the educational institutions.<sup>48</sup> Another report brought by the T.L.S.O states that there are about 13 lakhs of school students in Telangana while in the Andhra region there are 40 lakhs of the same and this is mainly owing to the fact that in Andhra there are 75% of Primary schools and only 25% in Telangana region.<sup>49</sup> Thus the percentage of students getting education is only 20% according to Mr. B.R. Vithal's report.

### Employment

After the formation of the Andhra Pradesh the services of both regions in different categories were integrated. In this process of the integration the Telangana cadres were made to suffer. In Telangana the pay scale of particular post higher than incumbent of other region was equated on the basis of similarity in duty.<sup>50</sup> However in the case of Andhra employees with higher scales were treated as higher category ignoring the Telangana employees who was discharging a similar duty.<sup>51</sup> Despite the Public Employment (Requirement as to residence) Act of 1957, (A Central Act) thousands of persons were appointed in Telangana region exempting them the application of the above

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<sup>47</sup> Kakathi, a book in Telugu on Education and employment opportunities to the Telangana youth (14 Part-II).

<sup>48</sup> Ibid (14 Part-II).

<sup>49</sup> Today's Telangana (an article in Telugu, Souvenir) see (15 Party-II)

<sup>50</sup> Perspectives on Telangana-I (Hyderabad : Telangana Information Trust, 1997), p.40.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p.40.



Act. More or less this kind of violation continued till the Six-Point formula after which in 1975 the Andhra Pradesh Government passed an employment order.

The A.P. Government employment (organisation of local cadres and regulation of direct recruitment) order 1975 states clearly that each zone shall be regarded as a local area.<sup>52</sup> And further the Government of A.P. General Administration Department, issued (on 25th April 1985) an order on the Six-Point Formula, according to that all Heads of Departments are requested not to resort to the practice of issuing the inter-local cadre transfer orders without obtaining prior orders of the Government.<sup>53</sup> The jobs were supposed therefore to be given on the basis of percentage of population, however, this has not been strictly implemented.<sup>54</sup> The method and procedure of promotions were disheartening because many a time the seniority of Telangana Engineers was overlooked while Engineers from A.P. were given ad-hoc promotions in their post.<sup>55</sup>

The above main socio-economic Indicators help us understand the process of development in the Telangana region since the formation of the state in 1956 till the present. We also have to understand that there are two sides to the argument. On the one hand the State believes that there has been impressive growth in most of the sector compared to the existing situation at the time of the formation of the State. The State also believes that no one region was favoured nor the development has taken place in a particular region at the cost of the other regions. Apparently backwardness is there in-

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<sup>52</sup> The A.P. Public employment order, (Hyderabad : Government of A.P., 75), p.3. (10 part-II).

<sup>53</sup> General Administrative Department of Andhra Pradesh Government issues order on Six-Point formula - Inter local Cadre transfers, (Hyderabad : Government of A.P. 26-4-1984), p.1. (11 Part-II).

<sup>54</sup> TDF's Memorandum submitted by Telangana MPs to PM, p.49.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, pp.48-49

every region and in every district irrespective of the regions. What is necessary is to identify those areas in each of the regions and work out mechanism to balance the existing inequalities.

To an extent this is true. However on the other hand we have to accept that after all this we are still left with the same problem that we began with. And that is the problem of recognition of Telangana demands. If development has taken place, as is evident according to the existing data, why is Telangana still demanding again and again, to remain as a separate State. The demand exists because the neglect has been substantial at economic, political, social and cultural levels. There have been promises but they remained unfulfilled. There have been safeguards but they were violated. And more over there was a leadership whom they trusted and were betrayed. Further they claim that these economic statistics given by the State looking at the regional disparities is indeed flawed. That is so because the percentage increase in Telangana would have indeed been significant if the figure showed the development of Telangana and Hyderabad separately. Then a more true picture of Telangana would have been at hand. When a cultural group undergoes almost all possible ways of articulating their demands and when all of these ways do not lead them to their destination, which they value, they are ready for the extreme measure of separation. Hence the resurgence of the demand for a separate State of Telangana. In section three. We will examine what are the new demands being made in the 90's for the recognition of separate state of Telangana? And whether these demands are being made from all the groups within Telangana? If not, What are the changes in perceptions of this demand for a separate State of Telangana?

## The Resurgence of the Demand

The resurgence of the demand for a separate State of Telangana in the 90's indicates the true nature of the Telangana demands which is that the demands have to be understood mainly as quest for recognition of their Telangana identity. The resurgence of the demand also shows that the cultural recognition and accommodation of Telangana is central to all the demands that they have made so far.

The silence of 70's and the law and order problem in the 80's helped the people of Telangana, finally, to realise that its time to talk again. If the need be they are ready to shout to be heard. But why would they do so? They are doing so because they want Telangana's over all development and most importantly because they want to come out of the imbalance relationship they are placed with the other i.e., the Andhra people on the politico- socio-economic and Psychological-cultural level.

The resurgence of the movement for the formation of a separate state of Telangana started as late as in 1996. However the movement was never actually gone. Twice every year (since 1973) large numbers of people gathered at Martyrs Memorial in Secunderabad and Hyderabad and paid tributes to the Martyrs.<sup>56</sup> They were the same people who sacrificed their life for the cause of Telangana. In January 1986, some activists decided to form 'Telangana Information Trust'.<sup>57</sup> Soon "Ma Telangana", was launched which was closed down after seven months due to financial troubles.<sup>58</sup> More than a thousand people had gathered at its inaugural function at Basant Talkies, Kachiguda. Around 1991 two organisations, Telangana Students Front and Telangana Liberation Students Front

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<sup>56</sup> Jadhav. Kesav Rao, Towards a History of the Telangana Movement in (ed.) simhadri. S. and Vishweshwar Rao. P.L. *Telangana Dimensions of Underdevelopment* (Hyderabad : Centre for the Telangana Studies, 1997), p.12.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p.12.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, p.12.

were formed. In 1992 the 14 members of parliament from Telangana submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister mainly on the interpretation and implementation of the Six-Point formula of 1973. The 14 members of parliament from Telangana submitted a memorandum on 8th August, 1992 to the Prime Minister of India Sri P.V. Narsimha Rao. Their decision to submit the memorandum was decided on 27th June, 1992 at a meeting held in Hyderabad. The delegates of this meeting constituted the M.Ps. from Telangana together with the member of the State Legislature, intellectuals, leaders of different political parties and students leaders. They discussed the injustices done to Telangana region in violation of safeguards and a Telangana Development Forum was constituted, to perceive and evolve methods to accomplish the legitimate demands of the people of Telangana region.

In 1992 the Kakatiya units of Telangana Students Front was formed. A national seminar on small States was held in Landscape Gardens and Tagore Auditorium in August 1993.<sup>59</sup> 'Surendra Mohan inaugurated the conference and Justice Madhav Reddy addressed the gathering. George Fernandes addressed the concluding session. Delegates from various parts of the country including Vilas Bhongade from Vidarbha and Laxman Dasti from Hyderabad-Karnatak attended the conference. Both Telangana Students Front and Telangana Liberation Students Organisation organised demonstration on and outside Osmania University Campus and forced Osmania University to sanction 15 percent supernumerary seats to Telangana students'.<sup>60</sup> In 1995 Telangana and Backward Areas people's struggle committee had also been set up.<sup>61</sup> The convenor of this committee said that their main contention was that Telangana Area has been deliberately kept backward.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p.12.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p.12.

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Irrigation projects have been negated due to which the cultivable land remain uncultivated. Therefore they were demanding the government that the Telangana Area be developed as per the Telangana safeguards. They however, were not demanding for a separate State. They say that the real problem lay with backwardness and not by separating can they solve this problem.

Strings of a new movement were clearly visible in Warangal on 1st November 1996 at the Telangana Praja Samithi convention attended by more than five thousand delegates from all parts of Telangana.<sup>62</sup> The Hyderabad convention was held on 1st December 1996. It is important to note here that Telangana Praja Samithi (the political Party was winded up almost as soon as the accord was signed and what remained of the TPs was a forum for the Telangana people.

After that a series of conferences , group and public meetings have been held at Godavari-Khani, Karimnagar, Siddipet, Jangaon, Aler, Ghanpur, Nizamabad, Khammam, Nalgonda, the old city of Hyderabad and Bhongir. The Bhongir conference and that public meeting proved to be a turning point. 'The Bhongir Conference was addressed among others by Kaloji Narayan Rao, Dr. JayaShankar, Prof. P.L.Vishweshwer Rao, Dr. Srinivasulu, Sidda Reddy, Dr. Simhadri many others who had come from all parts of Telangana. The public meeting presided over by Sri. Mallaya Gupta ( a respected Communist leader ) and addressed by Gaddar, (the revolutionary poet) among others was a huge gathering ,much beyond the expectations of organisers. Gaddar called upon the people to launch a totally peaceful agitation for achievement of a separate state and he also called for a new type of leadership from grass roots upwards, emphasizing total control over leaders by masses'.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid, p.12

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, pp 12-13.

On 14 September, 1997 the Telangana Udyama Committee convened a two-day session to discuss the neglect of irrigation project in the region.<sup>64</sup> At this convention Telangana Udyama Vidyarthi representative G.Rajender Reddy, former BJP MLA R.Ravindranath Reddy, Samata party state general secretary Satish Mahajan and Telangana Udyama Committee member Tirupatamma spoke in support of the Telangana state.<sup>65</sup> Earlier on 27th August, 1997, the People's War Group (PWG) had come out openly to support the demand for separate state of Telangana. For PWG separate State of Telangana is not an end in itself, it is only a means to an end. The PWG supports the Telangana movement as the people's aspiration is reflected in it and the party wants to convert it into a people's movement' said PWG ideologue and revolutionary poet Varavara Rao.<sup>66</sup> According to him the PWG will support the movement by putting forth a seven-point agenda of development for Telengana as enunciated in the already released 43-page party document. Essentially it is a programme of land reforms, decentralisation of power to local bodies, medium and small-scale industrialisation with cooperatives playing a dominant role and protection of 'democratic rights'.<sup>67</sup> Once a separate state is achieved the PWG will put forth these demands before the new leadership, If they do not comply with the conditions, the PWG will continue its struggle against the state said Rao.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Neglect of irrigation cause of Telangana backwardness in Andhra Pradesh Times Hyderabad, 15 September, 1997. p.1.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, P. 1.

<sup>66</sup> PWG Support Conditional Varavara, Hyderabad in Andhra pradesh Times 27, August 1991, P. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, P. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p.1.

The Resurgence of the demand for separate State for Telangana can there fore be said to have been formally launched as a movement (one may say) on 14 September, 1997 under the Telangana Udyama committee. Its Chairman, Indira Reddy, said that a separate State for Telangana is required for better administration and economic development of the region.<sup>69</sup> He said that this convention had come out more vociferously for the demand for separate State on 18 June, 1998 when the 'Jai Telangana' movement was launched. He said that this movement is non-political in character and it is unanimously leading the movement under one banner.<sup>70</sup> Different national parties have started expressing their opinions infavour of the 'Jai Telangana' movement, BJP is chief among them and Samata Party also has extended its support to the Telangana's demand for a separate State.

The reasons given by Indra Reddy for starting this movement are firstly, the raising demand from the people of Telangana for the separate state. Secondly, the Telangana cultured identity had been continuously suppressed and discriminated by Andhras. Thirdly to do justice to the irrigation projects which have almost remained standstill. Further he argued that socio-economic inequality within the state were also not weakening due to the lack of implementation of the Telangana safeguards. He said that he believed that a separate Telangana would indeed solve the problem of the people of Telangana to a large extent'.<sup>71</sup>

The leadership he is trying to give the movement is the object question among some section of people both within Telangana of Andhra Pradesh. He has been politically

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<sup>69</sup> The interview of shri P. Indira Reddy, forms Minister in TDP Cabinet as well as a present TDP MCA, was conducted on 26 June, 1998 at his residence in Hyderabad. About two weeks later he joined the Congress Party.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

denied power in the higher echelons of the party and State cabinet. Therefore it is seen as a move against the ruling TDP more than in favour of the cause of Telangana's separate state.<sup>72</sup> This criticism is not unfounded for he joined the Congress Party about a month after he launched 'Jai Telangana' movement on 18th June, 1998. His reluctance to call it a political movement had also been subject to criticism.<sup>73</sup> Whatever may be the criticism voiced against 'Jai Telangana' it cannot be ignored for the people are extending their support to the movement. The intelligentsia is extending their support to it. And the youth are also extending their support to the movement. Therefore, on the one hand we have a case where one section of people in Telangana believe that the formation of separate state is the only option open to them to come out of their neglected state. While on the other hand we have a case where people in general are uncertain about separation. For they believe that the problem lies in the backwardness of the region and it won't be solved automatically.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Telangana convention a Moral-booster for Indra Reddy in Andhra Pradesh Times, Hyderabad, 16th September, 1997. P.1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid P. 1.

<sup>74</sup> The interview with Mr. Ramalu a CPI(M) MLA from Telangana region had been conducted on 26 June, 1998. He entered Telangana politics in 70's and still the present day he is actively involved in the politics of the region. Being a member of CPI (M) he made his party position on Telangana clear. The CPI (M) is not for a separate Telangana. Infact the problem he said lies in the backwardness of the region due to the poverty feudal-dominance and also lack of implementation of the safeguards that were promised to Telangana. He also said that parties like BJP who are voicing their support in favour of the separate Telangana are neither committed to its liberation or development. This is also evident from the fact that they did not put the same demands in their Party agenda ie. election manifesto and whatever support the movement for a separate statehood is getting its support is from the youth who are educated but unemployed.



The backwardness once removed and the safeguards implemented there will be no discontentment left within the people of Telangana argued Ramulu in his interview.<sup>75</sup> Backwardness of the region is certainly one of the important problems of the region. But what ought to be borne in mind is that to remove backwardness of the region is one of the demands being made. It is not the only demand that is being made as a reason to achieve the separate State for Telangana. The reason also goes back to cultural identity said Jaipal Reddy and Indira Reddy.<sup>76</sup> The demand has been essentially a demand for the cultural recognition of the people of Telangana since the day it has been merged with Andhra in 1956. And also keeping view of the popular, cross-sectional, support that this movement is getting it is fast assuming a political nature. And this was evident when the Warangal declaration was made at a two-day convention on 28 and 29 December, 1997. There are about 60 demands that were made. The summary of their argument is that a separate State of Telangana would mean a victory of democracy.<sup>77</sup> This declaration was made at a convention which was supported by All-India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF), Revolutionary Poet Varavara Rao, writer Chalsari, the grand old man of Telangana Kaloji Narayana Rao, former vice-chancellor of Kakitya University, K. JayaShekar, president of the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC), M.T. Khan and a number of members from literary and cultural organisation, including Gaddar's Jana Natya Mandali who were behind the move to hold the Convention.<sup>78</sup> The

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid

<sup>76</sup> This is in reference to the interview of Shri S.Jaipal Reddy on 17 June, 1998 and Shri Indira Reddy on 26 June, 1998.

<sup>77</sup> Translation Supplied to The 'Warangal Declaration' (Hyderabad : Charita Graphics, 28 December, 1997), p.3.

<sup>78</sup> New Telangana Movement gets a shot in the arm, The Times of India, Mumbai, 31 December, 1997.

fact that the 'Jai Telangana' movement has been able to bring some response from the people of the Telangana<sup>79</sup> brings out the relevance and significance of the resurgence of this demand. And there in lies the strength of the movement.

In this section we have analysed the resurgence of the demand and the demands for the future of the Telangana from various groups of people. In section four we will look at whether the question of identity is just as strong in Telangana today as it was when the earlier two demands for a separate State for Telangana were made.

### **The Resurgence of the Demand and the Telangana Identity**

Resurgence of any demand means that some certain crucial features of the demand that had been left unaddressed in the past. The crucial feature central to this demand is the cultural identity of Telangana that had been left unaddressed by the State in 1956 and 1973. The people of Telangana hoped that they can work out a balanced formula with the help of the safeguards promised to them .

However economic and political safeguards cannot give cultural recognition and respect. They compromised to these demands but the unfulfilment of a value central to their existence leads to discontentment and this discontentment if not removed comes back or resurges back for its rights. The denial of their cultural recognition and respect along with the continuous underdevelopment of the region finally made the people come back with their demands for recognition and respect.

The point of similarity in all these three demands is that of lack of a strong leadership to articulate their demands. The leadership is coming from various sections. On the one hand we have Indra Reddy leading Telangana Udhayama Committee; while on

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<sup>79</sup> Translation supplied to 'Response to the movement is good enough' in Varatha, Hyderabad, 14 September 1997, p.9.

the other hand we have splinter groups of left -parties who claim to be the torch bearers of the movement. Further there is the intelligentsia although supporting the demand with more uncertainty , has kept itself away from both the above groups. Prof. Haragopal summed up that, "the Telangana leadership is yet to formulate a programme of land reforms, participatory democracy and balanced development of the region. Unless the leadership is committed to a transformative polity, the dominant communities, particularly the Reddys will gain both politically and economically under the new dispensation".<sup>80</sup>

He says that, 'the Congress leaders (mostly Reddys) of Telangana find in the separate State agitation an opportunity to dislodge the Chandrababu Naidu government which is firmly entrenched. The BJP supports a Telangana State because it wants smaller (but weak) states to establish a strong centre. And in pursuance of its aggressive nationalist agenda, the BJP wants smaller States so that centre can rough shod over them.'<sup>81</sup>

The PWG on the contrary, wants a strong Telangana State with a working class leadership controlling political power. With such conflicting approached the demand of Telangana's recognition seems to be used by some for political equations. In such a process the danger of the cultural identity being thrown into background once again, is very much present. The leadership of Telangana if it is not sensitive to the demands of Telangana then there is a danger of the demands being left unarticulated.

Whether the demands are addressed in the manner in which the people of Telangana desire or according to their leadership is left to be seen. But what is evident is that the demand for recognition and respect of Telangna as compared to the Andhra

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<sup>80</sup> 'Leadership Lacks a Vision of Development', in Andhra Pradesh Times, Hyderabad, 11 August, 1997, p.1.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p.1.

identity will always be there. And it is this identity which will be determining their future course of history.

There is another dimension to Telangana identity. While some like N. Bhaskar Rao claim that the identity is now intermixed with the Andhra identity and does not exist in its pure form as it did during the 1956 or 1969 agitation.<sup>82</sup> And there are some who believe that the Telangana identity is even more strong now because it had the experience of being a part as second-class citizens for a long period. But what is clear in this argument is that there is a Telangana identity, strong or not. And this identity may have undergone some changes with context and time but there is an intrinsic worth of that same identity which is still there, even if it is present in a transformed manner. Any lack of change in an identity does not determine its strength. However, the strength lies in its ability to change and transform but remain true to its value that they believe in. Therein lies the strength of an identity, original or not. Thus the resurgence of the demand for a separate State for Telangana is linked to the demands for recognition and respect of the Telangana identity.

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<sup>82</sup> This is in reference to his interview on 17 June, 1998.

*Part – IV*

Cultural Recognition and Federal Democracy in India

## CHAPTER 7

### THE CASE FOR A MULTICULTURAL FEDERAL DEMOCRACY

India is a culturally diverse country with federal democratic principles as its foundation in order to enable the existence of its unique pattern of diversity. It has a distinct historical continuity spanning over five thousand years of interaction between its many ethno-cultural groups. This interaction has resulted in a unique pattern of co-existence which is called 'Unity in Diversity'. And it is in this context that India should be called a Federal Nation.

In this chapter we will try to sum up the main arguments that we have so far analysed in the context of cultural identities and their linkages to Federal democracy in India. To do so we will examine three questions. Firstly, is India a Multicultural Federal democracy? Secondly, Why do we need a Multicultural Federal democracy? And thirdly, what would be the theoretical implications?

#### **Is India a Multicultural Federal democracy?**

The answer to this has to be a yes. For the concept of a federal democracy is to reconcile socio-cultural diversities under one unified political identity.<sup>1</sup> And Indian federal democracy by recognising diverse values, and they are given the right to exist and develop themselves in the manner they think best. This principle of recognition

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<sup>1</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin, *Federal India : A Design for Change* (New Delhi : Vikas, 1992), p.29.

and respect of a cultural identity both at individual and group level is the basis of a Multicultural State. Thus, India is a Multicultural Federal democracy.

A Multicultural Federal democracy, 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 within this society. Hence they get a vantage point provided by the other cultures to recognise and understand the textures of their particular cultural attachments.<sup>2</sup> This enables them also to gain critical distance which Parekh believes is a necessary condition and component of human well-being and growth.<sup>3</sup>

India described as a federal polity in theory, however, in practise is only a quasi-federation.<sup>4</sup> This means, according to K.C.Wheare, that India is a unitary State with subsidiary Federal features rather than a Federal State with subsidiary unitary features. While there are also others like Granville Austin who prefers to call Indian Federalism as Cooperative Federalism, that is, it produces a strong central government yet it does not necessarily result in weak provincial governments that are largely administrative agencies for Central policies.<sup>5</sup> Further it has been described as a federal democracy with three main considerations; firstly, in the larger

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<sup>2</sup> Tyler. Colin, *The Implications of Parekh's Cultural Pluralism in Politics* (1996), 16(3), p.151.

<sup>3</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, *Cultural Diversity and Liberalism in Beetham. David (ed) Defining and Measuring Democracy* (London: Sage, 1994), pp.208.

<sup>4</sup> Wheare K.C., *Federal Government*, (Oxford University Press, 1963), p.28.

<sup>5</sup> Granville. Austin, *The Indian Constitution*, (Oxford University Press,1966), p.187.

interest of India there must be free flow of trade, commerce and intercourse, both inter-state and intra-state; secondly, the regional interests must not be ignored altogether; and thirdly, there must be a power of intervention by the Union in case of crisis to deal with particular problem that may arise in any part at any time.<sup>6</sup>

India has been actually conceived as a Union of States as per Article (1) of our Constitution. Although the Constitution may be federal in structure the term 'Union' has been used because of certain advantages. They are:

- (a) that the Indian federation is not the result of agreement by the units; and
- (b) that the component units have no freedom to secede from it.<sup>7</sup>

The above analysis has led many to understand that Indian Federation is a state with strong centralist tendencies, in general. But Indian federation despite of centralist tendencies is not a 'melting pot' federal model, assimilating diversities into it. The melting pot approach to ethnic diversities adopted in the U.S., sought to eliminate primordial distinction of the indigenous people and of immigrants from Africa, from other parts of Europe and later from Asia, in the cauldron of emerging American nationalism.<sup>8</sup> We have preferred the bouquet approach of exhibiting

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<sup>6</sup> Basu. D.D, *Introduction to the Constitution of India* (New Delhi : Prentice Hall of India, 1992), p.60.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.49.

<sup>8</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin, *Federal India : A Design for Change* (New Delhi : Vikas, 1992), p.30.



diverse flowers, each with its own individuality yet 'tied' together as a single whole.<sup>9</sup> This distinction is basic and this in turn explains the unity in diversity.

Prof.Khan argued that, "in India unity itself is a federal concept. It is certainly not the unity of a unitarian polity. It is the 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 in mutual confrontation they might themselves destroy each other, while in reciprocal cooperation they can thrive jointly and severally.<sup>10</sup> Therein lies the essence of our multicultural federal democracy.

### **Why a Multicultural Federal Democracy in India?**

We are culturally a diverse nation and the success of our federation depends not on the complete elimination of cultural-conflict but instead on its capacity to regulate and manage such conflicts. Therefore a multicultural federal democracy is, primarily a territorial strategy of social control designed to secure ethno-cultural co-existence. And by securing an ethno-cultural co-existence we mean a recognition of the values intrinsic to those cultures and their accommodation in the democratic norms of the polity. Thus one of the main reasons why we need a multicultural federal democracy is in order to protect the good of each culture.

Cultural differences also mean different values which may be in conflict with each other. The assertions of cultural identities for its recognition may also be traced

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.30.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.18.

to as a consequence of the homogenising trend of modern states and of their technological and educational imperatives.<sup>11</sup> The result is that such a model of development and nation-building would both be undermining pluralist politics and social identities based on a highly diverse and differentiated social order.<sup>12</sup> Thus in order to protect and recognize cultural values from the trends of assimilation and consumerism<sup>13</sup>, we need a multicultural federal democracy.

There are also tendencies in Liberal democracies to equate equality with uniformity. What we need is to find ways of being discriminating without becoming discriminatory and of guarding against misuse of differences.<sup>14</sup> This is another reason why we need a multicultural federal democracy, for it not only recognizes different cultural-values but it also recognizes that they ought to be treated differently for treating them equally and respecting them.

The fact that federal principle in India's democratic polity had become a reality as it had 'survived the vicissitudes of nearly four decades'<sup>15</sup>, indicate that our multi-cultural society has come to accept the need of federal democratic norm so that it may exist in the true spirit of the principle of unity in diversity.

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<sup>11</sup> Kothari. Rajini, "Integration and Exclusion in Indian Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 22, 1988, p.2227

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p.2227.

<sup>13</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, *Cultural Diversity and Liberalism*, in Beetham David (ed.) *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (London : Sage, 1994), p.202.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p.202.

<sup>15</sup> Mukarji. N. and Mathew George, *Federal Issue 1988-1990* in Arora. Balveer and Mukarji N. (ed.) *Federalism in India: Origin and Development*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publication House, 1992) p.279.

Therefore federal democracies may be justified on the grounds that it fulfils an important function of safeguarding minority interests and cultures. However a question could be asked that whether a federal democracy in a multicultural society had been designed so as to preserve the cultural differences and whether cultures have the right to be recognised through a federal democracy. Interlinked to this is the question, whether cultural difference is a social good? If so, which cultures should be supported through territorial recognition and who should have the right to decide?

Federal democracies are indeed designed to recognize and protect the cultural differences or identities. According to Walzer, "all culture producing creatures, creating and inhabiting our own meaningful worlds and non-socially unjust". Thus as an antidote to assimilation, subordinate cultures need to be protected. As their cultural formation cannot be separated from the political or economic sphere in which the ethno-culture group is situated these formation should not be denied legitimacy. Cultural protection from unwarranted interference from other is also linked to the right of citizens to pursue their conception of good life.<sup>16</sup> Will Kymlicka reinforces this point in emphasising that minority cultural self preservation is of fundamental importance for individuals because a cultural identity at some level provides them with a 'meaningful context for choice'.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Smith. Graham, Mapping the Federal Condition in Smith Graham (ed.), *Federalism: The Multiethnic Challenge* (London : Longman, 1995), p.19.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.19.

Therefore a federal democracy which can intervene when two or more cultures are in conflict or in threat in order to secure the promotion of what is understood as a social good. Taylor endorses this view in his analysis of the Quebecois.<sup>18</sup>

Taylor further argues that the rights given to various cultural groups in a state should not be seen as infringements but merely as immunities.

The above analysis leads us to the conclusion that federal democracies are indeed designed so as to preserve the cultural differences. And the cultures have a right to be preserved because they are a social good. And cultures can also be given the right to self determination. However, Taylor argues that, it is possible only under some conditions where the state is centralised and dominated by a particular cultural group that a regulation of other cultural groups and their actions is most likely to occur. Now if it is accepted that a cultural group wishing autonomy should be granted special status then we still need to answer a question as to who decides this? This should be by the state and the historical community. Neither should take the decision in isolation. But what is evident in this analysis is that multiculturalism is not only valuable but a value in itself.

### **Theoretical Implications of a Multicultural Federal Democracy**

The first and most important theoretical implication is that a multicultural federal democracy would point towards decentralisation from the principle of centralization (as is in the case of India). Moving away of the state from the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.19.

centralising principles means that moving away, in a way, from the dominant and majoritarian way of incorporating values and applying them. This also means that in solving the inter-cultural conflicts the state would not be imposing decisions on either of the groups involved. The problem, tensions and conflicts would be solved at a level where dialogue is possible and decision would be reached on the basis of consensus.

Decentralisation in the context of Telangana problem raises not just cultural but also some Federal Questions. Most important among them are, 1. Is the notion of a separate State of Telangana a real and true answer to solve the question of Regional disparity? 2. Does the case of smaller States (whose trend is increasingly seen in parts of the country linked with the problem of regional imbalance, for instance, in U.P. the demand for Uttaranchal, in Bihar the demand for Jharkhand, and in Assam for Bodoland etc.) present a solution of better development, administration and progress than the larger States? and 3. How far should the question of autonomy be allowed in the States?

I would like to look at all the above questions in the light of Telangana problem. I think a separate Telangna State might even worsen the situation of development in that region as compared to the present not so good condition. This is so because as long as the leaders of Telangana, politicians and also the personnel of the administrative structure are not committed to the cause of Telangana and as long as the democratic institutions and levels of participation of people does not improve, the real problem of development of Telangana will continue to remain even

if a separate Telangna State is formed. The balance of power quite a number of times since 1973 has tilted in favour of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh however as long as abuse of the political, economic and administrative power continues the question of Telangana will remain static and might worsen and certainly therefore the question of a separation is not a very suitable option to truly solve the Telangana problem. Prof Hargopal (he belongs to Telangana region) also believes that separate Telangana state may not be the answer to the Telangna problem and whatever development that has to be achieved in the region may be done so by improving the implementation process and methods. However M. Satyanarayana Rao, believes that if the BJP government grants the demands of Uttaranchal, Varnanchal, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand then no body can stop a separate Telangna.

The question of small States has time and again had been advocated as compared to larger states. And basing on the example of Punjab, Haryana and Gujarat in contrast to U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, the question of smaller States has been upheld. Small states would not weaken the centre as feared by some but on the other hand would strengthen it and it is wrong to think that if West Bengal and Bihar or Gujarat and Maharashtra are merged the nation would become united and if they are separated unity would be broken. Mr.S. Jaipal Reddy also claimed that his party, Janta Dal, believes that the case of smaller states is much more functionally and administratively desirable, however, a separate and smaller Telangana state may not be able to answer the Telangana problem. He also said that the six-point formula

provides an example to the problems of separate state and regional imbalances in the country (However, he again stressed that only if only it is implemented fittingly).

Perhaps, therefore, it is true to some extent that the case for smaller states are better but the progress and prosperity of an area depends upon large number of factors like abundance of resources, good political and bureaucratic infrastructure, fertile soil, irrigation and other material factors. So therefore a generalisation cannot be made about Telangana as the regional disparity and the question of separate State is an ethnic as well as political conflict. So by forming a separate State the problem of administration, political power, law and order and socio-economic problems would still persist-so it is not a very advisable solution.

The question of regional autonomy is necessary to some extent but a greater amount might lead to secessionist movements which do not provide a sound foundation for the political and National integration of the Country. Therefore there should be a healthy relationship between the Centre and States; and through mutual dialogue and discussion they should be able to reach to a reasonable answer to the problems. Therefore decentralisation although desirable, but proper allocation, commitment and implementation may be the real answer to Telangana Problem.

Secondly, the next theoretical implication of a multicultural Federal democracy is that, decentralised governance is not enough, a decentralised planning is also required for the balanced economic growth of the regions with imbalances in

the country.<sup>19</sup> And this planning process should be viewed as essentially an endeavour in which human beings are intimately involved. And it must also be kept in mind that those who plan are also at the receiving end of the plan process.<sup>20</sup>

In following the principles of multiculturalism the states should try to remember that they are a heterogeneous lot and in articulating the cultural differences, decentralisation principle would be best applicable.<sup>21</sup> There is also a move towards patterns of a more equitable and sustainable pattern of development.<sup>22</sup> Under this pattern various deprived economic-cultural groups would be brought under the balanced equitable developmental policies.

And thirdly and most importantly it would also mark a shift away from the global homogenization process of which Liberal democracy is a part.<sup>23</sup> It would also mean a shift away from the integrationist homogenization process which has brought about a sharp divide- linguistic, cultural and economic both globally and within each

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<sup>19</sup> Mukarjee. Nirmal, Decentralisation below the State Level in Mathur Kuldeep (ed.), *Development policy and Administration* (New Delhi : Sage, 1996), p.264.

<sup>20</sup> Venugopal Reddy. Y, *Multilevel Planning in India*, (New Delhi : Vikas, 1979), p.7-9.

<sup>21</sup> Mukerji. Nirmal, Decentralisation below the State level in Mathur. Kuldeep (ed.) *Development Policy and Administration* (New Delhi : Sage, 1996), p.267.

<sup>22</sup> Mozoomdar. Ajit, The Rise and Decline of Development Planning in India in Mathur. Kuldeep (ed.), *Development Planning Policy and Administration* (New Delhi : Sage, 1996), pp. 42-44.

<sup>23</sup> Seth. D.L. and Nandy Ashis (ed.), *The Multiverse of Democracy* (New Delhi : Sage, 1996), p.15.



society.<sup>24</sup> Another major implication is the fact that multicultural federal democracies would be able to reconcile the conflict existing between the individual and group rights. For as a Liberal democracy they protect the individual freedom, equality and justice. While India also being a multicultural federation the values of groups are also recognized and accommodated. Thus rights of individuals and cultural groups are both accorded recognition and accommodation.

Therefore at a theoretical level the main implication of a multicultural federal democracy will mainly mean a move away from, firstly, centralisation, secondly, homogenisation, thirdly, towards a decentralised planning with a human touch.<sup>25</sup> And fourthly, it is also able to reconcile the individual and group rights. India provides a case for both multicultural society and federal democratic governance. For India is a society respecting various cultural differences existing in the society and secondly, at the state level, the various differences are integrated into the State without losing their separate identity. Thus India, a multicultural federal democracy creates condition of order and civility while protecting cultural identities and their needs for recognition and respect.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.16.

<sup>25</sup> Mukerji. Nirmal, "For a More Federal Indian", Economic and Political Weekly, June 27, 1992, p.1315.

## CHAPTER 8

### IN DEFENCE OF CULTURAL RECOGNITION AND ACCOMMODATION

The modern Nation-State is moving into an era when the society, in general, and State, in particular cannot remain neutral to the demands for cultural recognition and accommodation. The principle of cultural recognition and accommodation entails that the State recognise the rights of various cultural differences existing within the State. This also requires that mere toleration will not be enough. Nonetheless as a point of beginning toleration also has its positive contribution in preparing the normative ground to move ahead to understand the values of their particular identities with regard to 'the other' cultural identities. Therefore the modern nation-States have to move beyond being a procedural republic and from its stance of neutrality, in order to give the cultural communities their right to cultural recognition and accommodation.

This chapter will analyse and defend the principle of the cultural recognition and accommodation. The chapter will broadly deal with three main issues. Firstly, I try to give reasons as to why should the principle of cultural Recognition and accommodation be defended. Secondly, we will look into what kind of deference can be envisaged for this principle. And thirdly, we would examine the importance of Cultural Recognition and accomodation contemporary Indian context.

## **Reasons for the Defence of Cultural Recognition and Accommodation**

Why should the defence of the Principle of Cultural recognition and accommodation be necessary? It is a necessary condition of human life to realise the material and normative needs valuable to it. The fulfilment of the former in itself will not solve the normative compulsions of life to exist and evolve. Therefore the Society and State have ethical compulsions to fulfil both the material and normative conditions essential for human life both at the individual and collective levels.

The need for cultural recognition and accommodation stems mainly from the unfulfillment of the same essential conditions of human life. The defence of the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation thus, means the defence of those essential conditions of human life. For that very reason we need to defend the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation. This particular reason forms the normative basis for the defence of the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation. However there are more than one reason for the defence of the same. And we will analyse the main and relevant reasons in the present context to the defence of cultural recognition.

Each human being, in general, is a part of the whole and in a dialogical relationship with that whole, he or she defines himself/herself. A lack of recognition of equality (not uniformity) leads to the creation of a vacuum because of the neglect and discrimination. The collective common good formed is as important for both an individual and group that they stand united in the defence of equality, recognition, respect and accommodation. Therefore, the State has a moral obligation of protecting

both the individual and common-cultural good. The State cannot claim equidistance or the principle of neutrality in this area. For the State by being neutral is being more impartial than it would have otherwise. For when a State is procedural then the dominant majoritarian way of life takes precedence over the other pattern of cultural lives. This dominance might be conscious or unconscious nonetheless, it causes discrimination and neglect of the other. Therefore State cannot say that the cultural needs are a private matter of each individual. It could be so, in general but not when the minority culture are making vocal demands upon the State to understand the threat to their cultures which is quite genuine and founded. Therein lies the defence of the cultural recognition and accommodation.

Another reason why the same principle should be considered important is the reason that in a Multicultural society the Federal democracy has an added responsibility to recognise and fulfil the multifarious cultural, political and social needs of these cultural groups made on the society. These demands, in general, may or may not be a demand for development in the Western sense of reaching a certain economic level. On the contrary, the demands are of development along with recognition. Recognition is vital and in the absence of development or vice versa justice cannot be done to the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation.

In our defence of the principle of cultural Recognition and accommodation we will try to understand what kind of defence the principle can be given.

But first let us understand how this principle is not given its recognition. The assimilationist liberals argue that Liberal State has both a right and duty to refuse to

recognise the claim of cultural diversity and to do all in its power to integrate the minority communities into the Liberal way of Life.<sup>1</sup> The Liberal way of life does not recognise culture difference or difference. Therefore it takes a culture-blind or difference-blind approach.<sup>2</sup>

We have the cultural laissez faire advocates like John Gray, who say that Liberal principles of Choice and Competition can be extended to the realm of culture, they insist that every individual should be free to choose his or her way of life in a fair competition between several of them. In order to ensure fair competition, Gray insists that the States should observe strict neutrality and not throw its weight behind the liberal way of life.<sup>3</sup> He further says that the State should be purely formal and procedural institutions requiring nothing more of its members than acceptance of its authority.<sup>4</sup>

But both the above interpretations of the Liberal State have problems says Bhikhu Parekh. Liberal is committed to equal respect of persons. Since human beings are culturally embedded respect for them entails respect for their ways of life. One's sense of personal identity is closely bound up with one's language, characteristic modes of thought, customs, collective members and so on, in a word with one's culture. To insure the latter is to deny the individuals and reject what constitutes them

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<sup>1</sup> Parekh. Bhikhu, *Cultural Diversity and Liberalism* in Beetham David (ed.), *Refining and Meaning Democracy* (London : Sage, 1994), p.202.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p.202.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p.205.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.205.

as particular kinds of persons and matters most to them and that is hardly a way of showing respect.<sup>5</sup> It is important that the Assimilationist liberal recognise that we ought to make a more sympathetic attempt to understand a way of life from within, be open to differences in beliefs and practices, and discourage or fight its specific features only after its adherents have failed to give a satisfactory defence of them.<sup>6</sup>

The assimilationist liberal mistakably equates equality with uniformity and fails to aggregate that otherwise different individuals are treated unequally if subjected to uniform treatment.<sup>7</sup> Moreover the liberals rightly values culture diversity and pluralism on moral and epistemological grounds. Similarly Gray's Idea of a morally neutral State is logically incoherent. Every State has specific structure authority, a constitution and it makes laws and policies. And neither of them can be morally neutral. Therefore a morally neutral State making no moral demands on its citizens and equally hospitable to all human choices is logically impossible. Therefore Bhikhu Parekh says no State can be wholly free of a moral bias and the concomitant coercion.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation does not find place within the liberal traditions of assimilationist liberal and cultural laissez faire liberals. However Liberal State by virtue of recognising the differences at the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.202.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 202.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.207

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 207.

individual level it is also recognising values of individuals as a shared meanings embedded in their culture. Liberal State by virtue this fact alone can be claimed that it does in for universal mode of incorporating individuals because it believes that even if there were cultural differences it should be encompassed within a single political identity.

So what modes of political systems give cultural recognitions and accommodations to its cultures? 'Cultural pluralism' welcomes diversity on several interrelated grounds. It argues that human beings are cultural beings. 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'.

The development of these cultural diversities gives rise to modern notions of identity and this inturn has given rise to a politics of difference. Politics of difference entails that we recognize the unique identity of an individual or a group, their distinctness from everyone else. The idea is that this distinctness is what has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to another, dominant or minority identity.<sup>9</sup> The demand for recognition includes that we all recognise the equal values of different cultures and that we not only let them survive but acknowledge their worth.<sup>10</sup>

Walzer explains in his 'corporatist model' that public measures are aimed at protecting and promoting ethno- cultural diversity. This is also called non-

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<sup>9</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.7.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.20.

discrimination model in the sense that minority groups are not discriminated against within the main stream institution of the majority cultures, but it is not 'neutral' in its relationships to cultural identities.<sup>11</sup> Walzer says that this model requires government identity specific groups, and perhaps even assign individuals to those groups, in order to determine who should exercise those rights.<sup>12</sup> Cultural recognition and accommodation also involves that culturally plural societies recognize that identity claims are socially nurtured and constructed and they are not merely reflections of each individual's inner (nature) Truth.<sup>13</sup>

Cultural recognition is a collective good. It both gives the individual a value but also helps him recognise that it creates conditions of a collectively enriching dialogue. Since cultural recognition and accommodation is possible in societies where cultural diversity is a valued good.

Let us understand how can we defend ourselves in this society. We can defend ourselves in this society. We can do so by promoting cultural diversity that involves both respecting and valuing different cultures and encouraging a dialogue between them. cultural diversity deepens our self knowledge, and enables us to enrich our way of life by following whatever is attractive in others and can be integrated into our own. It is also value of the federal democracies who contend with various cultural

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<sup>11</sup> Walzer. M., *Pluralism : A Political Perspective in Kymlicka. Will (ed.) The Rights of Minority Cultures* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1989), p.149.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p.153.

<sup>13</sup> Calhorne. Craiiz, *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (USA : Black Well, 1995), p.24.



differences in their quests for recognition and accommodation of their differences through reconciliation.

Cultural recognition and accommodation enhances our individual good and its is enhanced at a collective level. Therefore the defence of cultural recognition and accommodation is possible in so far as they are values that need to be protected and ought to preserved for their valued good. And it is their valued good that defines our meanings in life and shapes the course of our good. This inturn is possible in cultural pluralism or multicultural societies, in Federal democracies and to an extent also in the Liberal State.

### **Relevance of this Principles in Indian Context.**

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 many diversities in a pattern of autonomy and harmony to the peace and progress of his continental polity.<sup>14</sup> Ethno-cultural diversity in India mean 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 on of power and decision-making. There were strong political and economic

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<sup>14</sup> Khan. Rasheeduddin *Federal India : A Design for Change* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1992), p.18.

compulsions necessitating such a development.<sup>15</sup> 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 centralisation.

In the particular case of Telangana the absence of the application of this principle of cultural recognition and accommodation saw Telangna voice the same demands thrice. 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 tendencies to a more responsive decentralised policies and to the principle of cultural recognition and accommodation.

Underlying this regional economic imbalance is the tension of the unaddressed demand for cultural recognition of the Telangana identity. Whether or not a separate State would solve this problem of Telangana is questionable. Perhaps to some extent, problem would get addressed at the territorial autonomy level or perhaps the demand would be fulfilled. The answer to this question would be uncertain because the addressing the recognition and accomodation of the cultural identities in any State is a sensitive matter. For there are many complexities involved in addressing such demands. Firstly, this demand have no internal contradiction other than the external contradictions.? Secondly, Is separation really the only answer and thirdly, whether a separate Telangana would really answer till their demands for cultural recognition.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.6.

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 available but not the only answer for realizing cultural recognition. For we had discussed earlier that Cultural Recognition could be achieved even 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 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 a better more developed Telangana could be automatically achieved. However, it is important to note here that this study is advocating 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 accomodation into the India's Federal democracy

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.

## CONCLUSION

India is a Culturally diverse Country. Its system of governance adopted a federal polity on the Liberal democratic guidelines. This meant that both in theory and practice the state was going to recognise, the individual good and the collective good, which inturn meant the recognition of the individual rights and group rights. However this did not in anyway 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, infact, be addressed better in such a state. For a state which recognise 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 underlining 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 to both recognise the value of a cultural group as well as the rights of a Individuals to 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 Multicultural but is also a Multicultural federal democracy. This 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 Telangana 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 on the treatment of differences with equal respect and not unifgmity. 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 was 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 'culture or difference- blind' in its approach to cultural diversity. Secondly, the State gave cultural recognition and accommodation to the Telangana identity by providing it the safeguards, in the form of the Gentleman's Agreement and the Six- Point Formula, in particular. Thus it is upholding the multicultural federal democratic principles, of recognising 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. Thus the resurgence of the same demand.

The state after recognising 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 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 very far away, it needs only a self-interpretation of its essential principles upon which it was founded within the changing circumstances.



## 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 25th Ramzan 1337 H (corresponding to 18th 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)

Dated 1st November, 1949

ZAHEERUDDIN AHMED  
Controller-General  
Accounts, and Audit

### CHAPTER III GENERAL RULES FOR REGULATING ALLOWANCES 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 the 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
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.

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\* Ram Reddy G. and Sharma B.A.V., Regionalism in India, (New Delhi, Concept, 1979), P. Appendix I.

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 her 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 authorised 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 grand-father
  - (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 21st 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) Has 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) and (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 behaviour or is directly or indirectly connected with such political activities which are detrimental or contrary to the interest of the Hyderabad Government.

## Appendix (ii)

### STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION REPORT

(Any attempt to examine and understand Telangana problem in depth and detail requires the knowledge of events that led to the 1956 A.P. formation. Much before the formation of A.P. States Reorganization Commission, constituted by the Central Government and consisting of Hon. Fazal Ali, K.M. Panikker, & 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 arguments for and against the merger of 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, the text of the part of the SRC report that deals with Telangana and Andhra regions is given).

#### Case for Vishalandhra

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 creation of Vishalandhra. (Para 369)

It is unnecessary for us to trace the history of the Andhra agitation in any great detail, because the Andhra State is now in existence, having been established on 1st 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. (Para370)

The advantages 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. (Para 371)

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 the 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 area 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. (Para 372)

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. (Para 373)

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. (Para 374)

### **The Case for Telangana**

The case of Vishalandhra thus rests on arguments which are impressive. The considerations which have been argued in favour of a separate Telangana State are, however, not such as may be lightly brushed aside. (Para 375)

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 source 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. (Para 376)

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 relations to the utilisation of the waters of Krishna and Godavari. (Para 377)

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 if 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 a colony by the enterprising coastal Andhra. (Para 378)

'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 interests 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. (Para 379)

One important reason is, of course, that the existing Hyderabad State and Telangana as part of Hyderabad have benefitted considerably from the implementation from April 1952, of the 'Finance Commissions' recommendations. The increase in Central Payments from out of the divisible of income tax and Central excise which has been possible under the present arrangements and the reduction in police expenditure for which credit can be taken, as the situation in Telangana improves, more or less offset the loss on account of the abolition of internal customs duties, and if the scope which exists of raising the yield of certain State heads of revenue is fully explored, the financial position of Telangana need not cause anxiety. (Para 380)

### **The State of Hyderabad**

The advantages of the formation of Vishalandhra are obvious. The desirability of bringing the Krishna and Godavari river basins under unified control, the trade affiliations between Telangana and Andhra and the suitability of Hyderabad as the capital for the entire region are in brief the arguments in

favour of the bigger unit. (Para 381)

It seems to us, therefore, that there is much to be said for the formation of the large State and the nothing should be done to impede the realisation 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 Telangana has still to crystallise itself. Important leaders of 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. (Para 382)

We understand that the leaders of the existing Andhra State may be prepared to provide adequate safeguards to protect the interest of Telangana in the event of its integration in Vishalandhra. These safeguards may take the form of a guarantee (presumably on the lines of Sri Baug Pact between Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra) of opportunities for employment for Telangana in the public services of the new State at least to the extent of one-third, that is to say, roughly in the proportion, and an assurance that particular attention will be paid to the development plans of this area. (Para 383)

We have carefully gone into the details of the arrangements which maybe made on these lines. It seems to us, however, that neither guarantees on the lines of the Sri Baug Pact nor constitutional 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. (Para 384)

A further point to be borne in mind is that the State of Andhra was brought into existence only recently and has still not got over the stress of transition. It has for example, still to formulate a policy on land reforms and the problems arising from the partition from the composite State of Madras have, by no means, been tackled fully yet. Integration of Telangana with Andhra at this stage is, therefore, likely to create administrative difficulties both for Andhra and Telangana. (Para 385)

After taking all these factors into consideration we have come to the conclusions that it will be in the interests of Andhra as well as Telangana area is constitute into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State, with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961 if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residency Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of such unification. (Para 386)

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 government 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. (Para 387)

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 the two areas do not materialise and if public sentiment in Telangana crystallises itself against the unification of the two states, Telangana will have to continue as a separate unit. (Para 388)

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)

### GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT, 1956

1. The expenditure of the central and general administration of the State should be borne proportionately by the two regions and the balance of income from Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area. This arrangement will be reviewed after five years and can be continued for another five years if the Telangana members of the Assembly so desire.
2. Prohibition in Telangana should be implemented in the manner decided upon by the Assembly members of Telangana.
3. The existing educational facilities in Telangana should be secured to the students of Telangana and further improved. Admission to the colleges including technical institutions in the Telangana area should be restricted to the students of Telangana, or the latter should have admission to the extent of one third of the total admissions in the entire State, whichever course is advantageous to Telangana students.
4. Retrenchment of services should be proportionate from both regions if it becomes inevitable due to integration.
5. Future recruitment to services will be on the basis of population from both regions.
6. The position of Urdu in the administrative and judicial structure existing at present in the Telangana area may continue for five years, when the position may be reviewed by the Regional Council. So far (as) recruitment to services is concerned, knowledge of Telugu should not be insisted upon at the time of recruitment but they should be required to pass a prescribed Telugu test in two years after appointment.
7. Some kind of domicile rules, e.g., residence for 12 years should be provided in order to assure the prescribed proportion to recruitment of services for Telangana area.
8. Sales of agricultural lands in Telangana area (is) to be controlled by the Regional Council.
9. A Regional Council will be established for the Telangana area with a view to secure its all round development in accordance with its needs and requirements.
10. The Regional Council will consist of 20 members as follows : 9 members of the Assembly representing each district of Telangana to be elected by the Assembly members of the Telangana districts separately, 6 members of the Assembly or the Parliament elected by the Telangana representatives of the Assembly, 5 members from outside the Assembly to be elected by the Telangana members of the Assembly. All ministers from Telangana area will be (its) members.
- 11.(a) The Regional Council will be a statutory body empowered to deal with and decide about matters mentioned above and those relating to planning and development, irrigation and other projects, industrial development within the general plan and recruitment to services insofar as they relate to Telangana area. If there is difference of opinion between the views of the Regional Council and the Government of the State, a reference may be made to the Government of India for final decision.  
(b) Unless revised earlier by agreement, this arrangement will be reviewed at the end of ten years.
12. The Cabinet will consist of members in proportion of 60 to 40 per cent for Andhra And Telangana respectively. Out of the 40 percent Telangana Ministers one will be a Muslim from Telangana.
13. If the Chief Minister is from Andhra, the Deputy Chief Minister will be from Telangana and vice-versa. Two out of the following portfolios will be assigned to Ministers from Telangana: (a) Home; (b) Finance; (c) Revenue; (d) Planning and Development; and (e) Commerce and Industry.

14. The Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee President desired that the Pradesh Congress committee should be separated from Telangana up to the end of 1962. Andhra Provincial Congress Committee President has no objection.

The above agreement was arrived at on February 20, 1956. It was signed by (1) B. Gopala Reddi, Chief Minister of Andhra; (2) N. Sanjiva Reddi, Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra; (3) G.Latchanna, Minister in the Andhra Cabinet and Leader of the Krishikar Lok Party, a constituent of the United Congress Front, which contested the Andhra elections (1955) and formed the Ministry; (4) A. Satyanarayana Raju, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee; (5) B. Rama Krishna Rao, Chief Minister, Hyderabad; (6) K.V. Ranga Reddy, Minister, Hyderabad; (7) Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, Minister, Hyderabad; and (8) J.V. Narasinga Rao, President, Hyderabad Provincial Congress Committee.



**APPENDIX (iv)**  
**ALL PARTY AGREEMENT, 1969**

The following is the full text of agreement reached between leaders of all political parties convened by the Chief Minister on January 19, 1969 to take steps for the implementation of Telangana safeguards:

"With the formation of Andhra Pradesh State on November 1, 1956 the long cherished aspiration of the Telugu-speaking people for having a state of their own was achieved, thanks to the combined efforts of leaders of the Andhra and Telangana regions. Both were concerned primarily with securing the fuller cultural and economic development of the Telugu people. The leaders of both the regions found it necessary to provide safeguards for ensuring due protection of the interests of Telangana and its development. Provisions in this regard were accordingly made in what has come to be known as the gentleman's agreement.

Though it has been the settled policy of the Andhra Pradesh Government to implement faithfully the terms of the gentleman's agreement, lapses have arisen in the implementation of the policy. In order to ensure the proper implementation of the safeguards the following decisions have been taken at a meeting of the leaders of all the political parties of the Legislature convened for the purpose by the Chief Minister.

**EMPLOYMENT**

All non-domicile persons who have been appointed either directly or by promotion or by transfer to posts reserved under the Andhra Pradesh Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Rules 1959 for domiciles of the Telangana region will be immediately relieved from service. The posts so rendered vacant will be filled by qualified candidates possessing domicile qualifications and in cases where such candidates are not available the posts shall be left unfilled till qualified domicile candidates become available. Action on the above lines will be taken immediately.

All non-domicile employees so relieved shall be provided employment in the Andhra region without break in service and by creating supernumerary posts, if necessary.

Two senior officers will be appointed charged with the responsibility for implementing these decisions immediately and effectively.

There have been some complaints that employment has been obtained on the basis of false domicile certificates. The Government will arrange to inquire into any such complaints.

**Statutory Bodies**

The Andhra Pradesh Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act and Rules applied to posts under the Government and local bodies only. The High Court has recently held that this Act does not apply to the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board. The Government, however, felt that as these bodies are a state-wide organisations, reservation of posts for Telangana candidates should also be made in them as in the case of posts under the Government. The State Government will immediately file an appeal against the judgement of the High Court regarding the applicability of the APPE (RR) Rules to the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board.

Simultaneously the State Government will move the Government of India to make provision in the Bill extending the Andhra Pradesh Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, for a further period of five years so as to include within its purview statutory or other corporations financed by the Government.

**Integrated Lists**

In all cases where the Government of India has approved common gradation lists of Andhra and Telangana officers, or issued any directive for preparation or revision of such lists, the lists so

approved, or prepared shall alone be followed for regulating of conditions of their service. In cases, however, where no such lists have been approved by the Government of India or no directive has been issued by it regarding their preparation or revision, the provisional lists being followed by the State Government shall continue to be followed, pending approval of the Government of India, where the government of India has given any directive regarding the equation of posts or preparation of common gradation lists, such directive shall be followed by the State Government without any further correspondence.

### **Surplus Funds**

The Telangana surpluses will be determined on the following basis :

- (a) The existing method of allocation of expenditure and receipts to either region will continue.
- (b) The Telangana surpluses for each year will be computed by adding to the net revenue surplus of the Telangana region of that year the difference between one-third of the total capital expenditure of the State in that year and the actual capital expenditure in the Telangana region in that year.
- (c) So far as statutory or other boards and corporations, functioning on a State-wide basis financed by the State Government are concerned, they will, for the purpose of computing Telangana surpluses, be treated as if they were State-wide Government departments, and as if their receipts and expenditure were booked in Government accounts. In the case of Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board, however, the expenditure on power generation and high tension transmission lines only will be apportioned between the two regions in the manner indicated above. Expenditure on distribution lines and rural electrification will be booked to each region as per actuals.
- (d) The Industrial Trust Fund which is being operated exclusively for the Telangana region, will continue to be so utilised. To work out on the basis of the above principle the exact Telangana surpluses which have accrued since the formation of the Andhra Pradesh State and to avoid any controversy in this regard the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India will be requested to depute, a senior officer of the rank of an Accountant-General. He will be requested to give his finding before February 28, 1969.

### **Development**

The Telangana surpluses so determined will be fully utilised for development of Telangana region during the next five years. Any Telangana surpluses accruing in future will be worked out at the end of each financial year and due provision will be made for its utilisation in the Telangana region in succeeding year. Half-yearly review of expenditure in the Telangana region will be undertaken by the Government and a copy of the review will be furnished to the Regional Committee and Members of the Legislature.

We also take note that there are backward areas in the Andhra region and they also deserve immediate attention. For the removal of imbalance it shall be the endeavour of the Government to give top priority to the rapid economic development of those areas also so that employment opportunities could improve to mitigate the hardship faced by the unemployed.

### **Education**

Steps will be taken to afford better educational opportunities to students, irrespective of region, in the capital city of Hyderabad with effect from the ensuing academic year.

We trust that by taking energetic action on the above lines the grievances voiced in the Telangana region will be fully redressed. The cultural enrichment and economic development of the Telugu people should continue to be our primary concern. It must be borne in mind that maintenance of unity and tranquillity in the State is essential to create a proper climate for attracting larger

investment in the State leading to economic progress and creation of more employment opportunities for the younger generation.

Nothing should, therefore, be done which would in any way lead to fissiparous tendencies in our society. We of different political persuasions firmly resolve to bend our energies towards achieving quicker development and fuller integration of our State. Andhra Pradesh holds a prominent position on the map of India, and in order to be able to contribute our own share to the national integration of the country, it is of paramount importance that within our own State we achieve full unity.

Therefore, we vehemently and unequivocally condemn the slogan raised in some quarters for the creation of separate "Telangana State".

The signatories to the statement are:

1. Mr. J. Chokka Rao
2. Mr. K. Achuta Reddi
3. Mr. V.B. Raju
4. Mr. P. Narasingha Rao
5. Mr. Ch. Rajeswara Rao
6. Mr. Badrivishal
7. Mr. Y.V. Krishna Rao
8. Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao
9. Mr. Jupudi Yagnarayana
10. Mr. Kulupu Prabhakara Rao
11. Mr. V. Rama Rao
12. Mrs. Roda Mistry
13. Mr. C. Janga Reddi
14. Mr. A. Vasudeva Rao
15. Mr. Sultan Salahuddin Ovasi
16. Mr. P. Narasa Reddi
17. Mr. J. Ranga Reddi
18. Mr. J. Vengal Rao
19. Mr. P. Goverdhan Raddi
20. Mr. T. Purushothama Rao
21. Mr. K. Ramachandra Reddi
22. Mr. M. Kamaluddin
23. Mr. Erram Satyanarayana
24. Mr. Ch. Murthi Raju
25. Mr. K. Raimallu
26. Mr. K. Sudharsana Reddi.
27. Mr. Kakani Venkatarathnam
28. Mr. M.N. Lakshminarasaiah
29. Mr. Kaja Ramanatham
30. Mr. T. Ramaswami
31. Mr. Siddha Reddi.
32. Mr. N. Ramachandra Reddi
33. Mr. Arige Ramaswamy
34. Mr. N. Prasada Rao
35. Mr. Peddireddi Thimmareddi
36. Mr. J.V. Narasinga Rao
37. Mr. K. V. Narayana Reddi
38. Mr. B.V. Gurumurthy
39. Mr. Md. Ibrahim Ali
40. Mr. G. Latchanna
41. Mr. Vavilala Gopalakrishniah
42. Mr. Narasimha Reddi
43. Mr. Chenchurama Naidu
44. Mr. Konda Lakshman

**APPENDIX (v)**  
**EIGHT-POINT PROGRAMME, 1969**

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on 11th April, 1969.

"During the last few weeks, I have conferred with my colleagues in Government and the party, leaders of the Opposition in Parliament, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, political leaders of some parties from Telangana and other parts of Andhra Pradesh as well as others, on the prevailing situation in Andhra Pradesh.

"These talks have been held in a spirit of free and frank exchange of views and with the object of evolving constructive steps to meet the genuine problem of the people inhabiting Telangana. We had to keep in mind the importance of finding urgent and positive solutions which will further the objective of providing immediate as well as long-term answers to the needs of people in the Telangana Region and, at the same time, of maintaining and strengthening the unity and integrity of Andhra Pradesh. The overall aim is to ensure that the pace of development and the expansion of employment opportunities in Telangana is accelerated, and conditions are created for the balanced development of all parts of Andhra Pradesh through cooperative and shared efforts on the part of the people living there.

With these objectives, a number of specified measures have been decided upon as follows:

1. A High-powered Committee will be appointed by the Central Government with a retired or serving Supreme Court Judge as Chairman, and an eminent economist with the knowledge of State finances together with a senior representative of the Comptroller and Auditor-General as members.

The Committee will go into the varying estimates and representations, and determine the surplus relatable to Telangana which was expected to have been spent on the development of Telangana Region.

The Committee shall report to the Union government by the end of the next month.

2. Discussion will take place immediately between representatives of the Union Finance and Home Ministries, the Planning commission, and the State Government regarding the manner in which the requisite financial resources could be found to make good the surpluses relatable to Telanganana.

3. At the suggestion of the Chief Minister, it has been agreed that a High-powered Telangana Development Committee shall be constituted immediately, composed of the Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, as its Chairman, and a Member of the Planning Commission, the Ministers of the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet belonging to the Telangana Region and the Chairman of the Regional Committee for Telanagana, as its members.

The main functions of the Committee will be to identify, within the overall framework of the Five-Year Plans, the programmes and schemes relatable to the Telangana Region with reference to the physical as well as financial targets to be achieved; to review from time to time the actual implementation and working of these programmes and schemes; and to advise the State Government on appropriate decisions that may be considered necessary.

4. There will also be a Plan Implementation Committee at official level, presided over by an adviser of the Planning commission, and composed of representatives of the Union finance and Home Ministeries and the State Government, with the object of detailed periodic review of the actual implementation of plan programmes and schemes relating to the accelerated development of the Telangana Region.

This committee will meet every quarter and make its report to the Chief Minister and to the Prime Minister.

5. In order to ensure adequate co-ordination as well as effective and speedy implementation of decisions, the Chief Minister will consider what further delegation of powers, if any, need be

made in favour of the authorities specially entrusted with the task of dealing with the problems of the Telangana Region.

6. The possibility of providing for appropriate constitutional safeguards in the matter of public employment in favour of people belonging to the Telangana Region will be examined by the Government of India, in consultation with a Committee of Jurists.
7. At the suggestion of the Chief Minister, it has also been agreed that the High-power Central Advisory Committee, which was set up under the State Reorganisation Act of 1956 (which is headed by the Chairman of the U.P.S.C. and composed of a retired High Court Judge and a retired Law Secretary of the Union Government), will undertake a very early visit to Hyderabad, in order to examine expeditiously the grievances of the public servants of various categories and make appropriate recommendation to the Union Home Ministry. The Union Home Ministry will also devise an urgent programme within a definite time schedule, with the object of deciding any outstanding cases relating to the integration of services. The Chief Minister has assured that State Government shall implement promptly any decisions that the Government of India may give in the light of the advice tendered by the Central Advisory Committee or the State Advisory committee.
8. In order to ensure the continuous attention of the Central Government towards the problems of the Telangana Region, at the suggestion of the Chief Minister it has been agreed that the Prime Minister will hold review meetings, every six months with the Chief Minister and his other colleagues in the High-powered Telangana Development Committee referred to earlier. The Deputy Prime Minister, the Union Home Minister, such other concerned Union Minister whose presence may be found necessary, and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission will also be associated with these meetings.

The accelerated development of the Telangana Region, and the balanced economic development of the State as a whole, are objectives which can be secured in an atmosphere not only of peace and tranquillity but also of amity, understanding and co-operation between people inhabiting different parts of the State. In the course of his talks with me, the Chief Minister indicated his desire to make, in consultation with me appropriate political arrangements which would promote these objectives.

There was recognition, in the course of various discussions, of the importance of restoring an atmosphere of complete peace and harmony in Andhra Pradesh. May I take this opportunity of appealing to the people of Telangana to end the present agitation, and of inviting them to extend their wholehearted co-operation in the fulfilment of various positive measures evolved as a result of these discussions, and any other measures that may be devised hereafter? Towards this end, I propose to continue further the process of discussions with the widest possible section of public opinion in Andhra Pradesh.

I should like to assure the people of Telangana as well as those of other parts of Andhra Pradesh, that their genuine problem will receive the continuous and sympathetic attention of the Central Government."

**APPENDIX (vi)**  
**FIVE POINT PROGRAMME, 1972\***

Last week this House had occasion to discuss the situation in Andhra Pradesh arising out of the Supreme Court judgement regarding the Mulki Rules. In certain parts of that State there have been violent incidents resulting in loss of life and damage to public property. This has caused deep distress to us in the House and to people all over the country. I had appealed to all sections in the state and all political parties to help in the effort to restore public tranquillity and to bring about a climate of confidence and trust.

We had hoped that it would be possible for the leaders of the state to come to an agreement through discussions between themselves. However, this did not happen and the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and his colleagues wanted the central Government to take decisions in all matters relating to the Mulki Rules.

During the last few weeks, my colleagues and I have held discussions with Andhra Pradesh leaders and representatives of different sections and of the people. These discussions revealed an overwhelming desire of the people of Andhra Pradesh for a solution within the framework of the existing integrated state.

After the most earnest consideration of the issues involved, we have taken certain decisions which I should like to place before the House in the course of this statement.

At the time of the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, it was realised that the people of Telangana would need some safeguards in the matter of public employment and an agreed formula was evolved by the representatives of the Andhra and Telangana regions. As a matter of national policy, residential qualification for public employment was removed in other areas, yet Parliament enacted the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957, in order to provide for posts in the subordinate services in the Telangana area being filled subject to the requirement of residence in that area. This law was envisaged as a temporary measure and was to expire in March 1974; however, it was struck down by the Supreme court early in 1969.

Since then the question of devising suitable measures to secure representation of the people of Telangana region in the public services of the state has been engaging the attention of the Central and State Governments. The recent judgement of the Supreme Court has brought about a new situation requiring the adoption of further measures to give effect to the objectives envisaged earlier.

It is common knowledge that the Mulki Rules are applicable only to certain posts under the State Government and are not applicable to recruitment to the all-India services, to posts in the Central Government Offices and the public sector undertakings of the Central government.

The measures decided upon are as follows :

1. The residential qualification prescribed in the Mulki Rules will apply only for the purpose of recruitment to non-gazetted posts and posts of tehsildars and civil assistant surgeons in the Telangana region. It will also apply to such posts as were non-gazetted on 1 November 1956 but have since been made gazetted. However, in the case of composite offices, such as the secretariat, the officers of the head of departments and common institutions of the State Government, these rules will apply for the theme purpose of filling the second vacancy in unit of three direct recruitment vacancies in non-gazette posts.
2. These safeguards will remain operative in the Telangana region up to the end of the December 1980. However, in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, the safeguard will continue only up to the end of December 1977. This distinction has been made because the state capital is located in these cities.

3. In order to provide adequate avenues of promotion to the Government servants working in each of the two regions the various service cadres will be regionalised up to the first or second gazetted level. This will not, however, apply to the services which act as direct feeders to the all-India services.
4. Educational facilities, including those in the technical and professional fields, which are available at present to Telangana students in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, will not be adversely affected. In these cities the facilities will be suitably expanded and these additional facilities will not be subject to any restrictions on the basis of residence.
5. For the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, there will be a composite police force, the details of which will be worked out in consultation with the State Government.

Necessary legislation to give effect to the decisions, mentioned above, will be brought before the House shortly. The Central government will devise suitable machinery to ensure the proper functioning of these arrangements.

The above-mentioned decisions have been taken keeping in view the requirements of the integrated state, the legitimate interests of the people of both the regions in the matter of public employment and education, and the assurances given in this House. Government hope that these decisions will receive general acceptance in the State and will be implemented in a spirit of understanding, co-operation and accommodation.

## APPENDIX (vii)

### SIX-POINT FORMULA

Statement issued by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh on 21st 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 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 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 the 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 Tehsildar, 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 be 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 decision 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 principles does not give rise to litigation and consequent uncertainty, the constitution should be suitably amended to the extent necessary, conferring on the President enabling powers 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 – (viii)**

Table No. 1.

**AGRICULTURE :**

<b>Gross value of Agricultural Production (Rs. Crores)</b>						
<b>Region</b>	<b>At current prices</b>			<b>At constant prices</b>		
	1960-61	1994-95	Percentage increase	1960-61	1994-95	Percentage
Coastal Andhra	314.54	9131.04	2802.98	1301.62	2703.27	107.99
Rayalaseema	141.84	3282.32	2214.10	586.96	956.68	62.99
Telangana	141.36	5799.92	4001.94	584.98	1643.51	180.41
<b>Total</b>	<b>597.74</b>	<b>128213.28</b>	<b>2947.02</b>	<b>2473.157</b>	<b>5303.46</b>	<b>114.41</b>

Source : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1997.

Table No. 2.

**INDUSTRY:**

<b>SI No.</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>1956-57</b>		<b>1992-93</b>		<b>Percentage increase in</b>	
		<b>No. of factories</b>	<b>No. of Workers</b>	<b>No. of factories</b>	<b>No. of Workers</b>	<b>No. of factories</b>	<b>No. of Workers</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>
1.	Costal Andhra	1904	108740	5545	2120097	191.23	93.21
	Rayalseema	644	16875	1821	52674	182.76	212.14
	Telangana	1046	43327	9858	470300	842.45	985.47
	<b>Total (Excluding Electricity Group)</b>	<b>3594</b>	<b>168942</b>	<b>17224</b>	<b>733071</b>	<b>379.24</b>	<b>339.92</b>

Source : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Table No. 3

**IRRIGATION :**

Region.	Gross area irrigate (Lakh hectares)			Percentage of Gross area irrigated to gross cropped area		
	1956-57	1994-94	Percentage increase	1956-57	1994-95	Percentage increase
Coastal Andhra	19.52					
Rayalseema						
Telangana						

Source : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Table No. 4(a)

**POWER :**

No of pump sets energised			
Region	1956-57	1994-95	Percentage increase
Coastal Andhra	2939	189534	6348.93
Rayalaseema	1760	253728	14316.36
Telangana	231	806401	34891.34
Total	4930	1249663	25248.13

Table No. 4(b)

Region	Power Consumption		
	Total Power Consumption (MKWII)	1991 Population (Millions)	Per capital consumption (KWII)
Coastal Andhra	6297.75	28.73	219.20
Rayalseema	4078.31	11.69	348.87
Telangana	12558.92	26.09	481.37
Total	22934.98	66.51	344.84

Source : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Table No. 5

**HEALTH**

Sl. No.	Region	Nol of Government Hospitals and Dispensaries.			Nol of beds.			Nol of Beds per lakh Population in 93-94
		1956-57	1993-94	Percentage increase	1956-57	1993-94	Percentage in crease	
1.	Coastal Andhra	173	1388	702.31	6926	12926	86.63	45
2.	Rayalseema	80	787	883.75	1854	5679	206.31	49
3.	Telangna	143	1001	600.00	5215	15081	189.19	85
	Total	396	3176	702.02	13995	33686	140.70	51

Source : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Table No. 6

**EDUCATION**

**LITERACY RATE :**

Sl. No.	Region.	Literacy rate as on 1990-91 census		
1.	Coastal Andhra	11200050	28733209	46.22
2.	Rayalaseema	4391338	11685725	44.96
3.	Telangna	8896171	26089074	41.29
	Total:	24487559	66508008	41.29

Source : Finance and Planning Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

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